
Few, Uncooperative, and Endangered: The Troubled Activity of the Roman Catholic Missionaries in Acadia, 1610-1710

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Many historians have studied missionary activity in early Canada, generating an extensive scholarship on the arrival of Christianity and the development of Roman Catholic Church in North America. Few researchers, however, have specifically analyzed the activity of the Capuchins, Jesuits, and Recollets in Acadia from 1610 till 1710. The absence of scholarship on these groups and that era is noteworthy, because these three orders, from the time of the Council of Trent (1545-1563), held a key position in missionary expansion around the world. We seek to fill that gap in this paper with an account of the missionary process in Acadia, the impact it had on the Aboriginal population, and offering an assessment of its overall results. A key factor in how the missionary process played out was the Anglo-French conflict in the territory. The time frame for the analysis that follows is from 1610, when the first missionary arrived, to 1710, when the British conquered Port-Royal for what proved to be the final time.

One consequence of the Council of Trent was that the Roman Catholic Church sought to recover its centrality and unity, two qualities called into question by the Protestant Reformation. However, it needs to be understood that the bases of the 16th and 17th centuries missionary expansion beyond Europe were laid before the Council of Trent. The papal bull *Orthodoxe fidei propagationem* issued by Pope Innocent VIII on 13 December 1486 and *Inter cetera*, issued by Alexander VI on 3 and 4 May 1493 clearly defined the duties of the Roman Catholic Church vis-à-vis the new geographical discoveries. The common denominator of both bulls was the desire to reinforce the Catholic religion throughout the world and to convert the inhabitants of the newly discovered “barbarous nations.” Thus authorized by the Vatican, Roman Catholic missionaries would play important roles in the ambitious colonial projects of the French, Portuguese, and Spanish empires.

The missionary revival enjoyed the support of the French crown which backed and encouraged the presence of Roman Catholic priests in the discovery explorations. The earliest endeavours of missionary enterprises in the North-Atlantic area began in 1535, when Guillaume Le Breton and Anthoine, possibly two Benedictine monks, joined Jacques Cartier’s second expedition to Canada. From the mid-six-

teenth century at least some secular priests embarked on the fishing expeditions, organized by the French or Basque sailors, bound to the coasts of Newfoundland. In 1604 the involvement of the crown became more explicit. King Henri IV demanded, through the agency of the Jesuit Pierre Coton to Claudio Acquaviva, the Jesuits' General, to provide two missionaries to accompany the fishing fleet to the Grand Banks off Newfoundland. Nonetheless, the missionaries' tasks were limited to ministering to the crews of the ships; they had little interest in preaching to the Aboriginal peoples in the new lands. Consequently, they founded no permanent missions but returned to France at the end of the fishing season. This was as intended, for at this point the conversion of Aboriginal peoples was not a missionary initiative envisioned by the Holy See.

The first attempt at evangelization in Acadia occurred when the French established their first settlements in the area around Port-Royal. Henceforth, that would become the typical pattern, whereby European expansion gave rise to an intense missionary fervour. Thus it was that early Acadia, a colony initially developed through the private interests of a group of French merchants led by Pierre du Gua, sieur de Monts and Jean de Biencourt de Poutrincourt, acquired a religious dimension. In 1603, the venture led by the sieur de Monts was assigned by King Henri IV the fishing rights along the the coasts of Acadia on two conditions, the first being that the company bring a suitable number of settlers, and the second, that it undertake the conversion of the natives.

That missionary process started in 1610 when Jesse Fléché, a secular priest recruited by Poutrincourt with the specific task of preaching and converting the Mi'kmaq, reached Port-Royal. His arrival was also an occasion for the Holy See to assert its spiritual jurisdiction over the native people of North America. Fléché had been granted his authority to minister to the Aboriginal peoples by Roberto Ubaldini, bishop of Montepulciano and papal nuncio in France.

The apostolate of Fléché and that of his followers proceeded on the assumption that the Aboriginal peoples of Acadia, indeed all North America, were not only "primitive" but also eager to be converted. In one year Fléché succeeded in baptizing 80 Mi'kmaq, even though the priest was not able to understand or to speak their language nor they his.

The large number of converts, given the language difficulties, placed Fléché in a poor light in the eyes of some French religious figures. As an emerging colony relying on private funding, Acadia needed ongoing financial support. With an eye to reducing a growing debt, Poutrincourt appealed to the Jesuits. In exchange for their support to the colony, Poutrincourt gave the Society of Jesus the right to send two missionaries to Acadia, who would help Fléché in his evangelical activity. Poutrincourt's permission widened the Jesuits' sphere of missionary activity. At beginning of the seventeenth century, when the Jesuits sent their first missionaries to Acadia, they

already had missions in India, China, and Japan.

In 1611, Pierre Biard and Énemond Massé, the two missionaries selected for the Acadian mission, arrived at Port-Royal. Notwithstanding Poutrincourt's expectations, Biard and Massé refused to cooperate with Fléché. Rather, they openly criticized his accomplishments, specifically his having converted the natives without any instruction in the doctrine of baptism. Yet such mass conversions were not unknown to the Jesuits, for others of their order had done much the same in India and Japan. Apparently, Biard and Massé were holding a higher standard for Fléché, a secular priest, than for their Jesuit counterparts in other missions.

Fléché's conversions of Mi'kmaq were not the only subject area where there were differences of opinion between him and the Jesuits. In contrast with the Jesuit missions in Asia, which were set within the context of ancient and sophisticated cultures, the Jesuits at Port-Royal appeared to have little interest in the culture of the Aboriginal people of Acadia. They criticized the nomadism and customs of the Mi'kmaq, whose society was organized on seasonal cycles. According to Biard, "The nation is savage, wandering, and full of bad habits; the people are few and isolated. They are, I say, savage, hunting the woods, ignorant, lawless and rude." The reality of seasonal movements by the Mi'kmaq meant that the Jesuits would find it difficult to establish a sedentary mission.

Both Biard and Massé were thus highly critical of the missionary work carried on by their secular counterpart, Fléché. To undermine his influence, the Jesuits deprived Port-Royal of its canonical status. Then, in 1612 Biard and Massé decided to found a new settlement at Saint-Saveur (in today's Maine), where they established their own mission. However, the Jesuits soon found out that no missions were safe along the coasts of Acadia. The region was of strategic importance to both the French and the English, and thus an easy target for seaborne raids by one power or the other. In 1613, an expedition, led by an English colonizer based in Virginia, Samuel Argall, attacked and destroyed the settlements of Port-Royal and Saint-Saveur. The Jesuits' mission, their first Acadian experience, came to an end.

The fate of the religious mission in Acadia was inevitably linked to the fate of the colony. Until 1627, the year the *Compagnie des Cent-Associés* was formed, Acadia had a very small population which depended heavily on the yearly supplies sent from France. This precarious state of affairs prevented any regular order from sending new missionaries to what was a fledgling colony. Some efforts for maintaining the evangelization process among the Mi'kmaq were made, although only through short-term missions. The gap created when the Jesuits left was filled by four Recollects, a branch of the Franciscan order, who were active in Acadia between 1620 and 1624. Little is known about their mission due to major gaps in their accounts and relations.

It is worth noting that both the Recollect and the Jesuit mission developed independently, that is, without any control by the Holy See, despite the petitions made

by the superiors of these two orders for special faculties and permissions.

A new stage of missionary activity began in 1622 when Pope Gregory XV founded the Sacred Congregation “*de Propaganda Fide*.” The establishment of the Propaganda represented the climax of the process by which the Holy See reorganized its structure according to Tridentine principles. The Congregation’s tasks were to spread the Catholic religion among people perceived to be infidels, to defend Catholics living in Protestant countries, and to achieve the reunion of the Catholic Church with the Orthodox Church. The Propaganda was to accomplish these goals by coordinating worldwide missionary activity.

Acadia was the region that drew the first efforts and missionary strategies of the Roman agency. Indeed, in 1630, the Propaganda, warned of the growing migration of Puritans to New England, conceived the idea of founding a mission that would counterbalance the expansion of English Protestantism in North America. In 1631 it charged the French Capuchins, another branch of the Franciscan order, with this task. The Roman agency picked that order because since its foundation, the Propaganda had enjoyed smooth relations with the Capuchins.

From 1632 to 1635, and from 1639 to 1656, the Capuchins pursued a mission in Atlantic Canada which, like that of the Jesuits, yielded poor results in terms of converting the Mi’kmaq and preventing the Puritan expansion in New England. According to the available records, few Capuchins lived and operated amongst the natives and the seasonal movements of the Aboriginal population represented a definite impediment to the evangelization process. Due to an inability or unwillingness to live with and move with the natives, the majority of the missionaries in Acadia operated close to or within the French settlements. Like the Recollects, the Capuchins were apparently unable to organize well-developed missionary activity outside the areas occupied by the Acadians.

Capuchin cooperation with other orders active in New France was almost non-existent because of an ill-defined missionary jurisdiction, which heightened pre-existing rivalries. To illustrate, the lack of definition over where Acadia ended and the Canadian (or Québec) region began led to disputes over who had the right to operate amongst the natives in that vast area. In 1647, the Jesuits, who for almost nine months preached among the Abenaki of the Kennebec River, were forced to leave the mission because of the Capuchin claims. According to the Capuchins, the area around the Kennebec was part of their jurisdiction.

Another problem for the Capuchin apostolate was a shortage of missionaries in Acadia. According to a census of 1650, the Acadian mission counted fifteen members of the Capuchin order plus two others who probably operated in today’s state of Maine. This number is modest when compared with the size of the order in Europe, where, in the same year there were forty-seven provinces, containing 1,428 convents housing a total of 21,840 Capuchins.

The insufficient number of missionaries in Acadia was undoubtedly influenced by the instability of the colony, which was again menaced by military action between 1652 and 1654. Such warfare deeply hampered the missionary framework, which had already been affected by the death in 1635 of Isaac de Razilly, the governor of Acadia and patron of the Capuchins. After Razilly died, the Acadian territory was contested by Charles de Menou d'Aulnay and Charles de Saint-Étienne de La Tour. The situation for the Capuchins worsened after 1650, when d'Aulnay died. Like Razilly, d'Aulnay had supported the Capuchins. This enabled Emmanuel Le Borgne, a Protestant trader from La Rochelle and the main creditor of d'Aulnay, to claim his rights in Acadia. Consequently, in 1652 Le Borgne sent a military expedition that seized the southern part of Acadia. The attack had repercussions on the missionary activity because two Capuchins were imprisoned, and afterwards expelled from Port-Royal; six others decided to return to France.

Two years later, in 1654, the English expedition led by Robert Sedgwick had an equally devastating effect on the Capuchin presence in Acadia. Sedgwick seized Port-Royal. According to one of the clauses of the treaty capitulation of Port-Royal, the Capuchins could remain in Acadia, but they had to leave the settlement and reside nine to thirteen kilometres away from Port-Royal.

Both the Le Borgne and Sedgwick expeditions opened a complex period that lasted until 1670, during which time, both the English and the French tried to assert their claims to Acadia. The Anglo-Acadian relationship remained peaceful, and Acadian life saw little change. But relations between the missionaries and the English soon deteriorated. In the second half of 1654, the English killed Léonard de Chartres, the Capuchins' superior in Acadia, and, ignoring the clause of the treaty that allowed the missionaries to remain in the colony, decided to expel three of his confrères from Port-Royal. Between 1654 and 1655 another Capuchin was expelled while four more voluntarily decided to leave the Acadian mission to return to France.

The events of 1655 essentially ended the Capuchin experience in Acadia. The conquest and the scant interest shown by French authorities in the fate of Acadia were decisive elements in the Capuchins' departure from the territory. According to the missionaries, the survival of the mission depended on the survival of the colony itself. The precarious state of Acadia clashed with the contemporaneous growth in the French settlement of the Antilles. Moreover, few at the French court showed much interest in Acadia. Perhaps surprisingly, the Propaganda in Rome was also little concerned about the relative failure of their missions in that part of the world, given that 25 years earlier, in 1630, it was the Roman Congregation that had conceived the idea of founding a Capuchin mission in North America to counterbalance the Puritans' activity.

By 1656 only two missionaries were active in Acadia, but a lack of further evi-

dence makes it difficult to know how long these missionaries stayed or when they died. The missionary vacuum in Acadia brought no reaction from the Propaganda. Its priority was by then shifting from the conversion of Aboriginal peoples to the needs of the European Catholic population of New France.

Nonetheless, missionary initiatives among the Aboriginal peoples of Atlantic Canada did not cease. Small and isolated groups of missionaries kept up their evangelization efforts. Between 1659 and 1662, the northern part of Acadia saw three Jesuit missionaries. Like the Capuchins, the ratio between missionaries and territory was small in comparison with the size of the order in Europe. In the first half of the seventeenth century the Jesuits had 15,544 priests. In light of how few were sent to the Acadia, it was a mission that apparently aroused little interest. This is not surprising, because at the time the missions in New France were less important than those in Europe, where the fight against the Protestants was the priority.

Besides being few in number, the Jesuits in northern Acadia found their work was also affected by the death of missionaries and lack of resources. The mission began in 1659 with three Jesuits, who were poorly supported and not replaced by new missionaries. In the summer of 1659 one Jesuit left the mission for Québec while in 1661 another died. Nonetheless, the Jesuit missionaries were able to baptize almost 200 natives. Did these converts fully understand the Christianity they were embracing? Or were they in much the same spiritual situation as the converts Jessé Fléché welcomed in 1610? It is impossible to say. Moreover, the lack of Mi'kmaq sources prevents us from knowing what the natives really thought of the missionaries. It is likely that some conversions were prompted by a desire to find in Christianity a new source of spiritual strength that could protect them from the epidemics caused by contact with Europeans. On the other hand, some natives conscientiously accepted Christianity, and blended it with their own spirituality and the structures of their traditional faith.

What is sure is that, during this brief apostolate, the Jesuits' perception of the Mi'kmaq had altered somewhat from the harsh comment of Biard in 1611. This was due to a change in the Jesuits' missionary policy. In 1622, the Society of Jesus had adopted, on the Propaganda's recommendation, the Doctrine of Adaptivity, that stated that the missionaries were not allowed to blame nor attack the Aboriginal customs, and were to avoid any comparison with those of Europe. The missionaries had to "do your utmost to adapt yourselves to them."

By 1662 the Jesuit apostolate in Acadia was over. It ended primarily because of a shortage of priests, but there was another factor that played a part. At the beginning of the 1660s, many Mi'kmaq were suffering from the degenerative effects of alcohol supplied to them by merchants. Consequently, many Aboriginal people lost interest in the missionaries' preaching. The Jesuits found no remedies to overcome the situation, and realized that, according to the account of Nicolas Denys, a French explorer,

that “there was nothing more to be done with these people, whom the frequentation of the ships kept in perpetual drunkenness.”

For New France, the years from 1663 to 1669 represented a period of great political and social change, which had effects on the work of the Roman Catholic Church. In 1663, Louis XIV closed the *Compagnie des Cent-Associés* and assumed direct control of the colony. Henceforth, François de Laval, the first Canadian bishop, became the religious representative of the French crown in New France. More specifically the Church in New France became an extension of the Gallican Church.

Acadia was excluded from this change because it was not at the time under French control. Thus in the religious sphere there was no change; no one was advocating sending more missionaries to the region. The situation seemed to turn in France’s favour with the Treaty of Breda in 1667, which provided for the return of Acadia to French authority. This opened the way for several new projects related to the economic, religious, and social reorganization of Acadia. In 1667 Alexandre de Prouville de Tracy, Lieutenant General of the French colonies in North and South America, proposed consigning to the Jesuits the area along the St. Lawrence River, including Percé Island. For Acadia, Tracy suggested obliging the Sulpicians to send some priests there.

Not everyone welcomed Tracy’s proposals. Some ecclesiastics appear to have been more interested in temporal matters than spiritual ones, and were reckless in using their authority. According to Jean Talon, the intendant of New France, this was a problem that could only be solved with the introduction of new priests from France, to be chosen from the secular or the regular clergy. Talon’s proposal opened the road for the Recollects to return to New France.

It was Louis XIV who asked the Recollect provincial of Saint-Denys (Paris) to send missionaries to take care of the spiritual needs of the French colonists. The Recollects’ return to New France was justified as a matter of spiritual assistance for the colonist, but there was another agenda. According to the king, sending the Recollects would limit the influence and authority of the Jesuits. In August 1670, the first group of Recollects arrived in New France.

The situation in Acadia, however, did not change. Missionary activity there remained almost non-existent. The only exception occurred in the years from 1668 to 1674, when Laurent Molins, a Cordelier, operated in the parish of Port-Royal. Although his experience remains wrapped in mystery, for he did not have the assent of the Propaganda or the French court and thus there are no documents in those archives, it is likely that in his work at Port-Royal he concentrated on the needs of the French settlers. In effect, there were between 1661 and 1714 two quite separate and distinct ecclesiastical groups operating in Acadia: the parish priests, who took care of the Acadians, and the missionaries, who toiled among the natives.

In the spring of 1676 the situation in Acadia began to change, with the arrival of

Chrestien Le Clercq, a Recollect priest. His experience can be considered the culmination of the first phase of Acadia's missionary history, where the conversion of the natives once again became a priority. Between 1676 and 1686, with the exception of some brief stays in France, Le Clercq operated in an area that extended from Percé Island to the northern part of today's New Brunswick; he stayed as close as possible to the Mi'kmaq camps in order to live among the natives. This was because of the need to learn their language, a missionary approach that dated back to the early 1600s at the time of the Capuchin apostolate.

The end of Le Clercq's experience in 1687 marked the dividing line between missionary activity based on specific evangelical aims and that which would develop in the 1690s and continue during the first half of the eighteenth century. Towards the end of the 1680s the role of the Roman Catholic missionaries underwent a radical change due to the increasing tension between English and French in North America that altered the religious pattern of Acadia. The support and encouragement of French officials, and often funding as well, modified the strategy of the missionaries, who began to play an active role against the English, along the borders between the southern part of Acadia and New England. The first evidence of this new involvement or relationship comes from 1687, when a Jesuit went, on behalf of the French authorities, to an unspecified part of New England to invite the natives belonging to the Abenaki nation to join the French against the English.

According to the opinion of Jacques-René de Brisay de Denonville, governor of New France from 1685 to 1689, the Jesuits were the best missionaries precisely because of the authority and influence they exercised over the native nations. Yet the Jesuits were not the only missionaries involved in the French imperial strategies; the Recollects also fulfilled the aims of French officials. In 1693 Joseph Robineau de Villebon, the commandant in Acadia, requested Recollects on the ground that, in his opinion, these missionaries "could be distributed throughout Acadia, and these good fathers would bring peace to the country which has need of it." Villebon's desire for peace was notional. The Recollects, like the Jesuits, found themselves carrying on their activity in a risk-filled environment.

The missionaries kept the French authorities informed of the English negotiations to promote a peace with Abenaki leaders. However, their role was not limited to passing information. Some priests even led Aboriginal-French raids against English forts. To illustrate, in the summer of 1696, when Anglo-French tension was at its height the Recollects and some secular priests regrouped and coordinated Aboriginal warriors on Villebon's orders during the expedition to conquer Fort William Henri, at Pemaquid.

The treaty of Ryswick in 1697 put a temporary end to Anglo-French conflict in North America, but close cooperation between missionaries and the French authorities continued. Between 1699 and 1700 the Jesuits kept the governor of New France

informed about the English meetings with the Abenaki. Meanwhile in Acadia, after 1699, there were not likely any more Recollects in Acadia, despite the effort of the Bishop of Québec to reintroduce some missionaries of that order. The bishop may have managed in the fall of 1699 to arrange for two Recollects to go to Port-Royal, but there is no evidence to prove that these missionaries actually made it to Acadia.

What is certain is that the Jesuits' presence among the Abenaki represented to the English a growing threat to New England's government. English officials were aware that as long as the missionaries were living among the Abenaki, the English would have difficulty establishing any relationship with the natives. Due to this, in 1700, Richard Coote (1636-1701), earl of Bellomont, the New England governor, obliged the New York and Massachusetts assemblies to pass legislation outlawing the Jesuits and other Roman Catholic missionaries in the English territories.

Despite the increasing risks to which they were exposed, the Jesuits succeeded in extending their missionary range, and in continuing to inform the French authorities, who, for their part, kept on using the missionaries to promote their interests amongst the natives. This situation continued until 1710, the year of the British conquest of Port-Royal. That regime change opened a new era, one in which the Roman Catholic missionaries active in Acadia/Nova Scotia progressively became the most effective and at the same time, the most endangered agents of the French imperial strategies in the region.

In conclusion we can affirm that, after Le Clercq, evangelical activity for strictly spiritual reasons among the natives of Acadia ceased to be the dominant motive. In 1690s the missions, especially those on mainland Nova Scotia, were no longer places through which, as in the first half of the seventeenth century, the missionaries could establish and subsequently develop relationships with the Aboriginal people. The priorities, pressures and interests of the authorities of New France and France altered the missionary framework. The missions began to be used as headquarters for efforts to regroup native warriors against the British. Regardless of the motivation for missionary activity, strictly spiritual or spiritual combined with political and military overtones, the missionaries failed to make the natives become sedentary throughout the entire period from 1610 to 1710. Furthermore, the disappearance of the Propaganda from the missionary matters of North America reinforced the rivalry and the lack of cooperation among the various orders, each of which tried to assert its own missionary jurisdiction.

After 1670, due to the forced absence of the Roman ministry, all the main decisions relating to the missionary matters of Acadia/Nova Scotia were discussed between Québec and Paris, often with poor results. Unlike the Propaganda, authorities in New France and France knew little or nothing about missionary strategies, and inevitably tended to place secular interests before spiritual. The overall results of missionary activity in Acadia/Nova Scotia were affected by three factors: the small

populations of French settlers scattered in far-off settlements, the fear as well as the risk of continuous raids, and the inconsistent and insufficient number of missionaries deployed in a territory. What was needed, but not present, was a constant supply of men and resources.

ENDNOTES

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2. Acadia was the name originally given by Giovanni da Verazzano to territory where today one finds Maryland and Delaware. By the early 1600s the name had become associated with what are now northern Maine, the southern coast of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.
3. Candide de Nant, OFM Cap, *Pages glorieuses de l'épopée canadienne. Une mission capucine en Acadie* (Gembloux: Imprimerie J. Duculot, 1927); Angus Antony Johnston, *A History of the Catholic Church in Eastern Nova Scotia*, 2 vols (Antigonish, Nova Scotia: St. Francis Xavier University Press, 1960-1971); Antonio Dragon, SJ, *L'Acadie et ses 40 Robes Noires* (Montréal: Les Éditions Bellarmin, 1973); A.J.B. Johnston, *Life and Religion at Louisbourg, 1713-1758*, 2nd edition (Kingston, Ontario: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996).
4. Matteo Binasco, "The role and activities of the Capuchin, Jesuit and Recollect missionaries in Acadia/Nova Scotia from 1654 to 1755" (M.A. thesis: Saint Mary's University, 2004), pp. vii-ix, 9.
5. Micheline Dumont Johnson, *Apôtres ou agitateurs: La France missionnaire en Acadie* (Trois-Rivières: Le Boréal Express, 1970).
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7. John W. O' Malley, SJ, *Trent and All That. Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2000), pp. 67-68.
8. Guillaume de Vaumas, *L'éveil missionnaire de la France au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Bloud & Gay, 1959), pp. 35-36.
9. Lucien Campeau, SJ, "Les initiatives de la S. Congregation en faveur de la Nouvelle France", in Metzler ed., *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum*, vol. /1 (Rome-Friburg-Wien: Herder, 1971), p. 728.
10. Campeau, *Monumenta Novae Franciae, vol. , La première mission d'Acadie, 1602-1616* (Rome-Québec-Montréal: Monumenta Hist. Soc. Iesu-Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1967-1996), pp. 4-6.

11. Codignola, "Competing Network: Roman Catholic Ecclesiastics in French North America, 1610-1658", *Canadian Historical Review*, LXXX, no. 4 (December 1999), pp. 541-542; Codignola, "The Holy See", p. 200.
12. The first settlement of Port-Royal was about 10 km from what in the 1630s became a second Port-Royal, where is today's town of Annapolis Royal. The earlier Port-Royal was past the village of Lower Granville, approximately where today stands a reconstruction of the Port-Royal Habitation, a national historic site of Canada. See Léopold Lanctôt, *L'Acadie des origines, 1603-1771* (Montréal: Éditions du Fleuve, 1988), p. 24.
13. O' Malley, *Trent and All That*, pp. 67-68.
14. Codignola, "The Holy See", pp. 200-201; Jean Daigle, "L'Acadie de 1604 à 1763, synthèse historique", in *L'Acadie des Maritimes. Études thématiques des débuts à nos jours* (Moncton, New Brunswick: Université de Moncton, 1993), pp. 3-4.
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16. Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest* (Chapel Hill: University of Carolina Press, 1975), pp. 15-42.
17. Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents. Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791*, (hereafter JR), 73 vols, 2nd edition (New York: Pageant Book Company, 1959). vol. , pp. 55-161; Harald E. L. Prins, *The Mi'kmaq: Resistance, Accommodation, and Cultural Survival* (Forth Worth: Harcourt Brace, 1996), p. 81.
18. The Society of Jesus was founded by Ignacio de Loyola in 1534, and, in 1540, it was approved by Pope Paul III (Alessandro Farnese, 1534-1549). See O' Malley, "The Society of Jesus", in Richard L. DeMolen, ed., *Religious Orders of the Catholic Reformation In Honour of John C. Olin on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1994), pp. 138-163.
19. For a complete and detailed overview on the historiographical debate around this term and more broadly on the Reformation and Counter-Reformation see the last chapter of O'Malley, *Trent and All*, pp. 119-143.
20. JR, vol. I, pp. 127-137; Francis Parkman, *France and England in North America* (New York: Literary Classics of the United States, c. 1983), pp. 207-208.
21. Christopher Hollis, *A History of the Jesuits* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1968), pp. 35-72.
22. JR, vol. , pp. 159-161; James Axtell, *The Invasion Within. The Conquest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), pp. 122-123.
23. O' Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993), p. 78.
24. Hollis, *A History of the Jesuits*, p. 78.
25. Allan Greer, *The People of New France* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), p. 93.
26. JR, vol. , pp. 173, 183; Prins, *The Mi'kmaq*, pp. 72-74, 81-82.
26. JR, vol. , pp.173, 183; Prins, *The Mi'kmaq*, pp.72-74, 81-82.
27. This settlement was located close to Mount Desert Island, in today's state of Maine. See JR, vol. , p. 227; Daigle, "L'Acadie de 1604 à 1763", p. 4.
28. Greer, *The People of New France*, p. 94.
29. We need to be reminded at the moment of Argall's expedition that the Jesuit mission counted

of four missionaries. Indeed, besides Biard and Massé, there were Gilbert Du Thet, a lay-brother, and Jacques Quentin, respectively arrived in 1612 and 1613. Du Thet was killed, while Biard and Quentin were imprisoned. Massé was the only one who managed to survive and return in France. See JR, vol. I, p. 227.

30. The *Compagnie des Cent-Associés* was officially founded on 29 April 1627 by the Armand Jean Du Plessis, cardinal of Richelieu (1585-1642). This trading association received the dominion, included the justice's administration, of New France. Richelieu also granted to this trading association the monopoly of the commerce and the fur-trade. From its part, the *Compagnie des Cent-Associés* engaged itself to settle, within a period of 15 years, 4000 colonists, who had to be French and Roman Catholics. See Archives des Colonies, Série C11A, Correspondance générale, Canada, vol. I, fol. 79-84, 29 April 1627; Marcel Trudel, *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France*, vol. III/1, *La seigneurie des Cent Associés, 1627-1663. Les Événements* (Montréal: Éditions Fides, 1979), pp. 7-13.
31. Daigle, "L'Acadie de 1604 à 1763," pp. 4-5.
32. The Recollects were a branch of the Franciscan order. Their origins can be traced back to the second half of the fifteenth century, when Juan de la Puebla (d. 1495) founded the *retiros*, convents based on the eremitical life and strict observance of the rule of St. Francis of Assisi, the founder of the Franciscan order. In 1595 the Recollect order was officially founded. See Lazaro Iriarte, OFM Cap, Franciscan History. *The Three Orders of St. Francis* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1982), pp. 172-173, 180-181.
33. Codignola, "Competing Network," pp. 544-545.
34. Codignola, "The Holy See," p. 201.
35. Niccolò Del Re, *La Curia romana. Lineamenti storico-giuridici* (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1970), p. 190; Archives of the Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide" (shortened in APF), Acta, vol. 3, fol. 1rv, General Congregation, Rome, 6 January 1622; APF, Miscellanea diverse, vol. 22, fol. 1rv-4rv, Gregory XV, Inscrutabili divinae providentiae, Rome, 22 June 1622; Paolo Prodi, *The Papal Prince: One Body and Two Souls. The Papal Monarchy in Early Modern Europe*, trans. Susan Haskins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Pizzorusso, *Roma nei Caraibi*, p. 6.
36. Simon Stock, OCD, to, Propaganda (shortened in PF), 28 April 1630, London, APF, SOCG, vol.132, fol.251rv, 254rv; PF, to, Fabio de Lagonissa, archbishop of Conza, Nuncio in Belgium, 20 July 1630, Rome, APF, Lettere, vol. 10, fol.78rv-79r; Lagonissa, to, PF, 21 September 1630, Bruxelles, APF, SOCG, vol.259, fol.1rv; APF, ACTA, vol.7/II, fol. 10v, General Congregation, Rome, 2 February 1631; APF, ACTA, vol.7/II, fol.18r, General Congregation, Rome, 3 February 1631. Codignola, *The Coldest Harbour of the Land. Simon Stock and Lord Baltimore's Colony in Newfoundland, 1621-1649*, Anita Weston trans. (Kingston and Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), pp. 55-56.
37. The Capuchins were a branch of the Franciscan order. They were officially approved by Pope Clement VII (Giulio de' Medici, 1523-1534) through the bull *Religionis Zelus*, dated 3 July 1528. See Cuthbert of Brighton, OFM Cap, *The Capuchins. A Contribution to the History of the Counter Reformation*, 2nd edition (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1971), pp. 50, 54.
38. APF, Acta, vol. 7/I, fol. 164v, General Congregation, Rome, 22 November 1630.
39. Codignola, "The Holy See," p. 229.
40. On the history of the first Capuchin mission in Acadia see Candide de Nant, *Pages glorieuses de l'épopée canadienne*; Trudel, *Histoire*, vol. II/1, pp. 54, 64, 76, 79, 81-82, 89, 102, 104-105,

- 108-113, 292; Codignola, "Competing Network," pp. 540-584; Binasco, "I Cappuccini Europei nell'America francese nella prima metà del seicento" (M.A. thesis: University of Genoa, 2000).
41. Binasco, "The role and activities," pp. 26-30; Prins, *The Mi'kmaq*, pp. 71-77.
 42. Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations. A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 105. Binasco, "The role and activities," pp. 26-30; Prins, *The Mi'kmaq*, pp. 71-77.
 43. The best surviving account on the Capuchin mission in Acadia is the relation written by Ignace de Paris and addressed to the Propaganda. See Ignace de Paris, OFM Cap, a Propaganda, [1656], APF, SOCG, vol. 260, fol. 39rv-43rv.
 44. John Webster Grant, *Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), p. 227.
 45. Binasco, "The role and activities," pp. 222-225.
 46. This river is in today's state of Maine.
 47. Campeau, *Monumenta*, vol. 8, Au bord de la ruine (1651-1656) (1996), p. 316 (doc. 94).
 48. Codignola and Luigi Bruti Liberati, *Storia del Canada. Dalle origini ai giorni nostri* (Milano: Bompiani, 1999), p. 58. This work represents the most recent available analysis of the general history of Canada.
 49. APF, Congregazioni Particolari, vol. 6, fol. 275rv, 277rv, 294rv, 296rv, [Propaganda], [Rome], [1650]; *Lexicon Capuccinum* (Roma: Bibliotheca Collegii Internationalis S. Laurenti Brundusini, 1951), p. 334.
 50. Ignace de Paris, OFM Cap, to PF, [1656], APF, SOCG, vol. 260, fol.39rv-43r; Codignola, "Competing Network," pp. 557-562; Cornelius J. Jaenen, *The Role of the Church in New France* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1976), pp. 5-7; Daigle, "1650-1686. Un pays qui n'est pas fait," in Phillip A. Buckner and John G. Reid, eds., *The Atlantic Region to Confederation: A History* (Fredericton, New Brunswick, Toronto: University of Toronto Press-Acadiensis Press, 1994), pp. 65-66.
 51. Ignace de Paris, OFM Cap, to PF, [1656], APF, SOCG, vol.260, fol.39rv-43r.
 52. *Collection de manuscrits contenant lettres, mémoires et autres documents historiques relatifs à la Nouvelle-France, recueillis aux archives de la province de Québec, ou copiés à l'étranger, mis en ordre et édités sous les auspices de la Législature de Québec, avec table, etc*, vol. I, 1492-1712 (Québec: Imprimerie A. Coté et Cie, 1883), pp. 145-149.
 53. Daigle, "Un pays qui n'est pas fait," pp. 66-67; N. E. S. Griffiths, *The Acadians: Creation of a People* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, c. 1973), p. 15.
 54. Ignace de Paris, OFM Cap, to PF, [1656], APF, SOCG, vol. 260, fol. 39rv-43rv.
 55. Ignace de Paris, OFM Cap, to PF, [1656], APF, SOCG, vol. 260, fol.3 9rv-43rv.
 56. Daigle, "Un pays qui n'est pas fait," p. 67; Kenneth Gordon Davies, *The North Atlantic World in the Seventeenth Century* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1974), pp. 42-43.
 57. Ignace de Paris, OFM Cap, to PF, [1656], APF, SOCG, vol. 260, fol. 39rv-43rv.
 58. Codignola, "The Holy See," p. 209.
 59. The three missionaries were André Richard, Jacques Frémin, Martin de Lyonne. See JR, XLV, p. 59.

60. To this number has to be added 13,104 students. See Codignola, "Competing Network," p. 551; David J. Mitchell, *The Jesuits, a History* (New York: F. Watts, 1981), p. 87.
61. Codignola, "Competing Network," pp. 551-552; R. Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal 1540-1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) p. 32.
62. André Castillon, SJ, provincial of Paris, to, [PF], 8 December 1662, Paris, APF, Addenda, SOCG, vol. 202, fol. 54rv, 57rv.
63. JR, XLV, pp. 61-63, 71-73; JR, XLVII, p. 24; André Castillon, SJ, provincial of Paris, to, [PF], 8 December 1662, Paris, APF, Addenda, SOCG, vol. 202, fol. 54rv, 57rv; [PF], to, André Castillon, SJ, provincial of Paris, 23 January 1663, Rome, APF, Addenda, SOCG, vol. 202, fol. 55rv-56rv.
64. Codignola, *Storia del Canada*, p. 65; William C. Wicken, C. "Encounters with Tall Sails and Tall Tales: Mi'kmaq Society, 1500-1760" (PhD. thesis: McGill University, 1994), p. 350.
65. Axtell, *The Invasion Within*, p. 285; Prins, *The Mi'kmaq*, pp. 71-72, 82.
66. Mitchell, *The Jesuits*, p. 145.
67. Prins, *The Mi'kmaq*, p. 77.
68. Nicolas Denys, *The Description and Natural History of the Coasts of North America* (Acadia), William F. Ganong edition (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1908), p. 603.
69. Codignola, *Storia del Canada*, pp. 81-82; John G. Reid, Acadia, *Maine and New Scotland: Marginal Colonies in the Seventeenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), p. 144.
70. Gallicanism was a French conception imposed by the French King Francis I (1515-1547) in 1516 on the Holy See. This vision of the Church is best summarized in the two main statements made by the French lawyer Pierre Pithou at the end of the sixteenth century: "The first is that the Popes cannot command or ordain, either in general or in particular, anything that concerns temporal things in countries and lands under the obedience and sovereignty of the Most Christian King. The second is that if the Pope is recognized as sovereign in spiritual things, his absolute and infinite power has no currency within France, but it is bound and checked by the canons and the rules of the ancient councils of the Church recognized in this kingdom." See Pierre Pithou, *Les Libertez de l'Église Gallicane* (Paris: M. Patisson, 1594), in Jacques Gillot ed., *Traictiez des droitz et libertez de l'Église Gallicane* (Paris, 1609), p. 251 cited in Alain Tallon, "National Church, State Church and Universal Church: The Gallican Dilemma in Sixteenth-century France," in Luc Racaut and Alec Ryrie eds., *Moderate Voices in the European Reformation* (Aldershot, Hant: Ashgate, 2005), footnote nr. 2, p. 104.
71. Codignola, "The Holy See," pp. 208-209, 214.
72. Daigle, "L'Acadie de 1604 à 1763", p. 9; Reid, *Acadia, Maine, and New Scotland*, pp. 155-156.
73. The Sulpicians were secular priests, who belonged to the Compagnie de Saint-Sulpice, which was founded, in 1641, by the Parisian Priest Jean-Jacques Olier. They arrived in Canada in 1657, and their main task was to establish a seminary. See Codignola, "Competing Network," p. 555; Trudel, *Histoire*, III/1, pp. 355-362.
74. "Mémoire d'Alexandre de Prouville de de Tracy sur le Canada, 1667", Archives des Colonies (hereafter AC), C11A, vol. 2, fol. 326-329v.
75. "Mémoire de Jean Talon sur l'état présent du Canada, 1667", AC, C11A, vol. 2, fol. 355-359v.
76. Jouve Odoric-Marie, OFM Rec, Archange Godbout, Hervé Blais, and René Bacon, *Dictionnaire biographique des Récollets missionnaires en Nouvelle-France, 1615-1645 – 1670-1849* (Montréal:

- Bellarmin, 1996), p. XX.
77. See Codignola, "Competing Network," pp. 544-545, 557, 572-573, 578.
 78. Xiste Le Tac, OFM Rec, *Histoire chronologique de la Nouvelle France ou Canada depuis sa découverte (mil cinq cents quatre) jusques en l'an mil six cents trente deux Par le Père Sixte Le Tac, Recollets. Publiée pour la première fois d'après le manuscrit original de 1689 et accompagnée de Notes et d'un Appendice tout composé de documents originaux et inédits*, ed. Eugène Reveillaud (Paris: G. Fischbacher, 1888), Appendice, p. 182.
 79. Louis XIV to Talon, 18 May 1669, AC, C11A, vol. 3, fol. 39-41rv.
 80. Le Tac, OFM Rec, *Histoire chronologique*, Appendice, pp. 182-183; Jouve, *Dictionnaire biographique des Récollets missionnaires*, pp. 25-26; 247-259, 449-454, 480-484, 545-547, LXIX.
 81. Hugolin Lemay, OFM, *L'Établissement des Récollets à l'isle Percée, [1673-1690]* (Québec, 1912), p. 7, 9-11; Trudel, *Histoire*, III/1, pp. 87-88; Chrestien Le Clercq, OFM Rec, *Premier établissement de la foy dans la Nouvelle France, contenant la publication de l'Évangile, L'Histoire des Colonies Françaises, & les fameuses découvertes depuis le Fleuve de Saint Laurent, la Lousiane & le fleuve Colbert jusqu'au Golphe Mexique, achevés sous la conduite de feu Monsieur de la Salle*, vol. I (Paris: A. Auroy, 1691), p. 103.
 82. The Cordeliers, who no longer exist, belonged to the Observants, the Franciscan branch that was created by the Bull *Ite vos in vineam meam*, dated 29 May 1517, issued by Pope Leo X (Giovanni de' Medici, 1513-1521). See *Lexicon Capuccinum*. p. 1134.
 83. Hugolin Lemay, OFM, "Les Récollets," in *L'Acadie, ses missionnaires, jésuites, récollets, capucins, prêtres des missions étrangères* (Montréal: Les Éditions du devoir, 1925), p. 14; Jouve, *Dictionnaire biographique*, p. XLVII, pp. 716-719.
 84. Binasco, "The role and activities," p. 59.
 85. Wicken, "Encounters with Tall Sails," pp. 322-324.
 86. Binasco, "The role and activities," p. 116.
 87. Le Clercq, *New Relation of Gaspesia. With the Customs and Religion of the Gaspesian Indians*, William F. Ganong, ed. (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1910), pp. 92, 335-336, 367.
 88. Ignace de Paris, OFM Cap, to, PF, [1656], APF, SOCG, vol. 260, fol. 39rv-43rv; Binasco, "The role and activities," p. 65.
 89. Jouve, *Dictionnaire biographique*, pp. 573-574.
 90. Binasco, "The role and activities," pp. 89, 92-93, 222.
 91. The southern part of Acadia approximately corresponded to an area which approximately includes the borders between the southern part of New Brunswick and the northern part of Maine.
 92. John G. Reid, "1686-1720: Imperial Intrusions," in *Atlantic Region*, p. 83; Kenneth M. Morrison, *The Embattled Northeast. The Elusive Ideal of Alliance in Abenaki-Euramerican Relations* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1984), pp. 89-91.
 93. "Mémoire de l'état présent des affaires de Canada," écrit par Jacques-René Brislay de Denonville, 27 October 1687, Archives des Colonies [shortened in AC], C11A, vol. 9, fol. 121-144.
 94. *Collection de manuscrits contenant lettres, mémoires et autres documents historiques relatifs à la Nouvelle-France, recueillis aux archives de la province de Québec, ou copiés à l'étranger, mis en ordre et édités sous les auspices de la Législature de Québec, avec table, etc, vol. I, 1690-1713* (Québec: Imprimerie A. Coté et Cie, 1883-1885), pp. 1-2.

95. John Clarence Webster, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century. Letters, Journals and Memoirs of Joseph Robineau de Villebon Commandant in Acadia, 1690-1700, and Other Contemporary Documents* (Saint John, New Brunswick: The New Brunswick Museum, 1934), pp. 49-52.
96. Reid, "1686-1720. Imperial Intrusions," p. 83.
97. Relation de la campagne de Villieu, 26 August 1694, AC, C11A, vol. 13, fol. 153-156.
98. Geoffrey Plank, *An Unsettled Conquest: the British Campaign against the Peoples of Acadia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, c 2001), pp. 110-111.
99. Journal de l'Acadie, AC, C11D, vol. 2, fol. 269; AC, C11A, vol. 3, fol. 196; Journal de Monsieur Baudoin, AC, C11D, vol. 3, pp. 58-61.
100. Reid, "1686-1720. Imperial Intrusions," p. 84.
101. JR, LXV, pp. 95-96.
102. Louis-Hector de Callière, to Louis Phélypeaux, comte de Pontchartrain, 20 October 1699, Québec, AC, C11A, vol. 17, fol. 36-41; Jean Baptiste de La Croix Saint-Vallier, to Pontchartrain, 28 October 1699, Québec, AC, C11A, vol. 120, fol. 76, 28 October 1699.
103. Axtell, *The Invasion Within*, p. 248.
104. JR, LXV, p. 185; Philippe de Rigaud de Vaudreil and François de Beauharnois de La Chaussaye, to, Pontchartrain, 15 November 1703, Québec, AC, C11A, vol. 21, fol. 5-28v; Binasco, "The role and activities," p. 107.
105. Since this moment we will use the term British instead of English, because of the union, in 1707, of the parliament of England with that of Scotland.
106. After the conquest of Port-Royal, both these two terms were used together, without a clear distinction. For a detailed and comprehensive overview on this subject see John G. Reid, "The Conquest of "Nova Scotia": Cartographic Imperialism and the Echoes of a Scottish Past," in Ned Landsman, ed., *Nation and Province in the First British Empire. Scotland and the Americas, 1600-1800* (Lewisburg, London: Bucknell University Press and Associated University Presses, 2001), pp. 39-59; John G. Reid et al., ed., *The Conquest of Acadia, 1710. Imperial, Colonial and Aboriginal Constructions* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).
107. Plank, *An Unsettled Conquest*, pp. 54-55.
108. Binasco, "The role and activities," pp. 218-225.

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