

# *Weltgeschichte as Heilsgeschichte*

## Typology in Mary Rowlandson's and Jérôme Lalemant's Captivity Narratives

### **Comparing North American Captivity Narratives**

In the past fifteen years the field of captivity narrative studies has undergone profound changes. As evidenced by anthologies such as *White Slaves, African Masters* (ed. Paul Michel Baepler, 1999), *American Captivity Narratives* (ed. Gordon Sayre, 2000), or *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption* (ed. Daniel J. Vitkus, 2001) and the work of critics as, amongst others, Ralph Bauer, Linda Colley, Gordon Sayre, or Lisa Voigt,<sup>1</sup> recent scholarship on the captivity narrative has been informed by a “transnational turn” (Sayre, “Renegades” 347), a growing interest in texts written in languages other than English, as well as a “comparative desire” (Toulouse, “Prologomenal” 9). In the light of these paradigmatic shifts in scope and methodology, it is surprising that there has yet to be published a sustained comparison of two of the genre’s most famous texts: Jérôme Lalemant’s *Relation de ce qui s’est passé . . . en l’année 1647* (1648)<sup>2</sup> and Mary White Rowlandson’s *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God, Together with the Faithfulness of His Promises Displayed* (1682).<sup>4</sup> Lalemant relates Jesuit missionary Isaac Jogues’ nearly one-year captivity (1642/43) and assassination (1646) by the Mohawk Indians during the so-called Beaver (French and Iroquois) Wars in what was then New France. Rowlandson gives an account of the eleven weeks she spent as a captive among the Narragansetts and Wampanoags as well as her subsequent release in 1676, all in the context of King Philip’s War in New England. Such a comparative project might include, as Lorraine Carroll has suggested, a contrastive reading of the two texts’ depictions of Native converts (see Carroll 144). It might also compare attitudes towards martyrdom, a point

discussed by both Gordon Sayre and Barbara Buchenau in their analyses of captivity narratives from New England and New France (see Buchenau; Sayre, "Communion"). Other potential points of comparison range from the problematic topic of authorship<sup>5</sup> and the texts' success with contemporary readers<sup>6</sup> to the "cultural work" accomplished by the two accounts.

Such an exhaustive treatment of Rowlandson's and Lalemant's captivity narratives is beyond the scope of this article. Many of the issues identified above will be raised, however, in the following comparison of the accounts' central textual strategy, namely, their use of the Bible as an intertext<sup>7</sup> or their employment of typological hermeneutics. The use of typology in Puritan colonial literature in general and in the Rowlandson text in particular has been studied in great detail.<sup>8</sup> The intertextual use of the Bible in the Jesuit *Relations* from North America and particularly in Lalemant's captivity narrative has been documented very carefully in Guy Lafleche's excellent editions, *Les saints martyrs canadiens*. Lafleche has also identified the use of Biblical quotations in the *Relations* as typological, arguing that "the Jesuits organized the entire Catholic literature of New France around this biblical typological analogy, with the Iroquois enemy as the reincarnation of the Egyptian armies attacking the children of Israel in the desert" ("Literature" 52). Yet neither Lalemant's distinct use of typological hermeneutics<sup>9</sup> nor the significant differences between Lalemant's and Rowlandson's accounts with respect to typology have ever been analyzed in full detail. The only comments available on these topics are by Sayre and Buchenau. In her comparison of Jogues' letter "Novum Belgium" (1646; see note 5) and Puritan John Williams' *The Redeemed Captive Returning to Zion* (1707), Buchenau has recently argued that "[a]ligning French captives with Jesus Christ, Jogues ensures that they become Christ's worldly fulfillments of his sacrifices" (172), while through typology, Williams' account appears as "scripted by Old Testament narratives of exile" (174). And in his aforementioned comparison of captivity narratives from New England and New France, Sayre briefly notes<sup>10</sup>:

Another key difference between the two approaches toward captivity is the typological use of Christ's crucifixion. Rowlandson's providential pattern of suffering, and its meaning for New England as a whole, is interpreted primarily through Old Testament figures, and is ordained by God, not Christ. . . . In Jogues's account . . . , however, such an *imitatio Christi* was obvious. ("Communion" 52-53)

These analyses are correct, but not exhaustive.<sup>11</sup> The aim of this article, therefore, is to thoroughly examine Lalemant's use of types and to highlight the ways in which the Jesuit text's typology contrasts with Rowlandson's.

More specifically, it will be argued that the Rowlandson text employs typology to correlate numerous isolated situations during her captivity with Biblical passages mainly from the Old Testament. By contrast, Lalemant's use of types connects different moments in Jogues' life during and after his captivity and is sometimes based not directly on the Bible, but mediated through a Catholic devotional practice that references the New Testament, the so-called Way of the Cross or the Passion of Jesus.

In addition, and drawing upon recent developments in both Rowlandson scholarship in general and readings of typology in her account in particular, this article also seeks to investigate the "cultural work" accomplished by Lalemant's distinct use of Christic figuration. Employing typology to transform the narrative of Jogues' captivity into a hagiographic account of his life, the Lalemant account contributes to the formation of a textual community that unites not only the North American Jesuit missionaries around the figure of the martyr, but also (re)connects the geographically remote North American mission with Jesuits and Catholics around the world.

### **Post-scriptural Typology**

The term typology refers to one of several modes of interpreting the Bible. The typological or figural mode exegetically relates two textual items—one from the Old Testament, one from the New Testament—in terms of prophecy and fulfillment. Thus specific objects, (groups of) persons, or events from the Old Testament, in addition to their actual historical meaning and significance, are interpreted as types or *figurae*, that is, as prophecies or prefigurations of specific objects, (groups of) persons, or events from the New Testament (most commonly, Jesus Christ and His works), which constitute the corresponding antitypes.

The first application of the typological or figural mode can be found within the Bible itself, namely in the Pauline epistles. While the typological mode continued to be a relevant mode of Biblical exegesis until the early nineteenth century (see Hall 216), it also began to be "extended . . . to postscriptural persons and events" (Bercovitch 36), thus becoming "a general method of comprehending reality" (Auerbach, *Mimesis* 16) or a "theory of history" (Lupton 4): by interpreting post-scriptural and even contemporary worldly persons and events as antitypes (or, conversely, by finding Biblical types or prefigurations for post-scriptural persons and events), practitioners of post-scriptural typology write post-scriptural events into the divine plan. Both Biblical and post-scriptural typology at once retain the individual historical

significance of both (Biblical) type and (Biblical or post-scriptural) antitype and additionally ascribe to each of them a specific eschatological role or meaning. Hence, the narrative strategy of post-scriptural typology depicts *Weltgeschichte* as *Heilsgeschichte*, or worldly history as sacred history.<sup>12</sup>

Scholars have identified the use of post-scriptural typology in a large variety of texts, both contemporary and historical, both from Europe and the New World (see Hall 220), including the North American Indian captivity narrative.<sup>13</sup> And indeed, both Rowlandson and Lalemant continually represent various occurrences during their captivity among the Native Americans as fulfillments of Biblical types, precepts, or prophecies. In both *The Sovereignty* and the *Relation*, God—who thus becomes an additional character, if not the main protagonist of the two accounts—acts upon human beings according to Biblical paradigms that need to be recognized and typologically interpreted by the captives (see Brumm 15). Thus Rowlandson punctuates her account with numerous direct quotations from and allusions to the Bible, often introducing them with phrases such as “now I may say as” (82) or “like” (78), which may suggest a relationship of mere analogy between Biblical and “current” events. David Downing also points out that Rowlandson “repeatedly introduces the biblical quotations with modest qualifiers such as ‘I hope it is not too much to say with Job’ [88]” and concludes that she “indicates by these phrases that her experiences are only a dim reflection of the biblical prototypes” (255). However, it is notable that when Rowlandson uses introductory phrases such as the one quoted by Downing or, to give another example, “[n]ow may I say with *David*” (90, emphasis original) as well as when she weaves the quotations into her text without any introduction whatsoever, she completely removes the quotations from their original Biblical or historical contexts and interprets them as prophecies that are fulfilled and only fully make sense by and through her own experience. In this way she establishes a relationship of typology—and not one of mere analogy or similarity—between the two events: “And now could I see that Scripture verified (there being many Scriptures which we do not take notice of, or understand till we are afflicted) *Mic. 6. 14*” (93). Here as elsewhere,<sup>14</sup> Rowlandson uses the voice of the Bible to express various emotions, but at the same time she also suggests that it is only through her individual, personal experience in captivity that specific passages in the Bible reveal their full eschatological meaning, thereby gaining “in concrete dramatic actuality” (Auerbach, “Figura” 41).

In Lalemant’s text, direct quotations from the Bible are always given in Latin (with translations into French); while the Protestant Rowlandson

quotes from an English translation, most likely the Geneva Bible, the Catholic Lalemant uses the Latin Vulgate. However, like Rowlandson, Lalemant either simply weaves the quotations into his text or uses introductory phrases such as “c'est bien pour lors que je pouvois dire avec mon Seigneur et mon Maistre” (50); “it was indeed then that I could say with my Lord and Master” (41).<sup>15</sup> As in Rowlandson's narrative, Biblical quotations are stripped of their original context and brought into a typological relationship with Jogues' experience as a captive. Thus, while Jogues carries a copy of *L'imitation de Jésus-Christ* (a “Gerson” [79]) with him during his captivity, his own sufferings are clearly not interpreted as imitations of, but rather as prefigured by and part of Christ's Passion: “C'est ce qui me fit rendre grâces à mon Sauveur Jésus-Christ, de ce qu'en ce jour de liesse et de joie il nous faisoit part de ses souffrances, nous admettant à la participation de ses Croix” (49); “This made me render thanks to my Savior Jesus Christ, because, on that day of gladness and joy, he was making us share his sufferings, and admitting us to participation in his crosses” (37, 39).

Incidentally, like the Bible itself, both *The Sovereignty* and the *Relation* contain textual items that can be related to each other according to the typological type-antitype paradigm: Rowlandson's short spiritual biography of her sister in the beginning of the narrative, culminating in the latter's conversion (69-70), clearly prefigures Rowlandson's own conversion through the experience of captivity, while the short narrative of René Goupil's martyrdom and death, inserted at the beginning of the *Relation* (43; 51; 57), anticipates Jogues' captivity and assassination.

However, the two accounts employ typology in significantly different ways. What sets the use of post-scriptural typology in Rowlandson's and Lalemant's captivity narratives apart from each other are, first, the different Biblical types selected by the two authors. Whereas the mainly Old Testament types chosen by Rowlandson offer her “a variety of voices available for her use” (Toulouse, “Mary Rowlandson” 38), Lalemant also uses types from the New Testament to construct Jogues as a martyr and to provide a basis for his canonization as a saint. Second, the two accounts differ in their relationship to the chosen types. While *The Sovereignty* refers directly to the Bible, the *Relation's* access to the New Testament is mediated through the Way of the Cross. Although Lalemant's account pre-dates that of Rowlandson by several decades, the latter shall be discussed here first, mainly since it is the better known text, but also in order to avoid what could be mistaken for an implied chronology of established norms and textual conventions.

### **Mary Rowlandson: A Variety of Old Testament Voices**

The most prominent characteristics of Rowlandson's use of typology are undoubtedly the diversity of the types chosen and the complexity of the ways in which they are employed. Downing has estimated that Rowlandson "draws on Scripture more than eighty times in the form of direct quotations, allusions to biblical characters, or echoes of biblical phrases" (252). These quotations, allusions, and echoes are taken from more than twenty different Biblical books; those that are the most frequently quoted directly are the Psalms (twenty-one references), Isaiah (seven references), and Job (five references). Often, Rowlandson chooses Hebrew captives such as Joseph (75), Samson (88), Daniel (103; 107), or the Psalmist (who becomes, as Dawn Henwood argues, an "archetypal captive" [see 174]) as types for her own captivity (see Downing 255).<sup>16</sup> To these, one may add the references to other Old Testament individuals who were not specifically captives, but otherwise tried or tested by God, as Rowlandson certainly felt she was—most notably Job, whose story Rowlandson evokes on five occasions.

However, the Rowlandson account's use of types is, as Teresa A. Toulouse has argued, highly "complex" (*Captive's Position* 56). Rowlandson scholarship has generally moved from identifying the narrative's complicity with Puritan orthodoxy to uncovering its "gendered resistance to orthodoxy" and, in a third step, to inquiring about the "larger 'cultural work'" it performs (Toulouse, "Sovereignty" 925; see also Newman 593 and Logan 471). Broadly following these developments, specific studies of typology in the narrative such as those by Gary L. Ebersole, Downing, Mitchell Robert Breitwieser, Toulouse, and Henwood have identified a large variety of purposes for which the Rowlandson account draws upon Biblical types. According to the "classic" view, represented by scholars such as Downing or Ebersole, the Rowlandson text—whether through editorial interpolation or not (see Ebersole 29)—employs scriptural references to typologically identify the Puritans with Old Testament Israel and to simultaneously link Rowlandson's individual fate to that of all Puritans (see Downing 254). Towards the end of her narrative, for instance, Rowlandson is amazed at the fact that the Indians never seemed to lack food (105), quotes Psalm 81.13-14 (106), and then concludes:

But now our perverse and evil carriages in the sight of the Lord, have so offended Him, that instead of turning His hand against [the Indians], the Lord feeds and nourishes them up to be a scourge to the whole Land. (106)

Just as the Indians are a "scourge" to Rowlandson, they are, at the same time, a scourge to all Puritans; and just as God punished the Hebrews for

not having walked “in His ways” (see Psalm 81.13-14, *KJV*), he also punishes the Puritans for their “perverse and evil carriages” (106). According to this particular view, then, typology allows *The Sovereignty* to reproduce the orthodox Puritan self-conception as the New English Israel, as conceptualized by ministers such as Increase Mather. Focusing on the numerous references to the Psalms in the narrative, Henwood has argued that typology also provides Rowlandson with an orthodox, “sanctioned means of expressing her emotional torment, especially her anger” (170). Scrutinizing the context of the Psalms Rowlandson quotes—i.e., what “she must also read but does not quote” (177)—Henwood finds that the captive repeatedly turns to Psalms that apparently soothe but “actually offer substantial psychological compensation in the form of potent threats and visions of violent retaliation against the enemy” (179). According to Henwood, then, typology in the shape of the Psalms also offers Rowlandson a voice of public orthodoxy to express emotions such as anger and rage.

By contrast, scholars such as Breitwieser, who view Rowlandson’s anger as an expression of her resistance to, rather than her complicity with, Puritan orthodoxy, have used some of the narrative’s scriptural references as keys to the way the account supposedly undercuts its own orthodoxy. Breitwieser notes that by using typology, Rowlandson “*hands herself over* to Mather’s view of the war . . . because she knew that this was . . . the only way her thoughts and words could escape from the eventual oblivion of isolated memory” (8, emphasis original). At the same time, however, he argues, some of the types chosen by Rowlandson—for example, her reference to Lot’s wife during the sixth remove (see Rowlandson 80)—work against her “best intentions” (Breitwieser 8), as they betray individual, subjective, and publicly defended emotions such as anger, frustration, and, most importantly, a desire to mourn her losses. Similarly, Toulouse views the increasing density of scriptural references at the end of the thirteenth remove (see Rowlandson 91) as well as the growing incongruousness of these hope-inspiring quotes in the light of Rowlandson’s desperate situation as underscoring rather than hiding her anger (Toulouse, “My Own Credit” 664).

Finally, in a later publication that exemplifies the most recent development in Rowlandson scholarship, namely, the tendency to inquire about the “cultural work” performed by *The Sovereignty*, Toulouse relates Rowlandson’s use of typology to the highly ambivalent relationship of second- and third-generation Puritan ministers—men such as Increase Mather—to their fathers. Again focusing on the end of the thirteenth remove, Toulouse argues that the



different types evoked in this passage represent “a variety of relational positions that the vulnerable captive woman assumes toward a punishing and a redeeming father/God” (*Captive’s Position* 167), thus simultaneously expressing the swerving of the first generation’s sons between “filial loyalty [to] and their desire to separate” from their fathers (72).

Yet however complex the use of types in the Rowlandson text may be, what is still striking is the high number of Old Testament types or, conversely, the “peculiar paucity of New Testament references” in *The Sovereignty* (Downing 255). According to Downing, “fewer than one tenth [of Rowlandson’s Biblical references] are from the New Testament; in fact, the name of Jesus Christ is never directly mentioned in her account” (255).<sup>17</sup> In Lalemant’s captivity narrative, by contrast, the figure of Christ is repeatedly, though more indirectly, drawn upon as a type.

### **Jérôme Lalemant: The Figuration of Christ**

The Biblical types chosen by Lalemant (as well as those chosen by the sources he translates and quotes in his account, most notably Isaac Jogues himself) are as diverse as in Rowlandson’s case. Chapters one and four through eight of the *Relation* contain around fifty direct quotations from and allusions to the Bible. As in the Rowlandson text, these are taken from about twenty different Biblical books; here, too, the books most frequently drawn upon are the Psalms (five direct quotations, see 50; 53; 60; 62; 79; three allusions, see 42; 60; 90) and Isaiah (five allusions, see 27; 28; 51; 60; 67). Like Rowlandson, Lalemant also refers to Old Testament episodes of captivity (for instance, when Jogues is taken to the Mohawk village Ossernenon,<sup>18</sup> Lalemant describes the place as “cette Babylone” [51]; “this Babylon” [41])<sup>19</sup> as well as to Old Testament individuals who were tried or tested by God (again, most notably Job; see 44).

As in the case of Rowlandson, however, the use of types in Lalemant’s narrative is highly complex. Here, too, for instance, the use of the Psalms may be argued to widen the range of what could be expressed in orthodox terms beyond the Jesuit missionaries’ self-conception as the new early Christians, who wilfully accept martyrdom as a key to the success of the mission (see Perron 111). In a central passage at the end of his narrative Lalemant, like Rowlandson, views the fate of the captive as emblematic of an entire group of people, which he then typologically relates to a Biblical group of people:

Or tout ainsi qu’on reprochoit jadis en la primitive Eglise aux enfans de Jésus-Christ qu’ils causoient des malheurs par tout, et qu’on en massacroit quelques-uns pour



ce sujet, de mesme sommes-nous persécutés de ce que par nostre doctrine . . . nous dépeuplons à ce qu'ils disent leurs contrées, et c'est pour cette doctrine qu'ils ont tué [Isaac Jogues], et par conséquent on le peut tenir pour Martyr devant Dieu. (93)

Now, just as of old, in the primitive Church, the reproach was cast against the children of Jesus Christ, that they caused misfortunes everywhere, and as some of them were slain on that account, likewise we are persecuted because by our doctrine . . . we depopulate—as they say—their countries; and it is for this doctrine that they have killed [Isaac Jogues], and consequently we may regard him as a martyr before God. (121)

Here, it is not the Old Testament Hebrews (as in *The Sovereignty*), but the New Testament early Christians that are seen as prefiguring the North American Jesuits in general and Jogues in particular (see Lafèche, “Literature” 52). Throughout the narrative Jogues himself is portrayed as accepting and even desiring martyrdom; for example, after having been tortured at Ossernenon, he notes<sup>20</sup>: “nous nous offrismes d'un grand cœur à sa [Dieu] bonté paternelle pour estre des victimes immolées à son bon plaisir et à sa cholère amoureuse pour le salut de ces peuples” (50); “we offered ourselves with great courage to his [God’s] fatherly goodness, in order to be victims sacrificed to his good pleasure and to his anger, lovingly zealous for the salvation of these peoples” (41). A few lines later, Jogues quotes Psalm 129.3 to describe the wounds on his back, but the context of this Psalm—i.e., what he “must also read but does not quote”—is less concerned with the “salut” (“salvation”) of his torturers than with the righteousness of God, who will “cut asunder the cords of the wicked” (Psalm 129.4). As in the case of Rowlandson, the Psalms thus allow Jogues to publicly express his anger and desire not (only) for martyrdom, but (also) for retaliation.

There are, however, also differences between Rowlandson’s and Lalemant’s choice of Biblical types: most importantly, and in contrast to Rowlandson (see above), Lalemant mentions Jesus Christ no fewer than nineteen times, in addition to many indirect evocations such as “mon Sauveur” (49); “my Savior” (39). Certainly the most important role of Christ in the *Relation* is that of the Biblical type foreshadowing Jogues’ captivity and assassination by the Native Americans. Yet unlike Rowlandson, who directly refers to and quotes from the Bible, Lalemant accesses the type of Jesus through a Catholic practice of devotion, the Way of the Cross. As Lafèche points out in his annotations (*Les saints martyrs*), chapter four of the *Relation* typologically aligns Jogues’ arrivals at different Mohawk villages—and specifically the Native American ritual of running the gauntlet, “ce chemin de fureur et d’angoisses” (47); “that way of fury and anguish” (31)—with selected stations

of the Way of the Cross. Of the latter's altogether fourteen traditional stations (see Brown 833), eight are alluded to in chapter four, four of which, in turn, have scriptural precedence. Station one (Jesus is condemned to death) is evoked when Jogues leaves his hiding place and the "Iroquois" who has already captured Jogues' companions "s'avance, et m'ayant saisi il me mit au nombre de ceux que la terre appelle misérables" (44); "advances and, having seized me, puts me in the number of those whom the world calls miserable" (25). Station two (Jesus is given his cross) is not alluded to by Lalemant, but Stations three, seven, and nine (Jesus' first, second, and third fall, respectively; no scriptural precedence) are referred to when even before arriving at Ossernenon, Jogues has to run the gauntlet for the first time:

Je n'avois pas fait la moitié de cette route que je tombai par terre sous le faix de cette gresle [de coups], et de ces coups redoublés; je ne m'efforçai point de me relever, partie pour ma foiblesse, partie pour ce que j'acceptois ce lieu pour mon sépulchre. (47)

I had not accomplished half of this course when I fell to the earth under the weight of that hail [of blows] and of those redoubled blows. I did not strive to rise again,—partly because of my weakness, partly because I was accepting that place for my sepulchre. (33)

Stations four and five (Jesus meets his mother and Simon of Cyrene carries the cross) are again omitted, but Station six (Veronica wipes the face of Jesus; no scriptural precedence) is referred to when in Ossernenon, Jogues' Native guardian sees him covered with blood and "touché de quelque compassion, . . . il m'essuya la face" (50); "touched with some compassion, . . . he wiped my face" (39). At the very end of chapter four, "[q]uelques femmes plus pitoyables nous voyoient avec beaucoup de charité, ne pouvans regarder nos plaies sans compassion" (55); "[s]ome women, more merciful, regarded us with much charity and were unable to look at our sores without compassion" (51), thus evoking Station eight of the Way of the Cross (Jesus meets the women of Jerusalem). Station ten (Jesus is stripped of his garments) is alluded to twice, once shortly after the capture (46) and again when Jogues, now having been brought from Ossernenon to Andogaron, notices that pieces of his skin fall off his body (53). Finally, in the third Mohawk village, Jogues is attached "à des bois attachés en Croix, en sorte que mes pieds n'estans point soustenus, le poids de mon corps me donnoit une géhenne et une torture . . ." (54); "to pieces of wood fastened crosswise. Consequently, my feet not being supported, the weight of my body inflicted upon me a gehenna, and a torture . . ." (49), a clear reference to Jesus' crucifixion, Station eleven of the Passion.

One may wonder, however, where Jogues' prefiguration by Jesus actually ends: Jogues may have been "crucified" at the end of chapter four of the *Relation*, but Lalemant's account of the captivity ends neither here nor with Jogues' eventual escape in 1643 (79), his voyage to France in 1643/44 (85-86), or his return to North America in 1644 (86). Instead, Lalemant ends his captivity narrative with Jogues' eventual return to the "pays des Iroquois" and his assassination there in 1646 (chapter eight of the *Relation*; 89-99), thus evoking Station twelve of the Way of the Cross (Jesus dies). The events between Jogues' "crucifixion" in August 1642 and his return to the Mohawks in July 1646 are, however, heavily contracted by Lalemant. In fact, the description of the nineteen days between Jogues' capture and his "crucifixion" (44-55) and the two and a half months between his return and his assassination in October 1646 (89-99) take up almost as much space (twenty-three pages in Laflèche's edition) as that of the almost four years between the "crucifixion" and the return (56-88, i.e., thirty-three pages in Laflèche's edition; see also Perron 286n41). Hence, as in Rowlandson's work, in which time is measured not in days and weeks but in spiritual and physical "removes" from God and civilization, typology and the specific Biblical types chosen also impact the overall temporal structure and scope of the captivity narrative.

### The Cultural Work of Christic Figuration

Recent readings of the Jesuit North American *Relations* such as those by Carole Blackburn, Takao Abé, or Micah True have explicitly sought to overcome the emphasis on the personal voices, motives, and psychology of individual priests that characterized earlier studies of these texts (see Blackburn 12; Abé 80; True 22). For instance, Laflèche attributed Lalemant's depiction of Jogues as a martyr mainly to the individual, personal ambitions of the author of this particular captivity narrative (see Laflèche, *Les Saints* 9). By contrast, examining the Iberian Jesuit accounts from Japan and Jogues' own, personal letters, Abé and Alexis Lussier have evoked the North American mission's specific historical situation and the Catholic Church's politics of martyrdom during the Counter-Reformation, respectively, to account for the prominence of the figure of the martyr in the *Relation* (see Abé 80 and Lussier 95-98).

Another way of overcoming earlier critical paradigms would be to consider, as recent Rowlandson scholarship has done (see above), the broader cultural work accomplished by the use of typology in Lalemant's captivity narrative. Seen from this particular critical angle, typology or, more specifically, Christic figuration allows the *Relation* to become part of a

textual genre that rallied Jesuits and Catholics all over the world around the figure of the saint, namely, the hagiography. Julia Boss has explained the role of saints' lives in forming and articulating a global Catholic community:

Beyond the immediate purposes of edification and emulation, the lives of venerables also could serve a variety of social uses that were essential to the articulation of Catholic community. . . . The collective reading of . . . hagiographic narratives made possible an "imagined community" of French Catholicism. (213)

By donating or loaning hagiographic writings or "lives" to Catholics in the New World (see Boss 213-14) and by reading and circulating these narratives, respectively, both European supporters of the North American missions and North American Catholics were thus engaged in a trans-Atlantic "work of community definition" (215). However, as Boss points out, North Americans contributed to this formation of a Catholic community not only as readers, but also as authors of hagiography (see 215-16). Using typology to portray the captive as a (potential) martyr and saint and distributing these accounts on both sides of the Atlantic, the author of the *Relation* participated in a process that simultaneously linked the different North American missions as well as the Old and the New World. Already in the *Relation* itself, Lalemant notes how the story of Jogues' captivity, turned into a hagiographic account, has contributed to a sense of community among the North American Jesuits in particular and the Catholic population of New France in general:

Nous avons respecté cette mort comme la mort d'un Martyr, et quoi que *nous fussions en divers endroits*, plusieurs Pères *sans scavoit rien les uns des autres pour la distance des lieux* ne se sont pû résoudre de célébrer pour lui la Messe des trespasés, si bien de présenter cet adorable Sacrifice en action de grâces des biens que Dieu lui avoit eslargis; les séculiers qui l'ont connu particulièrement, et les maisons Religieuses ont respecté cette mort, se sentans plustost portés d'invoquer le Père que de prier pour son âme. (92, emphasis added)

We have honored this death as the death of a Martyr; and, although *we were in various places*, several of our Fathers,—*without knowing aught from one another, because of the distance between those places*, although they could not resolve to celebrate for him the Mass of the dead, have indeed offered this adorable sacrifice by way of thanksgiving for the blessings that God had extended to him. The laymen who knew him intimately, and the Religious houses, have honored this death,—feeling inclined rather to invoke the Father than to pray for his soul. (119)

Geographical distance and lack of communication notwithstanding, the veneration of Isaac Jogues, justified by Lalemant's typological reading of captivity as an experience of martyrdom, has created a "nous" ("we") that includes "Pères" ("Fathers"), "séculiers" ("laymen"), and "maisons Religieuses" ("Religious houses") all over New France. And the inclusion of Jogues' story in the

*Relation* and the latter's distribution in France and all over the world (see note 6) would further expand this "nous" to also include Catholics—clergy and laity—in Europe and beyond. To be sure, the official response from Rome in the shape of Jogues' beatification and canonization by Pope Pius XI would not come until 1925 and 1930, respectively. Yet the *Relation*'s use of typology also had more immediate effects. While Puritans such as Mather or Rowlandson (also) employed typology to "unite . . . around remembering King Philip's War" (Boss 221), the depiction of *Weltgeschichte* as *Heilsgeschichte* in Lalemant's *Relation*, far from merely setting the process of canonization in motion or attracting further political, spiritual, and material support from Europe, helped to form a global community of Catholics around the figure of the martyr.

## NOTES

- 1 See Sayre's *Les sauvages américains* (1997), Colley's *Captives: Britain, Empire and the World, 1600-1850* (2002), Bauer's *The Cultural Geography of Colonial American Literatures* (2003), and Voigt's *Writing Captivity in the Early Modern Atlantic* (2009).
- 2 More precisely, chapters one and four to eight of Lalemant's *Relation*, which are exclusively concerned with the captivity of Isaac Jogues.
- 3 The two titles refer to the first Cambridge and London editions of Rowlandson's narrative, respectively. The very first edition of the work, the 1682 Boston edition, has only been preserved in fragments (see Bauer 122-23; Salisbury viii).
- 4 Both texts have been described as "foundational" with respect to early New England and early New France (see Perron 103; Sayre, "Communion" 51). Moreover, selections from these texts are included in some anthologies, e.g., in the *Heath Anthology of American Literature*, 5th ed. (2006).
- 5 Critics have repeatedly discussed the possible influence of Increase Mather and perhaps also Rowlandson's husband Joseph as well as Gershom Bulkeley on her account (see Toulouse, *Captive's Position* 181-82n28) as well as the various first- and second-hand sources Lalemant used to compile his narrative (see Laflèche, *Les saints* 11-14; see also note 20). Sayre's comparison ("Communion") elides this difference—and others—as he contrasts the Rowlandson text not with the respective chapters of Lalemant's *Relation*, but with Jogues' letter "Novum Belgium" (1646), in which Jogues describes the events up to his escape to Rensselaerswyck in August 1643.
- 6 With *The Sovereignty* having gone through three additional editions during the first year of its publication (two in Cambridge, one in London) and with the *Relation* (along with the other yearly installments of the *Relations des Jésuites* from 1632 to 1672) having seen "numerous editions and reprints by Cramoisy" (Laflèche, "Literature" 53) and other printers (see Rigault and Ouellet 639), both texts may be considered to have been bestsellers in their own time.
- 7 This is not to argue that *The Sovereignty* and the *Relation* do not also use other intertexts or textual models such as the spiritual autobiography (see Downing 253) or, as will be shown, the hagiography (see Blodgett 31).
- 8 Toulouse (*Captive's Position* 187n19) offers a list of studies on Rowlandson that examine the use of typology in her account.
- 9 Most critics have described Lalemant's use of Biblical quotations as allegorical or analogical.

- Perron, for instance, speaks of the account's "Christic analogy" (287 n47); Lestringant notes that Lalemant "sui[t] le grand modèle dialectique offert par la Passion du Christ" (260; "follows the great dialectical model offered by the Passion of the Christ," author's translation). Even Blodgett, who offers the most thorough analysis of Lalemant's use of Scripture to date, seems to avoid the term typology. In fact, however, Blodgett uses nearly the exact wording to characterize the relationship between the Jesuit writings and the Bible that Caldwell had used to describe the role of Bible quotations in Puritan conversion narratives: while Caldwell speaks of the "movement of the narrator through the Bible, almost as through a physical space" (31), Blodgett notes that "while the Jesuits travelled through vast regions of North America, they were in fact moving through the Bible" (39).
- 10 Already in *Les sauvages américains*, Sayre had noted that in contrast to Rowlandson, Jogues "interpreted his fate by a very different typology" (23). He then goes on to argue, however, that the Jesuit employs Jesus' crucifixion as a "metaphor" (23) and also classifies the Puritan captivity narratives as "religious allegories" (310), where "typology" would be the more accurate term.
  - 11 In her forthcoming monograph, however, Buchenau will examine the use of typology in Jogues' account in more detail.
  - 12 "It is sometimes said that the reason for the Bible's oblique approach to history is that what we call history is *Weltgeschichte*, whereas the Bible is interested in *Heilsgeschichte*, in the history of God's actions in the world and man's relation to them" (Frye 65).
  - 13 Sayre, for instance, comments on the use of post-scriptural typology not only in the Rowlandson text and in Jogues' "Novum Belgium" (see note 5), but also in the sixteenth-century captivity narratives by Hans Staden and Álvaro Núñez Cabeza de Vaca (see "Communion" 53).
  - 14 See, for instance: "Now hath God fulfilled that precious Scripture" (109) or "Then the Lord brought, and now has fulfilled that reviving word unto me: . . ." (109).
  - 15 English translations of the French quotes are taken from *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, compiled and edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites and originally published from 1896 to 1901. The page numbers following the English translations refer to vol. 31 of *The Jesuit Relations*.
  - 16 For a list of these references, see Downing 258-59n15.
  - 17 For a list of New Testament references in addition to those identified in the text, see Downing 258n10.
  - 18 Today Auriesville, New York, the site of the National Shrine of the North American Martyrs, which is dedicated to Jogues and the seven other Canadian Martyrs (see Lafleche, *Les saints* 192-93n53).
  - 19 Rowlandson, of course, also alludes to Babylon (82). Lalemant, in turn, also alludes to Daniel (62), albeit less in the latter's role as a captive in Babylon than as an interpreter of dreams.
  - 20 Lalemant, starting with the fourth paragraph of chapter four, draws on letters written by Jogues himself and by Jacques Buteux, the superior of the Montreal mission during the winter of 1644/45, and retains the first person singular throughout the entire chapter (see Lafleche, *Les saints* 172n10 and 195n70).

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