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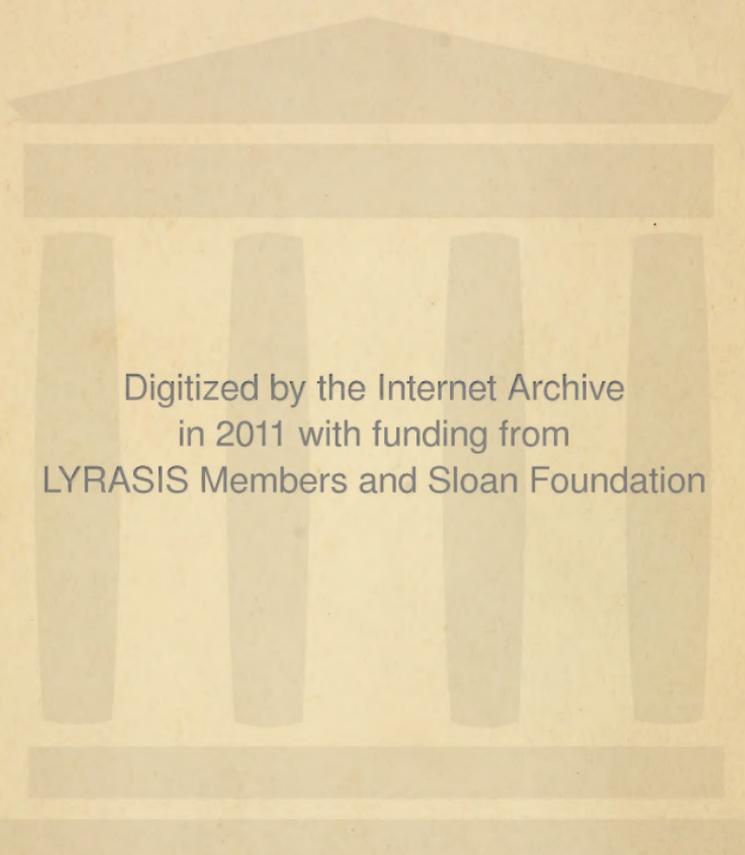
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## **KNAVES OR KNIGHTS?**

**A History of the Spiritan Missionaries in Acadia and North America,  
1732 - 1839**

by

Henry J. Koren, C.S.Sp., S.T.D.

Duquesne University Press

Pittsburgh, Pa.

1962

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This Book is Dedicated to the Memory of  
FATHER PETER MAILLARD, 1710—1762,  
PRIEST, SCHOLAR, AND "APOSTLE OF THE MICMACS"  
on the Occasion of the  
Second Centenary of his Death  
in Halifax, Nova Scotia,  
and to  
HIS FELLOW SPIRITAN MISSIONARIES

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## PREFACE

The purpose of this work is to present in a scholarly, documented, but readable fashion, the story of the Spiritans in North America during a period which largely coincides with the gradual conquest of the French colonies on this continent and, somewhat later, with the after-effects of the French Revolution. Although church history often has a reputation for dull reading, we flatter ourselves with the perhaps idle thought that the story here presented for the first time to the English-speaking world will not confirm this notion.

It is said that when the Chinese want to curse an enemy, they do so by paying him an apparent compliment: "May you have an interesting history." Although I cannot guarantee the authenticity of this saying, it may usefully serve here to introduce this work. Because several Spiritan priests played a prominent role in the desperate and protracted struggle between Catholic France and Protestant England for the undisputed possession of the New World's northern continent, the Chinese curse fell upon them with unremitting regularity, to an extent that a few of them have remained very controversial figures, decried by some as utterly depraved knaves and exalted by others as shining knights. It is this controversy which has given rise to the title of this book.

It would be folly to think this work will end forever two centuries of disagreement. No historical study, unless it is one concerned with an arid subject long forgotten which touches no sensitive chords of sympathy or aversion, ever does. It may happen in the case of some long-forgotten struggle between two nations which both have long since disappeared from the scene of history; but it could never be so of such as the titanic battle between Catholic France and Protestant England for the possession of the New World. One need only compare Emile Lauvrière's monumental work, *La tragédie d'un peuple* with the Acadian chapters of volumes five and six of Lawrence Henry Gipson's massive opus, *The British Empire Before the American Revolution*, to become convinced of this truth.

Thus the title of this book, *Knaves or Knights*, ends with a question mark. Yet, after examining all available evidence, it appears that their knightly character far outshines the many dark deeds attributed to these "rascally priests," a judgment shared, incidentally, by an increasing number of contemporary historians who now have full access to extant records of the time.

Wherever the importance of the subject matter demanded it (and especially in the chapter covering the Acadian struggle) we have used original sources. In matters of less moment and where no primary sources were available we have often relied upon the works of authoritative historians and specialists. The extensive studies of Albert David, C.S.Sp., proved particularly useful, although they did not adequately cover the whole period described in this book.

( The publication of this new book offered an opportunity also to correct a few minor errors concerning the period covered here which had crept into the first volume of the *Spiritan Series*.)

It is hardly necessary to point out that the pages concerned with Acadia should not be viewed as an attempt to stir up ancient animosities among our Canadian neighbors. The author is convinced that the subsequent history of this great country reveals a doubly curious paradox: after the British conquest of Canada, the loyal allegiance of its Catholic people contributed mightily to saving the country for the British during the American War of Independence and, on the other hand, this conquest saved the Canadian Catholics from all the evils which befell their fellow religionists in France from the Revolution of 1792 to the persecutions of Combes in the beginning of the present century. Thus both groups appear to have many reasons to appreciate the good that has flown the course taken by history.

There remains only the pleasant duty of acknowledging a debt of gratitude to the many people who have aided in the preparation of this book. Although they are too numerous to be named individually, special mention must be made of Mr. James P. Beymer who has devoted a great deal of time and trouble to improving the literary character of this work; of Miss Eleanor McCann,

Duquesne University Librarian and her staff, whose ever-ready assistance has been invaluable in our research; and of the personnel of the various archives of Ottawa, Quebec, Baltimore, London, Rome and France, who with unfailing courtesy have assisted us in many ways.

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## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

For the complete bibliography see pp. 184 ff. Asterisks (\*) indicate unprinted documents.

- \*Arch. Archd. Qu. Archives of the Archdiocese of Quebec<sup>1</sup>
- \*Arch. Col. Archives des Colonies, Paris<sup>1</sup>
- \*Arch. M.E. Archives des Missions-Etrangères, Paris<sup>1</sup>
- \*Arch. Prop. Archives of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, Rome<sup>1</sup>
- Arch. Qu. *Rapport de l'archiviste de la Province de Québec*
- \*Arch. Sem. Qu. Archives of the Seminary of Quebec<sup>1</sup>
- \*Arch. S.P.G. Archives of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts<sup>1</sup>
- \*B.C. Arch. Baltimore Cathedral Archives<sup>1</sup>
- \*B.M. British Museum, London<sup>1</sup>
- B.R.H. *Bulletin des recherches historiques*
- Can. Arch. *Report Concerning Canadian Archives*
- \*Can. Arch. Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa<sup>1</sup>
- \*C.B. Transcripts of Cape Breton documents preserved in the Public Archives of Canada<sup>1</sup>
- C.F.D.I. *Le Canada français. Documents inédits sur le Canada et l'Amérique*
- \*CO- Colonial Office Records, preserved in the Public Record Office, London<sup>1</sup>
- Gosselin I—III Auguste Gosselin, *L'Eglise du Canada depuis Mgr. Laval jusqu'à la conquête*, Quebec, 1911 ff.
- Gosselin IV—V Auguste Gosselin, *L'Eglise du Canada après la conquête*, Quebec, 1916 f.

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<sup>1</sup> The abbreviations following this reference are archival identifications of documents.

*Lamb.	Lambeth Palace, London <sup>1</sup>
Le Guerne	C. O. Gagnon, ed., <i>Une lettre de l'Abbé Le Guerne</i> , Quebec, 1889
Murdoch	Beamish Murdoch, <i>A History of Nova Scotia</i> , Halifax, 1865 ff.
N.C.	Sir Leicester Harmsworth, <i>The Northcliffe Collection</i> , Ottawa, 1926
N.F.	<i>Nova Francia</i>
*N.S.	Transcripts of Nova Scotia documents preserved in the Public Archives of Canada <sup>1</sup>
N.S. Arch.	Thomas B. Akins, <i>Selections from the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia</i> , Halifax, 1869
Pichon	John Clarence Webster, <i>Thomas Pichon, "The Spy of Beauséjour,"</i> Halifax, 1937
*P.R.O.	Public Record Office, London <sup>1</sup>
R.H.A.F.	<i>Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française</i>
R.H.C.	<i>Revue d'histoire des colonies</i>
R.H.M.	<i>Revue d'histoire des missions</i>
Richard	Edouard Richard, <i>Acadie...</i> , Quebec and Boston, 1916 ff.
R.U.O.	<i>Revue de l'université d'Ottawa</i>
Shirley	Charles H. Lincoln, ed., <i>The Correspondence of Willam Shirley</i> , New York, 1912
*Sp. Arch.	Archives of the Congregation of the Holy Ghost, Paris <sup>1</sup>
Winslow	John Winslow, <i>Journal of...</i> , Halifax, 1883

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<sup>1</sup> The abbreviations following this reference are archival identifications of documents.

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1. *The Seminary and the Congregation of the Holy Ghost Foundation and Purpose*

On the Feast of Pentecost, May 27, 1703, Claude Francis Poullart des Places, formerly a lawyer, now a seminarian, finished preaching a retreat to a dozen fellow-aspirants to the priesthood; its *Leitmotiv* had been the scriptural text: "He hath sent me to preach the Gospel to the poor." At its conclusion, the little group went to the Parisian church of Saint-Etienne-des-Grès and there in the chapel of Our Lady consecrated themselves to God's service. Returning to their modest rented quarters, the ardent young men closed with a quiet but happy celebration the first day of a new foundation that became known as the Seminary and the Congregation of the Holy Ghost.<sup>1</sup>

The purpose Father Poullart des Places had in mind in founding his seminary was to do what he could to alleviate the dreadful shortage of zealous and learned priests that plagued the world of his day.<sup>2</sup> He never tired of reminding his students, "A priest who is full of ardor for God's cause but who lacks learning is blind in his zeal, and a learned priest who lacks piety is close to falling into heresy and rebellion against the Church."<sup>3</sup> So that his priests might be learned, he added two extra years of study to the regular course offered elsewhere.) He formulated strict rules for the acceptance of students and set up a strenuous program of studies.<sup>4</sup> Above all, however, Father des Places emphasized the religious and spiritual formation of his aspirants to the priesthood, hoping in this way to preclude the danger that these future priests would become more interested in ecclesiastical careers than in the care of souls.<sup>5</sup>

Following the instructions of the Council of Trent, the young founder welcomed to his seminary poor students,

<sup>1</sup> Henry J. Koren, *The Spiritans*, Pittsburgh, 1958, pp. 10 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> *The Spiritual Writings of Claude Francis Poullart des Places*, Pittsburgh, 1959, p. 167.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 167, 175.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 171 ff.

### *Knaves or Knights?*

unable to pay full board and lodging elsewhere, inspiring them with a great love for God's service in the most humble positions. His eighteenth century biographer, Father Charles Besnard, S.M.M., tells us that the priests trained at Holy Ghost Seminary "constitute a kind of military detachment of auxiliary troops, ready to go anywhere where there is work to be done for the salvation of souls."<sup>6</sup> They had to be willing, he said, "to go and stay in the poorest and most abandoned places for which it is especially difficult to find candidates. Whether it is a question of being exiled to the remote countryside..., teaching in a college, lecturing in a seminary..., or even crossing the seas and going to the very ends of the earth to gain a soul for Christ... their motto is: 'Behold we are ready to do Thy will'."<sup>7</sup>

To assure the continuation of this work, Father des Places, as early as 1705, began to associate the best of the seminarians, trained in his foundation, with the direction of it.<sup>8</sup> Two years later, the first of these associates became members of the Holy Ghost Society, a continuing body that would carry on the work after the founder's death. It was a well taken precaution, for in 1709, at the age of thirty, Father des Places<sup>1\*</sup> died after a brief illness.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1\*</sup> As the founder of a clerical congregation or order, Father des Places occupies an unusual position as may appear from the following comparative table<sup>10</sup>:

<i>Founder</i>	<i>Ecclesiastical Status</i>	<i>Society</i>	<i>Age at Foundation</i>	<i>Age at Death</i>
des Places	tonsuratus	Spiritans	24	30
Olier	priest	Sulpicians	34	49
St. Alphonsus	priest	Redemptorists	36	90
Libermann	acolyte*	H. Heart of Mary	39	49
St. Philip Neri	priest	Oratorians	40	80
St. John Eudes	priest	Eudists	41	79
St. Ignatius	priest	Jesuits	43	65
Lavigerie	archbishop	White Fathers	43	67
St. Vincent de Paul	priest	Vincentians	48	84

1658  
1860

\* Father Libermann was ordained a priest a few days before the formal opening of his first novitiate.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 289.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> Koren, *op cit.*, p. 15.

## Introduction

Although the first two members of the congregation followed him to the grave within a year, the organization which he had provided proved strong enough to survive this succession of disasters. For the next fifty-three years it received its impetus and guidance from the able hands of Father Louis Bouic. This remarkable man not only preserved the youthful institute in its original fervor and spirit of learning, but developed it so effectively that it became one of the most renowned sources of zealous priests in the eighteenth century.

Like so many other ecclesiastical institutions, both the Seminary and the Congregation of the Holy Ghost foundered in the furious storm unleashed by the French Revolution of 1792.<sup>11</sup> It was only ten years later, when Napoleon concluded a concordat with the Holy See, that Father James Bertout was able to restore both foundations. Even then, a sequence of persecutions and other adverse factors prevented the Spiritans from securely re-establishing themselves until in 1848, the Venerable Francis Libermann entered their society with all the members of his newly founded Congregation of the Holy Heart of Mary.<sup>12</sup> Since then the membership of the Spiritans has grown until at the present day it reaches a total of more than five thousand.

### Organizational Development

In the early days, one could belong to the Holy Ghost Society only if he were a professor or director of the seminaries it conducted in Paris, Verdun and Meaux.<sup>13</sup> Such members alone qualified as Spiritans in the strictest sense of the term.<sup>2\*</sup>

That name, however, soon came to be applied to any priest who had received his training from the Society. Many of these priests joined the diocesan clergy in

<sup>2\*</sup> At first they were often referred to as *Placists* after the name of their founder, but later the name *Spiritans* or *Holy Ghost Fathers* became the commonly accepted term.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Joseph Michel, *Claude-François Poullart des Places*, Paris, 1959, p. 7.

<sup>11</sup> Koren, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 ff., 51 ff.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 97 ff.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 24 ff.

France or entered a religious order,<sup>3\*</sup> and for them the term "Spiritan" meant little else than a reminder of their seminary days. The term has also been applied with more justice to the priests, graduates of the Spiritan seminary of Paris, who were placed at the disposal of ecclesiastical authorities for the foreign missions in the Western hemisphere. While the missionaries going out to the Far East from Holy Ghost Seminary went to the Foreign Missions of Paris to become formally associated with that organization, the situation was different with respect to those who went to labor in America. True, by virtue of a formal agreement between Bishop Laval of Quebec, dating from 1665, the priests going to North America had to be presented by the Foreign Missions of Paris, but in 1752 this situation changed and Holy Ghost Seminary was empowered to present its candidates for appointment *directly* to Church and State.<sup>14</sup>

Even in regard to those who departed for America before 1752 (and subsequently obtained a kind of association with) the Foreign Missions of Paris, this society did not want to equate their status to that of its other missionaries or to be held responsible for them. It refused to record their names and deeds in the *Mémorial* listing its members and associates,<sup>4\*</sup> and formally claimed that "it was *not* in charge of the missionaries of Acadia."<sup>16</sup> These priests, it asserted, were "missionaries of the *King* and *not* of the [Foreign Missions] Seminary,"<sup>17</sup> and when they returned to France they were "foreign to the Seminary of the Missions."<sup>18</sup> It refused to support these missionaries<sup>5\*</sup> and considered its duty done "as soon as

<sup>3\*</sup> Regarding the special position of the Montfortists, see the author's book, *The Spiritans*, pp. 11 f. and 19 ff.

<sup>4\*</sup> Except those who, following their return to France, became directors of the Society or went to the missions of the Far East.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>5\*</sup> The priests sent out in this fashion were very much disturbed

<sup>14</sup> Cf. p. 12.

<sup>15</sup> Adrien Launay, *Mémorial de la Société des Missions-Etrangères*, Paris, 1912, *passim*.

<sup>16</sup> *Mémoire... contre les Supérieurs... des Missions-Etrangères*, Paris, 1764, p. 43. Cf. *Mémoire... contre les sieurs Girard, Manach...* , Paris, 1764, pp. 57 f.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* (both *mémoires*).

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* (both *mémoires*).

## Introduction

the King had accepted the subjects presented by the House in Paris."<sup>19</sup> In other words, as far as North American missionaries were concerned, the Foreign Missions Society acted merely as a clearing house, even when it allowed them to become nominally associated with the group. It realized that the candidates presented by Holy Ghost Seminary passed through its headquarters merely as the government-recognized channel of communication in order to obtain free transportation and other temporal advantages offered by the King.

Some of these eighteenth century Spiritans attracted so much attention by their outstanding achievements that both Church and State soon agreed formally to entrust some missions to the Congregation. The first of these was the Prefecture of the Miquelon Islands in 1765. Others followed in the next decade. Evidently, the priests sent to these missions at the end of their studies at the Spiritan seminary were entitled to be called Spiritans, not only because they were educated by the Spiritans and sent out as missionaries presented by Holy Ghost Seminary, but also because they continued to work in territories for which the Holy Ghost Congregation was responsible to the Holy See.

True, despite these continued ties with the Society, even they were not members of it in the strict sense of the term.<sup>6\*</sup>

when, upon their return to France, they suddenly saw themselves deprived of support by the position taken by the Foreign Missions Society.<sup>20</sup> In 1764, three of them, Fathers Le Loutre, Manach, and Girard, went to court to obtain a redress of what they considered an injustice. The verdict of the court, however, was in favor of the Foreign Missions, and against the priests dispatched to Acadia.<sup>21</sup> It was to remedy this injustice that, when a few years later, the Spiritans began formally to associate foreign missionaries with their own congregation, they made provisions for the maintenance of sick and retired missionaries.

<sup>6\*</sup> Some modern Holy Ghost Fathers have sought the reason for this in the fact that these priests were not religious in the canonical sense of the term. Such a view, however, shows great ignorance of history. The Spiritans did not become a religious society until 1855 during the generalate of Father Schwindenhammer, their twelfth

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, first *mémoire*, p. 130; second *mémoire*, p. 57.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, first *mémoire*, *passim*.

<sup>21</sup> \*Arch. M.E., vol. 26, *passim*.

### *Knaves or Knights?*

In 1778, however, the Congregation began to associate foreign missionaries as members.<sup>7\*</sup> This was a very important step in the development of the organization. It meant that henceforth the Society would no longer be an association whose members pursued solely educational endeavors, but would also engage in the direct apostolate for which hitherto they had prepared others.

After the Venerable Francis Libermann and the members of his Congregation of the Holy Heart of Mary had merged with the Holy Ghost Society in 1848, the majority of the Spiritans engaged in this direct apostolate.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, the situation of the priests who were graduated from Holy Ghost Seminary changed. Until 1848, for the reasons already noted, they had been entitled to be called Spiritans. But from 1848 on, this seminary became just one of the many institutions conducted by the Holy Ghost Fathers. Thus there was no longer any particular reason why its graduates should be called "Spiritans." Although it took some time for everyone to become accustomed to the new status, after 1848, the history of the clergy trained in Holy Ghost Seminary is no longer Spiritan history. Starting from this date, the term applies exclusively to the *members* of the Congregation.<sup>26</sup>

Superior General.<sup>22</sup> Prior to that time, the Society consisted of secular priests (and pious laymen or Brothers), similar to other "secular" institutes such as the Sulpicians.

<sup>7\*</sup> Even before this date there are a few facts that may point to some kind of association of missionaries with the Holy Ghost Congregation. For example, Father Frison de la Mothe, after his return from the seminary of Quebec in 1737, joined the Spiritan staff of the seminary of Verdun.<sup>23</sup> Ten years later, Father Simon le Bansais, a staff member of the Spiritan seminary of Meaux, accepted a similar position in the Quebec seminary.<sup>24</sup> It should be kept in mind, of course, that until the middle of the nineteenth century the moral bond uniting the members of the Holy Ghost Congregation was rather loose. They were secular priests belonging to a diocesan organization and the formality of membership involved merely a legal contract.

<sup>22</sup> Koren, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. p. 178.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> Koren, *op. cit.*, pp. 97 ff.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 111.

## 2. The Origin of Spiritan Missions in North America

Father Poullart des Places had once thought of personally serving in the foreign missions. In his *Reflections on the Past* he says: "Of all temporal things I wanted to keep health alone, and I wanted to offer the latter in a complete sacrifice to God in the work of the missions."<sup>27</sup> His original rule makes no mention of missionary work explicitly, but it is only reasonable to assume that he wanted to include this type of apostolic endeavor among the most difficult and neglected works which the students trained in his seminary should be happy to undertake.

The first specific mention of foreign missions occurs in the rule which Father Bouic submitted for ecclesiastical approval in 1734.<sup>28</sup> Undoubtedly, its insertion was due, at least in part, to the desire to provide some remedy for the decay in which the great Seminary of Foreign Missions had fallen at the beginning of the eighteenth century.<sup>29</sup> The record shows that many of its missionaries to the Far East in subsequent years came from Holy Ghost Seminary.<sup>30</sup>

According to Amet Limbour<sup>31</sup> and Henri le Floch,<sup>32</sup> the educational ties which Holy Ghost Seminary maintained with the Jesuits stimulated early Spiritan interest in the missions of North America. It is not impossible that some of the priests trained in Holy Ghost Seminary came to America following the paths of the Jesuits.<sup>3\*</sup> However, all available historical data indicates that it

<sup>8\*</sup> *Gallia Christiana*, vol. VII, published about 1774, mentions as the foreign missions in which the Spiritans labored "China, Tonkin, Siam, Cochin-China and the territory of Canada, as well as the French colonies, and among the savages of America."<sup>33</sup>

<sup>27</sup> des Places, *op. cit.*, pp. 133 f.

<sup>28</sup> Koren, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>30</sup> L'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu, *Tableau de l'état actuel des missions...*, C.F.D.I., 3, p. 189.

<sup>31</sup> Amet Limbour, *La congrégation du Saint-Esprit*, Paris, 1909, p. 40.

<sup>32</sup> Camille Rochemonteix, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle France au XVIIIe siècle*, vol. 2, Paris, 1906, p. 268.

<sup>33</sup> Henri Le Floch, *Claude-François Poullart des Places*, Paris, 1915, p. 571.

was through the intermediacy of the Foreign Missions of Paris that the first Spiritan entered the New World in 1732. He was Father Francis Frison de la Mothe, a staff member of the Seminary of Quebec. He was followed in 1735 and 1737 by the two most famous Spiritans in the American missions, Father Peter Mailard and Father John Le Loutre. Reinforcements flowed steadily during the years that followed.

Because these priests first entered the American scene through the agency of the Foreign Missions of Paris, many historians, such as Moreau, Casgrain, Murdoch, and Parkman, have simply confused all eighteenth century Spiritan missionaries with the priests of the Foreign Missions. The first writers to realize the distinction were Camille de Rochemonteix, S.J.,<sup>34</sup> and Louis Le Jeune, O.M.I.<sup>35</sup> Since then most historians have recognized the special position of the priests sent by Holy Ghost Seminary. Léonce de Grandmaison, for example, states that at the time of the Acadian deportation "the largest number and the best of the missionaries [were] Spiritans, mostly from Brittany, as John Louis Le Loutre, Francis Le Guerne, [John] Allain, [Francis] Le Jamtel etc."<sup>36</sup>

### 3. *Areas of Labor in North America Before 1848*

After the first recorded arrival in 1732, at least nine others followed to the Quebec region before the French Revolution made further influx impossible. At least a dozen priests labored in the regions now known as Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Cape Breton, Prince Edward, and the Magdalen Islands in the Gulf of Saint Lawrence around the time of the cruel deportation of French settlers known as the "Grand Dérangement."

The aforementioned numbers refer only to priests who can be designated with certainty as Spiritans. Contemporary documents indicate that, in all probability, there were many others. In 1769, for example, the Abbot of

<sup>34</sup> Rochemonteix, *op. cit.*, pp. 268-271.

<sup>35</sup> *Tableaux synoptiques de l'histoire du Canada*, Québec, 1917, fasc. 3, p. 228.

<sup>36</sup> "L'histoire pathétique du peuple acadien," *Etudes*, 1923, vol. 175, pp. 293, 140. Cf. also footnote 30.

## Introduction

Isle Dieu wrote to the Holy See: "During the thirty-eight years that, as Vicar General, I have been in charge of all French and Indian Missions in the vast and extended Diocese of Quebec in North America, I have sent only priests trained and educated at Holy Ghost Seminary."<sup>37</sup> His testimony is corroborated by Father Becquet, Superior General of the Spiritans, who three years earlier had written that his Seminary "for the past thirty years had trained all the missionaries employed in Acadia and among the savages of that peninsula."<sup>38</sup> And as early as 1753, the Abbot of Isle Dieu had stated that "the majority of the staff in the Quebec Seminary"<sup>39</sup> had been furnished by the Holy Ghost Fathers.

The year before, Peter Dosquet, Bishop of Quebec from 1733 to 1740, gave the Spiritans a substantial property at Sarcelles in recognition of their services to his former diocese,<sup>40</sup> and the following year the Abbot of Isle Dieu wrote that "for several years now the Bishop of Quebec has instructed me to address myself to Holy Ghost Seminary which has supplied him with the best priests he has in his diocese."<sup>41</sup>

All this indicates that there were probably a number of other Spiritans in French America whom extant records<sup>9\*</sup> do not identify as such.

In addition to the Spiritans working in Quebec and Acadia, there were two other important areas in which they labored. In 1763, when France ceded Canada to the British, it retained only the Miquelon Islands, off the coast of Newfoundland. Soon after, the Holy See separated these French possessions from the immense Diocese

<sup>9\*</sup> Many valuable documents have disappeared in the course of time, among which are large parts of the old archives of the Holy Ghost Fathers.

<sup>37</sup> L'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu au nonce apostolique, 5 juin 1769: Arch. Qu. 1937-38, p. 239.

<sup>38</sup> M. Becquet au Duc de Choiseul (?), 3 oct. 1765: \*Arch. Col., F3, Moreau, vol. 16-1, 155(304). Cf. *Biographies* (de la congrégation du Saint-Esprit), Paris, 1909, p. 56.

<sup>39</sup> See footnote 30.

<sup>40</sup> Lettres patentes... aux Supérieurs... du Séminaire du Saint-Esprit, oct. 1761: \*Arch. Col., F3, Moreau, vol. 16-1, 157(307).

<sup>41</sup> L'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu à Mgr de Pontbriand, 30 mai 1753: Arch. Qu., 1935-36, p. 373. 403

of Quebec and established them as a separate Prefecture, which was officially entrusted to the Holy Ghost Fathers. A minimum of six Spiritans labored there in the eighteenth century before the entire population was deported by the British in 1793.

When the French Revolution expelled the Holy Ghost Fathers even from their South American Mission of Guiana, several of them sought refuge in the United States and labored there for many years.

Before tracing the experience of these Spiritans in our part of the world, it seems fitting to devote a few pages to the plans actively pursued by the Abbot of Isle Dieu, because of the eminent role which he wanted to assign to the Spiritans in the ecclesiastical reorganization of these countries and because of the enormous influence which they have exercised upon the subsequent history of the Holy Ghost Fathers.

#### *4. The Plans of the Abbot of Isle Dieu*

Father Peter de la Rue (1688—1779) is better known in history as the Abbot of Isle Dieu because, after obtaining the benefice of this medieval abbacy, he always signed his letters and papers in this fashion. In 1734, Belgium-born Bishop Peter Dosquet of Quebec nominated him as Vicar General of his immense diocese, which at that time extended to all French colonies in North America, including Louisiana.<sup>42</sup> The office assigned to the Abbot, who continued to reside in Paris, was to represent the bishop at the Court of the King of France and at the Holy See, to take care of all the affairs concerning the welfare of the diocese, and to confer the necessary faculties upon the priests he would send to *Nova Francia*.

Despite the greatest difficulties, the Abbot fulfilled his delicate function so competently, zealously and unselfishly that three successors of Bishop Dosquet confirmed him in his position until shortly before his death at the age of ninety-one;<sup>43</sup> he had been Vicar General for

<sup>42</sup> Gosselin II, p. 263.

<sup>43</sup> Gosselin II, p. 264; Arch. Qu. 1935-36, p. 274.

## Introduction

almost a half century. His official title in relation to the French government was Chaplain General of the Colonies of Nova Francia, that is, the French possessions in North America.

### *Personnel Problems of the Foreign Missions Society*

One of the most pressing difficulties Bishop Dosquet and his successors faced was that of finding an adequate number of priests for their diocese. The Foreign Missions Society was supposed to supply him with personnel for the seminaries of Quebec and for other works but, as has already been noted, since the end of the seventeenth century the Society was hampered by tremendous manpower problems. It had, moreover, pressing obligations toward its missions in the Far East, for which in 1722 it had only seventeen priests, bishops included.<sup>44</sup> Its personnel problems were so great that the Society considered the possibility of merging with the Sulpicians.<sup>45</sup> This plan, however, was not put into effect; instead the Sulpicians aided the Society in its struggle for survival by giving it a few outstanding priests, including the future Bishop Dosquet.

Although, since 1732, Holy Ghost Seminary had supplied the Foreign Missions Society with a large part of its personnel both for the Far East and for the American Missions, the Society appeared reluctant to appeal constantly to the Holy Ghost Fathers. Its directors may have felt somewhat humiliated by the stark contrast between their own empty seminary and the flourishing situation of the Spiritan institution,<sup>10\*</sup> with which the missionaries

<sup>10\*</sup> A century later, the Holy Ghost Fathers faced a situation similar to that of the Foreign Missions. While they were in a rather critical situation, the Congregation founded by the Venerable Francis Libermann flourished and thus gave added emphasis to their dangerous condition.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire générale de la Société des Missions-Etrangères*, Paris, 1894, vol. I, pp. 498 f.

<sup>45</sup> Albert David, *Les missionnaires du Séminaire du Saint-Esprit à Québec et en Acadie au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1926, p. 25.

<sup>46</sup> Koren, *op. cit.*, pp. 56 ff.

### *Knaves or Knights?*

continued to keep in touch.<sup>11\*</sup> Thus they made efforts to find priests for their Canadian commitments elsewhere, but with so little success that the Bishop of Quebec got almost no one.

Annoyed by this situation, the Abbot of Isle Dieu, in 1752, asked Father Caris, the Spiritan Procurator, "why lately he had supplied so few priests." "The reply," he relates, "was very short: 'those gentlemen [of the Foreign Missions] do not want any'."<sup>49</sup> It was then that the Abbot decided to bypass the Foreign Missions Society and to present the Spiritan priests destined for America directly (to the government) for their appointment.<sup>50</sup> At the same time he tried to maintain cordial relationships with the Foreign Missions Society. Writing, for instance, to the Minister of the Colonies in 1753, he says: "Please, do not discredit me with them... Give them whatever instructions you wish and give me those that are necessary for me."<sup>51</sup>

### *The Seminary of Quebec*

Meanwhile the situation of the junior and senior seminaries in Quebec degenerated to such an extent that in 1734 the Bishop complained about ten vacancies on the staff.<sup>52</sup> All the Foreign Missions Society could do was offer two candidates, both of whom Bishop Dosquet himself had found while he was still in Paris. For this reason he wanted the society to renounce all its claims upon

<sup>11\*</sup> For instance, in 1740, Father Le Loutre asked the Superior of the Foreign Missions "to act as his procurator" with respect to the Spiritans' institution;<sup>47</sup> in 1746, Father Maillard went on audience with the Duke of Orleans in company with the saintly Father Peter Caris, the Spiritan Procurator, but the Foreign Missions claimed that "he should have gone with their Superior."<sup>48</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Le Loutre à ?, 3 oct. 1740: C.F.D.I., 1, p. 26.

<sup>48</sup> Albert David, "L'Apôtre des Micmacs," R.U.O. 1935, p. 63.

<sup>49</sup> L'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu à Mgr de Pontbriand, 26 avril 1752: Arch. Qu. 1935-36, p. 343.

<sup>50</sup> Same letter, *ibid.*, p. 344; le Président... de la Marine à M. Galissonnière, 20 juin 1752 and à l'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu, same date: \*Arch. Col., C11B, vol. 96, 100v(83) and 103(85).

<sup>51</sup> L'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu au Président... de la Marine, 9 mai 1753: Arch. Qu. 1935-36, p. 399.

<sup>52</sup> Gosselin II, p. 248.

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the seminaries and to release them from the bond uniting them to its central seminary in Paris. Writing to the Minister of the Colonies, the prelate asked him: "I beg you to demand of the priests of the Paris Seminary that they renounce this bond. In that case I am quite confident that I will be able to staff [the seminaries] with good priests who are not attached to any congregation, unless you prefer to attach them to the Congregation of Saint Sulpice or to that of the Holy Ghost, which is now capable of supplying us with a substantial number of priests."<sup>53</sup>

Perhaps it was all for the best that the bishop's request went unheeded for, as Gosselin remarks,<sup>54</sup> the prelate did not appear to be a very good judge of men and collected from various sources a number of clerics who were of doubtful value for his diocese. Associating them with the Holy Ghost Fathers or letting them operate the seminaries independently of any congregation would undoubtedly have produced very questionable results.

The idea of entrusting the seminary to the Spiritans arose again under the capable administration of the highly respected Bishop de Pontbriand. Staff difficulties and disputes over the bishop's control had continued to plague the seminary. In 1753, the Abbot of Isle Dieu expressed his surprise that the Foreign Missions Society did not pursue its former policy of "addressing itself to Holy Ghost Seminary, which would easily furnish them with all the necessary subjects, just as it supplies them with all those whom they need for their missions in the Far East."<sup>55</sup> At the same time he affirmed to Bishop de Pontbriand that "the Holy Ghost Fathers are quite willing to supply... all the necessary personnel, even for the Seminary of Quebec if you ~~so desire~~."<sup>56</sup>

Foreseeing that the Foreign Missions would threaten

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 249; David, *Les missionnaires . . .*, p. 30.

<sup>54</sup> Gosselin II, pp. 249 f.

<sup>55</sup> See footnote 30.

<sup>56</sup> L'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu à Mgr de Pontbriand, 3 mars 1753: Arch. Qu. 1935-36, p. 371.

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to withdraw, the Abbot wanted to put the Bishop at ease regarding this question. Consequently he wrote him, "In case the Foreign Missions Society withdraws its men from the seminary, Your Excellency will not be left without priests. The same community [the Holy Ghost Fathers] which offers you personnel for Louisbourg will see to it that you will not be short-staffed in Quebec."<sup>57</sup> In June of the same year (1753), he again encouraged the Bishop not to be intimidated by threats of withdrawal: "They say openly that, as soon as you change anything in the control of the seminary, they will hand it back to you and withdraw... They imagine that you will not be able personally to find anyone [willing to staff it]. But I am certain of the opposite, for the Holy Ghost Fathers will be happy to take it if you assign to each of them a small salary to cover the cost of clothing and board."<sup>58</sup>

It is difficult to conceive what the ultimate results of the Abbot's proposal for the Holy Ghost Fathers would have been had it been executed. Success could have meant their permanent establishment in Canada in the middle of the eighteenth century, resulting in a large and solidly established province in later times. It would also have nullified many of the evil consequences of their suppression by the French Revolution. The history of the Congregation in the first half of the nineteenth century might thus have been quite different.

As it was, the disastrous events in Acadia, followed by the British conquest, effectively disposed of all plans to entrust the Quebec seminary to the Congregation of the Holy Ghost. All the Spiritans did was to contribute a number of men to its staff.

#### *The Removal of the Recollects*

Another problem which plagued the Bishops of Quebec concerned the Recollects, a group of friars who later merged with the Franciscans. After the founding of Louisbourg on Ile Royale (Cape Breton Island) in 1715, this order had been introduced there and subsequently extended its work also to Ile Saint Jean (Prince Edward

<sup>57</sup> Du même au même, 1 avril 1753: *ibid.*, p. 388.

<sup>58</sup> Du même au même, 9 juillet 1753: Arch. Qu. 1936-37, p. 334.

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Island).<sup>59</sup> From the outset, however, the Bishop had never been very satisfied with them, and efforts to put them under the control<sup>12\*</sup> of a Vicar General<sup>60</sup> foreign to their order failed, so that finally the Bishop resolved to get rid of them entirely.

Here also the Abbot thought that only the Holy Ghost Fathers would be able to provide the Bishop with well-trained and capable personnel in sufficient numbers to satisfy all needs. It is somewhat embarrassing for a Spiritan to repeat here some of the glowing compliments which the Abbot continually bestowed upon them in his confidential reports to the Bishop, the Holy See, and the Minister of the Colonies, especially when one sees the perpetual complaints he voices with respect to the Foreign Missions of Paris and the Recollects.<sup>13\*</sup>

At the risk of seeming smug, a few examples of why the Abbot wanted to make the Spiritans play such a preponderant role in North America are here presented. Writing to Bishop de Pontbriand he says: "All who come from this institution are very good men. The education they get there for life is fairly hard, the studies are good, the priestly spirit is well-taught, the students are trained in a great simplicity of behavior, moral theology<sup>14\*</sup> is studied well.<sup>62</sup> The best priests in your colonies and in the Far East missions have come from this institution." The French government, likewise, was told that "only the spirit acquired in this institution, the education which its students receive and the way in which

<sup>12\*</sup> The canonical situation of priests working in mission territories had not yet been as fully clarified as is now the case. As a result, there were constant and widespread jurisdictional conflicts between religious orders and the bishops in whose dioceses they worked.

<sup>13\*</sup> Only the Jesuit missions shared generously in the praise of the Abbot,<sup>61</sup> who was generally very well informed about everything that went on in the French territories of America.

<sup>14\*</sup> This subject more often than not was neglected in other seminaries.

<sup>59</sup> Gosselin I, pp. 374 ff.; III, pp. 375 ff.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. p. 31.

<sup>61</sup> Arch. Qu. 1935-36, pp. 334, 342; 1936-37, p. 414; 1937-38, p. 187.

<sup>62</sup> L'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu à Mgr de Pontbriand, 30 avril 1752: Arch. Qu. 1935-36, p. 345. Cf. reference of footnote 30.

they are trained are capable of creating truly apostolic men."<sup>63</sup> Most flattering of all is the Abbot's report of 1769 to the Holy See that, for the past thirty-eight years, "the priests trained and educated at Holy Ghost Seminary... have always surpassed his hopes without a single one of them ever disappointing him."<sup>64</sup>

To offset somewhat this continuous praise, a statement of a colonial official in Cayenne can be noted. The man did not like the idea that the religious service of this territory had been entrusted to the Spiritans and voiced his disappointment rather violently: "If [the government] had wanted to give preference to the biggest fools, it could not have done better."<sup>65</sup> This remark, however, is one of the rare exceptions to the general satisfaction of Church and State with the services of the Spiritans in the eighteenth century.

The same strain of praise runs throughout, <sup>nearly all</sup> the Abbot's letters regarding the individual priests sent out by the Holy Ghost Congregation to the Acadian and Indian missions.<sup>15\*</sup> Thus it is not surprising that the Abbot wanted to assign to them a preponderant role in the apostolate of French America.

For this reason he made determined efforts to support the Bishop's intention of dispensing with the services of the Recollects. His zeal led him to repeatedly complain about the friars to such an extent that Bishop de Pontbriand had to tell him that "he was 'overloading' the

<sup>15\*</sup> The only notable exception is a passage concerning Father Le Guerne.<sup>66</sup> The Abbot erroneously thought that after the fall of Beau-séjour he had cowardly abandoned his post to seek safety in Quebec. As he learned soon after, just the opposite had happened; Father Le Guerne had become the chaplain of hunted men.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>63</sup> *Mémoire de l'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu sur le projet... de retirer tous les missionnaires réguliers...: David, Les missionnaires...*, p. 53. See also reference of footnote 30.

<sup>64</sup> L'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu au nonce apostolique, 5 juin 1769: Arch. Qu. 1937-38, p. 239.

<sup>65</sup> Joseph Janin, *La religion aux colonies françaises sous l'Ancien Régime*, Paris, 1942, p. 59.

<sup>66</sup> L'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu au Président... de la Marine, 23 déc. 1755: Arch. Qu. 1937-38, p. 171.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. pp. 61 ff.

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Franciscan cowl."<sup>68</sup> However, as the Abbot was able to point out, "It may be true that I thunder a bit, but my thunder merely echoes yours. All I want is to see to it that your views are carried out."<sup>69</sup> As soon as he heard that the Bishop wanted to build a large church at Louisbourg, he insisted once more: "This poor mission of Louisbourg will never be solidly established as long as it remains in the hands of the Recollects... The Holy Ghost Fathers will gladly take it, and the small community which they will establish there will serve the town and the various posts much better."<sup>70</sup>

This community, he added in 1755,<sup>71</sup> was to become a center where the Spiritan "missionaries destined for Saint Jean [Prince Edward Island], the rivers of Beauséjour, and the St. John River [New Brunswick] could debark and where those whose health would be threatened could find rest as well as replacements for such posts as old age or infirmity would force them to leave." If the Recollects were to stay at all, the Abbot insisted, they should be "used only as military chaplains and not for anything else."<sup>72</sup>

Influential as he was with the Court, the Abbot would most likely have succeeded in his plans to remove the Recollects if the disastrous military events of 1755 and the following years had not resulted in the deportation of all priests from the area. Although, as is later detailed,<sup>73</sup> a number of Holy Ghost missionaries went to work on the islands of Prince Edward and Cape Breton, the Abbot's fond dream of seeing them establish a central community at Louisbourg to replace the Recollects could never be accomplished.

<sup>68</sup> See reference of footnote 57, p. 384.

<sup>69</sup> L'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu à Mgr de Pontbriand, 20 mai 1751: Arch. Qu. 1935-36, p. 315.

<sup>70</sup> Du même au même, 9 juillet 1753: Arch. Qu. 1936-37, pp. 335 f.

<sup>71</sup> Du même au même, 25 mars 1755: *ibid.*, p. 397.

<sup>72</sup> Du même au secrétaire d'Etat... de la part de M. l'Evêque de Québec, 23 mai 1751: Arch. Qu. 1935-36, p. 313.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. pp. 68 ff.

*The Suppression of the Jesuits*

It is generally known that in 1763 the French government ordered the suppression of the Jesuits throughout France and all its dependencies, a move which soon after was imitated by most other governments and the Holy See itself. Whatever may have been the faults of the Jesuits in France during the turbulent eighteenth century, the Abbot of Isle Dieu steadfastly believed that they deserved the highest praise for their missionary work in North America. Their suppression and the subsequent resolution of the Court of King Louis XV to remove all religious orders from its American colonies meant that other means had to be found to provide for the spiritual needs of the Miquelon Islands, Louisiana, French West Indies, and Guiana.

As soon as he heard that the Court was considering the substitution of priests from Holy Ghost Seminary for the religious orders, the Abbot addressed a long memorandum to the government in which he vigorously supported this idea.<sup>74</sup> It begins by pointing out that these Spiritan missionaries "had always been of an exemplary behavior in all their missions, both French and Indian, of North America," that "the French settlers and the savages of whom they took care, especially in Acadia, were profoundly attached to them," that "they had always lived in perfect unity and harmony with one another, had always professed and practiced a spirit of unselfishness and evangelical poverty, and had been submissive" to the authorities.<sup>75</sup>

Next, the Abbot emphasized that the government's plan could succeed only if the Holy Ghost Fathers were officially approved for the purpose of providing the colonies with a new clergy. "I am not afraid," he said,<sup>76</sup> "to state that in the entire kingdom only Holy Ghost Seminary is capable of providing as many priests as subsequently will be needed both with respect to quantity and quality because of the kind of education that

<sup>74</sup> See footnote 63, David, *op. cit.*, pp. 51 f.

<sup>75</sup> Same *mémoire*, p. 51.

<sup>76</sup> Same *mémoire*, pp. 52 f.

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is given in this institution. The students trained there are educated for the most difficult, the most laborious, the least lucrative, and the most abandoned posts.<sup>16\*</sup>

The Abbot terminated his memorandum with an outline of the steps to be taken to secure the satisfactory religious service of the colonies.<sup>77</sup> Among these, he mentioned the creation of four Vicariates, headed by titular bishops, in Guadeloupe, Martinique, San Domingo and Guiana.<sup>17\*</sup> These bishops should be endowed with the same evangelical and apostolic spirit as their priests. They should consequently have been educated in a similar fashion. After mentioning that the Holy Ghost Fathers had provided the Foreign Missions Society with "the greatest bishops they have ever had in the Far East,"<sup>79</sup> the Abbot suggested that the Court address itself to Holy Ghost Seminary or its missionaries returned from Canada and Acadia to fill these episcopal posts.

In addition, he stressed that for these missions there should be a central establishment from which the bishops "would draw all the necessary personnel,"<sup>80</sup> through whose superior they "would maintain the necessary correspondence with the Holy See,"<sup>81</sup> and which would serve also as a rest house for retired missionaries. Although the Abbot did not mention any name, the gist of his memorandum made it abundantly clear that the Mother House of the Holy Ghost Fathers should be the central establishment of this ecclesiastical organization.

The constant efforts of the Abbot finally produced

<sup>16\*</sup> At the same time the Abbot pointed out that the Holy Ghost Fathers did not limit themselves to the training of missionaries but educated also other priestly candidates with a different vocation.

<sup>17\*</sup> This proposal was not carried out until eighty-seven years later when Father Libermann, the eleventh Superior General of the Holy Ghost Fathers, managed to push through the ecclesiastical reorganization of the old French colonies. San Domingo (Haiti) had to wait until 1862<sup>78</sup> and Guiana until 1934.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. also l'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu au nonce apostolique, 5 juin 1769: Arch. Qu. 1937-38, p. 238.

<sup>78</sup> Koren, *op. cit.*, pp. 115 ff.

<sup>79</sup> See reference of footnote 63, p. 57.

<sup>80</sup> Same *mémoire*, p. 54.

<sup>81</sup> Same *mémoire*, pp. 54 f.

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in the service of the poor & abandoned (both through <sup>directly</sup> institutional work and indirectly through —

results. State and Church decided to entrust the spiritual care of the remaining French colonies in America,<sup>18\*</sup> ~~India~~, and Africa to the Congregation of the Holy Ghost, and to make their Superior General the intermediary between the Court and the Holy See in the affairs of these territories.<sup>82</sup> In addition, the State created a special fund to support their retired missionaries at the Mother House. The first missions thus assigned was the vestigial territory which the Treaty of Paris (1763) allowed France to retain of its formerly immense empire in North America; namely, the tiny Miquelon Islands, off the coast of Newfoundland. Guiana, Senegal (and other colonies) followed later. As the responsible authority for these territories, the Spiritan Superior, Father Francis Becquet, began to use the title of Superior General in 1766. Thus it was largely due to the initiative and influence of the Abbot of Isle Dieu that the Holy Ghost Congregation assumed a pronounced interest in missionary labor. Subsequent events would serve to make this interest even more emphatic. For instance, a few years later, the Congregation began to accept as *members* priests who went to the missions.

Nevertheless, the society has never lost sight of its ancient educational purpose. Even today it continues to play its dual role expanding the boundaries of Christ's Kingdom on earth through both missionary labor and the formation of an elite, destined to act as a leaven, through educational work.

<sup>18\*</sup> Louisiana meanwhile had been ceded to Spain (1763).

<sup>82</sup> Koren, *op. cit.*, pp. 28 f.

## CHAPTER TWO

### ACADIAN AND INDIAN MISSIONS, 1735—1772

#### 1. *Introduction*

It is said that when the Chinese want to curse a man they tell him, "May you have an exciting history." Because the Spiritans' history in Acadia parallels the gradual conquest of this fertile country and the cruel deportation of its unfortunate people by the British, this Chinese curse followed these priests with such unremitting regularity that a few of them have remained very controversial figures, decried by some as knaves and exalted by others as knights.

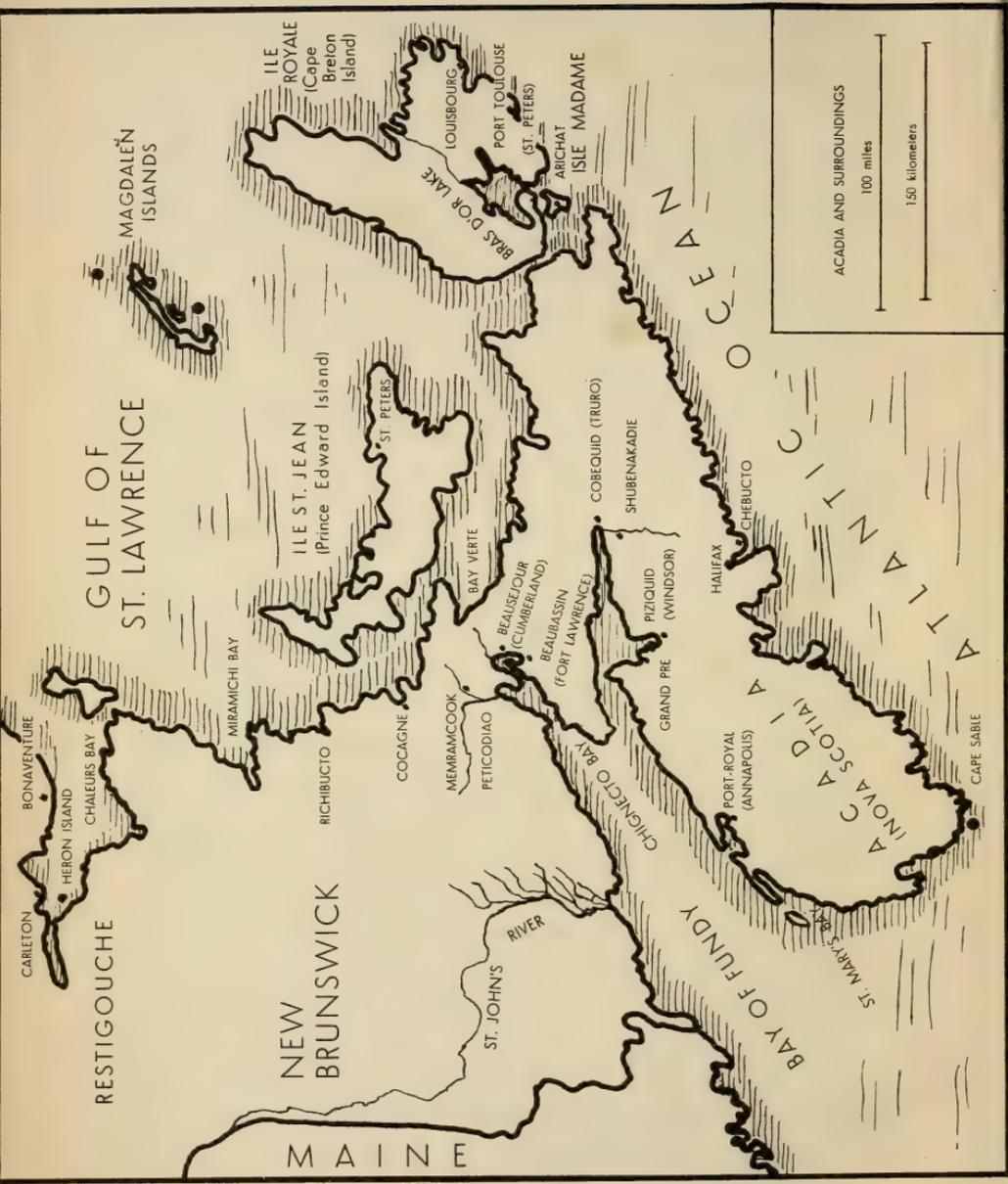
It would be flattery to think that this book will end forever two centuries of disagreement. No historical study ever does unless it is concerned with an arid subject that no longer touches the emotions of the reader. While this might be the case in a work which chronicles the death struggle of two warring nations, both long since disappeared from the scenes of history, it could never be true of a poignant conflict like that considered here, in which two great Western powers, Protestant England and Catholic France, waged war for the temporal and spiritual supremacy of Acadia.

To understand this chapter it is necessary to consider the history of Acadia prior to the period which concerns us here. As early as 1604 the land began to be settled by the French, but within a few years the English claimed sovereignty over it, basing their claims on the explorations of John and Sebastian Cabot.<sup>1</sup> Torn for decades between the two opposing powers who ruled it in turn, Acadia became French again in 1667 through the Treaty of Breda.<sup>2</sup> The British crown, however, was loath to abandon its claims on the country, so that military expeditions continued to contest its possession<sup>3</sup> until, by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, France ceded Acadia to England, but kept its other possessions as well

<sup>1</sup> Murdoch I, pp. 14 ff., 55 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, I, pp. 74 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 140.



CARLETON  
HERON ISLAND  
CHALEURS BAY

GULF OF  
ST. LAWRENCE

MAGDALEN  
ISLANDS

NEW  
BRUNSWICK

ILE ST. JEAN  
(Prince Edward Island)

ILE  
ROYALE  
(Cape  
Brelon  
Island)

MAINE

ST. JOHN'S  
RIVER

MEMBRACOOK  
PETICODIAO

BAY VERTE

ST. PETERS

BRAS D'OR LAKE

LOUISBOURG

PORT TOULOUSE  
(ST. PETERS)

ARICHAT  
ISLE MADAME

COBEQUID (TRURO)

SHUBENAKADIE

BEAUBASSIN  
(FORT LAWRENCE)

BEAULOIR  
(CIMBERLAND)

RIZIQUID  
(WINDSOR)

GRAND PRE

CHIGNETO BAY

HALIFAX

CHEBUCTO

PORT ROYAL  
(ANNAPOLIS)

ST. MARY'S BAY

CAPE SABLE

NOVA SCOTIA

ATLANTIC OCEAN

ACADIA AND SURROUNDINGS

100 miles

150 kilometers

as the islands of St. Jean (Prince Edward) and Ile Royale (Cape Breton).<sup>4</sup>

The peace treaty which France was forced to sign contained several articles that were to give rise to grave misunderstandings and complications. First of all, Acadia, now named Nova Scotia, was ceded to Great Britain "according to its ancient boundaries." This vague formula gave rise to a variety of interpretations: on the one hand, merely the immediate surroundings of Port Royal (Annapolis) or the peninsula, and, on the other, the extreme British claim that the St. John's River, New Brunswick, lies "within the heart of Nova Scotia"<sup>5</sup> and that Acadia comprised all the land between Maine and the Saint Lawrence River.<sup>6</sup> A boundary commission had been appointed to settle the thorny issue, but was either unable or unwilling to reach an agreement. Thus a large part of the Acadians lived in disputed areas which, however, were actually occupied by either the French or the British.

Secondly, the Treaty of Utrecht gave the Acadians one year to withdraw from the British territory with all their movable goods or become subjects of the British Crown. Those who wanted to stay would have the free exercise of their religion "insofar as the laws of Great Britain allow." When, immediately after this treaty, King Louis XV of France granted freedom to all British Protestants who had been condemned to the galleys, Queen Ann returned his gracious gesture by granting the Acadians the right to stay in the possession of their lands "as fully and freely as other our subjects"<sup>7</sup> or to sell them and leave the country. No time limit was attached to either provision.

If Queen Ann thought that the farmer's proverbial attachment to his land would suffice to keep the Acadians

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 332.

<sup>5</sup> Shirley II, p. 482.

<sup>6</sup> Le Président . . . de la Marine à M. de la Jonquière, 5 avril 1751: \*Arch. Col., C11B, vol. 93, 3; Can. Arch. 1905, vol. 1, sect. V, p. 151.

<sup>7</sup> Murdoch I, p. 333.

in Nova Scotia, she must have been keenly disappointed. Remaining loyal to their king and country and fearing religious persecution, they prepared to leave.<sup>8</sup> Their departure would have left Nova Scotia almost uninhabited except for roving bands of hostile Indians, thus making it impossible for the British to retain control of it. Moreover, the migration of the Acadians to neighboring French-held lands would have strengthened the French to the point of jeopardizing British security in the area.<sup>9</sup>

For this reason the governors of Nova Scotia reneged on the loyal execution of the Treaty of Utrecht. "Governor after Governor refused [the Acadians] the liberty to leave, deprived them of the means of leaving, and kept them in the Province against their will."<sup>10</sup> Consequently, they were forced to remain until the conqueror became strong enough to forcefully expel them. As early as 1720, the Lords of Trade wrote from Whitehall to Governor Philipps that "the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia... ought to be removed as soon as the Forces which we have proposed to send to you shall arrive in Nova Scotia for the protection of and the better settlement of your Province."<sup>11</sup> Even before this date there had been question of their removal.<sup>12</sup>

Meanwhile, to bind the Acadians in conscience, the conquerors decided to impose upon them an unconditional oath of allegiance to the British Crown.<sup>13</sup> Till the very end, however, the Acadians steadfastly refused to take this oath and could be pressured only into swearing fidelity without the duty of taking up arms against their compatriots and the Indians, with whom they lived in peace and harmony. Yet it was their loyalty to this oath

<sup>8</sup> Vetch to Lords of Trade, 24 Nov., 1714: N.S. Arch., p. 5.

<sup>9</sup> Same letter and Thomas Caulfield to Secretary of State, 3 May, 1715: N.S. Arch., pp. 6 and 8.

<sup>10</sup> W. A. Calnek and A. W. Savary, *History of the County of Annapolis, and Supplement to . . .* Toronto, 1897 and 1913, *Supplement*, pp. 17 f.

<sup>11</sup> Board of Trade to Governor Philipps, 28 Dec., 1720: N.S. Arch., p. 58.

<sup>12</sup> Emile Lauvrière, *La tragédie d'un peuple*, Paris, 1922, vol. 1, p. 199: extract from minutes of Council or War, 14 Oct. 1710.

<sup>13</sup> Instruction to Peter Capoon . . . and Thomas Button, Jan. 1714 (15): N.S. Arch., p. 3.

which prevented them from helping France reconquer Acadia at a time when that venture would easily have succeeded if the Acadians had given it their support.<sup>14</sup>

The British refusal faithfully to execute the Treaty of Utrecht meant that England could not in justice claim all the rights granted by France, for one cannot unqualifiedly claim the benefits of a treaty while reneging on its burdens.

The already complex situation was further aggravated by two factors — religious antagonism and the Indians. Despite the promise of religious freedom, the conqueror's aim was to protestantize the Acadians. As Governor William Shirley of Massachusetts expressed it, they should "remove the Romish priests out of the Province and introduce Protestant English schools and French Protestant Ministers and give due encouragement to such of the inhabitants as shall conform to the Protestant Religion, and send their children to the English schools... [Thus] the next generation in a great measure [will] become true Protestant subjects."<sup>15</sup>

Generally the Indians were well treated by the French. Thanks to the unremitting labor of devoted missionaries, many of these fierce "children of the forest" had become Catholics, living peacefully with their French neighbors. In the British colonies, on the other hand, almost anything seemed permitted as long as one was dealing only with Indians. For example, notorious laws of several New England states provided that a bounty be paid for each Indian scalp. Small wonder, therefore, that in disputed territories the Indians' sympathy was generally with the Acadians and French and that they were almost constantly at war with the British.

The Acadians who had settled in the areas now known as Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were hardy pioneers who had industriously cleared forests, drained swamps, and gradually built up prosperous farms. In addition to farming, some of them engaged in fishing. Thanks to

<sup>14</sup> Calnek and Savary, *op. cit.*, *Supplement*, p. 23.

<sup>15</sup> Shirley I, p. 337. Cf. Murdoch II, pp. 129 ff.; Instructions for . . . Cornwallis, 29 April, 1749: *Can. Arch.* 1905, vol. 2, App. C, p. 51.

## *Knives or Knights?*

their astonishing fertility, the original population grew from less than four hundred in 1671 to more than twenty-five hundred in 1713 and reached the twelve thousand mark in 1748,<sup>16</sup> a few years before their brutal mass deportation from their beloved homeland.

Profoundly religious, the Acadian farmers lived notably pure lives. Even Cornwallis, the Governor of Nova Scotia, had to admit that they "were not given to any vice or debauchery."<sup>17</sup> Another witness of their lives stated that "they were especially remarkable for the inviolate purity of their morals. I do not recall a single example of illegitimate birth among them even today,"<sup>18</sup> and "they were the most innocent and virtuous people whom I have ever known or of whom I have ever read an account in history."<sup>19</sup> Their moral integrity, however, was not of a depressing puritanical character.<sup>20</sup> On the contrary, the Acadians were happy, hospitable and gay people who loved social gatherings and gratefully partook of the simple joys offered by their rural life.

Negatively, the Acadians tended to be jealous and quarrelsome and were inclined towards gossip and occasionally to gross slander.<sup>21</sup> This vice was rather common among rural populations in former times when idle conversation provided virtually the only form of recreation during the long winter months.

This introduction, of necessity somewhat lengthy, should provide a general idea of the character and political background of those people among whom the Spiritan missionaries made their appearance at a critical moment in their history.

### **2. *Father Maillard, the Apostle of the Micmacs***

Of all the eighteenth century priests who went forth from Holy Ghost Seminary to the missions on the North

<sup>16</sup> Lauvrière, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 179, 511.

<sup>17</sup> Cornwallis to Acadians, 29 April, 1749: N.S. Arch., p. 189.

<sup>18</sup> Calnek and Savary, *op. cit.*, *Supplément*, p. 100.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 100.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 99.

<sup>21</sup> Casgrain, *Un pèlerinage au pays d'Évangéline*, Quebec, 1887, p. 84. Cf. below, p. 119.

American Continent, Father Peter Maillard must surely be considered the greatest. Friend and foe alike revered him as a holy priest, an outstanding scholar, and a zealous missionary, whose thirty years of labor among the Indians had produced a lasting effect upon the Mişmacs entrusted to his care. As C. W. Vernon expresses it: "He was a man of great ability, wide culture and infinite tact. The secret of his great success lay in the fact that he identified himself with those for whose salvation he was laboring, living with them, sharing their joys and enduring their hardships."<sup>22</sup>

Father Peter<sup>1\*</sup> Maillard was born around 1710.<sup>23</sup> After finishing his studies at the Spiritan Seminary of Paris in 1734, he sailed to Acadia in June of the following year.<sup>25</sup> Fifty days later, the vessel landed in Louisbourg amid the salutatory cannonade that customarily greeted every vessel.

### *His Linguistic Achievements*

Soon after his arrival, Father Maillard began the strenuous study of the Micmac language<sup>26</sup> through which he was to secure his lasting scholarly renown. He became such an expert in the language that, among the Indians themselves, a touching legend grew up about his marvelous knowledge of it. The charming and naive story which the Indians told a century later to Dr. Silas Rand, a Baptist missionary, deserves repeating. As Dr. Rand explained: "The first priest to come among them learned miraculously to speak their language... By means of an interpreter he informed the Indians what his object was. They readily assisted in the erection of a chapel, being paid for their labors. They did not refuse to receive Baptism. Not that they understood its import..., but they thought that it could do them no harm, and *paboltjik*, 'it was capital fun' for them. Having finished the chapel,

<sup>1\*</sup> Although he often signed his letters "Antoine S(imon)," his true name was Pierre, as he signed his last will.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> C. W. Vernon, *Cape Breton*, Toronto, 1903, pp. 94 f.

<sup>23</sup> David, "L'Apôtre des Micmacs," R.U.O. 1935, p. 53.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 439.

<sup>25</sup> Maillard à M. de Montigny, 2 sept. 1735: C.F.D.I., 1, p. 57.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58.

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THE TEN COMMANDMENTS IN MICMAC SCRIPT. From the 1921 edition of the Micmac prayer book.

the priest shut himself up alone, and spent the time in prayer. On Sundays, and when the sick or the dying required his attention, he came out, attended to these duties, and then immediately shut himself up again. This course he continued all winter, until Easter. He then gave notice that if the people would assemble, he would preach to them. They did so, and to their astonishment, he spoke Micmac as well, and as fluently as any of them. And it is especially related of him, as proof of his *purity* as well as of his power, that *he had learned no bad words*... Knowing every other word, the moment he heard an individual use a word which he did not understand, he at once knew that it was a 'bad word' and could take the offender to task accordingly."<sup>27</sup>

Touching as this Micmac legend may be, it was only through arduous study and persistent efforts that Father Maillard arrived at his linguistic knowledge. As he says in one of his letters, "I do not dare to guess the number of years I have spent in this work — eight years, almost exclusively occupied in doing nothing but [learning the idioms], proved insufficient."<sup>28</sup> As early as 1738, he began to develop a hieroglyphic system of writing<sup>29</sup> which his flock could easily understand, the use of which has perdured to this day.<sup>30</sup> It was providential that he did so,

<sup>28</sup> Although Father Maillard<sup>30</sup> says that he himself invented these hieroglyphics, the idea of using this pictorial script seems to have occurred first to Father Chrestien Leclercq, who employed it as early as 1677.<sup>31</sup> Moreover, Father Gaulin, who wrote around 1720, states that, "following the footsteps of his predecessors, he gave [the Micmacs]... a kind of letters to fix their imagination, so that they can show one another the prayers, catechism and chants."<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless, Father Maillard is justly considered to be the creator of the Micmac script, since his manuscripts show how much he developed the original concept. They contain more than 5700 different "letters" or conceptual symbols.

<sup>27</sup> Rand, *A Short Statement of Facts Relating to... the Micmac Tribe*... Halifax, 1850, p. 30.

<sup>28</sup> "Lettre de M. Maillard sur les missions... micmaques," *Soirées Canadiennes*, 1863, p. 296.

<sup>29</sup> *Le Loutre à ?*, 1 octobre 1738: C.F.D.I., 1, p. 21.

<sup>30</sup> Maillard, *art. cit.*, p. 365.

<sup>31</sup> David, *art. cit.*, R.U.O. 1935, p. 55.

<sup>32</sup> Relation de la mission du Père Antoine Gaulin dans le pays des Mikmaks et en Acadie vers 1720: \*Arch. Nationales, Serie K, vol. 1232, no. 4 (pp. 109-125).

for his linguistic work was destined to become the instrument through which the Catholic Faith was kept alive among his Indians during the many years that they were almost entirely deprived of priests.

As time went by, he wrote the first Micmac grammar, a dictionary, and religious handbooks which the Indians used whenever they were without a priest. They contained prayers, hymns, sermons, and the forms of baptism, marriage, and funerals.<sup>3\*</sup>

When the British expelled the Catholic priests from Nova Scotia, and Protestants made strenuous efforts to attract the loyalties of the Micmacs, the Indians compared their new teachings with the content of Father Maillard's writings. Noticing that they differed from the battered manuscripts which were their "Bible," the Micmacs would have nothing to do with them. As Archbishop Joseph Plessis wrote in 1815: "Although they have been deprived of [resident] missionaries for about fifty years, they still retain the principles of the Catholic Faith — so much that not a single one of them has given up his religion."<sup>33</sup> And as late as 1850, Dr. Silas Rand had to admit: "I do not know that a single convert has yet been made."<sup>34</sup>

In the absence of a priest, the chieftains would gather the people of their villages for Sunday services, read the "sacred text" and comment on the written sermon. All would then recite the prayers and sing the chants taught by Father Maillard. During the long winters, the book would be read in individual huts to wives and children and, "in this way the *Micmac book* has taken the place of a missionary for nearly a hundred and seventy years."<sup>35</sup>

*Note: Fr. Lenhart O.M. Cap. in 1926*

<sup>3\*</sup> His grammar was published in New York in 1864, while a manual of his prayers and sermons appeared in print in 1866 at Vienna, and again, financed by Father John M. Lenhart, O.M. Cap., in 1921 in Restigouche, Quebec. Some handwritten copies of the prayer books were still in circulation at that time.

<sup>33</sup> David, *art. cit.*, p. 50.

<sup>34</sup> Rand, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

<sup>35</sup> See footnote 33.

### Conflict with the Recollects

The ecclesiastical authorities were quick to appreciate the consummate prudence and outstanding talents of Father Maillard. Despite his youth, they made him Vicar General of Cape Breton in 1740.<sup>36</sup> Later, in 1752, the Chevalier de Raymond, Governor of Louisbourg, proposed unsuccessfully that he be made Vicar Apostolic to strengthen his authority.<sup>37</sup> Meanwhile his appointment as Vicar General brought him into conflict with the Recollects, members of an order laboring in the islands off Acadia.<sup>38</sup> Hitherto, Father Maillard had worked without opposition from them. His new appointment, however, meant that the Recollects would fall under his ecclesiastical control — which was precisely what the Bishop of Quebec, Henri du Breil de Pontbriand, had in mind.<sup>39</sup> The bishop was dissatisfied with these men and wanted someone at hand to keep them in check. *reban*

Desirous to retain their relative independence from episcopal control, the Recollects threatened to withdraw unless one of their number be made Vicar General.<sup>40</sup> Moreover, they persuaded Governor Duquesnel of Louisbourg to request from the French Court the recall of Father Maillard as a disturber of the peace, whose departure would restore serenity to the colony.<sup>41</sup> Fearful that the Recollects would succeed in their efforts to have Father Maillard removed from Acadia,<sup>42</sup> the Bishop reluctantly consented to have two Vicars General on Cape Breton, Father Maillard and the Superior of the

<sup>36</sup> \*Arch. Archd. Qu., R. Ch. 110 and 113 ro.

<sup>37</sup> Mémoire concernant les missionnaires des sauvages... janvier 1752: \*Arch. Ministère de la Guerre, Marine, vol. 3393 (pp. 68 ff).

<sup>38</sup> Maillard à M. de Montigny, 29 sept. 1738: C.F.D.I., 1. p. 65; David, *art. cit.*, pp. 59 f.

<sup>39</sup> Gosselin III, p. 307.

<sup>40</sup> Le Président... de la Marine à l'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu, 7 mars 1743: \*Arch. Col., C11B, vol. 77, 41 (52).

<sup>41</sup> Du même à M. l'Evêque de Québec, 13 févr. 1743 and 28 mars 1743: *ibid.*, C11B, vol. 76-1, 6(110) and 8(118).

<sup>42</sup> MM. Duquesnel et Bigot au Ministre, 1 et 7 nov. 1743: *ibid.*, E 297, Isle Royale, Janvier 1744, fo. Maillard; Le Président... de la Marine à MM. Duquesnel et Bigot, 30 juin 1743: *ibid.*, C11B, vol. 76-2, 28(517); du même à l'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu, 2 mars 1743 and 7 mars 1743: *ibid.*, C11B, vol. 77, 39(50) and 41(52); Duquesne au ministre, oct.-nov. 1743: \*Arch. Archd. Qu., Egl. Can., vol. I, fo. 237.

Recollects.<sup>43</sup> They were to exercise their powers jointly and to submit to him personally any question on which they could not reach accord. Although this expedient removed the threat of Father Maillard's involuntary departure, ecclesiastical difficulties with the Recollects continued to plague the Bishop until their members' deportation from Cape Breton.<sup>43a</sup>

Father Maillard's work among the Indians, however, had far greater historical significance than his differences with the Recollects and his function as Vicar General, and must be considered in fuller detail.

### *Chaplain of Braves on the War Path*

It would be entirely wrong to imagine that, upon accepting baptism and professing the Catholic Faith, these ferocious Indians had suddenly become so spiritualized as to need only a minimum of guidance to stay on the narrow path and to practise all the Christian virtues. Still savages, they had retained all their warlike instincts and barbaric practices. It required the utmost skill and leadership of their priests, to whom they were passionately attached, to keep them under a semblance of control and to wean them gradually away from their most cruel customs.

As Ludwig von Dieskau, a German officer in the French army wrote in 1755: "They drive us crazy... One needs the patience of an angel to get on with these devils, and yet one must always force himself to seem pleased with them."<sup>44</sup> Father Maillard knew how to handle them, but it required all his skill and influence. As he told Colonel Hopson, the Governor of Louisbourg in 1748: "If only you knew, Sir,... what it means to have to lead such a flock, both in spiritual and temporal affairs, what it takes to make them observe order and tranquillity, what oratorical skill is needed to make reason prevail, you would be inclined to say that their leaders must possess a special kind of magic power which is unknown

<sup>43</sup> Le Président . . . de la Marine à M. l'Evêque de Québec, 17 avril 1744: *ibid.*, C11B, vol. 78-1, 58 (239); du même à MM. Duquesnel et Bigot, 17 avril 1744: *ibid.*, C11B, vol. 78-2, 7 (311).

<sup>43a</sup> Mgr de Pontbriand à M. Maillard, 4 sept. 1754: \*Arch. Archd.

Qu., vol. I, fo. 51.

<sup>44</sup> Knox I, p. 74.

*Acadian and Indian Missions*

to anyone else. I have been with the Savages for fourteen years now,... and I can assure you, Sir, that religion alone is capable of making them sometimes amenable and docile."<sup>45</sup>

In battle, the Indians continued to use their stealthy, lupine ways. Anyone not slaughtered in their attack, who became their prisoner, could be almost certain that scalping and death awaited him unless the priest or someone else were present to ransom the hapless victim from their hands. Unfortunately the constant state of war between France and England resulted in continuous appeals to the Indians to exercise their warlike instincts against either one side or the other. In these forays, the priests in charge of the Indians allied with the French were often compelled to accompany their flock on its bloody missions and to act as liaison men with the French commanders.

In such expeditions Father Maillard and the other priests made strenuous but sometimes unsuccessful efforts to repress the savagery of their recent converts. It would have been too much to expect that, before a battle, a few sermons on kindness and a "humanized" form of warfare would change this situation. The only hope lay in gradual change. For this reason, as Father Maillard says: "The priests have taken care to insert in their written rule of conduct [for the Indians] a chapter which from the beginning to the end shows the horror which they should have for such cruel behavior. They have seen to it that this entire chapter is learned by the children. The result is that one can see how gradually they are becoming more human and listen more willingly to the reproaches the missionary addresses to them."<sup>46</sup>

Aside from their allegiance to France, the Indians had an abundance of reasons to be hostile toward the English.

<sup>45</sup> Maillard à Hopson, 11 sept. 1745: \*N.S. A, vol. 32, pp. 221 f. (\*CO-5: vol. 45, 36).

<sup>46</sup> Le Courtois de Surlaville, *Les derniers jours de l'Acadie*, Paris, 1889, p. 252. Cf. Ph. F. Bourgeois, *Les anciens missionnaires de l'Acadie devant l'histoire*, Shediac, 1910, p. 69.

Throughout this chapter the term "British" includes  
also ~~the~~ soldiers serving under the British flag & the  
New England forces

A memorandum, attributed to Father Maillard, lists some of their grievances:<sup>47</sup>

1744. The treacherous kidnapping of a chieftain and his family and a broken promise to release his eight year old son after the chieftain's death in exchange for British prisoners.

1744. The murder of eight women and children by a party of British soldiers who did not hesitate to rip open the womb of two expectant mothers to kill their unborn offspring.

1745. Another family kidnapped and another Indian imprisoned and killed despite a promise to release him in exchange for two British officers.

1745. Desecration of a Catholic Micmac cemetery on Cape Breton Island by Boston troops who smashed all crosses, dug up the bodies, and threw them into a fire.

1746. Two hundred Micmacs killed through "poisoned clothing" bought from British merchants.<sup>4\*</sup>

1749. The treacherous murder of twenty-eight Indian men, women, and children by two English prisoners who had been released unharmed by the Micmacs.

Considering these continual grievances, their allegiance to France, and their naturally savage disposition, it is not surprising that the Micmacs were almost constantly on the war path. The task of supervising them all in the extensive territory of the Acadian peninsula and adjacent islands was too much for one man. Fortunately, Father Maillard soon got an assistant, a man who was destined to be praised by some and cursed by others for the role he was to play in the tragic plight of the wretched Acadians and the desperate efforts of France to reassert its rights in the New World. He was John Louis Le Loutre, later known as the Father of the Acadians.

<sup>4\*</sup> Possibly the "poisoning" in question refers to the spreading of a contagious disease, such as small-pox, through infected clothing.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>47</sup> de Surlaville, *op. cit.*, pp. 248 f.; Bourgeois, *op. cit.*, pp. 64 ff.; Casgrain, *Les Sulpiciens et les prêtres des Missions-Etrangères en Acadie*, Quebec, 1897, pp. 438 ff.

<sup>48</sup> See note on this matter in B.R.H. 1914, p. 161.

### 3. John Le Loutre, the Father of the Acadians

#### First Labors

John Louis Le Loutre<sup>49</sup> was born in 1709 in Morlaix, Brittany.<sup>50</sup> After finishing his studies in 1737 at Holy Ghost Seminary, he departed for Acadia.<sup>51</sup> A hearty welcome awaited him on his arrival at Louisbourg;; his old comrade at the Spiritan institution, Peter Maillard, received him with open arms.<sup>52</sup> Under his expert guidance, the missionary began the difficult study of the Micmac language, for Father Maillard had destined him for labors among his beloved Indians.<sup>53</sup> Although at first Le Loutre felt "like St. Jerome when he was learning Hebrew,"<sup>54</sup> and almost despaired of ever succeeding, ten months later he knew the language well enough to undertake his apostolic labors. His confrere assigned him to the mission of Shubenakady, where Indians and Acadians had been without a priest for twelve years.<sup>55</sup>

His new post lay in territory then controlled by the British, who looked with disfavor upon any Catholic priest. Nevertheless, Le Loutre managed to gain their esteem and to maintain cordial relations with the civil authorities.<sup>56</sup> He pledged to keep the Acadians loyal to

<sup>50</sup> Father John Le Loutre had a brother who likewise was a priest in the Diocese of Tréguier. In 1740 this priest wanted to join him as a missionary in Acadia, but family affairs prevented him from executing his plan immediately.<sup>50</sup> It may be noted here that some Le Loutre letters are signed "François."

<sup>49</sup> In the *Régistre de la paroisse de Saint-Mathieu de Morlaix* (archives départementales des Côtes du Nord) September 27, 1709 is given as the date of his birth.

<sup>50</sup> Le Président... de la Marine à M. l'Evêque de Tréguier, 17 févr. 1740: \*Arch. Col., C11B, vol. 71, 21(34); du même à l'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu, 27 mars 1740: *ibid.*, vol. 71, 40(66); du même à M. de Forant, 7 mai 1740: *ibid.*, vol. 70-2, 12(294); du même à l'Abbé Le Loutre, 25 janvier 1741: *ibid.*, vol. 73, 10(14).

<sup>51</sup> L'autobiographie de M. Le Loutre, N.F. 1931, p. 3.

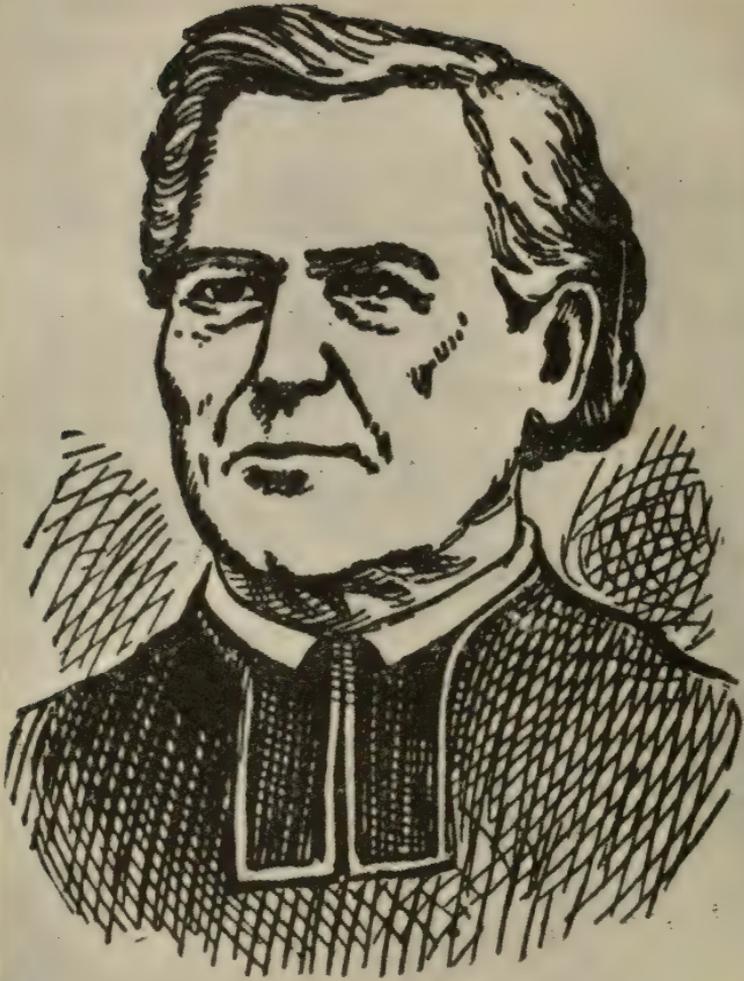
<sup>52</sup> Maillard et Le Loutre à M. de Montigny, 28 oct. 1737: C.F.D.I., 1, p. 62.

<sup>53</sup> Maillard à M. de Montigny, 24 oct. 1737: *ibid.*, p. 61.

<sup>54</sup> Le Loutre à ?, 1 oct. 1738: *ibid.*, p. 22.

<sup>55</sup> H. R. Casgrain, "Coup d'oeil sur l'Acadie," *Le Canada Français*, 1888, p. 122; Maillard à M. de Montigny, 29 sept. 1738, C.F.D.I., 1, p. 63.

<sup>56</sup> Norman Rogers, "The Abbé Le Loutre," C.H.R., 1930, p. 110.



L'ABBÉ LE LOUTRE.

FATHER JOHN LE LOUTRE  
Courtesy Public Archives of Canada

the British government.<sup>57</sup> Paul Mascarene, the Lieutenant-Governor, wrote, "I trust that you will keep your promise,"<sup>58</sup> and "the esteem I have conceived for you leaves no room to doubt that you will be disposed to help in maintaining peace, law and justice."<sup>59</sup> Father Le Loutre resolutely set to work building churches and chapels throughout his mission and reviving the faith of his flock.<sup>60</sup> Four years later, when assistance arrived in the person of Father Girard, he relinquished the care of the Acadians to his associate and devoted himself exclusively to the welfare of the Micmac Indians who roamed throughout the territory.<sup>61</sup> As long as he was in charge of the Acadians living in British-controlled territory, Father Le Loutre scrupulously adhered to the pledge he had made to the Nova Scotia authorities with respect to the Acadians. As an Indian missionary, however, the priest was "not in any way subject to the English"<sup>62</sup> government, for the Indians were free and independent tribes which had remained allied with France, even after the Treaty of Utrecht.

### *Warfare and Capture*

In 1744 peace ended abruptly when hostilities flared up anew between the French and British. Duquesnel, the Governor of Louisbourg, launched two attacks against Annapolis. The Indians, who had never renounced their allegiance to France, took part in these expeditions.<sup>6\*</sup>

<sup>6\*</sup> Noteworthy on the occasion of these attacks was the conduct of the Acadians.<sup>63</sup> Pressured to aid the French commander, the Acadians replied with kind words but no effective aid and remained loyal to their conditional oath of allegiance to King George.<sup>64</sup> Not even a new proclamation of the French commander invoking the death penalty against anyone refusing to take up arms against the British could induce them to break their oath.

<sup>57</sup> Murdoch II, p. 10.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>60</sup> Le Loutre à ?, 3 octobre 1740: C.F.D.I., 1, p. 26; L'autobiographie, N.F. 1931, p. 4.

<sup>61</sup> L'autobiographie, N.F. 1931, p. 4.

<sup>62</sup> Mgr de Pontbriand au Ministre, 10 nov. 1746: \*Arch. Col., C11A, vol. 86, (263).

<sup>63</sup> Murdoch II, pp. 37 ff.

<sup>64</sup> Mascarene to Secretary of War, 2 July, 1744; same to Shirley, 4 July, 1744: \*N.S., A, vol. 26, pp. 109 and 113 (\*B.M., add. 19071, 48 and 48 b).

English historians have seen in these attacks the beginning of the fateful events which finally resulted in the cruel mass deportation of all Acadians from Nova Scotia<sup>65</sup> and have not hesitated to blame Le Loutre for them and for all their evil consequences.

In reality, however, despite diplomatic agreements or signed treaties, there was never any securely established peace in the country. Nor could there be peace until either the French or the British suffered a crucial defeat or until both sincerely desired to live together as peaceful neighbors. The charge against Le Loutre for opening the hostilities by leading his Indians in the attack against Annapolis is baseless, for the court-martial following the French withdrawal from Annapolis<sup>66</sup> shows that it was not he but Father Maillard who accompanied the expedition of 1744.<sup>7\*</sup>

In 1745, however, when Duquesnel undertook new military action against the British, he ordered Father Le Loutre to accompany his Micmacs on the warpath.<sup>70</sup> This new action likewise failed and, turning the tables, the British managed to conquer Louisbourg. They immediately insisted upon seeing both Father Maillard and Father Le Loutre.<sup>71</sup> Assured most positively that he had nothing to fear, Father Maillard presented himself and was promptly arrested and deported to Boston and thence

<sup>7\*</sup> It is strange that historians have continued to severely criticize Father Le Loutre for his alleged participation in this raid while hardly ever censuring Father Maillard for it. The latter freely admitted that he had accompanied the Micmacs,<sup>67</sup> while the former's alleged presence with the Indians in this raid is not confirmed by the field reports of the time, but is supported only by the allegations of William Shirley,<sup>68</sup> and Jonathan Belcher,<sup>69</sup> dating from five and eleven years, respectively, after the raid.

<sup>65</sup> Calnek, *op. cit.*, p. 99; N.S. Arch. p. 399; Richard II, p. 64.

<sup>66</sup> MM. Duchambon et Prévost au Ministre, 25 nov. 1744: \*Arch. Col., C11B, vol. 26, no. 29(46); L'autobiographie, N.F. 1931, p. 6.

<sup>67</sup> Maillard à Edward How, 3 nov. 1746: Can. Arch. 1905, vol. 2, App. C, p. 45.

<sup>68</sup> Shirley II, p. 482.

<sup>69</sup> Belcher's memorandum about removal of Acadians, 28 July, 1755: Can. Arch. 1905, vol. 2, App. C., p. 63.

<sup>70</sup> L'autobiographie, N.F. 1931, p. 6; David, "L'Abbé Le Loutre," R.U.O. 1931, p. 478.

<sup>71</sup> de Surlaville, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

to France.<sup>72</sup> Less confident than his confrere, Le Loutre distrusted the British assurances and made his escape through the forests to Quebec, along with a band of Micmacs.

Now that Father Maillard was gone, the Quebec authorities considered Le Loutre the man in charge of the Indian Missions.<sup>73</sup> After supplying the Micmacs with large stores of ammunition, the Governor confidentially told the priest that a French naval squadron was expected within a year to expel the British, hence it was important to keep the Indians in readiness so that they might aid the French operation by cutting British communication lines. Apparently the British commander of Louisbourg heard of this development and ordered the immediate arrest of Le Loutre, but the priest and his Indians were too deeply ensconced in the forest to be much troubled by this action.

In the Spring of 1746, messengers arrived from Quebec, announcing the impending arrival of the French fleet under the command of the Duke of Anville.<sup>74</sup> For Le Loutre they brought specific instructions about the way his Indians were to help the fleet.<sup>75</sup> Accompanied by a band of Micmacs, he set out for Chebucto, now Halifax. Soon a few French men-of-war and cargo schooners made their appearance. They managed to capture additional supplies from some British ships that had mistakenly ventured into the area. After building huts for the expected prisoners of war, the French settled down to wait for the main fleet.<sup>76</sup> Meanwhile several hundred Canadian troops arrived in Beaubassin to take part in the operation and Le Loutre had to secure contact between the land and sea forces.

<sup>72</sup> Le Président...de la Marine à M. l'Evêque de Québec, 14 mars 1746: \*Arch. Col., C11B, vol. 83, 20v(108); l'autobiographie, N.F. 1931, p. 6.

<sup>73</sup> Georges Goyau, "Le Père des Acadiens," R.H.M. 1936, p. 478; Rogers, *art. cit.*, C.H.R. 1930, p. 113; l'autobiographie, N.F. 1931, pp. 6 f.

<sup>74</sup> L'autobiographie, N.F. 1931, p. 8.

<sup>75</sup> Murdoch II, p. 76.

<sup>76</sup> M. de Beaujeu, Journal de la Campagne du détachement de Canada à l'Acadie et aux Mines en 1746-47: C.F.D.I., 2, pp. 16 ff.

Unfortunately, the main fleet was long delayed. When it finally appeared in September, it was in a state of complete disorganization;<sup>77</sup> a contagious disease was rapidly killing its complement of men and its commander died before Le Loutre could reach him.<sup>78</sup> Discouraged by the setback, the remnants of the once proud fleet set sail again for France. Leaving the care of the Micmacs to Father Maillard, who had returned from his exile on the flagship of the ill-fated fleet,<sup>79</sup> Le Loutre followed them on a passing French vessel to plead the cause of his people.

Realizing the importance of the priest's presence in Acadia, the French government urged him to return as soon as possible.<sup>80</sup> After spending the allocation he had received for his personal needs by buying religious objects for his beloved Indians, the tireless missionary set sail again in May 1747 on board a vessel in a naval squadron which was convoying thirty-two merchantmen across the Atlantic.<sup>81</sup> Four days later, the convoy met a British fleet of seventeen war ships and, after a furious battle which lasted several hours, some of the French ships were captured, including the one on which Father Le Loutre had embarked. The British fleet commander, Rear-Admiral Waven, who knew the priest from a previous expedition to Louisbourg, immediately inquired whether Le Loutre was on board. "I would have had a bad time," the priest wrote, "if anyone had recognized me."<sup>82</sup>

To save him, the French commander passed him off as the chaplain of his forces. Le Loutre gave his name as Rosanvern and dumped into the sea any papers and books by which his true identity could have been established.<sup>83</sup> It was not so easy to prevent his fellow captives from innocently betraying him. He spent a few anxious

<sup>77</sup> *Journal historique . . . d'un officier . . . sur le vaisseau Le Prince d'Orange: ibid.*, pp. 75 ff.; Rogers, *art. cit.*, C.H.R. 1930, pp. 114 ff.

<sup>78</sup> *L'autobiographie*, N.F. 1931, pp. 10 f.

<sup>79</sup> Maillard à How, 3 nov. 1746: *Can. Arch.* 1905; vol. 2, App. C, p. 45; David, "L'Apôtre des Micmacs," *R.U.O.* 1935, p. 63.

<sup>80</sup> *L'autobiographie*, N.F. 1931, p. 12.

<sup>81</sup> *Relation du combat rendu le 14 mai 1747 par l'Escadre du roi: C.F.D.I.*, 1, pp. 33 ff.

<sup>82</sup> *Le Loutre à ?*, 12 juillet 1747: *ibid.*, pp. 31 f.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32.

moments while visiting wounded men in the hospital when he heard himself addressed on all sides as "Father Le Loutre." Fortunately, no one seemed to have noticed the slip, but, because of this, he had to suspend further visits to the hospital. Finally, after spending three months in captivity at Fareham and Winchester, he obtained his release and returned to France. M.

Undaunted by the experience, he embarked again in 1748, to meet the same fate once more. This time he escaped with only one month in jail.<sup>84</sup>

In Acadia, meanwhile, Father Maillard had accompanied his Micmacs on their military raids, the most important of which was the battle of Grand Pré (1747).<sup>85</sup> Under the cover of a blinding snow storm, the French and Indians surprised the New England troops in their night shirts. After losing some seventy men in their stubborn resistance, the British capitulated.<sup>86</sup>

The victory, however, had no further military consequences. Soon after, in 1748, diplomats concluded a peace treaty at Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen), stating that England and France were at peace and restoring Louisbourg to the French.<sup>87</sup> With the safety of the seas finally secured, Father Le Loutre managed to reach Acadia to resume his work among the Micmacs.

He soon noticed that the pious phrases of the diplomats had not relieved the state of tension which existed in the country. The situation was even worse than before. The new British Governor, Edward Cornwallis, began to build a town called Halifax at what used to be Chebucto, to serve as a center of English colonization. Disturbed by this invasion of their free hunting grounds, the Micmacs remonstrated with the governor by sending him the following letter:<sup>88</sup>

"Sir: the place where thou art,... the place where thou

<sup>84</sup> L'autobiographie, N.F. 1931, p. 12.

<sup>85</sup> See reference of footnote 76, p. 62.

<sup>86</sup> Journal de M. de la Corne, 28 sept. 1747: C.F.D.I., 2, pp. 10 ff.; Calnek, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

<sup>87</sup> Murdoch II, p. 118.

<sup>88</sup> Micmac text of declaration in C.F.D.I., 1, pp. 17 f.

### *Knives or Knights?*

makest a fortification..., this place belongeth to me. I am come from this soil as the grass, as a native I was born here from father to son.

This place is my land, I swear. It is God who has given it to me to be my country forever...

The works which thou art constructing at Chibucto cannot fail to give me much matter for reflection... I cannot make any alliance or peace with thee. Show me where I, a native of this place, could retire. Thou driveth me away, thou! Show me then where thou wilt that I seek refuge.

Thou hast seized nearly the whole land, so that nothing but Chebucto remains as my sole support..., and thou wilt chase me even thence. This shows that thou thyself do not want me to cease warring against thee or ever enter into alliance with thee...

Even the grovelling worm knows to defend itself when it feels attacked. Surely, I, native, am worth more than a vile worm and I will know even better how to defend myself... I am coming to see thee without delay. Yea surely, I shall see thee soon and I hope that what I shall hear from thee will comfort me."<sup>89</sup>

Soon after receiving this letter (and by way of reply to the Indian raids) Cornwallis offered a bounty of ten guineas, later raised to fifty pounds, for each male Indian scalp.<sup>90</sup> He ordered the Acadians to swear unconditional allegiance to the British flag, including the obligation of military service against their fellow Frenchman and the Indians. Failing in this, they would be deprived of all their possessions and deported from the country.<sup>91</sup>

Father Le Loutre clearly saw the religious consequences if the Acadians chose to stay. At that time the prevailing opinion among the British was still that to be a loyal subject of the crown one had to be a Protestant.

<sup>89</sup> Can. Arch. 1905, vol. 2, App., p. 293.

<sup>90</sup> Cornwallis to Cobb, 13 Jan., 1749(50): \*N.S., A, vol. 36, p. 17 (\*CO-217: 9, F136); Murdoch II, pp. 40, 80.

<sup>91</sup> Declaration of Cornwallis to Acadians, 14 July 1749: N.S. Arch., pp. 165 ff.

Of course, Le Loutre may not have had a chance to read the declaration of William Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts, proposing "to remove the Romish priests" from Nova Scotia, to substitute Protestant ministers for them, and to favor those inhabitants who became Protestant.<sup>92</sup> Nevertheless, the general trend of the British policy was sufficiently clear to him to realize that the Acadians were threatened with, not only the loss of their nationality, but of their Catholic faith as well.<sup>93</sup> As the shepherd and leader of a flock threatened with death, expulsion, or forced apostasy, the priest could not find it in his heart to stand idly by. He resolved to defend both Indians and Acadians against these cruel and unjust measures.

He began by arranging the resettlement of Acadian families on French-held territories and islands, while he himself withdrew with his braves deep into the Bay of Fundy.<sup>94</sup> The entire winter of 1749 was spent in baptizing new converts and in instructing his entire Indian flock in the rudiments of the faith.<sup>95</sup> At the same time he directed the Micmacs to patrol the peninsula and to intercept all British messengers. Neither nature nor grace gave the intrepid priest and patriot any inclination to submit meekly to wholesale slaughter and cruel injustice.

Although orders had gone out for his arrest as "the Author and Adviser of all the disturbances the Indians had made in the Province,"<sup>96</sup> Le Loutre did his best to prevent any harm from befalling the prisoners taken by the Indians. As he himself relates<sup>97</sup> and other documents confirm,<sup>98</sup> when the Micmacs brought in their captives, he tried to be on the spot to purchase their lives: 500 livres for an officer, and 100 livres for an enlisted man.

<sup>92</sup> Shirley I, p. 337.

<sup>93</sup> Richard II, p. 449.

<sup>94</sup> Voyage du sieur Franquet: Arch. Qu. 1923-24, pp. 128 and 133 ff.

<sup>95</sup> L'autobiographie, N.F. 1931, p. 17.

<sup>96</sup> See reference of footnote 90, p. 15.

<sup>97</sup> L'autobiographie, N.F. 1931, pp. 15 ff.

<sup>98</sup> Hamilton à Cornwallis, 13 janvier 1749(50): \*N.S., A, vol. 36, p. 1 (\*CO-217: 9, F129); Desherbiers à Cornwallis, 9 oct. 1750: \*N.S., A, vol. 39, p. 10 (\*CO-217: 40, 150); Can. Arch. 1887, p. CCCLIV.

Although the enraged Governor put a price on his head,<sup>99</sup> the priest reports that in eighteen months he spent as much as twenty-five thousand livres redeeming prisoners from a cruel death and quartering them in relative comfort among Acadian families.<sup>8\*</sup>

Misfortune, however, continued to plague the French. In 1750, Beaubassin fell into British hands after it had been set afire by the withdrawing Indians.<sup>101</sup> Fort Lawrence rose on its ruins. Meanwhile Father Le Loutre had withdrawn across the Missequash River to the plateau of Beauséjour. He foresaw a new, invincible fortress arising there, the bastion of a new Acadia, where the unhappy pawns in the struggle between France and England would be able to live in peace and security. Le Loutre envisaged the fortress surrounded by happy villages and farms of fertile land reclaimed from the sea, with a church rivalling that of Quebec in beauty. The execution of the plans had begun by the summer of 1750.

In the fall of the same year an incident took place which Father Le Loutre's detractors have exploited to the utmost in their efforts to destroy the priest's reputation; namely, the murder of "Captain" Edward How.

#### *The Murder of "Captain" Edward How*

Undoubtedly, this deed is the most serious of all the crimes attributed to Father Le Loutre. It is said that he instigated the treacherous murder of "Captain" How<sup>9\*</sup> near Fort Beauséjour, on October 15, 1750. Let us consider the incident as it was reported by Chevalier James

<sup>8\*</sup> The British subsequently reimbursed him for these expenses which had caused him to contract large debts.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>9\*</sup> Although often called a captain or major, How held no official rank in the English army. He was a trader who enjoyed the confidence of Cornwallis, Governor of Nova Scotia, and was entrusted with all kinds of official and unofficial missions.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>99</sup> Declaration of William Shirley, 20 Oct., 1747: \*N.S., A, vol. 31, p. 67 (\*CO-5: 45, 36).

<sup>100</sup> L'autobiographie, N.F. 1931, p. 16.

<sup>101</sup> Cornwallis to Hopson, 3 May, 1750: \*N.S., A, vol. 37, pp. 17 f. (\*CO-217: 10, G20).

<sup>102</sup> David, "L'affaire How d'après les documents contemporains," R.U.O. 1936, pp. 441 f.

Johnstone, a Scotchman serving with the French in Acadia. This document, dating from 1758 or later, reads:

"It was both wrong and unjust that the English should accuse the French of having had a hand in the horrors committed daily by Le Loutre and his Indians. What is not a wicked priest capable of doing? He clothed in an officer's regimentals an Indian named Cope... and laying an ambuscade of Indians near to the Fort, he sent Cope to it, waving a white handkerchief in his hands... No sooner [Captain How] appeared than the Indians in ambush fired at him and killed him. All the French had the greatest horror and indignation at Loutre's barbarous actions... It is needless to explain further Abbé Loutre's execrable crimes. Cruelty and inhumanity has always been sacerdotal from all ages... It would have been more conformable to equity and justice if the English had endeavored to catch Abbé Loutre and had hung him as the sole author and actor of these abominations."<sup>103</sup>

This report would not leave the slightest doubt about Father Le Loutre's guilt if it were reliable. Its candid confession, however, that murder is exactly what one can expect from a priest, does not enhance its objective status. It disagrees, moreover, with the reliable diary of Captain la Vallière,<sup>104</sup> with the letters of Prévost and of Father Le Loutre himself,<sup>105</sup> as well as with the careful investigation of the whole affair by Father Maillard.<sup>106</sup> Contrary to Johnstone himself, all these people were present in Acadia at the time of the murder. Nevertheless, it was largely Johnstone's report (which in many other respects also shows itself to be unreliable)<sup>107</sup> that served to precipitate Le Loutre's accusation of murder.

That so many were willing to accept Johnstone's version can be explained only in the light of the existing

<sup>103</sup> A short account of what passed at Cape Breton... by a French Officer: N.S. Arch., pp. 195 f.

<sup>104</sup> Journal du Sieur de la Vallière, 15 sept. 1750 - 28 juillet 1751: Can. Arch. 1905, vol. 2, App., p. 325.

<sup>105</sup> David, *art. cit.*, pp. 461 ff.

<sup>106</sup> Maillard, *art. cit.* (footnote 28), *Soirées canadiennes*, 1863, pp. 399 f.

<sup>107</sup> David, *art. cit.*, pp. 445 ff.

Protestant mentality. Another example may appropriately serve to illustrate the kind of anti-Catholic prejudice which has long since become a thing of the past. In 1774, the American Colonials, in revolt, met in Philadelphia to draw up their list of grievances against England. Speaking about Canada, where Great Britain had promised to respect the Catholic Faith, they said: "We cannot suppress our astonishment that a British Parliament, should ever consent to establish in that country, a religion that has deluged your island in blood, and dispersed impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder, and rebellion through every part of the world."<sup>108</sup>

Johnstone's report of the murder is a highly fictitious story whose innuendos and excesses can be traced to earlier sources. The pattern originated with a report by Governor Cornwallis who, *after* calling Father Le Loutre a "villain," mentioned that "Captain" How had been treacherously murdered at the end of a truce conference, but did not attribute the deed to Le Loutre.<sup>109</sup> A few years later, William Cotterell, the acting Provincial Secretary of Nova Scotia, had the "villain," Le Loutre, "*cause* that horrible treachery to be perpetrated."<sup>110</sup> More details were added by Louis de Courville who arrived on the scene in 1754, four years after the murder, and additional embellishments flowed from the fertile pen of Chevalier Johnstone.<sup>111</sup>

Strangely enough, little or no attention was paid to the explanation of the murder offered by Father Maillard, the Apostle of the Micmacs. Yet his report was the only one based upon a personal investigation among the Indians who had perpetrated the crime.<sup>10\*</sup>

According to Father Maillard, the Indians identified "Captain" How as the Englishman who, eleven years before, had grievously insulted them with the following

<sup>10\*</sup> It solves also many of the conflicting aspects, recorded in other contemporary documents, which have been omitted here.

<sup>109</sup> *Journal of the Continental Congress*, vol. 1, p. 30.

<sup>109</sup> Cornwallis to Lords of Trade, 27 Nov., 1750: \*N.S., A, vol. 39, pp. 170 ff. (\*CO-217: 11, G54); N.S. Arch., pp. 194 f.

<sup>110</sup> Cotterell to Hamilton, 3 June, 1754: N.S. Arch., p. 210.

<sup>111</sup> (Louis de Courville), *Mémoire du Canada*: Arch. Qu. 1924-25, p. 103; Murdoch II, pp. 214 f.

blasphemous address:<sup>112</sup> "Hail Micmacs, servants of Mary! A great lady, indeed, she is before God for you. Would you ever be able to steer your canoes securely without her, especially when you are drunk, as usual? Your choice of Mary as your protectress has been very wise. The good lady liked wine and could so little do without it that one day she obliged her Son to perform, almost in spite of Himself, a miracle, so as not to be without it."<sup>113</sup>

Unbelievable and outrageous as such a speech may sound to modern ears accustomed to more tolerant religious attitudes, it is not out of keeping with the spirit of the past. Its author barely escaped being killed on the spot, and some Indians never gave up looking for him.<sup>114</sup> They may have been motivated also by the fact that, when the braves were absent from their wigwams, How repeatedly violated their squaws.<sup>115</sup> They identified their insultor three years later as "Captain" How, but on that occasion he was saved through the kindness of Petitpas, a Micmac chieftain who was a great friend of Father Maillard. They got their chance however, in 1750, when How wanted to negotiate with the Micmacs on behalf of the English. Dressing himself in the military garb of a Frenchman, the Indian Etienne le Bâtard — not Cope — told his companions: "I look more like an officer than you do and I speak better French. You, fellows, hide behind that dike, and only those dressed like Frenchmen come and walk behind me."<sup>116</sup> He then advanced under a white flag toward "Captain" How and shot him when

<sup>112</sup> Some historians, such as Dr. Webster, refuse to attach credence to Father Maillard's version because the blasphemy took place so many years before it was avenged by the murder of the culprit. Such a view, however, does not take into consideration that the Indians had a remarkable memory for insults. As another Indian missionary, Father Le Jeune, S.J., wrote about them, "It is really unbelievable how they notice and remember the least fault."<sup>113</sup>

<sup>112</sup> Maillard, *art. cit.*, p. 399.

<sup>113</sup> B.R.H. 1923, pp. 344 f.

<sup>114</sup> Maillard, *art. cit.*, p. 402.

<sup>115</sup> David, *art. cit.*, p. 444.

<sup>116</sup> Maillard, *art. cit.*, p. 405.

the Englishman saw through his disguise and turned to flee.<sup>12\*</sup>

Considering that Father Maillard carefully investigated the whole affair and wrote only after having questioned the Indians "who had done it,"<sup>117</sup> it is reasonable to assume that the report of this man, whom everyone including the English held in highest esteem, is more trustworthy than the chorus of Le Loutre's detractors. Even apart from Father Maillard's report, it is difficult to believe that this priest, who spent 25,000 livres in ransoming the lives of English prisoners from the Micmacs, would have resorted to cold-blooded murder, especially since Le Loutre had warned How that his life would be in danger if he were to go among the Indians again.<sup>118</sup>

Most persuasive in the case for his innocence is the fact that Le Loutre was never brought to justice by the British for the alleged crime. They captured him in 1755 on the high seas and held him prisoner for eight years. Had they possessed any plausible proof of guilt, they would surely not have hesitated to bring it to bear against him when he had fallen helplessly into their hands.<sup>119</sup> It seems clear that they failed to do so, not out of mercy for their enemy, but because they had nothing to go on, except a letter written four years after the event by an acting Secretary of State comfortably closeted in his office behind the palisades of Halifax, and far away from the scene of events.

We have dwelled rather long on this deplorable incident because far too often Father Le Loutre has been accused of this murder, although the writers usually have added that convincing proof of his guilt could not be advanced. Fortunately, in more recent times reputable

<sup>12\*</sup> Father Maillard's report explains also why the British thought that a French officer had been involved in the murder: Etienne le Bâtard was dressed somewhat like a French officer.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 407.

<sup>118</sup> David, *art. cit.*, p. 465.

<sup>119</sup> *Mémoire de l'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu à présenter à M. de Stanley (1761?)*: Arch. Qu. 1937-38, p. 175.

historians, such as John B. Brebner,<sup>120</sup> have recognized the baselessness of this accusation.

### *New Hopes*

In 1751, Father Le Loutre made his Indians undertake a daring raid.<sup>121</sup> A few months earlier, the British authorities had again arrested Father Girard, the pastor of Cobequit, now Truro, and imprisoned him in the fort of Piziquid (Windsor).<sup>122</sup> In a lightning attack the Micmacs penetrated underneath the fort and triumphantly liberated the priest.

The following year, leaving his Indians and Acadians in the care of Father Manach, Le Loutre set out for Quebec to plead for his people.<sup>123</sup> Advised to take up the matter in Paris, he once more crossed the Atlantic. The purpose of his voyage was twofold: to promote a speedy settlement of the boundary disputes between French and English lands in Acadia and Nova Scotia, and to obtain badly needed aid for the many refugees from British-held territory.<sup>124</sup> Four months later, May 3, 1753, he was able to sail again to his beloved Acadia.<sup>125</sup> He had obtained everything that Paris was able to give him: a promise to strengthen the fortifications of Beauséjour and a plentiful supply of capital for the construction of dikes to protect the low-lying lands against the notorious high tides of the Bay of Fundy, to buy supplies for the Acadians and presents for the Indians, to advance money for new farms, and to build a church comparable in

<sup>120</sup> John Bartlet Brebner, *New England's Outpost. Acadia Before the Conquest of Canada*, New York, 1927, p. 121.

<sup>121</sup> L'autobiographie, N.F. 1931, p. 19.

<sup>122</sup> Le Chevalier de la Corne au Ministre, 31 mars 1750: Can. Arch. 1905, vol. 2, App., p. 312.

<sup>123</sup> L'autobiographie, N.F. 1931, p. 22; le Président... de la Marine à l'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu, 5 janvier 1753: \*Arch. Col., C11B, vol. 98, 2v(6).

<sup>124</sup> Le Loutre au Ministre, 4 oct. 1749: Can. Arch. 1905, vol. 2, App., pp. 295 ff.; l'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu au Président... de la Marine, 19 févr. 1753: Arch. Qu. 1935-36, pp. 362 ff.

<sup>125</sup> L'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu au Président... de la Marine, 9 mai 1753: Arch. Qu. 1935-36, p. 399.

beauty to Quebec's.<sup>126</sup>

As could be expected, there was great rejoicing when Father Le Loutre returned to Beauséjour and began to uncrate the treasures destined for the new church and to show the plans for the new edifice, as well as the new dikes.<sup>127</sup> Hopes rose high among the unfortunate refugees. Surely France did not intend to abandon them to the tender mercies of Great Britain. A new Acadia was to arise around the mighty fortress of Beauséjour. They set enthusiastically to work building fortifications and constructing dikes. More and more families flocked to the area, abandoning their homesteads in Nova Scotia. Soon three hundred men were engaged in the work.

Everything, however, did not go as smoothly as expected. A furious storm arose and swept away the dikes after three months of hard labor. Undaunted, Le Loutre urged the hardy pioneers to begin again.<sup>128</sup> Disturbed by the prospect of an impregnable fortress, and fearing that soon the entire Acadian population would seek refuge under its protecting walls, the British prepared an attack.<sup>129</sup> Le Loutre urged greater speed in the construction of the fortifications. The money ran out, but the priest begged and borrowed wherever he could in order to advance the undertaking.<sup>130</sup> To obtain the necessary food supplies he found himself forced to engage in trading pelts.<sup>131</sup> Over and above all this, he continued to take care of his Indians, giving regular days of recollection several times a year and reminding them of their allegiance to France.

Some Acadians, too, murmured against the hardships they had to undergo in the new settlements and, "longing for the fleshpots of Egypt," thought about returning to

<sup>126</sup> Du même au même, 18 avril 1753: Arch. Qu. 1935-36, pp. 395 ff.

<sup>127</sup> L'autobiographie, N.F. 1931, pp. 24 f.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.

<sup>129</sup> Lords of Trade to Lawrence, 4 March, 1754: N.S. Arch., p. 207.

<sup>130</sup> Mémoire de l'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu à Mgr le Garde des Sceaux, 7 mars 1755: Arch. Qu. 1937-38, pp. 147 ff.

<sup>131</sup> L'autobiographie, N.F. 1931, p. 27.

the old homes. Le Loutre had to point out to them that by joining the cause of England they would find themselves threatened by the Indians, who continued to be allied with France, and that they would expose themselves to the danger of losing their faith.

This question, the loss of faith threatening any Acadian remaining under the British flag, continued to haunt him. He wondered whether he should refuse the sacraments to those who wanted to return to English-held lands and, not trusting his own judgment in the matter, he submitted the question to the Chaplain General of the Colonies, to the Bishop of Quebec, and to the Sorbonne. He worried about the oath of allegiance imposed upon anyone returning to or remaining in Nova Scotia. The answers he received lacked unanimity. In the end he wrote that he had never had recourse to this extreme measure.<sup>132</sup>

The British recognized that, even if Father Le Loutre did not act upon his own initiative in his efforts to rally the Acadians and Indians, he at least was the heart and soul of the resistance offered to their colonial expansion program. Enraged at his success, Le Loutre relates, the Governor raised the price on the priest's head to six thousand livres, but to no avail. Not a single hand, Acadian or Indian, could be induced to claim such blood-money. In desperation, the Governor then tried to buy the missionary's loyalty by offering him a hundred thousand livres and a promise of freedom of religion.<sup>13\*</sup> Freedom of religion might have induced him to waver for a moment, but in view of past experiences, what value

<sup>13\*</sup> Some similar attempt to buy the loyalty of Father Maillard may perhaps be seen in a letter of William Cotterell to Captain George Scott authorizing him, with the approval of Lieutenant-Governor Lawrence, to "get" Father Maillard and "to offer such temptations and encouragement as you know it will be in the Government's power to comply with."<sup>134</sup>

<sup>132</sup> L'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu à Mgr de Ponbriand, 25 mars 1755: Arch. Qu. 1936-37, pp. 403 f.; David, "L'Abbé Le Loutre," R.U.O. 1932, p. 74.

<sup>133</sup> L'autobiographie, N.F. 1931, p. 28.

<sup>134</sup> Cotterell to Captain George Scott, 12 April, 1754: N.S. Arch., p. 209.

could anyone attach to such assurances? As to his loyalty, it was not for sale.

### *The Judas of Acadia*

At this juncture the English cause found an unexpected ally in the very heart of the fortress of Beauséjour — the French traitor Thomas Pichon, alias Tyrrell.<sup>135</sup> He had arrived there in 1753, in search of employment in keeping with his alleged medical and legal education.<sup>136</sup> When no one cared for his services, Father Le Loutre took pity on him and secured a minor position for him<sup>137</sup> which would enable him at the same time to act as secretary to the priest in his heavy correspondence. This act of pity was a great mistake — one whose tragic consequences contributed to the final defeat of the French and the brutal deportation of the Acadians.

As is so often the case when open warfare degenerates into occasional skirmishes followed by periods of relative peace, the officers of the fortress of Beauséjour fraternized with their opposite numbers of Fort Lawrence in neutral territory, where they could console one another over the dullness of military life and alleviate their boredom.<sup>138</sup> Here Pichon struck up a friendship with Captain Scott, the Commander of Fort Lawrence.<sup>139</sup> Flattered by the attention shown to him which contrasted so strongly with the lack of appreciation in French quarters, Pichon readily listened to the captain's glowing picture of the rewards awaiting a man of talents and loyalty in the royal domains of Great Britain.

When Scott made it clear that he himself was in a position to make the little secretary rich and honored, the temptation became too strong to be resisted.<sup>140</sup> As

<sup>135</sup> David, "Thomas Pichon," N.F. 1928, pp. 131-138.

<sup>136</sup> David, "Le Judas de l'Acadie," R.U.O. 1933, p. 500.

<sup>137</sup> Le Loutre to Pichon, 8 Oct., 1753: Pichon, p. 6.

<sup>138</sup> David, *art. cit.*, N.F. 1928, pp. 133 f.

<sup>139</sup> Pichon à Hinshelwood, 26 sept. 1755: C.F.Ð.I., 2, pp. 127 f. or Pichon, 110 ff.

<sup>140</sup> Pichon, p. 111.



THOMAS PICHON, THE BETRAYER OF BEAUSÉJOUR  
Courtesy Public Archives of Canada

Pichon himself later wrote, "I surrendered completely to whatever he wanted of me."<sup>141</sup> Copies of the correspondence exchanged between Le Loutre, Marquis Ange Duquesne, then Governor of Canada, the Court of Paris, the Acadians, and his fellow priests were forwarded to Captain Scott and later to his successor.<sup>142</sup> Intelligence reports about the fortifications followed and even the complete plans of the fortress. In all, no less than fifty documents accumulated in the hands of the delighted British authorities through his treason.<sup>143</sup>

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*; cf. also footnote 139.

<sup>142</sup> See reference of footnote 140 or C.F.D.I., 2, pp. 218 f.

<sup>143</sup> Pichon, pp. 30 ff.

The first man to feel the effects of Pichon's evil influence was Father Henry Daudin, a Spiritan who had accompanied Le Loutre to Acadia in 1753, and who had become pastor of Port-Royal (Annapolis).<sup>144</sup> He kept up a lively correspondence with Le Loutre regarding the affairs of the Acadians whom the British endeavored to keep in Nova Scotia.<sup>145</sup> At first he lived congenially with the British, but soon he began to sense Lieutenant-Governor Lawrence's violent opposition. "I suspect," the priest wrote, "that my mail has been intercepted." Little did he know that copies of everything he wrote to Le Loutre were channelled to the hands of the English authorities. In the fall of 1754 Lawrence ordered his arrest, had him imprisoned in Halifax, and condemned to deportation, because his parishioners did not show enough eagerness to supply the garrison with firewood.<sup>146</sup> The deportation, however, was temporarily rescinded when the priest's flock promised to behave. Pichon was very much put out by this leniency, which he considered wholly undeserved.<sup>147</sup>

In reality, the British did not trust everything they received from so tainted a source as Pichon. Besides, the only real complaint against Father Daudin was that his parishioners were slow in supplying firewood, and this offense hardly deserved to be punished by the deportation of the pastor. Moreover, it was considered positively dangerous to stir up too much resentment among the Acadians living in English-held territory at a time when renewed hostilities with the French could be expected at any moment.

Around the same time Father Le Loutre made certain

<sup>144</sup> Pichon to Scott, 17 Sept., 1754: Pichon, pp. 40 ff.; David, "Les Spiritains en Acadie," B.R.H. 1929, pp. 461 ff.

<sup>145</sup> Pichon to Scott, 4 Oct., 1754: Pichon, p. 44; Murdoch II, p. 228.

<sup>146</sup> Captain Murray to Governor, 22 Sept., 1754: N.S. Arch., pp. 222 f.; Murdoch II, pp. 248 ff.; Calnek and Savary, *op. cit.*, *Supplement*, p. 23.

<sup>147</sup> Goyau, *art. cit.*, R.H.M. 1936, pp. 503 f.

peace proposals to the British on behalf of his Micmac Indians.<sup>148</sup> They were scornfully rejected by Lawrence as "too insolent and absurd to be answered."<sup>149</sup> He had other plans in mind. An opportunity to execute them presented itself when the traitor Pichon forwarded a copy of a letter, allegedly from Marquis Ange Duquesne, the Governor of Canada, to Father Le Loutre.<sup>150</sup> It told the priest to seek a pretext for having the Indians attack the British and thus prevent the further encirclement of the beleaguered French forces.

In passing on Pichon's document to Lieutenant-Governor Lawrence, Captain Hussey added: "I have good reason to believe that the letter he calls Mr. Duquesne's is of his own composing,"<sup>151</sup> and then went on to explain why he thought that it was a fabrication. Lawrence, however, decided to forward the letter to Shirley, the Governor of New England, and to urge an immediate attack against the French.

By now, the British were very much disturbed by the French successes along the Ohio River. De Contrecoeur had just prevented them from building a fort at the confluence of the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers and had established Fort Duquesne at what is now Pittsburgh. Shortly after, George Washington was obliged to surrender Fort Necessity.<sup>152</sup> All this caused great alarm in New England. Thus it is not surprising that Shirley raised an army of three thousand men, which, in the Spring of 1755, sailed from Boston to assault the fortress of Beauséjour.<sup>153</sup>

*only a few hundred meters from the place where in the 19th century the  
Spartans would lay the foundation stone of Delphos monument*

<sup>148</sup> Le Loutre to Lawrence, 27 Aug., 1754: N.S. Arch., pp. 215 ff.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 218.

<sup>150</sup> Duquesne to Le Loutre, 15 Oct., 1754: Pichon, pp. 55 f. and N.S. Arch., pp. 215 ff.

<sup>151</sup> Captain Hussey to Commander in Chief, 12 Nov. 1754: Pichon, 60 or C.F.D.I., 2, p. 135.

<sup>152</sup> Capitulation accordée... (aux) troupes anglaises... dans le Fort Necessité... 3 juillet 1754: Arch. Qu. 1922-23, pp. 342 ff.

<sup>153</sup> L'autobiographie, N.F. 1931, p. 29.

*The Fall of Beauséjour*

If the English thought that the French stronghold was a mighty fortress, they must have been agreeably surprised. Its indolent commander, Chambon de Vergor,<sup>154</sup> was busily engaged in pursuing the cynical advice given to him by Francis Bigot, the former intendent of Nova Francia: "Make good use of the position you have. Cut yourselves in for a good share of everything — you have the power — so that you will soon be able to join me in France and buy an estate near to mine."<sup>155</sup> The fortifications had not been completed, and the heavy guns, never properly installed, were rusting away (two of them exploded when the soldiers tried to fire them); his forces consisted of about one hundred and fifty ill-fed and undisciplined men who were physically and mentally wholly unprepared to do battle.<sup>156</sup> To bolster his army, Vergor forced three hundred Acadian refugees to take up the defense of the fort. Threatened as they were with summary execution as rebels if Lawrence's army captured the fort, these poor unfortunates demanded written proof that they had been pressed into service. As soon as a few shots had been fired, Vergor wanted to surrender. Father Le Loutre vainly exhorted the military to resistance;<sup>157</sup> Pichon advised immediate surrender, and Vergor was all too willing to listen to the traitor in their midst. When surrender appeared inevitable, Le Loutre heard the confessions of the unfortunate Acadians; then, with a heavy heart, he watched the men set fire to the beautiful church which he had just finished erecting.<sup>158</sup>

Three days after the siege began, June 16, 1755, the victorious Boston troops under Colonel Robert Monckton entered the fortress of Beauséjour and all resistance

<sup>154</sup> Lauvrière, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 414 f.

<sup>155</sup> (Louis de Courville) *Mémoire du Canada*, Arch. Qu. 1924-25, p. 107.

<sup>156</sup> Lauvrière, *op. cit.*, I, p. 415.

<sup>157</sup> David, "Thomas Pichon," N.F. 1928, p. 138.

<sup>158</sup> L'autobiographie, N.F. 1931, p. 30.

ceased. To Pichon's chagrin, Father Le Loutre escaped with two Acadians through a secret exit fifteen minutes before the surrender.<sup>159</sup> It would have been satisfying for the traitor to watch the priest fall into the hands of Monckton, for the Colonel intended "to have fun with him"<sup>160</sup> — presumably after the lavish party which the French commander gave for his exulting conquerors.<sup>14\*</sup> Trudging through three hundred leagues of dense forest, Le Loutre made his way to Quebec to seek help. By the middle of August he was again en route to France on behalf of the Acadians. Fate was once more against him, for the British controlled the seas and captured him. This time he was recognized, despite the fact that he gave his name as J. L. Desprez.<sup>161</sup> In December 1755 he was jailed at Elisabeth Castle, Jersey,<sup>162</sup> where he was destined to languish for eight years until the Treaty of Paris, in 1763, restored his freedom.

Pichon, after masquerading as a fellow victim of the Acadians, finally received a miserable reward for his wretched services: the King of England gave him a traitor's pension of two hundred pounds sterling. He died in Jersey in 1781.<sup>163</sup> A few years before his death he wrote: "Too late I see the fatal scope of my error. That moral honesty which I had made my idol was a mere shadow of the duties which I failed to perform."<sup>164</sup>

#### 4. *The "Grand Dérangement"*

##### *The Capture and Deportation of Priests from Nova Scotia*

It is not within the scope of the present work to relate in detail the poignant story of the cruel deportation

<sup>14\*</sup> Four years later Vergor's continued negligence was to contribute to the fall of Quebec and the conquest of Canada by Great Britain.

<sup>159</sup> David, *art. cit.*, p. 136; l'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu au Président... de la Marine, 29 sept. 1755: Arch. Qu. 1937-38, p. 160.

<sup>160</sup> L'autobiographie, N.F. 1931, p. 31; Murdoch II, p. 272.

<sup>161</sup> L'autobiographie, p. 31; l'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu au Président... de la Marine, 10 oct. 1755: Arch. Qu. 1937-38, p. 163.

<sup>162</sup> Le Président... de la Marine à M. Guillot, 23 févr. 1756: \*Arch. Col., C11B, vol. 104-1, 38(117).

<sup>163</sup> David, "Le Judas de l'Acadie," R.U.O. 1934, p. 32.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34.



CHARLES LAWRENCE, GOVERNOR OF NOVA SCOTIA  
Courtesy Public Archives of Canada

known as the "Grand Dérangement." As is generally known, Lieutenant-Governor Lawrence took it upon himself to finally execute the periodic proposals to deport the entire Acadian population. That there was no question of a hasty decision taken in anger by a local governor is evidenced by the undeniable fact that this atrocious attempted genocide and manhunt went on for ~~eight~~ years, long after death had removed Lawrence from the scene.

The iniquitous plan was carried out in such a barbarous fashion that the unfortunate victims of it died by the thousands. Men, women, and children were rounded up and driven to the shores, while behind them rose the dense smoke of their ancient homesteads and peaceful villages, put to the torch by the New England soldiery. Packed into crowded boats "two or more to a tun,"<sup>165</sup> without adequate supplies, the survivors were scattered all along the inhospitable shores of the Atlantic coast, often to be decimated by disease or driven back to the

<sup>165</sup> Winslow, p. 179.

sea by hostile authorities.

This tragic story is considered hereafter only in relation to the activities of those Spiritan priests into whose trust was placed the care of these unfortunates.

When Beauséjour fell into the hands of the New Englanders, there were only eight priests in the areas under British control: four in "British Acadia" (Nova Scotia) and four in the new Acadia around the fortress of Beauséjour.<sup>166</sup> At least five of these were Spiritans. The non-Spiritans in Nova Scotia were Father Desencaves, an old man who lived retired in an isolated corner, where he devoted his waning strength to twenty Acadian families, and Father Chauvreulx, pastor of Mines. The Spiritans were Father Henry Daudin, pastor of Annapolis, and Father Francis Le Maire, who fulfilled a similar function at Piziquid (Windsor) and Canard River.<sup>167</sup>

In the new Acadia around Beauséjour were Father Le Loutre, Father Philip Vizien, chaplain of the military forces of the fortress,<sup>168</sup> Father Francis Le Guerne, who cared for the Acadians scattered along the main rivers which emptied into the Bay of Chignecto,<sup>169</sup> and Father John Manach<sup>170</sup> who, having completed his apprenticeship as a Micmac missionary under Father Maillard, now aided Le Loutre in his work among the Indians.<sup>15\*</sup>

*As appears from his conduct as priest of the Holy Ghost Fathers, he was a Spiritan*  
<sup>15\*</sup> It is difficult to determine with certainty whether Father Manach was, a Spiritan or not. The correspondence of the Abbot of Isle Dieu does not make it clear.<sup>171</sup> Still, when the Holy See entrusted the Miquelon Islands to the Holy Ghost Fathers in 1765, Father Manach was the first man to be sent there, and he is recorded as a Spiritan in the list of the Ecclesiastical and Religious Superiors of the Holy Ghost Fathers.<sup>172</sup>

<sup>166</sup> L'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu, *Table sommaire des missionnaires séculiers...* (1761): Arch. Qu. 1937-38, pp. 184-187.

<sup>167</sup> David, "Le Séminaire du Saint-Esprit..." B.R.H. 1929, p. 282; "Les Spiritains en Acadie," B.R.H. 1929, p. 461.

<sup>168</sup> L'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu à Mgr de Pontbriand, 25 mars 1755: Arch. Qu. 1936-37, p. 402.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 403.

<sup>171</sup> L'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu au Ministre Rouillé, 1 avril 1750: Arch. Qu. 1935-36, p. 293.

<sup>172</sup> *La congrégation du Saint-Esprit. Ses Supérieurs. Ses Missions*, Paris, 1930.

### *Knaves or Knights?*

In addition to these, there were several other Spiritan priests who will be considered later in connection with the conquest of the entire French possessions in the area.

On August 1, 1755, orders were issued for the arrest of the priests in Nova Scotia and three military detachments of fifty men each left in pursuit of them. Father Chauvreulx was arrested three days later. It took more trouble to find Father Le Maire, for he had gone into hiding to consume the sacred hosts in the various churches and chapels entrusted to his care. As soon as he had carried out this precaution, the frail priest presented himself to his captors. Father Daudin was surprised at the altar and arrested as soon as he had finished his Mass. Without allowing him to return to the rectory for clothing, soldiers conducted him to the prison of Fort Edward, Pisiquid.<sup>173</sup> The priests' dwellings were searched and stripped of all documents.

Soon after, a strong military guard of one hundred and fifty men transported the three priests to Halifax. To the sound of drums, they were led to the public square, there to be exposed for three quarters of an hour to the ridicule and insults of the populace. After several weeks of detention, Lieutenant-Governor Lawrence had them deported to England, after which they made their way to France. Weak in mind and body, Father Le Maire<sup>174</sup> withdrew from any further connection with the Spiritan missions and joined the clergy of Paris.<sup>16\*</sup> Daudin went ~~to his eternal reward~~ in 1756 just when he was readying himself to cross the Atlantic again to resume his apostolic labors in Canada.<sup>177</sup> Father Chau-

<sup>16\*</sup> He had been unable to cope with the difficult situation facing him in Acadia.<sup>175</sup> A year after his arrival in 1752, he had a nervous breakdown and began to act strangely, which made Lawrence refer to him as an "imbecile."<sup>176</sup> Nursed back to health, he resumed his pastoral work at the Canard River, until his arrest in 1755.

<sup>173</sup> Lettre de M. Daudin, Casgrain, *Pèlerinage*, pp. 102 ff.

<sup>174</sup> L'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu, Table sommaire . . . : Arch. Qu. 1937-38, p. 185.

<sup>175</sup> Bourgeois, *op. cit.*, p. 48; Casgrain, *Sulpiciens* . . . , pp. 409 f.

<sup>176</sup> Murdoch II, p. 255.

<sup>177</sup> Le Président . . . de la Marine à l'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu, 12 mars 1756: \*Arch. Col., C11B, vol. 104-1, 44v(141); du même au même, 14 août 1756: *ibid.*, vol. 104-2, 122(368).

vreulx,<sup>178</sup> likewise, died soon after his return to France.<sup>17\*</sup>

Considering the priests in the Acadia around Fort Beauséjour, Father Le Loutre's escape from the dire fate awaiting him at the hand of Monckton has already been recounted. Father Vizien, the military chaplain, suffered the same fate as the defeated French forces: namely, deportation to Louisbourg, on Cape Breton Island, the nearest French territory.<sup>181</sup> From there he made his way to Quebec, where he was active during the siege of this city in 1759, as will be noted later. Father Manach withdrew with his Micmacs to Baie Verte, New Brunswick, provisionally out of reach of the New England forces.<sup>182</sup>

### *The Chaplain of Hunted Men: Father Le Guerne*

Thus there remained only a single priest, Father Le Guerne, among the fifteen hundred to two thousand Acadians who had sought refuge under the illusory protection of the guns of Beauséjour. They had built new farms along the rivers opening into Chignecto Bay. Like their unfortunate fellow victims in the other parts of the country, they refused to believe that the conqueror would brutally expel them from the lands which they had reclaimed at the cost of so much back-breaking labor. Almost fanatically attached to their lands, many of them fell easy prey to the stratagem employed by Lieutenant-Colonel John Winslow to catch them without having to resort to scouring the country-side; he invited them to a meeting in Fort Cumberland — the new name of Fort

<sup>17\*</sup> Longfellow, in his immortal poem *Evangeline*, has a priest, Father Felician, console the Acadian deportees of Grand-Pré before their embarkment. In reality, all priests on the Acadian peninsula had been arrested and sent away before the brutal deportation began.<sup>179</sup> The only exception was Father Desenclaves, in the isolated Cape Sable,<sup>180</sup> who did not stir from his retirement until his deportation to a New England jail in 1756.

<sup>178</sup> David, "Les Spiritains en Acadie," B.R.H. 1929, p. 462.

<sup>179</sup> Bourgeois, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

<sup>180</sup> N.C., p. 63.

<sup>181</sup> L'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu au Président . . . de la Marine, 29 sept. 1755: Arch. Qu. 1937-38, p. 160.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 161.

Beauséjour — to make arrangements about their farms.<sup>183</sup>

Lulled into a false sense of security by the pardon which had been granted them in the capitulation of Beauséjour, they fell into the trap. Father Le Guerne was highly suspicious of the motive behind the invitation, but, as he says: "I could not very well oppose this step. [The Acadians now] regarded the English as their masters, they felt secure because of the terms of the capitulation, and considered themselves obliged to obey... I could not have counseled them to disobey... without being held responsible for all the evils of Acadia."<sup>184</sup>

Thus it came about that some four hundred Acadians presented themselves at Fort Cumberland. When they had assembled, Monckton read to them a statement from Lawrence, declaring them rebels, confiscating their possessions, and constituting them prisoners.<sup>185</sup> "As soon as I saw them arrested in the fort," Father Le Guerne continues,<sup>186</sup> "I realized that it was impossible to meet the British halfway and that the best I could do was to save the remainder of my flock for our faith and for France. Through attractive promises, specious offers and even presents, which I did not dare to refuse at first, the British commander thought that he had gained me to his side."<sup>18\*</sup>

Intending to arrest Father Le Guerne, thus depriving the remaining Acadians of their counselor, the commander sent word to him to come for an interview. There had been too many instances of treachery, however, for the priest to be deceived by this ruse. "He did not know me very well," he said. "I took care not to fall into the traps laid by him... When he repeated his invitation and urged me to put aside all apprehension and to visit the

<sup>18\*</sup> Father Le Guerne had been introduced to Colonel Monckton by Pichon after the fall of Beauséjour.<sup>187</sup>

<sup>183</sup> Lettre de l'Abbé Le Guerne, 10 mars 1756: Richard III, p. 464, C.F.D.I., 2, p. 155. The same letter may be found also in Can. Arch. 1905, 2, App., pp. 346 ff.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, C.F.D.I., 2, p. 154.

<sup>185</sup> N.C., p. 81.

<sup>186</sup> Le Guerne's letter, C.F.D.I., 2, p. 155.

<sup>187</sup> Murdoch II, p. 274.

fort, I replied: 'I remember the case of Father Maillard, who was shipped out of the country despite the positive assurance of a British governor'."<sup>188</sup>

Realizing that henceforth he would be a hunted man, the courageous priest withdrew into a wild region "always on the alert, nearly always in the woods,"<sup>189</sup> leaving his hiding place only when his ministry was needed by the wretched victims who had not yet been caught in the manhunt. To prevent their capture, he says, "I strongly and repeatedly advised those outside the fort not to enter it. I gave the same counsel to all the women who received frequent orders to prepare themselves for embarkment."<sup>190</sup> The priest pleaded with them, emphasized the danger to which they would expose themselves by surrendering to the New Englanders, and indicated the way in which they could perhaps be united again with their husbands.

His pleadings with those who lived close to Beauséjour, however, were mostly in vain. "One hundred and forty of these unfortunate women," he wrote,<sup>191</sup> "threw themselves in blind despair into the British vessels" to be deported to an unknown destination. He had more success with the people living along the rivers. "I had the consolation of seeing that hitherto not one of the women there was embarked, save four or five who were taken by surprise, and forcibly removed."<sup>192</sup>

Meanwhile, a French lieutenant, Charles de Boishébert, stationed at St. John's River, New Brunswick, heard about the fate of these poor people.<sup>193</sup> Rushing to the rescue with a score of soldiers and a hundred Indians, he surprised Colonel Freye and three hundred New England troops who were busily engaged in setting fire to the church and two hundred and fifty three houses

<sup>188</sup> See footnote 186.

<sup>189</sup> Le Guerne's letter, C.F.D.I., p. 156.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>193</sup> Journal de M. de Boishébert: Can. Arch, 1905, vol. 2, App., pp. 176 f.; Knox I, p. 61.

### *Knaves or Knights?*

in Peticodiac, one of Father Le Guerne's parishes.<sup>194</sup> In a furious battle, lasting three hours, the French and Indians killed or wounded many of the assailants and drove them back to their ships. Many others lost their lives through drowning in their hurry to get aboard.<sup>195</sup> "This stroke,"  
X said Father Le Guerne, "scared the British out of their wits — more so than all the guns of Beauséjour."<sup>196</sup> Fearing a repetition of this attack, the New Englanders hesitated to continue their incendiary task and man hunt so that the two hundred and fifty Acadian families still  
X in the area "were able to collect part of their harvest and to withdraw with women and children into the woods."<sup>197</sup>

Determined not to leave the nearly one hundred women and children who were still living in the neighborhood of Fort Cumberland to their fate, Father Le Guerne now organized a rescue party.<sup>198</sup> With the aid of a few boys and old men, he plotted an escape route through the swamps in the direction of Baie Verte, opposite Prince Edward Island. The distance was only about ten leagues, but it took the wretched victims a whole month to cover it. All the time the tireless priest stayed with these poor people to encourage them and to help them transport their scant belongings. From Baie Verte they made their way to Prince Edward Island, one of the two that was still in French hands. Another group of about five hundred followed a little later.<sup>199</sup>

Meanwhile the New Englanders continued their ravages. Their success in catching Acadians was slowed and only a few women and boys fell into their hands. To make matters worse, eighty-six of Father Le Guerne's parishioners managed to escape from Fort Cumberland during a stormy night by tunneling their way to freedom.<sup>200</sup> They promptly rejoined their families in the

<sup>194</sup> Winslow, pp. 100 f.; Richard III, p. 61.

<sup>195</sup> Journal de M. de Boishébert: Can. Arch. vol. 2, App., p. 177.

<sup>196</sup> Le Guerne, p. 40.

<sup>197</sup> M. de Vaudreuil au Ministre, 18 oct. 1755: Can. Arch. 1905, vol. 2, App., p. 178.

<sup>198</sup> Le Guerne, pp. 40 f.

<sup>199</sup> Lettre de M. Le Guerne, 10 mars 1756, C.F.D.I., 2, p. 157.

<sup>200</sup> Winslow, p. 177; Richard III, p. 60.

woods. All that Lawrence's soldiers could do in retaliation was to set more fires. But this they did with a vengeance: November 2—7, 607 houses and barns plus one "Mass House" at Gasperau and Canard River;<sup>201</sup> November 15, the church of Tintamar and one hundred houses; November 17, another thirty at Memramcook; November 20, one hundred houses at Weskok...<sup>202</sup>

On both sides the skirmishes became more ferocious. The Indians fought, of course, in their traditional fashion and lifted the scalps of their enemies. Now the New England troops began to do the same. Father Le Guerne relates in one of his letters that "the commanding officer of the search party in Memramcook had orders to seize all Acadians in that place, to kill on the spot all those capable of bearing arms, and to scalp them..., leaving a message for Lieutenant de Boishébert couched in these terms: 'You have started this, but we will continue with it until you withdraw with your Savages from this area. Among you the Savages are told that every Englishman they kill is one step up for them on the ladder leading to the Paradise. Let me add that for our men it will be two steps up for every Acadian destroyed.'"<sup>203</sup>

To make matters worse, the Acadian refugees became careless.<sup>204</sup> Living in make-shift huts in the woods, deprived of the most elementary comforts, they often thought about the cherished possessions which they had left behind in their homesteads. Sometimes the temptation to try to rescue their belongings was too strong to resist and frequently these lone wanderers were caught by roving bands of British soldiers. To prevent them from leading the enemy to their hide-outs, it became necessary, as soon as someone was caught, to change location, regardless of the severity of the winter weather. Father Le Guerne complained bitterly about the refugees' carelessness, but to no avail until Lieutenant Boishébert threatened them with heavy fines and deportation to

<sup>201</sup> Winslow, p. 185.

<sup>202</sup> Guy Frégault, "La déportation des Acadiens," R.H.A.F. 1953-54, p. 38.

<sup>203</sup> Le Guerne's letter, C.F.D.I., 2, p. 158.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.*

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Quebec.<sup>205</sup> Although such a deportation from the horrible scene of their suffering should have been regarded as a blessing in disguise, the Acadians continued to cling so tenaciously to the hope that they could ultimately return to their lands that the threat was remarkably effective.

During all this the New England troops continued to seek out Father Le Guerne, but without success.<sup>206</sup> He continued to say Mass, the Acadians' only consolation, in hastily erected chapels, baptize the children, bless the graves, and, surprising as it may seem, to celebrate the marriages of those who, in spite of everything, continued to believe in a happy future.<sup>207</sup> Soon, however, he saw himself forced to withdraw entirely from Memramcook and to go into hiding in the Cocagne region, farther away from Fort Cumberland, for the soldiery roamed more deeply now into the land. He felt greatly relieved when Father John La Brosse, S.J., came to his assistance from the St. John's River, and took over the pastoral care of the Peticodiac area.<sup>208</sup>

Not unexpectedly, food began to grow scarce, for enemy patrols continued to raid the live stock.<sup>209</sup> In addition, the refugees now had more than four hundred Indian warriors to feed from their meager rations. Unless they wanted to starve to death, flight became necessary. Before the Spring of 1756 could melt the ice on the swamps, Father Le Guerne again made his way to the coast opposite Prince Edward Island and prepared shelters for them. But so great was the attachment of these poor people to their beloved Acadia that many of them did not want to abandon their wretched huts. Only about sixty families listened to his urgings and left. Their places were quickly taken by a new group of refugees who had escaped deportation from Mines and Annapolis and had managed to make their way across the

<sup>205</sup> Manifeste de M. de Boishébert aux Acadiens, 20 déc. 1755: *Can. Arch.* 1905, vol. 2, App., p. 345; Knox I, pp. 61 f.

<sup>206</sup> Le Guerne, p. 44.

<sup>207</sup> \**Can. Arch.*, Nova Scotia Church Records, Acadia, pp. 50 ff.

<sup>208</sup> Le Guerne, p. 43.

<sup>209</sup> Le Guerne's letter, *C.F.D.I.*, 2, 157 f.

Bay of Fundy, over the St. John River in New Brunswick, to Peticodiac.<sup>210</sup>

Hunger soon forced the scattered refugees to appeal to the French commander of Ile St. Jean for supplies. "We lack absolutely everything," wrote Father Le Guerne in March 1756, "flour, bacon, peas, gun powder, grease, lead and bullets... It is three months now since we have had anything to drink"<sup>211</sup> except water. But food was also in short supply on the French-held island, crowded as it was with other Acadian refugees. It was decided therefore to direct the remaining families to Miramichi, New Brunswick, where, it was hoped, they could at least secure some food through fishing. Thirty-five hundred Acadians made their way to this refuge. Their efforts to find food, however, proved fruitless.

Father Le Guerne, who had opposed their transfer to Miramichi, wrote that "it was a terrible place: it had never been cultivated, there was nothing to hunt, and very little fish."<sup>212</sup> The following winter, he continued, "many of these poor people died from starvation and wretchedness. Those who escaped death, fell victim to a horrible contagious disease. Famine forced them to eat the leather of their boots, carrion and in some cases even animal excrements."<sup>213</sup> Some of the survivors managed to make their way to Quebec, while others fled to the Restigouche River in Northern New Brunswick, and founded a new settlement there. A year later, however, the manhunt caught up with them even there, for the enemy was busy destroying the Acadians everywhere along the Gulf of Saint Lawrence.<sup>214</sup>

Nearly all the refugees were gone now from Father Le Guerne's assigned territory. Only a few families remained who felt themselves secure in the upper regions of the Peticodiac River and did not want to move. Consequently, Father Le Guerne, in the summer of 1757, decided to go to Quebec on a personal appeal to the

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 159 f.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 161.

<sup>212</sup> Le Guerne, p. 29.

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>214</sup> Lauvrière, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 90 ff

French governor in behalf of the wretched victims of the cruel manhunt.<sup>215</sup> He never saw Acadia again. Bishop de Pontbriand first planned to send him to Louisiana, the extreme south of his immense diocese,<sup>216</sup> but in 1758 he appointed the valiant priest to a parish on the Ile d'Orleans, near Quebec, where a number of Acadian exiles had sought refuge.<sup>217</sup> Father Le Guerne also figured prominently in the activities of Spiritan priests in the Quebec region, where he was destined to render another thirty years of service to the Church in Canada. His activities in this connection are discussed further in a later chapter.<sup>218</sup>

*The Fall of Louisbourg. Surrender of Father Maillard.*

As soon as they had the situation in Nova Scotia sufficiently well in hand, the British decided to drive the French from their last stronghold, Louisbourg on Ile Royale or Cape Breton Island. The fall of this fort would determine at the same time the fate of Ile Saint Jean, or Prince Edward Island, which was not fortified.

Father Maillard, the Vicar General and Apostle of the Micmacs, had his headquarters on Cape Breton where the Franciscan Recollects took care of the regular parishes. On Prince Edward Island the Spiritan, John Biscarat, was pastor of St. Peter's in the northern part of the island<sup>19\*</sup> and three other priests were stationed in

<sup>19\*</sup> Another Spiritan, Father John Perronnel, had been pastor of this place and of St. Louis from 1752—55.<sup>219</sup> A physical and mental wreck, he had to be sent back to France in 1755. Immediately after his arrival in La Rochelle he was confined to a hospital,<sup>220</sup> where he died around 1758.<sup>221</sup>

A letter of the Abbot of Isle Dieu, dated 1754, indicates that the other priests then stationed on the island were Father James Girard,

<sup>215</sup> Frégault, *art. cit.*, R.H.A.P. 1953-54, p. 40.

<sup>216</sup> Mgr de Pontbriand à l'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu, 30 oct. 1757: \*Arch. Col., C11A, vol. 102, (407). Same letter in \*Arch. Sem. Qu., 14, li. 6, no. 14.

<sup>217</sup> Mgr. de Pontbriand à M. Le Guerne, 1-2 mai 1758: \*Arch. Archd. Qu., Ste-Famille, vol. I, fo. 113.

<sup>218</sup> Cf. pp. 140 ff.

<sup>219</sup> L'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu à Mgr de Pontbriand, 1 avril 1753 and 31 mai 1753: Arch. Qu. 1935-36, pp. 382 and 408.

<sup>220</sup> Du même au Président... de la Marine, 23 déc. 1755: Arch. Qu. 1937-38, p. 173.

<sup>221</sup> David, "Les Spiritains en Acadie," B.R.H. 1929, p. 461.

the remaining parishes.

Father Maillard had returned to Cape Breton in 1749, after a voyage to Quebec. There he had built a chapel and residence in the Bras d'Or Lake (Chapel Island), whose care he entrusted to his Micmac servant, Louis Petitpas.<sup>227</sup> After the fall of Beauséjour, he kept in constant touch with the governor of Louisbourg to aid him in the defense of the island against the expected invasion.<sup>228</sup>

Shortly after the attack began, the governor appealed to Father Maillard, asking him to get in touch with Lieutenant de Boishébert. This officer had landed with

Father Cassiet and Father Bernard Dosque.<sup>222</sup> They may have been Spiritans, but conclusive evidence is lacking.

While the British fleet blockaded Louisbourg, two other priests sailed from France for that port. They were Fathers Guillaumot and Le Goff.<sup>223</sup> At least the first of these, very likely both, were Spiritans. Guillaumot had been a fellow-student of Father Biscarat.<sup>224</sup> They probably were aboard of one of the numerous vessels damaged or sunk by the British. A letter of Father Maillard indicates that Father Guillaumot's water-soaked luggage reached Cape Breton, and a French Navy document shows that both priests returned safely to France in the summer of 1757 and were to re-embark again.<sup>225</sup> For lack of further documentation it is futile to even speculate regarding the adventurous story hidden here.

How badly the priests on Cape Breton were in want of everything is revealed by the same letter of Father Maillard, in which he states that, having no shoes left, he has appropriated from the water-soaked luggage two pairs of shoes, as well as a pair of *culottes*, and given the rest of the clothing to Father Girard and Father Cassiet. The priest's books (many Spiritan missionaries were scholarly inclined and owned fairly substantial libraries) were kept in a safe place until "peace returns" when he could make a second effort to reach his destination.<sup>226</sup> The records available do not indicate that he ever returned to the North American continent.

<sup>222</sup> L'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu. *Table sommaire des missionnaires séculiers (1761?)*: Arch. Qu. 1937-38, p. 184.

<sup>223</sup> Le Président . . . de la Marine à l'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu, 12 mars 1756: \*Arch. Col., C11B, vol. 104-3, 39v(626).

<sup>224</sup> Undated letter of Father Maillard: \*Arch. Sem. Qu., Saberdache rouge, Q, pp. 171 ff.

<sup>225</sup> Le Président . . . de la Marine à l'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu, 3 sept. 1757: \*Arch. Col., C11B, vol. 106, 105v(171).

<sup>226</sup> See footnote 224.

<sup>227</sup> Le Comte de Raymond au Ministre, 4 nov. 1751: \*Arch. Col., C11B, vol. 31, 58.

<sup>228</sup> David, "L'Apôtre des Micmacs," R.U.O. 1935, p. 69.

some Canadian and Indian troops at Port Toulouse (St. Peter's) and his assistance would have been invaluable in preventing the British from landing in force. After delivering the governor's message in person, Father Maillard added that the Cross of St. Louis, a coveted distinction, was waiting for de Boishébert in Louisbourg.<sup>229</sup> It was a reward which he deserved to receive for his courageous action in previous battles against a superior enemy.<sup>230</sup> For some strange reason, de Boishébert seemed unwilling to act upon the appeal addressed to him by the governor.

Perceiving this reluctance, for which the officer has been severely blamed by historians, the priest told him in the presence of his staff:<sup>231</sup> "Sir, you see how much trust the Governor has in you. Weak as your detachment here is, it will suddenly acquire triple strength: the Savages who have been waiting a long time will follow you, as well as the youth and even the married men of Port Toulouse. We think that you do not wish to have the cross awaiting you in Louisbourg in any other way than that in which David gained Michol."<sup>20\*</sup>

The officer's answer, Father Maillard related, was unprintable.<sup>232</sup> For some obscure reason de Boishébert refused to come to the rescue of Louisbourg, no matter how much the Governor insisted, and how much his own men as well as the Micmacs and Acadians implored him to act. As Father Maillard reported, "The Indians told him: 'We will live on stray cattle. Give us rifles, powder and bullets and allow us to harrass the enemy.' But de Boishébert spoke to them so discouragingly that they decided to return to the mission, which is only at a distance of eight leagues."<sup>233</sup> On the way back a group of thirty-two Indians, joined by twenty-five Acadians,

<sup>20\*</sup> According to *1 Kings 18* : 27, David gained the hand of Michol, the daughter of Saul, by slaying two hundred of the king's enemies.

<sup>229</sup> Undated letter of Father Maillard: \*Arch. Sem. Qu., S.R., Q, pp. 181 ff.

<sup>230</sup> M. Bougainville, *Journal de l'expédition à l'Amérique...*: Arch. Qu. 1923-24, pp. 329 and 362.

<sup>231</sup> See footnote 229.

<sup>232</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 182.

<sup>233</sup> *Ibid.*

surprised and routed a careless British detachment of six hundred men. The English, who feared the Savages "worse than lightning" as Father Maillard said, thought that they were being attacked by a large force of Indians and fled in utter panic.<sup>234</sup>

Not before it was too late did de Boishébert make up his mind to go to the aid of the beleaguered fort. By then the British had surrounded it so strongly that he could offer no help whatsoever. After an heroic defense lasting forty days, the French troops surrendered the crumbling walls on July 26, 1758.<sup>235</sup> Ile Royale again became Cape Breton Island. Two weeks later the British forces occupied the undefended island of Saint Jean and called it Prince Edward Island.

As could be expected, the conqueror decided to deport not only the French troops but also all Acadians living on the islands. Many of them had come there around 1750 when a voluntary mass exodus from Nova Scotia to French-held lands had been started under the sponsorship of the French government. Others had arrived only a year or two before as refugees from the manhunt instituted by Lieutenant-Governor Lawrence in 1755. The total number of these people has been estimated at about forty-six hundred on Prince Edward Island, and five thousand on Cape Breton Island.<sup>236</sup> They had already suffered untold hardships and starvation, especially at Prince Edward Island, where the harvest had often been very bad. Now they faced deportation once again.

Just as they had done in the other Acadian lands, the conquerors systematically destroyed every French settlement and once more loaded the Acadians into crowded boats for their final deportation to France. Two or three of these leaky ships sank in the winter storms of December 1758, carrying seven hundred victims to their

<sup>234</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>235</sup> N.C., pp. 87 f.

<sup>236</sup> D. C. Harvey, *The French Regime in Prince Edward Island*, New Haven, 1926, p. 243; Lauvrière, *op cit.*, II, p. 69.

death.<sup>237</sup> Father Biscarat,<sup>238</sup> who underwent deportation with his parishioners, died from exhaustion when his ship reached England.<sup>21\*</sup> Father Girard<sup>239</sup> safely reached Brest after seeing three hundred of his parishioners perish when their ship sank in the dangerous waters of the Channel.<sup>22\*</sup>

Although thousands of Acadians were deported and hundreds disappeared without a trace, some managed to go into hiding in the islands or made their escape to Canada and the Miquelon Islands. A number of them fled to Miramichi, New Brunswick, where Father Manach was already over-burdened with other refugees. Soon after, Father Maillard led his Micmac warriors to the same hiding place.<sup>244</sup> The conditions of this refuge were appalling. As the priest wrote: "I see here only utter wretchedness and want. The families gathered here are all starving. They are on the point of leaving this horrible place to isolate themselves in different spots where they hope to be able to live from fishing and hunting."<sup>245</sup>

In May 1759, when Quebec was in imminent danger

<sup>21\*</sup> Father Maillard had planned to retain the priests stationed on Prince Edward Island by making them withdraw to Miramichi or to Matagomich, a small harbor unknown to the British.<sup>240</sup> But only Father Dosque managed to escape and make his way to Quebec. He died there in 1774.<sup>241</sup>

<sup>22\*</sup> There are two accounts of this sinking. According to Captain Piles' report, the priest preached for half an hour to the doomed Acadians, gave them absolution, and then saved himself by following the captain and crew into the life boat.<sup>242</sup> Father Girard's own account merely states that the crew saved themselves as well as the priest and four Acadians.<sup>243</sup>

<sup>237</sup> Harvey, *op. cit.*, pp. 247 ff.; Ernest Martin, *Les exilés acadiens en France au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1936, p. 277.

<sup>238</sup> See footnote 222.

<sup>239</sup> Extrait d'une lettre de M. Girard à l'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu, 24 janvier 1759: \*Arch. Col., Moreau, F3, vol. 50-3, 639 (569).

<sup>240</sup> Undated letter of Father Maillard: \*Arch. Sem. Qu., S.R., Q, p. 176. See also footnote 222.

<sup>241</sup> Death notice in *Gazette de Québec*, quoted in "La bibliothèque du Curé Dosque," B.R.H. 1936, p. 310.

<sup>242</sup> Nova Scotia Historical Society, vol. II, p. 148.

<sup>243</sup> See footnote 239.

<sup>244</sup> David, "L'Apôtre des Micmacs," R.U.O. 1935, p. 73.

<sup>245</sup> See footnote 240.

of attack, the rumor ran that Father Maillard was coming to the rescue with a large force of Indians. A Mismac related that "ye French priests have received advice from Quebec that place would be attacked by ye wood and water, and that ye abbé Maillard, ye priest, was to conduct all ye Indians of these parts very soon to Quebec."<sup>246</sup> At that time, however, the priest had returned with his Indians to Chapel Island, there to await the arrival of British troops and surrender. When they failed to come, he made his last will and returned once more to Miramichi, undoubtedly to help Father Manach in his work among the refugees. Always a scholar, he continued, even in these dire conditions, to work on his manuscripts.<sup>247</sup>

In October of the same year he was back again on Chapel Island, in time to receive the ultimatum of Henry Schomberg, the British commander, who appeared with his ship off the island. In bad French, Schomberg took the "importunity" (*sic*) to invite him to surrender without resistance, announced the fall of Quebec, and promised in the name of the King of England that the inhabitants would continue "to enjoy all their goods, their freedom, possessions, as well as free exercise of their religion."<sup>248</sup>

Undoubtedly, it was the personal prestige and influence of Father Maillard which caused the conqueror to show unexpected leniency in this case. Living as they did in constant dread of the Indians, the British did not dare to deport the only man capable of exercising control over them. As early as 1754 and 1755, the traitor Pichon had already recommended that his masters secure the services of Father Maillard, whom even he held in high regard.<sup>249</sup> For this reason Schomberg got instructions to make to the priest, on behalf of the British, the first peace offer that showed any sign of human decency toward the Acadians.

<sup>246</sup> A. G. Doughty and C. M. Parmelee, *The Siege of Quebec and the Battle of the Plains*, vol. 5, p. 231.

<sup>247</sup> See footnote 244.

<sup>248</sup> Schomberg à Maillard, 26 oct. 1759: *Can. Arch.* 1905, vol. 2, App. pp. 186 f. Cf. David, *art. cit.*, p. 74.

<sup>249</sup> Pichon to Scott, 14 Oct., 1754: Pichon, p. 45; Pichon to Captain Hussey (?), 3 Jan., 1755, *ibid.*, p. 80.

Father Maillard was clever enough to realize that, since the fall of Quebec, the fate of the French empire in North America was definitely sealed.<sup>250</sup> Despite the protests of some Frenchmen and Indians, he persuaded the Acadians and Micmacs to accept the conditions.<sup>251</sup> Although some French historians have criticized him for this act, the course he took appears to have been the only reasonable one. As he himself wrote: "The pitiable condition to which I see nearly all our French families reduced irresistibly forces me to listen to the conqueror's proposals. By listening to them, I serve my country better than do many of those vain babblers who in their heart are not at all as they pretend to appear by their use of big words such as constancy, loyalty and unshakeable attachment to our country... It is certain that under the circumstances obstinacy would be a very imprudent way of acting."<sup>252</sup> Lacking the most elementary supplies, uncertain of not being betrayed, and without hope of outside help in time, the priest saw no future in a continuation of the resistance against the enemy.

His courageous conduct resulted in the saving not only of his Indians but of two hundred and thirty-five Acadian families as well. In February of 1760, the priest with the Indians and Acadians signed a treaty of peace with the British.

### *Father Manach Falls Into a Trap*

As early as 1755, Father Manach had been ordered arrested, but had constantly evaded his would-be captors.<sup>253</sup> Working among the Indians on the coast of New Brunswick at Miramichi and Richibucto, Father Manach took care also of about seven hundred Acadian refugees living there in utter destitution.<sup>254</sup> In November 1759, the British made him the same proposal of peace

<sup>250</sup> M. Maillard au Capitaine Le Blanc, 31 déc. 1759: Can. Arch., 1905, vol. 2, App., pp. 188 f.

<sup>251</sup> (Louis de Courville?), *Mémoire du Canada*: Arch. Qu. 1924-25, pp. 145 f.

<sup>252</sup> M. Maillard au Capitaine Le Blanc, 27 nov. 1759: Can. Arch., 1905, vol. 2, App., p. 188.

<sup>253</sup> Murdoch II, p. 290.

<sup>254</sup> Richard III, p. 317.

they had offered to Father Maillard; that is, peaceful enjoyment of their possession and freedom of religion. Because the refugees were literally starving, the British commander, Colonel Joseph Frye, supplied them with some food.<sup>256</sup> Meanwhile he wrote to Governor Lawrence that these Acadians would "in the Spring be ready... to be disposed of as Your Excellency shall see fit."<sup>256</sup>

Trusting that the conqueror would show toward him and his flock the same leniency they had revealed in their dealing with Father Maillard,<sup>257</sup> the priest wrote to Lieutenant Bourdon in Restigouche on January 27, 1760 that, "being without food, powder or lead," he was going "to Fort Beauséjour [Cumberland] to ratify the peace."<sup>258</sup> Less gullible, Bourdon sent a warning: "You have stupidly fallen into a trap."<sup>259</sup> Lieutenant de Bois-hébert was vitriolic and insulting in his reproaches: "I cannot imagine what made you take this step. Are you by any chance afraid of the enemy? I can hardly believe so, for you are always in a position where you can run away from any blows. The only reason I can see why you want the Acadians to recognize the British as their masters and to submit to them is either the independence which the people of the cloth always want to have or the desire to re-introduce the despotism which your predecessors have always enjoyed in Acadia. If now you want the Acadians to make a separate peace, the reason is that unlike formerly it is now in your own interest. If there is a war on and if the Acadians are wretched, remember that the priests are to blame for it."<sup>260</sup> The furious lieutenant ended this undeserved tirade by adding: "Don't think, Father, that I am in any way prejudiced against you."<sup>261</sup>

<sup>255</sup> Freye to Lawrence, 10 Dec., 1759: N.S. Arch., p. 311.

<sup>256</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 312.

<sup>257</sup> M. Manach au Marquis de Vaudreuil, 10 mars 1760: Can. Arch. 1905, vol. 2, App., p. 194.

<sup>258</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>259</sup> M. Bourdon aux habitants de la baie des Quines et de Richibouctou, 14 févr. 1760: Can. Arch. 1905, vol. 2, App., p. 190.

<sup>260</sup> M. de Boishébert à M. Manach, 21 févr. 1760: Can. Arch. 1905, vol. 2, App., pp. 193 f.

### *Knaves or Knights?*

The warning was too late, however, for Father Manach as well as many of his parishioners, had already signed the act of submission which they believed to be in agreement with the promises made by Colonel Freye.<sup>262</sup> Soon after, the priest began to wonder what the Colonel had in mind by stating that "they would receive the best treatment that the constitutions of the Kingdom accord its subjects in such a case."<sup>263</sup> Too late he realized that he had fallen into a cunning trap.<sup>264</sup> In March of the same year, Lawrence and his Council decided that deportation was the best treatment that could be accorded. Once more a large group of Acadians were shipped off to England as prisoners of war. Although Father Manach had first been authorized to remain in Nova Scotia as a missionary to the Micmacs, he also soon fell into disfavor and saw himself exiled from the colony.<sup>265</sup> The official reason for his deportation was his "extream ill Behaviour": he "publicly drank the Pretender's [Charles Edward Stuart] health."<sup>266</sup> Deported in the vessel *Fowey*, he spent a short time as a prisoner on board of the *Royal Ann* in Plymouth harbor.<sup>267</sup> Obtaining his release, he returned to France.<sup>268</sup>

### *The Treacherous Capture and Deportation of Father Cocquart*

In 1756, about four hundred Acadian families had found shelter at the St. John's River, New Brunswick.<sup>269</sup> Some of them were deportees who had managed to return

<sup>261</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 194.

<sup>262</sup> Murdoch II, p. 396; Articles de soumission des Acadiens, 6 févr. 1760: C.F.D.I., 1, p. 55.

<sup>263</sup> M. Manach au colonel Freye, 13 févr. 1760: Can. Arch. 1905, vol. 2, App., p. 191. Cf. second reference of footnote 262.

<sup>264</sup> See footnote 257.

<sup>265</sup> Belcher to Lords of Trade, 9 April, 1761: \*N.S., A, vol. 65, pp. 161 f. (\*CO-217: 18, L55).

<sup>266</sup> Minutes of Council Meeting, 21 March, 1761: N.S. Arch., p. 319.

<sup>267</sup> Pownall to Wood, 6 July, 1761: \*N.S., A, vol. 66, p. 79 (\*CO-217: 37, 140); Mémoire de l'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu à présenter à M. de Stanley... (1761?): Arch. Qu. 1937-38, p. 176.

<sup>268</sup> Cf. pp. 100 f.

<sup>269</sup> Lauvrière, *op. cit.*, II, p. 83.



ROBERT MONCKTON  
Courtesy New Brunswick Museum

from their exile in South Carolina. Father Charles Germain, S.J., missionary to the Malecite Indians, assisted by Father William Cocquart, a Spiritan who had arrived in Acadia during the disastrous year of 1755, took care of their spiritual welfare.<sup>270</sup> Lieutenant de Boishébert with his pathetically small force offered them a measure of protection.

Thinking that, in this remote region, they would be beyond the reach of Lawrence's strong arm, the unfortunate refugees began to re-establish themselves by building new villages along the river. Two years later, however, Monckton with three hundred men suddenly swooped down upon the peaceful countryside, incinerated two of the villages which they had so laboriously built, killed their cattle, and captured thirty families.<sup>271</sup> The others escaped to the safety of the woods.

<sup>270</sup> L'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu, *Tableau sommaire des missionnaires séculiers (1761?)*: Arch. Qu. 1937-38, p. 187.

<sup>271</sup> N.C., pp. 102 ff.

In the middle of 1759 Father Cocquart was in Quebec, where he had undoubtedly accompanied a group of the Acadian refugees.<sup>272</sup> When this city likewise fell into the hands of the British, both Father Cocquart and Father Germain, with two hundred Acadians, swore allegiance to England and obtained permission from Monckton to settle at the St. John's River.<sup>273</sup> Yet as soon as they presented themselves to Colonel Arbuthnot, the commander of Fort Frederic, on the St. John's River, he ordered them arrested and imprisoned in the fort, cynically alleging that Monckton had undoubtedly meant another St. John's River, somewhere else in Canada. On November 30, 1759, Lawrence and his Council decreed the deportation of the Acadians in the area along with the two priests to England as prisoners of war.<sup>274</sup> The execution of this decision took place in the following year when Father Cocquart and three hundred Acadians were deported to prison camps in England.<sup>275</sup> In 1761 the priest made his way to France in the company of a young Indian and became pastor of the many Acadians who had sought a refuge at Morlaix in Brittany.<sup>276</sup>

### 5. *After the Deportation*

#### *The "Apostasy" and Death of Father Maillard*

As has been noted, Governor Lawrence wanted to retain Father Maillard in Nova Scotia in order to induce the Indians to "bury the hatchet."<sup>277</sup> Until his death, he was the only priest tolerated in the country. In 1760, followed by his faithful Micmac servant, Petitpas, Maillard took up residence in Halifax. The Governor had assigned him a pension of one hundred pounds sterling and allowed him the use of a building for religious serv-

<sup>272</sup> Marcel Trudel, "Il y a Coquart et Cocquart," B.R.H. 1954, p. 9.

<sup>273</sup> Minutes of Council Meeting, 30 Nov., 1759: N.S. Arch., p. 309; Richard III, pp. 313 f.

<sup>274</sup> Same minutes.

<sup>275</sup> Trudel, *art. cit.*, p. 9.

<sup>276</sup> Le Président . . . de la Marine à l'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu, 28 mars 1761: \*Arch. Col., C11B, vol. 113-1, 79(122); du même à M. Hocquart, 6 avril 1764: *ibid.*, vol. 120, 113(88).

<sup>277</sup> See footnote 265.

ices.<sup>278</sup> By that time a number of Catholics had already established themselves in the city. Their faith was exposed to danger not only because of the government's hostile attitude, but also because an apostate French priest, John Moreau, now a Protestant minister, had begun to proselytize them.<sup>279</sup>

From his Halifax residence, the Vicar General took care of all the Catholics scattered through the maritime provinces. He referred to them with some exaggeration as his "parish of North America."<sup>280</sup> Unable to travel far from his residence, he appointed laymen to look after the religious instruction of the children, to preside at the Sunday gatherings of the faithful and to read them his apostolic letters, to administer Baptism, witness marriages, and conduct burial services.

At the same time he made strenuous efforts to pacify the scattered groups of Indians who had not yet made peace.<sup>281</sup> Thanks to the Micmacs' limitless respect for their venerable patriarch, Father Maillard succeeded in making them accept the new state of political affairs. On June 25, 1761, in a solemn gathering, the Indian chieftains gravely listened to the priest's delivery of a speech by Jonathan Belcher,<sup>282</sup> President of the Council, and especially to his promise that "your religion will not be rooted out..., your patriarch will still feed and nourish you in this soil as his spiritual children."<sup>283</sup> Chief Claude Atouash replied on behalf of the braves in flowery language which clearly revealed the motives suggested by Father Maillard in favor of the peace treaty. Then he flung a symbolic hatchet of war into an open grave saying: "I bury this hatchet as a dead body that is fit only to become rotten, looking upon it as unlawful and impossible for me to make use hereafter of this instru-

<sup>278</sup> John E. Burns, "The Abbé Maillard and Halifax," *Report of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association*, 1936-37, pp. 13 ff.

<sup>279</sup> David, "L'Apôtre des Micmacs," R.U.O. 1935, pp. 78 f.

<sup>280</sup> M. Maillard à Louis Robichaux, 17 sept. 1761: *Can. Arch.* 1905, vol. 2, App., pp. 206 f.

<sup>281</sup> Murdoch II, p. 402.

<sup>282</sup> Indian Peace Treaty, 25 June 1761: \* N.S., A, vol. 66, pp. 31 ff. (\*CO-217: 18, L76).

<sup>283</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

ment of my hostilities against you."<sup>284</sup> After much ceremonial dancing and singing around the grave, the solemnities came to an end with a toast to the health of His Majesty the King of England.

Worn out by his incessant labors, Father Maillard became ill in June 1762, while he was preparing to pacify another group of Indians.<sup>285</sup> He died on August twelfth of the same year. Since he was the sole priest tolerated in Nova Scotia, he lacked the consolation of receiving the last sacraments. The high esteem in which he was held manifested itself at his funeral, which took place at St. Paul's Protestant Church. Jonathan Belcher, the President of the Council, and William Nesbitt, the speaker of the House, along with four other gentlemen, acted as pallbearers. The Anglican funeral office was performed by the Reverend Dr. Thomas Wood and the burial took place in the Protestant cemetery of the city.<sup>286</sup>

Hoping to capitalize on this event, Dr. Wood wanted the Acadians and Indians to believe that he was the legitimate successor of their beloved priest.<sup>287</sup> A former army surgeon, who had continued to practice medicine even after he had been sent out as a missionary by the London Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, he visited Father Maillard in his illness to give him medical prescriptions. In a letter to the society which sponsored him, Dr. Wood claimed that, on the day before his death, Father Maillard personally requested him to perform in French the visit to the sick according to the Anglican rite of the Book of Common Prayer in the presence of the Acadians and Indians.<sup>288</sup>

Shortly before his death, the clergyman continued,<sup>289</sup> the priest asked him to perform the funeral service

<sup>284</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 52 f.

<sup>285</sup> Dr. Wood to Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 27 Oct. 1762: \*Arch. S.P.G., B, vol. 25, no. 24.

<sup>286</sup> *Ibid.* Cf. Minutes of the meeting of the Society for the Propagation . . . , 18 March, 1763: \*N.S., A, vol. 69, p. 141 (\*Lamb. MSS. 1124-2, f. 120).

<sup>287</sup> David, *art. cit.*, p. 429.

<sup>288</sup> Dr. Wood to Society . . . , 30 July, 1764: \*Arch. S.P.G., B, vol. 25, no. 51. Cf. second reference of footnote 286.

<sup>289</sup> *Ibid.*

according to the same rite, telling those present at his bedside that the Anglican rite was about the same as that of the Catholic Church. Next, we are to presume, Father Maillard would have authorized the French and Indians to address themselves in good conscience to Dr. Wood for their spiritual needs. Briefly put, the implication is that, in the face of death, the priest would have committed apostasy and exhorted his flock to do the same. *in act which of that time would have been...*

Even presumptively, Dr. Wood's assertions do not bear the stamp of probability. Unfortunate as it is, it happens from time to time that a priest apostatizes and even seeks to have his flock follow him into a Protestant denomination. While frequently such a person will return to the Mother Church at death's door, I know of no case in which the reverse has occurred.

Apart from Dr. Wood's testimony there is not the slightest evidence to corroborate history. The register of St. Paul's Church, to which Dr. Wood was attached as assistant of the Reverend Dr. Breynton, is significantly silent on the whole affair. Any minister would have hastened to inscribe the deathbed conversion of the famous and highly respected Apostle of the Micmacs in his records. But the name of Father Maillard does not occur in them.<sup>290</sup> If we add this silence to the fact that the allegations of Dr. Wood are in flagrant contradiction to the holy life of the zealous priest and to his constant care to make his flock preserve its faith amidst their Protestant surroundings, we can only conclude that the Reverend Wood himself has concocted the whole story. Undoubtedly, as a practising physician and surgeon, he was called to the sick bed of Father Maillard, whose friendship he assiduously cultivated.<sup>291</sup> But the transformation of this medical assistance into a deathbed apostasy finds no support in any independent record and

<sup>290</sup> Note in the manuscripts of Père Pacifique, O.F.M.Cap.: "Il n'y a pas un mot dans les registres de l'église de Saint-Paul que j'ai pu examiner à loisir."

<sup>291</sup> L'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu à Mgr Briand, 18 févr. 1767: Arch. Qu. 1937-38, p. 217.

can hardly be admitted upon the unsupported testimony of Dr. Wood.<sup>23\*</sup>

Dr. Wood's testimony, moreover, is rendered even more suspect by the way in which he appropriated the deceased priest's papers and unscrupulously used them in his attempt to be recognized by the Acadians and Indians as their apostle's legitimate successor.<sup>294</sup> To prevent his scanty belongings and his library from falling into the wrong hands, Father Maillard had taken the precaution of entrusting them to the Government of Nova Scotia in Halifax, to be disposed of in accordance with his last will and testament. Although this will<sup>24\*</sup> was not executed until 1772, Dr. Wood could write in 1764, less than two years after the priest's death, that "providentially" he had gotten hold of the deceased's writings. Through strenuous study of these hieroglyphic notes he hoped to be able to learn the difficult Micmac language and add force to the claim that Father Maillard had made the Reverend Minister his successor.<sup>25\*</sup>

<sup>23\*</sup> On the other hand, there appears to be no direct evidence either for the oft-repeated assertion that Father Maillard replied to the minister's offer of spiritual assistance by saying: "I have served God all my life and every day I have prepared myself for death by offering the holy sacrifice of the Mass."<sup>292</sup> This supposed answer seems to be an embellishment of Bishop Plessis' statement that Father Maillard made the minister a "reply worthy of a Catholic priest."<sup>293</sup>

<sup>24\*</sup> In a detailed study of this affair Dr. Albert David concludes that the priest's last will itself has undergone strange modifications which point to its falsification by interested parties.<sup>295</sup>

<sup>25\*</sup> Dr. Wood, moreover, planned to publish a Micmac grammar, dictionary, and Bible. He sent the texts to London two years after he secured Father Maillard's manuscripts, but the London society sponsoring him refused to support his plans.<sup>297</sup>

<sup>292</sup> Koren, *The Spiritans*, p. 44; David, "Messire Pierre Maillard," B.R.H. 1929, p. 374.

<sup>293</sup> J.-O. Plessis, "Visite pastorale . . ." *Semaine religieuse de Québec*, Vol. 16, p. 53.

<sup>294</sup> See footnote 288.

<sup>295</sup> David, "L'Apôtre des Micmacs," R.U.O. 1935, pp. 437-447.

<sup>296</sup> Minutes of the meeting of the Society . . . , 21 Dec., 1764: \*N.S., A, vol. 75, p. 50 (\*Lamb. MSS 1124-2, 301a). See also Dr. Wood's letter quoted in footnote 288.

<sup>297</sup> Dr. Wood to the Society . . . , 30 July, 1764; 1 April, 1765; 15 Oct., 1765, 27 July, 1766: \*Arch. S.P.G., B. vol. 25, nos. 51, 63, 72, 85. Cf. minutes of the meetings of the Society . . . 21 Dec., 1764 and 21 Febr. 1765: \*N.S., A, vol. 75, pp. 47 ff. and vol. 76, pp. 174 ff. (\*Lamb. MSS 1124-2, f. 301a and 1124-3, f. 151a).

Undoubtedly, Dr. Wood, who was held in high regard by his followers, acted out of an earnest desire to promote the Anglican Church. Thinking that with Father Maillard's death the Catholic religion would come to an end in Halifax, he zealously cultivated the sick priest's friendship, hoping that, in this way, he might wean the Acadians and Indians away from their "superstition" of Popery and have them embrace "our pure religion."<sup>298</sup>

By imitating some Catholic practices he was able to have a few gullible Acadians offer their new-born babes for Baptism. Some Micmacs consented to listen to his recital of prayers composed by Father Maillard, although Dr. Wood had to confess that he himself did not understand what he was saying.<sup>299</sup> Even this small success, however, did not last; neither Acadians nor Indians were long beguiled. The Micmacs made it clear that "they preferred a priest of the Church to which they were first converted."<sup>300</sup>

If Father Maillard had really invited the Indians to follow him into accepting the Anglican Church, the limitless veneration of the Micmacs for their saintly Patriarch would have induced them to follow his example. But as we have seen, though deprived of priests, they remained faithful Catholics. Their apostle's grave received no monument after his splendid Protestant funeral. Yet a touching legend sprang up among the Indians: "Bushes bearing beautiful flowers sprang up over his grave," to remind his beloved Micmacs of the great virtues and burning zeal of their *Mosi Meial*.<sup>301</sup>

### *The Disappearance of Father Cocquart*

Soon after Father William Cocquart's return to

<sup>298</sup> Dr. Wood to the Society . . . , 30 July, 1764, 1 April, 1765, 15 Oct., 1765: \*Arch. S.P.G., B, vol. 25, nos. 51, 63 and 72. Cf. minutes of the meeting of the Society . . . , 21 Dec., 1764: \*N.S., A, vol. 75, p. 51 (\*Lamb. MSS, 1124-2, f. 301a).

<sup>299</sup> Dr. Wood to the Society . . . , 30 July, 1764 and 15 Oct., 1765: \*Arch. S.P.G., B, vol. 25, nos. 51 and 72. Cf. minutes of the meetings of the Society . . . 21 Dec., 1764 and 20 Sept., 1765: \*N.S., A, vol. 75, p. 51 and vol. 76, p. 61 (\*Lamb. MSS 1124-2, f. 301a and 1124-3, f. 87a).

<sup>300</sup> David, *art. cit.*, p. 434.

<sup>301</sup> Rand, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

France in 1761, the government began to make grandiose plans for the colonization of Guiana in South America.<sup>302</sup> Glowing advertisements spoke about this wretched, disease-ridden country as a land flowing over with milk and honey and promised generous support to would-be colonists. From all over Europe thousands of eager adventurers flocked to ports of embarkation.

Twenty-four Acadian families living in Morlaix felt attracted by the publicity of the advantageous conditions and the offer of a vessel, to be especially chartered for them by the government. It was then that Father Cocquart decided to accompany his parishioners to their new promised land.<sup>303</sup> In August 1764, the vessel *Le Postillon* conveyed them to Cayenne.<sup>304</sup>

Despite a reported expenditure of thirty million livres on the venture, the affair ended in complete disaster. Although the government had taken the trouble to provide a band of musicians to entertain the colonists,<sup>305</sup> it failed to make sufficient provisions for the sanitary and economic necessities of the new settlers.<sup>306</sup> Soon tropical diseases and famine took a cruel toll of the unfortunate people. A large number of the approximately ten thousand settlers perished on Devil's Island and its environs. Father Cocquart was presumably lost along with most of his Acadians in this disastrous attempt to settle the land of Guiana.<sup>26\*</sup>

*Herde  
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*the*

<sup>26\*</sup> A search of the parochial records of Saint Mathieu (Morlaix), preserved in the provincial archives of Brittany, revealed that Father Cocquart's last entry dates from August 6, 1764, when he baptized the new-born daughter of an Acadian family. Naval records indicate that *Le Postillon* sailed in August 1764 for Guiana.<sup>306</sup> Although the passenger list is missing from the files preserved in the national archives of Paris, the fact that the records make no mention of Father Cocquart after August 6, 1764, sufficiently indicates that he accompanied his unfortunate parishioners on their ill-fated journey, as he had planned. Strange as it may seem, the departure of this Acadian group and their pastor, as well as their disappearance, is survived by no evidence in the local records of Brittany.

<sup>302</sup> Lauvrière, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 196 ff.

<sup>303</sup> Le Président . . . de la Marine à M. Hocquart, 6 avril 1764 and 18 juin 1764: \*Arch. Col., C11B, vol. 120, 113(88) and 204(163).

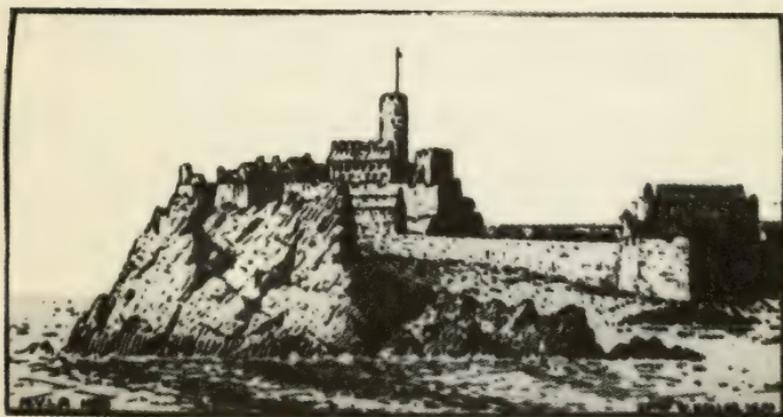
<sup>304</sup> Du même au même, 11 sept. 1764: *ibid.*, vol. 120, 298v(249).

<sup>305</sup> See footnote 302.

<sup>306</sup> See footnote 304.

*Father Le Loutre and the Acadian Deportees*

Little is known of Father Le Loutre's years as an English prisoner. A memorandum of the Abbot of Isle Dieu reports that, after being captured by the *Oxford*, he was held in constant watch as a prisoner on board the *Royal George* in Plymouth harbor.<sup>307</sup> His repeated request for information regarding the reasons for his arrest remained unanswered. Five years after his arrest and transfer to Elisabeth Castle, Jersey,<sup>308</sup> no charges had yet been brought against him. Moreover, strange as it may seem, it appears that he had to provide his own maintenance.<sup>309</sup> On the other hand, he was treated well: "He has a room to himself, with a proper guard attending him, and a Fire and a Candle at nights, and decently



ELISABETH CASTLE, JERSEY ISLAND,  
the place of Father Le Loutre's imprisonment.

<sup>307</sup> Mémoire de l'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu à présenter à M. de Stanley (1761?): Arch. Qu. 1937-38, pp. 174 f. or C.F.D.I., 1, pp. 48 f.

<sup>308</sup> Fox to Lt. Governor of Jersey, 1 Dec., 1755: \*Can. Arch. and \*P.R.O., S.P. Dom., Channel Islds., ent. bk., vol. 1, 16.

<sup>309</sup> See reference of footnote 307, p. 175.

subsisted by the Garrison Sutler."<sup>310</sup> Moreover, the "King's Pleasure" allowed him "One Shilling a Day" on the funds "for Sick and Hurt Seamen,"<sup>311</sup> but his jailers permitted him to correspond with no one except a London agent through whom he had to obtain the funds for his maintenance.

The Abbot of Isle Dieu mentions the strenuous but unsuccessful efforts that were made to obtain his release from captivity.<sup>312</sup> It was only after eight years of confinement that, on August 30, 1763, the Treaty of Paris<sup>313</sup> restored him to freedom.<sup>27\*</sup>

The long years of suffering had not in any way diminished Father Le Loutre's zeal for the welfare of the Acadian refugees or deportees. About twenty-five hundred of them were scattered along the west coast of France, especially at St. Malo.<sup>28\*</sup> No provisions had been made at that time to find any kind of permanent establishment for most of these victims of the Franco-British war. As soon as he was released, Father Le Loutre again became the leader of these people.<sup>317</sup>

<sup>27\*</sup> Immediately after the priest's release, the British government warned Governor Murray of Canada "to be on guard against the famous French missionary de [*sic*] Loutre... [It is] probable that he may attempt to return into Canada."<sup>314</sup> Murray promptly assured London that "should Le Loutre venture anywhere within my reach,... I shall not fail to follow His Majesty's directions" and prudently but firmly expel him from the country.<sup>315</sup>

<sup>28\*</sup> The figure of 2566 is given for the *cursus* of 1773.<sup>316</sup>

<sup>310</sup> Collingwood to Fox, 28 Feb., 1756: \*Can. Arch. and \*P.R.O., S.P. Dom., Channel Islds., bd. 5, 61.

<sup>311</sup> Fox to Lords of Admiralty, 4 Aug. 1756: \*Can. Arch. and \*P.R.O., Admiralty 1, 4121, no. 52.

<sup>312</sup> See footnote 307; Le Président... de la Marine à M. Guillot, 23 févr. 1756: \*Col. Arch. C11B, vol. 104-1, 38(117); du même à l'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu, 6 août 1757: *ibid.*, vol. 106, 93(159); du même au même, 16 mai 1762: *ibid.*, vol. 115-1, 121(115); du même au même, 9 oct. 1762: *ibid.*, vol. 115-1 261(266).

<sup>313</sup> Campbell to Egremont, 30 Aug., 1763: \*Can. Arch. and \*P.R.O., S.P. Dom., Channel Islds., bd. 5, 256.

<sup>314</sup> Egremont to Murray, 13 Aug., 1763: \*Can. Arch., S.P., Q 1, 119 f. (\*CO-42, vol. 1).

<sup>315</sup> Murray to Halifax, 23 Oct., 1763: \*Can. Arch., S.P., Q 1, 255 (\*CO-42, vol. 1).

<sup>316</sup> Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

<sup>317</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65.

The French government had begun to take steps to settle the Acadians permanently in various parts of France or in the colonies. A favorable opportunity arose to establish a number of them at Belle-Isle, a little island off the coast of Brittany,<sup>318</sup> although very few felt inclined to accept the offer. At this juncture the government appealed to Father Le Loutre to re-assume charge of the Acadians and to overcome their reluctance.<sup>319</sup> Soon after, the priest went to Morlaix, his birthplace, where nearly four hundred Acadians had found a refuge.

There he began by organizing a group consisting of people originating from the same place in Acadia, the Canard River,<sup>320</sup> who, all more or less related to one another, would be able to see in their new location a kind of reconstituted little Acadia. By multiplying his efforts, Father Le Loutre managed to obtain the construction of dwellings for each family, a little live stock and the necessary implements to cultivate the new lands given to them.<sup>321</sup> Soon about four hundred Acadians were happily settled on Belle-Isle and unanimously declared<sup>322</sup> that "they had received from Father Le Loutre whatever satisfaction they could have expected in the services which he had been kind enough to extend to them."<sup>28\*</sup>

<sup>28\*</sup> A few years later, many of these Acadians left Belle-Isle, because they were unsuccessful in their efforts to cultivate these lands.<sup>323</sup>

<sup>318</sup> Mémoire pour l'établissement de 77 familles acadiennes à Belle-Isle-en-mer (undated): \*Sp. Arch., b. 95, d. A, ch. I; Le Président . . . de la Marine aux commissaires des douanes de Bretagne, 3 déc., 1763; à M. Panauron Tilly, same date; à l'Abbé Le Loutre, same date; à M. le Président, same date; à M. Hocquart, same date; à M. l'Evêque de Saint-Pol de Léon, same date; à M. l'Evêque de Vannes, same date; à M. le Duc d'Aiguillon, 11 févr. 1765; à M. Le Loutre, 26 août 1765; à M. de Lahante, same date; à M. de Clugny, same date; à MM. les commissaires d'état de Bretagne, same date; à M. de Vaudésir, same date: \*Arch. Col., C11B, vol. 117, 520 ff. (269 ff.), vol. 122, 36 f. (31 ff.), vol. 122, 277 ff. (199 ff.).

<sup>319</sup> M. Hocquart à M. de Warren, 2 janvier 1764: Lanco, ed., *Les Acadiens en Belle-Isle-en-mer*, Josselin, 1924, pp. 1 f.

<sup>320</sup> Lauvrière, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 182 ff.

<sup>321</sup> Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 69; mémoire pour établir les Acadiens vers Blaye: Can. Arch. 1905, vol. 2, App., p. 164.

<sup>322</sup> Reconnaissance des chefs de familles acadiennes . . . au profit de M. l'Abbé Le Loutre, 16 février 1767: Lanco, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

<sup>323</sup> Martin, *op. cit.*, pp. 70 f.

This first attempt to settle the Acadians was followed by many others. With untiring energy, Father Le Loutre devoted himself to the task. Writing to Count de Warren, he was able to say: "I am still firmly resolved not to give up until I see this business settled. By making a nuisance of myself, I hope to succeed. I would be quite happy if I could save these poor families from their wretchedness and enable them to live on their own labor and industry without depending on a government hand-out..."<sup>324</sup> "I have made more than one hundred trips to Versailles. I have gone to Compiègne and to Fontainebleau. I have paid several visits to the Duke of Praslin. I have pressed him and urged him to the point of becoming troublesome."<sup>325</sup>

Despite all his efforts to find suitable locations, many refugees could not forget their beloved Acadia, where they had possessed prosperous farms.<sup>326</sup> An irresistible desire to return continued to haunt them. Pichon, the traitor, managed to deal with them and, he claimed, persuaded a thousand of them to settle again in Nova Scotia.<sup>327</sup> Others felt attracted to try their luck in Louisiana. A number of Acadians deported to the States had managed to migrate there and Spain, which had acquired this colony, encouraged others to join them.<sup>328</sup> Even Father Le Loutre himself thought for a time of joining the exodus.<sup>329</sup>

While engaged in a projected settlement of the remaining refugees in Poitou, the exhausted priest fell ill at Nantes.<sup>330</sup> He died September 30, 1772 and was buried the next day in the St. Leonard Church of Nantes.<sup>331</sup> His selfless zeal for the victims of the Acadian disaster provoked the admiration of all those with whom

<sup>324</sup> Le Loutre à M. de Warren, 1 mars 1768: Lanco, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

<sup>325</sup> Du même au même, (juillet-août 1768?), *ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>326</sup> Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

<sup>327</sup> Letter of Thomas Tyrrell (*alias* Pichon): Can. Arch. 1905, vol. 2, App., p. 250.

<sup>328</sup> See footnote 325; Martin, *op. cit.*, pp. 86 ff.

<sup>329</sup> Le Loutre à Mgr de Baisnes (1771?), Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

<sup>330</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 92 f.

<sup>331</sup> Knox I, p. 202. Original in the Archives de la ville de Nantes, Régistre de la paroisse de Saint-Léonard, date 1 oct. 1762.

he came into contact. The Chairman of the French Navy Board wrote about him that he "has neither goods nor income, because he has spent his entire personal patrimony of 30,000 livres for the welfare of his missions and in aiding the poor."<sup>332</sup> "His disinterestedness in what concerns him personally is such as is seldom seen."<sup>333</sup> Another agent concerned with the resettlement plans wrote: "Father Le Loutre has never wanted to accept anything from the government [of Brittany], not even to repay him for his personal expenses."<sup>334</sup> This admiration of the priest found its last expression in his burial certificate, which states, as the ancient phrase goes, that he "died in the odor of sanctity."<sup>335</sup>

### *Knave or Knight?*

Father Le Loutre's life and work deserves some summary evaluation here. As has been mentioned, the Spiritan missionaries in these troubled times have often been called, as a contemporary Englishman put it, "a sett of rascaly priests."<sup>336</sup> Father Le Loutre's conduct especially has often been described as wholly unworthy of a priest. Thus we find, among his contemporaries, Mascarene blaming him for all the troubles of Nova Scotia,<sup>337</sup> Cornwallis calling him "a good for nothing scoundrel as ever lived," and John Knox speaking about "that monster of cruelty..., who has more sins to answer for than all the Acadians put together."<sup>338</sup> If we turn from these evaluations emanating from his official enemies in the heat of the conflict and inspect the priest's fate at the hand of historians, we find Thomas B. Akins blames him for his vanity, pride, jealousy, cowardice, and dis-

<sup>332</sup> Le Président . . . de la Marine à M. l'Evêque d'Orleans, 26 août 1765: \*Arch. Col., C11B, vol. 122, 278(200); Cf. du même à M. l'Archêvêque de Reims, 19 mai 1771: *ibid.*, vol. 139, 166(38).

<sup>333</sup> Du même à M. le Garde des sceaux, 5 mai 1754: *ibid.*, vol. 100, 86(83).

<sup>334</sup> See footnote 321, p. 165.

<sup>335</sup> See footnote 331.

<sup>336</sup> Davidson to Aldworth, 11 Sept., 1749: \*N.S., A, vol. 35, p. 57 (\*Co-217: 40, 109).

<sup>337</sup> Murdoch II, p. 83.

<sup>338</sup> Knox I, p. 147; N.S. Arch., p. 591.

obedience to his bishop.<sup>339</sup> Beamish Murdoch accuses him of ambition, deception and worldliness, but at least is careful to add that this information is derived from sources that may not be wholly trustworthy.<sup>340</sup>

In our own time, most judgments about Le Loutre have become more moderate. Norman McLeod Rogers, for example, concedes that he has been condemned without "witnesses for the defense," but goes on to say that "an indictment so severe and so unanimous must rest on more substantial grounds than common rumour."<sup>341</sup> John Bartlet Brebner likewise recognizes that Le Loutre's basic motive was "unquestionably religious," but he still accuses him of fanaticism and terrorism against the unfortunate Acadians.<sup>342</sup> On the other hand, we also find a contemporary author, John C. Webster, who still is inclined to give credence to the accusation of Le Loutre's murder of Captain How,<sup>343</sup> finds it necessary to repeat an eighteenth century story about the priest making the first incision around the head of a British prisoner before having him scalped alive,<sup>344</sup> and who accuses him of breach of promise, of being an *agent provocateur*, of prostituting his sacred office, and desolating a peaceful countryside.<sup>345</sup>

On the other end of the scale, as has been mentioned, his burial certificate states that he "died in the odor of sanctity."<sup>346</sup> Philip Bourgeois, further, called Father Le Loutre "a holy man" and "the missionary most devoted to the cause of justice whom Acadia ever possessed."<sup>347</sup> Albert David, who made the most searching study of Father Le Loutre's life, does not hesitate to state that when he died he was "greatly renowned for his sanctity."<sup>348</sup>

<sup>339</sup> N.S. Arch., pp. 178 ff.

<sup>340</sup> Murdoch II, p. 271.

<sup>341</sup> Rogers, *art. cit.*, C.H.R. 1930, p. 106.

<sup>342</sup> Brebner, *op. cit.*, pp. 120 ff., 133, 177 f.

<sup>343</sup> John Clarence Webster, *The Career of the Abbé Le Loutre in Nova Scotia*, Shediac, 1933, pp. 21 ff.

<sup>344</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28; cf. Knox I, p. 147.

<sup>345</sup> Webster, *op. cit.*, pp. 29 ff.

<sup>346</sup> Knox I, p. 202.

<sup>347</sup> Bourgeois, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

<sup>348</sup> David, "L'Abbé Le Loutre," R.U.O. 1932, p. 70.

Consequently, in the light of this wide divergence of viewpoint regarding Father Le Loutre's place in history, it seems appropriate to re-evaluate his activities in an effort to place certain controlling features in their proper perspective.

First of all, Le Loutre's life should not be viewed as if he had lived in modern times in which there exists a more obvious distinction between religious and political matters. In his life-time the sixteenth century principle *cujus regio illius et religio*, "let the ruler's religion be that of his subjects," still continued to exercise considerable influence.<sup>349</sup> For all practical purposes "English and Protestant" continued to be the alternative to "French and Catholic."

While Americans especially would consider it out of place for a priest to play an active role in political matters this same view was not prevalent in former times in Europe and its colonies. Church and State worked closely together, if not always in perfect harmony. In France, for instance, we find Cardinals Richelieu, Mazarin, Fleury and Dubois occupying the highest political positions in the country.

Moreover, if the British governors complained that Father Le Loutre engaged in political activities, it should be kept in mind that their own role was not limited to "the things that are Caesar's." Le Loutre, on the other hand, did not simply meddle in politics, but acted by official instruction as an agent of the French Crown.<sup>350</sup> His immediate superior was not the Bishop of Quebec, but rather the Abbot of Isle Dieu, Chaplain General of the Colonies, who was appointed by the French Government.<sup>351</sup> It was through him that Father Le Loutre received instructions emanating from the French Court.

<sup>349</sup> For a French example of such intolerance see l'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu au Président... de la Marine, 19 juillet 1755: Arch. Qu. 1937-38, pp. 152 f.

<sup>350</sup> Le Président... de la Marine à MM. Duquesnel et Bigot, 17 avril 1744: \*Arch. Col., C11B, vol. 78-2, 6(307).

<sup>351</sup> Arch. Qu. 1935-36, pp. 275 ff.

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In other words, he did not act upon his own initiative but executed the orders of his superiors. As Harvey expresses it, he was an active agent "in a national policy which had the highest sanction."<sup>352</sup>

It would be useless to object that the priest had an obligation in conscience not to aid and abet the policy of the French government on the ground that this policy was immoral, because it tended to despoil England of what was rightfully its own by virtue of the French concessions made in the Treaty of Utrecht. As has been shown, the Governors of Nova Scotia reneged on the dutiful execution of this treaty.<sup>353</sup> Consequently, France likewise was not bound in conscience to honor all the concessions it had made and was still less bound to surrender its new Acadia in New Brunswick. Neither, therefore, was Father Le Loutre bound to honor all British claims.

If, next, we examine certain accusations addressed to the priest, it seems clear that it is ridiculous to blame him for forcing the British to deport the Acadians. Yet this accusation has been repeated even as recently as 1959 by Lawrence Henry Gipson,<sup>29\*</sup> who states that, if the Acadians had refused to listen to "the exhortations to

<sup>29\*</sup> In support of his view, Gipson<sup>355</sup> quotes the statement made in 1766 by Bishop Briand of Quebec in a pastoral letter to Acadian refugees: "Would to God that you had never disregarded the wise and Christian instructions as to your submission to your superiors. Then we would now have the pleasure to visit you in your quiet and happy homes. You could now have priests among you and you would still enjoy the possession of all the temporal goods you had been blessed with during the many years, when you were living as true Christians under the rule of your conquerors."<sup>356</sup> However, Bishop Briand's severe censure is diametrically opposed to the posi-

<sup>352</sup> Harvey, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

<sup>353</sup> Cf. pp. 24 f.

<sup>354</sup> Lawrence Henry Gipson, *The British Empire Before the American Revolution*, vol. VI, p. 241. This passage is quoted, apparently with approval, by Msgr. John Ellis Tracy, *Documents of American Catholic History*, Milwaukee, 1956, p. 124.

<sup>355</sup> Gipson, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 205.

<sup>356</sup> French text in Gosselin IV, p. 310; English translation in *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, vol. 31, pp. 167 f.

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desperate measures of Le Loutre and his pupil Daudin, misfortunes would never have been heaped upon them."<sup>354</sup>

One might ask what these desperate measures were which the unfortunate Acadians took upon the advice of Father Le Loutre. Perhaps their departure from Nova Scotia to French-held lands against the wishes of their conquerors? Or their refusal to take an oath committing them to military service against their fellow-Frenchmen, as Lawrence wanted?

Moreover, as we have pointed out,<sup>361</sup> in 1720, long before Le Loutre became politically active, the Acadians' deportation had already been under consideration. Its execution had merely been delayed until such time as it would be possible for England to control Nova Scotia without the presence of the Acadian population. The French priests, and in particular Father Le Loutre, tried to prevent this forced deportation — or the danger of apostasy — by making the Acadians move to French-held territories. As Savary remarks, "this they had a right to do, and France, as a party to the treaty [of Utrecht], had a perfect right, not only to encourage, but also to assist the Acadians in removing."<sup>362</sup>

tion of his predecessor, Bishop de Pontbriand.<sup>357</sup> In reality, before the conquest of Canada, there was no reason for Catholics to have an optimistic view of their future. Severe penal laws continued to rule them in the British colonies alongside the Atlantic. In New York, for example, any priest was "deemed and accounted an incendiary" and subject to perpetual imprisonment.<sup>358</sup> The very liberality of Great Britain in sincerely pledging to respect the Catholic Faith in Canada in 1774 was one of the reasons why the other colonies revolted against England.<sup>359</sup>

To see Bishop Briand's sweeping condemnation of the Acadians and their spiritual leaders in the proper perspective, one should keep in mind that after the conquest of Canada this prelate showed himself a great Anglophile. He did not even hesitate to order that the name of England's King — the Head of the Anglican Church! — be included in the canon of the Mass.<sup>360</sup> At any rate, the bishop's view has found very few adherents among non-British historians of Acadia.

<sup>357</sup> Cf. p. 96.

<sup>358</sup> John Gilmary Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, vol. 1, Akron, 1886, p. 357.

<sup>359</sup> Cf. p. 46.

<sup>360</sup> Gosselin IV, pp. 23 f.

<sup>361</sup> Cf. p. 24.

<sup>362</sup> Calnek and Savary, *op. cit.*, Supplement, p. 31.

But, one may persist, Le Loutre was hardly scrupulous in choosing the means needed to reach his goal: he acted as an *agent provocateur*, threatened the Acadians with reprisals through his Indians if they did not move out of British-controlled territory, burned their farms and villages, and took other inflammatory steps.<sup>363</sup>

It is true that sometimes Acadian settlements went up in flames when the French forces had to withdraw, but this is common practice in time of war. Military necessity may demand that upon withdrawal nothing be left behind that may become immediately useful to the enemy in his efforts to establish a new stronghold. The case which is alleged to substantiate this accusation against Father Le Loutre refers to the burning of Beaubassin in 1750.<sup>364</sup> This place<sup>365</sup> was set afire by withdrawing Indian warriors, upon orders of the French military commanders.<sup>30\*</sup> The only record where Le Loutre on his personal initiative ordered incendiary measures was in the case of the church he had finished at Beauséjour, shortly before this fortress fell to Colonel Monckton.<sup>367</sup> This particular fire can hardly be presented as an effort to intimidate the unfortunate Acadians by burning their farms and villages. Still less should it be regarded, as Gipson<sup>368</sup> insinuates, as a willingness to assume responsibility for the entire desolation of the country.

As to threatening the Acadians with reprisals through his Indians, there is a great difference between threatening with reprisals and warning that reprisals threaten.

<sup>30\*</sup> According to Albert David,<sup>366</sup> who made a very searching study of the life and times of John Le Loutre, this priest was not even present at Beaubassin when the Indians burned it. The chaplain, accompanying the warriors, says David, was Father Germain, S.J. Unfortunately, here as well as elsewhere, the author does not always quote the documents upon which he bases his assertions.

<sup>363</sup> Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

<sup>364</sup> Harvey, *op. cit.*, p. 137; Brebner, *op. cit.*, p. 177; Gipson, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 246; (Louis de Courville), *mémoire du Canada*: Arch. Qu. 1924-25, p. 100.

<sup>365</sup> Cornwallis to Hopson, 3 May, 1750: \*N.S., A, vol. 37, p. 17 (\*CO-217: 10, G20).

<sup>366</sup> L'autobiographie, N.F. 1931, p. 17.

<sup>367</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 29 f.

<sup>368</sup> Gipson, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 230.

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By way of comparison, who might claim that warning someone about the danger of living in a city threatened with atomic destruction is tantamount to menacing him with nuclear explosives? By swearing unconditional allegiance to Britain, as the Governor of Nova Scotia demanded, any Acadian would automatically have become an enemy of the Indians who had sworn allegiance to the King of France. Consequently, he exposed himself to the danger of being treated as an enemy by the Indians. Thus Father Le Loutre could very correctly emphasize the reality of this danger.

On the other hand, it must be admitted that Father Le Loutre's influence on the Indians would certainly have enabled him to make them at least habitually live in peace with the British and with the Acadians if the latter had taken the unconditional oath of allegiance. The question, however, must be asked here whether the patriotic priest was obliged in conscience to do so. Or did conscience impose upon him just the opposite obligation?

The answer to this question depends on the justice of the French colonial claims and aspirations as opposed to the British dreams of empire. It is an issue so fraught with complications that even the best-trained moralist would be hard put to solve it satisfactorily. The author is not reluctant to declare he is incompetent to settle it. Suffice it to say that most Englishmen and Frenchmen undoubtedly would have resolved it in favor of their respective countries. In the case of Father Le Loutre, the reader should not overlook his conviction that the faith of his flock would be seriously exposed by their remaining under the control of Great Britain.

As to Father Le Loutre's status as *agent provocateur*, such an accusation assumes that no state of war in fact existed in the territory and that the priest led the Acadians to illegal and unjustifiable acts against the British forces. As has already been pointed out,<sup>369</sup> the non-observance of the Treaty of Utrecht meant that the state of war between England and France actually continued to exist. On the other hand, Father Le Loutre did not

<sup>369</sup> Cf. p. 23.

exhort the Acadians to attack the British as long as they were in territory occupied by England. And who would see anything wrong in the resistance offered by the victims of Lawrence to their ruthless despoilers once they were in French-held lands?

The immediate civilian and ecclesiastical superiors of the priest unanimously declared themselves satisfied with the way in which he carried out his functions. True, the Bishop of Quebec, Henri de Pontbriand, at first did not wholly concur with the Abbot of Isle Dieu and the French Court regarding the affairs of Acadia. Nevertheless, in 1757, after the Acadian disaster, he did not hesitate to write that "now he saw how right the Acadians were in evacuating the peninsula and how wrong were those who remained there."<sup>370</sup> With respect to Father Le Loutre, the prelate emphasized that he was "irreproachable in all respects, not only in the exercise of his priestly functions but also in the role which he played in the temporal government of the colony."<sup>371</sup> Moreover, the bishop was "overjoyed" when he heard that the valiant priest was still alive, "greatly desired to see him return to his diocese," and wanted the King of France to secure his prompt release "regardless of the cost."<sup>372</sup> Thus the bishop's testimony efficaciously refutes the oft-repeated accusation that Father Le Loutre was insubordinate to, and out of favor with, his ecclesiastical superiors.<sup>31\*</sup>

Regarding the priest's alleged breach of promise to keep the Acadians from taking up arms against the British, this promise was kept as long as Le Loutre and

<sup>31\*</sup> This accusation is derived from an alleged letter of the bishop preserved only in the form transmitted by the traitor Pichon.<sup>373</sup> Its authenticity appears doubtful. This letter, as we have seen, disagrees with the explicit and certainly authentic statement of the bishop that the priest was "irreproachable in all respects."

<sup>370</sup> Mgr de Pontbriand au Ministre, 30 oct. 1757: \*Arch. Col., C11A, vol. 102, (405). Copy in \*Arch. Sem. Qu., sem. 14, li. 6, no. 14, p. 3.

<sup>371</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 412.

<sup>372</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>373</sup> Bishop de Pontbriand to Le Loutre, 12 or 15 August 1754: Pichon, 57 ff. For an analysis see David, "Une lettre de Mgr de Pontbriand . . .," R.U.O. 1937, pp. 456 ff.

the Acadians were in territory controlled by England. Out of a total of thirteen thousand Acadians only a handful resorted to armed resistance in British territory before they began to be hunted down like beasts. As Savary expresses it, "for forty years they had, as a body, kept inviolate the qualified oath"<sup>374</sup> by which they had sworn allegiance to England without the duty of taking arms against the French or Indians. Had there been a massive recourse to arms, the course of history would have been different, for the British forces would have been unable to hold Nova Scotia against the combined efforts of the Indians, the French, and the Acadians.

As for the Indians, apart from a few small groups, they had never sworn allegiance to the King of England, instead remaining loyal to France.<sup>375</sup> With respect to them, therefore, Father Le Loutre could not even be accused of any breach of promise. He himself likewise owed no allegiance to England.

With Harvey,<sup>376</sup> one could object, of course, that it was wrong for the priest who had gone to the Acadian missions to teach "Christian charity and exemplified self-sacrifice," to set the ignorant savage upon the English and to pay for their scalps.<sup>377</sup> It would have been better, indeed, if England and France had kept the Indians entirely out of their struggle. But, we may ask, does the responsibility for the existence of such a deplorable practice lie with Father Le Loutre? As Harvey himself points out, the "New Englanders openly paid for Indian scalps at this time; and the British used Indians against the Americans in the War of Independence."<sup>378</sup> Even during

<sup>372</sup> Historians no longer give credence to the story that Le Loutre caused his Indians to hate the British fanatically by preaching that "Jesus Christ was crucified in England by the British nation, the enemy of God and the friend of the devil."<sup>377</sup> The only evidence for such a "sermon" is a glib "it is said that," dating from many years after the alleged event.

<sup>374</sup> Calnek and Savary, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

<sup>375</sup> David, *art. cit.*, p. 470; Rogers, "The Abbé Le Loutre," C.H.R. 1930, p. 107.

<sup>376</sup> Harvey, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

<sup>377</sup> Casgrain, "Coup d'oeil sur l'Acadie," *Le Canada français*, C.F. 1888, p. 129.

<sup>378</sup> See footnote 376.

The story of such a sermon was already circulating in New England in 1709. The year Le Loutre was taken (A. I. S. S. J. p. 212.)

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Reference: Harvey, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

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World War II the use of native troops from colonial territories was a common practice, despite the fact that we are now supposed to live in more enlightened times. Although Father Le Loutre may be justly called the heart and soul of the French resistance, the decision to employ the bloody services of the "Hell-hounds of the Forest," as General Broadhead<sup>379</sup> called them, was not his.

Undoubtedly, the thought of seeing a priest sometimes distribute "scalp money" to the Indians after their raids, as Father Le Loutre had to do, is particularly revolting to us. Here, again, however, we may ask whether Father Le Loutre could have escaped from so doing. The Indians were entitled to a bounty for every enemy scalp by virtue of the promise made by the French commanders. In the absence of any French officers, there was no one who could be more logically entrusted with the distribution of this bounty than the priest who was with the Indians all the time.

I cannot imagine that he particularly relished this loathsome duty,<sup>33\*</sup> but this is true of many of the services a priest may be called upon to render even in so-called civilized warfare. When a military chaplain exhorts soldiers before combat to be brave and praises them after for heroism beyond the call of duty, he is doing virtually the same as Father Le Loutre did: encouraging them to kill or wound fellow-men and lauding them for their outstanding performance of this gruesome task.

The only thing I personally find objectionable is that Father Le Loutre suggested putting the blame for any warlike incident committed by the French, upon the Indians. This policy meant that the British would be all the more inclined to root out these unfortunate aboriginals of the American continent.

Thus it would seem that little merit attaches to <sup>most</sup> all the

<sup>33\*</sup> It is to be noted that the document about the priest's payment for scalps says that "he *has been obliged* to pay them 1800 livres"<sup>380</sup> for eighteen scalps.

<sup>379</sup> C.H.R. 1930, p. 24.

<sup>380</sup> M. Prévost au Ministre, 16 août 1753: \*Arch. Col., C11B, vol. 33, (230).

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alleged grave offenses attributed to the priest. Instead of being the blood-thirsty, ambitious schemer depicted by some historians, he was a man who rescued prisoners from the Indians whenever he could. His sole ambition was to play to the best of his ability the part his superiors had assigned to him in the desperate struggle of the French to save Acadia. Refusing all personal rewards and having sacrificed his entire patrimony in the cause of the poor, he spent the last years of his life in untiring efforts to alleviate the sufferings inflicted by the "Grand Dérangement" so cruelly executed by the Acadians' ruthless predators.

Without seeking to confirm the reputation of sainthood attributed to Father Le Loutre, there seems no reason to disagree substantially with the opinion of the priest's bishop who declared that his conduct was "irreproachable in all respects" or with that of the Acadians whose "descendants have not ceased to hold his memory in respect."<sup>381</sup>

<sup>381</sup> Rogers, *art. cit.*, p. 127.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE MIQUELON ISLANDS, 1763—1793

#### 1. *First Settlement*

At the peace treaty of Paris in 1763, which ended the war between England and France, the tiny islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, off the coast of Newfoundland, were all that King Louis XVI could save from the wreckage of the immense French colonial empire in North America. At the request of the French government, the Holy See, in 1765, separated the islands from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Quebec and reorganized them into a Prefecture, entrusted to the Holy Ghost Fathers.<sup>1\*</sup> Father James Girard received his appointment as first Prefect Apostolic of the new jurisdiction, and Father John Manach was to accompany him as a missionary.

Immediately after the signing of the peace treaty, France initiated steps to colonize the islands with Acadian refugees.<sup>5</sup> A first group of three hundred and fifty went before the end of the year. Other groups followed in rapid succession, including many who made their way from Nova Scotia.<sup>6</sup> Soon the little islands became so overcrowded that the government made every effort to induce part of their inhabitants to settle in Guiana, to return to France, or even to America and Nova Scotia.

<sup>1\*</sup> Although the Abbot of Isle Dieu had notified the Bishop of Quebec that these islands now depended immediately on the Holy See,<sup>2</sup> a 1778 letter of Father de Villars, successor to the Abbot as Vicar General of Quebec, states that the Bishop had specifically authorized him to send priests to the Miquelon Islands.<sup>3</sup> The French government, which did not want the islands to depend on a bishop in foreign territory, quickly pointed out that it is "the Superior of the Holy Ghost Seminary whom the King had authorized to present priests for these missions and that these priests receive their faculties from the Holy See"<sup>4</sup> and not from Quebec.

<sup>1</sup> Le Président... de la Marine à l'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu, 7 juin 1765: \*Arch. Col., C11B, vol. 122, 190(150).

<sup>2</sup> L'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu à Mgr Briand, 17 avril 1766: Arch. Qu. 1937-38, p. 208.

<sup>3</sup> Le Président... de la Marine à M. de Villars, 11 février 1778: \*Arch. Col., C11B, vol. 164, 48(13).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Lauvrière, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 221 f.

<sup>6</sup> Murdoch II, p. 442.

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To his great surprise, the Abbot of Isle Dieu learned that in 1763 two ex-members of the suppressed Society of Jesus, Father Bonnecamp and Father Paul Ardiliers, had accompanied the first governor of the islands and were exercising their functions among the new settlers<sup>7</sup> without having the necessary ecclesiastical authorization.<sup>2\*</sup> They withdrew, however, when they were informed of the fact that the islands had been transferred to the control of the Spiritans,<sup>9</sup> and the Abbot recommended them to the Bishop of Quebec for service in his diocese.<sup>10</sup>

In July 1765, Father Manach<sup>3\*</sup> and Father Girard sailed from France to assume the spiritual care of the new Acadian colony.<sup>11</sup> A furious storm drove the ship off its course and it finally landed in Martinique. On the way back to France in January of the following year, Father Manach died.<sup>15</sup> His companion was so exhausted

<sup>2\*</sup> All they had were faculties for travel at sea obtained at their port of embarkation. In 1767, the Holy See regularized the acts which they had performed improperly.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>3\*</sup> Both priests had planned in 1762 to return to Canada by way of Louisiana.<sup>12</sup> The next year Father Manach had tried in vain to return to Miramichi, New Brunswick, to resume work there among the refugee Acadians and his Micmacs Indians.<sup>13</sup> His appointment to the Miquelon Islands likewise was for the avowed intention of facilitating his return to Acadia.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Paul Hubert, *Les îles de la Madeleine*, Rimouski, 1926, pp. 227 ff. Cf. le Président... de la Marine à l'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu, 8 août 1766: \*Arch. Col., C11B, vol. 125, 297(168).

<sup>8</sup> David, "Les Spiritains à Saint-Pierre et Miquelon," B.R.H. 1929, pp. 437 f.

<sup>9</sup> Le Président... de la Marine à M. Dangeac, 7 juin 1765: \*Arch. Col., C11B, vol. 121, 11bis(124).

<sup>10</sup> See footnote 2.

<sup>11</sup> L'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu à M. Le Guerne, 4 juin 1767: Arch. Qu. 1937-38, p. 236.

<sup>12</sup> Le Président... de la Marine à l'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu, 28 février 1762 and 7 nov. 1762: \*Arch. Col., C11B, vol. 115-1, 54v(41) and 284(287).

<sup>13</sup> Lettre de M. Manach à ?, 4 mars 1763: C.F.D.I., 2, pp. 143 f.; Robins à Petitpas, 10 juin 1763: \*N.S., A, vol. 71, pp. 57 ff. (\*B.M. add 19071, f. 199); Wilmot to Secretary of State, 10 Dec., 1763: \*N.S., A, vol. 72, pp. 128 ff. (\*CO-217: 20, M104).

<sup>14</sup> Le Président... de la Marine à M. Dangeac, 17 mai 1765: \*Arch. Col., C11B, vol. 121, 9(119).

<sup>15</sup> David, *art. cit.*, p. 438.

that he had to abandon his journey to the Miquelon Islands.<sup>4\*</sup>

In 1766, Holy Ghost Seminary sent two substitutes, Father Julien Becquet and Father Xavier Paradis, as Prefect and Vice-Prefect Apostolic, respectively.<sup>18</sup> As usual, the Abbot of Isle Dieu was full of praise for these Spiritans. He described Father Becquet to the Bishop of Quebec as "learned, strict and firm, but at the same time prudent and wise, moderate when necessary. He will need all these qualities in dealing with the Governor who is not exactly very sociable and, I believe, in possession of few clear and solid principles."<sup>19</sup> Father Paradis, the Abbot continued, is "a man of great virtue and piety, but unfortunately his strength and health are not up to his zeal, his eagerness, and his activity in all kinds of good works. I feel that he will overwork himself."<sup>20</sup> Fortunately the local commander of Miquelon Island "likes him very much and takes good care of him, for otherwise he would simply go on living in the greatest privation."<sup>21</sup>

The Abbot apparently knew whereof he spoke when he forecast that Father Becquet would need all his outstanding qualities in dealing with the Governor.<sup>22</sup> The control he exercised in religious matters as representative

<sup>4\*</sup> In 1767, Father Girard was planning to go to work among the Acadians of Prince Edward Island, but his expectancy did not materialize.<sup>16</sup> The Marquis of Pérusse invited him, in 1774, to become pastor of the Acadians whom he planned to settle on his estates. Judging that the conditions laid down by the Marquis would not make it possible for the wretched deportees to re-establish themselves, he rejected the offer, since he did not wish to "dwell in a castle" and witness once more the untold sufferings of these poor people in their endless peregrinations without hope.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> L'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu à Mgr Briand, 18 février 1767 and 19 février 1767: Arch. Qu. 1937-38, pp. 214 and 219.

<sup>17</sup> M Girard au marquis de Pérusse, 14 déc. 1774: Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 277.

<sup>18</sup> L'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu à Mgr Briand, 17 avril 1769: Arch. Qu. 1937-38, p. 208; du même au nonce apostolique, 5 juin 1769: *ibid.*, p. 238.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 238.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> See footnote 15.

## The Miquelon Islands

of the State was so strict that the priest found it almost impossible to fulfill his functions and to organize parishes among the new settlers. The arrival of a third priest, Father John (N) Bouguet in 1774, gave him an opportunity to return to Europe with the intention of submitting his troubles to the Holy See. When this plan could not be carried out, he resigned as Prefect Apostolic.<sup>5\*</sup> Meanwhile the Acadian population made valiant but often futile efforts to procure a living on the islands through fishing and agriculture.<sup>23</sup> The difficulties were so great that many of them had to leave while others subsisted precariously on government support. The islands, moreover, were constantly burdened by having to provide for Acadians escaping from their exile in the States or their misery in Nova Scotia and adjacent lands, and, paradoxically, others who were hopefully returning to the land of their birth. Gradually, however, through persevering hard work, about fourteen hundred managed to settle in hopeful permanence on the islands. With their own hands they built not only their humble dwellings, but also their fishing boats and the necessary installations for drying their catch.

### 2. Deportation and Return

3 With the greatest reluctance Great Britain had allowed France to retain these little islands. Although they wholly lacked fortifications and were therefore militarily useless in a war, the British navy kept a close watch on them. When war between France and England broke out again in 1778, a unit of the British fleet appeared and captured the defenseless islands. After sending the French governor and his "army" of less than three dozen men back to France, the conqueror again proceeded systematically to destroy what the poor refugees had built up so laboriously. More than 460 dwellings and fisherman's huts, 200 storage sheds and other structures went up in flames.

<sup>5\*</sup> Father Cassiet, a former missionary of Prince Edward Island, was destined to become his successor. After unforeseen difficulties first delayed his appointment, the American War of Independence (1778-1783) made it impossible for him to depart.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Lauvrière, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 226 ff.

<sup>24</sup> David, *Les missionnaires . . .*, p. 46.

### *Knives or Knights?*

Once more the Acadians, who seemed doomed to be "settlers" forever, saw themselves deported under wretched conditions. Father Paradis and his companion shared their fate. Many of them died on board the ships which took them to France and others succumbed soon after. By 1780, only 780 of the deportees remained, waiting for a chance to return to their little island home.<sup>25</sup>

The Treaty of Versailles (1783) which restored the islands to France, provided the necessary opportunity to resettle the tiny archipelago. Father Paradis returned along with many of the former Acadian settlers. Gradually the hardy fishermen rebuilt their establishments during the seven years of peace which followed. Holy Ghost Seminary reinforced the religious service of the islands by sending Father John Longueville, who became Prefect Apostolic about 1784, Father John Allain, and Father Francis Le Jamtel.<sup>26</sup> On the eve of the French Revolution about 1200 people, of whom 514 were Acadians, lived peacefully on the islands.<sup>27</sup>

### **3. The French Revolution**

At the outbreak of the French Revolution, the government imposed a constitutional oath upon the clergy. Because the formula of the oath amounted to a kind of schism, the Holy See did not permit the priests to comply with this revolutionary demand.<sup>28</sup> Father Allain and Father Le Jamtel courageously refused to take the oath and fled with most of their parishioners to the Magdalen Islands in the Gulf of Saint Lawrence.<sup>29</sup> Left alone in the Miquelon Islands, Father Longueville, the Prefect, must have been in an agony of indecision. If he followed the same course as his two confreres, the remaining population would have been left without any priest. After long reflection, he thought himself morally justified in submitting to the oath. Although, ~~no doubt~~, he took

<sup>25</sup> Lauvrière, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 233 f.

<sup>26</sup> See footnote 24.

<sup>27</sup> Lauvrière, *op. cit.*, II, p. 237.

<sup>28</sup> David, "Les Spiritains à Saint-Pierre et Miquelon," B.R.H. 1929, p. 439.

<sup>29</sup> Robert Perret, *La géographie de Terre-Neuve*, Paris, 1913, p. 299; Can. Arch. 1895, State Papers, Cape Breton, p. 44.

### *The Miquelon Islands*

it with all the reservations which many priests in France added to the formula, it remains nonetheless true that his action in this respect was reprehensible. Meanwhile it enabled him to stay in the islands and to minister to the spiritual needs of the people.<sup>30</sup>

At first, the Revolution had very little effect upon the islands.<sup>31</sup> Everyone rejoiced, of course, when the Paris government announced that the loans made to the settlers did not have to be repaid, but otherwise the Revolution scarcely caused a ripple. Like everyone else, the members of the local Security Committee faithfully attended Mass and even Sunday Vespers, instead of following the example of their Parisian model in compiling lists of people to be executed. This peaceful development, however, was not to the liking of the seven young men who had constituted a committee of "Friends of the Revolution."<sup>32</sup> The guillotine fell all over France; the Miquelon Islands, they thought, should be no less revolutionary than the other parts of France. "The colony," they said, "will never be peaceful unless some throats are cut here too."<sup>33</sup>

Father Longueville, who had become a member of the local General Assembly, and Commander Danseville did their best to quiet the appeal for victims made by these "Friends of the Revolution."<sup>34</sup> When the young men persisted in their demands, the Commander had them deported to France. The home government, however, disapproved this deportation and returned the "victims of the unpatriotic aristocrat" to the Islands. It is not difficult to imagine whose heads would have rolled had they become masters there.<sup>35</sup>

Meanwhile a conflict broke out in the local General Assembly relative to voting age.<sup>36</sup> In France, the Revolutionary government fixed the age at twenty-five, but this

<sup>30</sup> David, *art. cit.*, p. 438.

<sup>31</sup> Lauvrière, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 237 ff.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 238.

<sup>34</sup> Perret, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

<sup>35</sup> See footnote 33.

<sup>36</sup> Perret, *op. cit.*, p. 300.

requirement seemed too rigid to some of the Miqueloniens. In the ensuing discussion, the Assembly members on the Gospel side opposed those on the Epistle side (the meeting took place in the parish church) and wanted to lower the age requirement to twenty-one. Suddenly someone proposed that they reject the authority of the National Assembly in Paris and proclaim that the laws of Miquelon were made only in Miquelon. When the President of the local Assembly concurred, a hastily proposed law was accepted to this effect. Thus the little islands had proclaimed, perhaps unwittingly, their independence from France (April 11, 1793).<sup>37</sup>

Unfortunately for this new republic of ninety-three square miles, at this time war broke out again between France and England.<sup>38</sup> The British apparently did not recognize the independent new republic, and sent a fleet to occupy the islands. Since the local army of forty-six officers and men was no match for the five English ships with more than three hundred men, Danseville surrendered unconditionally to the superior enemy.<sup>39</sup> After deporting the commander and all non-residents to Halifax, General Edgell, the British chief, left a garrison of a hundred and sixty men to keep the local population in a state of virtual imprisonment.<sup>40</sup> Eighteen months later, everyone not wanting to settle in Nova Scotia was deported to Halifax and from there to the Channel islands of Jersey and Guernesey. It was the fifth deportation for many of them. Behind them rose again the smoke of their burning homes, wrecked and destroyed to prevent France from making use of the islands.

As for Father Longueville, in 1793, Bishop John Francis Hubert of Quebec authorized him to exercise his priestly ministry in Nova Scotia. However, when the prelate heard that the priest had taken the constitutional

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 300 f.

<sup>38</sup> Lauvrière, *op. cit.*, II, p. 239.

<sup>39</sup> Ogilvie to Secretary of State, 18 May, 1793: Can. Arch. 1894, pp. 484 f.

<sup>40</sup> MaCarmick to Ogilvie, 10 Feb., 1793: Can. Arch. 1895, State Papers, Cape Breton, p. 49.

### The Miquelon Islands

oath, he withdrew <sup>his</sup> permission.<sup>41</sup> In November of the same year, Father Longueville was still in the Miquelon Islands with the people who had not yet been deported. He probably shared their fate the following year.<sup>42</sup> Doubtless he recognized his mistake in taking the oath, for later he appears in France as an honorary Canon of the Rheims Cathedral. He died in 1820, at the age of sixty-seven.<sup>6\*</sup>

\* When, in 1814, the Treaty of Paris restored the Miquelon Islands to France, the Holy Ghost Fathers again assumed charge of providing priests for the Acadians and other deportees of 1793 who returned to this colony. For several years, the critical condition of the Congregation and Seminary of the Holy Ghost prevented them from staffing the islands fully with their own priests. (For the religious history of the islands after 1816, see the author's book, *The Spiritans*, pp. 227 f. and 358 ff.)

<sup>41</sup> Mgr Hubert à M. Jones, 6 juillet 1793: \*Arch. Archd. Qu., Reg. d. L., vol. 2, 64.

<sup>42</sup> David, *Les missionnaires . . .*, p. 47.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE MARITIME PROVINCES<sup>1\*</sup>

#### AND THE MAGDALEN ISLANDS, 1772—1819

##### 1. *Father Joseph Bourg*

##### *Indian Threats and Their Result*

After the death of Father Maillard, no priest resided in Nova Scotia for several years. Both the Indians and Acadians scattered throughout the territory had to keep their faith alive without the ministrations of a priest, while, at the same time, they were exposed to the proselytizing activities of the Reverend Dr. Wood and other ministers of the "Pure Gospel." As heretofore considered in detail,<sup>1</sup> the Micmacs would have nothing to do with the self-proclaimed evangelical successor of their apostle and demanded a Catholic priest. When this demand fell on deaf ears, they threatened to take reprisals against the British settlers.

One year after Father Maillard's death, Governor Montague Wilmot found himself forced to request from the Lords of Trade in London permission to allow three priests to minister to the Indians.<sup>2</sup> His petition, however, met with refusal, for the Lords opined that the ministers of the "Pure Gospel" would surely succeed "in weaning them from their prejudices."<sup>3</sup> Exasperated by repeated refusals, the Micmacs finally made it clear that unless their demand was met at once they themselves would get a priest, with or without the government's consent, and that any attempt to stop them would result in full scale attacks on the British settlements.

Their threat, forwarded to London by Lieutenant Governor Michael Franklin, finally produced results.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1\*</sup> This term indicates Nova Scotia (including Cape Breton Island), New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. The Magdalen Islands are a group of islands in the Gulf of Saint Lawrence.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> Wilmot to Lords of Trade, 10 Dec., 1763: \*N.S., A, vol. 72, p. 132 (\*CO-217: 20, M104).

<sup>3</sup> Lords of Trade to Wilmot (enclosure in Wilmot's letter to Secretary of State, 18 Dec., 1764): Can. Arch. 1894, p. 260.

<sup>4</sup> Franklin to Lords of Trade, 3 Sept., 1766: \*N.S., A, vol. 78, pp. 83 ff. (\*CO-217: 21, N111).

Although the Protestant pastor of St. Paul's Church in Halifax wrote<sup>5</sup> that the people supported the refusal of a priest by the home government and that soon the Micmacs would be coming to listen to the "Pure Gospel,"<sup>2\*</sup> the local British officials convinced the Lords of Trade that "any attempt to convert the Micmacs by Protestant missionaries... will greatly exasperate them and prove fatal to the settlements in this Province."<sup>7</sup> Fearful of a possible Indian uprising, the Lords authorized Franklin to secure a priest at the expense of His Majesty's government.<sup>8</sup>

Meanwhile British officers and traders established in Nova Scotia had addressed appeals to Bishop Briand of Quebec. "They pitied" the poor Acadian people "whose attachment to their religion forces them to give up all their possessions and to withdraw to places where they can receive spiritual succor. These officers and traders... offer to bear all the travel expenses of the missionaries and to pay for their support."<sup>9</sup> Two years later, in 1768, the Bishop was able to send Father Charles Bailly de Messein as an officially approved Catholic priest.<sup>10</sup>

If the officers and traders from England were friendly and well-disposed toward him, the same cannot be said of the Puritan settlers to whom successive governors had given the lands taken from the Acadians. They demanded the priest's expulsion under the constitution of Nova

<sup>2\*</sup> Dr. Silas Rand, a Baptist missionary, managed to make a single convert, one Benjamin Christmas, among the Micmacs in the second half of the nineteenth century. This hard-drinking neophyte soon received a promotion to preach among his fellow-Indians, but had no more success than the white ministers. Christmas died in 1882, after calling, in vain, for a Catholic priest.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Breynton to Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 4 Sept., 1766: Can. Arch. 1894, p. 272 (\*Lamb. MSS 1124-3, f. 263a).

<sup>6</sup> David, "L'Apôtre des Micmacs," R.U.O. 1936, p. 26.

<sup>7</sup> Wilmot to Lords of Trade, 9 Oct., 1765: \*N.S., A, vol. 76, p. 162 (\*CO-217: 21,N69).

<sup>8</sup> Campbell to Hillsborough, 20 March, 1769: Can. Arch. 1905, vol. 2, App., p. 223.

<sup>9</sup> M. Jacrau au nonce apostolique, 20 août 1766: Arch. Qu. 1937-38, p. 243.

<sup>10</sup> Murdoch II, p. 478; Placide Gaudet, "Un ancien missionnaire de l'Acadie," B.R.H. 1907, p. 245.

Scotia and in general made his life so difficult that, after four years, Father Bailly withdrew from his precarious position.<sup>11</sup> Meanwhile another priest had readied himself in Holy Ghost Seminary to take over the torch of faith.

### *Two Little Deportees*

In 1755, an eleven year old boy, Joseph Bourg, and his twelve year old companion, John Brault, parishioners of Father Le Maire in Canard River, weepingly followed their parents into exile, having been rounded up by Colonel Winslow for deportation from their prosperous farms. On a cold autumn morning, together with hundreds of other victims of the "Grand Dérangement," they set sail on crowded ships for an unknown destination.<sup>12</sup> Eleven hundred and forty of them, including the Bourgs and their six children, were dropped on the coast of Virginia. The welcome awaiting the poor deportees there was colder than the icy waters of the Arctic seas. The local authorities forthwith decided to get rid of this disease-ridden, wretched mass of Popish sufferers. In the spring of the following year they shipped these "prisoners of war" to England, to be disposed of according to the pleasure of the Lords of Trade.<sup>13</sup>

Very little is known about the Bourgs' sojourn in England. Along with the other Acadians, they remained there as prisoners, in wretched conditions, until 1763. Joseph's mother died there or in Virginia, as did many of the other deportees, including John Brault's father. In order to provide for the two families, the widower and the widow married and the two boys became inseparable companions.<sup>14</sup> When, in the spring of 1763, the detention camps opened their gates, the Bourg family embarked for France and settled at Saint Servan, near Saint-Malo in Brittany.<sup>15</sup>

Devotedly caring for the Acadian refugees, Father Le

<sup>11</sup> Casgrain, *Pèlerinage*, pp. 257 ff.; Gaudet, *art. cit.*, p. 247.

<sup>12</sup> Winslow, p. 175.

<sup>13</sup> Lauvrière, *op. cit.*, II, p. 123; Melançon, *Vie de l'Abbé Bourg*, Rimouski, 1921, pp. 18, 28.

<sup>14</sup> Melançon, *op. cit.*, pp. 28, 32 ff.

<sup>15</sup> Familles acadiennes . . . repatriées en France en 1763: *Can. Arch.* 1905, vol. 2, App., p. 273.

Loutre must undoubtedly have noted this family which, in the midst of all its troubles, had managed to carefully raise its children. At any rate the attention of the Abbot of Isle Dieu was soon drawn to Joseph and John<sup>3\*</sup> as potential candidates for the priesthood.<sup>16</sup> He saw to it that they pursued their classical studies and then, in 1767, made them enter Holy Ghost Seminary. Four years later, he sent them to Quebec, before they had received any major orders,<sup>18</sup> reasoning, as he said, that "we are unable to send missionaries of French origin by virtue of the regulations and even most formal prohibitions of his British Majesty."<sup>19</sup> By sending them before their ordination, the Abbot could truthfully claim that he was not sending any priests. However, he perhaps stretched the truth somewhat when he asserted that they returned to Canada to join their family, for at least their immediate family was not able to cross the Atlantic until three years after their sons.<sup>20</sup>

Both young men were ordained in 1772.<sup>21</sup> Father Brault's work among the Acadian deportees in Canada will be considered later; the apostolic labors of Father Joseph Bourg<sup>4\*</sup> in the land of his birth, Acadia, comprise the first part of the present chapter.

<sup>3\*</sup> As well as to two other Acadian youths, John Bourg and Isaac Hébert, who also became priests but remained in France.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>4\*</sup> Father Bourg is often called the first Acadian priest, although the records assembled by Henri Têtu show that two other Acadians were ordained many years earlier — namely, Bernardin de Gannes de Falaise, a Recollect, in 1729; and Pierre de Gannes de Falaise, a secular priest, in 1731.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Anselme Rhéaume, "L'Abbé Joseph-Mathurin Bourg," B.R.H. 1900, pp. 263 f.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 264.

<sup>18</sup> L'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu à Mgr Briand, 19 février 1766 and 4 juin 1767; Arch. Qu. 1937-38, pp. 219 f. and 233.

<sup>19</sup> L'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu au Card. Castelli, 8 déc. 1772: \*Arch. Prop., S.R.C., Am. Sett., vol. 1, f. 302.

<sup>20</sup> See reference of footnote 15, p. 276; David, "Les deux premiers prêtres acadiens," B.R.H. 1929, p. 444.

<sup>21</sup> Actes de prêtrise de MM. Bourg et Bro(Brault), 19 sept. 1772 and 15 nov. 1772: \*Ach. Archd. Qu., Reg. C, 124.

<sup>22</sup> Henri Têtu, "Lettres des chanoines... de l'Orme et... de la Corne," B.R.H. 1908, pp. 163, 167, 235.

*"In Journeyings Often"*

In the fall of 1773 Bishop John Oliver Briand of Quebec finally was able to send Father Bourg<sup>23</sup> to the Acadians scattered throughout Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, the Chaleurs Bay and Gaspé.<sup>5\*</sup> The priest began by establishing his headquarters at Tracadieche (Carleton), where about two hundred Acadians lived, mostly through hunting and fishing. Soon after, he undertook the first of his numerous journeys throughout the immense territory entrusted to his care. One of his first wanderings took him to the Indians in the Chaleurs Bay and Restigouche, where, with surprising ease, he quickly learned their difficult language.<sup>25</sup>

In the spring of 1774, he set out through the forest, accompanied by two Indians, toward the St. John's River to visit both the encampments of the braves and a settlement of Acadians who had escaped deportation by withdrawing deep into the woods.<sup>6\*</sup> Successively he visited all the other familiar places where Acadians had sought refuge: Peticodiac, Memramcook, St. Mary (Church Point), Cocagne, Baie Verte, Miramichi, and others. At each, he could stay only a short while; then he would set out again, alone or with an Indian, traveling through dark forests, paddling in frail canoes along rapid rivers, by snow shoe in winter, living, like the birds, on what a kind Providence would provide, sleeping lonely nights

<sup>5\*</sup> Those on Cape Breton and Prince Edward Islands were cared for by a Scotch priest, Father James McDonald, who had arrived there in 1772 as chaplain of Catholic Scottish immigrants. He died in 1785.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>6\*</sup> This settlement had originated from the daring act performed by a group of Acadians aboard one of the deportation ships. When one of them, a two-fisted Acadian sailor, asked the captain where he was taking them, he received the reply, "To the first deserted island I will run across. That is what all you popish Frenchmen deserve." A moment later, the captain was sprawled unconscious on the bridge. Over-powering the crew, the deportees captured the ship and set sail for St. John's River, where many of them managed to escape the roving bands of New England soldiers.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Mgr Briand à M. Bourg, 8 nov. 1773: \*Arch. Archd. Qu., Cop. d. L., IV, 417.

<sup>24</sup> Melançon, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 44 f.

<sup>26</sup> Casgrain, *Pèlerinage*, p. 125.

### *The Maritime Provinces*

on a few boughs under a starry sky or sheltered behind a protruding rock. Mornings would find him on the go again, on to the next clearing in the forest or along the river where a few scattered remnants of Acadia tried to eke out their existence. "Fortunately," he said, "I have always been blessed with perfect health."<sup>27</sup>

If the constant travel constituted a heavy burden, the situation was even worse when he arrived at the tiny settlements of the Acadians or the encampments of the Indians. People would come from great distances — up to ten leagues — to gather together at his arrival. After hearing everyone's confession, saying Mass, blessing marriages, and baptizing the new-born, he would spend the rest of the day instructing the children and preaching to the adults. They never tired of hearing the priest during the few days that he would be with them. Nearly all would stay until his departure at the place where he had set up his altar, eager to hear him over and over again. Then, after a final blessing on the last day, all would leave: the Acadians for their remote clearings, the priest for another settlement.<sup>28</sup>

To secure the survival of the faith among the settlers during the long periods in which no priest was able to visit them, the most respectable elder of each settlement was appointed its lay apostle.<sup>29</sup> He would preside at prayer meetings, baptize the children, witness marriages, accord certain dispensations, and conduct funerals. On Sundays, people would gather a "wooden Mass," to sing together the trusted old chants of the *Kyrie* and *Gloria*, to listen to the reading of the Epistle and Gospel, and to hear the spiritual reading or sermon delivered by the elder. When death struck, they would gather for three days' wakes and then sing the *Requiem* Mass before the elder would conduct the corpse in solemn procession to their cemetery. Here and there the people began to call the presiding layman their "Bishop,"<sup>30</sup> and in this way these Acadians never lost contact with their faith.

<sup>27</sup> Melançon, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 82.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 87 ff.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 93.

*Father Bourg Averts Indian Revolt*

In 1776, when the American Colonies were in revolt against Great Britain, several colonists of Nova Scotia went to the Congress of New York and claimed that their colony was ready to join the movement for independence. Upon their return to Nova Scotia, they stirred the Indians and Acadians to revolt against England and to join their cause with the colonies to the south. Their efforts were unsuccessful among the Acadians, who remembered their sufferings at the puritanical hands of New Englanders much too vividly to be tempted to join them.<sup>31</sup>

Moreover, it went against their conscience to violate the oath of allegiance which they had sworn to Great Britain. Straight-forward and unsophisticated as they were, they must have been astonished to see people who had insisted upon their taking the oath of allegiance now make every effort to have them disregard their sworn obligation and revolt against their legitimate sovereign.<sup>32</sup>

The colonists were furious about the lack of cooperation shown by the Acadians. They tried to have Father Bourg and Father Le Roux<sup>7\*</sup> persuade their flock to join the rebellion. When friendly efforts failed, they put a pistol to Father Le Roux's throat and threatened to kill him and Father Bourg as well, but not even this could induce either the priests or the Acadians to break their oath and join the rebels in their futile attack on Fort Cumberland. The situation, however, was different with the Indians.<sup>34</sup> Never very kindly disposed toward Great Britain, they listened with considerable sympathy to the

*How he managed to enter the country is a mystery*

<sup>7\*</sup> Father Thomas Le Roux seems to have arrived in Canada shortly after Father Bourg. Bishop Briand assigned him to missionary work in the isthmus connecting New Brunswick with Nova Scotia.<sup>33</sup> It is not certain whether or not this priest had come from Holy Ghost Seminary.

<sup>31</sup> Arbuthnot to Secretary of State, 8 July, 1776: Can. Arch. 1894, p. 352; Murdoch II, pp. 575 ff.

<sup>32</sup> Casgrain, *op. cit.*, pp. 448 f.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 283.

<sup>34</sup> Murdoch II, pp. 567, 592.

proposed rebellion.<sup>35</sup> A wholesale Indian revolt in Nova Scotia (threatened from without by American "freedom fighters" and from within by considerable numbers of sympathizers)<sup>36</sup> would very likely have placed the country in the camp of the separated colonies. For this reason, the acting governor, Colonel Mariot Arbuthnot, made strenuous efforts to restrain the Indians. When his attempts failed and revolt threatened to become more widespread, he hurriedly dispatched an appeal to the Governor of Canada, begging him to secure from the Bishop the services of Father Bourg, the only man who could save the situation.<sup>37</sup> Meanwhile the Indians sent a formal declaration of war to the British commander.<sup>38</sup>

It must have been humiliating for the proud colonel. Twenty years before, he had taken part in the capture and deportation of the Acadians and their priests.<sup>39</sup> Now he had to appeal to one of them to save the colony. An express messenger from the Bishop soon notified Father Bourg of the situation and directed him to do his utmost to pacify the Indians. In this way, "the eleven-year-old, outlawed little boy, who on a bleak autumn morning in 1755 had tearfully followed his parents on the road to exile, twenty years later — back in his beloved country — became the arbitrator who was eagerly sought by his former persecutors."<sup>40</sup>

As soon as he arrived at Fort Howe, where the Indian chieftains of the Micmacs, the Malecites, and Miramichi Indians had gathered for a meeting, he addressed them in their own language.<sup>41</sup> Because of the great respect

<sup>35</sup> Hughes to Secretary of State, 16 Jan., 1779 and Franklin to the same, 3 Aug., 1779: \*N.S. A, vol. 99, pp. 3 ff. and 102 f (\*CO-217: 55, 169 and 231). See also enclosure in Hughes' letter: Treaty of alliance... between Massachusetts and... Mickmack Tribes of 19 July 1776: \*N.S., A, vol. 99 (\*CO-217: 55, 172).

<sup>36</sup> Journal of Gorham: Can. Arch. 1894, pp. 356 ff.

<sup>37</sup> Arbuthnot to Secretary of State, 8 April, 1778: \*N.S., A, vol. 98, pp. 56 f. (\*CO-217: 55, 54).

<sup>38</sup> Hughes to the same, 12 Oct., 1778: *ibid.*, pp. 181 f. (\*CO-217: 55, 144).

<sup>39</sup> Cf. p. 78.

<sup>40</sup> Paquet *apud* Antoine Bernard, *La Gaspésie au soleil*, Montreal, 1925, p. 164.

<sup>41</sup> Murdoch II, p. 601. Cf. Melançon, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

they had for their beloved blackrobe, and because of the priest's profound knowledge of Indian customs and mentality, Father Bourg succeeded in convincing them that it would be wrong to violate the peace with the British which they had sworn to observe. He then induced the assembled chieftains solemnly and on their knees to renew their allegiance to the King of England. The meeting ended with the customary ceremonial burial of the hatchet.<sup>42</sup>

To show his gratitude to the priest to whom "we owe the success of the treaty,"<sup>43</sup> Governor Richard Hughes, who had succeeded Arbutnot in his interim assignment, made Father Bourg three substantial land grants: the Heron Island in the Chaleurs Bay, a four mile stretch on the mainland opposite the island,<sup>8\*</sup> and an area in Carleton.<sup>44</sup> In the years following, the priest held several additional "powwows" with other Indian groups along the St. John's River to consolidate the peace. Needless to say, his success in pacifying the Indians during this critical period earned him great respect in government circles at Halifax.

### *Emancipation of Catholics in Halifax*

After the foundation of Halifax, a small group of Irish Catholics had gradually settled there without having any right to practice their religion and to have a resident priest. In 1781, Father Bourg, who spoke English with some fluency as a result of his long detention in Great Britain, decided to make use of his considerable influence in government circles to obtain the emancipation of these

<sup>8\*</sup> Was it just by carelessness or design that the legal title to the first two of these domains appears never to have been given to the priest?<sup>45</sup> He was an Acadian, and most Acadians were considered mere squatters having no legal title to the land they cultivated. This unbearable situation lasted till 1796, when at last they received legal title to their farms.

<sup>42</sup> Melançon, *op. cit.*, p. 100; E. P. Chouinard, *Histoire de la paroisse de Saint-Joseph de Carleton 1755-1906*, Rimouski, 1906, pp. 95 f.

<sup>43</sup> Hughes to Secretary of State, 12 Oct. 1778: \*N.S., A, vol. 98, p. 182 (\*CO-217: 55, 144); Murdoch II, p. 596.

<sup>44</sup> Melançon, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

<sup>45</sup> Bernard, *op. cit.*, pp. 165 ff.

Catholics.<sup>46</sup> On his advice a committee of the Irish addressed a petition to the government requesting the repeal of the articles in the 1758 laws directed against Catholics. Although the local reaction to this petition was favorable,<sup>47</sup> the British Crown at first rejected it, because of certain technical difficulties in the formulation of the amended law. In 1784, however, it approved the new amendment, thus making it possible for Catholics to build a church in Halifax and to practice their faith without fear of official persecution.

In the same year, the Bishop of Quebec directed Father Bourg to investigate the possibilities of establishing a church and supporting a priest in the city.<sup>48</sup> When the priest sent a favorable report, he named him pastor of Halifax. On his way to Carleton to collect his belongings before moving to Halifax, his vessel ran into a violent storm. "The entire crew," he related, "was put out of action save the captain. I was forced to act as a sailor to save my life."<sup>49</sup> As a result of exposure and exhaustion, he became ill when at last the ship reached the harbor, and could only return to Halifax in the spring of 1785. Meanwhile the Bishop had also appointed him Vicar General of the entire territory, with jurisdiction "over all Catholic establishments, whether Canadian or English, Acadian or Indian."<sup>50</sup>

Before the year was over, Father Bourg was surprised by the sudden arrival of an Irish Capuchin, Father John Jones. This excellent priest had been sent by the Bishop of Cork to minister to the Irish Catholics in Halifax,<sup>51</sup> apparently in response to their pleas for a priest.

<sup>46</sup> Melançon, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

<sup>47</sup> Secretary of State to Governor of Nova Scotia, 24 June, 1783: Can. Arch. 1894, p. 405.

<sup>48</sup> M. Gravé à M. Bourg, 16 juillet, 1785: \*Arch. Archd. Qu., Cop. d. L., V, f. 307.

<sup>49</sup> Lettres de M. Bourg, 11 févr. and 22 août 1785: \*Arch. Archd. Qu., V.G. II, 4 and 6.

<sup>50</sup> Mgr d'Esgly à M. Bourg, 21 janvier 1785: \*Arch. Archd. Qu., Reg. D, f. 47v.

<sup>51</sup> Du même au même, 23 oct. 1785 and du même à M. Jones, same date: \*Arch. Archd. Qu., Cop. d. L., V, f. 185 and 187. About Father Jones' excellent reputation see extract from letter of Father Laurent Callahan (1786) and état de la mission de l'Acadie en 1787: \*Arch. Prop., S.R.C., Am. Sett., vol. 1, f. 452 f. and 466.

Although they expressed willingness to support both priests, Father Bourg realized that their resources were insufficient, especially since they were heavily in debt for the church which they had built. For this reason he decided to withdraw from Halifax.<sup>52</sup> He realized, of course, that the Irish preferred to be served by a priest of their own country and that his departure was the only reasonable step to take. In the spring of 1786 Father Bourg withdrew from Halifax, after giving the Irish Capuchin full jurisdictional powers to be used at his own discretion. The following year the Bishop confirmed this action by putting Father Jones in charge of all the Irish and Scotch missions for which priests began to arrive.<sup>53</sup>

#### *Conflicts at Chaleurs Bay. Death of Father Bourg*

By withdrawing from Halifax to the obscurity of the Chaleurs Bay Father Bourg had generously sacrificed a relatively easy post to resume again his exhausting missionary labor in the backwoods areas. Gradually, however, more and more Acadians returned from their exile, so that even these areas became more populated. The small chapel at Carleton no longer sufficed for their needs, and it became necessary to build a new and larger church. As often happens in rural areas with a scattered population, the people did not agree with their priest on the site for their church.<sup>54</sup> Each family, it appears, had its own idea — as close as possible to its dwelling place. The bickering became so loud and troublesome that Father Bourg decided to take a radical step; he left Carleton and took up residence at Bonaventure.<sup>55</sup>

Having been left the entire winter to think matters over, the people were greatly relieved when Father Bourg returned to them in the spring of the following year.

<sup>52</sup> Lettre de M. Bourg, 25 juillet 1786: \*Arch. Archd. Qu., V.G., II, 11 f.

<sup>53</sup> Mgr d'Esgly à M. Jones, 20 août 1787: \*Arch. Archd. Qu., Reg. D, f. 95v.

<sup>54</sup> Chouinard, *op. cit.*, pp. 99 ff.

<sup>55</sup> Melançon, *op. cit.*, pp. 129 ff.; Chouinard, *op. cit.*, pp. 22 f. and *art. cit.*, B.R.H. 1900, p. 18.

This time they readily agreed to build the new church on the site of the old chapel.<sup>56</sup>

Meanwhile another difficulty continued to plague the valiant priest.<sup>57</sup> Most of his Acadian and Irish parishioners — some Irish had settled in the area — earned their living by fishing, a trade which somehow often goes hand in hand with heavy drinking. Determined to do his best to eradicate this evil, he adamantly refused Catholic burial to anyone who met accidental death while under the influence of liquor. The extent of the evil may be readily seen from the fact that in a single summer no less than three men lost their lives as a result of drunkenness.

If drink was causing ravages among the white population, its evil influence upon the Indians was even greater.<sup>58</sup> Although the government had prohibited the sale of "firewater" to the braves, unscrupulous merchants continued to supply them. Once drunk, the Indians became totally irrational and were ready to commit any crime. People began to fear their visits to the church on the occasion of great feasts. Around Christmas 1787, for example, about thirty drunken Indians fought with knives all night long in the streets. Father Bourg's influence on them can be readily seen by the fact that the fighting ceased when someone told them that he had called the priest to inform him of their disgraceful behavior and that the blackrobe was personally coming to stop it.

The efforts Father Bourg made to stop the excessive use of liquor and its sale to the Indians made him quite a few enemies.<sup>59</sup> These people did not hesitate to calumniate<sup>9\*</sup> him before his bishop.<sup>61</sup> They professed to be <sup>9\*</sup> Gossiping about their priests seems to have been a favorite pastime of the Acadians. As Father Maillard had already complained in 1738: "Even the most unselfish missionary in this country is inevitably subject"<sup>60</sup> to reproaches and calumny.

<sup>56</sup> Mgr Hubert à M. Bourg, 4 mai 1790: \*Arch. Archd. Qu., Reg. d. L., 1, 131; Chouinard, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

<sup>57</sup> M. Bourg à l'Evêché, 1790: \*Arch. Archd. Qu., V.G., vol. II, fo. 16.

<sup>58</sup> Melançon, pp. 144 ff.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 136 ff.

<sup>60</sup> Maillard a ?, 29 sept. 1738: C.F.D.I. 1, p. 67. Cf. lettre de M. Bourg, 1790: \*Arch. Archd. Qu., V.G. II, 16.

<sup>61</sup> Melançon, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

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scandalized by the fact that the priest had a relative, a forty year old woman, as housekeeper. The prelate was wise enough not to attach any credence to the complaint which reached him, but counseled the priest to avoid anything which could even remotely give rise to gossip.<sup>62</sup> Father Bourg promised to do his best, but had to point out that he could not guarantee success, because nothing is easier than to find scandal when one is looking for it.<sup>63</sup>

As soon as the new church was finished, the small unruly clique among the parishioners managed to cause a new conflict with the priest about the placing and renting of pews, which they wanted to be done as they saw fit and not as was determined by diocesan regulations. When the priest refused to accede to their demand, they aroused the rest of the parish, elected their own churchwardens, and seized control of the church.<sup>64</sup>

Soon after, the priest fell ill and provided the malcontents with an opportunity to remove another one of their grievances; namely, the fact that Father Bourg had a housekeeper. In their view he should not make use of the services of any woman, but use a man to do his cooking and cleaning — no matter that the custom of having a respectable older woman taking care of this task dated back to the times of the apostles. While the priest was confined to bed with high fever, they kidnaped the poor woman, sent her over the frozen waters of Chaleurs Bay to the opposite shore, and told her never to return.<sup>65</sup>

Worn out by twenty-two years of incessant travel and labor under the most primitive conditions, and mentally broken by the constant difficulties with some of the parishioners at his place of residence, Father Bourg, in 1795, requested that the bishop transfer him to a less strenuous post.<sup>66</sup> In compensation for his zeal, which had born the brunt of the labor almost unaided for such a long time, the bishop gave him the important and rela-

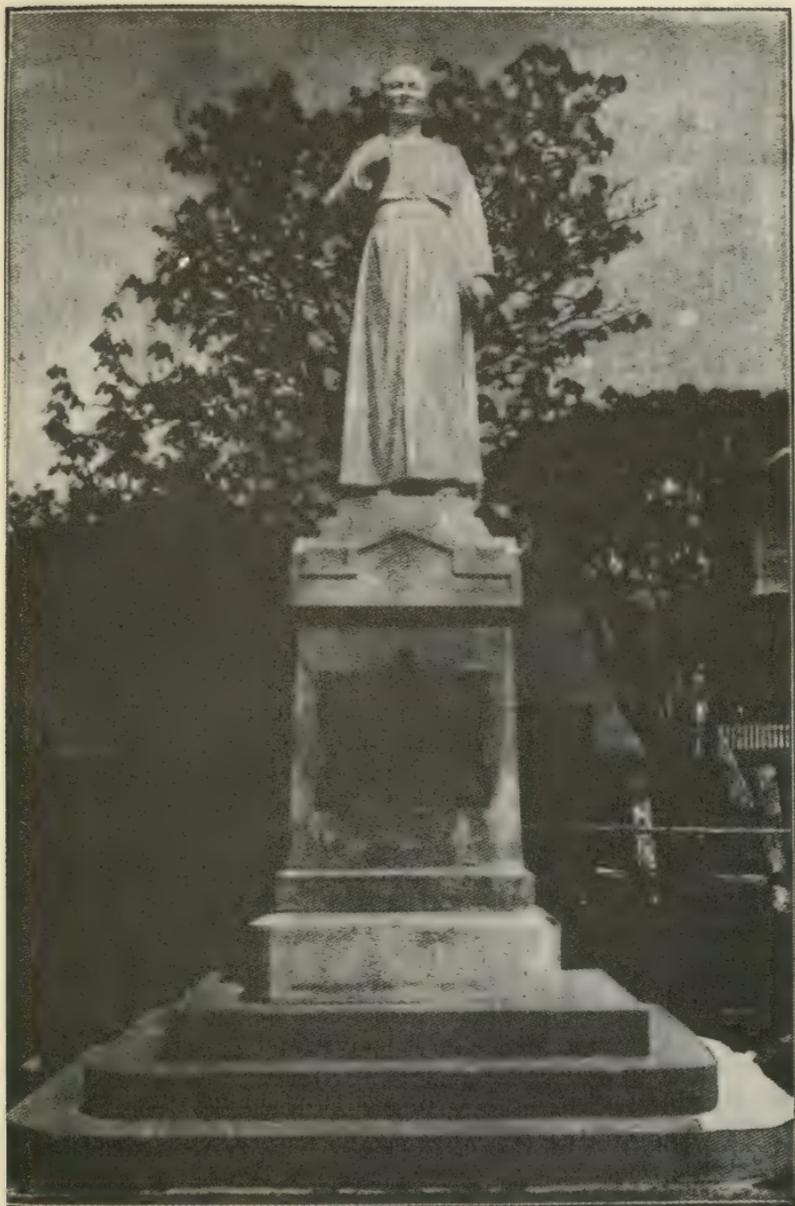
<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 137.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> Lettre de M. Bourg., 28 mars 1795: \*Arch. Archd. Qu., V.G., II, 20 ff.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*



THE STATUE OF FATHER JOSEPH BOURG IN CARLETON  
Courtesy Public Archives of Canada

tively easy parish of Saint Laurent, near Montreal, and sent two young priests to replace him in Chaleurs Bay.<sup>67</sup> Father Bourg's health, however, was too far gone to benefit from the change of scenery and the lightened work load. He died on August 20, 1797, at the age of fifty-three, shortly before he would have celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of his priesthood.<sup>68</sup> He was buried in the parish church of St. Laurent.

The wisdom, zeal, and self-sacrifice displayed by the priest in his difficult work among the Acadians at a crucial period of their history manifested themselves in the profound veneration which these people have retained for their apostle. A hundred and twenty-five years after his death this high regard expressed itself materially; in the presence of thousands of Acadians, three bishops presided over the unveiling of a statue, honoring Father Bourg, in Carleton.<sup>69</sup>

## **2. *Father Le Jamtel at Cape Breton and Father Allain at the Magdalen Islands***

As has been related above,<sup>70</sup> two Spiritans laboring in the Miquelon Islands, Father Allain and Father Le Jamtel, courageously refused to take the schismatic oath imposed by the French Revolution in 1792 and fled to Halifax. Father Jones, the Capuchin Vicar General, received them with open arms<sup>71</sup> and Bishop John Hubert of Quebec soon added that "any priest who has refused to take the oath... is always welcome in Canada."<sup>72</sup> By this time, following the example of Great Britain, Nova Scotia had become less difficult in admitting Catholic priests. The two Spiritans took their oath of allegiance to the British Crown and obtained permission to stay in the country.<sup>73</sup> Father Le Jamtel soon after received his

<sup>67</sup> Mgr Hubert à M. Bourg, 28 janvier 1796: \* Arch. Archd. Qu., Reg. d. L., 2, 254.

<sup>68</sup> Acte de sépulture, B.R.H. 1900, p. 41.

<sup>69</sup> Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. p. 104.

<sup>71</sup> Mgr Hubert à M. Jones, 31 janvier 1793: \* Arch. Archd. Qu., Reg. d. L., 2, 25.

<sup>72</sup> Du même à M. Lejamtel, 5 juillet 1793: *ibid.*, 2, 62.

<sup>73</sup> David, "Les Spiritains à Saint-Pierre et Miquelon," B.R.H. 1929, p. 400.

appointment as missionary to Cape Breton with residence at Arichat.<sup>74</sup> His confrere was assigned to the Magdalen Islands in the Gulf of Saint Lawrence.<sup>75</sup>

The appointment of Father Le Jamtel gave rise to unexpected complications arising from the resistance offered by Father William Phelan. This Irish priest, who had been accepted upon the recommendation of the Bishop of Ossory,<sup>76</sup> proved to be troublesome to such an extent that the Bishop of Quebec complained that "his conduct is more likely to render the Church hated than loved."<sup>77</sup> Father Phelan's French-speaking parishioners disliked him bitterly and wanted the ministrations of a French priest.<sup>78</sup> When Father Jones arrived with official orders of the Bishop of Quebec to install Father Le Jamtel as pastor of the Acadian refugees from Miquelon, Phelan refused to submit. Interdicted by the Vicar General, he appealed to Governor MaCarmick for support.<sup>79</sup>

After hearing the arguments of both sides, the Governor's Council decided that the Bishop had no authority in the case, but MaCarmick reserved the final verdict to himself.<sup>80</sup> Since there was danger that France would attack Cape Breton, the civil authorities came to the conclusion that "a good French priest... would be worth more than two regiments in securing the obedience of the French Acadians and Indians"<sup>81</sup> and that "the action of the Bishop of Quebec" would "secure peaceful behaviour in the Acadians."<sup>82</sup> For this reason Father Le

<sup>74</sup> Mgr Hubert à M. Lejamtel, 22 juillet 1794: \*Arch. Archd. Qu., Reg. d. L., 2, 142.

<sup>75</sup> Du même à M. Allain, 29 juin 1794: *ibid.*, 2, 138.

<sup>76</sup> Mgr Troy à Mgr d'Esgly, 5 août 1786: *ibid.*, Reg. D, f. 69r.

<sup>77</sup> Mgr Hubert à M. Jones, 27 nov. 1790: *ibid.*, Reg. d. L., 1, 185; cf. lettre de M. Lejamtel, 4 juin 1793: \*Arch. Archd. Qu., N.E., vol. VI, fo. 23.

<sup>78</sup> MaCarmick to Secretary of State, 1 Nov., 1792: \*Can. Arch., C.B., vol. 10, pp. 174 ff. (\*CO-217: 108, 603).

<sup>79</sup> Mgr Hubert à M. Jones, 29 mars 1794: \*Arch. Archd. Qu., Reg. d. L., 2, 125.

<sup>80</sup> Minutes of Council Meeting, 29 Oct., 1792: \*Can. Arch., C.B., B, vol. 7, pp. 169 ff. (\*CO-217: 108, 617).

<sup>81</sup> Taitt to Nepean, 4 Dec., 1792: \*Can. Arch., C.B., B, vol. 7, pp. 192 ff. (\*CO-217: 109, 343).

<sup>82</sup> Secretary of State to Dorchester, 12 Nov., 1792: \*Can. Arch.,

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Jamtel was permitted to establish himself at Arichat as pastor of the local congregation.

Hence the priest saw himself charged also with the care of the Micmac Indians of whom Father Maillard had been the beloved apostle. Unfortunately, being the only priest on the island, he had so much work that it was not possible for him to study their language or even to spend much time among them. Eight days a year was all that he could allot them and, if they wanted the last sacraments, they had to transport the sick a distance of from six to eight leagues to Arichat.<sup>83</sup> When the Bishop visited these distant missions in 1815, the Indians complained bitterly about their neglect: "We live like dogs, exposed to the danger of dying without the sacraments. Our children know nothing about their religion. There is no priest who speaks our language. Our old men have not heard a sermon in fifty years. What have we done to be so utterly abandoned?"<sup>84</sup> All the poor bishop could do was to promise that in a few years time he would be able to satisfy their legitimate desire for a resident priest and that in the meantime Father Le Jamtel would spend two weeks with them every year instead of one.

It must have been heart-rending for the bishop to have to refuse a resident priest to these faithful Indians who continued to rely on Father Maillard's hieroglyphic prayer books to keep in touch with their religion.<sup>85</sup> Until around 1820, when they finally got a priest, they wandered far and wide to find, at least from time to time, a priest to minister to them. They often traveled all the way from Newfoundland to Cape Breton or to the Miquelon Islands between 1815 and 1819 in search of the sacraments.<sup>86</sup>

*in fact?  
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From 1792 to 1819 the zealous priest worked tirelessly

C.B., A, vol. 11, p. 142 (\*CO-217: 110, 29).

<sup>83</sup> J.-O. Plessis, "Visite pastorale," *Semaine religieuse de Québec*, vol. 16, p. 203.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 204.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>86</sup> Franklin to Palisser, 11 Sept., 1766; Palliser to Franklin, 16 Oct., 1766: \*N.S., A, vol. 78, pp. 106 and 151 f. (\*CO-217: 44, 105 and 107). David, "L'Apôtre des Micmacs," R.U.O. 1936, p. 29.

at his difficult and obscure task among the poor settlers and Indians of his far-flung mission. Greatly beloved by his parishioners, he was held in high regard by his bishop as well. Unable to send the aging missionary an assistant,<sup>87</sup> the prelate appreciated the selflessness of the priest who "sacrificed his well-being and worldly interest to the glory of God and the salvation of souls."<sup>88</sup> Father Le Jamtel, he wrote, is a missionary "in whom everything commands respect and esteem. He is a very simple man, but possesses a rather broad knowledge of scripture, church history, positive and practical theology. His spirit of mortification reveals itself spontaneously, his zeal for the salvation of his flock is undismayed by the rigor of the seasons or the most exhausting journeys."<sup>89</sup>

In 1819, at the age of sixty-two, the tireless traveler finally had to admit that he was no longer able to carry this burden which would have frightened a much younger man. Not wanting to spend his declining years in idleness, he obtained appointment as pastor of Bécancour in the Quebec Province of Canada.<sup>90</sup> It is there that he spent the remaining sixteen years of his life prior to his death in 1835.<sup>91</sup>

Father John Allain, as has been seen already, went to work in the Magdalen Islands<sup>92</sup> where a number of the refugees from the Miquelon Islands had gone after their escape during the French Revolution. For nearly twenty years he devoted himself wholeheartedly to the spiritual welfare of the poor fishermen entrusted to his care in these secluded islands.<sup>93</sup> Although his name is mentioned frequently in the ecclesiastical correspondence of the

<sup>87</sup> Mgr Plessis à M. Lejamtel, 8 juillet 1800: \*Arch. Archd. Qu., Reg. d. L. 3, 116; Mgr Denaut au même, 1 avril 1803: *ibid.*, 4, 135; Mgr Plessis au même, 22 oct. 1808: *ibid.*, 6, 270; du même au même, 27 sept. 1809: *ibid.*, 7, 25.

<sup>88</sup> David, *art. cit.*, B.R.H. 1929, p. 440.

<sup>89</sup> See reference of footnote 83, p. 63.

<sup>90</sup> Mgr Plessis à Mgr Saldes, 1 juillet 1819: \*Arch. Archd. Qu., Cart. Ev. d. Qu., 3, 158.

<sup>91</sup> Service et oraison funèbre: \*Arch. Archd. Qu., N.E., VI, 102.

<sup>92</sup> Mgr Hubert à M. Allain, 29 juin 1794: \*Arch. Archd. Qu., Reg. d. L., 2, 138.

<sup>93</sup> See his letters in \*Arch. Archd. Qu., N.E., VI, 29-50 (*passim*) and I.M., 2-18.

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time, nothing significant seems to have happened there during a life filled with prayer, study, and the pastoral care of his people. All of it may be appropriately summed up in the statement of Bishop Plessis of Quebec in 1811: "It would not be possible to find a better man than him to preserve this sturdy Acadian stock in that laudable simplicity, worthy of the first ages of Christianity, that moral innocence, that unity, harmony, and unshakeable probity which one can still admire there today among them."<sup>94</sup> In 1812, he finally received permission to withdraw to Quebec, where he died in the general hospital, a few weeks after his arrival, at the age of seventy-four.<sup>10x</sup>

*10x is recently discovered note of Plessis the Superior of St-J. Genesee  
shows that Allan was not ~~actually~~ a Spiritan; note of Mgr de Plessis  
par ailleurs le sujet "Arch. Pape SRC" indicates that Allan was pastor  
of St Pierre, Bequet wrote  
americain, Antille, 62, 5-36*

<sup>94</sup> David, *art. cit.*, p. 439. Cf. Mgr de Plessis à Mgr de Québec, 20 octobre 1800: \*Arch. Archd. Qu., Cart. Ev. d. Qu., vol. III, fo. 81; Mgr Denaut à son coadjuteur, 11 juillet 1803: *ibid.*, vol. II, fo. 162; lettre de M. Mignault, 3 octobre 1815: *ibid.*, N.E., vol 1, fo. 105.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE QUEBEC REGION, 1732—1835

#### 1. *The Seminary of Quebec*

Chapter One detailed the role which the Abbot of Isle Dieu wanted the Spiritans to play with respect to the training of a native Canadian clergy in the Quebec Diocese. Political events, however, prevented the execution of the Abbot's plans, although, as he wrote in 1753, Holy Ghost Seminary had furnished "the majority of the staff in the Quebec Seminary."<sup>1</sup> Surviving documents give us but meager information about Spiritans assigned to the Quebec institution of ecclesiastical learning. The only priests that we can state with certainty came from Holy Ghost Seminary are Francis Frison de la Mothe, Simon Le Bansais, Francis Le Guerne and Columban Pressart.<sup>1\*</sup>

<sup>1\*</sup> Historical documents give us some information about four other Spiritans, destined for the Seminary of Quebec, who did not succeed in reaching their goal. The first one of these was Father Louis Devaux, who was assigned there in 1736. Bishop Dosquet of Quebec "refused to accept in his seminary a suitable priest, called Devaux, who had studied for five years at Holy Ghost Seminary."<sup>2</sup> Despite his great esteem and love of the Spiritans, the bishop rejected this candidate, because the priest would have to pass through the Foreign Missions Society, with which the bishop was then in a serious conflict over the seminary. Father Devaux went to the Far East instead and became Coadjutor with right of succession of a bishop in Tonkin.

In 1784, three others failed to reach their destination.<sup>3</sup> Yves Francis Duchêne, a nephew of John Briand, Bishop of Quebec, and two other Spiritans, Aubert and Gambieu, embarked in March 1784, to go to Quebec via London.<sup>4</sup> All three were destined for the seminary, for the prelate no longer wanted non-Canadians for his parishes but "only professors of rhetoric, philosophy, and theology, who have no other aim in coming to Canada than to dedicate themselves to education, pious, learned and fervent men, who desire to lead a secluded life in community for the purpose of training future priests in piety and imparting to them the spirit of the state which they want to embrace."<sup>5</sup>

Despite the optimism of "the superintendent of the Romish Church"<sup>6</sup> that is, the bishop, who said that "he had every reason to

<sup>1</sup> L'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu: *Tableau de l'état des missions . . . 1753*: C.F.D.I., 3, p. 189.

<sup>2</sup> David, *Les missionnaires . . .*, p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> \*MS Briand.

<sup>4</sup> M. Yves Duchêne à Mgr Briand, 6 avril 1784: \*Arch. Archd. Qu., Cart. Ev. d. Qu., 1, 185. Cf. Henri Têtu, "Souvenir d'un voyage en Bretagne," B.R.H. 1911, p. 167; Gosselin V, p. 157.

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The first to arrive was Francis de la Mothe (in 1732).<sup>13</sup> Like many other Spiritan missionaries, he received his appointment before becoming a priest and was ordained in Quebec. Originally destined for Cape Breton Island, he never reached this post.<sup>14</sup> Soon after his arrival in Quebec, he became dean of discipline and professor of philosophy at the junior seminary. Strict disciplinarian that he was, the students did not particularly like him. In 1735, he became director of the seminary, but two years later he returned to Paris, much to the dissatisfaction of the Foreign Missions Society. In 1739, he was stationed at Verdun where the Holy Ghost Fathers had shortly before consented to staff the diocesan seminary in an effort to purify it from the Jansenistic influences which had become firmly entrenched in this diocese.<sup>15</sup>

Ten years later, Father Simon Le Bansais arrived in Quebec.<sup>16</sup> Ordained in 1743, he had joined the staff of the seminary of Meaux, entrusted to the Congregation since 1736. Four years later he departed for Canada. On his arrival he learned that Bishop Pontbriand wanted to make full use of his intellectual and oratorical talents;

expect a friendly reception"<sup>7</sup> in London, all three were refused permission to continue their journey to Canada and returned to Holy Ghost Seminary.<sup>8</sup> Yves Duchêne tried again the next year but was forced to remain in France.<sup>9</sup> "In July 1791 this Spiritan priest was imprisoned in Brest... for refusing to take the [schismatic] oath imposed" by the revolutionary government.<sup>10</sup> He obtained his release in 1794.<sup>11</sup> Elected Superior General of the "Missionaries of the Holy Ghost," (the Montfortists) in 1810, he died ten years later.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Mgr Briand au Général Carleton, 30 juin 1784: \*Arch. Archd. Qu., Cart. Ev. d. Qu., 1, 183.

<sup>6</sup> MM. Adhemar et Delisle à Mgr Briand, 8 mars 1785: *ibid.*, Cart. Gouv., I, 37.

<sup>7</sup> Têtu, *art. cit.*, B.R.H. 1911, p. 165.

<sup>8</sup> See footnote 4.

<sup>9</sup> See footnote 6.

<sup>10</sup> MS Briand.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> *L'ami de la religion*, vol. 29, p. 20.

<sup>13</sup> \*Arch. Sem. Qu., Pr. d. Sem., F, 1-4; David, "Les Spiritains dans l'Amérique . . .," B.R.H. 1929, p. 315.

<sup>14</sup> \*Elzéar Alexandre Taschereau, *Histoire du Séminaire de Québec*, p. 750.

<sup>15</sup> Koren, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

<sup>16</sup> \*Taschereau, *op. cit.*, p. 833; David, *art. cit.*, p. 317.

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he was named Director of the junior seminary and Professor of theology, in addition to taking care of parochial functions and other spiritual duties.<sup>17</sup>

The atmosphere of the seminary was not very congenial. The reader will recall that the bishop and the Foreign Missions Society were at odds at the time over the staffing and control of this institution.<sup>18</sup> The affair came to a climax around the time of Father Le Bansais' arrival, when the hard-pressed society appointed Father Joseph Jacrau superior of the seminary.<sup>19</sup> Although he had done excellent work before, as a missionary, he lacked flexibility and the necessary talents for his new post. This deficiency revealed itself so patently that an uncharitable Canon wrote disdainfully: "For goodness' sake, send Father Jacrau back to the kitchen. He is not the man to speak about important matters."<sup>20</sup> The priest insisted so strongly on his rights that the bishop finally made an effort to personally organize the seminary and to distribute its various functions over the available personnel.

Evidently, the constant bickering and resulting disorganization impressed Father Le Bansais with the unpleasantness of his new position. Although the situation was partially rectified in 1748, it may have contributed to his apparently sudden decision to leave the seminary and to enter the Jesuit order in Quebec.<sup>21</sup> After pronouncing his vows, he taught at the local college of the Society and then, from 1750 on, served as professor of theology at their Quebec scholasticate.<sup>2\*</sup>

Disturbed by the acrimonious situation of the seminary,<sup>22</sup> the Foreign Missions Society of Paris, in the

<sup>2\*</sup> He returned to France in 1760 and was exiled during the French Revolution.

<sup>17</sup> Gosselin III, p. 148.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. pp. 12 ff.

<sup>19</sup> \*Taschereau, *op. cit.*, pp. 834 ff.; Gosselin III, pp. 143 ff.

<sup>20</sup> M. de Gannes à M. Gaillard, 20 février 1751: B.R.H. 1908, p. 229.

<sup>21</sup> \*Arch. Sem. Qu., Pr. d. Sem., L, 3.

<sup>22</sup> L'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu au Président... de la Marine, 2 mars 1748: Arch. Qu. 1935-36, p. 289.

spring of 1748, sent Father de la Lane to restore peace.<sup>23</sup> He was accompanied by Father Columban Pressart, a newly ordained priest, who had just finished his studies at Holy Ghost Seminary.<sup>24</sup> This young man was destined to remain at the seminary in various functions for thirty years, until his death in 1777. Intellectually gifted and well-trained, he soon became the arbiter for questions addressed to him from all over the extended Diocese of Quebec, since "he possessed knowledge about all kinds of things not only in matters in which it was to be expected of a distinguished priest but also in many others."<sup>25</sup> Governor Murray of Canada had recourse to his legal skills for the compilation of French laws which were in force in the country.<sup>26</sup> He died in 1777 at the age of fifty-four, after having received the last sacraments in church in the presence of the clergy and the religious of the diocese.<sup>27</sup>

## **2. *Father René John Allenou de la Ville-Angévin***

*A Contemporary of Father Poullart des Places,  
Founder of the Congregation of the Holy Ghost*

One of the most interesting Spiritans who served in the Quebec region undoubtedly was Father Allenou. (His unwieldy name is hereafter abbreviated in this fashion.) Born in 1686,<sup>28</sup> he was a contemporary of the Spiritans' Founder, Claude Francis Poullart des Places, and entered Holy Ghost Seminary in 1703. While still pursuing his own studies at the Jesuit College of ~~Saint~~ Louis-le-Grand, his intellectual abilities made Father des Places appoint him "repetitor"<sup>3\*</sup> of philosophy and later

<sup>3\*</sup> The function of "repetitor" still exists in some European colleges and seminaries, notably in Rome. His duties are to see that the students understand what they have heard in the university or college lectures and to solve their difficulties. In Holy Ghost Seminary the rule had established that there would be two repetitions a day for theology and one for philosophy.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>28</sup> \*Arch. Sem. Qu., Pr. d. Sem., P, 1-4.

<sup>24</sup> David, *art. cit.*, p. 318.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> B.R.H. 1897, p. 78.

<sup>27</sup> See footnote 24.

<sup>28</sup> David, *art. cit.*, p. 315.

<sup>29</sup> Poullart des Places, *Spiritual Writings*, p. 175.

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of theology.<sup>30</sup> Ordained in 1712,<sup>4\*</sup> he remained in Brittany to replace his deceased uncle, Father Yves Allenou, at Plérin, where he founded the religious Congregation<sup>5\*</sup> of the Daughters of the Holy Ghost.<sup>31</sup>

Until his departure for Canada in 1741, the priest remained in the little village of Plérin, busy with his parish and the nascent congregation of Sisters. Recognizing the spiritual value of the rules formulated by Father Poullart des Places, which he himself had observed during his seminary days, Allenou "formulated a rule modelled on that of Holy Ghost Seminary in Paris,<sup>6\*</sup> save for some items which because of the different situation he enlarged or changed in accord with the end he had in view."<sup>32</sup>

Father Allenou was already advanced in years (fifty-five) when he decided to abandon the flourishing work he had directed for so many years in order to dedicate the rest of his life to the service of the Church in distant Canada.<sup>33</sup> He talked about his plan with his assistant, Father John Briand. This young man listened with growing enthusiasm to the apostolic plans of his pastor and finally decided to join him. He was destined to later become Bishop of Quebec.

To forestall the emotional remonstrations of their parishioners, both priests simply "went for a walk" after

<sup>4\*</sup> His biographers usually indicate the year 1711. However, in the *Régistre d'Etat civil* of Pordic he signed on January 3, 1712, the burial certificate of his cousin as *deacon*, and a baptismal certificate on March 19, 1712 as *priest*. (I owe this information to Father Joseph Michel, C.S.Sp.)

<sup>5\*</sup> This congregation now operates numerous institutions in the eastern part of the United States and a few others in California, Alabama, and Canada.

<sup>6\*</sup> Both rules make the Holy Ghost and the Immaculate Conception the principal titles of the institutes; both stress devotion to the Most Holy Trinity, prescribe similar observances for Pentecost and the eighth of December, and consecrate their services by preference to the poor and the abandoned, *and demand careful preparation for receiving*

<sup>30</sup> Mémoire de M. Allenou . . . à Mgr de Pontbriand, B.R.H. 1908, p. 265.

<sup>31</sup> See footnote 10.

<sup>32</sup> André du Bois de la Villerabel, *Dom Jean Leudeger, St.-Brieuc*, 1924, p. 242.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 278.

Sunday Vespers and, in a neighboring village, took the stage-coach to La Rochelle, their port of embarkation. In the company of Henri de Pontbriand, the newly appointed Bishop of Quebec, they sailed to the New World. Before his departure, a royal decree raised Father Allenou to the rank of a Canon.<sup>34</sup> Bishop de Pontbriand had great confidence in his friend. He successively entrusted several important functions, including that of Vicar General, to Father Allenou and invited him to live with him in his palace.<sup>35</sup>

For several years Father Allenou remained congenial with his episcopal superior and old friend. There were years of regular ecclesiastical work in which hardly anything occurred that is worthy of record or that deviated from the well-worn routine surrounding the daily task of nearly all priests. But one incident seems deserving of mention, because it shows how little things can sometimes become ridiculously "important" matters.

On the occasion of the anniversary of his consecration, the bishop gave a holiday to the junior seminary whose students at that time still attended the Jesuit College for their daily classes.<sup>36</sup> Unfortunately, no one had thought of notifying the Jesuits beforehand until the very morning of the holiday. Discontented by this oversight, one teacher demanded an apology of the junior seminary and others imposed heavy penalties on the boys for "unauthorized" absence. Understandably one of the students refused to fulfill the penance. After all, did not the Bishop himself give them the holiday? Threatened to be whipped, he revolted and walked out, followed by all the other seminarians, booing loudly. They claimed that Father Petit (a priest of the seminary) had advised them to walk out rather than take punishment. Feeling that the authority of his staff was compromised, the Superior of the College rejected the excuses made by Father Jacrau and demanded that Father Petit come

<sup>34</sup> Décret du Roi, 15 mai 1741: \*Arch. Col., F3, Moreau, vol. 13-1, 10(23).

<sup>35</sup> Gosselin III, pp. 25, 286.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 426.

together with the boys to make his apologies.<sup>37</sup> When the Bishop wrote him a personal letter of explanation, he remained inexorable and did not even deign to reply. It was then that the Bishop went in person, accompanied by Father Allenou, his Vicar General, and several other prominent priests, together with the students to intercede for them with their teacher. The solemn procession entered the classroom and the Bishop in person asked that the students be permitted to resume their accustomed places. Although he requested it several times, the teacher adamantly refused to comply.

Very much amazed by this stubborn refusal, the following day the Bishop wrote a strong letter to the Jesuit Superior and emphasized that he and his teachers were far more to blame than Father Petit.<sup>38</sup> How could he claim, said the bishop, that his authority would be jeopardized by re-admitting without punishment, at the request of the Bishop, students who were not guilty? Realizing that they really had gone too far, the Jesuits finally gave in and re-admitted the junior seminarians to their classes.

This "tempest in a teapot" illustrates how rigorously ecclesiastics of the time sometimes held to their real or proclaimed rights. It thus may serve as a suitable introduction to the conflict which soon arose between the Bishop and his Vicar General, two hard-headed Bretons, about the rights of the Canons versus those of the Seminary regarding the control of the parish church of Quebec.

*Conflict Between Bishop de Pontbriand  
and Father Allenou*

The parish church of Quebec was in an exceedingly complex situation. It not only served the parish, but was also the Bishop's cathedral, as well as the place where the Quebec Chapter of Canons recited their office in common. This alone would have sufficed to give rise to constant difficulties, because of conflicting schedules between burials, weddings, and the Canons' recitation of

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 427.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 428.

the Office. Added to this was the fact that the parish churchwardens did not consider themselves obliged or entitled to let the Canons make use of the vestments, candlesticks, or even the parish sacristy.<sup>39</sup>

To complicate matters further, the parish, which was originally assigned to the Chapter of Canons, in 1684 was transferred to the control of the Seminary, whose personnel at that time consisted of Canons. This seminary, as the reader will recall, was controlled by the Foreign Mission Society of Paris, so that this society also appeared entitled to have a voice in the appointment of the pastor. In other words, whenever a new pastor had to be nominated, the Seminary of Quebec, the Foreign Missions Society, the Chapter and, of course, the Bishop himself became involved in all kinds of maneuvers to safeguard their rights. Usually, things did not go beyond a few carefully-worded memoranda in which every party sedulously reserved all its rights and privileges and then simply submitted to whatever decision the Bishop took in the matter.<sup>40</sup>

The situation, however, was different in 1749, when the Bishop appointed Father Récher as pastor of Quebec. In assigning him to this post, Bishop de Pontbriand pointed out that he did not want to take into consideration the nomination made by the Seminary, because he doubted the validity of the act of 1684 by which the Canons had relinquished their rights as Canons to resume them as Directors of the Seminary.<sup>41</sup>

The Canons gave startled attention to this episcopal statement. If the act of 1684 was not valid, then the control over the parish still belonged to the Chapter which, therefore, could nominate one of its members as pastor or have the Canons in their turn fulfill its pastoral duties, and enjoy the income of the parish as well as the right to distribute alms. They suddenly felt the need to examine carefully the old documents regarding the foundation of the diocese and the rights of the Chapter, an

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, II, pp. 185 ff.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, III, p. 264.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 278 f.; Henri Têtu, "Le chapitre de la cathédrale de Québec . . ." B.R.H. 1908, pp. 257 f.

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examination which the bishop in person had begged them to perform when they had refused to make Father Récher an honorary Canon.<sup>42</sup>

When a locksmith finally succeeded in opening the old box containing the Chapter's archives, the Canons discovered the bull of Pope Clement X, which, in 1674, created the Diocese and the Chapter of Quebec, suppressed the existing parish, elevated the parish church to the Cathedral of Quebec, and assigned to the Canons the service of the cathedral as well as broad rights in its temporal affairs.<sup>43</sup> The discovery moved them considerably; they accused themselves of gross indifference and shameful ignorance by recognizing an outsider as pastor and determined to recover their rights and duties.<sup>44</sup> Moreover, just then, the churchwardens were planning to build a rectory for the pastor on the very ground entrusted to the Canons without their permission.<sup>45</sup>

Father Allenou and the other Canons "unanimously" decided to bring suit to obtain a redress of the wrongs done to the Chapter by the Seminary of Quebec.<sup>46</sup> Although the Bishop tried to have the affair regulated in amicable fashion, Father Allenou, supported by his colleagues, refused any settlement. In some strange fashion the reading of the archives made this holy and highly respected priest cling tenaciously to the rights assigned to the Chapter at its foundation, but abandoned fifty years before his arrival in Canada.<sup>47</sup>

Even his good friend the Bishop should not stand in the way of these rights. "He claims to control everything," the old man grumbled, "he wants to humiliate the Chapter again... If he wants to embarrass us still more, it would be good for us to cause some embarrassment to him and his churchwardens."<sup>48</sup> Of course, the

<sup>42</sup> Têtu, *art. cit.*, p. 258.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 260; \*Taschereau, *op. cit.*, pp. 847 ff.

<sup>44</sup> \*Taschereau, *op. cit.*, p. 850.

<sup>45</sup> Le chapitre... de Québec à M. de l'Orme, 5 sept. 1750: B.R.H. 1908, p. 269.

<sup>46</sup> Gosselin III, pp. 280 f.

<sup>47</sup> M. Allenou... à Mgr de Pontbrand, 5 juin 1750: B.R.H. 1908, p. 267.

<sup>48</sup> Mémoire de M. Allenou..., B.R.H. 1908, pp. 362 ff.



FATHER RENÉ ALLENOU DE LA VILLE ANGEVIN

Founder of the Congregation of the Daughters of the Holy Ghost  
Courtesy: Daughters of the Holy Ghost

bishop was anxious to avoid the unedifying spectacle of priests suing one another in a civil court, instead of bringing the matter before an ecclesiastical tribunal. Strange as it may seem, none of the litigants appears to have thought of submitting to the Holy See the question of the interpretation of the papal bull.<sup>49</sup>

When the Canons remained obdurate in their intention of introducing the law suit, the Bishop became exasperated. He decided to demonstrate his displeasure in a very striking way without having recourse to ecclesiastical sanctions. Hitting hard at Father Allenou, whom he considered the leader of the recalcitrant Canons, he exiled him from his episcopal palace, where the priest had been living with the Bishop for the past six years. The news spread rapidly through the city; the bishop had chased

<sup>49</sup> Gosselin III, p. 285.

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his Vicar General and old friend ignominiously from the palace.<sup>50</sup>

It was a harsh step, especially because the prelate apparently did not want anyone else to receive the old man. When Father Allenou wanted to take refuge at the Jesuits' house, the bishop told them that he opposed it. Public sympathy, however, ran in favor of the old Canon. As the *Jesuit Journal* relates, "all our priests insist that he be admitted and threaten to write to Paris and Rome if the request is turned down. So we have admitted him, but the bishop is angry with us" for having done so.<sup>51</sup>

Writing to the prelate from the Jesuits' house, Father Allenou asked the bishop to have his personal belongings sent to him. He added "I did not expect to be treated like this. The mere thought of it moves me to tears... Nevertheless I consider myself obliged to attend the Chapter and to work for the preservation of its rights as long as I am a Canon... I owe an inviolable trust to the purpose of the oath which I have sworn in the hands of Your Excellency..., no matter what other punishments you may want to add to the one you have already inflicted upon me."<sup>52</sup>

The remainder of the letter, as well as these words, show that the Canon undoubtedly acted from a sincere conviction that his action did not go beyond the bounds of propriety and that he was obliged in conscience to proceed as he did.<sup>53</sup>

On his crutches, for he had become crippled, he continued to attend the Chapter meetings and office of the Canons, more determined than ever to preserve its proclaimed rights.<sup>54</sup> Meanwhile the lawsuit dragged its interminable way through court. It was not yet settled when death took Father Allenou in November 1753 at

<sup>50</sup> Têtu, *art. cit.*, p. 263; Gosselin III, p. 286.

<sup>51</sup> Gosselin III, p. 286.

<sup>52</sup> See footnote 47 (pages 266 f.).

<sup>53</sup> M. Allenou... à Mgr de Pontbriand, 29 août 1773: B.R.H. 1909, p. 72.

<sup>54</sup> Gosselin III, p. 287.

the age of sixty-seven.<sup>55</sup> Although the Bishop did not want to officiate at the funeral of his old friend,<sup>56</sup> he appended his signature to the burial act stating that Father Allenou "not only edified us by his conduct and high virtue but also was a credit to the clergy because of his apostolic zeal, his patience, humility, justice, knowledge, and fruitful preaching."<sup>57</sup>

The lawsuit had not yet reached its conclusion when the conquest of Canada, in 1760, put an unexpected end to the whole affair. Soon after, the Seminary renounced its claim to the parish and the Chapter of Canons gradually disappeared when its members died without being replaced.<sup>58</sup>

### 3. *Other Spiritans in the Quebec Region*

Apart from Father Bourg at St. Laurent and Father Le Jamtel at Bécancour,<sup>59</sup> four other Spiritans are known to have worked in parishes of the Quebec region. They are Philip Vizien, Francis Le Guerne, John Brault, and Giles Eudo.

*Father Vizien.* The first of these priests, Father Vizien, had been military chaplain of Fort Beauséjour until this stronghold fell into the hands of Colonel Monckton.<sup>60</sup> Deported with the vanquished French troops to Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island, he managed to make his way to Quebec. According to Tanguay, he was pastor of Sainte Anne de Beaupré in 1757.<sup>61</sup> During the siege of Quebec in 1759, he resumed his work as a military chaplain among the sick and dying soldiers of the general hospital of Quebec.<sup>62</sup> When the city surrendered to the British, he was expelled at once. In January 1760, he was back in Paris. From there he

<sup>55</sup> Acte de sépulture de M. Allenou . . ., B.R.H. 1909, pp. 75 f.

<sup>56</sup> Gosselin III, p. 293.

<sup>57</sup> See footnote 55.

<sup>58</sup> Têtu, *art. cit.*, B.R.H. 1909, pp. 97 ff.; Gosselin III, p. 303.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. pp. 125.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. p. 61.

<sup>61</sup> Ciprian Tanguay, *Répertoire général du clergé canadien*, Quebec, 1868, s.v. Vizien.

<sup>62</sup> Régistre mortuaire de l'Hôpital général de Québec 1759-1760: Arch. Qu. 1920-21, pp. 254 ff.

made his way to Morlaix in Brittany where numerous Acadian refugees and deportees had found a temporary shelter.<sup>63</sup>

*Father Eudo.* Father Giles Eudo, "a very good priest, of great piety and zeal," as the Abbot of Isle Dieu reports,<sup>64</sup> arrived in Louisbourg in 1755 and went from there to Quebec. Appointed pastor of the Holy Family parish on the Island of Orleans near Quebec, he spent the twenty-two years of his priestly life entirely in this parish until his death in 1779, at the age of fifty-five.<sup>65</sup> Only twice did he leave the island. The year after his arrival he left to assist the sick and the dying during the epidemic which afflicted Quebec in 1756, and again in 1759, during the siege of the city, when the war forced him and his parishioners to flee to Charlesbourg. On his return he had to rebuild the church and rectory destroyed by the fury of the war.<sup>66</sup>

*Father Brault.* Father John Brault (sometimes spelled Bro) was one of the Acadian deportees who entered Holy Ghost Seminary and subsequently, in 1772, returned to Canada with Joseph Bourg.<sup>67</sup> Two years later, the bishop appointed him pastor of Saint James of Achigan, a place where so many Acadians had settled that it became known as New Acadia. He remained their pastor for forty years.<sup>68</sup>

The last decade of his pastorate was troubled by one of those interminable ecclesiastical lawsuits which abound in the history of Canada.<sup>69</sup> As usual, it was a conflict between some parishioners and the churchwardens about the place on which the new church should be erected. Although the lawsuit ended in 1812, discord continued in the parish to such an extent that, in the following year, the bishop was forced to interdict the chapel that had

<sup>63</sup> David, *art. cit.*, B.R.H. 1929, p. 319.

<sup>64</sup> L'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu à Mgr de Pontbriand, 19 avril 1755 and 28 mars 1756: Arch. Qu. 1936-37, pp. 411 and 434.

<sup>65</sup> See footnote 63.

<sup>66</sup> Can. Arch. 1905, vol. 2, App. A. Part II, p. 332 and p. 344.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. p. 111.

<sup>68</sup> Guy Courteau et François Lanoué, *Une nouvelle Acadie*, n.p., 1947, p. 59.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 68.

been used for religious worship. Caught between the opposing factions, poor Father Brault was heart-broken and successfully begged the bishop to lift the interdict. Soon after, the priest resigned his parish because of his advanced age.<sup>70</sup>

He was a man of unusual physical vigor and strength, even in his old age, when his mind began to fail. At the age of seventy-five he still could outrun any young man and took pleasure in betting on this athletic ability.<sup>71</sup>

The poignant scenes of the Grand Dérangement of which he had been a victim remained forever engraved upon his mind. Thus it is not surprising that throughout his life he remained thoroughly anti-British. Despite this antipathy, his attitude toward the conquerors of Canada remained scrupulously correct and wholly loyal because he realized that conscience did not allow him to take any other standpoint.<sup>72</sup>

After living in retirement for ten years, he died at Montreal in 1824, at the age of eighty. His priestly life in the rural parish of Achigan had been as quiet and peaceful as his early youth during the Acadian disaster had been turbulent. Father Brault was a typical example of those agriculturally-minded pastors who did so much to colonize large areas of French Canada.<sup>73</sup>

*Father Le Guerne.* The exciting earlier ministry of Father Francis Le Guerne has been detailed in a previous chapter under the title, *The Chaplain of Hunted Men*.<sup>74</sup> After his withdrawal to Quebec, Father Le Guerne in 1758 was appointed pastor of St. Francis' Church on the Island of Orleans, near Quebec. Many Acadian refugees had settled there and it was among these unfortunate people that the priest began to work with so much zeal that the bishop warned him to relax and not to try to accomplish everything in a single day.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 71.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 74 f.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75.

<sup>73</sup> David, "Les deux premiers prêtres acadiens," B.R.H. 1929, p. 445.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. pp. 61 ff.

<sup>75</sup> Mgr de Pontbriand à M. Le Guerne, 2 mai 1758: \*Arch. Archd. Qu., Reg. d. L., 1, 113.

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From 1767 to 1769 he taught rhetoric at the junior seminary of Quebec, earning the reputation of being "a poet and philosopher." He then returned again to his little parish, where he devoted his last twenty years to the spiritual care of his beloved Acadians.<sup>76</sup>

Sadly, in the last year of his life (1789), he became a horrible example of a cranky, old, unreasonable pastor. He began to treat his parishioners harshly, became avaricious and demanding, and refused his ministry to anyone whom he did not like, a group which numbered many in its complement.<sup>77</sup> Despite the prodding of his bishop, he did not want to accept an assistant, saying that he did not need any "master."<sup>78</sup> Still less was he inclined to resign.<sup>79</sup> The situation became so unbearable that the more exasperated parishioners threatened to throw him and his furniture out of the rectory.<sup>80</sup> In November of the same year the old man became gravely ill, making it possible for the bishop to send two other priests to take care of the parish.<sup>81</sup> Father Le Guerne died soon after, before the end of the same year, leaving all his possessions to the poor.<sup>82</sup>

Undoubtedly, much of the sad degeneration which took place during the last year of his life was due to his bodily infirmities. We should not forget his thirty years of zealous and unselfish apostolic labors that preceded his decline nor the heroic conduct of this valiant priest during the troubled years of the Grand Dérangement.

<sup>76</sup> Le Guerne, p. 22; David, "Les spiritains en Acadie," B.R.H. 1929, p. 461.

<sup>77</sup> Mgr Hubert à M. Le Guerne, 5 oct. 1789: \*Arch. Archd. Qu., Reg. d. L., 1, 67.

<sup>78</sup> Du même au même, 13 août 1789: *ibid.*, 1, 48.

<sup>79</sup> See footnote 77.

<sup>80</sup> M. Gravé à M. Le Guerne, 3 nov. 1789: *ibid.*, 1, 89. Cf. M. Le Guerne à l'Evêche, 30 sept. 1789 and 22 oct. 1789: *ibid.*, Ste-Famille, vol. 1, fo. 116-117.

<sup>81</sup> Mgr Hubert au même, 7 nov. 1789: *ibid.*, 1, 95.

<sup>82</sup> Le Guerne, p. 26.

## CHAPTER SIX

### THE UNITED STATES, 1794—1839

#### 1. Introduction: First Spiritans in the States

The first Spiritan on record to enter the territory now known as the United States probably was Father Mailard. It has been noted he spent some time in a Boston jail<sup>1</sup> before his deportation to France in 1745.<sup>1\*</sup> His brief sojourn among the New England Puritans was, of course, wholly involuntary and could hardly be represented as part of the Spiritans' labor in the United States.

A plan to have the Spiritans play an important role in the Catholic Church of the United States was formulated in 1783, when the Holy See negotiated with Benjamin Franklin about the ecclesiastical organization of the United States. Writing to the Papal Nuncio in Paris, who conducted the discussions with Franklin, Cardinal Leonardo Antonelli, Prefect of the Propaganda, did not favor the establishment of a special college in France for the training of American missionaries. He suggested instead that "consideration be given to the idea of increasing somewhat the income of the Seminary of Foreign Missions... or better still, Holy Ghost Seminary..., imposing upon it the obligation of maintaining there, for the present, a reasonable number of ecclesiastics, to be sent... to the provinces of the United States. If, to begin with, eight or ten missionaries are sent, besides the vicar or bishop, this will provide sufficiently for the needs of the faithful in question."<sup>2</sup> Nothing, however, came of this idea which was intimately linked with a plan, favored by Franklin, to entrust control over the infant Catholic Church in the States to Frenchmen.<sup>3</sup>

In reality it was the French Revolution of 1792 which forced a few Holy Ghost Fathers to come to the States

<sup>1\*</sup> Chapter One indicates that there may have been other Spiritans in the States. However, the absence of documents precludes any positive discussion of them.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Card. Antonelli a... Nunzio Apostolico in Parigi, 7 settbre 1783: \*Arch. Prop., Lett., vol. 242, f. 757 f. Cf. Peter Guilday, *The Life and Times of John Carroll*, New York, 1922, pp. 191 f.

<sup>3</sup> Guilday, *op. cit.*, pp. 194 f., 200.

It would have been an ironic twist of history if after the French Revolution they had begun the Spiritan missionaries in America, the New France plan would have been entrusted to them.

for freedom from persecution. They were John Moranvillé, Matthew Hérard, and Charles Duhamel. These three men occupy a special place in this history, because they were the first Spiritans in North America who, before their departure to the missions, were officially admitted as members of the Congregation.<sup>2\*</sup>

As the reader will recall, after the suppression of the Jesuits, Church and State officially entrusted the religious service of Guiana to the Holy Ghost Fathers in 1775. It was around this time that the Spiritans formally began to associate foreign missionaries with their society; hitherto its strict membership had been limited to the professors and directors of its seminaries. Among the personnel sent out in this fashion were Father James

<sup>2\*</sup> To these three members of the Congregation in the United States, one could add yet another Spiritan in a broader sense, Father René Louis Bertin. He had entered Holy Ghost Seminary in 1827 because he wanted to become a missionary in America.<sup>4</sup> In 1830, after finishing his studies, he and more than a score of other young priests were on the verge of associating themselves with the hard-pressed congregation when the political turmoil of France forced the Seminary to close its door and almost led to its total disappearance.<sup>5</sup> Pressed to join the Eudists, it was as a member of this society that Bertin went to the Spiritan mission of Martinique and then came to the States in 1834 for a first brief sojourn.<sup>6</sup> Later, he went to Trinidad, where he established St. George College (1838), the forerunner of the flourishing Spiritan institution known as St. Mary's College.<sup>7</sup> In 1847, he was again in the States in connection with the closing of the ill-starred Eudist College of Saint Gabriel at Vincennes, Indiana.<sup>8</sup> After a prolonged stay, the priest returned to France, where he died in 1862.<sup>9</sup>

In passing it might be remarked that, according to Father Bertin, the very excellence of the studies at Holy Ghost Seminary paradoxically had prevented it from re-establishing itself securely after the Revolution. Desirous of re-opening their own seminaries, closed by persecution, many French bishops forced its best students to return to their dioceses, there to assume teaching positions in the local institutions.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>4</sup> René-Louis Bertin, "Autobiographie de . . .," *Fleurs de la congrégation de Jésus et Marie*, vol. 3, Rennes, Section I (pages are not numbered).

<sup>5</sup> Koren, *op. cit.*, pp. 54 f.

<sup>6</sup> Bertin, *op. cit.*, II.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, IV.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, VII.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, IX.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, I.

~~Lefrand~~  
Bertout, the future Superior General, saintly Father Lanoué,<sup>3\*</sup> and the three above-mentioned priests.<sup>11</sup>

The most important of the three Spiritans who took refuge in the States undoubtedly was Father Moranvillé. His prominence lies not so much in the rather doubtful and conspicuous role he was forced to play in the Revolution of Guiana as in the zeal and holiness that marked his long sojourn in Maryland. His eminence there was such that Ambrose Maréchal, Archbishop of Baltimore,<sup>13</sup> after the priest's death, took the unusual step of requesting Father Simon Bruté, later Bishop of Vincennes, Indiana, to prepare the deceased's biography.<sup>4\*</sup>

## 2. Early Labors in Guiana

After his ordination in 1784, Father John Moranvillé<sup>5\*</sup> received his appointment to the mission of Cayenne in South America.<sup>17</sup> Soon after, he sailed for this distant land, once reputed to be an El Dorado. The disastrous

<sup>3\*</sup> He died in 1791, reputedly a saint, after having evangelized the Macari Indians in Guiana. It was most probably his body that was accidentally exhumed in 1799 and whose uncorrupted condition so thoroughly frightened the diggers that they hastily closed the grave again.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>4\*</sup> Disappointed in his expectation of receiving from France the necessary documentation about the early life of the priest and his role in Guiana, Father Bruté was unable to finish the biography.<sup>14</sup> In 1834, after his appointment to the Diocese of Vincennes, he gave his manuscripts to Dr. Bernard U. Campbell. This historian utilized them for a long series of articles on Father Moranvillé, published in 1842. Unfortunately, after Campbell's death, his widow burned the large collection of documents and manuscripts left by her husband because no one seemed interested in acquiring these valuable papers. Presumably Bishop Bruté's manuscript was thereby destroyed.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>5\*</sup> He was born in 1760 at Cagny, near Amiens, and had entered Holy Ghost Seminary in 1778.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Koren, *op. cit.*, pp. 29, 31.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Mémoires de Mgr J. Brumauld de Beauregard*, vol. 2, Poitiers, 1842, p. 352.

<sup>13</sup> Bernard U. Campbell, "Memoire of Reverend J. F. Moranvillé," *United States Catholic Magazine*, 1842, p. 434.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> *Catholic Historical Review*, 1915, p. 64.

<sup>16</sup> Campbell, *art. cit.*, pp. 434 f.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 436; M. C. Moreau, *Les prêtres français émigrés aux Etats-Unis*, Paris, 1856, p. 200.

settlement attempts of 1763, previously outlined,<sup>18</sup> must have left no illusions in the mind of the young apostle about the life of hardships, misery and dangers upon which he had just embarked.

Upon his arrival, Father Moranvillé was appointed to the main church of Cayenne, the colony's capital, but his work often took him to distant plantations to look after the spiritual welfare of the Negro slaves. As a rule, these wretched people were more inclined to accept his religious ministrations than were their proud and wealthy owners who all too frequently spent their lives in debauchery. The priest also devoted considerable attention to the Indians living in the vast forests of the colony, among whom early Jesuit missionaries had made a good number of converts.<sup>19</sup>

His confrere, Father Duhamel, became director of the local college in Cayenne. Father Matthew Hérard<sup>20</sup> followed these two Spiritans in 1788 and was appointed pastor of the Iracoubo mission.<sup>6\*</sup>

In later years, Father Moranvillé used to recount to his Baltimore friends some of the edifying or amusing experiences of his early missionary life. Their interest prompts a recounting of them here. On one occasion his zealous exhortations succeeded in turning away a young slave girl from the life of sin to which her master had forced her to submit. When thereafter she refused to submit to his wicked passion, he ordered her flogged until she would do his bidding. The only word, however, that escaped her lips before she sank, dying, to the ground, was a cry to God to pardon her past sins. Father Moranvillé arrived just in time to administer the last Sacraments to this heroic martyr to the cause of Christian purity.<sup>22</sup>

On another occasion he had to assist a slave con-

<sup>6\*</sup> Father Hérard was born in 1764<sup>28, 2</sup> at Ampuis, near Lyons.<sup>21</sup> 2

<sup>18</sup> Cf. pp. 83 f.

<sup>19</sup> Campbell, *art. cit.*, p. 437.

<sup>20</sup> Lettre de M. Hérard, 30 avril 1804, p. 3: \*Sp. Arch., b. 97, ch. II; *L'ami de la religion*, vol. 103, p. 229.

<sup>21</sup> *L'ami de la religion*, loc. cit. M. Hérard à M. Lelout 30 dec. 1831.

<sup>22</sup> Campbell, *art. cit.*, pp. 438 f. \* Sulp. Arch.

demned to death as an accomplice in the attempted murder of his master. To make the execution a horrifying example for other would-be murderers, the authorities had sentenced the poor wretch to be dismembered in the four quarters of the town before being beheaded. It did not take the priest very long to move the doomed man to repentance and to persuade him to offer his sufferings in expiation for his sins. On the day of the execution, Father Moranvillé mounted the movable scaffold with the condemned man in order to assist him during his supreme trial. When the executioner struck off the slave's right hand, the severed limb fell upon the priest's feet and spattered him with blood. Whereupon the distressed victim picked it up with his left hand and flung it into the dirt, and apologized to his consoler for having soiled his shoes.<sup>23</sup>

The priest's first encounter with one of the country's species of large apes gave rise to an amusing incident. He was traveling leisurely on horseback, reading a book, when suddenly his mount reared up in fright at the sight of a man-sized creature on the path in front of him. Glancing down upon the dusky form and seeing no clothes, Father Moranvillé began to shame the "man" for walking around nakedly. The ape's wild antics and inane chatter in response to his remarks soon convinced him of his mistake and he had a good laugh at himself.<sup>24</sup>

*Almost Buried Alive.* After years of uninterrupted labor and travel, the murderous climate of Guiana slowly undermined his health. He began to suffer from a wasting disease which sapped his strength and soon confined him to the sickbed. Despite the best efforts of the local physician, he sank lower and lower until at last all visible signs of heartbeat and breathing disappeared. The attending physician pronounced him dead and ordered preparations to be made for his burial. However, when mourners came to carry his remains to the grave, the priest's faithful old housekeeper noticed that his body had not stiffened and obstinately refused to release it for interment. In order to avoid a painful emotional scene

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 439.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 440.

with the recalcitrant woman and to give her a chance to change her obstinate attitude, they agreed to wait another day.<sup>25</sup>

Twenty-four hours later, the physician returned to Father Moranvillé's house. He noted that the body was still flexible but, attributing this condition to the local climate, he peremptorily ordered its immediate burial. Not daring to resist this official command again, the housekeeper left the room to prepare to go to the cemetery. Less than fifteen minutes later, she returned to the priest's room. One can easily imagine the woman's surprise and delight as well as the physician's discomfiture when suddenly Father Moranvillé moved and tried to raise himself into a sitting position.

Although saved from an untimely grave, he remained ill for a long time. Only gradually did he regain his strength and many months passed before he was able to resume his pastoral duties.<sup>26</sup>

### 3. *The French Revolution in Guiana*

#### *Father Moranvillé Becomes President of the Revolutionary Assembly*

Meanwhile political events in France had forced its king to abandon his absolute powers. In his stead a National Assembly ruled the country. The colonies had to follow the example of the mother country and constitute their own assemblies.<sup>27</sup> Guiana did so on August 8, 1790, and, in its meeting of August 26th, this Assembly ordered anyone elected to an office to accept his mandate under penalty of legal prosecution. It then elected Father Moranvillé as President. His choice clearly demonstrates that, at least in its beginning, the Revolution was not all anti-religious in the colony. As a matter of fact, the Assembly had wanted to inaugurate the new order with a solemn High Mass, followed by a procession of the Blessed Sacrament and a *Te Deum*. So much religion,

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 441 f.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> Adolphe Cabon, "Le clergé de la Guyane sous la Révolution," R.H.C. 1950, p. 175.

however, was not to the liking of the local army officers. Imbued with the ideas of Voltaire, they forced the Assembly to limit the religious inauguration ceremonies to a simple low Mass.<sup>28</sup>

Despite his presidential powers, Father Moranvillé saw himself unable to check the excesses and abuses of power which a few revolutionary hotheads in the Assembly forced upon it. The blame for these excesses fell, of course, largely upon its unfortunate President, who was criticized especially for the seizure of the College of Cayenne, then directed by Father Duhamel.<sup>29</sup>

In October of the following year, the Assembly imposed a civilian oath upon all government functionaries and the clergy. The Prefect Apostolic, followed by about ~~half the local clergy~~ <sup>most of</sup>, obeyed the instruction. The Spiritans all refused, except Fathers Moranvillé and Hérard.<sup>30</sup> The latter orally and in writing excluded from the oath anything considered objectionable from the religious point of view. When the government closed its eyes to this reservation, he found himself in the unusual position of being considered in good standing by both Church and State.<sup>31</sup>

Father Moranvillé does not seem to have made any such reservations. Some historians think that he may not have considered them necessary.<sup>32</sup> In the absence of the exact formula used in Cayenne, it is not easy to determine the issue. The formula imposed upon the clergy in France amounted to a schism from the Church and therefore had to be rejected in conscience by any Catholic priest. However, the objectionable part of this formula certainly was not applicable to the colonies and a Commissioner sent from France in 1792 declared that in Guiana there was not even any legal ground for imposing the French oath. At any rate, when the government

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 176.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 178.

<sup>31</sup> See reference of footnote 20, p. 5.

<sup>32</sup> Campbell, *art. cit.*, p. 442; Moreau, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

became obviously anti-religious, Father Moranvillé rejected his oath and suffered the consequences.<sup>33</sup>

*Deportation of Father Hérard,  
Father Duhamel and Other Spiritans*

In February 1793, the Colonial Assembly imposed a sentence of expulsion upon all priests who had refused to take the prescribed oath. They were to be deported to the United States. Considering that elsewhere in French lands heads were rolling in large numbers, this sentence of exile was surprisingly mild. Among those exiled were Father Duhamel, Father Hérard, Father Legrand, and Father Hochard.<sup>34</sup>

Early in May they embarked on a ship sailing for New York. To their great surprise and apprehension, the vessel made for Guadeloupe, the French West Indian island on which a veritable reign of terror had already started. When the ship docked, they expected the worst, for their passports had been stamped "*prêtre exsermenté*," to indicate that they had refused to comply with the oath demanded by the government. Orders for their arrest had already been given when, fortunately, the captain was able to prevent their being carried off to the local jails where large numbers of victims were awaiting execution. However, he could not persuade the police to remove the menacing *gendarmes*, placed aboard ship to keep a twenty-four hour guard over the dangerous characters whom he had dared to introduce into their harbor.<sup>35</sup>

After delaying the voyage for six weeks in this fashion, the authorities allowed the ship to proceed without removing the hunted priests. They were scarcely beyond sight of the island when a new danger struck: the pirate flag of a British freebooter suddenly appeared on the horizon. Capturing the French vessel, the pirates put a crew aboard and sailed their prize to Saint Kitts.<sup>36</sup>

The priests' hopes of being well received here as vic-

<sup>33</sup> Cabon, *art. cit.*, pp. 178, 180.

<sup>34</sup> See reference of footnote 20, p. 6.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 6 f.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*; see also footnote 21.

tims of the French Revolution were high, but met with sharp disappointment. The island was full of refugees who, without going to the trouble of investigating, suspected them of being disguised revolutionaries bent on causing trouble among the exiles. Thus the priests saw themselves again condemned to stay on board ship as prisoners, under a blazing sky, deprived of any comfort.<sup>37</sup>

After ten days' confinement, when their water supply was finished, the exhausted prisoners managed to contact an American of French descent. At his suggestion, they sent their stamped passports to the Governor as proof of their *bona fide* refugee status. Realizing that the priests had been erroneously imprisoned, the governor ordered them released at once and saw to it that they received the best of treatment. At this juncture Father Peter O'Brien, Prefect Apostolic of the British West Indies, visited Saint Kitts and, upon his invitation, Father Hérard in July, 1793, made his way to Saint Croix in the Virgin Islands.<sup>38</sup> His confrere Duhamel followed him later.

#### *Moranvillé's Escape from Cayenne*

In Guiana meanwhile a nephew of the infamous arch-revolutionary, George Danton, had arrived on the scene to keep the "true" spirit of the Revolution burning in Cayenne's Jacobin Club.<sup>39</sup> The increasingly anti-religious condition of the colony clearly showed the thrust of this spirit. Father Moranvillé realized that his conscience left him no choice. He went straight to the Governor and told him that he could no longer reconcile the oath with his priestly duties. Neither threats nor persuasion could induce him to change his mind. Withdrawing from the capital to the village of Macoura, he prepared to leave the country secretly.<sup>40</sup>

Before departing, however, he wanted to repair any

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 9 f.; M. Hérard à Mgr Carroll, 11 janvier 1805: \*B.C. Arch., 4F2, p. 3.

<sup>39</sup> Cabon, *art. cit.*, p. 185.

<sup>40</sup> Campbell, *art. cit.*, p. 443.

scandal that his taking of the oath might have given. Writing an open letter to the Governor, he indicated the reasons for his actions. After making a number of copies of this declaration, he addressed them to the Governor and many other persons in the country, entrusting them to a friend for delivery a few days after his departure. Then, in the middle of the night, he boarded a schooner and sailed for Surinam.<sup>41</sup>

Unfortunately, the priest's friend was terrified of being caught with these incriminating papers. In his panic, he deposited them at once at the door of the government offices. Consequently the infuriated governor received them only a few hours later. He at once ordered the priest's apprehension and imprisonment. Hearing that the intended victim had already sailed for Surinam, he immediately dispatched a fast vessel in pursuit to intercept the Dutch schooner. He was too late, however. The Frenchman did not catch up with the schooner before it had reached the safety of a Surinam port and, although the pursuing captain demanded that the priest be handed over to him as a fugitive from justice, the Dutch governor adamantly refused and accorded Father Moranvillé his full protection.<sup>42</sup>

Next, the governor's generosity enabled the harrassed priest to travel to British Guiana, there safely to embark upon an American vessel which no ship of the French Navy would dare to stop and search. In this manner the third Spiritan refugee managed to escape from revolutionary justice. He landed in 1794 (or early 1795) in Norfolk, Virginia, and from there sailed on a coastal vessel to Baltimore.<sup>43</sup>

#### 4. „*The Good Moranvillé*” in Baltimore

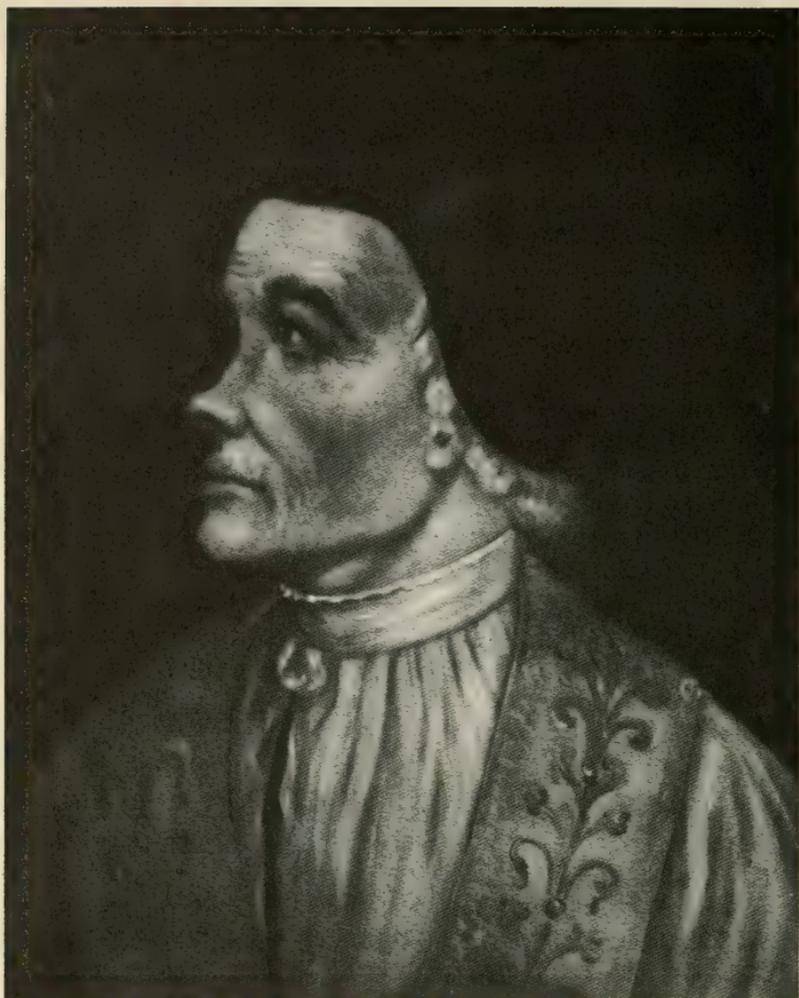
*First Years, 1795—1805*

Until he had mastered English sufficiently to make himself useful in regular parish work, Father Moranvillé taught French and geography at the fashionable

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*; Moreau, *op. cit.*, pp. 201 f.

<sup>42</sup> Campbell, *art. cit.*, p. 443.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 479.



FATHER JOHN MORANVILLE  
Portrait preserved in St. Patrick's Rectory, Baltimore

## The United States

academy for young ladies which Madame Lacombe had opened in Baltimore shortly after his arrival. In addition, he preached regularly in French for the numerous refugees from various revolutions now settled in the city.<sup>44</sup> An excellent musician—people would come to his services just to hear him sing High Mass and Vespers<sup>45</sup>—he devoted his spare time to enhancing the beauty and dignity of the performance of the sacred ceremonies to such an extent that he and his successor as choirmaster of the city's church, Father John David, later Bishop of Bardstown, have been called the "creators of religious chant" in Catholic United States.<sup>46</sup>

In 1801, when peace was restored between Church and State in France, the priest traveled to Paris to visit his homeland after an absence of almost eighteen years. On this occasion, as well as in 1808, the question arose whether he should not return to Guiana.<sup>47</sup> Understandably he was rather reluctant. As Father Legrand relates, "He cannot decide to come and exercise his ministry in a country which has witnessed his mistakes. Moreover, he is convinced — and I share this conviction — that he can do more good" in Baltimore.<sup>48</sup> Being more inclined to active ministry than to teaching, he likewise declined the invitation of the Spiritan Superior General to become a staff member of Holy Ghost Seminary in Paris. Thus, after a visit to his family in Amiens, he returned again to Baltimore.<sup>49</sup>

### *The Pastor of St. Patrick's Church*

*Building the New St. Patrick's.* In 1804 or 1805, Bishop Carroll appointed Father Moranvillé pastor of Saint Patrick's in the Fell's Point<sup>50</sup> section of Baltimore, where a tiny thirty-three by forty feet "church" served the local congregation.<sup>51</sup> His phenomenal zeal and re-

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 479 ff.

<sup>45</sup> Moreau, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 204.

<sup>47</sup> Campbell, *art. cit.*, p. 481.

<sup>48</sup> Cabon, *art. cit.*, p. 201.

<sup>49</sup> Campbell, *art. cit.*, p. 622.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 524 f.

<sup>51</sup> *Sesquicentennial of Saint Patrick's Parish, Baltimore, Md., 1792-1942*, n.p., n.d., p. 22.

markable success in finding fallen-away Catholics, aided by immigration, increased the parish to such an extent that the little chapel soon proved too small. Undaunted by the poverty of his flock and the fact that the construction of the Baltimore Cathedral, just begun, absorbed all available funds, he courageously undertook the building of a spacious new church. To get the necessary funds, he called, in person, upon every Catholic capable of making a contribution, ingeniously adapting his appeal to prospective donors' sensibilities by appealing, with Frenchmen, to their recollection of the magnificent cathedrals in "*la belle France*" and, with the sons of Eire, to the privilege of being able freely to practice their undying Irish devotion to Saint Patrick and the Church. His years of teaching at the fashionable academy of Madame Lacombe now proved very profitable, for they had introduced him personally to all the city's prominent families.<sup>52</sup>

In November 1807, Bishop Carroll solemnly dedicated the edifice in "the most splendid and imposing religious spectacle that hitherto had been witnessed in the United States."<sup>53</sup> Contemporaries claimed that no church between New Orleans and Philadelphia could rival the beauty of the new Saint Patrick's.<sup>54</sup>

*Promoting the Liturgy.* The exquisite way in which the splendid liturgy of the Church was regularly performed by Father Moranvillé, as well as the renowned preachers who mounted his pulpit, caused people to flock from all over the city to St. Patrick's. It should be realized here, of course, that Catholics had just begun to timidly emerge from the catacombal status to which penal laws had hitherto condemned them. They were as yet unaccustomed to see the full splendor of liturgical worship surrounding the divine sacrifice.<sup>55</sup>

Father Moranvillé's zeal was not limited to the church. In 1811, he boldly led through the streets of Baltimore a solemn procession of the Blessed Sacrament, the devotional pageantry of which could have rivalled the best

<sup>52</sup> Campbell, *art. cit.*, p. 526.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 527.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 525 f.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 556 f.

traditions of its European counterparts. One might have feared deplorable incidents to occur in this connection, but not a sign of disrespect escaped the gaping crowds of various creeds that lined the streets.<sup>56</sup>

*Founder of the First Parochial School in Baltimore.* If Father Moranvillé devoted much attention to the dignity of divine worship, it was not at the expense of his other duties as pastor. Disturbed by the total lack of free schools, both public and parochial, in Baltimore, he organized in 1815 St. Patrick's Benevolent Society to operate a free school open to all, regardless of creed.<sup>57</sup> Though the claim cannot be maintained that it was "the first parochial school in the United States,"<sup>58</sup> it was at least the first public or parochial school in Baltimore itself.<sup>7\*</sup> Hitherto there had been only private schools for the children of the more prosperous families.

*Care of the Poor.* The poor of the parish — and they were many — came in for a generous share of his loving attention. Although he had spontaneously cut his slender salary from eight hundred to six hundred dollars a year, he managed to spend most of it in quietly relieving the sufferings of destitute families. When his own funds ran out, he humbly went begging for them among his affluent friends. No beggar ever left his house without receiving some gift. Many of his benefactions went to the children of immigrants who often arrived penniless. On the needy who were too proud to beg, he delicately bestowed his gifts in the sacristy when they came there to him for confession.<sup>60</sup>

To the despair of his housekeeper, his own inadequate wardrobe was constantly depleted. On a cold winter morning the good lady mentioned its pitiful state to a gentleman, who forthwith sent a supply of warm clothing. When the pastor came for dinner, she happily presented

<sup>7\*</sup> Philadelphia had a parochial school as early as 1781 and three in 1811. New York opened its first in 1800.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 558 f.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 622.

<sup>58</sup> See reference of footnote 51, p. 62.

<sup>59</sup> Guilday, *op. cit.*, pp. 792 ff.

<sup>60</sup> Campbell, *art. cit.*, pp. 625 ff.

him with the gift. Without a word, he picked up the clothes and left the dining table. Thinking that he had gone to put on the new suit, she waited patiently for him to return. Imagine her surprise when he finally returned in his old threadbare garments. When questioned, he replied that he had gone to deliver the whole bundle to a poor sick family. When she remonstrated that he should have kept at least the new suit and given away the old one, he replied that "the poor sick had nobody to mend their tattered garments and therefore stood more in need of new clothing than he who had so good a seamstress for his housekeeper."<sup>61</sup>

*Promoter of Religious Orders.* Father Moranvillé displayed a broad interest in the promotion of religious orders and congregations in the States. He was one of the earliest and most zealous friends of the sisters' community founded by Blessed Elizabeth Seton and sent postulants to their various communities as far away as Kentucky. He did the same for the Sisters of Loretto, founded in 1812 by Father Charles Nerinckx.<sup>62</sup>

The austere Trappist order received a large share of his loving affection. Expelled by the French Revolution from La Trappe, the monks had wandered for twenty years throughout Europe and, since 1802, through the States. Tired of their restless travels and their ceaseless misfortunes, the weary survivors made their way to Baltimore around 1812. Just then another group of Trappists arrived there from Bordeaux to start foundations of the male and female branches of this venerable order in the States.<sup>63</sup> Father Moranvillé accorded the travelers a hearty welcome in his parish and provided accommodations for them. When the political situation in France deteriorated again and made their planned return to La Trappe impossible, he invited them to stay in Baltimore. Soon after, he was able to present them with several postulants from his parish who had expressed the wish to join their communities. When, in 1814, the Trappists

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 626 f.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 623.

<sup>63</sup> M. C. Gaillardin, *Les Trappistes*, Paris, 1844, vol. 2, pp. 269 f.; Guilday, *op. cit.*, pp. 512 ff.

again decided to move, this time to New York, Father Moranvillé accompanied them to help plan the new foundation.<sup>64</sup>

The sudden fall of Napoleon, coupled with the difficulties they had to face in New York, made the monks anxious again to return to France. To the chagrin of the good priest, they sailed from New York in 1815. Two of their novices from Baltimore accompanied them to *La Trappe*, while the others, ignorant of French and too old to learn the language, returned with Father Moranvillé to Baltimore. Upon his request, the women novices found a warm welcome in the community of Blessed Elizabeth Seton and became members of this congregation.<sup>65</sup>

The priest's disappointment with the sudden departure of the Trappists was all the more keen, because he himself had often expressed the wish of retiring among these contemplatives "to weep over his sins in solitude and to prepare for death."<sup>66</sup> For many years after their departure, he entertained a lively correspondence with the monks, but his desire to enter a Trappist monastery was never destined to be fulfilled. With the scarcity of priests in Baltimore, he could hardly have been replaced and thus was unable to leave his parish.

*His Personal Religious Life.* The daily life of the pastor demonstrated how severe he was with himself. Although a friend's gift enabled him to build a fairly large rectory alongside the church, in which travelling priests and many other wayfarers were always welcome,<sup>67</sup> his own quarters were of Spartan simplicity. A few straight-backed chairs and a couple of small tables loaded with books and papers constituted its furniture. A wretched bed accommodated his brief nightly rest. At four o'clock he would rise for three hours of meditation and reading before going to the church to say Mass for the parishioners. Although his years in the tropics had made him very sensitive to cold, he never allowed a fire to be lit in his room. However, he saw to it that his

<sup>64</sup> Campbell, *art. cit.*, p. 624.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 624 f.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 556.

housekeeper and guests did not have to share this penance. Much of the time that was not occupied with his parochial duties he spent praying in the church or on his knees in his room.<sup>68</sup>

*Care of the Sick.* No sick call ever suffered a moment's delay. He would abandon at once whatever he was doing and, whether by day or night, in good weather or bad, he would set out immediately, even if the call meant a long tiring march into the country.<sup>69</sup> This zeal for the sick manifested itself in heroic fashion during the yellow fever epidemics which struck Baltimore in 1819 and 1821 and raged particularly in the Fell's Point area.<sup>70</sup> While many people fled in panic to the country, so that "the poor and the sick were almost the only inhabitants" left, Father Moranvillé was the sole clergyman who stayed at his post in Fell's Point. Unsatisfied with attending to the spiritual needs of the sick and the dying, he had nourishing meals prepared for the stricken families and provided needed medicines. Experience quickly taught him also what remedies to prescribe when overburdened physicians were no longer able to cope with the magnitude of the plague.

Twice he himself caught the disease through his close contact with the sufferers while hearing their confessions and administering the sacraments. Although the attacks did not kill him, they left him weak and susceptible to further illness.<sup>71</sup>

*Father Moranvillé Resigns from St. Patrick's.* In 1823, it became evident that he needed a long rest and he gratefully accepted an invitation of a Mrs. Harper, the daughter of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, to stay at Doughoregan Manor and to accompany her to Berkeley Springs. When this rest proved ineffective, his physician and friends advised him to take a trip to France in the

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 627.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 627 f.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 629; *l'Ami de la religion*, vol. 23, p. 267.

<sup>71</sup> Campbell, *art. cit.*, p. 631.

hope that the air of his native country would accomplish what rest in Maryland had proved unable to do.<sup>72</sup>

Father Moranvillé must have felt that he would never return, for, prior to departing, he gave his library and furniture to his successor and all his money — one hundred and fifty dollars — to a friend, requesting him to pay it to his poor servant in monthly installments.<sup>73</sup> Friends raised a sum of money for his own use but, knowing his love of the poor, they decided to hand it to him only at the moment of his departure. He may have found a way, however, to elude their vigilance, for a note written to a neighbor on the day of his leaving asked to exchange the enclosed bills into dollars, half dollars and quarters, because he "had no change and could give nothing to his desolate friends."<sup>74</sup>

*Shipwrecked.* On October 1, 1823, he sailed on the *Paris* from New York in the company of Bishop John Cheverus of Boston.<sup>75</sup> The voyage was uneventful until they reached The Channel. There a sudden storm ensued and wrecked havoc in this crowded shipping lane. All around them ships sank with their crews and cargoes. The captain of the *Paris* had to inform his passengers that the situation was hopeless; at any moment the ship might strike one of the numerous rocks abounding in the area into which their vessel had been driven. In a desperate effort to save the ship, the captain decided to drive it aground. Soon the horrible groaning and creaking of the tortured vessel indicated that they had struck rocks. Torrents of water poured into the stricken ship and sloshed around in the cabins. Escape seemed impossible. However, the captain had managed to set his ship on the rocks in a place which, during low tide, would be almost dry. When the sea began to recede, the passengers were able to set out for dry land by walking through mud and water for about twenty-five hundred yards. It was later

<sup>72</sup> Moranvillé à Mgr Maréchal, 20 août 1823: \*B.C. Arch., 19K9; Campbell, *art. cit.*, p. 631; Moreau, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

<sup>73</sup> Campbell, *art. cit.*, p. 631; Moreau, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

<sup>74</sup> Campbell, *art. cit.*, p. 632.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*; Moreau, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

### *Knaves or Knights?*

reported that theirs was the only vessel in the area that had been saved in the storm.<sup>76</sup>

#### *Last Illness and Death*

After traveling to Amiens to see his family, he was forced to retire to the sickbed. The fond expectations that the native air of France would restore his health proved utterly vain. Soon he was too weak to even undertake the contemplated trip to Paris, there to die among his confreres.<sup>77</sup> Yet he lingered on for several months until the last feeble spark of life left his tortured body on May 16,<sup>8\*</sup> 1824.<sup>78</sup>

His passing away impressed those who had witnessed his last illness as the death of a saint. Many persons came to have their rosaries and other objects of piety touched to his remains, as is the custom when a holy person passes to his eternal reward.<sup>79</sup>

Father Moranvillé had wished to die and be buried among his beloved parishioners of Fell's Point. The great distance and the opposition of his relatives, however, made it impossible to return his body to Baltimore. The parish endeavored to obtain at least his heart as a relic, but even this wish could not be fulfilled. They retained, however, their loving memories of the man who had been their saintly pastor for twenty years and whom all knew as "the good Moranvillé."<sup>80</sup>

### *5. Father Hérard in the Virgin Islands*

#### *Sad Condition of the Church*

It has already been noted that in 1793, after being released from his forced confinement on board of a ship at St. Kitts, Father Hérard made his way to Saint Croix

<sup>8\*</sup> This is the date given in his death notice in the *Ami de la Religion* (40, 87) and in the necrology of the Holy Ghost Fathers. Others put his death on May 17th (U.S.C.M. 1842, 635).

<sup>76</sup> Moranvillé à Mgr Maréchal, 6 nov. 1823: \*B.C. Arch., 19K10.

<sup>77</sup> Du même au même, 26 avril 1824: *ibid.*, 19K12.

<sup>78</sup> Campbell, *art. cit.*, pp. 633 f.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 635; *l'Ami de la religion*, vol. 40, p. 87.

<sup>80</sup> Campbell, *art. cit.*, pp. 635 f.

in the Virgin Islands.<sup>81</sup> Two years later his confrere Charles Duhamel followed him there to devote himself especially to the care of the slaves.<sup>82</sup> The latter's stay lasted only until 1801<sup>9\*</sup> when his feeble condition and other difficulties forced him to seek refuge in less torrid regions on the American mainland.<sup>83</sup>

His confrere, however, stayed on the Virgin Islands and made a determined effort to remedy the sad condition of the Church. From the jurisdictional point of view, Father Hérard appears to have functioned mainly on the strength of faculties communicated to him by the Prefect Apostolic of Cayenne<sup>10\*</sup> "to exercise his ministry in the countries where he would go and in which there would be no ecclesiastical superior."<sup>86</sup> When in 1804 the attention of the Holy See was drawn to the fact that wars, revolutions, and changes of ownership had thoroughly confused the situation of the Church in the Danish Virgin Islands and elsewhere in the same general area,<sup>89</sup> the Propaganda gave Bishop John Carroll of Baltimore the power to appoint one or two Prefects

<sup>9\*</sup> The year 1801 is the date given by Father Hérard. Some historians report that Duhamel went to the States and became pastor of Hagerstown, Maryland, as early as 1795.<sup>84</sup> But Hérard declares that "Duhamel came to join me [in Saint Croix] toward the end of 1795," and that he left for the States "May 11th, 1801."<sup>85</sup>

<sup>10\*</sup> The Holy See had given broad powers to the Prefect during the French Revolution. However, these powers were limited in time, and Father Hérard was ignorant of the date of their expiration.<sup>87</sup> He had been granted additional powers by Father Henry Kendall, but this priest could not yet communicate jurisdiction and, in addition, appears to have received whatever doubtful power he possessed from Father Christopher McEvoy, whose own jurisdiction had expired long ago.<sup>88</sup> We mention these particulars as an illustration of the ecclesiastical confusion which prevailed in the area at the time.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. p. 150.

<sup>82</sup> Lettre de M. Hérard, 30 avril 1804, p. 11: \*Sp. Arch., b. 97, ch. II.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>84</sup> Moreau, *op. cit.*, p. 175; Mme de Barberey, *Elisabeth Seton*, Paris, 1881, vol. 2, p. 218.

<sup>85</sup> Reference of footnote 82, pp. 11 and 13.

<sup>86</sup> Hérard à Mgr Carroll, 11 janvier 1805, p. 3: \*B.C. Arch., 4F2.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2; Bishop Carroll to Kendall, 12 Sept., 1804, p. 1: \*B.C. Arch., 10K2.

<sup>89</sup> Guilday, *op. cit.*, pp. 715 f.

Apostolic and thus to re-establish competent church authority.<sup>90</sup> In accord with this mandate the prelate, in the same year, appointed Father Kendall as Prefect and Father Hérard as Vice-Prefect of the Virgin Islands.<sup>91</sup> The latter had just traveled to New York and Baltimore, in an effort to restore his health undermined by fifteen years of labor in tropical climates.<sup>92</sup> The return trip had not been without adventure, for the priest relates that all his luggage was lost at sea.<sup>93</sup>

As could be expected, in the absence of clear-cut jurisdictional control, many West Indian islands in general and the Danish Virgin Islands in particular had become a haven for all kinds of questionable ecclesiastical characters and adventurous impostors.<sup>94</sup> This sad condition was destined to last for many years. Writing to Bishop Carroll about St. Thomas Island, Father Hérard had to point out that "the majority of priests who have staffed this mission were fugitive monks or expelled from their order."<sup>95</sup> On one occasion he had to dismiss a suspect Spanish priest who had suddenly arrived without the required documents and swore that he would avenge himself in a most spectacular fashion for the "insulting" way in which he was treated by Hérard. His dire threats, however, so aroused the people against him that he had to depart in secret before he could carry out his nefarious plans.<sup>96</sup> On another occasion, Father Hérard unmasked an Italian sailor who, apparently tired of a seafaring life, posed as a deacon and wanted to take up a collection in an orphaned parish to finance his impending ordination for the service of this place.<sup>97</sup>

To make the desperate situation even worse, in November 1804, a tremendous fire destroyed the town

<sup>90</sup> Propaganda to Carroll, 18 martii 1804: \*B.C. Arch., 10K5.

<sup>91</sup> Reference of footnote 86, p. 1.

<sup>92</sup> Reference of footnote 82, pp. 15 f.

<sup>93</sup> Reference of footnote 86, p. 4.

<sup>94</sup> Hérard à Mgr Carroll, 11 janvier 1805, 24 déc. 1805, 17 févr. 1806, etc.: \* B.C. Arch., 4F2, 4F4, 4F5, etc.

<sup>95</sup> Reference of footnote 86, p. 5.

<sup>96</sup> Hérard à Mgr Carroll, 24 déc. 1805, p. 6: \*B.C. Arch., 4F4.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1; Hérard à Mgr Carroll, 17 févr. 1806, p. 3: \*B.C. Arch., 4F5.

of St. Thomas. Its pastor, Father Trochard, O.P., died of shock a few weeks after the disastrous conflagration had utterly destroyed his church and rectory. His death reduced to two, Fathers Kendall and Hérard, the number of priests in good standing who were supposed to take care of the Virgin Islands.<sup>98</sup> Sadly Father Hérard had to report that Antigua, Barbados, Saint Kitts, Montserrat, and Saint Eustachius were without any priests.<sup>99</sup>

To remedy the perilous situation, he asked Bishop Carroll to assign at least "his friend and confrere" Father Moranvillé to the Virgin Islands.<sup>100</sup> Although Kendall added a fervent plea, "for God's sake let Moranvillé be as expeditious as possible,"<sup>101</sup> the hard-pressed bishop reluctantly had to turn a deaf ear to the desperate cries reaching him from these islands. Hérard also turned to the Mother House of the Spiritans, asking the Congregation to assume charge of the territory.<sup>102</sup> However, they were unable to help him, for they had only the previous year regained legal existence.<sup>103</sup> Still weak, desperately struggling for survival, and charged with the crushing burden of providing personnel for all French colonies, the Spiritans, in 1808, asked him to return to the missions for which his congregation was responsible. When, however, Father Hérard explained his position, they agreed that as "Ecclesiastical Superior of two colonies which needed his presence very badly, he could not in good conscience abandon them without being replaced, and this would be very difficult in these troubled times."<sup>104</sup>

### *Schism of Father Desblanchamps*

The occurrence of schisms in the West Indies as well as the United States in the first part of the nineteenth century should not cause too much surprise. The French

<sup>98</sup> Hérard à Mgr Carroll, 4 mars 1805, p. 1: \*B.C. Arch., 4F3.

<sup>99</sup> Reference of footnote 86, p. 6.

<sup>100</sup> Reference of footnote 98, pp. 3 f.

<sup>101</sup> Kendall to Carroll, 19 July, 1804, p. 8: \*B.C. Arch., 4J10.

<sup>102</sup> Reference of footnote 82, pp. 4, 8.

<sup>103</sup> *Notes et Documents relatifs à l'histoire de la congrégation du Saint-Esprit*, Paris, 1917, pp. 25 f.

<sup>104</sup> Cabon, *art. cit.*, p. 207.

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Revolution had thoroughly disorganized the Church. In many areas, it was next to impossible to determine who were the competent ecclesiastical authorities. Moreover, religious persecution had driven large numbers of monks, who often were wholly unprepared for pastoral work, wandering through the world without any kind of supervision. Finally, after the Revolution, the depleted ranks of the clergy had induced many bishops to relax intellectual requirements and to become too lenient in admitting candidates to the priesthood, so that there were more than the usual number of misfits. Many of these fled to the States and the West Indies when bad conduct made it impossible for them to remain in good standing at home. As could be expected, it did not take very long before these characters again found themselves in difficulties with their bishops or superiors in this part of the world.

Two of these schisms caused by such priests constituted the heaviest cross Father Hérard had to bear in the Virgin Islands: the schism of Father Desblanchamps in 1809 and even more so that of Father Flynn in 1814. Father Desblanchamps had been assigned the parish of Saint Thomas some time before, during a brief absence of Father Hérard. An old man who had lost whatever energy he may have possessed in his younger years, he did as little work as possible. Understandably, he became fearful when Father Hérard returned to the island to check on the condition of the local congregation. Apprehensive about losing his pastorate, the old man appealed for support to the Danish governor, who quickly declared his parish independent of its legitimate ecclesiastical authorities, thus making it impossible for Father Hérard to take any legal steps against him.<sup>105</sup> Desblanchamps then tried unsuccessfully to secure the necessary faculties for the exercise of his ministry from the bishop of Puerto Rico.<sup>106</sup>

Unable to dispossess the recalcitrant pastor, Father Hérard was at his wit's end. The thought of leaving the islands, where he felt that most of his work had been

<sup>105</sup> Hérard à Mgr Carroll, 12 juillet 1809, p. 3: \*B.C. Arch., 4F8.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

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fruitless in the midst of all such troubles, presented itself constantly to his mind. At that point there arrived a fine young priest from Cork, Ireland, Father David Desmond, whose talents and zeal immediately showed great promise.<sup>107</sup> Soon after, Father Hérard announced to Bishop Carroll his intention to go to Guadeloupe "temporarily," and "leaving behind all his possessions" in order to replace a pastor who was on leave of absence.<sup>108</sup> As it happened, with the consent of Bishop Carroll, his sojourn in Guadeloupe and other French islands lasted from March 1810 to July 1815 because the local Prefect Apostolic "practically forced" him to stay. He would probably have remained there indefinitely if death had not deprived the Virgin Islands first of Father Desmond in 1811 and then of Father Kendall in May 1814. The latter's demise occurred at a most unfortunate moment, for at that time a second schism threatened the islands.<sup>109</sup>

Meanwhile the schism caused by Father Desblanchamps had continued unabated in Saint Thomas Island. As late as 1818, Father Hérard had to report to Archbishop Ambrose Maréchal of Baltimore that there was on the island a "priest who called himself in capital letters 'the Roman Catholic pastor'"<sup>110</sup> and publicly proclaimed that "he does not recognize any other authority than that of the secular commander of the island."<sup>110</sup> Fortunately by then a zealous Spanish priest had been assigned to the island,<sup>112</sup> so that at least the people were able to address themselves to a priest in good standing with the Church and thus could avoid following a schism because of their desire to receive the sacraments.

### *The Schism of the Fugitive Trappist, Father Flynn*

The fascinating history of the ancient and venerable

<sup>110</sup> This priest probably was Father Blanchard, who possessed "no spiritual license," that is, no legitimate power to exercise his functions.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>108</sup> Hérard à Mgr l'Archévêque de Baltimore, 2 juin 1810, p. 3: \*B.C. Arch., 4F6.

<sup>109</sup> Exposé de la situation, 10 nov. 1815, p. 1: *ibid.*, 8A-R3 app.

<sup>110</sup> Hérard à Mgr Maréchal, 8 juillet 1818, p. 4: *ibid.*, 17I-2.

<sup>111</sup> Flynn to Archbishop Carroll, 18 Sept. 1815, p. 2: *ibid.*, 3U6.

<sup>112</sup> Reference of footnote 110, p. 4.

Cistercian order during the quarter-century that elapsed between its expulsion from the famous Abbey of *La Trappe* at the beginning of the French Revolution until its return after the fall of Napoleon in 1815, is full of ceaseless wanderings, countless tragedies, indomitable perseverance, strict adherence to a severe religious rule, and a few human frailties. Such frailties and lapses, both tragic and uncommon, must be considered as a part of history and should be calmly viewed as such.

In 1809 Dom Augustin de Lestrange, the "Savior of *La Trappe*," who had returned to France from exile, incurred the wrath of Napoleon, because he supported Pope Pius VII, then imprisoned by the excommunicated Emperor. The haughty tyrant at once ordered the abbot's arrest. Escaping from his confinement, Dom Lestrange fled to Germany and from there, via Russia, to England.<sup>113</sup> Soon after, with about a dozen monks, he made his way from England to Martinique in the West Indies, where the party landed in May or June of 1813. Shortly after their arrival, the monks appeared to have revolted against their Abbot in a spectacular fashion.<sup>114</sup> The immediate result was that the civil authorities indiscriminately arrested and imprisoned all of them.<sup>12\*</sup> Upon their release, the Trappists received orders to leave the country and to return to England. Being without sufficient funds to travel together, each of them had to find for himself the ways and means of returning. Meanwhile the ring-leader of the defecting monks suddenly fell ill. At death's door, he repented and publicly asked forgiveness for the scandal which he had caused. The order to leave the island, however, continued in force.<sup>116</sup>

Father Flynn, one of the monks, made his way to Saint

<sup>12\*</sup> According to Flynn, their imprisonment was due solely to the Abbot's neglect of "proper steps to land" the monks and their banishment "to the deceit of one" of the Trappists.<sup>115</sup>

<sup>113</sup> Gaillardin, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 293 ff.

<sup>114</sup> Reference of footnote 109, p. 1; Hérard à Mgr Carroll, 28 juillet 1815, p. 3: \*B.C. Arch., 4F7.

<sup>115</sup> Flynn to Carroll, 27 March, 1815, p. 1: *ibid.*, 3U4.

<sup>116</sup> Hérard à Mgr Neale, 18 nov. 1816, p. 1: *ibid.*, 12A-F4; Gaillardin, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 232.

Croix later in the same year, but could not continue his voyage since his funds were exhausted.<sup>117</sup> Father Kendall kindly invited him to stay with him but did not allow him to exercise any functions aside from celebrating Mass, probably because he noted that the youthful monk was grossly ignorant of the most elementary principles relating to the pastoral care of souls.<sup>118</sup> Thus it came to pass that, when Father Kendall died soon afterwards, the Trappist became the only priest on the island, but a priest who had received no power to exercise any pastoral functions.<sup>119</sup> Nevertheless, pressed by the local Catholics, he assumed the ecclesiastical care of the island.<sup>120</sup>

Presumably he would have continued to function peacefully for a long time in this remote outpost of Archbishop Carroll's spiritual domain if there had not arrived in March of 1815 a priest from France, Father Peter Glory (or Glories).<sup>121</sup> A convert, who after becoming a widower had been duly ordained, Father Glory had met Count Charles McCarthy, a Catholic planter of the Virgin Islands, who was traveling in France. Learning of Father Kendall's death, the pious Count managed to secure the services of this priest for his island home. A difficulty arose when Father Glory raised the question of jurisdiction. In Paris no one knew who could possibly be the ecclesiastical superior of the Virgin Islands. Finally, however, the Papal Nuncio solved the issue by according Father Glory temporary faculties until he could get into touch with his future superior.

On the voyage to the Virgin Islands, the priest and his party stopped over at Guadeloupe, where Church and State were then in conflict with another member of the disbanded group of Trappists.<sup>122</sup> This monk, *Père*

<sup>117</sup> Reference of footnote 109, p. 2.

<sup>118</sup> Hérard à Mgr Neale, 6 juin 1816, pp. 1 f.: \*B.C. Arch., 12A-F2.

<sup>119</sup> Hérard à Mgr. Carroll, 28 juillet 1815, p. 4: *ibid.*, 4F7; Hérard à Tessier, 19 mars 1816, p. 2: *ibid.*, 12A-S3.

<sup>120</sup> Flynn to Carroll, 23 Aug., 1815, p. 2: *ibid.*, 10K7. Cf. Patrick F. Moran, *History of the Catholic Church in Australasia*, Sydney, 1894, vol. 1, p. 54.

<sup>121</sup> Reference of footnote 109, p. 3.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

Benoît, had quietly occupied a vacant parish on a little island and refused to budge, despite the orders and the threat of excommunication of the Prefect Apostolic. When, shortly thereafter, Father Glory arrived in Saint Croix and found another Trappist, Father Flynn, without any jurisdictional papers, he forthwith rather rashly announced that this man also had been excommunicated.<sup>13\*</sup> Father Flynn, however, had a considerable number of followers among the local Irish immigrants. Thus the announcement in question split the congregation into "Flynnites," "Gloryites," and neutrals.

To add force to his words, Father Glory soon forbade any "spiritual communication" with the monk under penalty of being refused the sacraments.<sup>124</sup> This step, instead of restoring unity, made the opposing factions even more antagonistic. Meanwhile the local churchwardens petitioned the Archbishop to confirm Flynn in office.<sup>125</sup> Weary of the battle, Father Glory then suddenly decided to leave the islands and to withdraw to Guadeloupe, leaving Father Flynn behind as the apparent conqueror, but with a congregation that had become thoroughly divided and suspicious about the validity of his powers.

At this juncture Father Hérard again made his appearance in the Virgin Islands, for Count McCarthy had written to him at Marie Galante (near Guadeloupe), begging him to return and to restore peace.<sup>126</sup> The letter had arrived just when the French islands were in great political turmoil because of Napoleon's escape from Elba and his triumphant return to Paris. Persecuted by the new local officials, Father Hérard was glad to leave in June 1815. Two weeks later he landed in the Virgin

<sup>13\*</sup> Actually he had been interdicted and declared an apostate of the Trappist Order in 1813.<sup>123</sup>

<sup>123</sup> L'Abbé Lestrangé à Mgr Carroll, 10 oct. 1813: \*B.C. Arch., 8A-S3.

<sup>124</sup> Reference of footnote 109, p. 5.

<sup>125</sup> Vestry Wardens to Archbishop Carroll, 27 March, 1815: \*B.C. Arch., 10K8.

<sup>126</sup> Reference of footnote 109, app., pp. 5 f.

Islands, of which he was still officially Vice-Prefect Apostolic.<sup>127</sup>

Soon after his arrival, Father Hérard held several fruitless conferences with the fugitive Trappist. The monk claimed that "his conscience was perfectly at ease" and refused to listen to Father Hérard's entreaties.<sup>128</sup> Having the full support of the Danish governor and of a large number of young Irish bachelors who had recently migrated to the island, he felt himself in a strong position and stubbornly declined Hérard's pressing insistence that he leave the place. Strange as it may seem (and revealing how gross his ignorance was), these fellow Irishmen had apparently convinced the monk that all he needed to validly exercise his functions was an appointment by the local churchwardens.<sup>129</sup>

Meanwhile Father Hérard's frantic letters to Archbishop Carroll for further instructions remained unanswered for, unknown to him, the valiant patriarch of the Catholic Church in the United States was at death's door. Finally, after six months of waiting, the impatiently expected instructions arrived. They contained the news that Father Flynn had been interdicted as early as 1813 and was really an apostate monk, and ordered the churchwardens to dismiss him.<sup>130</sup> When Hérard privately communicated the news to Father Flynn and begged him to submit to the orders of the Archbishop, the monk replied: "You are the greatest enemy I have and I will stay here as long as I please under the protection of the government."<sup>131</sup> While rejecting the legitimate local authority of Father Hérard, Flynn secretly sent a solemn letter of submission to Baltimore, promising obedience "so long as... my Superiors may deem it necessary to allow me" to stay here.<sup>132</sup> (Apparently he did not know that the

<sup>127</sup> Hérard à Mgr Carroll, 28 juillet 1815, p. 5: \*B.C. Arch., 4F7.

<sup>128</sup> Reference of footnote 109, app., p. 6.

<sup>129</sup> Hérard à Mgr. Neale, 6 juin 1816, pp. 1 f.: \*B.C. Arch., 12A-F2.

<sup>130</sup> Hérard à Tessier, 4 février 1816, p. 1: *ibid.*, 12A-S1; references of footnotes 123 and 129.

<sup>131</sup> Flynn to Carroll, 1 Dec., 1815, p. 1: *ibid.*, 8A-L1.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>133</sup> Hérard à Tessier, 4 février 1816, p. 1: \*B.C. Arch., 12A-S1.

<sup>134</sup> Flynn to Carroll, 8 Jan., 1816: *ibid.*, 22A-O1.

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Archbishop was fully aware of his irregular status.) At the same time he obstinately refused to show Father Hérard his alleged powers and blandly wrote the Archbishop that if His Excellency judged his powers to be insufficient he would forthwith "send to Europe"<sup>135</sup> for broader faculties.<sup>14\*</sup>

On January 28, after Sunday Mass, Father Hérard read the Archbishop's instructions to the churchwardens, who were reinforced for the occasion by about thirty Irish "bachelors."<sup>136</sup> Although they disliked and protested against the orders, they finally decided that Father Flynn should leave, but set no time for his departure and significantly added that meanwhile "he may continue to occupy the rectory... in recognition of his good conduct."<sup>137</sup> Apparently satisfied with the result, the monk went to enjoy himself at the evening dance given by the Governor, after telling Father Hérard that he would continue to say Mass in his own room and stay on the island as long as necessary "to prove his innocence."<sup>138</sup>

<sup>14\*</sup> There is a curious passage in Flynn's letter of December 1, 1815, to Archbishop Carroll. He thanks the prelate profusely for a postscript to a letter addressed to Father Hérard in which the Archbishop expressed his intention "of continuing my powers until the first of May 1816, as also for Your Lordship's confirmation of what I have done since the death of the Reverend Mr. Kindall."<sup>131</sup> In the light of the Archbishop's order to the Vestry Wardens to dismiss Flynn and his knowledge that this priest's interdict had not yet been lifted, it is extremely unlikely that he would actually have given faculties to the fugitive monk. As the Baltimore Archives do not contain a copy of the prelate's letter and Father Hérard's correspondence with the archbishop says nothing about this matter, it is difficult to state anything with certainty about the point. The most reasonable surmise would seem to be that, in his last illness, Carroll had forgotten about the monk's interdict and expressed a willingness to grant him temporary faculties on condition that he show his alleged papers to the Vice-Prefect and leave the island by May 1, 1816. Father Flynn, however, refused to comply with this episcopal order and pointed out that his confrere, "Père (sic) Benoît" had "no more powers than I have and is in the mean time happy under the Prefect of Guadeloupe."<sup>132</sup> How "happy" Père Benoît was has been pointed out in the preceding pages; he was in serious trouble with the Church for exactly the same reason as Father Flynn.

<sup>135</sup> See footnote 131.

<sup>136</sup> Reference of footnote 133, p. 2.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.

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To strengthen Hérard's authority, Leonard Neale, the new Archbishop of Baltimore, in 1816 appointed him his Vicar General in charge of the Virgin Islands.<sup>139</sup> While accepting the appointment "for the time being," the priest stressed that "given the present conditions, he was not the right man to restore order" and that it was absolutely necessary to send a priest from Ireland or England who alone would be able to deal with the recalcitrant Irish "bachelors."<sup>140</sup> He particularly warned the Archbishop that recalling Father Glory, as he had been instructed to do, could only serve to make the situation worse. <sup>139</sup>

How profoundly the schism had afflicted the local congregation can be seen in Father Hérard's reports on its spiritual condition: out of a total Catholic population of about five thousand on Saint Croix Island only one hundred and twenty ( $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ ) fulfilled their Easter duty in 1815: sixty slaves, forty free colored persons, twenty white women and two white men.<sup>142</sup> In 1816 this pitiful number had again been halved; the others were either too indifferent or too ignorant to practice their faith, save by taking issue for or against the fugitive monk. <sup>142</sup>

Meanwhile the schism continued to drag on. The Irish "bachelors" held fast to their view that the Trappist was an "innocent victim" of foreign ecclesiastical persecution<sup>145</sup> and that without the interference of Father Hérard their man would still occupy "the place which they on their own authority had given him."<sup>146</sup> In April 1816, they sent him off with high recommendations to seek justice from the supreme authority of the Church.<sup>147</sup> A few months later, Flynn wrote to them announcing

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3; Hérard à Tessier, 12 <sup>nov</sup> 1816, p. 1: \*B.C. Arch. 12A-S2.

<sup>140</sup> Reference of footnote 133, p. 3.

<sup>141</sup> Second reference of footnote 139, p. 1.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>143</sup> Reference of footnote 129, p. 5.

<sup>144</sup> Hérard à M. Tessier, 19 mars 1816, p. 2: \*B.C. Arch., 12A-S3.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>147</sup> Reference of footnote 129, p. 2.



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from Moran, History of the Catholic Church in Australasia

that he would soon return with the full powers he hoped to receive from the Holy See.<sup>148</sup>

Although Archbishop Neale had forwarded the necessary information about him to the Eternal City,<sup>149</sup> the solution of the conflict by the Prefect of the Propaganda will undoubtedly impress the reader as highly unusual.

Before considering this, it should be kept in mind that the general administration of the Church was still painfully attempting to recover from the chaos created by the French Revolution and Napoleon's interference in the Church. With respect to American affairs in particular, Cardinal Litta, Prefect of the Propaganda, made some grave mistakes. The most notorious of these was his order to Archbishop Neale to reinstate two priests, Father Simon F. Gallagher and Father Robert Browne,

<sup>148</sup> Hérard à Mgr Neale, 10 sept. 1816, p. 3: \*B.C. Arch., 12A-F3.

<sup>149</sup> Archbishop Neale to Propaganda, undated: *ibid.*, 10K4.

## The United States

O.S.A., suspended by the Archbishop because they had started schismatic churches in Charleston, Virginia, and Augusta, Georgia.<sup>150</sup> It took a personal appeal from the Archbishop to Pope Pius VII in "one of the strongest letters which ever reached the Holy See from America" to rectify the Cardinal's surprising decision.<sup>151</sup>

Because the Propaganda's mistake in this case occurred at the time when Father Flynn sojourned in Rome to seek vindication of his alleged persecution by foreign ecclesiastics, it should be somewhat less surprising that Cardinal Litta<sup>15\*</sup> reacted to the visit of the interdicted priest by... appointing him, on September 14, 1816, Prefect Apostolic of New Holland (Australia),<sup>152</sup> after lifting the interdict which had struck the fugitive monk.<sup>154</sup>

Subsequent aspects of this affair lie outside the North American sphere and consequently beyond the scope of this book, but are nonetheless included here to bring the strange story to its almost unbelievable ending.

In 1817, Father Flynn arrived in Australia, in defiance of the British Government's refusal to authorize the entrance of a Catholic priest into the colony.<sup>155</sup> Soon after, he went to work in New South Wales, whose population consisted largely of deported Irishmen. His arrival made a tremendous impression upon these exiled Catholics, hitherto deprived of any opportunity to practice their Faith, and forced to attend Protestant services under penalty of being flogged. He succeeded so well that, many years later, these unfortunates still spoke with

<sup>15\*</sup> Although this decree is missing from the files of the Propaganda (as are many other similar documents) his appointment as Prefect Apostolic is certain from Flynn's own letters to the Propaganda and also from the Propaganda's correspondence.<sup>153</sup>

<sup>150</sup> Guilday, *op. cit.*, pp. 738 f.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 739.

<sup>152</sup> *Bibliotheca missionum*, vol. 21, p. 89.

<sup>153</sup> Propaganda to Bishop Pointer, 13 feb. 1819: \*Arch. Prop., Lett., vol. 300, f. 89; letters of Flynn to Propaganda, 9 sett. 1816: \*Arch. Prop., S.R.C., Oceania, vol. 1, f. 10v; undated: *ibid.*, f. 11v; 16 sett. 1816: *ibid.*, f. 13; letter of Father Giovanni Grassi, 22 apr. 1822: *ibid.*, f. 16.

<sup>154</sup> Moran, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 63.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 57 ff.

great admiration and respect of the unforgettable Father Flynn.<sup>156</sup>

His sojourn in Australia was very brief.<sup>157</sup> Annoyed by his popularity and success, the local Protestant ministers prevailed upon the governor to have him arrested and deported to England, alleging that he had landed without the necessary authorization. By hiding in the dwelling of a friend in Sydney, Father Flynn managed to delay his deportation.<sup>158</sup> Soon, however, he was arrested and deported to England. So great was the love of the local Catholics for their Irish missionary that the place of his concealment — now the site of Saint Patrick's Cathedral — became "the first sanctuary of religion beneath the Southern Cross."<sup>159</sup>

Meanwhile the Holy See had turned its attention to the deplorable religious condition of Haiti, then an ecclesiastical no-man's-land, on the other side of the globe, which had become the last place of refuge for pseudo-priests and clerical misfits. In 1820, a confidential inquiry of the Propaganda asked the advice of the Spiritan Mother House about the possibility of appointing an ecclesiastical superior to the island.<sup>160</sup> Although the information sent by the Spiritans counseled caution, the Propaganda afterwards selected Father Glory, whom the political upheavals of the time had expelled from Guadeloupe. Consecrated bishop and duly appointed Vicar Apostolic of Haiti, the prelate set sail for his new domain, there to engage in the formidable task of trying to re-establish ecclesiastical order.

One can well imagine his surprise when, upon entering his residence in Port-au-Prince, he came face to face with its occupant — Jeremiah Flynn! History has left no record of the first meeting of these two men on the soil of Haiti,

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 64.

<sup>157</sup> See Father Grassi's letter quoted in footnote 153; *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, 1838, p. 424.

<sup>158</sup> Moran, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 64 f.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65.

<sup>160</sup> A. Cabon, *Notes sur l'histoire religieuse d'Haiti*, Port-au-Prince, 1933, p. 114.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 128.

but it must have been mutually shocking.<sup>16\*</sup> The wandering ex-monk had arrived on the island early in 1819, presumably after his return to England from Australia. Writing to "the most Reverend Moranvilliers" (*sic*), "Archbishop of Baltimore" (*sic*), he claimed that he held "a true and lawful mission from the Sovereign Pontiff."<sup>163</sup> Bishop Glory, however, reports that, on July 18, 1820, the Holy See again interdicted<sup>17\*</sup> Flynn.<sup>164</sup>

Since the recalcitrant cleric refused to move from his place of residence, the bishop found himself forced to share the house with his old antagonist.<sup>165</sup> Thereafter, however, the President of the Republic set out on a military expedition in a distant part of the island and took Flynn with him. Upon his return he found that he had been excommunicated and that the house had been barred against his entrance. His attempts to force his way in attracted a large crowd, composed of "Marianettes" and "Gasparites," two opposing local factions of Catholics, who had sided, respectively, with the bishop and Father Flynn. In short order the two parties prepared to do battle. Before blood was spilled, however, the police arrived and dispersed the mob. Next, the President of the Republic decided to take stern measures and expelled both the legitimate bishop and the ex-monk from the island.<sup>166</sup> It was a drastic step as far as the bishop

<sup>16\*</sup> In his *History of the Catholic Church in Australasia* Cardinal Moran states, without indicating his source, that Bishop Glory went to Haiti accompanied by Father Flynn.<sup>162</sup> In the light of documents of the Baltimore Cathedral Archives, which the Cardinal did not consult, it is extremely unlikely that such was the case. Moreover, Flynn's presence in Haiti was recorded as early as 1819, the year before Bishop Glory sailed for his new diocese.

<sup>17\*</sup> There is no record of this interdict in the archives of the Propaganda. Many documents, however, have disappeared from its files, so that this absence is not significant. Moreover, the interdict may have been imposed by the Holy Office, whose archives have hitherto remained closed to scholars.

<sup>162</sup> Moran, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 997.

<sup>163</sup> Flynn to Archbishop (*sic*) Moranvilliers (*sic*), 6 June, 1820, p. 3: \*B.C. Arch., 16V1.

<sup>164</sup> Cabon, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 133.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 134.

*Episcopal appointment; it is not a proof of anything. The Rev. Mr. Taylor wrote to B. Cabon on Oct 20th 1821 (\*Salp Arch.)*

*visiting to the ocean from Rome on July 1, 1820. The Rev. Mr. Taylor - New York said Cardinal Lettici informed me, the 175 July day before his death, that he was imposed upon by such a pretense to Flynn (*sic*). Flynn's name is not known here except by ignorance + through presentation. He is now in San Domingo, where he is a + unapreciable. (\* Salp Arch.)*

*of his time*

*D. W. Flynn*

was concerned, for it meant a new break with the Holy See which lasted until 1863.

A short time after, Bishop Glory set sail for the States, but never reached his destination. A furious storm arose and wrecked the vessel. Among the victims of the disaster were the bishop and four young priests who had accompanied him on his mission.<sup>167</sup>

Father Flynn briefly reappeared in Haiti in 1822, allegedly to search for buried treasure. He had previously assisted General Richard, to prepare this man for his execution, and the general was supposed to have told him where he had hidden the looted treasury of the Haitian King Henri Christophe (1767—1820). Seized by the police, the ex-monk was again deported and disappeared<sup>18\*</sup> from the pages of history.<sup>168</sup>

Undoubtedly, Australian readers may be shocked by the picture presented here of the valiant hero, venerated "Down Under" as one of their first zealous and unforgettable pastors. One has only to read the glowing accounts<sup>170</sup> which speak of Father Flynn's Australian labor to see the tremendous impression he made during the very brief period of his sojourn under the Southern Cross. To suggest a reason for the strikingly different pictures of Father Flynn's life in the West Indies as compared with his labor in Australia, it should be remembered that in the western hemisphere he had to deal with Frenchmen as his immediate religious or ecclesiastical superiors, while in Australia he was an Irish priest among fellow Irishmen, living under penal laws. Lacking the gift of adaptability and easily inclined to suspect "foreigners" of persecuting him, the poor man

<sup>18\*</sup> In his above-mentioned *History*, Cardinal Moran<sup>169</sup> suggests that Flynn was one of the Irish priests laboring in the Holy Ghost Mission of Guadeloupe in 1834. However, a search of the colonial clergy records preserved in the Spiritan archives of Paris, failed to reveal his name either on the list for Guadeloupe or for any of the other French colonies.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 135.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 136.

<sup>169</sup> Moran, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 998.

<sup>170</sup> *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, 1838, p. 423; Moran, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 53-76.

had the misfortune of nevertheless trying to live among them in the West Indies. If only, instead of going to the West Indies, he had been allowed to spend his whole life among his fellow countrymen, Father Flynn would perhaps unqualifiedly deserve the high esteem in which Australian Catholics have continued to hold him.

As for Father Hérard in the Virgin Islands, despite the repeated announcement of his intention to depart, he could not bring himself to leave the local Catholics wholly without a priest and gradually tried to heal the terrible wounds caused by the schism.<sup>171</sup> His continued insistence that Irish priests be sent as the sole way of saving the situation finally produced results. In May of 1818, Archbishop Ambrose Maréchal, successor to Leonard Neale in Baltimore, was able to announce that two Irish clergymen were arriving from Dublin.<sup>172</sup> Thus freed of his obligations toward the Virgin Islands, Father Hérard declined the Archbishop's kind invitation to come to Baltimore<sup>173</sup> because his presence was urgently needed in Paris in connection<sup>174</sup> with the new restoration of the Holy Ghost Society after its impulsive suppression by Napoleon.<sup>175</sup> In October, 1819, therefore, Father Hérard temporarily left the American scene to return to his native France from which he had been absent for more than thirty years.<sup>176</sup>

## 6. The Last Years of Father Duhamel and Father Hérard

Since Father Charles Duhamel's bad health did not permit him to stay in the Virgin Islands, in 1801 he left for Baltimore, where Bishop Carroll appointed him pastor of Hagerstown.<sup>177</sup> As soon as it became possible for the Church to function again in Cayenne, the Spiritan Prefect Apostolic, Father Legrand, repeatedly invited him to return to "the front lines."<sup>178</sup> Pointing out his many in-

<sup>171</sup> Hérard à Maréchal, 8 juillet 1818, p. 1: \*B.C. Arch., 17I-2.

<sup>172</sup> Du même au même, 16 juillet 1818, p. 1: *ibid.*, 17I-1.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>174</sup> Hérard à Mgr Maréchal, 6 oct. 1819, p. 1: \*B.C. Arch., 17I-3.

<sup>175</sup> Koren, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

<sup>176</sup> Hérard à Mgr Maréchal, 20 oct. 1819: \*B.C. Arch., 17I-4.

<sup>177</sup> Cf. p. 161.

<sup>178</sup> Duhamel à Mgr Carroll, 28 oct. 1802: \*B.C. Arch., 3F1.

firmities, the frail priest told him that he would not do so of his own accord, but was willing to go if Father Legrand gave him a formal order.<sup>179</sup> Realizing that "what we need here are not sick people but men who can work,"<sup>180</sup> the Prefect very wisely left Father Duhamel in the Baltimore Diocese. In 1810, the priest's health had deteriorated to such an extent that he "could be of no or hardly any use."<sup>181</sup> To relieve his burdens and perhaps also to remove him from the vexations of a troublesome neighboring pastor who despised this "itinerant monk," Archbishop Carroll transferred him to Emmetsburg to aid in the spiritual care of the Catholics who had settled near Mount St. Mary's College. Burned out prematurely, he died there on February 16, 1818.<sup>182</sup>

Father Hérard, during his visit to the Spiritan Mother House in Paris, received an appointment to the West Indian islands for which the Congregation was responsible. After 1830, however, when the heavy burden of labor under a tropical sky became too onerous for him — he was in his late sixties — he returned to the States.<sup>183</sup> The duties of the old man appeared to have consisted at first of being chaplain and provider for the Carmelite nuns in Baltimore and later of the Poor Clares<sup>19\*</sup> in Pittsburgh.<sup>184</sup>

The scarcity of priests, which prevailed at the time soon forced him, in spite of his age, to re-assume responsibility for a parish. In 1832 he was located at Saint John's Church of Newark, N.J.,<sup>186</sup> and two years later he

<sup>19\*</sup> The Pittsburgh convent had been founded in 1828 by Sister Frances van der Vogel. It conducted Saint Clare's Academy, which was forced to close in 1835. <sup>185</sup>

<sup>179</sup> Cabon, *art. cit.*, R.H.C. 1950, p. 201.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 210.

<sup>181</sup> Duhamel à Mgr Carroll, 8 janvier 1810, p. 1: \*B.C. Arch., 3F5.

<sup>182</sup> *L'ami de la religion*, vol. 20, p. 36.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 103, p. 229.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*; Hérard à Mgr Eccleston, 20 juin 1838: \*B.C. Arch., 25C12.

<sup>185</sup> *Catholic Pittsburgh's One Hundred Years*, Chicago, 1943, p. 110.

<sup>186</sup> Joseph M. Flynn, *The Catholic Church in New Jersey*, Morristown, 1904, p. 71. *Sulp. Arch. Hérard à Belmont 17 nov 1832*

*The United States*

became pastor of Saint Vincent's at a place called "Bottle Hill" (now Madison), N.J.<sup>187</sup>

He travelled to France in 1838 to collect funds for the destitute Carmelites of Baltimore.<sup>188</sup> Perhaps he also felt that the end was near. Having celebrated his golden jubilee among his fellow Spiritans in Paris, he went to visit his family.<sup>189</sup> He had intended to return to Paris, for he had expressed the wish to end his days in the Mother House of the Congregation. Death, however, took him, before he could return, on October 17, 1839.<sup>190</sup>

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*Self. Arch. Bureau of Baltimore, 1/10/1839*  
1837

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 115.

<sup>188</sup> Reference of footnote 183 and second reference of 184.

<sup>189</sup> Cabon, *art. cit.*, p. 201.

<sup>190</sup> *L'ami de la religion*, vol. 103, p. 230.

*more than a century of Spiritans*

## EPILOGUE

With the death of Father Le Jamtel in 1835 and that of Father Hérard in 1839 the apostolic activities of the Spiritans in Canada and the United States came to a temporary halt. The Congregation found itself in dire straits in France, trying to survive amidst the political storms raging around it which at any moment threatened its total disappearance.<sup>1</sup> The critical situation continued in this fashion until 1848, when the entrance of the Venerable Francis Libermann and his confreres of the Holy Heart of Mary Congregation restored its vigor and gave it a bloom surpassing anything it had experienced in its glorious Eighteenth Century.<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, the death of the last surviving Holy Ghost Father in America did not mean that relations with the northern half of the western hemisphere were broken off. Aside from continuing to provide missionaries for the Miquelon Islands, the Spiritans remained in touch with bishops and priests in the United States. A few years after Father Hérard's death, Archbishop Purcell of Cincinnati invited them to resume their American labors in his archdiocese,<sup>3</sup> and in 1847, the Propaganda applauded their plan to supply missionaries "for the various dioceses of North America."<sup>4</sup>

In the same year Father John Loewenbruck actually embarked for the States<sup>5</sup> to negotiate with the Archbishop of Baltimore and other prelates,<sup>6</sup> but a violent storm drove the vessel back to France and thus prevented his departure. In a short time he was too deeply engaged in negotiating the impending merger of Father Libermann's congregation with that of the Holy Ghost to make a second attempt. While this merger was actively pursued, Father Monnet, the Superior General, managed to send one priest, Father Arnold, and one seminarian,

<sup>1</sup> Koren, *op. cit.*, pp. 51 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 97 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Bulletin général*, vol. 9, p. 313.

<sup>4</sup> *Notes et documents relatifs... à... Libermann*, vol. 9, App., p. 197.

<sup>5</sup> Koren, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

<sup>6</sup> M. Leguay à S.G. l'Archévêque de Baltimore, 15 déc. 1847: \*B.C. Arch., 25I-7. Cf. *ibid.*, encl. of 17 déc. 1847.

## Epilogue

Mr. Herzog, to the Cincinnati Archdiocese.<sup>7</sup>

The Venerable Francis Libermann, on the other hand, had been thinking about going in person to America as early as 1831. but his ill health prevented him from executing this plan. In 1844, after founding his congregation, he considered having his priests undertake apostolic work in America.<sup>8</sup> After the merger of 1848, he resumed contact with Archbishop Purcell, which resulted in the acceptance of his offer to have the Spiritans staff the planned interdiocesan seminary of Cincinnati. Libermann appointed Ignatius Schwindenhammer, his future successor, to head this new venture. The ticket for the trip "by fire and wind" in one of the early steamships across the Atlantic was already in his pocket,<sup>9</sup> when, for some unknown reason,<sup>1\*</sup> the plan was dropped.

In the succeeding years a steady stream of invitations to come to the United States and Canada to open seminaries, colleges, parishes and missions, reached the Spiritan headquarters.<sup>11</sup> Provisionally, all the Congregation could do was send a few priests trained in its Parisian seminary to various dioceses, such as those of Cincinnati and Cleveland.<sup>12</sup> It was not until 1872 that the Holy Ghost Fathers were able to take up, in systematic fashion, the tradition which in the first part of the Eighteenth Century had led them to the North American continent. As discussed in a previous work,<sup>13</sup> it was the expulsion of the Congregation from Germany on the pretext of its alleged association with the Jesuits which, in that year, led to the re-entrance of the Spiritans on the American scene.

<sup>1\*</sup> In a letter to Bishop O'Connor of Pittsburgh, Purcell says that he "declined accepting" the Holy Ghost Fathers.<sup>10</sup> This certainly was not the impression Father Libermann retained from the prelate's visit to Paris.

<sup>7</sup> M. Monnet à Mgr Purcell, 29 juillet 1848: \*Archives of the University of Notre Dame.

<sup>8</sup> See footnote 5.

<sup>9</sup> *Bulletin général*, vol. 9, pp. 313 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Purcell to O'Connor, Feb. 16, 1853: \*Diocese of Pittsburgh Archives.

<sup>11</sup> Koren, *op. cit.*, pp. 211, 259 f.

<sup>12</sup> \*Sp. Arch., b. 411, d. 1, *passim*.

<sup>13</sup> Koren, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

## APPENDIX

### *List of Spiritan priests in North America, 1732-1839*

To the modern reader, accustomed as he is to a numerous clergy, the present list may seem rather short. It should, however, be kept in mind that in the century covered by this list the clergy of North America was far from abundant. The Diocese of Baltimore, for example, which was co-extensive with the United States, did not have more than about thirty-five priests in 1789. Moreover, for reasons explained in this book, the present list does not lay claim to completeness.

~~John Allain, 1783—1812~~

René Allenou de la Ville-Angevin, 1741—1753

Julien Becquet, 1766—1775

John Biscarat, 1755—1758

James John (?) J. Bouguet, 1774—?

Joseph Bourg, 1772—1797

John Brault, 1772—1824

William Cocquart, 1755—1760

Henry Daudin, 1753—1755

Charles Duhamel, 1795—1818

Giles Eudo, 1755—1779

Francis Frison de la Mothe, 1732—1737

? Guillaumot, 1756—1757

Matthew Hérard, 1795—1819, 1830?—1838

? Lairez, 1822—?

Simon Le Bansais, 1747—1760 (S.J. after 1749)

Francis Le Guerne, 1750—1789

Francis Le Jamtel de la Blouterie, 1783—1835

John Le Loutre, 1737—1755

Francis Le Maire, 1752—1755

~~John Longueville, 1783—1794~~

Peter Maillard, 1735—1762

John Moranvillé, 1794?—1824

Xavier Paradis, 1766—1778, 1783—1787

John Perronnel, 1752—1755

Columban Pressart, 1748—1777

Philip Vizien, 1754—1759

#### *Uncertain*

? Le Goff, 1756—1757 (not to be confused with the  
Recollect priest of the same name)

John Manach, 1750—1760

James Girard, 1741—1760

Bernard Dosque, 1753—1776

Peter Cassiet, 1753—1760

? Le Gay (also spelled Legué, Le Guet, du Gué,  
du Guay), 1744?—1754?

Thomas Le Roux, 1775?—? 1793?

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au même	29 février 1740	71,	fo. 26 (41)
à l'Abbé Le Loutre	29 février 1740	71,	fo. 26 (42)
au même	27 mars 1740	71,	fo. 40 (66)
à l'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu	13 mai 1740	71,	fo. 60 (96)
à M. de Forant	7 mai 1740	70-2,	fo. 12 (294)
à l'Abbé Le Loutre	25 janvier 1741	73,	fo. 10 (14)
à MM. Duquesnel et Bigot	1 juin 1742	74-3,	fo. 21 (519)
à M. l'Evêque de Québec	13 février 1743	76-1,	fo. 6 (110)
au même	28 mars 1743	76-1,	fo. 8 (118)
au même	8 mai 1743	76-1,	fo. 73 (317)
à MM. Duquesnel et Bigot	30 juin 1743	76-2,	fo. 28 (517)
aux mêmes	30 juin 1743	76-2,	fo. 36 (538)
à l'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu	2 mars 1743	77,	fo. 39 (50)
au même	7 mars 1743	77,	fo. 41 (52)
à l'Abbé de Combe	12 mars 1743	77,	fo. 53 (66)
à M. l'Evêque de Québec	17 avril 1744	78-1,	fo. 58 (239)
à MM. Duquesnel et Bigot	17 avril 1744	78-2,	fo. 6 (307)
aux mêmes	17 avril 1744	78-2,	fo. 7 (311)
à M. l'Evêque de Québec	12 mai 1745	81,	fo. 64 (297)
au même	16 mars 1746	83,	fo. 20v(108)
à M. Coupart	16 février 1747	86-1,	fo. 24v(26)
à M. Le Loutre	16 février 1747	86-1,	fo. 24v(27)
à l'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu	8 mai 1747	86-1,	fo. 63 (56)
à M. Coupart	8 mai 1747	86-1,	fo. 63 (57)
à l'Abbé Le Loutre	18 décembre 1747	86-1,	fo. 187 (168)
à M. l'Evêque de Québec	4 mai 1749	89,	fo. 73 (238)
à l'ancien évêque de Mirepoix	5 novembre 1749	90,	fo. 177 (180)
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à M. l'Evêque de Québec	14 juin 1750	91,	fo. 62v(215)
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à l'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu	1 juin 1750	92-1,	fo. 137v(218)
à l'Abbé Le Loutre	27 août 1751	93,	fo. 27v(224)
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<sup>1</sup> The numbers between brackets indicate the first page on which these letters begin in the transcript of the *Archives des Colonies* preserved in the Public Archives of Canada.

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à M. Duquesne	20 mai 1754	99,	fo. 1v(42)
à l'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu	5 mai 1754	100,	fo. 59 (55)
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du même à M. Bro(Brault)	1 mars 1805	<i>ibid.</i> , 4, 190
Mgr. J.-O. Plessis à M. Allain	26 juin 1799	<i>ibid.</i> , 3, 79
du même à M. Lejamtel	24 août 1799	<i>ibid.</i> , 3, 81
du même à M. Allain	24 août 1799	<i>ibid.</i> , 3, 82
du même à M. Joyer	29 mai 1800	<i>ibid.</i> , 3, 107
du même à M. Lejamtel	30 mai 1800	<i>ibid.</i> , 3, 109
du même à M. Allain	23 juin 1800	<i>ibid.</i> , 3, 110
du même à M. Lejamtel	8 juillet 1800	<i>ibid.</i> , 3, 116
du même à Mgr Denaut	29 septembre 1800	Cart. Ev. d. Qu., 3, 75
du même au même	20 octobre 1800	<i>ibid.</i> , 3, 81
du même à M. Lejamtel	22 octobre 1800	Reg. d. L., vol. 3, 130
du même au même	27 juin 1801	<i>ibid.</i> , 3, 158
du même au même	19 juillet 1807	<i>ibid.</i> , 4, 249
du même à M. Allain	4 juin 1808	<i>ibid.</i> , 4, 256
du même à M. Lejamtel	4 juin 1808	<i>ibid.</i> , 4, 257
du même à M. Roux	26 septembre 1808	<i>ibid.</i> , 6, 249
du même à M. Allain	22 octobre 1808	<i>ibid.</i> , 6, 267
du même à M. Lejamtel	22 octobre 1808	<i>ibid.</i> , 6, 270
du même aux habitants d'Arichat	7 septembre 1809	Reg. G, fo. 167r
du même à M. Lejamtel	27 septembre 1809	Reg. d. L., vol. 7, 25
du même à M. Allain	6 octobre 1809	<i>ibid.</i> , 7, 32
du même à M. Ciquard	10 octobre 1809	<i>ibid.</i> , 7, 33
du même à M. Burke	24 octobre 1809	<i>ibid.</i> , 7, 55
du même à Sir James Craig	23 juin 1811	<i>ibid.</i> , 7, 307
du même à M. Allain	7 novembre 1811	<i>ibid.</i> , 7, 337
du même à M. Lejamtel	6 août 1812	Reg. H, fo. 24v
du même au vicaire apostolique		
de Terre-Neuve	31 octobre 1812	Reg. d. L., vol. 7, 438
du même à M. Lejamtel	7 novembre 1812	<i>ibid.</i> , 7, 448
du même à M. Burke	31 août 1813	<i>ibid.</i> , 8, 96
du même à M. Lejamtel	1 novembre 1813	<i>ibid.</i> , 8, 122
du même au même	17 août 1813	<i>ibid.</i> , 8, 221
du même au même	17 février 1815	<i>ibid.</i> , 8, 301
du même au même	27 novembre 1815	<i>ibid.</i> , 8, 398
du même au même	13 février 1816	<i>ibid.</i> , 8, 455
du même au même	9 janvier 1818	<i>ibid.</i> , 9, 301
du même au même	18 juin 1818	<i>ibid.</i> , 9, 375
du même au même	11 septembre 1818	<i>ibid.</i> , 9, 418
du même au même	31 mars 1819	<i>ibid.</i> , 9, 522
du même à Mgr de Saldes	1 juillet 1819	Cart. Ev. d. Qu., vol. 3, 158
du même à M. Lejamtel	11 août 1822	Reg. I, fo. 16
du même au même	12 mai 1825	Reg. d. Req., III, fo. 18v
Procès-verbal de M. Lejamtel	25 mai 1825	<i>ibid.</i> , fo. 43v
Mgr B.-C. Panet à M. Lejamtel	11 mai 1827	Reg. d. L., vol. 13, 177
du même au même	11 mai 1827	Reg. d. Req., III C, fo. 144v
Procès-verbal de M. Lejamtel	11 juin 1827	<i>ibid.</i> , fo. 149r

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Mgr Panet à M. Lejamtel	17 novembre 1827	Reg. d. L., vol. 13, 288
du même à Mgr de Telmesse	6 février 1828	<i>ibid.</i> , 13, 339
du même à M. Moll	14 février 1828	<i>ibid.</i> , 13, 347
du même au même	25 février 1828	<i>ibid.</i> , 13, 353
du même à M. Lejamtel	12 février 1829	<i>ibid.</i> , 14, 5
Mgr J. Signay à M. Lejamtel	29 septembre 1832	Cah. Signay, p. 26
du même au même	2 novembre 1832	Reg. d. L., vol. 15, 178
du même au même	24 octobre 1833	<i>ibid.</i> , 15, 522
du même à M. Dion	13 novembre 1833	<i>ibid.</i> , 16, 7
du même au même	18 mars 1834	<i>ibid.</i> , 16, 132

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#### *Archives des Filles du Saint-Esprit (Saint-Brieuc)*

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#### *Archives générales de la congrégation du Saint-Esprit (Paris)*

copies of Father Le Loutre's letters:

10 septembre 1752 : boîte 95, dossier A, chem. I

23 décembre 1763 : *ibid.*

9 janvier 1764 : *ibid.*

8 novembre 1765 : *ibid.*

30 juin 1766 : *ibid.*

23 mai 1767 : *ibid.*

mémoire pour l'établissement de 77 familles acadiennes à Belle-Isle-en-Mer: *ibid.*

lettre de M. Hérard, 30 avril 1804: boîte 97, chem. II

#### *Baltimore Cathedral Archives (Baltimore, Md.)*

Letters of Father Moranvillé:

à Mgr Maréchal	27 septembre 1819	21A-K6
au même	19 dec. 1823(24?)	19K7
au même	9 août 1823	19K8
to the Most Rev. D. D. Maréchal	20 August, 1823	19K9
au même	6 novembre 1823	19K10
au même	26 avril 1824	19K12
à M. Tessier	19 septembre 1824	19K11

Letters of Father Duhamel:

à Mgr Carroll	28 octobre 1802	3F1
au même	10 décembre 1804	3F2
au même	13 décembre 1804	3F3
au même	8 janvier 1806	3S1½
au même	16 février 1807	3F4

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au même	8 janvier 1810	3F5
au même	24 février 1810	3F6
au même	1 avril 1810	3F7
au même	22 juillet 1815	3F8
Rev. Mr. Maréchal	3 mai 1817	16C8

Letters of Father Hérard:

à Mgr Carroll	11 janvier 1805	4F2
au même	4 mars 1805	4F3
au même	24 décembre 1805	4F4
au même	17 février 1806	4F5
au même	12 septembre 1809	4F8
à Mgr l'archevêque de Baltimore	2 juin 1810	4F6
to the Most Rev. Dr. John Carroll	28 juillet 1815	4F7
au même	10 novembre 1815	8A-R3
appendice: exposé de la situation	same date	8A-R3
à M. Tessier	4 février 1816	12A-S1
au même	12 février 1816	12A-S2
au même	19 mars 1816	12A-S3
to Most Rev. Dr. Neale	6 juin 1816	12A-F2
au même	10 septembre 1816	12A-F3
au même	18 novembre 1816	12A-F4
to Rev. Mr. Enoch Fenwick	24 June, 1817	22A-Q3
to Most Rev. Dr. Maréchal	8 juillet 1818	17I-2
au même	16 juillet 1818	17I-1
au même	6 octobre 1819	17I-3
au même	20 octobre 1819	17I-4
to Most Rev. Dr. Eccleston	20 juin 1838	25-C12

Other letters:

Propaganda to Carroll	18 martii 1804	10K5
same to the same	24 martii 1804	10K6
same to the same	7 maggio 1804	10K6 <sup>1</sup>
Kendall to Carroll	19 July 1804	4J10
Carroll to Kendall	undated (1804)	10K3
same to the same	12 Sept., 1804	10K2 <sup>1</sup>
same to the same	same date	10K2
Vestry Wardens of St. Croix to Carroll	27 March, 1815	10K8
Flynn to Carroll <sup>1</sup>	undated	3U7
Vestry Wardens to Carroll <sup>2</sup>	27 March, 1815	10K7
Flynn to Carroll	27 March, 1815	3U4
same to the same	12 April, 1815	3U5
same to the same	23 Aug., 1815	10K7
same to the same	1 Dec., 1815	8A-L1

<sup>1</sup> This partial letter appears to be a continuation of the partial letter attached to document 10K8.

<sup>2</sup> Attached to Flynn's letter 10K7.

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same to the same	18 Sept., 1815	3U6
same to the same	8 Jan., 1816	22A-01
same to Most Rev. D.D. Moran-villiers ( <i>sic</i> ), Archbishop ( <i>sic</i> ) of Baltimore	6 May, 1820	16V1
Neale to Card. Litta	undated (1816)	10K4
L'Abbé l'Estrange à S.G. l'archevêque de Baltimore	10 octobre 1813	8A-S3
M. Leguay à S.G. l'archevêque de Baltimore	15 décembre 1847	25I-7
Leguay Rev.mo Archiepiscopo de Baltimore	17 décembre 1847	25I-7 (encl.)

#### *Diocese of Pittsburgh Archives (Pittsburgh, Pa.)*

Bishop Purcell to Bishop O'Connor Feb. 16, 1853

#### *Public Record Office (London)*

Shirley to Lords of Trade	25 July, 1744	CO-5: 884, F40 (N.S., A, vol. 26, 124) <sup>3</sup>
a declaration of Shirley	20 Oct., 1747	CO-5: 45, 36 (N.S., A, vol. 31, 63)
Maillard à Hopson	11 septembre 1745	CO-5: 44, 219 (N.S., A, vol. 32, 221)
Shirley à La Galissonnière	9 mai 1749	CO-217: 32 (N.S., A, vol. 34, 61)
Cornwallis to Lords of Trade	11 Sept., 1749	CO-217: 9, F89 (N.S., A, vol. 35, 44)
Davidson to Aldworth	11 Sept., 1749	CO-217: 40, 109 (N.S., A, vol. 35, 55)
Cornwallis à Desherbiers	21 septembre 1749	CO-217: 40, 95 (N.S., A, vol. 35, 63)
Desherbiers à Cornwallis	15 octobre 1749	CO-217: 40, 96 (N.S., A, vol. 35, 79)
Cornwallis à l'Evêque de Québec	1 novembre 1749	CO-217: 9, F109 (N.S., A, vol. 35, 134)
Hamilton à Cornwallis	5 janvier 1749(50)	CO-217: 9, F129 (N.S., A, vol. 36, 1)
Cornwallis to Captain Cobb	13 Jan., 1749(50)	CO-217: 9, F136 (N.S., A, vol. 36, 15)
same to Hamilton	25 Jan., 1749(50)	CO-217: 9, F135 (N.S., A, vol. 36, 29)
same to Lords of Trade	19 March, 1749(50)	CO-217: 9, F127 (N.S., A, vol. 36, 122)
same to the same	30 April, 1750	CO-217: 9, F148 (N.S., A, vol. 36, 276)
same to Hopson	3 May, 1750	CO-217: 10, G20 (N.S., A, vol. 37, 15)

<sup>3</sup> The numbers between brackets indicate the reference to the transcripts in the Public Archives of Canada.

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de Bonaventure à Bigot	6 août 1750	CO-217: 10, G14 (N.S., A, vol. 37, 84)
Le Loutre à M. de Goutain	15 août 1750	CO-42: 23 (N.S., A, vol. 37, 138)
Le Loutre à M. de Bonaventure	15 août 1750	CO-42: 23 (N.S., A, vol. 37, 142)
Le Loutre à Doirout	15 août 1750	CO-42, 23 (N.S., A, vol. 37, 144)
Desherbiers à Cornwallis	9 octobre 1750	CO-217: 40, 150 (N.S., A, vol. 39, 10)
Cornwallis to Lords of Trade	27 Nov., 1750	CO-217: 11, G54 (N.S., A, vol. 39, 168)
same to the same	3 Nov., 1751	CO-217: 13, H16 (N.S., A, vol. 41, 135)
same to Secretary of State	24 June, 1751	CO-217: 40, 205 (N.S., A, vol. 42, 197)
Indian Peace Treaty	25 June, 1761	CO-217: 18, L76 (N.S., A, vol. 66, 31)
Belcher to Lords of Trade	9 April, 1761	CO-217: 18, L55 (N.S., A, vol. 65, 161)
Pownall to Wood	6 July, 1761	CO-217: 37, 140 (N.S., A, vol. 66, 79)
Wood to Pownall	7 July, 1761	CO-217: 18, L56 (N.S., A, vol. 66, 81)
Robins au Gouverneur de la Nouvelle Ecosse	24 mai 1763	CO-217: 20, M105 (N.S., A, vol. 71, 32)
Robins au Président du bureau des plantations...	24 mai 1763	CO-217: 20, M107 (N.S., A, vol. 71, 41)
Robins au Gouverneur de la Nouvelle Ecosse	10 juin 1763	CO-217: 20, M106 (N.S., A, vol. 71, 68)
Wilmot to Lords of Trade	10 Dec., 1763	CO-217: 20, M104 (N.S., A, vol. 72, 128)
Lords of Trade to Wilmot	8 May, 1764	CO-217: 37, 408 (N.S., A, vol. 73, 172)
same to the same	13 July, 1764	CO-217: 37, 446 (N.S., A, vol. 73)
Wilmot to Lords of Trade	9 Oct., 1765	CO-217: 21, N69 (N.S., A, vol. 76, 160)
Lords of Trade to Wilmot	16 May, 1766	CO-217: 37, 505 (N.S., A, vol. 77, 118)
Franklin to Lords of Trade	3 Sept., 1766	CO-217: 21, N111 (N.S., A, vol. 78, 83)
Franklin to Palliser	11 Sept., 1766	CO-217: 44, 105 (N.S., A, vol. 78, 106)
Palliser to Franklin	16 Oct., 1766	CO-217: 44, 107 (N.S., A, vol. 78, 151)
Franklin to Lords of Trade	24 Oct., 1767	CO-217: 22, D26 (N.S., A, vol. 80, 137)
Arbuthnot to Secretary of State	8 April, 1778	CO-217: 55, 54 (N.S., A, vol. 98, 56)
Hughes to the same	12 Oct., 1773	CO-217: 55, 144 (N.S., A, vol. 98, 100)

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Micmac Treaty with Massachusetts	19 July, 1776	CO-217: 55, 172 (N.S., A, vol. 99)
Franklin to Secretary of State	3 Aug., 1779	CO-217: 55, 231 (N.S., A, vol. 99, 100)
same to the same	8 Sept., 1779	CO-217: 55, 236 (N.S., A, vol. 99)
MaCarmick to the same	1 Nov., 1792	CO-217: 108, 603 (C.B., A, vol. 10, 174)
Minutes of Council Meeting, Cape Breton	24 Oct., 1792	CO-217: 108, 611 (C.B., B, vol. 7, 161)
same	29 Oct., 1792	CO-217: 108, 617 (C.B., B, vol. 7, 169)
MaCarmick to petitioners	29 Oct., 1792	CO-217: 108, 621 (C.B., B, vol. 7, 174)
Taitt to Nepean	4 Dec., 1792	CO-217: 109, 343 (C.B., B, vol. 7, 192)
Secretary of State to Dorchester	12 Nov., 1793	CO-217: 110, 29 (C.B., A, vol. 11, 142)
Fox to Lt. Governor of Jersey	1 Dec., 1755	S.P. Dom., Ch. Isl., Ent. Bk., vol. 1, p. 16
Collingwood to Walmesley	(1756)	<i>ibid.</i> , bd. 5, fo. 45
same to Fox	28 Feb., 1756	<i>ibid.</i> , bd. 5, fo. 61
Fox to Lords of Admiralty	4 Aug., 1756	Adm. 1, 4121, no. 52
Burgess to Lt. Gov. Huske	20 Dec., 1756	S.P. Dom., Ch. Isl., bd. 5, fo. 182
Lords of Admiralty to Egremont	1 Aug., 1763	S.P. Dom., Naval, bd. 64
Egremont to Lt. Gov. of Jersey	9 Aug., 1763	<i>ibid.</i>
Campbell to Egremont	30 Aug., 1763	S.P. Dom., Ch. Isl., bd. 5, fo. 256
Egremont to Murray	13 Aug., 1763	CO-42: 1 (State Papers, Q-1, 117)
Murray to Halifax	23 Oct., 1763	CO-42: 1 (State Papers, Q-1, 251)

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same to Secretary of War	2 July, 1744	add. 19071, fo. 48 (N.S., A, vol. 26, 107)
same to Shirley	4 July 1744	add. 19071, fo. 48b (N.S., A, vol. 26, 111)
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Robins à Petitpas	10 juin 1763	add. 19071, fo. 199 (N.S., A, vol. 71, 57)

<sup>1</sup> The numbers between brackets indicate the reference to the transcripts of these documents in the Public Archives of Canada.

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### *Archives of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts* (London)

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	26 Feb., 1763	<i>ibid.</i> , no. 24
	30 July, 1764	<i>ibid.</i> , no. 51
	1 April, 1765	<i>ibid.</i> , no. 63
	15 Oct., 1765	<i>ibid.</i> , no. 72
	27 July, 1766	<i>ibid.</i> , no. 85
	4 Sept., 1766	<i>ibid.</i> , no. 88

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	21 Dec. 1763	<i>ibid.</i> , fo. 301a (N.S., A, vol. 75,47)
	21 Feb., 1765	<i>ibid.</i> , fo. 151a (N.S., A, vol. 76, 174)
	20 Sept., 1765	MSS 1124-3, fo. 87a (N.S., A, vol. 74, 60)

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M. Monnet à Mgr Purcell            29 juillet 1848

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