"My Misfortune is that I have not a Mind strong enough to Remain Firm in my Determination"[1]: The Fatal Ambivalence of a Seventeenth-Century Aboriginal Convert

Emma Anderson, *University of Ottawa*

This is the second article in a two part series exploring the life of an early seventeenth-century aboriginal convert to Catholicism, Pierre-Anthoine Pastedechouan. Pastedechouan was, effectively, a man caught between two worlds. Born into a traditional Innu hunting and gathering culture, he was taken at the age of eleven to France by the Franciscan Recollet fathers. Baptized, he underwent a demanding five year program of theological and linguistic study which utterly transformed his religious and cultural identity. Forced to return to Canada as a missionary, Pastedechouan regarded his own people with distaste and, unable to foresee their defeat and exile by the invading English, confidently cast his lot with French colonial society. Following his abandonment by his missionary mentors, Pastedechouan attempted a rapprochement with his cradle culture, but this delicate process of cultural reintegration was interrupted by the 1632 return of the French. Torn between his desire for the regard of his native community and his lingering attachment to Catholicism, the last years of Pastedechouan's life were characterized by a profound, painful religious ambivalence. Eventually rejected both by the Innu, whose approval he had so assiduously courted, and by the church he had recurrently embraced and spurned, Pierre-Anthoine Pastedechouan died alone of starvation at the age of twenty-eight.

Squinting against the bright June sunlight, Pastedechouan stared intently downriver to where the wide St. Lawrence met the sea. His attention, like that of the rest of the small crowd assembled on the sandy shores at Tadoussac that early summer morning in 1632, would have been distracted from the beauty of its rounded blue hills and broad expanse of harbor by the small flotilla of French ships, now only an indistinct speck on the distant horizon.

1. Thwaites, 1898, Vol. VII, p. 89.

ARC, The Journal of the Faculty of Religious Studies, McGill University
Volume 34 (2006): 107–130

It had been a long time since Pastedechouan had looked upon a European without considerable trepidation. Some four years earlier, in the late spring of 1628, while walking along these same banks, Pastedechouan had innocently saluted a passing ship flying the English standard, and ended up the unwilling guest of its captain (Sagard, 1865, Vol. IV, p. 850–852).

The presence of an English vessel on the French-controlled St. Lawrence was not at all unusual, quite the contrary. Far enough east of the French colonial center of Quebec to escape frequent patrol, Tadoussac had come to be something of an unofficial headquarters for Protestant merchants, English and French, who, in defiance of the monopolists at Quebec, were bent upon defending their stakes in the lucrative illegal fur trade (Biggar, 1922, Vol. V, pp. 4, 50–51, Trigger, 1976, Vol. I, p. 362–363). Those on board this vessel, however, had a rather more ambitious agenda. One passenger was the soon-to-be conqueror of the French holdings in North America, Captain David Kirke, who would capture Quebec the following spring, forcing the repatriation of the fledgling colony's entire administrative, missionary and trading personnel for some three years (Sagard, 1865, Vol. IV, p., Biggar, 1965, p. 139–149, Brown et al, 1966, p. 404–408, Trudel, 1973, p. 171–176).

English eyes had turned late to the St. Lawrence River valley. Preoccupied with his holdings in Virginia and Massachusetts, King James I regarded the successive failures of Cabot, Cartier, Frobisher and Champlain in their shared quest to find the Northwest Passage as confirming long-held English assessments that this cold, benighted territory should be left unchallenged to the shivering French. Gradually, however, both the burgeoning profits of the fur trade and a heightening of French-English religious, economic, and political tensions seemed to demand a re-evaluation of this tacit policy. Congratulating himself on having let his French rivals fund the foundation of a number of small colonial centers along the St. Lawrence, James' successor, Charles I, in the spring of 1628 sent the Kirke brothers to carefully probe for French weaknesses and quickly force their surrender (Wrong, 1928, p. 41–45, 50–61, 102–107, 144–145, Trudel, 1973, p. 172).

Pastedechouan, turning to hail the Kirkes' ship, was identified by a French deserter on board as a rare and valuable commodity: an aboriginal Christian who possessed critical linguistic skills. The procuration of reliable translators knowledgeable in both native and

European languages was critical to the Kirkes' ambitions of securing economic and political alliances with potential aboriginal allies; a key component in their plans to defeat the French presence in the river valley, and reap for their English sponsors the exclusive rewards of aboriginal trade.

Captured, Pastedechouan was interrogated at length. When his attempts to deny his identity and abilities in both French and Latin failed, he sought to win his freedom with a combination of flattery and guile. Disingenuously protesting his willingness to serve the "brave" and "honorable" David Kirke, Pastedechouan stated that though his religious obligation to the French precluded his overt service to the English invaders, he could undertake a secret mission to Trois Rivieres. Impressed by the youth's passionate promises to "bring his nation down to trade," the Kirkes entrusted Pastedechouan with several canoes filled with a wealth of clothing, alcohol, and assorted foodstuffs. Having decamped with the supplies, Pastedechouan enjoyed them with his brothers, "feeding well and mocking the English." For the next four years, he was wanted by the invaders for this capital offence, as, learning of his betrayal, the humiliated Kirkes promptly put a price on his head (Sagard, 1865, Vol. IV, p. 850–852).

It is doubtful whether Pastedechouan could have fully appreciated the implications of his decision to defraud the English, hastily hatched as a captive aboard the Kirkes' vessel. To do so, he would have had to anticipate their successful siege of Quebec more than a year later and their subsequent deportation of its French inhabitants. With the exile of his missionary mentors, Pastedechouan was abruptly denied both the physical and spiritual succor upon which he had come to depend. Since his return from France he had looked to the Recollets for food, shelter, and the sacramental reaffirmation of his Catholic identity. English hostility to colonial Catholicism, however, evidenced by their plundering and burning of Recollet and Jesuit residences and their harassment of aboriginal neophytes, made newly-conquered Quebec a dangerous place to express Catholic sympathies (Thwaites, 1898, Vol. V, p. 39, 45). It is thus unlikely that Pastedechouan, in his role as spiritual mentor to a small cadre of young aboriginal converts, attempted secretly to lead his neophytes in prayer in the echoing ruins of the cold, despoiled church.

Deprived of the economic, religious, and psychological support of the French, and having burned his bridges with the English, Pastedechouan's only recourse was to his Innu family and community,

whom he had been taught during his Recollet-sponsored education in France to regard as his religious and cultural inferiors. Ignorant of and inept in traditional Innu ways, Pastedechouan attempted, during the three year interregnum, to come to a reckoning with the culture of his childhood and to forge, with the invaluable assistance of his three brothers, Carigonan, Mestigoit, and Sasousmat, a provisional if anomalous Innu identity. In so doing, he faced two major obstacles: his liminal ritual status, which stranded him in the cultural space between child and adult, and his technical incompetence in the Innu hunting arts, which was seen by his community as having negative religious connotations.

For early seventeenth-century Innu, entry into adulthood was more than simply physical maturation: rather, it represented the emergence of a salutary new relational identity. Through the twin portals of vision quest and war, Innu boys redefined their relationships with the world and emerged as men. Through the deprivation and ecstasy of visionary experience they gained the protection and assistance of an "other-than-human person,"[2] and through the trauma of conflict they redefined their place in Innu society from one of dependency to one of beneficent protection (Beaulieu, 1990, p. 30, Richter, 1983, p. 528–530). Pastedechouan would likely have been too young to undertake these demanding ordeals prior to his departure for France at the age of twelve or thirteen. Returning to Canada as a seventeen or eighteen year old Catholic convert, he would have regarded such practices with horrified distaste. His failure to undergo initiation into manhood marked Pastedechouan as a liminal being who was physically adult but religiously and culturally still a child.

As if this anomalous status were not enough, Pastedechouan faced another barrier to his social acceptance: his difficulty in mastering the Innu art of survival (Thwaites, 1898, Vol. V, p. 175, Vol. VII, p. 71, p. 171–175). Hunting was, for seventeenth-century aboriginals, an essentially relational exercise in which the hunter attempted to capture the pitying attention of his powerful prey (Le Clercq, 1881, Vol. I, p. 216, Thwaites, 1898, Vol. VI, p. 175–177, Beaulieu, 1990, p. 32–33,

2. Irving Hallowell originated this phraseology, preferring it to the more abstract "spirits" or "beings" often used by scholars because it better conveys a sense of the individual personalities of the aboriginal pantheon (Hallowell, 1976). His phraseology has since been adopted by other scholars (Morrison, 2002, p. 37–58).

Morrison, 1990, p. 418–419, Morrison, 2002, p. 1–39). The capture of animals was not seen as expressing the triumph of human skills over the natural world, but rather as resulting from an animal's benevolent regard for her reverent supplicant. Because hunting success was seen as ultimately dependent upon the animal's positive evaluation of the moral and ritual status of her hunter, Pastedechouan's failures were probably attributed to animals' collective disapproval or suspicion of him, rather than merely to his technical ineptitude. Such an interpretation would have lent a note of real gravity to his general dismissal by his community as an "idiot" and "blockhead" (Thwaites, 1898, Vol. VII, p. 105), an evaluation shared even by his family members. His liminal status also sanctioned his people's cutting ridicule even as it satisfyingly explained his consistent failure in the twin callings of hunting and marriage. One would not, after all, expect success in these manly endeavors from one who, appearances aside, was as yet an untried child.

The man who on this sunny morning in June, 1632 silently stood on the sandy shores of the St. Lawrence, watching the approaching French fleet, then, had changed considerably from the young lad who was forcibly accosted on its banks four years earlier. Pastedechouan's decisive rejection of service to the English, his abandonment by his defeated French mentors, and his consequent reliance upon the provision of his own people had precipitated lasting changes to his allegiances and identity.

Paul Le Jeune and the 1632 Re-establishment of the Jesuit Mission

Standing on the ship's salt-stained bow, gazing westward across the sun-glazed water toward the undulating hills, Father Paul Le Jeune silently uttered a prayer of thanks for his company's safe passage across the stormy Atlantic. As he observed the rugged land that was to be his new home, the Jesuit was acutely aware that nothing in his forty-one years had prepared him for the task he was now assigned to undertake. Pressed into service as the Superior of the renewed Jesuit mission to Canada, Le Jeune found himself responsible for his Society's grandiose ambition of winning a continent of lost souls for Christ, a challenge for which he had little preparation and even less personal predisposition (Thwaites, 1898, Vol. V, p. 31).

Like the Recollets, whom his own cotillion of Jesuits effectively replaced, Le Jeune perceived indigenous cultural and religious practices

as fundamentally incompatible with French Catholicism. During his seven-year tenure as Superior, Le Jeune would re-implement the Recollet program of isolating, converting and re-educating young aboriginal children, both in domestic seminaries and abroad in France, reconstituting the aboriginal residential school system which had so decisively formed Pastedechouan's own distinctive religious mentality even as he rebuilt the Recollet buildings damaged by English impiety (Thwaites, 1898, Vol. VII, p. 83–89).

Though Le Jeune, before his arrival at Tadoussac that bright June morning, had never laid eyes upon an aboriginal person (Thwaites, 1898, Vol. V, p. 23) his image of them, constructed from a pastiche of highly colored popular representations, the writings of his own Jesuit order, and the memories of his teacher Enèmond Masse, a former missionary to Acadia, was as fundamentally alien beings, connected with himself by the mere formality of shared humanity. Yet the ship-bound missionary, gazing landward, shared more with the young aboriginal, squinting seaward, than he could ever have imagined. Neither the ambivalent young Innu nor the fervent Jesuit Superior had been born Catholic. Both had undergone, in their teens, a transformation of their most fundamental religious assumptions and allegiances. While Pastedechouan was an early casualty of a missionary experiment which sought to excise the religious conceptions of his Innu childhood, replacing them with the dictates of post-Tridentine Catholicism, Le Jeune was the product of decades of internecine religious conflict which had divided a country and splintered families along confessional lines. Born in 1591 to wealthy Protestant parents in Châlons-sur-Marne, Le Jeune had converted at the age of sixteen over their strident objections, going on to join that vanguard of the Catholic Reformation, the Society of Jesus (Brown et al, 1966, p. 453–457, Campeau, 1979, Vol. II, p. 837–838, LaFlèche, 1973, p. i–xix).

Following their respective conversions, both men came to regard their previous beliefs, and the families who still held them, with considerable hostility and contempt. Just as the young Pastedechouan had characterized his unconverted family as "beasts who know not God,"[3] Le Jeune, in his voluminous writings, was wont to describe

3. Sagard, 1866, Vol. p. 785–786, my translation, see also Le Clercq, 1881, Vol. I, p. 273.

Protestants as "enemies of the truth, of real virtue and their country" (Thwaites, Vol. V, p. 43–45).

The fact that both the young aboriginal and older ex-Calvinist were the products of a culture which understood religious identity in radically exclusivistic, agonistic terms (Greer, 2000, p. 17, Goddard, 1998, p. 221–235), then, lent a subtle intensity to their prolonged encounter. Though the two converts were often antagonists, their shared experience had inculcated in each man similar assumptions regarding religious identity which one would seek to enforce, and the other, to evade.

Pastedechouan's Advent at Notre Dame des Anges

While the two men likely crossed paths during the missionary's festive disembarkation at Tadoussac that sunny June morning, their association truly began only with the onset of Le Jeune's campaign to woo Pastedechouan from his new civic employers several months later. In eagerly watching the approaching ships, the young Innu had awaited, not the agents of French Catholicism, but their secular brethren: returning colonial officials, whom he hoped to serve as a translator and liaison.

Upon learning of Pastedechouan's linguistic aptitude and his employment at the nearby Quebec fort, Le Jeune commenced his courtship of the young Innu during the fall of 1632. Le Jeune's linguistic progress during his initial summer in New France had proven frustratingly slow and difficult. After months of attempting to glean the local lingo through visits to neighboring Innu homes, study of the incomprehensible scratchings of his Jesuit and Recollet predecessors and lengthy interrogation of often uncooperative professional translators (Thwaites, Vol. V, p. 113–115, Morrison, 1985, p. 368), the nearby presence of an aboriginal convert fluent in French, Latin and Innu seemed, to the fervent Jesuit, to betoken nothing less than "the admirable kindness and providence of God" (Thwaites, 1898, Vol. V, p. 107).

Pastedechouan's trilingualism and lapsed status proved an irresistible double opportunity for the Jesuit Superior to acquire basic competency in the Innu language whilst expressing appropriate missionary zeal. Though he sought to glean from the young man the grammatical mysteries of his native language, the missionary also cherished confident aspirations of quickly effecting the young

convert's religious reformation. Just as he had taken title to the damaged Recollet buildings, seeking to reclaim and utilize what the occupiers had destroyed, so Le Jeune sought to rehabilitate Pastedechouan, another Recollet 'product' whom he perceived as having been similarly "spoiled" by the English interlopers: "This poor wretch has become a barbarian like the others, and persistently followed barbaric customs while the English were here" (Thwaites, 1898, Vol. VI, p.87, 105).

Pastedechouan's civic employers quickly acceded to Le Jeune's enthusiastic campaign to acquire the young man's services as the young Innu had proven himself, over the course of the summer and early fall, to be a difficult, unpredictable employee, prone to wild outbursts and erratic behavior, probably prompted by overindulgence in alcohol (Thwaites, 1898, Vol. V, p. 109–111, Du Creux, Vol. I, 1951, p. 140–141, Dionne, 1907, p. 121). Agreeing with the Jesuit Superior that the inscrutable workings of divine providence had delivered this talented but corrupted sot to the Jesuits' very door, they heartily urged the young man to redeem himself in God's service (Thwaites, 1898, Vol. V, p. 109–111, Du Creux, Vol. I, 1951, p. 140–141).

Their pleas, however, initially fell upon deaf ears. Pastedechouan proved highly resistant to Le Jeune's pleas, apparently regarding the proposal that he live with and work for the Jesuits with marked reluctance. While serving the colonial authorities had allowed Pastedechouan to exploit his linguistic talents in a way which did not greatly disrupt his hard-won connections to his Innu community, affiliation with the Jesuits would require his re-immersion into disciplined religious observance, his obedience to religious superiors, and his abandonment of both his marriage and his traditional migratory lifestyle.[4] Just as Pastedechouan feared, in 1626, that return to Tadoussac would erode his identity as a "naturalized Frenchman" (Le Clercq, 1881, p. 273), he now worried that entering the Jesuit milieu would endanger the fragile rapprochement he had slowly, painfully and partially effected with his community during the English occupation.

4. By taking a position within the Jesuit residence, Pastedechouan would have been effectively forced to abandon his wife. Women were strictly forbidden entry to the Jesuit house, even under dire circumstances. When, in November of 1632, a Mohawk attack appeared immanent, the Jesuits accepted male Innu into their quarters, but refused entry to their wives, sisters and daughters, insisting that they take shelter at the fort, a considerable distance away (Thwaites, 1898, Vol. V, p. 107).

Despite his concerns, Pastedechouan on November 13th of 1632 inaugurated a liaison with the Jesuit order which would endure until his death (Thwaites, 1898, Vol. V, p. 107). Stepping over the threshold of the Society's humble residence near Quebec, he was welcomed with a gift which eloquently expressed Jesuit expectations of his immanent transformation. In an echo of the stripping and re-clothing which had been a prominent motif in his baptism eleven years earlier, Pastedechouan was presented with a rich suit of French clothing, in the hopes that he would "lay aside the inner savage with the outer" (Du Creux, 1951, Vol. I, p. 141, Thwaites, 1898, Vol. V, p. 111). Imbued as they were with inescapable overtones of cultural and religious reincorporation, his presentation with these garments may have exacerbated the young man's already heightened fears; deepening his resolve to make few concessions to his new religious environment during this, his second prolonged encounter with the agents of European Catholicism.

From the moment that he first entered Notre Dame des Anges, Pastedechouan utilized a number of strategies clearly to demarcate the extent of his commitment to the religious life of the Jesuits and the linguistic education of their Superior.[5] Over the winter, Pastedechouan's deliberate minimalism in the performance of his pedagogical and devotional duties, particularly his consistent refusal to receive the Eucharist, made the cleavage between his trumpeted status as divine instrument and the reality of his religious intransigence increasingly and embarrassingly clear to his would-be mentors, leading to a series of increasingly bitter confrontations (Thwaites, 1898, Vol. V, p. 107–113, p. 173–177).

As the long, cold days of a Canadian Lent dwindled, and Holy Week loomed, Jesuit interpretations of Pastedechouan's steadfast refusal to take communion changed. Earlier in the sacred calendar the young man's baulking had been tolerated, however grudgingly, as an unfortunate personal idiosyncrasy. Now, however, it seemed to indicate his growing alienation from and defiance of the Catholic community.

---

5. The intensity of the two men's relationship doubtless stemmed in part from the fact that they engaged one another as instructor and sole pupil. Pastedechouan was Le Jeune's private instructor—there is no indication that he ever taught other members of the order. Le Jeune's apparent plan was himself to coax the rudiments of the language from Pastedechouan, deduce its grammar and syntax, and then have his fellow missionaries study the resultant work (Thwaites, 1898, Vol. V, p. 111–113).

By threatening to break the uniformity of mandated Catholic ritual observance in the Jesuit enclave, Pastedechouan was becoming as much of a conceptual anomaly there as he had been in his Innu community. In both contexts, his reluctance to participate in key communal rituals deprived those around him of the ability clearly to ascertain his definitive identity. Pastedechouan's failure to undergo ritual initiation into adulthood confounded his Innu categorization, stranding him in the liminal space between child and adult. His equally fierce determination to evade his Easter obligation led to his similarly ambiguous standing at Notre Dame des Anges. While his baptism and linguistic facilitation of the work of God made him a real, if errant member of the body of Christ, his unwillingness to engage Catholicism's central mystery seemed to mark him as a deliberate outsider.

Pastedechouan's obstinacy placed the Jesuits in a rather difficult position. While the youth's apparent immunity to his Superior's evangelical courtship was embarrassing, his outright defiance of a universal Catholic obligation threatened to terminate his continued employment.[6] Frustrated, Le Jeune eventually resorted to coercion. With the complicity of one of the young Innu's relatives, Le Jeune made his consent to a much-anticipated hunting trip conditional upon Pastedechouan's performance of his religious obligations:

> On Good Friday, he wanted to go hunting with our Savage, who had returned; but I told him that he should not go until he had rendered to God the devotion that all Christians owed to him at that time. I charged our Savage not to receive him in his company, and he did not. Then he confessed and received his Easter communion . . . It is true that, in order to please him, we told him that, if he performed his devotions, he might go hunting upon the first opportunity; which he did with the promise to return, but we have not seen him since.[7]

---

6. Though they had few options for learning aboriginal languages, the Jesuits remained discriminating in their choice of instructors, perceiving as tainted instruments those who failed to express reverence for their sacred mission. Mutual hostility between Jesuits and professional translators, many of whom were Huguenot, contributed to Pastedechouan's value in Jesuit eyes: a value which his ritual intransigence now seemed to threaten.

7. Thwaites, 1898, Vol. V, p. 175. The individual mentioned in the quote as "our Savage" was a man named Manitougatche, the father of Pastedechouan's first wife. Manitougatche had been a French ally and Catholic neophyte long before his association with the newly arrived Jesuit Superior. Prior to the 1629 surrender of French forces, he had lived on cleared land provided by the Jesuits, absorbing both their farming techniques

While from Le Jeune's perspective Pastedechouan's participation in this coerced communion was a satisfactory ending to the episode, it was a pyrrhic victory. By overstepping the clear ritual boundaries that the young man had so painstakingly demarcated, Le Jeune left him little choice but to flee. Though repeatedly prevailed upon by Le Jeune to return, Pastedechouan consistently refused (Thwaites, 1898, Vol. VII, p. 67). He would darken the Jesuits' door only once more in his lifetime, shortly before his death.

Pastedechouan's continuing refusal to return to Notre Dame des Anges effectively forced the Jesuit Superior to follow his teacher into the Canadian wilderness. Whereas the previous fall it had been the young Innu who reluctantly abandoned his family to regulate his day in accordance with the tolling of the *Angelus* bell, in October of 1633 it was Le Jeune who exchanged the collective observance of daily Catholic prayer for nights punctuated by the drumbeat and song of Innu religious ceremony (Thwaites, 1898, Vol. VII, p. 35–45, 55, 117–121, 129–131, Vol. VI, p. 187, 227). Adopting the migratory lifestyle of his hosts with the twin hopes of mastering the Innu language and of reforming the group's religious life, Le Jeune joined Pastedechouan's familial band on their annual winter journey deep into the woods of southern Quebec and northern Maine.[8]

With the missionary's intrusion into his family unit, what Pastedechouan had been taught to view as the mutually exclusive worlds of French Catholicism and Innu traditional life-ways abruptly collided, shattering the temporal and spatial barriers the young man had painstakingly erected between them. Le Jeune's advent into the Innu enclave, moreover, appears to have undermined the strategies the young man habitually utilized to cope with his social marginality and religious confusion.

---

and the strictures of Catholicism (Thwaites, 1898, Vol. V, p. 57, Vol. VI, p. 117–121). Harassed by the English during their three-year tenure at Quebec, Manitougatche eventually escaped beyond their influence. The elderly man re-established relations with the Jesuits upon their 1632 return, rebuilding his small, European-style cabin, burnt to the ground by the English, on its original site just feet from Notre Dame des Anges (Thwaites, 1898, Vol. V, p. 57, Vol. VI, p. 117–121). While retaining some Innu beliefs and practices, Manitougatche was also open to Catholic influences, frequently attending mass and catechism at the Jesuit residence.

8. For a theoretical reconstruction of their probable journey, see Caron, 1963, p. 371–373.

The destabilizing effects of Le Jeune's presence were apparent from the journey's very inception. Departing from Quebec amidst considerable fanfare the morning of October 18, 1633, the small band of Innu men, women and children, accompanied by their lone European guest, spent a pleasant, uneventful day paddling east along the St. Lawrence. As the day's lingering warmth was dispersed by the lengthening shadows of evening, the band stopped for the night on a small island. Unnoticed by the others, Pastedechouan stole away to the abandoned canoes, where he had seen a cask of Le Jeune's sacramental wine. Becoming so drunk that he apparently nearly drowned, Pastedechouan roused himself into a frenzy of violent activity, attacking the birch-bark shelter that the women were busily erecting and repeatedly overturning the contents of his brother's cooking pots, an action which was considered provocative in religious as well as social terms, as it dishonored the animals who had sacrificed themselves to nourish their human kin (Thwaites, 1898, Vol. VII, p. 75–77).

While Pastedechouan's inebriated assault upon the symbols of Innu survival likely represented his protest of the inferior status to which his attenuated hunting abilities perpetually condemned him, his antisocial acts were also an oblique indication of the additional stress and confusion the missionary's presence had provoked within him, stressors which, later that evening, the young man would directly address:

> My host [Mestigoit] has told me since that he asked for an ax with which to kill me [Le Jeune]; I do not know whether he really asked for one, as I did not understand his language; but I know very well that, when I went up to him and tried to stop him, he said to me in French, "Go away, it is not you I am after; let me alone;" then, pulling my gown, "Come, said he, let us embark in a canoe, let us return to your house; you do not know these people here; all they do is for the belly, they do not care for you, but for your food." To this I answered in an undertone and to myself, *in vino veritas* (Thwaites, 1898, Vol. VII, p. 75–77).

Even in the heat of his rage, Pastedechouan utilized his unique linguistic skills to impart in two different languages, to two discrete audiences, two disparate solutions to the evident emotional crisis which the missionary's presence had precipitated within him. To his kin, in Innu, he expressed his desire to murder the missionary. To the Superior, in French, he pleaded for their immediate retreat to Notre

Dame des Anges. Interestingly, each solution would have performed a similar psychological function for the young Innu: that of clarifying his religious identity and allegiances and rendering his external environment religiously and culturally homogeneous. The fact that Pastedechouan expressed both of these fantasies and acted upon neither suggests that his long-standing ambivalence about the religious aspects of his own identity was dramatically heightened by the missionary's penetration of his kin-group.

Pastedechouan's purported words, like his recorded actions, testify to his intensifying religious confusion amidst the rubble of his collided worlds. In an intimate, late night conversation with Le Jeune, only days after his melee, the young man confessed his porous sense of personal identity and his life-long vulnerability to alternative religious and cultural influences. Responding to the Superior's impassioned assertions that by neglecting his duties as a baptized Christian he was inviting his eternal punishment, Pastedechouan apparently replied:

> I see clearly that I am not doing right; but my misfortune is that I have not a mind strong enough to remain firm in my determination; I believe all they tell me. When I was with the English, I allowed myself to be influenced by their talk; when I am with the Savages, I do as they do; when I am with you, it seems to me your belief is the true one. Would to God I had died when I was sick in France, and I would now be saved. As long as I have any relations, I will never do anything of any account; for when I want to stay with you, my brothers tell me I will rot, always staying in one place, and that is the reason I leave you to follow them (Thwaites, 1897, Vol. VII, p. 89–91).

Pastedechouan's candid confidences to Le Jeune intimated the turmoil he faced now that these competing religious influences had become simultaneous rather than successive; eloquently communicating his continued vulnerability to the missionary's threats of eternal punishment and his counterbalancing fears of fraternal derision.

The young Innu's unenviable task of constantly negotiating the differing expectations of his family and guest was made infinitely more difficult by Le Jeune's decision to utilize confrontation rather than conciliation in his relations with Carigonan, Pastedechouan's eldest brother and the group's influential religious leader. Seeking to undermine Carigonan's authority and usurp his role, Le Jeune fiercely attacked the surprised *manitousiou*'s intellectual credibility and ritual powers even as he ridiculed Innu traditional belief and practices

(Thwaites, 1898, Vol. VI, p. 165–169, Vol. VII, p. 57, 59–65, 69–71, 117, 181–183). Entering into the competitive engagement initiated by Le Jeune, the shaman sought defensively to reassert the veracity and sacrality of Innu life-ways, and to demonstrate his continuing influence within the group. The Jesuit's provocation had aroused an opponent worthy of his mettle, who met his theological onslaught with trenchant intelligence, psychological acuity, and an often biting humor (Thwaites, 1898, Vol. VII, p. 165, 179).

Le Jeune's antagonistic response to Carigonan's religious authority placed Pastedechouan in an increasingly untenable position as the struggle for dominance between the two religious leaders escalated. Obedience to the missionary's frequent demands for linguistic assistance would have forced Pastedechouan to contravene the norms of Innu social etiquette and familial respect, as many of the Superior's requests combined deliberate provocation with unconscious cultural insensitivity. His continuing dependency upon his brothers for his survival and for the modicum of social acceptance he enjoyed made him reluctant to risk Carigonan's perception of his involvement with the missionary as signaling his own oblique rebellion. Refusal of Le Jeune's repeated requests, however, sentenced him to constant harassment by the missionary, who played upon his inchoate, residual attachment to Catholicism and his lingering fears of hell to try to force the young man's facilitation of his ambitious missionization agenda (Thwaites, 1898, Vol. VII, p. 103).

From October 18th until December 25th, 1633, then, Pastedechouan's religious ambivalence was intense and apparently unresolved, as he was subjected to the contradictory demands of Carigonan and Le Jeune: commanded by the former to dance, and by the latter, to pray (Thwaites, 1898, Vol. VI, p. 167). It was only with the dramatic events of Christmas that Pastedechouan's longstanding religious ambivalence would ripen into outright rebellion.

The Christmas Hunt

The interactions which would precipitate dramatic changes to Pastedechouan's religious mentality and forever change his relationship with the Jesuit Superior had its roots in a serious subsistence crisis. Having consumed the supplies provided by Le Jeune, the group, traveling south of the St. Lawrence, had for weeks encountered a troubling shortage of game. In late December, as their prospects became increasingly

bleak, Pastedechouan and his brother Mestigoit appealed to the Jesuit ritually to allay the grim specter of immanent starvation. Seizing upon the evangelistic opportunity, Le Jeune hastily erected a provisional oratory of pine boughs, which he decorated with a crucifix, reliquary and devotional images and, "composed two little prayers, which he [Pastedechouan] turned into savage" (Thwaites, 1898, Vol. VII, p. 149).

With Pastedechouan interpreting, the Superior made an emotional appeal to the assembled band, arguing that his God could save them from their immediate peril, and from Hell itself, if only they would believe wholeheartedly in him. Kneeling in the snow, twenty-nine men, women and children, including Pastedechouan, Mestigoit, and Carigonan, bowed their heads and repeated in Innu the solemn prayer Le Jeune had composed:

> Great Lord, you who have made heaven and earth, you know all, you can do all. I promise you with all my heart (I could not lie to you) I promise you wholly that, if it pleases you to give us food, I will obey you cheerfully, that I will surely believe in you. I promise you without deceit that I will do all that I shall be told ought to be done for love of you. Help us, for you can do it, I will certainly do what they shall teach me ought to be done for your sake. I promise it without pretence, I am not lying, I could not lie to you, help us to believe in you perfectly, for you have died for us. Amen (Thwaites, 1898, Vol. VII, p. 153).

Though initially the dramatic success of the Christmas hunt which immediately followed these prayers seemed to betoken a critical missionary triumph for Le Jeune, his victory would prove fleeting. For the very manner in which the Superior interpreted the hunt's outcome would decisively alienate the member of the band upon whom he was most dependent to achieve his missionary goals.

Following his successful capture of two animals, Mestigoit, Pastedechouan's brother, excitedly approached the missionary, "joyfully recognizing the help of God, and asked what he should do. I said to him, '*Nicanis*, my well beloved, we must thank God who has helped us.'" Pastedechouan, himself having returned empty-handed, promptly interjected: "What for indeed? We could not have failed to find them (the animals) without the aid of God. Le Jeune relates: "At these words I cannot tell what emotions surged in my heart; but if this traitor had given me a sword-thrust, he could not have saddened me more; these words alone were needed that all might be lost" (Thwaites, 1898, Vol. VII, p. 159).

These remarks were the opening salvo in Pastedechouan's determined campaign to discredit Le Jeune by positing a deeply troubling association between the Christian God, his human representative, and Innu privation. Pastedechouan cleverly utilized Le Jeune's own observable behavior as a template for the divine nature, convincingly presenting God as punishing and miserly, highly problematic traits in a society predicated upon the generous collective distribution of food. Pastedechouan interpreted Le Jeune's publicly expressed reservations regarding the "gluttony" of Innu 'eat-all' feasts as an indication that God was "very angry because we have something to eat" (Thwaites, 1898, Vol. VII, p. 163). When the missionary subsequently committed a shocking breach of the Innu ritual code by knowingly profaning the bones of the slain animals by giving them to dogs (an action which threatened to unleash horrifying punishment on the entire group), Pastedechouan's chilling allegations gained tremendously in plausibility, eroding the Jesuit's modest gains in winning the confidence of the group (Thwaites, 1898, Vol. V, p. 165–167, 179, Vol. VI, p. 211, 221, 283). Though the young Innu's theological assertions and the Superior's ritual profanation were unrelated, each intimated that the Christian God and his followers were sources of antisocial danger which threatened both the group's cohesion and its larger web of interdependence with other-than-human beings.

The question remains, however: why did the events of the Christmas hunt turn Pastedechouan from longstanding religious ambivalence to embittered outrage? Perhaps it was because the equation which Le Jeune so neatly set up in his original prayers, that the believing Christian will be a successful hunter, so thoroughly and brutally contradicted Pastedechouan's personal experience. The young man's failure to resume a respected place in Innu society was largely due to the fact that he spent five pivotal years away from it, learning to be a Christian. Pastedechouan's lost opportunity to learn critical Innu survival skills led directly to his social ostracism, marital failures, and humiliating dependency. Le Jeune's well-intentioned formula, however, painted him as doubly inadequate, as his empty-handed return to camp branded him a failure in Christian as well as Innu terms. Moreover, any secret sense of residual pride or distinctiveness that Pastedechouan may have felt as the sole Innu Catholic of the group was dashed as those victorious in the hunt now had the visible blessing of the God to whom he alone was officially consecrated. Just as the climactic confrontation between the two men regarding Pastedechouan's Easter obligations

during Holy Week of 1633 prompted his abrupt departure from Notre Dame des Anges, the events of Christmas provided a similar catalyst, propelling Pastedechouan from undecided ambivalence about his relationship with Le Jeune and the faith he represented to determined and forthright opposition to the missionary and his attempts to ferment a devotional revolution within his familial group.

Pastedechouan's new sense of estrangement from the Jesuit Superior, however, was reciprocated. The events of Christmas, 1633 also precipitated a growing pessimism in Le Jeune's evaluation of his teacher's spiritual health and of his kin-group's readiness to embrace Christianity. The missionary's waning evangelical fortunes triggered his long slide into self-doubt, illness, and spiritual despair during his last four months with the Innu group, eventually necessitating his risky April 1634 evacuation to Quebec (Thwaites, 1898, Vol. VI, p. 39, Vol. VII, p. 33, 51–53, 179–181).

The anguish which Le Jeune had endured during the waning months of his Innu sojourn, however, persisted in the isolation of his solitary cell, where the troubled Superior struggled in an ongoing nightmare of self-recrimination for his missionary ineptitude and personal faults (Thwaites, 1898, Vol. VI, p. 39–41, 61). His bedridden recovery from his ordeal inaugurated his protracted hiatus from contact with his former Innu hosts: he wrestled with them now only as characters in his voluminous retrospective description of their prolonged encounter. Estranged from Pastedechouan, probably as the result of the young man's spiritual truculence, Le Jeune mentioned the exploits of the trio of brothers only as, with the passing months and years, they took a turn for the tragic. Preceded in death by their second-youngest brother, Sasousmat, who had succumbed to illness during their winter absence, dying in January of 1634 a baptized Catholic convert, Carigonan, Mestigoit and Pastedechouan would successively meet their fates throughout 1635 and 1636 (Thwaites, 1898, Vol. VI, p. 109–115).

Carigonan was the first of the three to perish: burning to death in a mysterious fire (Thwaites, 1898, Vol. VII, p. 299–301, Vol. IX, p. 69). Mestigoit only briefly outlasted his elder brother. Having barely survived his harrowing journey to deliver the ill Le Jeune back to Quebec in April of 1634, when the first thaw rendered the St. Lawrence a formidable obstacle course of giant chunks of ice, Mestigoit was to perish in its waters the following year. Deprived of his sanity by a raging fever, he apparently slipped into the river's calm depths

and never reemerged (Thwaites, 1898, Vol. VII, p. 195–209, 299–301, Vol. IX, p. 69).

Only Pastedechouan remained. The successive deaths of his three eldest brothers would have left him devastatingly bereft. He owed his life to his siblings who, despite his cultural alienation and crippling dependency, had taken him under their collective wing following his abandonment by his French mentors in 1629. While they lived, they had used their evident social prestige to shelter their youngest sibling from the ridicule and rejection precipitated by his disturbingly liminal status, the result of his inability, despite his physical maturity, to assume the religious and social responsibilities of Innu manhood. Deprived of his brothers' generous psychological, social, and physical succor, Pastedechouan faced an uncertain future.

Confused and grieving, the young Innu journeyed back to Notre Dame des Anges. Once there, he apparently confessed to the Superior his wish to "be reconciled to the Church," implicitly offering his services, once again, as a translator and language instructor. Faced with Pastedechouan's presence on his doorstep, Le Jeune was unyielding. Decisively discounting his ex-teacher's possible spiritual motivations, the Superior suggested that his apparent change of heart was dictated by his stomach rather than his soul. Coolly rebuffing Pastedechouan, he told him to return during a time of plenty, so that his religious sincerity would be more readily apparent (Thwaites, 1898, Vol. VII, p. 303).

Le Jeune soon came to regret his cavalier dismissal of his former teacher. Aware of the young man's precarious social position and perhaps perceiving his previous judgments as both devoid of a missionary's necessary optimism and as lacking in Christian charity, he besieged Tadoussac, Pastedechouan's probable destination, with a blizzard of letters proposing that the young man immediately return to the Jesuit enclave (Thwaites, 1898, Vol. IX, p. 71). But his missives went unanswered, and his invitation, ignored. Having spurned Pastedechouan, Le Jeune never saw him alive again. Though the Superior commented that, of the four Canadian winters he had personally witnessed, that of 1636 was by far the most bountiful; it was this plenteous season which would witness the young Innu's lonely death. "Abandoned in the woods like a dog" (Thwaites, 1898, Vol. IX, p. 71), Pastedechouan succumbed to starvation and exposure, proving his brother's prediction that he would "die of hunger, unless we feed him" eerily prescient (Thwaites, 1898, Vol. VII, p. 173). His solitary

demise in the frozen forest is eloquent testimony to his rejection by the band whose approval he had so assiduously courted, and by the church which had instilled within him such fatal ambivalence.

The physical suffering of Pastedechouan's final days was likely accompanied by considerable mental torment. While a merciful illusion of warmth might have crept over his frozen limbs during his final hours, the rigid theology which had long held him in its inflexible grip afforded him not even this meager comfort. His always lively fears of hell, first inculcated in the Recollet classroom at Angers, and cannily manipulated by Le Jeune throughout their association (Thwaites, 1898, Vol. VII, p. 103, 113–115), may well have intensified as his physical strength ebbed, intimating that his eternal fate might escalate rather than relieve his current agony. Pastedechouan's alienated vision of the Almighty would have made him as cold a comfort as the frozen streams and icy, wind-rocked woods surrounding him (Thwaites, 1898, Vol. VII, p. 167, 185).

Any pleas he made to the other-than-human persons of Innu traditional religion were also met with the harsh reality of his continued privation. Though the isolation and fasting of Pastedechouan's last days ironically mimicked those of a youth seeking, through vision quest, the lifelong guidance of an animal guardian, his presence alone in the woods signaled his ejection from rather than his entry into the interdependent web of Innu social relationships.

Reflecting upon Pastedechouan's death and probable fate, Le Jeune wrote:

> . . . if it were in my power to free him from the irons and chains in which perhaps he now is, I would release him, that I might procure for him, in exchange for the wrongs he has done me, the greatest blessing that can be obtained for a reasonable creature, eternal salvation. Alas! is it then so small a thing that a soul be damned? All the great affairs of Conclaves, of the Courts of sovereigns, of Palaces, and of Cabinets are only child's play, in comparison with saving or losing a soul. But let us pass on. . . (Thwaites, 1898, Vol. IX, p. 71–73).

We, too, in our capacity as the witnesses of Pastedechouan's short life and tragic death, albeit from the remove of almost four hundred years, are similarly faced with the somewhat anticlimactic duty of "passing on" from dramatic narrative to more general reflection and assessment. Having pursued, in all of its intimate contours, the life of

this young Innu man, what have we found to challenge or illuminate? What is Pastedechouan's legacy to us?

Pastedechouan's contributions to our understanding of life in seventeenth-century North America are several. His story, in its nuanced complexity, allows us to contest entrenched historiographic stereotypes of which we are all too often unaware and invites us to work toward subtler understandings which more deftly capture the realities of aboriginal people facing a maelstrom of political, military, cultural, and religious change. Despite the professed delight of post-modernists in the ambiguous and the liminal, aboriginal individuals who defy easy cultural or religious categorization have long languished unstudied, resulting in a continuing perception of aboriginal religious affiliation as a zero-sum proposition.

The complexity of Pastedechouan's religious experiences, however, suggest the necessity of a new understanding of aboriginal religious change, one which acknowledges that conversion, far from being a definitive choice, is a shifting, ambiguous, and highly variable association (Greer, 2003, p. 176–178). Though, in the last years of his life he questioned Catholic ritual, and challenged its theological assertions of God's benevolence, Pastedechouan's transactions with his family and missionary mentors vividly dramatize his lifelong retention of seventeenth century Catholic exclusivism. Rather than approximating either of the religious categories of "convert" or "apostate," then, Pastedechouan was crucified between their extremes.

Pastedechouan's story is also of enduring value because of its contemporary relevance. His experiences bear a striking resemblance to those of his aboriginal descendents, many of whom have endured a dispiritingly similar process of assimilative education coupled with a comparable spiraling into religious anomie. Despite their separation by hundreds of years, there is a stunning congruency between Pastedechouan's religious reeducation, which made him fear, disdain and avoid his own family and culture, and the experiences of contemporary native peoples who, until very recently, have been subjected to a comparable educational regimen in aboriginal residential schools. In both seventeenth and twentieth century Canada, the underlying purpose of children's extraction, isolation and reeducation was the same: to strip them of their native ontology, epistemology, ethics, and identity; substituting their adherence to the theological and behavioral dictates of an essentially foreign religious and cultural ideology. Despite the passage of centuries, the damaging psychological

effects of prolonged immersion in such assimilationist institutions have remained horrifyingly consistent.

Like Pastedechouan, contemporary survivors of aboriginal residential schools often experience and express considerable anger, religious ambivalence and cultural anomie (Miller, 1996, p. 420–438, Barman, Hebert, and McCaskill, 1986, p. 1–17, Johnston, 1988, p. 7–9, Haig-Brown, 1988, p. 16–20, 104–114). Deprived by their isolation from family and community of a coherent native identity, inculcated with a strong sense of cultural, religious and ethnic inferiority, and traumatized by abuse both experienced and witnessed, such children were, upon completion of their studies, faced with a fateful decision in many ways reminiscent of Pastedechouan's situation, centuries earlier. They could either re-immerse themselves in the native cultures they had systematically been taught to deplore or brave the intolerance of dominant Canadian culture by seeking a place within it.

Moreover, children's indoctrination into an exclusivist Christianity, which, whether Protestant or Catholic, invariably envisioned itself as the "opposite" of aboriginal traditional religion, fostered in many contemporary aboriginals a painful religious ambivalence strikingly similar to Pastedechouan's own. While angrily grieving the open wounds of their residential schools experiences, many former students still self-identify as members of the very religious communions which inflicted them. Mike DeGagne, the Executive Director of the Aboriginal Healing Foundation, a national organization dedicated to the assuagement of the effects of generations of residential schooling, though perhaps uniquely aware of its ravages, still holds to his Catholic identity, despite his bitterness that the Church has adamantly refused to apologize for its role in the abuse and cultural dislocation of generations of aboriginal children (Mike DeGagne, presentation to Queen's University class, October, 2004). The fateful ambivalence which was perhaps the dominant motif of Pastedechouan's life, then, also characterizes the experiences of many of his contemporary descendents.

Finally, and most broadly, Pastedechouan's legacy to us as contemporary people is that in his story of identity formation and disruption we recognize aspects of our own experience. The young man's lifelong struggle to discern and express his variegated cultural and religious identity and his fruitless search for belonging has an immediate human resonance which, in transcending its time, speaks to our own. The pace, scope and nature of the change we are experiencing at the dawn of the twenty-first century evinces striking similarities with Pastedechouan's

vanished world. Like the aboriginal peoples and European missionaries of early modern Canada, whose interrelations forced them to acknowledge that their world was larger and more diverse than they had previously understood, we as contemporary citizens of an increasingly interconnected planet experience the exhilaration and disorientation that accompanies unprecedented levels of geographic mobility and inter-cultural contact.

As we attempt, in our own time, to weave an increasingly complex tapestry of religious, cultural, ethnic and ideological affiliations into our individual and collective identities, we recognize that, as often as not, these diverse ideations and expectations clash as well as cohere. Our often tenuous attempts personally to connect apparently disparate worlds of experience and meaning with the fragile bridges of our own lives means that, for many of us, Pastedechouan's story resonates with both our continued experiences and our deepest anxieties. Though I have tried, in this two-part article, intimately to understand the religious journey of an early seventeenth-century Innu man, I believe that the interplay between his devotional commitments and self-perception has universal human resonance and thus the power to illuminate not simply his world, but our own.

References

Primary Sources

Biggar, H. P. *The Works of Samuel de Champlain in Six Volumes.* Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1925.

Campeau, Lucien, ed. *Monumenta Novae Franciae,* Vols II and III. Quebec and Rome: Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu and Laval University Press, 1979.

Du Creux, Francois. *The History of Canada or New France.* Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1951.

Le Clercq, Christian. *First Establishment of the Faith in New France.* New York: John G. Shea, 1881.

Sagard, Gabriel. *Histoire du Canada* (four volumes). Paris: Librarie Tross, 1866.

Thwaites, Rueben Gold, ed. *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, 1610–1791.* Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company, 1897.

Secondary Sources

Barman, Jean, Hebert, Yvonne, and McCaskill, Don, eds. *Indian Education in Canada*, Volume One: The Legacy. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986.

Beaulieu, Alain. *Convertir le Fils de Cain: Jesuits et Amerindiens Nomades en Nouvelle France, 1632–1642.* Saint-Jean, PQ: Nuit Blanche, 1990.

Brown, G. W., Trudel, M., and Vachon, A. *Canadian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. I. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1966.

Caron, Adrien. "La Mission de Pere Paul Le Jeune, S.J. sur la Cote-du-Sud, 1633–1634," *Revue d'Histoire de l'Amerique Francaise.* Vol. 17:3, 1963, p. 371–395.

Dionne, N. E. "Le Sauvage Pastedechouan en France." *Recherches Historiques*, Vol. 30, 1907.

Goddard, Peter. "Converting the Sauvage: Jesuit and Montagnais in Seventeenth-Century New France," *Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 84:2, 1998, p. 219–239.

Greer, Allan, ed. *The Jesuit Relations: Natives and Missionaries in Seventeenth-Century North America.* Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2000.

———. "Conversion and Identity: Iroquois Christianity in Seventeenth-Century New France" in Grafton, A. and Mills, K., eds. *Conversions: Old Worlds and New.* Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2003, p. 175–198.

Haig-Brown, Celia. *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School.* Vancouver: Tillacum Library, 1988.

Hallowell, A. Irving. "Ojibwa Ontology, Behavior, and World View," in *Contributions to Anthropology: Selected Papers of A. Irving Hallowell.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976.

Johnston, Basil. *Indian School Days.* Toronto: Key Porter Books, 1988.

Laflèche, Guy, ed. *Relation de 1634 de Paul Le Jeune: Le Missionaire, l'Apostat, le Sorcier.* Montreal: Les Presses de l'Universite de Montreal, 1973.

Miller, J.R. *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.

Morrison, Kenneth M. "Baptism and Alliance: the Symbolic Mediations of Religious Syncretism," *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 37, 1990, p. 416–437.

———. "Discourse and the Accommodation of Values: Toward Revision of Mission History," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 103:3, 1985, p.365–382.

———. *The Solidarity of Kin: Ethnohistory, Religious Studies, and the Algonkian-French Religious Encounter.* Albany: State University of New York, 2002.

Richter, Daniel K. "War and Culture: the Iroquois Experience," in *William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 40, 1983, p. 528–559.

Trigger, Bruce G. *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660* (2 vols). Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1976.

Trudel, Marcel. *The Beginning of New France, 1524–1663*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973.

Wrong, George M. *The Rise and Fall of New France*. Toronto: McMillan, 1928.