

THE EPISCOPATE OF MGR. DE
SAINT-VALLIER, 1688 - 1727

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is an examination of the episcopate of Mgr. de Saint-Vallier, Bishop of Quebec, 1688-1727. The author provides a biographical study of the Bishop in which an attempt is made to locate Saint-Vallier in the prevailing theological currents of the century.

We see that Saint-Vallier was strongly influenced by the works of the Sulpician, Jean-Jacques Olier, and by Saint Charles Borromeo, who had been the major protagonist in the early stages of the Catholic Counter-Reformation.

The author also investigates the relations between the Bishop and the governors of the colony to show that these relations were mostly harmonious and cordial.

THE EPISCOPATE OF MGR. DE SAINT-VALLIER, 1688-1727

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INTRODUCTION

The episcopate of Jean-Baptiste de la Croix de Chevrières de Saint-Vallier, second Bishop of Quebec, has received little critical evaluation, though it has attracted much hostile comment. The standard interpretation is that of A.-H. Gosselin who depicted Saint-Vallier as 'difficile, tranchant, obstiné.'¹ In this he has been followed by most historians, most recently by N. Baillargeon, for whom Saint-Vallier was "dépourvu d'équilibre" and "ombrageux et inquiet, attaché à ses idées jusqu'à l'obstination."²

However, it must be noted that these works, which excel in vituperation, do not have as their fundamental criterion the unbiased study of Saint-Vallier's episcopate. On the contrary, both are motivated by one overriding desire--the canonization of Mgr. de Laval, founder of the Seminary of Quebec, to which both of these historians belong. Consequently, Laval is presented in as favourable a light as possible, whereas Saint-Vallier's character is denigrated to provide a counterpoint to Laval's sanctity. The demands of hagiography did not necessitate an unprejudiced examination of the evidence.

In this thesis I shall try to present a dispassionate account of Saint-Vallier's episcopate. The thesis will progress chronologically, examining Saint-Vallier's life and policies during what seem to be naturally defined stages in his career. The main emphasis is placed on the period 1688-1700, which may be regarded as the pivotal years of his episcopate. During this time Saint-Vallier struggled to uphold his authority and to put Quebec on the same structural footing as a regular

French diocese. I shall investigate Saint-Vallier's conception of his authority and the diocesan structure which he developed for the colony in the hope of demonstrating that Saint-Vallier was a typical French bishop of the day motivated in his pastoral concerns by the ideals of the Counter-Reformation as expressed by St. Charles Borromeo and inspired in his conception of episcopal authority by the works of Jean-Jacques Olier, founder of St.-Sulpice, where Saint-Vallier received his theological education.

There will be a final chapter devoted to Saint-Vallier's relations with the governors of the colony. Saint-Vallier had no defined policy towards those who held the office of governor, although he did expect their cooperation in his pastoral endeavours. Instead, his relations with them were dependent upon such foundations as personal antipathy or mutual liking. This section has been separated from the chronological progression to make for more convenient reading.

CHAPTER II

EARLY LIFE, 1652-1685

"Il est de naissance considérable"--it was with these words that Dudouyt, the Seminary of Quebec's procurator in Paris, began his character delineation of Jean-Baptiste de la Croix de Chevrières de Saint-Vallier, future Bishop of Quebec.¹

This young prelate, born on 14 November, 1653, was the seventh child of Jean IV de la Croix, Marquis d'Ornacieu, *président à mortier* of the *parlement* of Grenoble, and of his wife, Marie de Sayve, heiress of Jacques de Sayve, *président à mortier* of the *parlement* of Dijon.

The de la Croix family had a distinguished heritage: the earliest known ancestor, Pierre de Guerre², was classified as a 'gentleman' in 1335, whilst his son, Jean, merited the appellation 'noble' in 1406. The family had achieved a certain notability in both local and national affairs. In Dauphiné the family maintained a tenacious hold on the major offices of the *parlement* of Grenoble. Félix de la Croix (d. 1583), progressed from councillor in the *parlement* of Dauphiné, *avocat-général* of the *parlement* of Grenoble to *intendant* of the province. His son, Jean III (d. 1619), held the same offices but advanced to the posts of *président à mortier* of the *parlement* of Grenoble, and ambassador extraordinary to the Duke of Savoy. On his return to France in 1607, Jean, a widower, was appointed Bishop of Grenoble. At his death he was succeeded by his coadjutor, his second son, Alphonse, who resigned in 1620.

The eldest son, Félix II (d. 1627), continued the family tradition of a parliamentary career. His son, Jean IV (d. 1680), had been *président à mortier* of the *parlement* of Dijon, and had been sent on a diplomatic mission to Rome before obtaining the presidency of the *parlement* of Grenoble in 1650. Of his ten children, three chose the religious life.³

Thus, the second Bishop of Quebec was not only of a very noble background, but came from a family which had strong links with the parliamentary aristocracy and the Church.⁴

Of Jean-Baptiste's early life little is known, though we are assured that it was pious.⁵ He received his Master of Arts degree at the University of Paris in 1672 and attended the general assembly of the clergy of the second order of the ecclesiastical provinces of Vienne and Embrun in 1675. In 1676 he was appointed *aumônier ordinaire* of Louis XIV, a position secured perhaps through the offices of his brother, Pierre-Félix, captain of the King's guard.⁶ The young cleric soon attracted notice at the worldly palace of Versailles. If we are to believe the enthusiastic de la Chasse, whose funeral oration depicts Saint-Vallier as a model of ecclesiastical propriety:

On ne voyait dans luy ces parures séculières,
ces recherches d'habits curieuses, ces airs dissipés,
cette propriété affectée, ces légèretés, ces mondanités
qu'on ne remarque que trop souvent à la cour dans
plusieurs de sa profession.⁷

At court the new royal chaplain showed himself solicitous for the preservation of ecclesiastical purity. He advised Louis XIV that the royal chaplains who purchased their offices risked the desire to obtain a bishopric by the same means.⁸ Saint-Vallier also involved

Olier's view of the Church was strictly hierarchical: God the Father is the superior of Christ; Christ is the superior of the Church; the bishop is the superior of his diocese.

In his paternal role, the bishop must deal with two groups: the faithful and the clergy. In his relations with the faithful the bishop was the receptacle chosen by God to spread the gospel, but with the clergy the link was stronger:

Il se trouve tout autrement engagé a donner la nourriture au sujets du Clergé qui sont les enfants qu'il engendre lui seul, leur donnent les ordres sacrés et cet être divin de leur saint caractère: en suite de quoi, c'est à lui seul à les nourrir, à les fortifier, les faire croître et les établir enfin dans la grâce.¹⁵

Such sentiments were to strike a receptive chord in the mind of the young ecclesiastic.

The other major figure, the Jesuit, Louis le Valois, had only recently settled in Paris. He had previously taught philosophy at the college at Clermont, and at the college at Caen, of which he had been the rector from 1678 to 1681. Le Valois renounced his teaching career in 1682 to return to Paris, where he installed himself in an annex of the Jesuit noviciate which was opposite the Sulpician seminary. The proximity of the two institutions was to make Tronson and le Valois close collaborators.

In Paris le Valois devoted himself to the direction of retreats in which he expounded his theology, which was very austere and rigorist. Le Valois, characterized as "un peu trop sévère pour un jésuite,"¹⁶ soon attracted many admirers who were willing to spend some eight to ten days under his spiritual guidance. Even bishops began to ask to prepare for their consecration at his house of retreat.¹⁷

himself in good works such as the founding of a hospice at Saint-Vallier.⁹ However, the young man was not yet a priest and he had to continue his studies. In 1680 he received his licence in theology from the University of Paris, and on 22 December of that year he entered the seminary of Saint-Sulpice to prepare for the priesthood.¹⁰ The date of his ordination is uncertain, but can be dated before February, 1682.¹¹

This association with Saint-Sulpice was to provide the hallmark of Saint-Vallier's episcopal reign, yet has received scant attention from historians.¹²

The next few years brought Saint-Vallier into contact with two of the luminaries of the spiritual life of the capital, Louis Tronson and Louis le Valois. Tronson was the superior of the Sulpicians, and it was under his direction that Saint-Vallier became imbued with the ideas of Jean-Jacques Olier, founder of that order. Olier had had a fervent desire to ensure that the parish clergy received an adequate religious training and that they lived a life of religious decorum. In this he was not alone, but his theology provided a special role for the bishop. The Council of Trent had done much to re-establish and re-affirm the powers of the episcopate, and Olier directly followed this tradition.

For Olier the bishop was the father of his clergy, and in this role was expressed "une révélation terrestre de la relation ineffable qui existe dans la Trinité entre le Père et le Fils",¹³ a link which Olier described as:

De même que Dieu engendre son Fils en soi en qualité de Père, et le porte encore en son sein comme s'il était sa Mère, le nourissant de la même substance dont il l'a engendré, il en est ainsi des Prélats qui, comme Pères divins dans l'Église, engendrent en leur sein des enfants, et, comme Mères, les nourrissent de la fécondité de leur vie divine.¹⁴

Le Valois soon became Saint-Vallier's spiritual director, a relationship strengthened by Saint-Vallier's long and frequent stays at the Sulpician seminary, which the royal chaplain made his home in 1684 "pour y profiter de la demeure du seminaire et de la solitude".¹⁸

Also in 1684, Bishop Laval of Quebec, desirous of resigning his see because of failing health, made enquiries as to a possible successor. One of those from whom he sought assistance was le Valois, who, eager to help his protégé, recommended Saint-Vallier to Laval as "un homme d'une grande piété d'un rare exemple et d'un zele ardent."¹⁹

Saint-Vallier's candidature found strong support: both le Valois and Dudouyt, Laval's agent in Paris, agreed that this young prelate had much to offer. Yet certain reservations were expressed. It was felt that Saint-Vallier's links with le Camus, the pro-Jansenist Bishop of Grenoble, were too close. However, le Valois assured Dudouyt that Saint-Vallier was not of le Camus' party, and that he could easily be drawn away from the bishop's person.

Of far more consequence were the misgivings voiced about Saint-Vallier's excess of zeal. Dudouyt explained to Laval that Saint-Vallier "est jeune et capable. Il a beaucoup de zele et de ferveur il est austère pour luy mesme . . . il a un zele un peu trop ardent soit pour sa propre perfection soit pour y porter les autres: quil na pas encorre beaucoup dexperience etant jeune . . ." ²⁰ Tronson similarly cautioned:

Il a du zele et pourvu qu'il n'aille pas trop loin il sera en état de faire de grands biens, car il est très bien à la Cour. Le Roi l'estime et il n'y a à craindre pour lui que l'excès qui pourrait l'y faire perdre son crédit, comme il est arrivé à son prédécesseur. Comme il a beaucoup de feu, il faut que tous ceux à qui il pourrait demander avis tâchent à le modérer; car cela est de la dernière conséquence.²¹

An excess of zeal: this then was the stumbling block. Yet was this unusual? Although the latter half of the seventeenth century was not to witness the great outbursts of religious fervour which dominated the previous half-century, Saint-Vallier was not a lone figure in excessive piety: Port-Royal, the centre of Jansenism, which represented the sternest demands of Christian asceticism, was at the zenith of its influence; Bourdaloue was stinging consciences with his trenchantly moralistic sermons against worldly vanities; Rancé had just transformed the monastery of La Trappe into "a model of renunciation carried to the limits of human endurance";²² and de la Salle had just renounced the life of a well-to-do canon in order to devote himself to the education of the poor.

It must be noted that the royal chaplain's zeal had caused no difficulties at court. On the contrary, he enjoyed the good graces of Madame de Maintenon, and was esteemed by the King, who had offered Saint-Vallier more than one bishopric in France.²³

Despite the reservations expressed, Laval was delighted with the choice. Saint-Vallier's zeal may have appealed to the prelate and the young man's close connections with the court must have struck Laval as a godsend to the impecunious and struggling diocese of Quebec.

Saint-Vallier similarly showed himself amenable to the proposition. Why? For an ambitious young cleric of distinguished lineage, the see of Quebec could have little attraction: its revenues were insufficient, it lacked a diocesan organization, the number of the faithful was small, yet the distances involved in visiting them all were vast, and this diocese was so far removed from France. Yet this seemed perfectly suited to Saint-Vallier's

temperament. Here was the chance to escape the worldly milieu of French ecclesiastical politics. Saint-Vallier had already declined offers of a see in France. More importantly, this offer allowed the chaplain to demonstrate the Christian virtue of humility by accepting this distant bishopric which could offer no potential for influence or advancement at home, but which would provide a life of difficulties abroad. This fact seemed only to serve as an incentive to him. He wrote to the Pope two years later that "il ne me reste plus qu'a assurer V.S. de la ioye toute particuliere que iay d'avoir pour Epouse une Eglise aussi sainte et aussi pauvre ie ne rougis point de cette pauvreté, mais je m'en glorifie."²⁴ Another source of motivation, perhaps the most important, was that the Church in New France represented a challenge. This was Saint-Vallier's opportunity for a real apostolate instead of ministering to the aristocrats of Versailles. In Canada there would be the chance to experience the hardships and difficulties of the early church rather than the comfortable life of the well-to-do and well-connected ecclesiastic in France.

Louis XIV was equally content with the choice. Saint-Vallier, a known member of the court, would be a great improvement over the truculent Laval, who had proven himself to be unsympathetic to the royal policy on the fixation of cures. Seignelay, the Minister of the Marine, concisely explained to Denonville, the new Governor of New France that "les difficultez formees par l'Evesque precedent contre cet etablissement cesseront par l'envoy de son successeur dont les sentimens sont en cela plus conformes aux intentions de Sa Majeste."²⁵ There were, unfortunately, several problems. Saint-Vallier could not be consecrated immediately. Louis XIV and the Pope were at odds over

the Four Gallican Articles of 1682, which had increased the power of the monarchy in the French Church at the expense of the Pope. Innocent XI had responded by refusing bulls to all newly named French bishops. Therefore, it was decided that Saint-Vallier should visit his diocese as Vicar-General of Laval.²⁶

Preparations were made for the Vicar-General's departure: the King proved most generous, granting him the abbey of Estrées²⁷ and arranging for the free passage of Saint-Vallier and his suite to Quebec.²⁸

Saint-Vallier resigned his chaplaincy and, in order to cement closer ties with the diocese, made the Seminary of Quebec his beneficiary, whilst at the same time endowing this institution with 42,080 *livres* to pay for six missionaries to convert the Indians.²⁹ It seems that this was not an original gesture, but was suggested by le Valois.³⁰

Those who had pointed out Saint-Vallier's defects did not shrink from advising the Vicar-General. He was told to restrain his eagerness, that he was only going to Canada to acquaint himself with his future diocese, and that it was not his duty to change what he found there.³¹ To set minds at rest, Saint-Vallier promised to follow the advice of the Sulpician, Claude Trouvé, who was to accompany him to Canada.³²



MGR. DE SAINT-VALLIER
(Courtesy Public Archives of Canada, C-29585).

CHAPTER III

THE GRAND-VICAR OF LAVAL, 1685-1688

Saint-Vallier received his letters of commission as Vicar-General on May 8.¹ He did not remain long in Paris, but left the same month for La Rochelle to embark for Quebec, leaving Bishop Laval, who had come over to inspect his successor, behind in France.² On board the same vessel was the Marquis de Denonville, who had recently been appointed Governor of New France. Relations between the two men were amicable, especially so since Denonville was assiduous at attending Saint-Vallier's daily catechism lessons. Such piety found ready appreciation in the ardent young ecclesiastic who wrote that "tant que je fus avec lui [Denonville] sur mer, je ne lui vis pas faire une faute, et rien ne lui a échappé ni dans ses manières qui ne marquât une vertu bien établie et une prudence consommée."³ Laval's relations with the governors had often been strained, but the friendly association established between the new Governor and the future Bishop seemed to augur well for their cooperation. On his arrival, Saint-Vallier was met by the directors of the Seminary, where he was to stay, "avec tout le respect et la cordialité que je pouvais attendre d'eux."⁴ Immediately the Vicar-General proceeded to his first tasks: to present himself to the Sovereign Council as Laval's Vicar-General, which he did on August 3⁵, and more importantly, to make a visitation of the diocese. Saint-Vallier spent his first few days inspecting the religious communities in Quebec. For all he had nothing but fulsome praise. The priests of the seminary made up for their lack of number by "le détachement dont

ils font profession, la charité qui les unit, l'assiduité qu'ils ont au travail et la régularité qu'ils s'efforcent d'inspirer à tous ceux qui sont sous leur conduite."⁶ The Jesuits were qualified as "tous des Saints qui ne respirent que Dieu seul," though Saint-Vallier admitted to being more edified by their spirit of obedience than by their talents. In a similar vein the Vicar-General extolled the virtues of the Recollets who were "toujours prêts à aller partout où il plaît à l'Évêque de les envoyer."⁷ It is important to note that Saint-Vallier placed the emphasis on the deference of these orders towards their superiors, rather than on any intrinsic merit of the individuals concerned, a hint of future difficulties.

After sufficiently apprising himself of the state of the Church in Quebec, Saint-Vallier went to Montreal in September, 1685, after visiting every church on the way on both sides of the river. As with Quebec, Saint-Vallier expressed complete satisfaction with the settlement and its religious life. He praised all the religious communities, though we should focus attention on his remarks about the Sulpicians whom he esteemed "non seulement par la réputation publique, mais par les entretiens particuliers que j'ai eus avec eux et par la confiance avec laquelle ils ont bien voulu me découvrir leurs plus secrètes dispositions."⁸ Once more, it is the respect accorded by the priests to their superior which Saint-Vallier singled out for praise.

The Vicar-General was eager to see more than the main centres, and so in April, 1686, he set out for Acadia, a part of the diocese where Laval had never set foot. The journey was arduous and not without dangers. Throughout the trip Saint-Vallier, "pressé par la sollicitude pastorale de cette Église que Dieu a commise a nos soins",

was eager to inspect and to evangelize.⁹ This constant voyaging and the conditions encountered caused concern in France.¹⁰

Tronson lamented:

Je ne sais comment on pourra faire pour réduire M. de Saint-Vallier à prendre autant de nourriture, de sommeil et de récréation qu'il serait à désirer pour sa santé. On y a fait ici tout ce qu'on a pu on lui a donné et de vive voix et par écrit tous les avis qu'on a cru nécessaires pour se ménager. Tous ses amis lui ont parlé sur cela de la même manière, et il n'en fait rien.¹¹

Saint-Vallier's descriptions of the spiritual health of the colony seem mutually contradictory. On the one hand his *relation* of the voyage published in March, 1688, contains glowing praise for the devotion and religious ardour of the *habitants*, whereas the pastoral letters issued whilst Saint-Vallier was in the colony constantly berate the colonists for their irreligious, if not sacreligious, behaviour. In his first pastoral letter of October, 1685, the Vicar-General painted a bleak picture of the *habitants*:

Nous avons vu avec douleur l'immodestie des peuples de ce diocèse dans les temples sacrés; au lieu que les maisons particulières étaient autrefois des églises où l'on parlait sans cesse des choses du Ciel; il semble que les églises soient maintenant des maisons particulières, parce qu'on s'y entretient des choses de la terre et qu'on ne fait point de scrupule de s'y tenir dans des postures méséantes et indignes, lors même qu'on célèbre les mystères les plus saints et les plus redoutables.¹²

Yet a stark contrast to this is the account of the Acadian mission:

Chaque maison est une petite communauté bien réglée, où l'on fait la prière en commun soir et matin, où l'on récite le chapelet, où l'on a la pratique des examens particuliers avant les repas, et où les pères et mères de famille suppléent au défaut des Prêtres, en ce qui regarde la conduite de leurs enfants et de leurs valets.¹³

To reconcile these opposing views, we must consider the nature of the documents in question. In his pastoral letters, Saint-Vallier,

impelled by "le zèle que nous devons avoir pour la gloire de Dieu et le salut des âmes de ce pays," considered it his duty to point out the constant failings of his flock.¹⁴ These official letters are, therefore, an expression of pastoral concern, written to inculcate Christian virtues among the faithful. Thus, these letters are not an objective account of the religious standards of the colony.

What then of the *relation*? This also lacks the status of an unprejudiced examination of the Church in New France. We must remember that this *relation* took the form of a letter written to a friend by Saint-Vallier, a young and zealous ecclesiastic who had refused promotion in France only to accept a distant and penniless diocese. The very nature of the situation would lend itself to exaggeration and bias. Despite this, Saint-Vallier was genuinely pleased with his diocese. On his return to France he was to decline the offer of a bishopric in France and wrote approvingly to his mother of "la pauvreté, mais en mesme temps de la Sainteté" of the Canadian mission.¹⁵

Yet Saint-Vallier had certain plans for the colony to help it to develop spiritually. According to the *intendant*, de Meulles, Saint-Vallier wished to "établir une parfaite piété et de faire instruire et donner la connoissance des misteres et de la verité de nostre religion dans tous les lieux les plus estendus de son dioçaise."¹⁶ The first part of the programme was the creation of more fixed cures. Laval had already established 30, and Saint-Vallier proposed that this number be raised to 40 or 50, a policy at variance with that of Laval, who had regarded fixed cures as a weakening of episcopal authority.¹⁷

In addition, Saint-Vallier planned new missions to the Illinois¹⁸ and to Acadia¹⁹ and he intended to train schoolmasters in the colony instead of having them sent out at some expense from France.²⁰ To complement these measures, the faithful and the clergy were to be made aware of their obligations.

The people were informed through pastoral letters to mend their ways. Saint-Vallier concentrated on what he considered to be the two major problems: non-attendance at Mass on Sundays and Saints' days when the parishioners would go hunting, frequent taverns or ply their trade, and the irreverence and immodesty prevalent amongst those who did attend church. Saint-Vallier singled out as major abuses the indecent posture adopted by some in church, the lack of respect accorded to the Eucharist, and especially the scandalous behaviour of certain women whose coquettish low cut dresses exposed their shoulders "dont la vue a fait périr une infinité de personnes qui trouvent malheureusement dans ces objects scandaleux la cause de leurs péchés et leur damnation éternelle."²¹

To ensure that his admonitions would be enforced, Saint-Vallier proffered to the Governor, Denonville, certain advice on family life. Saint-Vallier counselled him to avoid long nights of entertainment, to eschew sumptuous meals, balls, and other such diversions. Similarly, the Vicar-General proposed that in bringing up their daughter, the gubernatorial couple should ensure that her pastimes were 'honnêtes' and 'modérées'. Saint-Vallier hoped that the pious behaviour of the Governor would moderate the conduct of the other citizens.²²

As for the clergy, Saint-Vallier's voyage to Acadia caused him to draft regulations for them: the missionaries were to separate themselves from the laity, neither lodging nor eating with them. Though Saint-Vallier was content with the life of clerical regularity practised by the Recollet missionaries in Acadia, he was displeased with their manner of converting the Indians. He claimed that few of the missionaries spoke the Indian tongues and were converting those who had inadequate knowledge of Christianity. In addition, it seemed that some missionaries had come to Acadia without the consent of the Bishop. Saint-Vallier instructed Thury, Laval's Grand-Vicar in Acadia, to examine the authorization of all missionaries.²³

In these acts we have a major indication of the principal lines of Saint-Vallier's policy as Bishop: the encouragement of Christian standards among the laity and the regulation of the clergy whose lives were to serve as models for the faithful. Unfortunately, this otherwise successful voyage was seriously marred by Saint-Vallier's conflicts with the Seminary.

The Vicar-General had at first created a favourable impression. The annalist of the *Hôtel-Dieu* of Quebec noted that "Saint-Vallier visitait fréquemment les malades, les embrasait tendrement, faisait beaucoup d'aumônes et charmait toutes les personnes qui luy parlaient par ses habilités."²⁴ To allay any fears which the directors of the Seminary may have harboured, Saint-Vallier assured them that he would make no changes in their institution.²⁵ Indeed, he intended to fully incorporate himself into the seminary by joining its community of disappropriation.²⁶ At the time Saint-Vallier "a tesmoigne d'un coste

la loye quil sentait d'estre incorporé a ce seminaire . . . et le desir qu'il avait d'y vivre tousjours dans la pratique de ce desgagement, comme a fait Monseigneur de Laval premier Evesque de Quebec."²⁷

However, such sympathies were not to last. Scarcely had Saint-Vallier been in the Seminary two weeks when he increased the time allotted to meditation at the expense of the Rosary. Of a more serious nature were the financial problems. Saint-Vallier doubled the number of children educated by the Seminary from 30 to 70. Not only did the directors find this financial burden excessive, but Saint-Vallier had proceeded "sans mesure et sans consulter Personne des aumônes excessives, et des Etablissements prematurez aux depens de son clergé, se regardant comme le maître et le Dispensateur absolu de tous les biens Ecclésiastiques."²⁸ Indeed, Saint-Vallier had a marked propensity to value highly his authority. To him the Church of Quebec "subsiste comme par miracle a peu pres comme on subsistait du tamps de la primitive eglise ou tous les biens estoient en commun dispensés par la main de levesque."²⁹

Influenced by Olier and by his own temperament, Saint-Vallier considered that the bishop should be the sole directing force in the diocese.

Since the Seminary was the episcopal seminary Saint-Vallier claimed control both over it and its revenues. This led to personal conflicts, especially with Maizerets, the superior of the Seminary, whose questioning of Saint-Vallier's spending "lui avait rendu peu supportable" to the Vicar-General.³⁰ It must be admitted that the only full account of these events is a memorandum drawn up in 1696 when the Seminary was at its most hostile to Saint-Vallier. We should

therefore be wary of the interpretation of this period contained therein.

Indeed, it seems unlikely that Saint-Vallier alone plunged the seminary into debt--some 8,000-10,000 *livres* according to the Seminary.

Certain factors must be borne in mind. Firstly, the Seminary did not bear these expenses alone, since on its own admission, Saint-Vallier helped to defray the costs and in so doing, returned to France penniless.³¹ Secondly, Saint-Vallier's act of disappropriation with the Seminary had stipulated that the revenues of the Seminary were to be administered by three procurators--one nominated by Saint-Vallier, one by the Seminary, and one by the *curés*. Since all the *curés* were members of the Seminary, Saint-Vallier could easily have been outvoted had the Seminary questioned the use of certain funds. Laval recognized this when he chastized the directors for their part in Saint-Vallier's schemes.³²

Finally, it seems plausible to assume that Saint-Vallier expected financial reimbursement from the Court which had proven so generous at his departure and which provided an equally liberal subsidy at Saint-Vallier's request in 1686.³³

Relations between Saint-Vallier and the Seminary deteriorated rapidly. On October 29, 1686, the Vicar-General purchased the house of Major Provost, an indication that, unlike Laval, he did not intend to reside in the Seminary.³⁴ Saint-Vallier claimed that the system of disappropriation was too restrictive on his duty as bishop to distribute alms, and so, by certain alterations to his act of disappropriation on November 8, 1686, he regained control of his own revenues except for the amount necessary to pay for the keep of himself, one priest and a servant.³⁵ This was obviously a fundamental break in the established

structure of the diocese. Saint-Vallier left Quebec on November 18 and arrived back at La Rochelle on January 1, 1687.

On his return to the Court, Saint-Vallier received a triumphal welcome. Louis XIV granted his former chaplain a private audience which lasted one hour, and offered Saint-Vallier a see in France. However, trouble was not far away. The Seminary of Quebec, considering that Saint-Vallier "allait trop vite", had dispatched a memorandum to France, asking that Saint-Vallier not be consecrated. The Vicar-General found himself confronted by his friends, le Valois, Tronson, Beauvilliers, Seignelay and la Chaise, who all told him plainly to moderate his zeal and to take advice. Saint-Vallier seemed willing to mend his ways, claiming that he bore no resentment against the Seminary. Yet Dudouyt cautioned that "il [Saint Vallier] a bonne volonté et bonne intention et croit bien faire . . . Il y a parmy tout cela quelque chose de bon, mais il y a à craindre d'ailleurs a cause qu'il porte toutes chose a une perfection excessive."³⁶

Dudouyt had good reason to be wary. Although Saint-Vallier asserted "l'estime, l'affection, l'attachement, et la tendresse particulière", which he bore towards the Seminary, he also made known his own standpoint: "Il faut qu'un Eveque soit dans un tel estat qu'il puisse en mesme temps estre le pere commun de tout le monde, ors sil donne tout a l'un il n'a plus rien a donner a l'autre."³⁷ It was obvious that the extremely close collaboration which existed between Laval and the Seminary would not be reproduced with Saint-Vallier.

Relations between Laval and his Vicar-General were unsatisfactory. Laval accused Saint-Vallier of being mainly responsible for the

Seminary's financial difficulties and reproved him for showing insufficient interest in granting new missions to the Seminary, but instead wishing to give them to the Jesuits.³⁸ Relations were to deteriorate further when the King decided that Laval was not to return to Canada, not finding in him "un caractère d'esprit convenable a un nouvel établissement, et d'ailleurs estant a craindre que cela ne mist quelque jalousie entre luy et le nouvel Evesque, ce qu'il est tres important d'eviter."³⁹ Laval believed that Saint-Vallier had influenced this decision by implying that Laval's return to Canada would be a source of contention.⁴⁰ This seems unlikely. Saint-Vallier was trying to improve relations with the Seminary, and so would have eschewed a move so overtly hostile as to prevent the return of the founder of the Seminary.

The only outstanding question was that of the papal bulls nominating Saint-Vallier to the see of Quebec. The Pope, who remained displeased with Louis XIV over the Four Gallican Articles of 1682, was still refusing bulls to all those nominated to French sees. Saint-Vallier was eager to obtain these as quickly as possible so that he could return to New France. To do so he must first undergo a trial *de vita et moribus*, an examination of the candidate's moral and theological suitability for the episcopate. Saint-Vallier wished this to take place before le Camus, Bishop of Grenoble, rather than the Papal Nuncio.⁴¹ The Nuncio refused this request but did accede to Saint-Vallier's wish that the trial be held as soon as possible. At Rome the Cardinal d'Estrées, brother of the French Ambassador, was able to use his influence to secure the bulls

for Saint-Vallier, since Quebec, though a French colony, was not considered a French diocese.⁴² On July 7, 1687, Saint-Vallier was named Bishop of Quebec.⁴³ On January 25, 1688, he was consecrated Bishop of Quebec in the church of Saint-Sulpice in Paris, and the new Bishop took his oath of loyalty to the King in the royal chapel of Versailles on February 13.

CHAPTER IV

THE ASSERTION OF EPISCOPAL AUTHORITY, 1688-1700

When Saint-Vallier returned to New France, he did so with the intention of modelling his diocese on those of France. To implement this plan he was to concentrate on two objectives: the establishment of his own episcopal authority and the creation of the structural framework to answer the spiritual needs of the people.

In this chapter we shall examine the bishop's attempts to impose his authority on the religious communities of the diocese, notably the Seminary of Quebec, with which relations were stormy. The documentary evidence for Saint-Vallier's relations with the Seminary is unfortunately very one-sided. The vast majority of the documents consist of letters written by the priests of the Seminary in which they complain of Saint-Vallier's disputes with them. Naturally enough, Saint-Vallier is presented in a far from flattering light. However, it is unfortunate that those historians who have dealt with Saint-Vallier's relations with the Seminary, especially A.-H. Gosselin and N. Baillargeon, both priests of the Seminary, have been inclined only to deal with the sanctity of Laval and the merit of the priests of the Seminary, rather than to investigate the cause of the disputes between Saint-Vallier and that institution. Baillargeon, especially, depicts Saint-Vallier as an intemperate, wilful and ungovernable prelate, motivated only by a senseless desire to gratify his own lust for power by the destruction of the Seminary.¹ In part this interpretation is correct. It is hard to deny that Saint-Vallier was far from

mild-mannered, and indeed his hot temper was only to serve to exacerbate the disputes between himself and the Seminary.

However, what these historians have not seen fit to discuss to any length is the anomalous position which the Seminary of Quebec occupied in the diocese. The Seminary was founded by François de Laval, Apostolic-Vicar in New France, on March 26, 1663. To ensure the survival of his fledgling foundation in the impecunious diocese, Laval united it to the *Séminaire des Missions Étrangères* of Paris in August, 1664. Henceforth these two seminaries, some 2000 miles apart, were to be united as one, with the directors of the Parisian house having the right to nominate the superior and directors of the Quebec house.

The purpose of the Seminary was the education of the young and the training of priests. However, throughout Laval's reign, the Seminary enjoyed an influence disproportionate to its assigned role. Indeed, the Seminary's preponderance in the ecclesiastical affairs of the colony was excessive. The Seminary was responsible for the distribution of all the tithes and the royal *gratification* [subsidy] to the *curés*. The cures were not fixed, thus allowing for the removal of the *curé* whenever necessary, and so the *curé's* loyalty, instead of lying with his flock, was directed towards his bishop and the Seminary in which all of the *curés* were incorporated. Nor were the priests solely responsible to their bishop, but also to the superior of the Seminary, to whom Laval had ceded the authority to appoint and remove *curés*. A further point to note is that the cure of Quebec itself was attached to the Seminary.

The Seminary did not content itself with exercising such influence over the spiritual workforce of the colony, but also provided the holders

of the principal offices of the diocese: the Seminary priests, in conjunction with the Jesuits served as the confessors for the female religious communities; almost all of the Grand-Vicars appointed by Laval were members of the Seminary, which also furnished the occupants of the important positions of the *officialité* [ecclesiastical court]. Furthermore, members of the Seminary composed the cathedral Chapter of Quebec to which body Laval had granted complete liberty to amend or to add to the regulations which he presented to them in 1684.² In part this excess of authority was generated by the chronic shortage of priests which afflicted the Canadian mission. Laval had to enlarge the powers of the Seminary because he did not have enough priests to ensure a separation of powers. Yet also, this situation had its roots in Laval's conception of the bishop's role in the diocese. Laval had always shown an affinity for close-knit religious groups such as the *Association des Amis*, which was not an hierarchical body, but which was guided by a commissioner elected by its members every six months. His membership of such groups induced in him a preference for a collegiate system of church government whereby authority could be devolved to a trusted band of confederates. He saw himself as the first among equals, not the sole centre of authority. Nor was his authority weakened by this, but rather it was enhanced, since the priests of the Seminary were entirely devoted to the Bishop, the founder of their Seminary.³ However, Saint-Vallier did not share Laval's mentality. Saint-Vallier had been educated in the traditions of Olier, whose theology placed a special emphasis on the directing role of the bishop, and had served at the hierarchical court of Versailles where the wish of the King was dominant. For Saint-Vallier it

was the bishop's duty to lead and command, rather than to share his authority with advisers. Such sentiments could not fail to present problems for the new Bishop. Indeed, already during his visit of 1685-1686, Saint-Vallier had been taken aback by the Seminary's control of the diocese. Saint-Vallier believed that "la grâce d'un évêque devant être commune et égale à tous et non pas particulière à une seule" and so decided that such a situation was no longer tolerable.⁴ This attitude may well help to account for the differences he encountered with the Seminary during this visit, and could well have been the major motivation for the Seminary's earnest desire that Saint-Vallier should not be consecrated.

On his return to France in 1687, he initiated his policy to control the Seminary. According to Laval, Saint-Vallier planned to deprive the Seminary of the revenues of the abbeys of Bénévent and Maubec which had been conceded to Laval by the King. It was Saint-Vallier's intention that one third of this revenue should be granted to the Chapter, independently of the Seminary, whilst he would use the remainder.

Laval also noted a more belligerent move--Saint-Vallier intended to work for the detachment of the cures of the diocese from the Seminary.⁵

We should not be surprised at this attitude on Saint-Vallier's part. The Seminary had shown itself overtly hostile to him by asking that he should not be consecrated, and thus the new bishop needed to assert himself or be reduced to a figurehead. The Seminary's loyalty lay with Laval, not with his successor. Also, Saint-Vallier was strengthened in his convictions by the inspiration he drew from the works of Olier, who had expressed Christ's attachment to the episcopate thus:

. . . il [Christ] veut que les Prélats de l'Église, qui sont les héritiers de sa grandeur et dans lesquels il fait voir extérieurement ce que son Père a fait intérieurement pour lui dans le sein de sa gloire, paraissent en la terre dans les mêmes dignités et titres de grandeur qu'il a reçus dans le Ciel, et qu'ils en jouissent dès à présent dans son royaume qui est l'Église, et surtout en son Clergé qui, en étant la portion la plus éclairée, doit être aussi la plus informée de son pouvoir et de ses grandeurs divines.⁶

Olier continued this idea in his conception of the Seminary. He too visualized the bishop as being surrounded by a faithful band of collaborators, but for him the best candidates for this role were those who wished to devote themselves to God's service by putting themselves entirely at the disposal of the bishop.⁷ Such ideas found ready listeners. J. B. Noulleau was to declaim in 1677: "L'obéissance à l'évêque est le vrai et seul fondement pour la perfection de la cléricature."⁸ Saint-Vallier's imposition of such ideas in the Church of New France was to lead to bitter clashes between himself and the Seminary.

This struggle contains two elements--ideological and personal. Ideologically, this was a clash between two interpretations of the role of the bishop in the Church: Laval's view of the bishop as the representative of a Christ who rules with the aid of his chosen companions, the Apostles, in contrast with Saint-Vallier's view of the bishop as the representative of an omnipotent Christ who shared his power with none. No doubt in both cases these conceptions were reflections of the status of the monarchy vis-à-vis the nobility which existed when both of these men formulated their views on this topic.⁹

On the personal level, the disputes revealed the antagonism inherent between the two men. On one hand we have the retired Bishop and founder of the Seminary who was unwilling to accept change, and on the

other hand his successor, a young man, eager to exert his authority, who saw in the existing situation a considerable threat to this authority and who was determined to effect changes without thought of compromise.

Saint-Vallier returned to Quebec in June, 1688, "bien déterminé a donner une nouvelle face a toutes choses, selon les idées particulières qui'il était bien resolu de ne point soumettre a personne."¹⁰ Saint-Vallier was indeed determined to assert his superiority as his actions were to show.

Before returning, Saint-Vallier had obtained permission for Laval to return to his former diocese.¹¹ Whether this was simple good nature on Saint-Vallier's part, or whether, as the Seminary was to claim, he was told by Denonville that he would be wildly unpopular if the aged ex-Bishop were to remain in France, is uncertain.¹² Nonetheless, Saint-Vallier did not trust Laval. When the new Bishop brought over a packet of letters for Laval, who had already returned, he had opened and read them before transmitting them to the ex-Bishop--an understandable, if clumsy precaution, given Laval's earlier hostility.¹³

From the outset, Saint-Vallier made it clear that he wanted Laval to fill only one role--that of former Bishop of Quebec. Saint-Vallier intimated strongly that Laval should either retire to the country or return to France. In either case, it was explicit that Saint-Vallier wanted Laval to have no part in the running of the diocese.

Saint-Vallier spent his first three months in the Seminary while awaiting the completion of repairs to his future residence. This must have been a trying time for all concerned, since Saint-Vallier immediately began to put into effect his plans for the reduction of the

Seminary's authority. Unfortunately, these measures were so hostile that they provoked great antagonism. Firstly the Bishop deprived Maizerets and Bernières, both directors of the Seminary and leading collaborators of Laval, of their posts as Grand-Vicars and superiors of the religious houses. Unhappily, Saint-Vallier joined to this an order prohibiting the two from hearing confessions or directing spiritual conferences, a severe limitation of their role in the Seminary. Secondly, Saint-Vallier claimed that the erection of certain cures made by Laval was null and void, that it would be necessary to end the union which existed between the Seminary and the cures, and that the regulations and statutes given by Laval to the Chapter were of no validity. Thirdly, he wrote to Brisacier, superior of the *Séminaire des Missions Étrangères*, asking him to persuade Laval to retire from public life, and to recall Maizerets, superior of the Seminary, whom he wished to have replaced by a new superior from France.

This was one line of attack--to curb the influence of the Seminary by removing those who were most recalcitrant to the imposition of the new Bishop's authority and by replacing them with ecclesiastics of a more pliable nature.

Yet this was not the only line followed. To reduce the Seminary to obedience, Saint-Vallier was determined to strike where his attack would have the most effect--the finances of the Seminary. In the indigent diocese, the finances of each religious house were of a somewhat precarious nature: expenses were high, but income, of which the majority came from royal largesse, was just sufficient to meet the necessary expenses.¹⁴

Saint-Vallier charged to the Seminary as much as he could of the expenses of the Chapter, of the cure of Quebec and of the stipends of those priests whom he had brought over with him from France. He attempted to gain control of the 4000 *livres* awarded annually to the Seminary for his own purposes. Similarly, he deprived the Seminary of the 1800 *livres* which was to be paid to the Chapter. Saint-Vallier himself divided or distributed this sum "selon son bon plaisir", according to the Seminary, which alleged that he refused to pay those canons who were members of the Seminary. In addition he caused the superior and directors to sign a contract agreeing on a new division of the 800 *livres* which was accorded as a supplement to the tithes. He then distributed this sum at his own discretion to the *curés*. It must be noted that the evidence does not permit us to elucidate these financial machinations, and we must be content with generalized statements of what the Bishop did. Another line of attack was to "affoiblir et a ruiner l'etat de perfection spirituelle ou étoit cette nouvelle Eglise". Firstly, Saint-Vallier himself left the Seminary, taking with him those ecclesiastics who had accompanied him from France, and who were forbidden to join the Seminary. He also undertook to have the *curés* detached from the Seminary. For the moment he contented himself by distributing their stipends to them himself in order to weaken the strong financial bond which existed between the Seminary and the *curés*. Likewise, he discouraged the religious orders from associating with the Seminary. The Seminary accused the Bishop of sending spies amongst them to disrupt their internal union, but this allegation seems more to be a vituperative exaggeration than a statement of fact.

The Bishop advanced three reasons for his policy: first, that it

was essential that his diocese be governed in the same manner as dioceses in France. Thus he found it essential that the Chapter, the Seminary and the cure of Quebec should constitute three separate and different bodies. Second, that the *curés*' dependence on the Seminary had "un air de domination et d'avarice qu'un Evêque doit reprimer". Saint-Vallier found it repugnant that one institution should control all the ecclesiastical wealth of the diocese, and thus be master of the priests. Third, Saint-Vallier claimed that the priests' links with the Seminary were:

. . . un obstacle invincible au rapport que ce même clergé doit avoir à son Evêque duquel il falloit desormais que tous les Ecclesiastiques dependissent immediatement et uniquement pour leur spirituel et leur temporel afin de mettre l'Eglise naissante de Canada dans le même état ou étoit l'Eglise primitive du temps des Apôtres¹⁵

These were reasonable objectives, but Saint-Vallier's imperious temperament was to make them the source of much contention.

An attempt to defuse the situation was made in 1689. Both Saint-Vallier and the Seminary were amenable to the suggestion that their differences be regulated by a council composed of the Duc de Beauvilliers, Fénelon, Tronson and le Valois. These regulations have not survived, so the terms are not known. Unfortunately the terms were not to Saint-Vallier's liking and he quickly dissolved the advisory council which he had established when certain of its members demonstrated that they did not share Saint-Vallier's opposition to the regulations, an attitude which the bishop regarded as "une resistance criminelle des inferieurs à leur Eveque."¹⁶ Saint-Vallier soon made public his conception of his authority over the clergy and the Seminary. His claims were all-embracing. He insisted that he was the master of all the cures and that

he could distribute the *curés*' supplement himself, that the *curé* owed him blind obedience and that missionaries should reside in their missions, an attempt to stop them lodging at the Seminary. His pretensions over the Seminary itself were no less far-reaching: he as the bishop was to name the superior and directors of the *Grand Séminaire*, and the director of the *Petit Séminaire*, in which the younger children received instruction; that he could regulate for the spiritual and temporal life of the Seminary of which he was the first superior and, as such, had a "droit absolu" over the other superiors. To complement these proposals, Saint-Vallier stated that he could stop the Seminary from incorporating priests, that he wanted to be informed of the temporal affairs of the Seminary and that he had the right to examine the acts of the Seminary and the Chapter.¹⁷ Although these demands seem extensive, it must be remembered that such were the normal prerogatives of a bishop. Saint-Vallier was asking for no more than his due, though his use of intemperate expressions such as "droit absolu" well illustrates how his own lofty concept of episcopal authority could easily cause resistance to his claims. Similar claims were extended to the Chapter. Saint-Vallier stated that the Chapter as it existed did not constitute a chapter; that it was for him alone to pass statutes, without the consent of the canons; that he could appoint honorary canons without fixing the number; that his Grand-Vicars were to have precedence over the officers of the Chapter; and that he could dispose of the Chapter's goods and revenues as he wished.¹⁸

Such were the customary claims of many French bishops in a century which saw clashes between bishops and the religious communities proliferate at an enormous rate. Yet with Saint-Vallier, these claims

had a more immediate cause--the rebuff he had encountered from the Chapter when he tried to have André Merlac installed as a canon. The Chapter said that only the King could name the new canon, not Saint-Vallier, and that it preferred to wait till it had received instructions from the King. The Chapter's reply is understandable. Frontenac had just been appointed Governor of New France for the second time. His first period in office had seen an offensive on his part against the authority of the clergy, an offensive which had the full support of Colbert, the Minister of the Marine. It seems fair to assume that the Chapter was stepping carefully, afraid of offending the royal government and therefore losing the support of a potential ally against Saint-Vallier.

Saint-Vallier could not appreciate the Chapter's position. He merely saw that his authority was being flouted and with that he exploded, accusing the canons of using delaying tactics whilst they tried to have their own candidate granted the canonicate.¹⁹

Relations between Laval and Saint-Vallier had also deteriorated. Laval was angered by Saint-Vallier's refusal to reimburse him the 900 *francs* that he had spent on renovations to the church at St.-Anne despite the fact that the ex-Bishop had undertaken this charge at the request of Saint-Vallier. Furthermore, Laval was disconcerted by Saint-Vallier's harsh treatment of the Seminary. The Bishop was still refusing to surrender to it the necessary funds, and the large cures which he was assigning to the priests caused several to be ill. For instance, Boucher had become knock-kneed after wading through icy water whilst trying to cover his parish.²⁰

A further cause of division between the two was Saint-Vallier's insistence that the bishop alone must be the dispenser of cures, and that he intended to build presbyteries to force the priests to remain in their cures rather than lodge at the Seminary. An interesting sidelight is that Laval states that Saint-Vallier used so many artifices that he gained all hearts. Is this an indication that there was a certain support for Saint-Vallier in the colony?²¹

To resolve the difficulties Saint-Vallier returned to France in 1691 to seek royal support for his demands. Before leaving he informed the Seminary of his imminent departure and instructed the directors to choose a representative to accompany him to France, where the representative could present the case for the Seminary.²² This is an excellent indication that for all his faults, Saint-Vallier was trying to treat the Seminary fairly. He was convinced that his demands were just and equitable, being only an assertion of the normal powers of a bishop, and thus he did not need to fear the accusations of the Seminary.

The King assigned the problem to the Archbishop of Paris and *père* la Chaise, the royal confessor. Their deliberations were a complete vindication of Saint-Vallier's position. The new regulations which were issued on January 13, 1692, deprived the Seminary of the accretions of power which it had steadily acquired. Henceforth the Seminary was to content itself with educating the young and those who wished to take holy orders. The bishop's control of the Seminary was enhanced: the directors were still to be named by the *Missions-Étrangères*, but they must also be approved by Saint-Vallier; the directors could not add any new priests to the Seminary without the consent of the bishop; the country cures were not to be united to the Seminary without Saint-Vallier's consent; the lodge in the Seminary without the bishop's consent;

and the Seminary was not to name the cure of Quebec. The regulations concerning the Chapter were no less astounding: the statutes of the Chapter had to be approved by the bishop; Saint-Vallier was to have two places for honorary canons; the Chapter could make no changes in its statutes without the bishop's permission; the canons could not absent themselves without the bishop's permission, and Saint-Vallier's Grand-Vicars were given precedence over all other ecclesiastics.

On the financial question, the 4000 *livres* which was to be used to pay the *curés* and missionaries was to be divided into three. The Seminary was to receive one-third, and Saint-Vallier two-thirds, which he would then distribute to the priests.

Buoyant after this victory, Saint-Vallier pressed home his attack, introducing new matters for discussion, which were regulated on January 20. Saint-Vallier again carried the day. His request that 2000 *livres* be employed for the upkeep of the aged and ill missionaries was granted, so were his requests that *curés* should be allowed to provide for their own needs without having to pay the Seminary; that those furnishings supplied by the bishop or king should be left in the missions at the end of the *curé's* tenure instead of being shipped to the Seminary; that the library which Saint-Vallier had given to the Seminary should be returned, and that portable chapels should belong to the missions in which they served.²³ These victories are significant. The judges were not known to be biased in Saint-Vallier's favour, and thus their acceptance of his demands is a major indication that his claims were not excessive. The judges conceded that Saint-Vallier had the customary prerogatives of a bishop. They were not granting him

an authority to which he could lay no claim.

Saint-Vallier was content, and made it known that he retained no antipathy towards the Seminary. Brisacier informed the directors of the Quebec Seminary that ". . . il [Saint-Vallier] se sent si peu de ressentiment, que pour nous témoigner qu'Il n'en a point du tout."²⁴ It seemed that the Bishop's relations with the Seminary could begin on a new footing.

Unfortunately, this was not to be so. The Seminary complied with the regulations, but at the same time sought to have them modified. The distrust between the two parties was too great to overcome. Saint-Vallier tried hard to show his care and concern for his opponents. He suggested certain alterations to the educational programme of the Seminary, stressing that it should temper the mortifications practised because of the severity of the climate. These suggestions were merely an attempt at helping the Seminary adapt to its original role. Yet each proposal was met by a curt reply: refusal or a bland statement to the effect that such was the practice of the Seminary.²⁵

Unabashed, the Bishop tried once more. He proposed that to reduce the obligations imposed on the Seminary, they should only care for five invalid or aged priests. The Seminary was willing on certain conditions, one being that they had the right to name the priests. This was an unwise move, which only provoked Saint-Vallier into defending his own authority ". . . ny ayant personne dans le diocèse qui puisse mieux connoistre la spiritualité d'un curé ou d'un missionnaire que M. Levesque."²⁶ The two parties found mutual accommodation impossible. Saint-Vallier wanted the regulations to be implemented; the Seminary

wanted them modified. Nor was Laval on the sidelines. He already had plans for Saint-Vallier's removal, which to the former bishop was the only alternative to allowing Saint-Vallier to flex his new authority in the diocese. Laval served notice that he could easily fulfill the episcopal functions until a new bishop was found, while de la Colombières could serve as Grand-Vicar.²⁷ Saint-Vallier responded in kind. He refused to hand over the one-third of the 4000 *livres* accorded to the Seminary, nor would he pay for the living expenses of those priests whom he had brought over from France,²⁸ but charged this to the Seminary.

Once more the Archbishop of Paris and *père* la Chaise met to discuss the situation. The results cannot have been to the Seminary's liking. The regulations of 1692 were restated, and it was decided that Saint-Vallier should name the aged or invalid priests who were to be lodged in the Seminary. Saint-Vallier had also sought the recall of Maizerets and Glandelet, both directors of the Seminary, but here the Bishop was merely told to wait until a year had passed to see if a reconciliation were possible.²⁹

Unfortunately, Saint-Vallier, careless of the sentiments of others as long as his own position was upheld, now committed several major errors in rapid succession. In the next year and a half he managed amazingly to alienate virtually every important power group in the colony.

The first dispute occurred early in 1693. Joseph de la Colombières, a Sulpician, who was later to join the Seminary, had just been installed as a member of the Chapter by Merlac, the Grand Cantor. However, for some strange reason, when this act was copied in the register of the Chapter, it was stated that Maizerets had actually installed the new canon.

To compound this mystery, it seems that Merlac actually confirmed this new version of the events by signing the register.³⁰ Some time afterwards Merlac went to Saint-Vallier to complain. The Bishop recommended that the aggrieved priest find other arbiters in the matter. On April 15 members of the Chapter met with Saint-Vallier, Frontenac, the Governor and Champigny, the *intendant*, to discuss the matter. It was decided that the register would be corrected, that it was to be inserted at the end of any articles where it was felt that the bishop's authority was impugned, that such articles would not set a precedent for the future, and that the secretary of the Chapter was not to forget to obtain Saint-Vallier's signature for the minutes of the capitular assemblies. These last demands were Saint-Vallier's, who had himself perused the register, and was convinced that the Chapter had flagrantly flaunted his authority by omitting his signature from various acts.³¹

Saint-Vallier announced that he would shortly communicate his decision on this matter to the Chapter. Indeed he did on April 24. However, convinced of his duty to "arrester les suites d'une affaire qui iroit a troubler la paix de notre Eglise, et pour rendra a chacun ce qui luy appartient", Saint-Vallier ordered that it was the duty of the Grand Cantor to install new canons, and that the act of Colombières' installation was of no validity, as was the case with many others in the register of the Chapter. He declared that several of the acts therein had been debated while he was in France, had not received his approval, and were therefore null and void.³²

The canons reacted vigorously. A reply was drawn up stating that those acts which Saint-Vallier had not signed were dated 1687, a year before he became Bishop.³³ Also they approached the Sovereign Council

with an *appel comme d'abus* against the Bishop's action.³⁴ To counter this latest affront to his authority, Saint-Vallier forbade Maizerets and Glandelet to preach or confer since he considered that they had made their mission fruitless by their wilfull attacks on episcopal authority.³⁵

News of these disputes reached France where the Archbishop of Paris discussed the matter with the King. It was decided that Saint-Vallier should return to France. Saint-Vallier was curtly informed of the royal wish: "son intention est que vous ne differiez Votre depart affin que vous puissiez vous-même en personne achever et finir toutes vos affaires."³⁶ Before leaving Saint-Vallier was to add to his troubles by a spectacular quarrel with the Recollets of Montreal.

Until 1694 the Bishop's relations with this order had been excellent. He was especially favourable towards them because they had sold him their monastery in Quebec to serve as his new *Hôpital-Général*. Unhappily, this situation was shattered by one incident. On May 10, 1694, Saint-Vallier was to assist at a profession in the Recollet church. On his entry, he noticed that the *prie-Dieu* to be used by Callières, the Governor of Montreal, was in the sanctuary, thus implying that the Governor was entitled to greater honours than his rank merited. On Saint-Vallier's insistence the *prie-Dieu* was removed. However, while the Bishop was celebrating Mass, Callières entered with his soldiers, who, seeing the Governor's *prie-Dieu*, replaced it in its former position. When the Bishop turned around and saw what had taken place, he approached Callières to tell him that the place he was occupying was reserved only for the Governor of the colony. Saint-Vallier continued that if

Callières did not vacate the place, this affront to episcopal dignity would force the Bishop to leave. Callières quickly retorted that the Bishop could leave if he wished to. At that the Bishop stormed out of the church.

The following day, Saint-Vallier ordered the Recollets to remove all the *prie-Dieux* from the church. On May 13, Callières came once more to hear Mass, only to see that the church was denuded of *prie-Dieux*. The priest, Joseph Denis, informed the Governor of the recent proceedings, but refused Callières' request that the *prie-Dieux* be replaced. Therefore, the Governor had his soldiers replace the offending *prie-Dieux* by force.

Denis immediately informed the Bishop, but it seems that Saint-Vallier did not receive the message because that same day, on passing the church, he noticed that the *prie-Dieux* had been replaced. The priest tried to explain, but to no avail. The next day Saint-Vallier put the church under an interdict by which the church was to close until the Bishop had communicated with the King on the question. In the next two months there were several attempts to effect a settlement between Saint-Vallier and Callières, but no satisfactory terms could be found. After two months, the Recollets opened their church, citing as their reasons the attitude of the people of Montreal, who had not taken kindly to the closing of the church, and their own belief that Saint-Vallier would be satisfied by their two months' submission. The Bishop was far from satisfied.³⁷ In the next two months the Bishop issued two warnings to the Recollets, exhorting them to obey his commands and to submit to his interdict. Throughout the quarrel, Saint-Vallier was motivated solely by

the desire to protect his own dignity:

. . . il ne nous est pas permis de souffrir qu'on avilisse notre dignité et que selon l'avis de St. Paul à un évêque, son disciple, nous devons reprendre avec plein pouvoir et agir en sorte que personne ne nous méprise.

Such was the Bishop's justification for his stand: at all costs his dignity and authority were to be maintained. In his third warning of September 15, Saint-Vallier added a new element to the dispute: he now claimed that the real reason for the interdict was the affair between the sister of the Recollet superior and Callières.³⁸ Whatever the truth of this assertion, it merely served to enrage Callières, who publicly posted a reply to the Bishop's accusations on the door of the Recollet church and had this reply guarded by a sentry.³⁹ This dispute over precedence may seem to us to have been petty in the extreme but such external appearances of rank were regarded as of fundamental importance in a society where at the court of Versailles there were regulations stating which female members of the nobility could sit in the King's presence. To add to his problems, the Bishop vented his hostility on the Jesuits who tried to defend Callières against Saint-Vallier's charges. As a punishment, the Bishop reduced the number of times that they could hold the benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, and dissolved their congregation (an association for spiritual advancement composed of the laity and directed by the Jesuits).⁴⁰

Although this quarrel may seem to present us an imperious and power-hungry portrait of the Bishop, it would be well to note the words of Champigny, the *intendant*:

. . . si on peut imputer à Mr. l'évêque quelque entreprise au delà des bornes en ce que je viens d'avoir l'honneur de vous marquer, ceux qui ont fait des fautes n'ont pas moins mal fait et n'en méritent pas moins le châtement, autrement il n'y aura . . . règle . . . 41

Champigny had so far shown himself to be disinterested in all the ecclesiastical quarrels, and we may discern in his words a sign that though the Bishop's passion may be judged reprehensible, his motives were not.

Saint-Vallier's return to France was far from auspicious. The *Séminaire des Missions Étrangères* refused to lodge him, and at Court he was openly being decried for his abrasive temperament. . La Chaise, the royal confessor, had read to Louis XIV those letters which had been dispatched from New France, of which none were favourable. A formidable array of foes stood before the Bishop: the Archbishop of Paris, la Chaise and the King were all convinced that he had to be removed.

However, to obtain Saint-Vallier's consent, it would be essential to sweeten the pill: he would have to be offered a similar position in France.⁴² On this matter the opinion of Pontchartrain, the Minister of the Marine, prevailed. He declared openly that Saint-Vallier was incapable of governing any diocese, and that he must tender his resignation.⁴³

Weakness of character was never one of the Bishop's faults; he was resolved to return to Canada, a desire reinforced by the reports in the Dutch and Flemish newspapers that he would not be permitted to do so.

Saint-Vallier mounted an impressive counter-attack. He had several meetings with the directors of the *Séminaire des Missions Étrangères* in which he settled his financial disputes with the Seminary, though he showed himself unwilling to pay for one priest who had been ordained without his episcopal consent.⁴⁴

To bolster his position still further, Saint-Vallier wrote to the religious communities of Quebec asking that they send letters of support

for him to Versailles. Only two communities of Montreal did so. The view commonly held was voiced by the superior of the *Congrégation de Notre-Dame*, who said that she would rather pray that the Bishop should never return.⁴⁵

The Bishop somewhat weakened his case by his double-dealing with the religious orders. He wrote to Dollier de Casson, his Vicar-General, instructing him to inform the communities that if they did not work to assure his return that year (1695) then they would feel the weight of his authority when he did return. In the case of the Jesuits, this threat was made explicit: either support their Bishop against the Seminary or else he would deprive them of their missions and give them to the Recollets.⁴⁶

Saint-Vallier demonstrated sheer bravado when he wrote to Glandelet and Laval asking them to secure his return to the diocese. To secure Laval's support Saint-Vallier promised that he would add 1000 *livres* for the Seminary to the 8000 that was destined for the *curés* and missionaries. Saint-Vallier was to be sorely disappointed.⁴⁷ Laval did not restrain his feelings. The former Bishop declared that before Saint-Vallier's arrival, peace had reigned in the diocese, but the new Bishop had had as his guiding principle the destruction of the Seminary, the keystone in Laval's organization of the diocese. Laval carefully enumerated Saint-Vallier's hostile acts against the Seminary, and thus concluded that Saint-Vallier's actions belied his words--the new Bishop had no intention of restoring the former unity and harmony to the diocese. Therefore, Laval concluded that he would not use his influence at court on Saint-Vallier's behalf and stated quite plainly that his successor should resign in the best interests of the diocese.⁴⁸

Realizing Saint-Vallier's weak position, both Laval and the Seminary went on the attack. Laval wrote to the Archbishop of Paris listing Saint-Vallier's excesses and denigrating his character. 49

The Seminary did likewise--at least two memoranda were sent to France comparing the perfect state of harmony under Laval with the strife and disruption caused by Saint-Vallier. 50 The bishop's reasons for his clashes with the Seminary were belittled. Instead the authors emphasized his passionate temperament:

Il a trop de vivacité et trop peu de reflexion et de jugement. Il est d'un attachement à son sens jusqu'à l'obstination. Il veut que tout le monde entre dans ses vûes, et il ne peut souffrir qu'on lui resiste parce qu'il croit avoir plus de lumière et plus d'habilité que les autres pour la conduite des affaires. Il suit en tout un premier feu qui l'emporte, et si on s'y oppose il s'irrite de manière qu'on ne peut rien traiter de sang froid avec lui; on ne le connoit qu'autant qu'il a quelque chose à démêler avec les gens. 51

It would be unjust to see in this description merely the exaggerations of a hostile account. Saint-Vallier's zeal, coupled with his high conception of the office of bishop, caused him to be unwilling to accept the opposition of his inferiors. In his view of the world, inferiors were expected to obey without demur. It was on this aspect that the Seminary had to concentrate, otherwise its position was weak. Saint-Vallier's claims to authority over the Seminary had been accepted as valid. The French court did not deny the bishop's authority, but was aghast at his temper and lack of moderation in achieving his objectives. Had Saint-Vallier conducted himself with prudent moderation, the Seminary would have been left helpless--and subdued. As it was, the Bishop had destroyed by his own excess of zeal the credibility which he had tried so hard to win. The Seminary greatly underestimated Saint-Vallier's tenacity. He refused to resign, saying that he would govern his

diocese from France. The King who had renounced his former libidinous habits and had become religious, was reluctant to demand the Bishop's resignation.⁵² A friendly letter from Frontenac now arrived, securing Saint-Vallier's return to his diocese.⁵³

However, before his departure Saint-Vallier was informed in no uncertain terms that he was on probation: he could either reach an agreement with the Seminary or expect little comfort from the Court.⁵⁴ The solicitude that Saint-Vallier was now to show for the Seminary was little short of miraculous. Before leaving France he made a donation of 1609 *livres* to the Seminary⁵⁵, yet this was nothing to the new disposition which he demonstrated on his return. In October, 1697, Glandelet was created a Grand-Vicar.⁵⁶ In April, 1698, Saint-Vallier granted the Seminary two missionary fields:

. . . poussé du désir d'étendre la Foi dans tous les lieux que la divine Providence a confiés à nos soins et voulant donner des marques de l'affection sincère que nous avons pour le Séminaire des Missions Étrangères.

The Mississippi and Acadian missions were now to be entrusted to the Seminary.⁵⁷

This caused a new dispute with the Jesuits who had a mission amongst the Tamarois Indians, through whose area the Seminary's priests would need to pass in order to reach the Mississippi. The Seminary felt that the Jesuits might refuse them permission to establish a base there, so Saint-Vallier decided to obviate the problem by ceding the Seminary the rights to establish a mission amongst the Tamarois.⁵⁸ As an extra benefit Saint-Vallier helped defray part of the cost of the Mississippi mission.

Saint-Vallier and the Seminary also found cooperation possible in other fields. In the financial sphere, the Bishop proved most obliging in

that he gave the Seminary 1000 *écus* in 1699 and 1700 to pay for the expenses of the young ecclesiastics.⁵⁹ On educational matters Saint-Vallier proposed that he and the Seminary establish several schools to serve the town of Quebec and the immediate environs. The two parties agreed that the Seminary would provide the teachers and Saint-Vallier would undertake to pay 400 *livres* per annum to defray the costs.⁶⁰ On the personal level, the Bishop and his erstwhile enemies had reached an accord. Glandelet was able to report in October, 1698, that Saint-Vallier was now living in peace with the Seminary.⁶¹ Even Laval and his successor were no longer at odds, perhaps because the former Bishop no longer took any part in the governing of the diocese. Maizerets, the superior of the Seminary, was appointed superior of the *Hôtel-Dieu* in 1699,⁶² and given the authority to confess the nuns the following year.⁶³ However, relations with the Jesuits had been soured by Saint-Vallier's concession allowing the Seminary to establish a missionary base among the Tamarois. The Jesuits contested this, claiming that this mission was theirs alone. The Bishop therefore revoked the letters patent he had given to the Jesuits by which he had made members of their order his Grand-Vicars in the Illinois and Mississippi mission. He now chose three new Grand-Vicars, de la Colombières, Montigny and Bergier, all priests of the Seminary.⁶⁴ In 1700, Saint-Vallier found himself obliged to return to France to appeal against the royal order disestablishing the *Hôpital-Général* which he had founded. The Seminary immediately came to the aid of their new ally. Maizerets wrote to the *Séminaire des Missions Étrangères* of Paris asking that the Bishop might lodge there, "ce que nous croyons nécessaire pour le succes de ses affaires et des nostres qui sont celles de cette eglise." In Paris the Seminary hoped that the Bishop would be able to regulate the Mississippi question to their own advantage.⁶⁵

Saint-Vallier and his episcopal Seminary had finally come to terms. Yet how solid was the truce that existed between them? Its major foundation was the fright which the Bishop had received during his last sojourn in France. He had the choice of either mitigating his temper or losing his diocese. Events were to show that his hostility to the Seminary had abated, but not by much. Was the Seminary now convinced of the Bishop's friendliness, or did it merely see in him an effective ally?

It appears that the Seminary was genuinely pleased with the new state of affairs: the priests showed a willingness to aid the Bishop and were no doubt gratified by the benefits which they received in return. Unhappily, this new attitude had not drifted across the Atlantic. The priests of the Paris house were to remain resolutely opposed to the Bishop, and this was to be responsible for the end of these harmonious relations.

The last twelve years had been of great significance for the Church of Quebec. Saint-Vallier had all but destroyed the administrative system erected by Laval. In its place Saint-Vallier wished to create a replica of the existing system of France where it was the will of one man which was to guide the state. Saint-Vallier envisioned a diocese where the priests would owe him blind obedience and where "tous les biens estoient en commun dispensés par la main de Levesque."⁶⁶ He almost succeeded, but the excesses of his temperament aroused the opposition of the Court, and so nearly lost his diocese. The imposition of the system of episcopal government which Saint-Vallier aspired to was to prove impossible. Even in France, Louis XIV had to play a juggling game to ensure that he did not alienate the support of too many power groups at lesson which Saint-Vallier was compelled to learn.

CHAPTER V

SAINT-VALLIER AND PASTORAL WORK, 1688-1700

In the seventeenth century France was the leading exponent of the spiritual revival of a decaying Catholicism which is known as the Counter-Reformation. It was the ardent longing of men devoted to the Church such as Vincent de Paul and Jean-Jacques Olier to spread the message of the Council of Trent. In effect, they intended the rechristianization of society from top to bottom.

These men took their inspiration from the decrees of the Council of Trent, which in its three sessions, 1545-1547, 1551-1552, 1562-1563, did much to reinvigorate the troubled Catholic Church by its clarification of church doctrine and by its attacks on the irregular lives of the clergy.

Of particular importance were the results of the Council's deliberations on the duties of bishops, and the institution of the parish. The bishops were enjoined to live eschewing the trappings of their position¹, to make annual visitations², to reside in their dioceses³, to correct the morals of their flock, but more importantly, to reprove the transgressions of the clerics who were to provide a model for their flock to emulate⁴; to hold diocesan synods every year to secure the reaffirmation of the new reformed 'mentality', and to acquaint themselves with the problems encountered by their clergy.⁵ Finally, but most important of all, "the chief duty of the bishops" (praecipuum episcoporum munus) was the preaching of the Gospel.⁶

On the parochial level, where the ordinary population was most affected, the Counter-Reformation meant the institution of a system of

parochial conformity: mass was to be attended every Sunday and holy day in the parish church, and the sacraments were to be received only from the parish priest.⁷ Indeed the Council was quite explicit on this topic: it was the duty of the faithful to attend their parish church.⁸

In France the decrees of the Council were rejected by the monarchy, which saw them as an invasion of royal control over the French Church. However, the French episcopate was to be infused by the spirit of the Counter-Reformation, thanks to the works of Charles Borromeo, whose episcopate epitomized the fervour of resurgent Catholicism.

Borromeo, administrator, and later, archbishop of Milan, 1560-1584, put into effect many of the proposals produced by the Council. He held eleven diocesan and six provincial synods to achieve the perfection of the clergy and set about ensuring a more effective manner of administering the sacrament of penance. His *Instructions*, which he intended to be used by confessors, were part of the new theology which demanded a true and complete repentance on the part of the penitent. Borromeo stressed the need to defer or refuse absolution to those who demonstrated inadequate desire to mend their ways. For Borromeo, the penitent must merit the sacrament before receiving it.⁹

Early French admirers of Borromeo were Alexander Canigiani, Archbishop of Aix, who reproduced for his own diocese several of the decisions of the Milanese synods and similarly, Francois de Joyeuse, Archbishop of Toulouse, who showed a similar admiration, in that the seminaries which he founded were modelled along the lines suggested by Borromeo.

However, Borromeo's influence in France was not spread by these two prelates, but rather through the pages of his works. The *Decreta*

Ecclesiae Mediolanensis, which contains his synodal statutes, became the textbook of every reform-minded bishop who saw in the Archbishop of Milan "l'idéal, le type classique, le modèle accompli de l'épiscopat." Zamet, de Solminihac, Pavillon, le Camus and de Vialart, all outstanding figures in the renaissance of seventeenth-century French Catholicism, took Borromeo as their ideal.

Borromeo's influence was to receive a fillip in the second half of the century by the publication for the first time, of a French translation of his *Instructions*. The French clergy found in these an intelligent defence of their position against the Jansenist attacks of Pascal in his *Provinciales*.¹⁰

Inspired by Borromeo, the reform-minded bishops of seventeenth-century France were to devise a common programme for the redemption of their dioceses. Of course, each diocese had its own individual needs, but the problems which afflicted the Church were sufficiently widespread as to engender a common response from bishops separated by time and distance.

This common program had as its goal two objectives: the formation of a professional, trained clergy which would truly mirror the spiritual nature of their calling, unlike their pre-Reformation counterparts, and the rechristianization of lay society. Perhaps rechristianization is too strong a term, but reports that as late as 1679 there were parishioners at Fenioux in the diocese of La Rochelle who believed that the wine distributed at communion was the actual blood of Christ gives an indication of the problem which the bishops had to solve.¹¹

Despite the importance of the period, there are few studies of the response of the episcopate to these pressing problems. The only one to deal with France as a whole is Paul Broutin's *La réforme pastorale en*

France au XVII^e siècle, vol. 1, in which the Jesuit scholar carefully examines the responses of certain bishops chosen to exemplify the schools of thought which predominated in this century.¹² Several common traits are easily discernible. For all, the sanctification of the clergy was a pressing necessity. Francis de Sales decreed that priests were to remove themselves from worldly temptations: they were not to reside with women, to frequent cabarets, markets, fairs, illicit games or the hunt. They were to wear their cassocks and be tonsured. Similar strictures were pronounced by de Sourdis, Zamet, le Camus and de Grammont.

However, regulating the external appearance and social habits of the clergy was only half the battle. Diocesan synods and ecclesiastical conferences were the universal remedy to remove the spiritual deficiencies encountered among the priests. De Sourdis instituted the habit of two ecclesiastical conferences every year; Pavillon had monthly conferences, as did le Camus. Diocesan synods were usually held annually though la Fayette had two a year.

To further ensure the *curés'* cooperation, attendance was compulsory, and the topic of discussion was decided in advance by the bishop. Despite this, the problem was not easily solved. It is reported that even in the middle of the reign of Louis XIV there were priests who knew no Latin.¹³

To further gauge the merits of their clergy, these bishops made regular visitations: de Sourdis visited a different region of his diocese every year, as did many others, though not all to the extent of d'Urfé, who travelled so much that he nearly died from exhaustion. Just as

their methods of perfecting the clergy were similar, so were their methods of securing a Christian life for the faithful.

A major concern was the effective administration of the sacrament of penance. La Rochefoucauld insisted that his *cures* should instruct themselves by the judicious reading of certain approved works on the *cas de conscience*. Of a more extreme nature were the recommendations of Pavillon whose Jansenist tendencies favoured as few absolutions as possible. A more moderate line was that of Vialart de Herse, who believed in no absolution till it was assured that the penitent had truly repented and ceased his evil practices.

Other topics of concern were religious instruction, the importance of the parish church, and good works. Religious instruction was now a matter of prime concern. The century was to see an amazing outpouring of catechisms and catechical works. For many, the leader in this field was Francis de Sales who personally taught the catechism to the children of his diocese. Joly composed his own *Devoirs du chrétien* in the form of a catechism, whilst de Grammont ordered his flock to send their children to the catechetical lessons, reserving to himself the power of absolving the parents if they did not comply.

The importance of the parish church was stressed. All decreed that the sacraments were to be received at the hands of the parish priest. It was heavily stressed that confession must be to the parish priest, though permission to confess to another could be granted if the local *curé* were willing to allow this.

As a complement to this, the bishops noted the need for the efficient and organized care of the church fabric. *Curés* were exhorted to keep registers to provide themselves with accurate records, to take

simple precautions such as the storing of the host in a box, and to enclose cemeteries. All are self-evident requirements, but which had been sadly lacking.

Finally, the bishops, especially Francis de Sales and Jean-Baptiste Gault, stressed the need in the faithful for charity: in de Sales' *Introduction à la vie dévote*, he stressed that all could attain salvation by going to the limits of charity; Gault in his short episcopate managed to create a shining example by disbursing more than 30,000 *livres* to the poor. This then was the common programme of the reform-minded French episcopate. It was also to be the programme of Saint-Vallier.

When Saint-Vallier returned to his diocese in 1688 as Bishop of Quebec, the subjection of the Seminary was not his sole cause for concern: the new Bishop was far from pleased with the state of his diocese. One contemporary report states that Saint-Vallier discovered much to his chagrin that he had exaggerated the good morals of the people and the benedictions which God had showered upon them. Consequently, he removed his *relation* from circulation and preached to the *habitants* inciting them to prayers and penance in order to appease the wrath of God.¹⁴ Indeed, Saint-Vallier confirmed that his diocese was "à deux doigts de la ruine", in one of his early letters, though he adroitly placed the blame on the recent incursions of the Indians.¹⁵ Whatever the cause of his flock's spiritual failings, Saint-Vallier was determined to apply a forceful remedy of pastoral care.

In this intent Saint-Vallier was animated by his view of God and by his conception of the obligation of a bishop towards his flock.

Saint-Vallier held the then prevalent view of the Deity as an impending vengeful figure, an ever-vigilant master who held His thunderbolts in His hand ready to make known His condemnation of the sinner.¹⁶ It was to this Being to whom Saint-Vallier and all priests who had a charge of souls were to render "un terrible compte" on the Day of Judgement.¹⁷ A selfish motivation perhaps, but for his own salvation the Bishop was obliged to set his flock on a path towards Christian virtues.

Thus for Saint-Vallier, it was his duty to extirpate sin from the diocese, propelled by "le devoir que nous avons de veiller continuellement sur le besoin du troupeau qu'il a plu à Dieu de nous confier nous oblige en même temps d'y pourvoir en toutes les meilleurs manières que nous pourrons."¹⁸ This then was Saint-Vallier's precious, but dangerous charge: the salvation of his flock, for which the Bishop was responsible before God.

What were the major problems in the diocese? There are certain transgressions which Saint-Vallier singled out as especially prevalent: usury, refusal to fast at Lent, non-attendance at church, abuse of alcohol, irreverent behavior in church, impious discourse, refusal to pay the tithe, a fondness for luxurious and vain clothes, attendance at dances, plays and other such worldly diversions, and the retention of the common soldiers' pay by the officers.

Indeed the *habitants* were little different from their counterparts in France who plagued their bishops with the same behaviour.¹⁹ To remedy these abuses, the Bishop was to rely on proven methods. Yet it must be noted that these proven methods stressed correction by the *curé* rather than self-betterment by the faithful. Saint-Vallier made few direct appeals to the people. In 1690 when the English were attacking Quebec, he

asked the people to best defend themselves by renouncing usury, vengeance, evil intentions and reiterated profanations.²⁰

In his first synod in 1691, the Bishop stressed that the faithful should do their part to sanctify their lives, not only by attending Mass, but also by saying their prayers at home, by reciting the Rosary or by edifying reading.²¹ Yet for the most part these injunctions were rare: the Bishop stressed that the *habitants* were to respect and obey their *curés* in the hope that this would lead to a real transformation in the attitudes of the parishioners.²²

To effect a true change of heart in the *habitants*, Saint-Vallier resolved to use the policy outlined by Charles Borromeo--the refusal or deferral of absolution. Guy Plante has noted:

Il favorisait plus souvent le refus de l'absolution en intervenant dans des situations concrètes de son diocèse qu'en établissant des principes généraux dans son rituel.²³

Plante has calculated that in Saint-Vallier's *mandements* and pastoral letters and chapter 5 of his ritual, the bishop uses the terms "absolution" or "to absolve" some 197 times. The idea of delay or refusal is associated with these terms 106 times.²⁴

However, before examining this aspect of Saint-Vallier's strategy, we must turn our attention to matters of a more general nature.

The *curé's* role as corrector of the *habitant* may be judged as a negative attribute--improvement through punishment. Yet there was a positive role: the *curés* were there to instruct the people. The *curés* were obliged to inform the people of what was necessary for their salvation, and so they were to regularly advise their parishioners of the contents of the Bishop's *mandements*, *ordonnances* and pastoral letters,

especially those which Saint-Vallier signalled as being of pre-eminent importance.²⁵ As a corollary to this, the *cure* should exhort the people to sanctify their lives by private prayers, the reading of good books, and other acts of a pious nature.²⁶

If the *cure*'s exhortations were to have any effect, he needed to become acquainted with those whom he served. On this Saint-Vallier was quite explicit: "Faites exactement quatre fois par an la visite de vos Paroissiens maison par maison, pour connaître les nécessités spirituelles et temporelles."²⁷ Personal knowledge of the parishioners would make the *cure* part of their lives, and so allow for the reception of his strictures with more deference than defiance. It would of course also permit the *cure* to be independent of the confessional for his knowledge of his flock. Indeed, Saint-Vallier counselled his priests that they should discover how women dressed at home. The luxurious and often revealing dress of seventeenth-century women was intensely distasteful to the Bishop who was puritanical in such matters, and though he was to bar them from the churches, there was the chance that such women would dress immodestly when at home. Only if the *cure* had access to private homes could he discover if his counsels were being followed.²⁸ As a complement to these was the list of pious practices which it was the duty of the priest to inculcate in his parishioners. The twelve practices which Saint-Vallier perceived as the corner-stone of "une véritable et solide piété" were to be recommended often to the people "d'une manière douce et forte". This programme of spiritual regeneration consisted of family prayers, attendance at Mass, penance and communion, confession as soon as possible

after a sin, the reading of edifying books and adoration of the host on a daily basis. Of a more spiritual nature were the instructions to perform all their actions for God, to reflect on their mortality, to avoid all opportunity for sin, and that complete happiness was comprised in fearing God and keeping his commandments.²⁹ Unfortunately for Saint-Vallier, it would seem that few of his flock were so high-minded as to abide by these guidelines.

Therefore he had recourse to more efficacious remedies:

Comme le plus grand bien que nous puissions procurer à ce Diocese en partant, est la bonne administration du Sacrement de Pénitence, nous croyons ne pouvoir mieux y réussir qu'en vous engageant chacun en particulier a lire attentivement la Session 14 du Concile de Trente, où toute la doctrine de ce Sacrement est contenue.³⁰

Like so many other French bishops, Saint-Vallier resolved on a new rigour in imposing penance. For his sources and inspiration he took the decrees of the Council of Trent, and the works of Charles Borromeo and Francis de Sales.³¹ Indeed, Saint-Vallier constantly reiterated to his priests that they should have copies of Borromeo's works on penance amongst their library.³²

As was customary, Saint-Vallier reserved to himself absolution in certain cases where the sin was considered too heinous to be dealt with by the local *cure*, such as public blasphemy, occult practices, incest, sodomy, duelling and sacrilege.³³

However, since these sins were not common, usually the *cure* was alone responsible for the correction of his flock.

Saint-Vallier determined that for certain sins absolution was to be refused. One such sin was leaving church during sermon, which was "une marque évidente d'indévotion et d'irréligion qui tourne au mépris de la parole

de Dieu et de ses ministres, au scandale des assistants et au grand préjudice du salut de ceux qui prennent cette liberté . . ."34

Similarly, there was to be no absolution for those who used impious words, who refused to pay tithes³⁵, those who spread malicious rumours or who engaged in usury, an essential activity in the fur trade economy.³⁶

Saint-Vallier was willing to allow investors to lend money, but only on those terms compatible with the Church's teaching. The practice of loaning money to the *voyageurs* at a rate of 33 percent was regarded by the Bishop as abhorrent.³⁷ Two other cases for refusal of absolution were the giving of alcohol to the Indians³⁸ and the action of certain officers who kept their soldiers' pay (though allowing the soldiers to hire themselves out to the *habitants*, which it would seem provided the men with more money than did their army pay.³⁹) However, Saint-Vallier's major targets were non-attendance at church and the luxurious dress of women.

Sundays and holy days did not always see the colonists in church. In Saint-Vallier's opinion too many of them saw these days as a fine opportunity to make journeys, to buy and sell or to pass the day in 'idle' pursuits "sans nécessité et sans permission de l'Église". Absolution could only be granted if the penitent forswore such indevotion in future.⁴¹ The Bishop, in common with most of his ecclesiastical contemporaries, was most certainly distracted by the "immodest" fashions of the day. Saint-Vallier was horrified by female apparel which left the neck and shoulders bare. He steadfastly maintained that such women should be refused absolution, even if they covered the offending flesh with transparent gauze.⁴² Should such women present themselves in church "avec une pareille indécence et immodestie", they were to be refused access to penance and communion.⁴³

An adequate contrition would permit the penitent to receive absolution. However, Saint-Vallier was determined that contrition should be real and lasting:

. . . c'est la facilité de donner l'absolution que naissent les dérèglements de la vie des chrétiens, qui croient que tout est fait quand ils ont raconté leurs péchés a l'oreille d'un Prêtre . . .⁴⁴

The priest was to thoroughly interrogate his penitents, to ensure that they had done the utmost to redeem themselves from their sins:

. . . il faut surtout arracher de leurs coeurs leurs péchés, leurs habitudes, leurs attaches excessives aux joies, aux vanités, aux plaisirs et aux richesses du monde, les tirer de leur inutilité et oisiveté, qui ne peut être dans un coeur sans beaucoup de péchés. Il faut les porter ensuite à la connaissance et à l'amour de Notre Seigneur, qui ne peut demeurer longtemps dans un coeur, s'il en est véritablement en possession sans le porter au détachement du monde et des créatures, et à la pratique de toutes sortes de vertus. . .⁴⁵

This then was the aim of Saint-Vallier's policy regarding the refusal of absolution. Only by holding such a threat over the heads of the penitent could the Bishop hope to achieve the redemption of his flock.

Saint-Vallier always stressed that penance imposed must be practicable, "qu'elles empêchent les pécheurs de retourner à leurs vomissement"; such were fasts and other physical mortifications, spiritual readings, reflection on one's sins and abstention from worldly pleasures.⁴⁶

Strict though he may seem, Saint-Vallier was not without a more compromising nature. When the *intendant*, Champigny, asked him to allow the colonists to work on three successive holy days because of the need to prepare defences against the English threat, the Bishop was more than happy to help in "une guerre aussi juste et aussi sainte".⁴⁷

Of a similar nature were his permissions to those who found it necessary to go moose-hunting in Lent, and his decision that those who found difficulty in paying the tithe would come to certain arrangements with their *curés* to obviate the problem.⁴⁸

To enhance his administration of penance, Saint-Vallier needed to regulate those priests who were to have the authority to hear confessions. Apart from the local *curés*, there were members of religious orders who were empowered to serve in the towns or in the missions as confessors. Since many cures were not fixed, there could be occasions when the people had no priest to minister to their needs. Therefore these wandering confessors were charged to bring the sacraments to these people on a sessional basis. Similarly, though Saint-Vallier was a forceful advocate of the central position of the parish, he did permit parishioners the liberty of confessing to a priest other than their own if they wished, though this was not to be available for the important Easter confession.⁴⁹ To maintain his control over those members of religious orders who were to have permission to hear confessions, Saint-Vallier insisted that the superiors of the order inform him of the names of those so permitted.⁵⁰

A further measure of control over all those who had the authority to hear confessions was that this faculty was granted on a temporary basis. Those who were to serve in the towns could hold episcopal approbation to hear confession only for three years; those who were to serve in a mission were so authorized only until they were to change to another mission.⁵¹

Control over confessions was part of the battle, but Saint-Vallier also felt that he must regulate his own *curés*. Fortunately, he did not face the difficulties of other French bishops who had to contend with

certain priests who were uneducated and inadequate. Quebec was still a missionary field, and so nearly all of the priests were sent over from France. These priests were the product of the Counter-Reformation reforms and so were not theologically or morally deficient. In Quebec there already existed a seminary and thus Saint-Vallier did not need to concern himself with the training of those who were studying for the priesthood in the diocese. However, Saint-Vallier did feel it necessary to make known to his clergy the standards which they were to uphold.

The *curés* were to ensure that they had equipped themselves with a full knowledge of the *ordonnances* which governed the diocese which they were to read every year in conjunction with an annual re-reading of Charles Borromeo's works on penance.⁵²

As an integral complement to this, the priests were to be careful not to defile their sacred role:

. . . soyez des miroirs de vertu dans lesquels le peuple voit clairement ses imperfections et ses taches,
Qu'il s'exhale de votre maintien, de vos regards, de vos discours et de toute votre personne une odeur de bonne vie et un parfum de Sainteté.⁵³

To preserve the reputation of his clergy from any improper rumours, Saint-Vallier decreed that they were not to confess women in the sacristy, nor were they to confess them at night unless there were witnesses present.⁵⁴

It is perhaps a mark of the healthy state of the clergy that Saint-Vallier did not issue an *ordonnance* on their mode of dress or behaviour until 1700, some twelve years after his consecration. He himself stated in his preamble that he was quite content with his clergy, but perhaps fearful of a long absence in France, decided to make known a certain code of conduct to prevent any changes after his departure.

The clergy were always to wear clerical dress and be tonsured. Wigs would be permitted as long as they seemed natural, had no curls, and, what would seem to be a waste, were also tonsured. Concerning their conduct, the clergy were to pass some time each day in prayer, meditation and pious reading and they were to keep themselves such that they were always in a fit state to say Mass. To help accomplish this the Bishop enjoined them to be "toujours exacts à se conserver sans tache, en s'éloignant du monde", especially from games of chance, drinking, dances or temporal affairs.

A further restriction was that the priests were not to lodge with the laity, especially in a house where there were females present. On the subject of women, the Bishop made his opinions quite plain: the priests were to avoid unprofitable visits by people, especially by women, whom they were to see as rarely as possible and "que cela se fasse si rarement et d'une manière si modeste, qu'ils ne puissent jamais donner la moindre soupçon d'attachement". Indeed the priests were never to be alone with women to whom they were not to speak unless charity or necessity compelled, and even then the two should converse in a public place, where the priest would speak "d'une manière grave, modeste et édifiante."⁵⁵

In addition to observing these rules, all *cures* and missionaries were to undertake an annual retreat "pour se renouveler dans l'esprit Ecclesiastique et se mettre en état de faire leurs fonctions."⁵⁶

Finally, another strand in Saint-Vallier's policy for perfecting the clergy was also to be instrumental in providing the diocese with an administrative framework.

Saint-Vallier had come to a diocese which was of recent origin--at the time of his consecration the Church in Canada was only some eighty years old, and Quebec had been raised to diocesan status fourteen years previously, in 1674. Laval had created a Seminary, an *officialité*, and a cathedral chapter, but the organization of the diocese was still rudimentary in comparison with those of France. For a start, the diocese was immense, stretching from Louisiana to Newfoundland, encompassing huge areas of unexplored territory which was peopled by unconverted Indians. Saint-Vallier obviously could not hope to create out of this vast amalgam an exact copy of the average French diocese, but he did attempt to provide a framework to aid him in his organization and administration. Such a framework would not only provide a suitable vehicle for the imposition of his episcopal authority, but would aid him in his plan to secure the perfection of the clergy and the people. Saint-Vallier therefore introduced diocesan synods and ecclesiastical conferences to Quebec.

The Council of Trent had encouraged the use of synods to deal with diocesan affairs, and thus between 1690 and 1700 Saint-Vallier held four, in 1690, 1694, 1698 and 1700. Three of these met in Quebec, but the second was convened in Montreal.

The bishop saw in this institution the perfect device for dealing with his diocesan problems:

N'ayant pu jusqu'à cette heure remédier qu'aux plus pressants besoins des âmes de notre diocèse, nous avons cru ne pouvoir trouver de voie plus sûre et plus aisée pour apporter des remèdes nécessaires et efficaces aux autres que la célébration des synodes et des assemblées ecclésiastiques, que les saints nous apprennent être un des plus excellents moyens et des plus propres pour entretenir le culte de Dieu et pour conserver, rétablir et perfectionner la discipline ecclésiastique.⁵⁷

All the priests, confessors and ecclesiastics of the vicinity were to present themselves at the synod. Each was to consider beforehand which matters he wished to bring up for discussion and if he felt these to be of a sufficiently serious nature, he was to inform Saint-Vallier so that the Bishop could consider how the question was to be resolved.⁵⁸

To what extent these synods provided a forum for discussion is not known, but they did deal with a wide range of topics such as the enclosing of cemeteries and cases in which people were to be refused absolution. The aim of the synods was thus to provide a stable foundation for the young church.

A secondary institution was the ecclesiastical conference. In order to render uniform the administration of the sacrament of penance⁵⁹, Saint-Vallier convoked one of these in 1693. All the confessors of Quebec and its environs were to be present.

It was not until 1700 that he decided to establish these conferences on a regular basis. Saint-Vallier decreed that these should meet every two months to establish "une union sainte de pensées et de sentiments entre tous le Prêtres et Confesseurs de notre Diocèse, et de conserver une uniformité de doctrine dans la discipline et dans le monde chrétien" The conferences were to be held in a different parish each time so that one parish alone would not shoulder the burden. The Bishop drew up minute regulations defining how the *curés* were to speak, "d'une manière simple et familière", and how they were to comport themselves during the shared meal.

The conferences were to last one hour as only matters of a practical importance were to be discussed. Saint-Vallier was to nominate the presiding director and secretary, who were to notify the Bishop of the

proceedings since it would be impossible for Saint-Vallier to attend all such assemblies.

Again, as with the synods, it was the Bishop who was to set the subject of discussion.⁶⁰

Such regulations for the synods and conferences were commonplace in France and must not be seen as an attempt to stifle discussion, but as an attempt to bring together the *curés* to discuss a problem which all were likely to encounter. Unfortunately, we have not been able to discover whether the practice of bimestrial conferences was maintained after Saint-Vallier's departure.

If the *curés* were to be effective, then it was necessary that the parish be established as the focal point in the spiritual life of the people. As Paul Broutin noted, "une paroisse est vivante dans la mesure où la messe dominicale réunit autour du même autel le pasteur et ses ouailles."⁶¹

When the *intendant*, Champigny, newly arrived in the colony, asked for permission to have a daily mass in a room of his palace because of the difficulties encountered in reaching the parish church, Saint-Vallier was ready to permit a low mass to be said in one room of the palace on a temporary basis until a chapel was built in the palace. Yet this provision was not to hold for Sundays when the Intendant and his family were to show "leur estime et affection pour l'Eglise paroissiale."⁶² The parish church was to be the home of all the important religious events: the pascal communion and confession which were obligatory for all were only to take place there, though the *curé* could give permission to a parishioner to go to another priest if he felt that the

situation warranted such an action.⁶³

To safeguard the position of the *cure*, Saint-Vallier impressed upon the travelling confessors that they were always to defer to the authority of the local *cure*. Therefore they were not to confer those sacraments, namely baptism, marriage, and extreme unction, which were the sole prerogative of the *cure*.⁶⁴ On the question of the confession, these confessors were only to confess where there was no resident missionary or *cure*, unless of course, they were asked to do so.⁶⁵

As a further safeguard, these confessors were not to hear the confessions or absolve those who had been refused absolution by their own *cures*.⁶⁶

One result of the Counter-Reformation was that the Mass was regarded more and more as the central religious experience.⁶⁷ Saint-Vallier was eager to enhance the mystery and solemnity of the Mass by reserving it to the parochial sphere. It has already been noted that non-attendance could lead to refusal of absolution. Saint-Vallier was willing to permit masses to be said outside the parish church, but he placed heavy restrictions on them: masses in private houses were forbidden as were masses said less than three-quarters of a league from a church.⁶⁸

There were parts of the diocese where other religious activities could conflict with the parish Mass: the towns of Quebec, Montreal and Trois-Rivieres where there were religious communities. At first the Bishop was willing to allow these to continue, but when the Jesuits of Montreal showed their support for the Recollets in 1694, Saint-Vallier ordered that their congregation, which contained some fifty members, was no longer to meet because it conflicted with the obligation to attend Sunday Mass in the parish church.⁶⁹

Of a similar nature was Saint-Vallier's reaction to Champigny's request that there should be Masses said at a convenient hour in the church in the lower town of Quebec.⁷⁰ Champigny did not mean to detract from the obligation to attend the parish church, but he did point out that there were some who were unable to mount the steep road to the upper town, especially in winter. The Bishop soon remedied the situation. He stated that the faithful of Quebec could attend other church services--which meant the church in the lower town and those services held in the chapels of the religious communities--but such services were to take the form of a low Mass, and could not be celebrated until the high Mass in the cathedral was completed.⁷¹

The care of the temporal fabric of the church had also been a major part of the new reform, and Saint-Vallier felt that though his may still have been a missionary diocese where in winter it was necessary to have fires on the altars, he could not neglect bringing his diocese into uniformity with those of France.

The Bishop stressed that the church was a sacred place and that the practice of burying the dead in the church itself was to cease.⁷² The *cures* were further exhorted to try to obtain baptismal fonts for their churches, to decorate the interior of the church and to maintain the respect accorded to the church cemetery by having it enclosed.⁷³ The fabric of the church was only one concern. The Bishop wanted a certain uniformity in the spiritual and material aspects of the parish church. Hence, the *cure* was to be careful to say Mass at a regular hour, discontinuing whatever task he was engaged in, even confessions, to attend to his assembled parishioners. Also the *cure* was to preach every Sunday and holy day:

. . . d'une manière solide, claire, intelligible; mais en même temps très courte, l'expérience nous apprenant que les longs sermons excitent plutôt à l'impatience qu'à la pratique des vertus.⁷⁴

As a warning to any exuberant cleric, Saint-Vallier decreed that there were to be no innovations in church services, and therefore those *curés* who had entered church to say Mass in the company of a procession of children dressed as angels were required to discontinue this practice.⁷⁵

If the church were to be soundly administered, records were necessary. The Bishop advised his *curés* to possess a register to record births, marriages and burials. In addition, they were to equip themselves with lists of the feasts to be observed in the diocese and also lists of reserved cases, of the revenue of their church and of those sins for which absolution was to be refused.⁷⁶

A constant cause of friction was the relations between the *curés* and the church wardens. To avoid such ruptures, the Bishop tried to settle likely causes of contention, such as to whom the church tapers were to belong and what the wardens were to supply for the church. Another difficulty was that both the *curé* and the churchwardens claimed control over the use of the parish revenues. Saint-Vallier declared that the churchwardens were to control the money but that they could make no purchase without informing the *curé*.⁷⁷

On the financial side, Saint-Vallier told his priests to keep a set of up-to-date accounts which were to be kept in a chest, to which both the wardens and the *curé* would have a key. Also in the chest the *curé* was to keep an inventory of the ornaments, linen and utensils necessary for the church.⁷⁸ In addition, Saint-Vallier employed other methods to achieve the perfection of his flock.

One way of ensuring that all was well in the diocese was for the Bishop himself to be present: Saint-Vallier could inspect the clergy and the people, and by his presence, the Bishop could communicate his intentions to the faithful. Saint-Vallier normally resided in Quebec, though he made frequent and long sojourns in Montreal.⁷⁹

It was impossible for the Bishop to cover all of his diocese. After his consecration he only made one extensive trip--to Acadia, though this in itself was no facile undertaking. On this voyage Saint-Vallier visited Placentia, where he placed two Recollets, the island of St.-Pierre and Port-Royal, to which he brought assistance for the missionaries.⁸⁰

For Saint-Vallier ". . . la première et la plus pressante obligation de notre ministère est de faire connaître les principaux mystères de la foi à nos Diocésains . . ." ⁸¹ The *curés* were to assemble the local children in the church or private house to teach them the catechism at least once every two weeks from November 1 to Easter, though this could be altered in times of exceptionally severe winters. In summer from June 15 to August 18 and at Lent, the classes were to meet once a week.⁸² In the classes the *curés* were to explain "nettement et familièrement" the commandments, the mystery of the Mass and the requisite spiritual disposition of the worshipper.⁸³

Saint-Vallier hoped that through adequate instruction, the children would be imbued with a horror for the sins which their elders committed. So serious was Saint-Vallier that he made refusal of parents to send their children to instruction a sin for which absolution was to be refused.⁸⁵ Indeed, during his enforced absence in France in 1696, Saint-Vallier composed a catechism for his diocese to provide uniformity

in catechetical instruction. The catechism was divided into three sections through which the pupil progressed as his knowledge and comprehension grew. At the beginning of each section, there was a quotation from the Bible to help the *curé* explain the lesson. The actual lesson took the form of question and answer, concluding with an incisive summary to drive the point home. Before progressing to the next lesson, the *curé* was to make certain that the salient points of the last lesson had been inculcated.⁸⁶

The catechism, like the ritual which Saint-Vallier was composing at the same time, had little originality: it followed the format and content of the majority of French diocesan catechisms.⁸⁷

Other ways of fixing the people's minds on sacred things were by the use of cult objects such as relics and by the introduction of feasts which were devoted to various aspects of the cult.

Relics gave the people a tangible focus of attraction, bringing nearer to the individual the saints to whom he prayed. On his return in 1688, Saint-Vallier brought with him relics of St. Paul from the abbey of Maubec. These he distributed between Quebec, Montreal and Port-Royal.⁸⁸ In 1699 the Bishop also allowed the Seminary to display and venerate a piece of the flesh of Francis de Sales⁸⁹ and in 1700 the Seminary was also given permission to annually expose the remains of Saints Clement and Modestus.⁹⁰

However, if the relics were to play a part in the cult, they had to be authentic. Saint-Vallier had noted in his visits that several relics which were displayed were of dubious authenticity. He therefore ordered that no relic could be displayed for veneration without a certificate of authenticity.⁹¹

Saint-Vallier created the feast of Our Lady of Victory in 1694 to celebrate the defeat of the English during the siege of Quebec in 1690. The Marian cult was strong in New France, and this feast was no doubt an attempt to draw the people closer to Mary.⁹² Saint-Vallier was quite devoted to Mary and established the feast of the Sacred Heart of Mary for the *Hospitalières* in 1690:

Comme il n'y a rien de plus doux et de plus salulaire aux chrétiens, et sur tout aux âmes religieuses, que d'entrer dans le coeur de la très Sainte Vierge et que le moyen de parvenir à un si grand bonheur, c'est de l'honorer autant qu'on le peut.⁹³

In 1700 he established the feast of the Sacred Heart of Jesus for the Ursulines.⁹⁴

Devotion to the Sacred Heart was not new: St. John Eudes had composed his Office of the Sacred Heart in 1670, but this devotion had only gained wide currency after the "appearance" of Christ to Margaret-Mary Alcoque between 1673 and 1675.⁹⁵ Although Rome refused to recognize this feast, it was established in several French dioceses. Saint-Vallier's action is an indication that distance did not entirely remove Quebec from the religious sympathies of France, and that Saint-Vallier intended his diocese to be in tune with certain of these.

In 1693 Saint-Vallier received a request from the *curé* and churchwardens of Montreal to establish a *confrérie* of St.-Joseph in the parish. The Bishop was very receptive to the request. He established the *confrérie*:

. . . pour procurer la plus grande gloire de Dieu et le salut des âmes, et spécialement pour le grand désir que nous avons de graver autant qu'il est en nous dans le coeur de nos diocésains l'amour et la dévotion envers le grand Saint Joseph.⁹⁶

... was to be open to members of both sexes who lived

in Montreal and its environs. Obviously Saint-Vallier considered this religious association to be a success because in 1694 he proposed that all *curés* and missionaries should establish a *confrérie* in their parishes. To prevent a division of loyalties, there was to be only one such association per parish.⁹⁷

Not only was it Saint-Vallier's obligation to regulate for the church in the diocese, but also to extend it. Throughout these years Saint-Vallier, "poussé du désir d'étendre la Foi dans tous les lieux que la divine Providence a confiés à nos soins," sent out various missionary expeditions.⁹⁸ In 1690 Saint-Vallier renewed the Jesuits' Illinois missions, conceding in addition new missions to the Miamis, Sioux and Ottawas.⁹⁹ In 1691 Recollets were sent to Placentia.¹⁰⁰ His missionary endeavours ceased till 1698 when Saint-Vallier granted the Mississippi and Acadian missions to the Seminary.¹⁰¹ It may seem a small number of missions, but we must remember that every expedition was exorbitantly expensive, an expense which the diocese could ill afford, and so the Bishop himself often had to help defray the costs.

One of the main emphases of Tridentine Catholicism was that salvation was possible through good works. On the part of the bishops, this was translated into a concern for the education of the young and the care of the feeble and old.

Saint-Vallier, following the example of Charles Borromeo, who had established the schools of Christian Doctrine for his diocese, took a strong interest in education:

. . . une oeuvre que nous avons toujours cru des plus importantes a la gloire de Dieu, et au bien de Notre Diocese, c'est l'instruction et la bonne éducation des enfants et surtout des filles.¹⁰²

The Bishop took measures to establish education for both sexes on a firm footing. For girls he showed himself a strong supporter of the *Congrégation de Notre-Dame*, a lay religious association of women, which engaged in teaching girls. Saint-Vallier wanted to give them a house in Trois-Rivieres,¹⁰³ but bought them a house in Montreal instead.¹⁰⁴ In 1699, fearful that their house in the lower town of Quebec would close and so deprive the girls there of an education, Saint-Vallier made the house independent of the mother house in Montreal. The sisters in Quebec had disliked being separated from their convent in Montreal, and some had left Quebec to return there.¹⁰⁵

Saint-Vallier did not want to limit the *Congrégation* only to the towns. He said that he was willing to pay for two sisters for each parish which would build a house for them to teach in.¹⁰⁶ The Bishop showed himself equally active in securing an education for boys. The Seminary and the Jesuits already provided some education for boys, but primarily in the major centres. In 1699, the Bishop who was by now at peace with the Seminary, came to terms with it on the establishment of country schools. The Seminary was to provide the teachers; Saint-Vallier was to pay.¹⁰⁷

The Bishop's main concern over male education was that the *cures* supervise the schoolmasters who were to be of good morals and professed Catholics. The Bishop was equally adamant that schoolmasters could only teach boys.¹⁰⁸

The most tangible reminder of Saint-Vallier's episcopacy is his *Hôpital-Général de Québec*, which exists today. Throughout his reign,

Saint-Vallier was to evince a strong concern for the care of the ill and the poor.

On his return in 1688, he bought a house in the upper town of Quebec where "il fait mettre tous les pauvres que se presentoient et pourvoyoit journellement atout ce qui leur etoit necessaire."¹⁰⁹

Shortly after this, a lay institution, the *Bureau des Pauvres*, was created to care for the poor. Saint-Vallier was displeased: he felt that such charitable undertakings should only be in the hands of the Church. Therefore he decided to establish his own *Hôpital-Général* which he claimed would be superior to the *Bureau*.¹¹⁰ There were, however, certain difficulties to be overcome.

The King was opposed to the creation of a hospital because he felt that such institutions would drain the royal treasury of funds, and would only encourage the able-bodied poor not to work. Fortunately, Saint-Vallier was able to assure the King that he himself could provide for the hospital and that he would receive support from certain merchants. The King therefore granted letters patent.

The Bishop bought the Recollet convent of *Notre-Dame des Anges* and immediately set about transforming it. He would walk from Quebec to the hospital every day "afin depourvoir atous cequi est necessaire dans ces commencemens d'Etablissemens et on le voyoit degarnir son Palais Episcopal ouil nya jamais euque lepur necessaire, des meubles, linges et utencilles pour en garnir son hopital."¹¹¹

At first he decided to entrust the hospital to the *Congrégation de Notre Dame*, but then decided on the *Hospitalières*, who unfortunately were not keen on the idea because they would then have two institutions of the

same order in the same town. However, Saint-Vallier who "avait fort a coeur son entreprise" overrode all their difficulties. Although the nuns did not wish to accept, their friends advised them to do so to avoid the "grandes peines" which would follow if they provoked the Bishop's displeasure. It was agreed that the *Hôpital-Général* would be subordinate to the *Hôtel-Dieu*, not an independent house, and that the *Hôtel-Dieu* was to provide four nuns.¹¹²

All seemed well, but in 1694 Saint-Vallier asked for yet more nuns; the *Hôtel-Dieu* agreed.¹¹³

The hospital was the Bishop's pride and joy. It became the major beneficiary in his will¹¹⁴, and he endowed it with lands during his stay in France.¹¹⁵ Saint-Vallier's eagerness to expand the hospital almost led to its destruction. In 1699 he asked the *Hôtel-Dieu* for certain of its revenues and for two more nuns because at the hospital "l'on succombait tant par les veilles que par le travail". The *Hôtel-Dieu* protested, saying that this would only hurt them. Saint-Vallier then went to the *Hôtel-Dieu*, assembled the community, chose two nuns, and left with them. One of the sisters seemed so unwilling to leave that the rumour spread around that the Bishop had forcefully abducted her. Saint-Vallier stated that the two communities must separate and began to admit novices to the hospital. The *Hôtel-Dieu* responded by writing to France to ask that the number of nuns in the *Hôpital-Général* be fixed at twelve since a larger number would have detracted from the ability of the *Hôtel-Dieu* to function efficiently.

As a further demonstration of his hostility, Saint-Vallier suspended the elections at the *Hôtel-Dieu* after the new superior had been chosen,

so that the ex-superior, *mère* St.-Ignace, who had opposed his schemes, would receive no new office.

In 1700 the Minister replied: the *Hôpital-Général* was to be disestablished. Saint-Vallier came to the *Hôtel-Dieu*:

. . . avec des expressions si touchantes et un maintien si affligé qu'il nous consterna, car avec ses manières insinuanes et son air effectif, il pleura d'une telle abondance que nous ne pouvions retenir nos larmes.

Saint-Vallier was resolute in his desire to pass over to France to save his projects, and the nuns of the *Hôtel-Dieu* comforted him by stating that they would not ask for the destruction of the hospital, only the limitation of the number of nuns.¹¹⁶

The *Hôpital-Général* was not Saint-Vallier's sole foundation. As the *intendant* Champigny noted, the Bishop had "un attrait particulier pour faire des communautés nouvelles."¹¹⁷ Indeed he did. In 1677, certain residents of Trois-Rivieres asked him to establish an Ursuline foundation there. The Ursulines were active in the educational field, but Saint-Vallier wished to establish a hospital as well. He therefore asked the Ursulines to undertake both functions; they agreed. The Bishop, "qui entre avec zele dans tout ce qui concerne la charité", bought the site and equipped the hospital with six beds.¹¹⁸

However, royal approval was necessary. The King, fearful of the expense of yet another institution, refused.¹¹⁹ The Bishop was left to sustain his hospital alone. Champigny complained that though the hospital was necessary, it lacked an adequate financial stability and could therefore collapse--which would be an embarrassment for all concerned.¹²⁰

Saint-Vallier was chastized for progressing on such issues without prior royal consent, but the King was willing to compromise: the hospital

would be allowed to exist, but no official recognition would be granted.¹²¹ Finally, we must note Saint-Vallier's attempt to improve the mores of his flock by his policy designed to maintain the stability and integrity of the family.

Saint-Vallier stressed that parents must play a vital role in maintaining Christian standards. Parents were to present their children for baptism as soon as possible after birth and were themselves to learn how to administer this sacrament in case of urgent necessity.¹²² Also, the parents were the "premiers chargés de l'instruction de leur famille," and so were to learn the major tenets of the faith to instruct their children "à moins qu'ils ne veuillent passer pour des Infidèles, en négligeant cette instruction."¹²⁵ Likewise, the Bishop encouraged family prayers in the morning and evening¹²⁴ and instructed his flock to ensure that children of different sexes did not sleep together.¹²⁵ As a corollary, Saint-Vallier did his utmost to preserve the sanctity of marriage.

Saint-Vallier was more than dismayed to discover that several of the young women had allowed certain liberties to the soldiers in the hope of inducing a marriage (the colony had more women than men). The Bishop commanded his *curés* not to marry such couples. He would only allow the soldiers to marry if they had behaved "chrétiennement" towards the girls.¹²⁶

Furthermore, Saint-Vallier noticed that some of those who were being married did not possess the requisite spiritual disposition of piety and modesty. Therefore all intending couples were to prepare themselves by:

. . . l'instruction des choses qui leur sont nécessaires de savoir pour bien recevoir ce Sacrement et surtout de s'en approcher avec piété et dévotion, bannissant toutes les causeries et autres irrévérences qui se commettent quelquefois dans l'Église, comme l'expérience l'a fait remarquer.¹²⁷

A further abuse which he tried to rectify was the possibility of strangers coming from France who may have been married and who wished to contract a marriage in the colony. The Bishop demanded that all such persons should produce a certificate to prove their unmarried status.¹²⁸ After this examination of Saint-Vallier's pastoral policy, the obvious question is--how successful was it? By the Bishop's own admission, he met with little success.

As early as 1692, he recognized that his exhortations were having little effect on the brandy trade at Montreal.¹²⁹ He repeated these sentiments in 1700 in discussing usury:

. . . voyant que tous les efforts que nous avons faits
jusqu'ici . . . n'ont point donne de bornes à la
cupidité de ceux qui veulent s'enrichir par toutes sortes
de voies; . . .¹³⁰

However he imputed the blame for this situation on the *curés* and confessors whom he claimed were lax in imposing his ordonnances.¹³¹

Even with a casual perusal of the Bishop's pastoral letters, the reader is struck by the number of times he had to repeat his intentions. For example, Saint-Vallier reiterated his position on payment of the tithe in 1691 and 1698; on non-attendance at church in 1691, 1694, 1697, 1698 and 1700; on the luxurious dress of women in 1691 and 1697; on catechetical instruction in 1691, 1694, 1698 and 1700, and on usury in 1694 and 1697.

Such repetitions would indeed seem to suggest that the Bishop's policy had met with little success.

In this examination of Saint-Vallier's pastoral programme, we have tried to demonstrate that his policies were similar, if not the same, as those being pursued by like-minded bishops throughout France. The content

of Saint-Vallier's diocesan synods bear a strong resemblance to contemporary statutes of the archdiocese of Bordeaux.¹³²

A more effective comparison can be made thanks to Louis Pérouas' study of the diocese of La Rochelle, which, like Quebec was a recent creation (1648). If we take its two bishops, Henri de Laval (1661-1693) and Charles-M. Frezeau (1694-1702), whose reigns were contemporaneous with this period of Saint-Vallier's episcopate, we see that there was little difference in policy or modes of action.

Laval made frequent visitations, praising and chastizing as the situation merited. He wanted his flock to impregnate their conduct with religious motivation--"il exigeait une foi plus éclairée, une conduite plus impregnée de religion, suivant l'idéal qu'il puisait dans l'Église primitive"¹³³, a view remarkably similar to Saint-Vallier's initial statements on the colony.¹³⁴ Laval held synods and like Saint-Vallier, endeavoured to regularize the lives of his clerics. He exhorted them to reside in their parishes, to wear modest and clerical dress, and to separate themselves from the world, especially from profane occupations.¹³⁵ Similarly, Laval stressed the need for true penance. In his *mandements* of 1669 he provided the *curés* with a list of cases for which absolution was to be refused.¹³⁶ Laval even founded an *Hôpital-Général* for La Rochelle in 1667.¹³⁷

The more startling comparison is with Laval's successor, Frezeau. Like Saint-Vallier, he was a young man, only 37 years old at his consecration. Similarly, his youth and his temperament impelled him towards action: in his eight years he visited 600 parishes, more than

any other bishop of La Rochelle. In each parish he would stop to preach, and personally take recalcitrants to task. Pérouas notes:

Ce style très actif gardait quelque chose de militaire. Charles-M. Frezeau se montrait impératif dans ses ordonnances, exigeant pour ses subordonnés; parfois même il était dur, il le montrera dans son comportement envers les protestants. Mais ces tendances autoritaires étaient contrebalancées par une générosité très grande, trop grande peut-être; sans cesse l'Évêque payait de sa personne, donnait de ses propres deniers, sans ménager ni ses forces, ni son argent. De son âme profondément spirituelle, le zèle apostolique constituait la dominante; c'est la vertu qui, dans toute l'action du Prélat, a le plus frappé les contemporains.¹³⁸

It would merely require a change of name to apply this statement to Saint-Vallier. Therefore, despite the protestations of the pro-Seminary historians, Saint-Vallier was not a bizarre exception in the seventeenth-century French episcopate. His temper may have led Saint-Vallier into some immoderate excesses, but his policies were those of the century. As a final note, we must deal with the possibility that Saint-Vallier had Jansenist tendencies. Jansenism was a doctrine of extreme moral severity and rectitude which intended to restore the Church to its pristine purity; it was a revolt against what many considered the lax morality of the Jesuits. The Jansenists drew their inspiration from the "*Augustinus*" of Cornelius Jansen, Bishop of Louvain, (d. 1638). In this compilation of the views of St. Augustine, much emphasis is placed on the fact that only a few are destined for salvation. To attain this state, an exceptional moral and theological rigorism was necessary. Refusal of absolution or communion to effect a complete purge of sin from the mind and body was commonly applied by Jansenist priests.

In his youth, Saint-Vallier had been linked with le Camus, the pro-

Jansenist bishop of Grenoble. As Bishop of Quebec, he practised the policy of refusal of absolution to penitents; and his ritual, published in 1704, was based on that of Nicolas Pavillon, the Jansenist Bishop of Alet. All three statements seem an indication of Jansenist tendencies, but there have been attempts to refute this allegation and these rebuttals seem valid.¹³⁹ Firstly, le Valois had been able to reassure Laval that Saint-Vallier was linked with le Camus, but was not necessarily of his party.¹⁴⁰

On the matter of the ritual, Levesque has shown that although Saint-Vallier paraphrased much of the ritual of Alet, he had as his major source the Roman ritual, an unlikely fount of doctrinal deviation.¹⁴¹ Nor should use of the ritual of Alet be suspect since Lévesque has also shown that this was the basis for so many other rituals which had no Jansenist connotations.¹⁴²

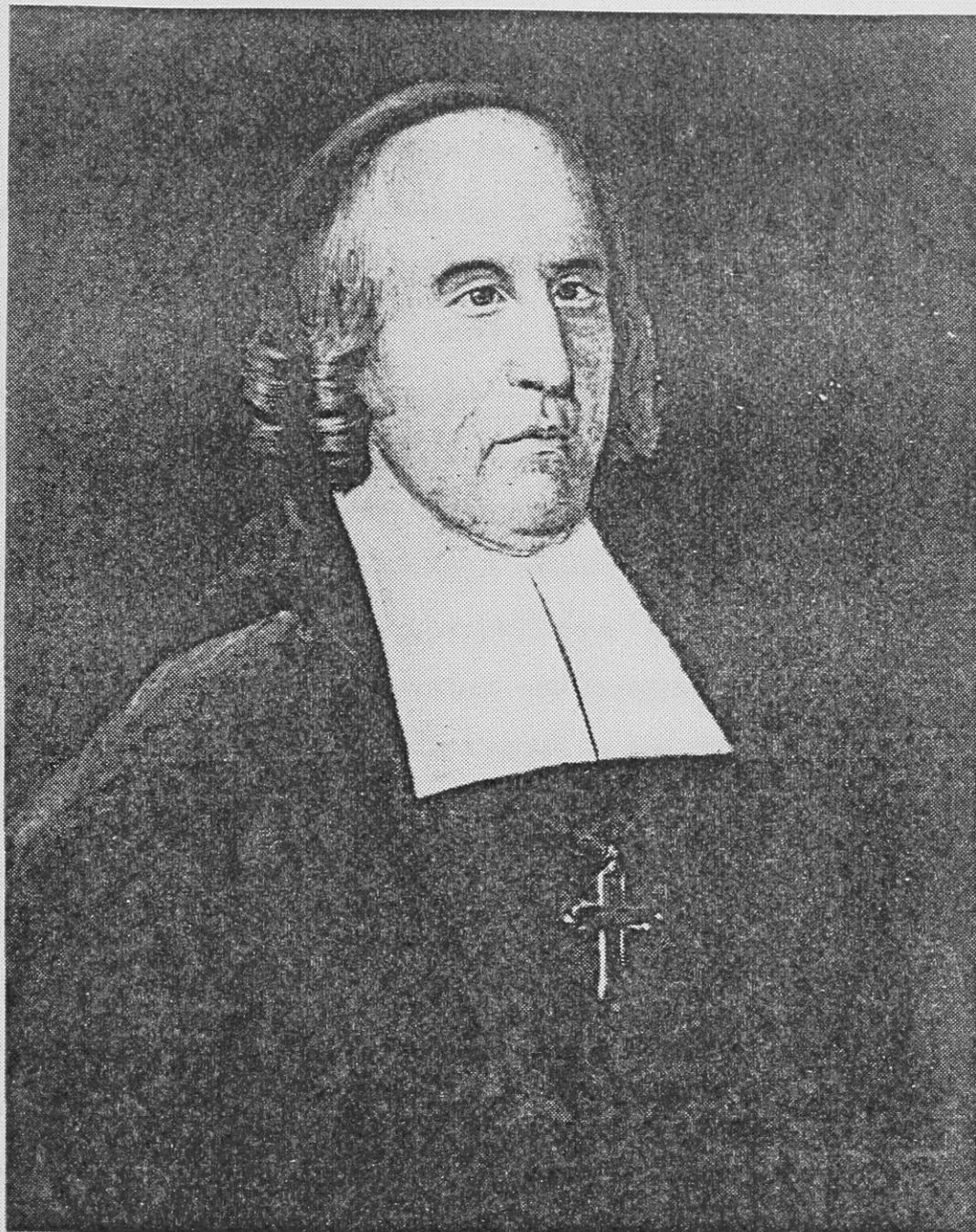
It is quite difficult to differentiate the moral severity of unorthodox Jansenism from that of orthodox rigorism. Hurtubise has shown that on the test of moral severity alone, the Blessed Mgr. de Laval, first Bishop of Quebec, had Jansenist sympathies.¹⁴³

There are two distinguishing features of the Jansenism of this period: hostility towards the Jesuits and towards royal Gallicanism. With neither of these views did Saint-Vallier concur. Rigorism, on the other hand, was the dominant theme in seventeenth-century French ecclesiastical thought. Tronson, superior of Saint-Sulpice, whilst directing a retreat, invited the seminarists to meditate on Christ's words: *pauci electi*. His advice was simple:

If you want to be heirs of Jesus and paradise, that is, if you want not to be damned everlastingly, but to be happy for ever in heaven, then you must renounce the world entirely and bid it an eternal farewell.¹⁴⁴

In Comparison, we have the words of the Jansenist Duvergier: "To love this mortal life, one must be ill in one's mind and possessed by some evil spirit."¹⁴⁵

Perhaps all that we can say is that in France, certain bishops aligned themselves with the Jansenists in their struggle to avoid royal suppression. The majority of the episcopate did not do so, and we have absolutely no evidence to show that in ecclesiastical politicking Saint-Vallier supported the Jansenists. Indeed, when the anti-Jansenist bull Unigenitus was promulgated, Saint-Vallier gave it his support.¹⁴⁶ On these bases alone, inadequate as they may seem, I would absolve Saint-Vallier of the imputation of Jansenism.



extend to the...
the Bishop, claiming that it was not...
Jesuits. Instead Saint-Vallier...

resolving the most pres MGR. DE SAINT-VALLIER
(Courtesy Archives nationales de Quebec, Collection Initiale,
Cote N 276-89).

CHAPTER VI

EXILE AND RETURN, 1700 - 1727

Saint-Vallier's absence from the colony was to be of longer duration than he had anticipated. He was not to return for thirteen years, five of which were spent as a prisoner in England.

Despite his future misadventures, Saint-Vallier's return to France had an auspicious beginning. The King, though seeing in the Bishop's foundations, "beaucoup de charité et de zèle", reproached him for the lack of moderation he had shown in proceeding without royal approbation. However, fearful of the scandal that would be caused if the *Hôpital-Général* of Quebec were to be disestablished, Louis XIV relented: the hospital would continue to function, now independent from the *Hôtel-Dieu*, but the number of nuns was to be limited to ten choir sisters and two lay sisters. Perhaps the King was influenced by Saint-Vallier's sly statement that if the King did not want the *Hospitalières* to staff the hospital, then he wished to be reimbursed for those monies he had donated as a revenue for the nuns. If Saint-Vallier were to be reimbursed, the hospital would either collapse for lack of revenue, which would be very embarrassing, or worse still, become totally dependent on royal subsidies.¹

Saint-Vallier's new-found amity with his Seminary did not extend to the *Séminaire des Missions Étrangères*, which refused to lodge the Bishop, claiming that it was not politic to house the enemy of the Jesuits. Instead Saint-Vallier stayed with the Sulpicians.² After resolving the most pressing problem, the *Hôpital-Général*, Saint-Vallier

turned his attention to other necessities. Few *curés* showed any enthusiasm for the Acadian mission, and so to minister to the people's spiritual needs the Bishop decided to entrust this mission to a religious order³. He first approached the Benedictines, but was refused⁴. He now turned his attention to the Premonstratensians, where he had some success. The Minister of the Marine granted permission to the *abbé* de St.-Andre-aux-Bois and nine of his order to go to Acadia.⁵ However, none seem to have come to Acadia, and so it would seem that this too fell through.

For Saint-Vallier, the filling of cures was of vital importance; it was the only way to bring the gospel to the people. Some *curés* were loath to remain in the countryside, where 75 percent of the population lived, but only 20 percent of the *curés*.⁶ Even the faithful Sulpicians, who had never quarrelled with the Bishop and who had shown themselves very accommodating to his wishes, would not stay in the rural parishes, but returned to Montreal.⁷

Indeed, Saint-Vallier was far from forgetting the needs of his distant diocese. No sooner had he arrived in France than he despatched a pastoral letter to his clergy, exhorting them to set a good example for the people:

Vous devez donc être, selon le langage de l'Écriture, la lumière du monde, à la lueur de laquelle le peuple puisse voir ses fautes. Vos actions doivent être des prédictions de l'Évangile, une odeur de vie, et un parfum de sainteté.⁸

With his usual action, Saint-Vallier intended to remedy other problems of his fledgling diocese. He sought, and was granted, royal approval to go to Rome to regulate the question of certain abbeys which had been granted personally to the bishops of Quebec, not united as such to the

diocese of Quebec, and therefore the diocese could be deprived of these revenues at the demise of the bishop.⁹ At Rome Saint-Vallier created a favourable impression with the Pope, who promised to remedy this anomaly and who charged the Bishop to deliver a piece of the true cross to Louis XIV.¹⁰ Furthermore, the Pope wrote to three French cardinals highly praising the Bishop of Quebec.¹¹ Also, the Bishop asked the doctors of the Sorbonne to decide various questions touching the conversion of the Indians. It was his hope to introduce uniformity of practice into the diocese on this point: "C'est dans cette uniformité que consiste toute la beauté, toute la force et tout le bonheur de l'Église."¹² Unfortunately, a more thorny issue was yet to be resolved-- the Jesuit question. Saint-Vallier had departed from his diocese at odds with the Jesuits over the Mississippi missions. To obviate this problem it had been proposed that a separate grand vicariate in this region be created for the Jesuits. Saint-Vallier replied quite plainly that he would never consent to having a Jesuit as a Grand-Vicar, even if the Court assigned them an area where they were the only missionaries. However, the salient point is that Saint-Vallier was not opposed as such to the Jesuits. He said that if it were any other area, then they could set their own terms. Saint-Vallier made his position crystal clear:

"Je ne veux point me brouiller entre deux grands corps si considérables dans l'église de Dieu: celui des Missions étrangères et les Jésuites."

Saint-Vallier was more afraid of the *Séminaire des Missions Étrangères* than he was hostile to the Jesuits. He even promised the Jesuits that if the Court assigned them a region in the Mississippi area, then he would not give authority over them to the Seminary of Quebec, though he refused to provide any such promise in writing.¹³

Obviously, the Seminary's opposition to him which had detained Saint-Vallier in France in 1696 had struck home. His attitude towards them was not one of measured recognition, but of fear. The last few years in Quebec had not been a period of accommodation between the two opponents, but rather an attempt by the Bishop to win the support of his erstwhile enemies and to allay their animosity.

On the more practical side, 1702 saw the publication of Saint-Vallier's catechism, and in 1703 his ritual appeared. Both were important for the diocese. The catechism provided the priests with a textbook to harmonize religious instruction in the diocese. The ritual served to advise the *curés* by means of detailed explanation of church doctrine, the liturgy and the administration of the sacraments. Also included were instructions on the essential practicalities which priests should know such as how to balance church accounts or how to draft a will.¹⁴

All things considered, Saint-Vallier's voyage to France had been very successful. Unfortunately, when Saint-Vallier broached the question of his return to Canada, he encountered royal opposition. Louis XIV "fit humainement tout ce qu'il pût pour l'arrêter." There seem to be two possible reasons for this: the *Séminaire des Missions Étrangères*, still hostile to Saint-Vallier, used their influence at Court to delay his return, and the fact that England and France were at war made the King fearful for Saint-Vallier's safety. Nonetheless, this opposition only increased Saint-Vallier's agitation to return to Quebec.

So he set out, but on July 26, 1704, his ship was captured by the English. Saint-Vallier was to spend the next five years a prisoner at Farnham in Surrey, then at Petersfield in Hampshire. Fortunately, his

imprisonment was not harsh: he was allowed to say Mass every day and to do pastoral work:

Il s'employa avec un grand zele a consoler les Catholiques, a administrer les sacrements, a recevoir les visites des prêtres et des religieux cachez dans ce royaume et celles que luy firent les premieres personnes de la Cour, qui le traitent toujourns avec des marques d'une singuliere estime.

Queen Anne gave him a sizeable sum to live on, and Louis XIV sent the Bishop 500 *écus*. Indeed this was not a harsh regime.¹⁵ Saint-Vallier, however, had the requirements of his diocese uppermost in his mind. He asked that he might be given a coadjutor, not a successor, to take charge of the diocese--preferably a Sulpician--because "l'esprit de menagement, et de douceur que lon remarque ordinairement dans ceux qui sont élevés dans cette maison les rendant plus propres à ce diocese."¹⁶ Despite this entreaty, there was to be no coadjutor till 1713; Laval was still alive, and able to fulfill the necessary episcopal functions, assisted by Saint-Vallier's Vicars-General. Relations between the Bishop and the Seminary were now to face a rupture. The Pope had duly promulgated a bull resolving the question of the abbeys, but in the process he made certain changes in the structure of the Canadian Church. The Chapter was to be reduced from eighteen to seven canons because, the Pope claimed, a diocese such as Quebec did not need so many priests to serve in the cathedral. Also, the revenues of the Chapter and the Bishop were to be slightly reduced to provide a fund for the missionaries. Saint-Vallier accepted these provisions because "les vues de Sa Sainteté me parurent si bonnes et si convenables au bien de mon eglise, que ne doubtant pas que Dieu ne les luy eut inspirées, je my soumis sans resistance."

The dispute was to arise over the money. The Cardinals had

suggested that the fund be directed by a council of four: the Bishop, the Dean, the superior of the Seminary and the oldest missionary. The Parisian Seminary had opposed this, and Saint-Vallier in an attempt to mitigate their hostility, agreed to their proposal that the superior of the Parisian house should transmit the money to the superior of the Quebec Seminary, who would then distribute it. Saint-Vallier was to be provided with an annual account of these transactions. Unhappily, it would seem that the Seminary to which one-third of this fund had been assigned wanted to secure the use of all of it for its own missions.¹⁷

A frequent and vituperative exchange of letters now occurred between Saint-Vallier and those concerned in France until Saint-Vallier asked in 1707 that the matter be dropped till his return to France.¹⁸ In 1708 the Seminary was to surrender their claim to all the revenues.¹⁹ It is important to note that Saint-Vallier's quarrel was not with the Seminary of Quebec, but with its Parisian partner, but this quarrel must have reawakened Saint-Vallier's intense dislike of his diocesan Seminary.

In 1709, Saint-Vallier was exchanged for the Baron de Méan, Dean of Liege, a personal enemy of Louis XIV, who had been held prisoner in France since 1702. On his return to France, Saint-Vallier immediately took steps to secure his return to Quebec. He tried to make amends with the Chapter by joining their opposition to the papal bull which would have reduced their number--a move dictated more by realism than by any change of heart, because the royal council had twice rejected the bull and so its chances of being applied were minimal.²⁰

The Bishop "se plaignoit sur tout du peu d'empressement ou l'on paroissoit être pour son retour en Canada", though with little success.²¹ The King, most certainly at the instigation of the Paris Seminary, had been informed that the Bishop could not live at peace with his clergy and therefore was unwilling to let him return. Not unnaturally, Saint-Vallier replied that it was not with all his clergy that he had difficulties, but only with the directors of the Seminary:

Tout le clergé de Canada avec qui j'ai été brouillé consiste dans deux ou trois directeurs du Séminaire de Quebec qui pour soutenir une idée monstrueuse du gouvernement, expression que je n'avance qu'après feu M. Duharlay, Archeveque de Paris, qui a été en cela mon juge et celui de Messieurs des Missions Etrangères qui, pour soutenir, dis-je, cette idée de gouvernement condamnée par St. Paul, et différente de toutes les Eglises du monde, n'ont rien épargné depuis 22 ans pour me perdre dans l'esprit de Votre Majesté.²²

It seems unfortunate that the animosity between the Seminary and the Bishop should flare up again for no real reason because as soon as news of his release reached Quebec, his Grand-Vicars, Maizerets and Glandelet, both priests of the Seminary, asked for their Bishop's return.²³ However, Saint-Vallier was convinced of "la persecution de faux frères" and determined to render his presence in Quebec indispensable. He revoked the priests' power to hear confessions as of November 1, 1714. Similarly, the authority conceded to his Grand-Vicars was to lapse on January 1, 1714.²⁴ Without the Bishop's presence, the Church of Quebec would fall into chaos. Yet royal approval for his departure was still a necessity. Perhaps as a hint that he should resign, Saint-Vallier was assigned a coadjutor, François de Mornay, a Capuchin.²⁵ The Bishop willingly accepted this new helper, but staunchly maintained his determination to leave, reminding the aging Louis XIV that he had no

right to prevent a Bishop from returning to his diocese and would have to answer to God if he did so. Louis relented and let him go. These years away from Quebec had been important. Whatever unity Saint-Vallier may have had with his Seminary had most certainly evaporated. The protracted dispute over the use of the missionary funds and the problems with Saint-Vallier's return, though both had as their instigators the *Séminaire des Missions Étrangères*, had shattered the working relationship which had been established. If anything, these events had made the Bishop more suspicious of his Seminary, and more determined to impose his views on these refractory prelates.

Saint-Vallier returned to Quebec on August 18, 1713, to a rousing popular welcome:

Toute la ville s'empresse de marquer a son incomparable pasteur sa joie, sa veneration et son respect. Les rues et les maisons ne pouvaient contenir le monde qui voulaient le voir l'on peut dire qu'il fut plutôt porté à la paroisse sur les ailes de l'amour de son peuple, qu'il ne marcha.²⁶

The Bishop was never to leave his diocese again. Almost immediately hostilities broke out with the Seminary: Saint-Vallier claimed that the directors had not lost their desire to dominate the diocese. During his absence he had allowed them to name several canons for the chapter, but they had overreached themselves by naming twelve without obtaining the Bishop's approval. Royal support soon confirmed Saint-Vallier's authority. Louis XIV granted the Chapter new letters patent: the Dean and Grand Cantor were to be royal nominees, but the other canonicates were at the Bishop's disposal.²⁷ A major blow was that no member of a religious community was to be eligible for a canonicate.²⁸

This was a normal practice in France, but would hit hard at the Seminary. Saint-Vallier was also instructed to draw up new statutes for the Chapter.²⁹ Armed with this royal support, the Bishop presented the canons with their new set of regulations, at the head of which was the unambiguous statement, "Le Chapitre sera soumis immédiatement à l'Evesque et sous son entière jurisdiction sauf l'appel au Pape!"³⁰ The statutes were not dissimilar to those drawn up by Laval in 1684, but Saint-Vallier greatly enhanced the power of the bishop. No longer could the Chapter alter or amend these statutes at will.

There was to be a certain amount of hostility between Saint-Vallier and the Chapter for the rest of his life. In 1716, Saint-Vallier was opposed to the nomination of Thiboult, *cure* of Quebec and a priest of the Seminary, to an honorary canonicate, which the Bishop said was awarded without his permission and was therefore null. In addition, the Bishop was displeased that the canons had discussed distribution of their stipends and that they had appointed four new choirboys--all of which Saint-Vallier declared null and void because it had been effected without his participation.³¹

There was to be no further open quarrel with the Chapter, but the animosity between the two parties was quite evident. In one of his last letters, Saint-Vallier asked that the new Dean should be a Frenchman, not a Canadian, citing as his reason, "la disposition de leurs esprits peu portés a se soumettre et a reconnoitre leur superieurs temporels aussy bien que les spirituels."

For this reason alone, he refused to ask that Lotbinière, the Archdeacon, whose talents he praised, be made Dean.³² Relations with the Seminary also deteriorated over a favourite question--money. The

money in question was the 2000 *livres* which had been assigned to pay for the care of those *curés* who were too ill or too old to effectively conduct their ministry. The regulations of 1693 had allowed the Bishop to name the *curés*, though the Seminary was to receive the money to lodge them. On his return, Saint-Vallier broached this question once more. He wanted to employ this sum for the *curés* who were still working because in the past twenty years only two *curés* had retired to the Seminary. As a compelling factor, Saint-Vallier claimed that if a *curé* could only retire to the Seminary, then many parishes would lose their pastor, an indication of the critical shortage of priests.³³

Hostilities soon reached their old proportions; Saint-Vallier drafted an *ordonnance* which would have prohibited *curés* from being incorporated into the Seminary without his permission or to lodge there when they came to Quebec.³⁴ He also wished to replace Maizerets and Glandelet as directors of the Seminary, saying that they were too old. The two sides were able to come to an agreement in 1716 on a division of the money: 700 *livres* to Saint-Vallier, 1300 to the Seminary. The matter was however referred to the Council of the Marine. The Council favoured the Bishop who was to be master of the money; also it stated that those *curés* who wished to remain in their cures would be preferred to those who wished to retire to the Seminary.³⁵ Saint-Vallier was, though, unable to achieve the replacement of Maizerets or Glandelet. The Council wisely sidestepped the issue by refusing to deal with it, instructing Saint-Vallier to make his peace with the Seminary.³⁶

Friction between the two continued. Saint-Vallier was resolved to uphold his position. He declared that he would allow the *curés* from the

country to reside temporarily in the Seminary, but they were not to stay there permanently, nor were they to consider themselves independent of the bishop's control.³⁷

He was later to claim that the Seminary's spirit of insubordination manifested itself by their priests refusing to serve in the missions.³⁸ The Seminary retorted that only one of its priests had done so, but this was because of illness, and he had later gone to his cure. In other cases the candidates for priesthood had refused to have themselves ordained, which was no fault of the Seminary.³⁹

In spite of these problems, Saint-Vallier admitted that the Seminary fulfilled a necessary role. Even in the midst of his complaints about the Seminary's insubordination, he asked for a subsidy for it⁴⁰ and he was willing to renew the Seminary's exclusive rights to the Tamarois mission.⁴¹

In his pastoral concerns, Saint-Vallier's prime concern was the lack of priests. Shortly after his return, he began to ordain priests and to erect new parishes.⁴² The lack of priests was of vital significance: without them he could not adequately cater to the spiritual needs of the colonists, and it must be added, since few priests did not belong to the Seminary, he found it difficult to be independent of this body.

In the Montreal region, Saint-Vallier discovered that some cures had no priest and so he was obliged to ask for more Sulpicians to be sent over.⁴³ This was to no avail. The Canadian mission attracted few candidates. To deal with the problem, the Bishop was forced to unite all the cures in the Government of Montreal to the Sulpician Seminary-- this was the only method he could see that would allow these cures to

be served.⁴⁴ Even this was not enough. In 1726 the Bishop needed to ask the Seminary of Quebec to send priests to Montreal.⁴⁵

Saint-Vallier also devoted himself to remedying the abuses prevalent among his flock. Even after thirteen years' absence, he had lost little of his fire as the annalist of the *Hôpital-Général* noted:

Il parla avec cette fermeté dont il étoit capable lorsque la circonstance l'exigeait, assura son peuple que s'il se rendait inflexible à sa voix, il se serviroit de l'autorité qui lui étoit confiée pour faire observer la loi de Dieu.⁴⁶

Nor was he afraid to speak out: he registered a complaint with the Council of the Marine after Gallifet, the Governor of Trois-Rivières, reneged on his promise to marry the girl whose child he had fathered.⁴⁷

He maintained the positions he had adopted during his previous twelve years in Quebec. The sanctity of family life was to be preserved, and so he fulminated against the practice of marriages *à la gauxine*, whereby the intending couple would attend a wedding as part of the congregation, repeat the wedding vows to one another, and thus consider themselves married. To end "de si détestables mariages", Saint-Vallier threatened the guilty parties and those who aided them with excommunication.⁴⁸

He continued to order his *curés* to refuse absolution to certain sinners, such as to those who dealt in the brandy trade, "un commerce si dangereux des calamités qui les fassent rentrer en eux-mêmes."⁴⁹ The diocese was also for the first time to have a brush with Jansenism. Saint-Vallier openly demonstrated that his sympathies did not lie with the Jansenists when he promulgated the bull *Unigenitus* in which Jansenism was condemned. The bull was issued in 1713, but Saint-Vallier did not publish it till 1716.⁵⁰ The delay is explicable. Papal bulls were of no validity in France unless they were registered by the *parlements* and

received royal approval, but Quebec, though a French colony, was not considered a French diocese. Saint-Vallier was in a quandery as to what he should do. However, regulations did exist to settle the problem and he was able to issue the bull.⁵¹

It must have come as a surprise to the Bishop when he found that there was a Jansenist in the colony. In 1718 a renegade Benedictine monk, George-François Poulet, who had fled France, revealed himself as a Jansenist to the Bishop. In a personal interview, Saint-Vallier tried to induce Poulet to renounce his views, only to be met with refusal. Saint-Vallier ordered Poulet to be deprived of the sacraments and on the failure of this tactic had him expelled from the colony.⁵²

During these last years, old age took its toll. The Bishop, though retaining full control over the Church, no longer maintained such a high profile; pastoral visitations were now the duty of his Grand-Vicars.⁵³ To secure the Bishop's blessing against a plague of caterpillars in 1722, a procession made its way to the *Hôpital-Général* where he resided and which he rarely left.⁵⁴

On the pastoral front, these last years were somewhat marred. When he created the *confrérie* of the Sacred Heart of Mary in 1722, the Bishop remarked that he was doing so "pour réveiller cet esprit de foi qui s'affaiblit et s'éteint presque entièrement dans le coeur de ceux dont la conduite nous a été confiée."⁵⁵ An unfortunate admission, but worse was to come. In 1724, Saint-Vallier confessed that he dared not issue any ecclesiastical censure concerning the adultery of two brothers, Charles d'Auteuil de Monceau and Pierre d'Auteuil de la Malotière, because he feared that such censure would be despised, and thus cause more ill than good.⁵⁶

In 1725 the Bishop had to come to terms with the *intendant*, Begon, by which it was agreed that there should be a limit of two *cabarets* in each parish, with honest parishioners as their keepers.⁵⁷ Such an agreement was an admission that the repeated censure of the brandy trade by countless priests had fallen on deaf ears. It was a practical step, but a humiliating admission. Nor was the Bishop to be spared clerical scandal. Chretien Turc, the superior of the *Hôpital-Général* of Montreal managed to plunge his hospital 40,000 *livres* into debt, only to flee the colony to Saint Domingue.⁵⁸ In Acadia, the Provincial of the Recollets of the Province of Brittany, *curé* of Louisbourg, had to be put under an interdict and stripped of his powers after several alcoholic revels which caused him to dance in the streets, inciting his brethren to do likewise. During this time he married certain people within the prohibited degrees.⁵⁹

The one bright light of these years was the *Hôpital-Général*. Saint-Vallier returned there three days after his arrival and was to reside there for the rest of his life. He served as the chaplain, confessor and as spiritual director of the patients.⁶⁰ To make his hospital more effective, Saint-Vallier was desperate to increase the number of nuns from the twelve allowed in 1701. In 1716 he was allowed four more choir nuns⁶¹; in 1717, two lay sisters.⁶² This did not satisfy him. He wrote to the Council of the Marine asking that the number of choir nuns be increased to twenty-four and lay sisters to six, saying that there were plenty of unmarried girls in the colony and so he would not be at odds with royal policy which encouraged marriage and a large number of children.⁶³ The Council allowed twenty-four choir nuns only if they were endowed: "C'est une precaution necessaire pour

empescher qu'elles ne soient pas a charge au bien des pauvres!"⁶⁴

It would also ensure that not too many girls applied to become nuns and so deprive the colony of potential mothers.

In 1721 Saint-Vallier was able to secure the creation of the hospital into a separate cure. To deprive the cure of Quebec of this jurisdiction, he was required to satisfy the Seminary which wanted patronage over the parishes of the Ile Jesus. When the Seminary had mentioned this in 1717, they were refused. Now, in 1721 their wish was granted in return for their acquiescence to the creation of the new cure.⁶⁵

Saint-Vallier's major worry was the hospital's finances. He sought new sources of revenue to supplement his own gifts. In 1715 he suggested that the remaining salary of those officers who died during the year should be given to the hospital.⁶⁶ In 1724 he suggested that those wills which left nothing to the hospital should be declared null, but the Minister of the Marine refused to accept this.⁶⁷ For the first time in 1719 Saint-Vallier had to ask the state for money after building extra rooms to house insane women.⁶⁸ He was promised 1000 *livres* for this and told to admit those who were invalid soldiers and who would give half their pay for their keep.⁶⁹ In 1721 he was promised another 1000 *livres* if he opened the hospital to insane men as well as women.⁷⁰

Saint-Vallier was now older, his temper was not so fiery as it had been in his youth, and these years in Quebec were devoted more to the *Hôpital-Général* than to the subordination of the Seminary. One sorrow was that his coadjutor never came across to work in the diocese, and so,

in May, 1727, Saint-Vallier asked that Mornay be replaced. However, it was too late. In the fall of that year Saint-Vallier fell ill and died at his *Hôpital-Général* on December 26.

CHAPTER VII

SAINT-VALLIER AND THE GOVERNORS, 1685 - 1727

In this final chapter, we shall examine the relations which existed between Saint-Vallier and those who were Governors of New France during his episcopate. In the published biographies of two of these men, Frontenac and Vaudreuil, Saint-Vallier is presented as an incidental figure who only appears to fulfill his assigned role of a testy, quarrelsome prelate.¹ We hope to show that indeed Saint-Vallier did have his difficulties with the governors, but that these were often isolated incidents and as such would seem to argue for correct, if not cordial, relations between the temporal and spiritual leaders of the colony.

On Saint-Vallier's return in 1688, Denonville was still Governor of the colony, but not for long; his policies to combat the Indians had not proven successful, and so in 1689 he was replaced by Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac.

This was Frontenac's second term as Governor. His first term, 1672-1682, had seen some spectacular quarrels between the Governor and the clergy over the fixation of cures, the brandy trade and the precedence to be assigned to royal officers. In part this was caused by an intense clash of personalities and policies between Frontenac and Bishop Laval, in part by Frontenac's desire to ingratiate himself with Colbert, the anti-clerical Minister of the Marine, who appreciated any measure taken to limit the authority of the clergy, and also, in part by Frontenac's disapproval of the strict moral rigorism

of the Canadian clergy whom he regarded as too inquisitorial.²

However, by 1689 the changed atmosphere at Court where the hedonistic Louis XIV of earlier days had given way to a Louis XIV who had a strong concern for his salvation, made it wise for Frontenac to moderate his antipathy towards the clergy. Indeed his gubernatorial instructions, though the same as those issued to other governors, were meant to be heeded:

Il sçait que le devoir principal et essentiel est de satisfaire à ce qui regarde la religion, et que de là dépend la bénédiction qu'on doit attendre du Ciel sans laquelle rien ne peut avoir un heureux succez . . . Sa Majesté veut aussy qu'il conserve en toutes choses une bonne intelligence avec l'évesque de Québec, qu'il luy donne pareillement toute sorte de secours et de protection en tout ce qui regarde ses fonctions, et qu'il contribue de ses soins et de son application a tout ce qui peut regarder le bien spirituel de la colonie sans néanmoins aller en rien au delà de ses fonctions à cet esgard, ny faire rien de son chef et sans la participation dudit S^r évesque . . .³

Indeed, for several years the relations between the new Bishop and the re-appointed Governor were to be of a relaxed and agreeable nature.

Saint-Vallier took a liking to the new Governor as Tronson, the superior of Saint-Sulpice, remarked in 1690 when writing to Frontenac: ". . . combien il [Saint-Vallier] se loue de vos honnetetés et combien il désire conserver votre amitié."⁴

Similarly, Frontenac was able to report that he and the Bishop remained united and that there were no difficulties between them.⁵

The whole tenor of the period 1689-1694 is summed up in Frontenac's plaintive cry of 1695:

Si M^r l'évesque avoit voulu me croire et suivre les conseils que l'amitié qu'il me témoignoit alors me donnoit souvent la liberté de luy donner sur toutes les choses que luy ou ses ecclesiastiques entreprennent tous les jours et à la continuation desquelles je luy representois qu'il estoit impossible qu'à la fin on ne s'opposast, il n'auroit pas fait tant de vaines demarches . . .⁶

This is not to deny that there were not occasional differences of opinion. Saint-Vallier vented his displeasure on Frontenac when he saw that the brandy trade would continue as a part of royal policy, but Frontenac accepted this without demur: "Je lui laisse passer sa mauvaise humeur contre moi et ne laisse pas de l'obliger ensuite a m'embrasser aussi étroitement qu'à son ordinaire." There were sharp divergences over the fixation of cures. Laval had opposed this policy, but Saint-Vallier supported it. He stated in 1685 that he wanted to greatly increase the number of fixed cures;⁸ unfortunately, after his consecration he showed little interest in doing so. The Bishop was constantly being reminded by Frontenac or the Minister that he must fix cures.⁹

One reason for Saint-Vallier's refusal to do so was that when the cure was fixed, should the local *seigneur* build a church, he would then have the right to nominate the *curé* who would serve there. Saint-Vallier saw this as a derogation of his cherished episcopal authority and so refused to fix cures until he was conceded authority to build churches, and thus secure the right of patronage, in those cures where no *seigneur* had built a church.¹⁰

As a state functionary, Frontenac not only incited the bishop to action, but would try to force the Bishop's hand, such as in 1692 when he threatened to withhold the royal *gratification* if Saint-Vallier did not fix cures.¹¹

Similarly, the two disagreed over the question of soldiers' pay. It was common practice for the officers to take the pay of their men in return for allowing the soldiers to hire themselves out to the *habitants*, and so earn more than their regular pay. Saint-Vallier

regarded this practice as iniquitous and so instructed his priests to refuse absolution to such officers.¹² Frontenac replied that the Bishop alone had made a case of the issue since no soldier had complained.¹³ This issue also was settled in the Bishop's favour during his visit to France in 1695, when he obtained a deliberation of the doctors of the Sorbonne which vindicated his actions.¹⁴

Despite these potential sources of divisive contention, relations between Governor and Bishop remained smooth and unruffled. Why? Firstly, the two men seem to have been on friendly terms.¹⁵ Frontenac wrote glowingly of the Bishop's pastoral endeavours. On Saint-Vallier's donations to the *Hôpital-Général*, Frontenac noted: "il y a peu d'évesques qui eust voulu prendre sur son bien une somme aussy considerable."¹⁶ Indeed, Frontenac used his friendship with the Recollets to persuade them to sell their convent to Saint-Vallier to serve as his hospital.¹⁷

Secondly, the quarrels which had earlier divided governor and clergy were settled. The King had definitely stated that the brandy trade, the major cause of dispute, could not be abandoned without loss of the French advantage in the fur trade.¹⁸ Though Saint-Vallier objected to the trade, he had to accept it as a necessary evil and therefore did not oppose it as vociferously as Laval.¹⁹ Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, Saint-Vallier and Frontenac both had a common adversary--the Seminary. Frontenac's first term of office had been seriously troubled by his protracted disputes with Laval, who of course received the support of his Seminary. Saint-Vallier was also at odds with the Seminary. Saint-Vallier saw in Frontenac a valuable ally in his fight with this body, while Frontenac could savour

the pleasure of denigrating his former foe without becoming involved in the actual disputes.

This view would seem to gather support from the fact that despite his frequent and violent clashes with the Seminary, Saint-Vallier's position did not become untenable till he managed to alienate Frontenac in 1694.

No sooner had he landed in the colony than Frontenac made clear his support for Saint-Vallier:

Il me paraît qu'il y a des gens ici qui n'ont pas plus d'envie de voir l'autorité d'un évêque bien établie que celle d'un gouverneur et que la condition du nouvel évêque serait fort méchante s'il n'avait pas plus de pouvoir qu'ils ne le prétendent sur les ecclésiastiques de son seminaire, qui est établi d'une manière fort singulière et extraordinaire.²⁰

Frontenac's support over the next few years was consistent; when Frontenac and Champigny were told to see that the regulations of 1693 between Saint-Vallier and the Seminary were put into effect, Frontenac wrote:

. . . ces derniers sont persuadez que le St.-Esprit leur inspire tout ce qu'ils pensent, ils croiraient résister a ses lumières, s'ils croyaient les conseils qu'on veut leur donner, M^r l'évesque n'est pas de mesme, mais à moins la Cour mette toute son autorité pour leur fair reconaistre celle de leur chef . . . ils trouveraient toujours de nouvelles explications à tous les règlements qu'on envoyera, ne cherchant que des subtilitez pour prolonger et empescher que les choses ne soient nettement décidées.²¹

This spirit of cooperation was to be rudely shattered in 1694.

Frontenac planned to put on several plays as a pleasant diversion, but such entertainment was anathema to the French clergy.²² Saint-Vallier was even more mortified to discover that one of these was to be *Tartuffe*, a satire on excessive religiosity, and it seemed that the

sieur de Mareuil, a young officer and public blasphemer, was to have the leading role. Thus "animé du zèle qu'il fait paraître contre tout ce qu'il croit être mal", Saint-Vallier determined to stop the plays.²³ Mareuil was put under an interdict and two pastoral letters were issued warning the people not to attend:

On ne peut pas disconvenir que les bals et les comédies qui se jouent dans le monde, pour honnêtes qu'elles soient de leur nature, ne soient des divertissements tres dangereux pour toutes sortes de personnes.²⁴

To complement this, whilst at Batiscan, Saint-Vallier reprimanded two officers for not having attended Mass, and put one of them, Desjordy, under an interdict because of his adultery with a married woman, Mme. Brioux. Frontenac took an interest in the affair since it seemed that Mareuil was being treated unfairly by the Bishop, who was refusing to provide Mareuil with a copy of the *mandement* and thus allow Mareuil to know the charges against him. Also, the two officers claimed that they had witnesses to prove that they had attended Mass.²⁵

After initiating these proceedings, Saint-Vallier left the scene, since he was more preoccupied with the Recollets and with his preparations for his departure. Frontenac's quarrel was really with the Sovereign Council, whose slowness in dealing with these cases Frontenac assigned to a plot between the Bishop and certain councillors to impose the authority of the Church on the colony.²⁶ In one heated exchange between Ruelle d'Auteuil, the Procurator-General, and the Governor, Frontenac made the unfortunate statement that as head of the Council, he would force him to complete his investigations.²⁷ Frontenac had been instructed during his first administration that he had no claim to such a title, but the Minister was willing to concede that this had been

a slip of the tongue, though he did reprimand the Governor for acting with "trop d'emportement et même avec violence."²⁸

As the instigator of this fracas, Saint-Vallier found that he could add his former ally, the Governor, to his growing list of opponents: "Je ne vous parle point de M^r l'évêque; vous l'avez pu connaître par ses procédés, et que les portraits que je vous ai faits de lui ressemblent au naturel."²⁹ However, the removal of the Bishop from the scene gave tempers a chance to cool.

In 1696 Frontenac came to Saint-Vallier's aid and wrote to the Court to secure the Bishop's return. As Tronson noted: "il y a apparence qu'ils vivront bien ensemble."³⁰ Indeed they did; there was no mention of any disagreement between them from Saint-Vallier's return till Frontenac's death in 1698.

Frontenac continued his support for Saint-Vallier's pastoral endeavours:

M. l'évêque de Québec continue avec tant d'application a soulager les pauvres et à faire d'autres bonnes oeuvres que nous pouvons dire qu'il fait au delà de ses forces, ce qui ne doit pas peu vous engager, Monseigneur, à lui procurer la continuation des grâces que S.M. lui fait, et même de les lui augmenter pour ce qui concerne la fixation des cures.³¹

The Governor likewise interceded with the Minister for financial support and letters patent for Saint-Vallier's new hospital at Trois-Rivières.³²

Saint-Vallier, mindful of the warnings delivered to him in France to demonstrate exemplary behavior whilst in Quebec, also gave no cause for complaint. At Court "la douceur et la bonté qu'il a fait paroître depuis son retour" won him universal praise,³³ while in Quebec his spirit of cooperation allowed him to act as an intermediary, able to smooth over a dispute between Frontenac and Champigny.³⁴

Frontenac died in 1698 and was succeeded the following year by Louis-Hector de Callières, Governor of Montreal. Saint-Vallier had first met Callières when he visited Montreal as Vicar-General of Laval in 1685 and had been favourably impressed by this soldier whom he described as "un homme fort appliqué à son devoir, brave de sa personne, plein d'honnêteté et très capable de son emploi au jugement de tous ceux qui le connaissent."³⁵ In 1694, however, Saint-Vallier changed his mind completely when he believed that he had received an affront from Callières on a point of precedence, a dispute which was to lead to an accusation by the Bishop of a relationship between Callières and the sister of the Recollet Superior.³⁶

Time and prudent reserve on both sides allowed the passions thus aroused to dissipate. Nonetheless, the Minister of the Marine, Pontchartrain, felt obliged to counsel Callières to forget his "petites contestations" with the Bishop.³⁷ On neither side does any problem seem to have arisen. Saint-Vallier was able to assure the Minister that he was maintaining "une bonne intelligence" with Callières³⁸, whilst on his part, the Governor came to Saint-Vallier's aid on the question of the dissolution of the *Hôpital-Général*. He wrote a letter to the Minister which not only shows his support for the hospital, but the esteem he felt for the Bishop:

Ce prelat est tres charitable, et se refuse jusqu'à ses necessitez. Je ne doute pas Monseigneur que vous ne preniez des mesures avec luy pour qu'il continue ses liberalitez a ³⁹ cet hopital afin de le soutenir etant tres utile a ce pais.

Saint-Vallier left the colony in October, 1700, and thus had little opportunity to develop a firm working relationship with Callières, who

died in 1702. The new Governor, Philippe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, a prominent soldier who had been commander of the troops in Canada, already knew Saint-Vallier, but as Governor, was not to encounter him until 1713. All seemed to augur well when Vaudreuil was informed that the Bishop was returning "dans de tres bonnes dispositions de Vivre en bonne Union".⁴⁰ Indeed, Vaudreuil's report on Saint-Vallier's return held the promise of good relations between the two:

Jay attendu jusques icy, Monseigneur, à vous parler de l'arrivée de Monsieur l'Evesque en ce pays Je ne scaurois trop vous dire combien elle a fait de plaisir a tout le monde Et de bien en mesme temps par la quantité de prestre qu'il a ordonné dont on avoit très grand besoin dans toute la Colonie. Ses charitez continuelles d'ailleurs font que chacun a recours a luy, En mon particulier jay une veritable joye de le revoir et Je me fais un honneur de luy rendre visite à son hospital général ou il demeure le plus souvent qu'il m'est possible.⁴¹

Again, in 1714, Vaudreuil assured the Minister that he had "tout le respect et la Consideration possible".⁴² Such professions of good will on the part of the Governor towards the Bishop became commonplace.⁴³ However such assertions lack credibility. There was to be no dramatic quarrel, but Saint-Vallier's reiterated complaints about Vaudreuil's behaviour would seem to indicate that relations between the two were cool, if not unfriendly.

Vaudreuil, unlike Frontenac and Callières, took little interest in ecclesiastical affairs. Unlike Frontenac he furnished Saint-Vallier with no support in the disputes with the Seminary. Unlike Callières he did not show concern for the Bishop's foundations, such as the *Hôpital-Général*. Saint-Vallier was not accustomed to such an attitude. Thus their mutual incomprehension of what each expected of the other served only to cause their estrangement.

In 1718 Saint-Vallier complained to the Council of the Marine that Vaudreuil had refused to assist him in deporting the Jansenist monk, Poulet, back to France.⁴⁴ It was only after the Council ordered Vaudreuil to have the monk deported that Vaudreuil complied with the Bishop's request.⁴⁵

The main cause of disagreement was Saint-Vallier's refusal not to marry the soldiers or officers stationed in the colony. It was a common practice for the military authorities to refuse the soldiers permission to marry in order to keep them in the troops; with the officers this policy was supposed to keep them from a *mésalliance*.⁴⁶ The Bishop, however, viewed the situation differently. Marriage is a sacrament; and by denying the rights of these men to marry, the commanders of the troops were denying the right of the priest to impart a sacrament to all men, which, to Saint-Vallier, represented an intolerable restriction of the obligation of the priest to minister to all the faithful. On a more practical note, this policy led the men into various licentious pursuits to satisfy their physical needs, a situation which the Bishop similarly found intolerable.⁴⁷ Saint-Vallier therefore did not instruct his *curés* not to marry those soldiers who wished to do so, with or without military permission. Vaudreuil complained of this in 1716, saying that it was an infringement on the discipline exercised over the troops.⁴⁸ His complaint was disregarded; the Bishop was continuing with his policy in 1719.⁴⁸ This minor altercation soon became very personal for Vaudreuil. In 1720 the Bishop married Vaudreuil's nephew, Adhémar de Lantagnac, a lieutenant in the troops, to a girl whom Vaudreuil disparagingly referred to as "sans bien et sans naissance dont il [Vaudreuil] a vu la mere servir, ches son

Pere qui tenait Cabaret". The Bishop's action stung Vaudreuil all the more since he had asked Saint-Vallier not to allow the marriage. Vaudreuil therefore asked the Council of the Marine that his nephew be removed from his sight and sent to Cape Breton.⁵⁰

The girl in question was the daughter of Guillaume Haymard, who, though he had begun his career in New France as a servant, had risen in 1717 to the post of first councillor of the Superior Council of the colony.⁵¹

A revealing insight into Vaudreuil's character is his distaste for the girl's parents' humble origins, though as the Governor himself reveals in his letter to the Council of the Marine, his origins were equally humble. Vaudreuil now defied the Bishop's authority: the Governor and members of his suite would enter the cloistered part of the convents, which he had no right to do. In Saint-Vallier's opinion, such actions produced divisions amongst the nuns who would turn to Vaudreuil for support rather than to their Bishop.

The Bishop was also distressed to discover that Vaudreuil wanted to dissolve the *Hôpital-Général* of Montreal. The Bishop informed the Council of the Marine that were this hospital to be dissolved it would be a great evil for the colony since his hospital at Quebec could not cope with all the chronic sick of the colony.⁵² Vaudreuil was rebuked by the Council, which told him that he did not have the privilege of entering the convents with his suite unless Saint-Vallier gave him permission to do so.⁵³

Vaudreuil may have ceased to do this, but in 1725 the Bishop found himself compelled to complain to the Minister that Mme de Vaudreuil was

entering the convents at will with members of her suite.⁵⁴

On Vaudreuil's death, he was succeeded in May, 1726, by Charles de Beauharnois de la Boische, Marquis de Beauharnois. Saint-Vallier's death in December, 1727, ensured that no strong relationship between the two was established. We may assume that Saint-Vallier found Beauharnois agreeable since the new Governor shared certain of the opinions of the Bishop. He judged the Canadian priests to be insubordinate because the priests of the Seminary had rebelled when the Parisian house sent out a Frenchman as the new superior, not a Canadian. Beauharnois also proved willing to help Saint-Vallier: at the Bishop's request he removed a *curé* whose "esprit dérangé" made him incapable of serving his flock.⁵⁵

Therefore, after this brief examination of Saint-Vallier's relations with the governors, we see that the troublesome prelate presented by certain historians in dealing with this topic is something of a misinterpretation. These historians only touch upon Saint-Vallier's clashes with the governors, and yet there was only one spectacular dispute, that with Frontenac in 1694, and even this was only one dispute of many that Saint-Vallier engaged in that year.

Of course there were matters in dispute between the Bishop and the governors, but only rarely did these break out into open hostility. On the whole Saint-Vallier's record is one of peaceful cooperation: he did not dabble in temporal affairs, and in return, the governors would provide their support for his pastoral policy. Despite the quarrel with Frontenac, it was with Vaudreuil that Saint-Vallier had the worst relations, because Vaudreuil did not adopt any method of cooperation. The Governor's attitude is understandable.

For the first ten years of Vaudreuil's administration, Saint-Vallier was absent, and so the Governor developed his own method of governing which took little account of the Bishop's role, a position which he did not moderate after Saint-Vallier's return.

By focussing attention only on his disputes with the governors, historians have helped to tarnish the Bishop's reputation. Saint-Vallier's relationships with the governors must be examined in their entirety. They were, on the whole, calm, peaceful and cooperative, not unruly, tempestuous or divisive.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has been an attempt to re-examine the episcopate of Mgr. de Saint-Vallier. For far too long the second Bishop of Quebec has been presented as a quarrelsome, autocratic, turbulent prelate who gloried in the assertion of his own authority. For these historians, Saint-Vallier was a man of extremes; few realized that his predicament as well as his temper caused him to resort to extreme measures. The emphasis has always been placed on Saint-Vallier's immoderate temperament, yet we hope to have demonstrated that if we leave aside his well-known zeal, there remain various other facets of his character which invite investigation.

An examination of Saint-Vallier's early life provides some valuable insights into the Bishop's conception of his episcopal authority. By birth Saint-Vallier was born to lead. His early career marked him out as a rising star in French ecclesiastical society. By his theological training, Saint-Vallier conceived the bishop as filling the pivotal role between God and his servants, the clergy. He had been thoroughly infused with the theology of J.-J. Olier who exalted the episcopate and who stressed submission in those he trained as priests.

When Saint-Vallier accepted the offer of the see of Quebec, he crossed the Atlantic, full of his conceptions of the role of the bishop and the norms of the standard French diocese. Quebec did not fit into his conceptions. The diocese had only the rudiments of an organization; the Bishop shared his authority with a trusted coterie of advisors. Therefore the new Bishop decided to restructure his diocese to fit into

the established pattern.

Unfortunately, the Seminary of Quebec was unwilling to renounce its power and influence. Neither side visualized compromise. Violent conflict ensued. Saint-Vallier won ecclesiastical and royal approval for his transformation of the diocese, but alienated his supporters by the immoderate measures which he had felt obliged to adopt.

As a child of the Counter-Reformation, Saint-Vallier felt it to be his duty to ensure that the benefits of the Catholic reform were available to his flock. The years 1688-1700 saw an intensely active period of pastoral visitations, legislation, reorganization. In this he was inspired by the leading figures of the Counter-Reformation, Charles Borromeo and Francis de Sales. His policies closely matched those of his contemporaries and his ideological companions.

We hope therefore to have shown that in his quarrels with the Seminary, where we may deplore his lack of moderation, and in his pastoral policy, Saint-Vallier was an example of the average seventeenth-century reform-minded bishop.

To complete this study, we have included an examination of Saint-Vallier's relations with the governors of the colony. Despite the penchant for dealing only with his disputes, most noticeably that of 1694, a chronological survey shows that the years of his episcopate were ones of cooperation between the Bishop and the governors, or at the worst cool indifference.

We cannot deny that Saint-Vallier's temperament set him aside from the ordinary, but his policies were what we should expect from a bishop of that time, yet for this he has received no credit.

NOTES

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE NOTES

- AAQ - Archives de l'Archevêché de Québec.
- ACND - Archives de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame, Montreal.
- AHDQ - Archives de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec.
- AHGQ - Archives de l'Hôpital-Général de Québec.
- ASQ - Archives du Séminaire de Québec.
- BRH - Bulletin des Recherches Historiques.
- RAPQ - Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec.
- RHAF - Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française.
- PAC - Public Archives of Canada.
- SCHEC - La Société Canadienne d'Histoire de l'Église Catholique
(Sessions d'Étude).

Notes to pages 1 and 2.

INTRODUCTION

FOOTNOTES

¹ Auguste-Honoré Gosselin, Vie de Mgr. de Laval, premier évêque de Québec et apôtre du Canada, 1622-1708 (Quebec: 1890), vol. 2, p. 44.

² Noel Baillargeon, Le Séminaire de Québec de 1685 à 1760 (Quebec: 1977), p. 45.

Notes to pages 3 to 5.

CHAPTER II

FOOTNOTES

- ¹Dudouyt to Laval, 28.3.1684 - 11.6.1684. ASQ Lettres, N 79, p. 6.
- ²The family name was originally de Guerre but was changed to de la Croix by Jean II (d. 1529) in order to receive a legacy.
- ³For the genealogy of the family, see Francois-A.-A de la Chesnaye-Desbois, Dictionnaire de la Noblesse (Nendeln: 1969), vol. 6, cols. 541-550.
- ⁴Saint-Vallier's lineage made him a principal contender for ecclesiastical preferment. Ravitch has shown that of the French bishops of this period, 88 percent were of noble birth and 51 percent of these families had been noble for over 200 years. The origin of the de la Croix family's nobility is uncertain, but it may be of sword origin, which accounted for the majority of the families which provided a bishop in this period (49%). See Norman Ravitch, Sword and Mitre. Government and Episcopate in France and England in the age of aristocracy (The Hague: 1966), pp. 69-72.
- ⁵Pierre de la Chasse, "Éloge funèbre de Mgr. de Saint-Vallier," BRH, 13 (1907): 70.
- ⁶Guy Plante, Le rigorisme au XVII siècle. Mgr. de Saint-Vallier et le sacrement de pénitence (Gembloux: 1971), p. 30.
- ⁷de la Chasse, "Éloge funèbre," p. 72.
- ⁸Ibid., p. 99.
- ⁹Saint-Vallier to mère Beurdière, Paris, 5.4.1685. "Deux lettres de Mgr. de Saint-Vallier," BRH, 70 (1968): 64.
- ¹⁰Plante, Rigorisme, p. 30.
- ¹¹Tronson to Saint-Vallier, Paris, 2.2.1682. Louis Bertrand, ed. Correspondance de M. Louis Tronson (Paris, 1914), vol. 3, p. 223.
- ¹²None of the major works such as Auguste-Honoré Gosselin, L'église du Canada depuis Monseigneur de Laval jusqu'à la conquête (Quebec, 1911) or Noel Baillargeon, Le Séminaire de Québec de 1685 à 1760 (Quebec, 1977), mention this close association.
- ¹³Paul Broutin, La réforme pastorale en France au XVII siècle: recherches sur la tradition pastorale après le concile de Trente (Paris, 1956), vol. 2, p. 252.

- ¹⁴Broutin, Réforme pastorale, p. 252.
- ¹⁵Ibid., p. 253.
- ¹⁶Henk Hillenaar, Fénelon et les Jésuites (the Hague: 1967), p. 28.
- ¹⁷Such as Pierre de la Broue, Bishop of Mirepoix, and Henri de Briquerville, Bishop of Cahors. Ibid., p. 31.
- ¹⁸Tronson to Dollier de Casson, 15.2.1685. Bertrand, Correspondance, vol. 3, p. 274.
- ¹⁹Jeanne-Françoise Juchereau de Saint-Ignace and Marie-Andrée Duplessis de Ste.-Hélène, Les Annales de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec (Montreal: 1939), p. 209.
- ²⁰Dudouyt to Laval, 28.3.1684 - 11.6.1684. ASQ Lettres, N 79, p. 6.
- ²¹Tronson to Dollier de Casson, 15.2.1685. Bertrand, Correspondance, vol. 3, p. 275.
- ²²Henri Daniel-Rops, The Church in the Seventeenth Century (London: 1963), p. 281.
- ²³de la Chasse, "Éloge funèbre," pp. 73-74.
- ²⁴Saint-Vallier to Alexander VIII, 1687. PAC MG17 A3, vol. 344, fol. 1.3.
- ²⁵Seignelay to Denonville, Versailles, 10.3.1685. PAC Archives des Colonies, series B, vol. 11, p.156.
- ²⁶Tronson to Dollier de Casson, 15.2.1685. Bertrand, Correspondance, vol. 2, p. 274.
- ²⁷Dudouyt commented on 'la libéralité extraordinaire' of the court towards Saint-Vallier. Dudouyt to Laval, 26.4.1685. ASQ Lettres, M 1, p. 13.
- ²⁸Memoir to sieur Arnoul, Versailles, 10.4.1685. PAC Archives des Colonies, series B, vol. 11, p. 261.
- ²⁹ASQ Séminaire, 1 no. 60, published in Honorius Provost, "Documents pour une histoire du Séminaire de Québec," RUL, 10 (1955-1956): 473-474. Also ASQ Séminaire, 1, no. 64.
- ³⁰Saint-Vallier to la Chaise (?), 1707. AAQ Copies de Lettres, vol. 2, pp. 190-196, published in Provost, "Documents," RUL, 11 (1956-1957): 652.

³¹ASQ Lettres, O, no. 58, published in Provost, "Documents," RUL,
11 (1956-1957): 261.

³²Tronson to Belmont, 4.6.1686. Bertrand, Correspondance, vol. 2,
p. 288.

CHAPTER III

FOOTNOTES

¹AAQ Chapitre, fol. 24.

²Henri Têtu, ed., Mandements, lettres pastorales et circulaires des évêques de Québec (Quebec: 1887), vol. 1, p. 191.

³Ibid., p. 193.

⁴Ibid., p. 193.

⁵Jugements et délibérations du Conseil souverain de la Nouvelle-France (Quebec: 1886), vol. 2, pp. 1011-1012.

⁶Têtu, Mandements, p. 198.

⁷Ibid., p. 207.

⁸Ibid., p. 207.

⁹Ibid., p. 182.

¹⁰Saint-Vallier and his companions found themselves frequently having to break the ice on rivers, and to make portages. At one point only rescue by a group of Indians prevented the party from starving to death. Ibid., pp. 212-213.

¹¹Tronson to d'Urfé, 13.5.1686. PAC MG 17, A7-2, series 2, vol. 7, p. 3962.

¹²Têtu, Mandements, p. 167.

¹³Ibid., p. 253.

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 182-183.

¹⁵Saint-Vallier to his mother, Paris, 17.2.1687. "Deux lettres de Mgr. de Saint-Vallier," BRH, 70 (1968): 62.

¹⁶de Meulles to Seignelay, Quebec, 28.9.1685. PAC Archives des Colonies, series CIIA, vol. 7, p. 131.

¹⁷Ibid., vol. 7, p. 132.

¹⁸Saint-Vallier to la Chaise, Quebec, 1685. ASQ Lettres, P, no. 46.

- ¹⁹ Saint-Vallier to Louis XIV, Quebec, 1685. ASQ Lettres, P, no. 47.
- ²⁰ Seignelay to Saint-Vallier, Versailles, 31.5.1685. PAC Archives des Colonies, series B, vol. 12, p. 85.
- ²¹ Têtu, Mandements, p. 184.
- ²² Ibid., pp. 169-174.
- ²³ Ibid., pp. 174-177, and p. 188.
- ²⁴ Jeanne-Françoise Juchereau de St.-Ignace and Marie-Andrée Duplessis de Ste.-Hélène, Les Annales de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec (Montreal, 1939), p. 222.
- ²⁵ Têtu, Mandements, p. 197.
- ²⁶ When Laval had erected the Seminary, it was decided that all the priests should combine their personal revenues which would then be used to pay for the expenses of the Seminary and its priests.
- ²⁷ ASQ Séminaire, 1, 59b, published in Honorius Provost, "Documents pour une histoire du Séminaire de Québec," RUL, 10 (1955-1956): 475.
- ²⁸ ASQ Lettres, O, no. 58, Ibid., 11 (1956-1957): 261-262.
- ²⁹ Saint-Vallier to his mother, Paris, 17.2.1687. "Deux lettres de Mgr. de Saint-Vallier," BHR, 70 (1968): 62.
- ³⁰ ASQ Lettres, O, no. 58, published in Provost, "Documents," RUL, 10 (1955-1956): 262.
- ³¹ Ibid., p. 262.
- ³² AAQ Copies de Lettres, vol. 1, p. 347.
- ³³ Seignelay to Saint-Vallier, Versailles, 31.5.1686. PAC Archives des Colonies, series B, vol. 12, p. 82.
- ³⁴ ASQ Séminaire, 6, no. 57.
- ³⁵ ASQ Séminaire, 1, no. 62, published in Provost, "Documents," RUL, 10 (1955-1956): 573-574.
- ³⁶ Dudouyt to the directors of the Seminary, March, 1687. ASQ Lettres, M, no. 2.
- ³⁷ ASQ Séminaire, 1, no. 63.
- ³⁸ Laval to the directors of the Seminary, Paris, 18.3.1687. AAQ Copies de Lettres, vol. 1, p. 347.

Notes to pages 20 and 21.

³⁹Seignelay to Denonville and Champigny, Versailles, 30.3.1687. PAC Archives des Colonies, series B, vol. 13, pp. 104-105.

⁴⁰Laval to the directors of the Seminary, Paris, 9.6.1687. ASQ Lettres, N, no. 87.

⁴¹Ranuzzi to Cibo, Paris, 5.5.1687 in Bruno Neveu, Correspondance du Nonce en France, Angelo Ranuzzi (1683-1689) (Rome: 1973), vol. 2, p. 87.

⁴²Ranuzzi to Casoni, Paris, 3.11.1687. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 179.

⁴³AAQ Eglise du Canada, vol. 7, p. 43.

CHAPTER IV

FOOTNOTES

¹"... ses procédés étaient si odieux, ses abus de pouvoir si nombreux et manifestes." Noël Baillargeon, Le Séminaire de Québec de 1685 à 1760 (Quebec: 1977), p. 101.

²Henri Têtu, ed., Mandements, lettres pastorales et circulaires des évêques de Québec (Quebec, 1887), p. 140.

³"L'une des grandes consolations de Mgr. de Laval durant tout le cours de son épiscopat fut de trouver chez les prêtres du séminaire de Québec une confiance absolue a son égard et un indéfatigable dévouement." Noël Baillargeon, Le Séminaire de Québec sous l'épiscopat de Mgr. de Laval (Quebec: 1972), p. 155.

⁴Saint-Vallier to la Chaise (?), 1707. AAQ Copies de Lettres, vol. 2, pp. 190-196, published in Honorius Provost, "Documents pour une histoire du Séminaire de Québec," RUL, 11 (1956-1957): 652-656.

⁵Laval to the directors of the Seminary, Paris, 9.6.1687. ASQ Lettres, N. no. 87.

⁶Paul Broutin, La réforme pastorale en France au XVII siècle: recherches sur la tradition pastorale après le concile de Trente (Paris, 1956), vol. 2, p. 254.

⁷For Olier's conception of the Seminary, see Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 255-261.

⁸Ibid., vol. 1, p. 186.

⁹In Laval's early years the monarchy still had to take the power of the nobility into account. The Frondes were to amply illustrate the danger of the aristocracy. However, by Saint-Vallier's time the nobility had been tamed and were more willing subordinates of the king.

¹⁰ASQ Lettres, O no. 58, published in Provost, "Documents," RUL, 11 (1956-1957): 261.

¹¹Tronson to Denonville, Paris, 12.5.1688. PAC MG 17 A 7-2, series 2, vol. 7, p. 4087.

¹²Provost, H., "Documents," RUL, 11 (1956-1957): 261.

¹³Laval to Brisacier, Quebec, November, 1688. AAQ Copies de Lettres, vol. 1, p. 397.

¹⁴For the finances of the Church of New France, see Guy Frégault, "Les finances de l'église sous le régime français," Écrits du Canada Français, 5 (1959): 147-171.

¹⁵Provost, "Documents," RUL, 11 (1956-1957): 261-271.

¹⁶Ibid., RUL, 11 (1956-1957): 264.

¹⁷ASQ Chapitre, no. 21.

¹⁸AAQ Chapitre, IX, no. 26.

¹⁹AAQ Chapitre, IX, no. 27.

²⁰Laval to Denonville, St.-Joachim, 16.4.1691. "Quelques lettres de Mgr. de Laval," BRH, 46 (1940): 84.

²¹Laval to Brisacier (?), St.-Joachim, 17.4.1691. AAQ Copies de Lettres, vol. 1, p. 431.

²²Provost, "Documents," RUL, 10 (1955-1956): 866.

²³Ibid., RUL, 10 (1955-1956): 955-959.

²⁴Brisacier to the directors of the Seminary, Paris, 18.4.1692. ASQ Lettres, M, no. 13.

²⁵Provost, "Documents," RUL, 11 (1956-1957): 78.

²⁶ASQ Séminaire, 95, no. 46.

²⁷Laval to Brisacier, Quebec, December, 1692. AAQ Copies de Lettres, vol. 1, p. 449.

²⁸Provost, "Documents," RUL, 11 (1956-1957): 264.

²⁹PAC Archives des Colonies, series B, vol. 16, part 2, pp. 378-384.

³⁰de la Colombière to la Chaise, Quebec, 10.4.1693, ASQ Lettres, R, no. 6.

³¹ASQ Chapitre, no. 112.

³²ASQ Chapitre, no. 139.

³³ASQ Chapitre, no. 104.

³⁴The appel comme d'abus was a legal manoeuvre which stated that the ecclesiastical judge had exceeded his powers. The case was then to be dealt with by a lay court. For this affair, see Jugements et délibérations du conseil souverain de la Nouvelle-France (Quebec, 1887), vol. 3, pp. 247-249.

³⁵AAQ Copies de Lettres, vol. 2, p. 93.

³⁶ASQ Chapitre, no. 4.

³⁷See especially the account of Perault, in Archange Godbout, "Documents inédits sur une 'chicane' célèbre," Culture, 3 (1942): 33-43 and in "L'affaire du prie-Dieu, a Montréal, en 1694," RAPQ, 1923-1924, the accounts of Cadillac, p. 91 and Champigny, pp. 102-103.

³⁸L'affaire du prie-Dieu," RAPQ, 1923-1924. pp. 77-78.

³⁹Godbout, "Une 'chicane' célèbre," Culture, 3 (1942): 47-48.

⁴⁰C. Chauchetière to J. Chauchetière, Villemarie, 7.8.1694 in Reuben G. Thwaites, The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents. Travels and explorations of the Jesuit missionaries in New France, 1610-1791 (New York, 1959), vol. 64, p. 121.

⁴¹Champigny to Pontchartrain, Quebec, 27.10.1694 in Godbout, "Une 'chicane' célèbre," Culture, 3 (1942): 103.

⁴²"Letter from M. Tremblay to the directors of the Seminary of Quebec, 1695 (French and English)," Report of the Public Archives of Canada 1887, pp. lxxiv - lxxvii.

- 43 Tremblay to directors of Seminary, 29.3.1696. ASQ Lettres, M, no. 21.
- 44 "Letter from M. Tremblay," Report of the Public Archives of Canada 1887, pp. lxxviii - xcvi.
- 45 ASQ Chapitre, no. 13.
- 46 PAC MG 18 E12.
- 47 Saint-Vallier to Glandelet, Paris, 25.3.1696. ASQ Lettres, O, no. 8. Saint-Vallier to Laval, Paris, 25.3.1696. ASQ Lettres, N, no. 104.
- 48 Laval to Saint-Vallier, Quebec, 1696, ASQ Lettres, N, no. 0.
- 49 Laval to Noailles, Quebec, 1696. ASQ Lettres, N, no. 107.
- 50 PAC MG 18 E12 and ASQ Lettres, O no. 58, which is published in Provost, "Documents," RUL, 11 (1956-1957): 261-271.
- 51 Provost "Documents," RUL, 11 (1956-1957): 270.
- 52 Tremblay to Laval, 8 and 14.6.1696. ASQ Lettres, N no. 106.
- 53 Tronson to Belmont, April 1697, in Louis Bertrand, Correspondance de M. Louis Tronson (Paris, 1914), vol. 2, p. 361.
- 54 Saint-Vallier to la Chaise (?) 1707 in Provost "Documents," RUL, 11 (1956-1957): 654.
- 55 ASQ Seminaire, 1, no. 34.
- 56 Glandelet to Boudon, Quebec 11.10.1697. ASQ Seminaire, 6, no. 73u.
- 57 Têtu, Mandements, pp. 377-380.
- 58 Laval to Tremblay, Quebec, 1699. AAQ Copies de Lettres, vol. 1., p. 471, and Têtu, Mandements, pp. 380-381.
- 59 Saint-Vallier to la Chaise (?) in Provost, "Documents," RUL, 11 (1956-1957): 654.
- 60 ASQ Paroisse de Quebec, no. 126, published in Provost "Documents," RUL, 11 (1956-1957), pp. 361-363.
- 61 Glandelet to Boudon, Quebec, 8.10.1698. ASQ Seminaire, 6 no. 73w.
- 62 Jeanne-Françoise Juchereau de St.-Ignace and Marie-Andrée Duplessis de Ste.-Hélène, Annales de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec (Montreal, 1939), p. 293.

⁶³AAQ Registre, A, p. 690.

⁶⁴ASQ Polygraphie, 9 no. 10.

⁶⁵Maizerets to the directors of the Paris Seminary, Quebec, 1700.
ASQ Lettres, S, no. 16.

⁶⁶Saint-Vallier to his mother, Paris, 17.2.1687. "Deux lettres
de Mgr. de Saint-Vallier," BRH, 70 (1968): 62.

CHAPTER V

FOOTNOTES

¹Henry J. Schroeder, Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent. Original text with English translation (St. Louis, Mo & London: 1941), p. 232.

²Ibid., p. 58.

³Ibid., p. 47.

⁴Ibid., p. 105.

⁵Ibid., p. 192.

⁶Ibid., p. 26, R 305.

⁷John Bossy, "The Counter-Reformation and the People of Catholic Europe," Past and Present, vol. 47 (May, 1970): 52.

⁸Schroeder, Canons and Decrees, p. 195.

⁹For Borromeo's views on this subject, see Broutin, La réforme pastorale en France au XVII siècle: recherches sur la tradition pastorale après le concile de Trente (Paris, 1966), vol. 2, pp. 382-393.

¹⁰On Borromeo's influence in France, see Antoine Dégert, "Saint Charles Borromée et le Clergé français," Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique, series 4, vol. 4 (1912): 145-159, 193-213.

¹¹Louis Pérouas, Le diocèse de La Rochelle de 1648 à 1724. Sociologie et Pastorale (Paris: 1964), p. 177.

¹²Those who followed the path of Borromeoan sanctity: François de la Rochefoucauld, Bishop of Clermont (1585-1610) and Senlis (1610-1622); Alain de Solminihac, Bishop of Cahors (1636-1652); Francis de Sales, Bishop of Geneva-Annecy (1602-1622). Those who sought reform by administrative methods: François d'Escoubeau de Sourdis, Archbishop of Bordeaux (1600-1628); Sebastien Zamet, Bishop of Langres (1615-1654); Henri de Sponde, Bishop of Pamiers (1625-1634). Those who followed the path of the Oratory: Jean-Baptiste Gault, Bishop of Marseilles (1643); Étienne de Vilazel, Bishop of Saint-Brieuc (1637-1677). Those who followed Port-Royal: Nicolas Pavillon, Bishop of Alet (1657-1677); Félix Vialart de Herse, Bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne (1641-1680); Étienne le Camus, Bishop of Grenoble (1671-1707). Those who followed the mentality of the century: François de la Fayette, Bishop of Limoges (1627-1676); Claude Joly, Bishop of Agen (1665-1678); Gabriel de

Footnote #12 (continued)

Roquette, Bishop of Autun (1667-1707). Those whose dioceses lay on the changing frontiers of the kingdom: Antoine-Pierre de Grammont, Archbishop of Besançon (1663-1698); Jean d'Aranthon d'Alex, Bishop of Geneva-Annecy (1661-1695). Those who followed Saint-Sulpice: Louis de Lascaris d'Urfé, Bishop of Limoges (1676-1695).

¹³Jean Delumeau, Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire: a new view of the Counter-Reformation (London: 1977), p. 186.

¹⁴AAQ Eglise du Canada, vol. 6, p. 34.

¹⁵Saint-Vallier to ? Quebec 3.11.1688. PAC MG 17 A1, vol. 1, pp. 225-226.

¹⁶Henri Têtu, ed., Mandements, lettres pastorales et circulaires des évêques de Quebec (Quebec, 1887), p. 287.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 362.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 275.

¹⁹See Robert Avézou, "La vie religieuse en Dauphiné du XVI au XVII siècle," Procès-verbaux mensuels de la Société Dauphinoise d'Ethnologie et Anthropologie, 30 (1955): 22-60; G. Baccrabère, "La pratique religieuse dans le diocèse de Toulouse aux XVI et XVII siècles," Annales du Midi, 74 (1952): 287-314; Marcel Bernos, "La vie religieuse à Aix au XVII siècle," Provence Historique, 22 (1972): 307-340; Pierre Flament, "Les moeurs des laïques au diocèse de Séez sous l'épiscopat de Mgr. d'Aquin (1699-1710)," Revue d'Histoire de l'Église de France, 4 (1955): 235-281.

²⁰Têtu, Mandements, p. 265.

²¹Ibid., p. 278.

²²Ibid., pp. 321 & 398.

²³Guy Plante, Le rigorisme au XVII siècle: Mgr. de Saint-Vallier et le sacrement de pénitence (1685-1727) (Gembloux: 1971), p. 97.

²⁴Ibid., p. 72.

²⁵Têtu, Mandements, p. 368.

²⁶Ibid., p. 278.

²⁷Ibid., p. 283.

²⁸Ibid., p. 366.

²⁹Têtu, Mandements, pp. 332-333.

³⁰Ibid., p. 283.

³¹For example, Ibid., p. 307, (Francis de Sales); p. 309 (Charles Borromeo).

³²Ibid., pp. 316 & 390.

³³Ibid., pp. 325-331.

³⁴Ibid., p. 277.

³⁵Ibid., p. 279.

³⁶Ibid., p. 318.

³⁷Ibid., pp. 382-384.

³⁸Ibid., p. 268.

³⁹Ibid., p. 313.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 365.

⁴¹Ibid., pp. 361-363.

⁴²Ibid., p. 269.

⁴³Ibid., p. 277.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 284.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 327.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 285.

⁴⁷Ibid., pp. 294-295.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 375.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 320.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 326.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 321.

⁵²Ibid., p. 316.

⁵³Ibid., p. 353.

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- ⁵⁴Têtu, Mandements, p. 285.
- ⁵⁵Ibid., pp. 413-417.
- ⁵⁶Ibid., pp. 392-393.
- ⁵⁷Ibid., p. 315.
- ⁵⁸Ibid., pp. 315-316.
- ⁵⁹Ibid., p. 306.
- ⁶⁰Ibid., pp. 399-405.
- ⁶¹Broutin, Réforme pastorale, vol. 2, p. 118.
- ⁶²AMDQ Tiroir 3, carton 200, no. 6.
- ⁶³Tetu, Mandements, p. 395.
- ⁶⁴Ibid., p. 317.
- ⁶⁵Ibid., p. 319.
- ⁶⁶Ibid., p. 371.
- ⁶⁷Henri Daniel-Rops, The Church in the Seventeenth Century (London, 1963), p. 118.
- ⁶⁸Têtu, Mandements, p. 270.
- ⁶⁹C. Chauchetière to J. Chauchetière, Montreal, 7.8.1694 in Reuben G. Thwaites, The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents. Travels and explorations of the Jesuit missionaries in New France, 1610-1741 (New York, 1959), vol. 64, p. 121.
- ⁷⁰Champigny to Pontchartrain, Quebec, 14.10.1698, PAC Archives des Colonies, series C11A, vol. 16, p. 116.
- ⁷¹Têtu, Mandements, p. 407.
- ⁷²Ibid., p. 272.
- ⁷³Ibid., p. 317.
- ⁷⁴Ibid., p. 392.
- ⁷⁵Ibid., p. 412.
- ⁷⁶Ibid., pp. 283 & 317.

⁷⁷Têtu, Mandements, p. 273.

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 337.

⁷⁹Saint-Vallier spent two months with the Sulpicians of Montreal in 1698. Tronson to Saint-Vallier, March 1699. Louis Bertrand, ed., La correspondance de M. Louis Tronson (Paris, 1914), vol. 2, p. 382.

⁸⁰Parat to Pontchartrain, Placentia 29.7.1689 in Ivanhoë Caron, "Inventaire des documents concernant l'Église du Canada sous le régime français. Monseigneur Jean-Baptiste de la Croix-Chevrières de Saint-Vallier," RAPQ, 1939-1940, p. 291; Menneval to Seignelay, Port-Royal, 10.9.1689 in Eugene Réveillaud, Histoire chronologique de la Nouvelle-France par le père Sixte le Tac (Paris: 1888), p. 237, note 1.

⁸¹Têtu, Mandements, p. 282.

⁸²Ibid., p. 276.

⁸³Ibid., pp. 282-283.

⁸⁴"Mgr. de Saint-Vallier au tombeau de St. Francois de Sales," L'Abeille, 11 (1877): 24.

⁸⁵Têtu, Mandements, p. 284.

⁸⁶Ibid., p. 388.

⁸⁷See R. Darricau, "Les catéchismes au XVIII siècle, dans les diocèses de l'Ouest, (Province ecclésiastique de Bordeaux)," Annales de Bretagne, 81 (1976): 599-614.

⁸⁸AAQ Registre A, p. 276.

⁸⁹ASQ Séminaire, 176, no. 160 bis.

⁹⁰ASQ Séminaire 5, no. 24, published in Honorius Provost "Documents pour une histoire du Séminaire de Québec," RUL, 11 (1956-1957): 455-456.

⁹¹Têtu, Mandements, p. 372.

⁹²Ibid., p. 342.

⁹³Jeanne-Françoise Juchereau de St.-Ignace and Marie-Andree Duplessis de Ste.-Hélène, Annales de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Montréal (Montreal, 1939), p. 263.

⁹⁴Têtu, Mandements, p. 384.

⁹⁵Daniel-Rops, Church in the Seventeenth Century, pp. 248-249.

- ⁹⁶Têtu, Mandements, p. 297.
- ⁹⁷Ibid., p. 318.
- ⁹⁸Ibid., p. 377.
- ⁹⁹Ibid., pp. 274-275.
- ¹⁰⁰Ibid., p. 288.
- ¹⁰¹Ibid., pp. 377 & 381.
- ¹⁰²ASQ Congrégation Notre-Dame, no. 45.
- ¹⁰³ACND 200.075, no. 1, pp. 67-68.
- ¹⁰⁴ACND 315.854-1.
- ¹⁰⁵ASQ Congrégation Notre-Dame, no. 45.
- ¹⁰⁶Têtu, Mandements, p. 374.
- ¹⁰⁷ASQ Paroisse de Quebec, no. 126, published in Provost "Documents," RUL, 11 (1956-1957): 361-363.
- ¹⁰⁸Têtu, Mandements, p. 282.
- ¹⁰⁹AHGQ Annales de l'Hôpital-Général de Québec, vol. 1, p. 7.
- ¹¹⁰Juchereau, Annales, p. 273.
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¹⁴⁰Dudouyt to Laval, 28.3.1684-11.6.1684. ASQ Lettres, N. 79, p. 6.

¹⁴¹Jean-Louis Lévesque, Le rituel du mariage de Monseigneur de Saint-Vallier, ses sources en France et ses survivances dans le nouveau rituel du mariage pour le Canada français. M.A. Diss. Notre-Dame Univ. 1970, p. 31.

¹⁴²Ibid., p. 70.

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¹⁴⁴Delumeau, Catholicism, p. 44.

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¹⁴⁶Têtu, Mandements, pp. 486-487.

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CHAPTER VI

FOOTNOTES

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²Tremblay to Laval, 10.5.1701. ASQ Lettres, N no. 114. The influence of the Jesuits can be attributed to the fact that la Chaise, the royal confessor, was a Jesuit.

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⁴Pontchartrain to Saint-Vallier, Versailles, 5.7.1702. Ibid., series B, vol. 23, part 2, p. 301.

⁵Pontchartrain to Begon, Versailles, 25.4.1703. Ibid., series B, vol. 23, part 3, p. 230.

⁶Guy Plante, Le rigorisme au XVII siècle: Mgr. de Saint-Vallier et le sacrement de pénitence (1685-1727) (Gembloux, 1971), p. 109.

⁷Saint-Vallier to Geoffroy, Paris, 27.3.1702. PAC MG 18 E14, p. 3.

⁸Henri Têtu, ed., Mandements, lettres pastorales et circulaires des évêques de Québec (Quebec, 1887), p. 418.

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¹⁰Saint-Vallier to Clement XI, Paris, 5.3.1703. AAQ Église du Canada, vol. 7, p. 59.

¹¹Clement XI to Coislin, Rome, 7.1.1703; Clement XI to Noailles, Rome 7.1.1703; Clement XI to le Camus, Rome, 7.1.1703. AAQ Église du Canada, vol. 7, pp. 47-51.

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¹⁷Saint-Vallier to Noailles, Petersfield, 30.10.1706, Ibid., pp. 7-12.

¹⁸Saint-Vallier to Noailles, Petersfield, 25.6.1707, Ibid., p. 46.

¹⁹Noel Baillargeon, Le Séminaire de Québec de 1685 à 1760 (Quebec, 1977), p. 174.

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²¹Juchereau, Annales, p. 346.

²²Saint-Vallier to Louis XIV, Paris, 4.4.1713. AAQ Copies de Lettres, vol. 2, p. 233.

²³Vaudreuil and Raudot to Pontchartrain, Quebec, 2.11.1710. "Correspondance entre M. de Vaudreuil et la Cour," RAPQ, 1946-1947, p. 392.

²⁴Tetu. Mandements, pp. 482-486.

²⁵Pontchartrain to Saint-Vallier, Versailles, 1713. PAC Archives des Colonies, series B, vol. 35, part 3, p. 229.

²⁶AHQ Annales de l'Hôpital-Général de Québec, vol. 2, p. 17.

²⁷AAQ Église du Canada, vol. 2, p. 93.

²⁸AAQ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 101.

²⁹Pontchartrain to Begon, Versailles, 17.5.1714. PAC Archives des Colonies, series B, vol. 36, part 6, p. 172.

³⁰ASQ Séminaire, 15, no. 59, p. 2.

³¹ASQ Chapitre, 47.

³²Saint-Vallier to Maurepas, Quebec, 10.9.1726. ASQ Séminaire, 14, liasse 4, no. 7.

³³AAQ Église du Canada, vol. 1, p. 146.

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- ³⁵AAQ Église du Canada, vol. 1, p. 146.
- ³⁶Council of the Marine to Saint-Vallier, Paris, 16.6.1716. PAC Archives des Colonies, series B, vol. 38, part 2, p. 495.
- ³⁷Deliberations of the Council of the Marine on the letters of Saint-Vallier, Louvre, 26.2.1717. AAQ Église du Canada, vol. 1, p. 113.
- ³⁸Deliberations of the Council of the Marine on the letters of Saint-Vallier, Paris, 8.2.1717, Ibid., vol. 1, p. 83.
- ³⁹Ibid., vol. 1, p. 69.
- ⁴⁰Deliberations of the Council of the Marine on the letters of Saint-Vallier, Louvre, 26.2.1717. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 113.
- ⁴¹Têtu, Mandements, pp. 495-496.
- ⁴²For ordinations see AAQ Registre C, pp. 2-3; for parishes, St.-Jean on Ile Orleans was erected on 26.5.1714, Registre B, p. 205, St.-Pierre on Ile Orleans on 27.8.1714, Registre B, p. 206.
- ⁴³Deliberations of the Council of the Marine on the letters of Saint-Vallier, Louvre, 26.2.1717, AAQ Église du Canada, vol. 1, p. 113.
- ⁴⁴Édouard-Zotique Massicotte, "Les cures du gouvernement de Montreal sous le régime français." BRH, 33 (1927): 699-702.
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- ⁴⁶AHGQ Annales, vol. 2, p. 25.
- ⁴⁷Vaudreuil and Begon to the Council, Quebec, 15.6.1716. "Correspondance (Vaudreuil)," RAPQ, 1947-1948: 306.
- ⁴⁸Têtu, Mandements, pp. 492-494.
- ⁴⁹Ibid., pp. 511-512.
- ⁵⁰Ibid., pp. 486-487.
- ⁵¹Pontchartrain to abbé de Maupéon, Marly, 3.7.1715. PAC, Archives des Colonies, series B, vol. 37, part 2, p. 504.
- ⁵²For the Poulet affair, see "Le Bénédictin Dom Georges-François Poulet dans la Nouvelle-France," RAPQ, 1922-1923, pp. 274-289, and Têtu, Mandements, pp. 496-498.

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⁵³Têtu, Mandements, p. 513.

⁵⁴AHGQ Annales, vol. 2, p. 45.

⁵⁵Têtu, Mandements, p. 504.

⁵⁶Maurepas to Robert, Versailles, 30.5.1724, PAC Archives des Colonies, series B, vol. 47, pp. 148-151.

⁵⁷Begon to Maurepas, Quebec, 31.10.1725, Ibid., series C11A, vol. 47, pp. 189-191.

⁵⁸Maurepas to Beauharnois and Dupuy, Versailles, 7.5.1726, Ibid., series B, vol. 49, pp. 307-308.

⁵⁹Saint-Vallier to Maurepas, Quebec, 10.9.1726. ASQ Seminaire, 14, liasse 4, no. 7.

⁶⁰On Saint-Vallier's life in the Seminary, see AHGQ Annales, vol. 2, pp. 18-57.

⁶¹AHGQ Lettres patentes de l'Hôpital-Général, pp. 38-40.

⁶²Ibid., pp. 41-43.

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⁶⁶Vaudreuil and Begon to the Council of the Marine, Quebec, 15.6.1716. "Correspondance (Vaudreuil)," RAPQ, 1947-1948, p. 306.

⁶⁷Maurepas to Saint-Vallier, Versailles, 30.5.1724, PAC Archives des Colonies, series B, vol. 47, p. 76.

⁶⁸Saint-Vallier to the Council of the Marine, Quebec, 7.10.1719, Ibid., series C11A, vol. 41, p. 168.

⁶⁹The Council of the Marine to Saint-Vallier, Paris, 7.6.1720. Ibid., series B, vol. 42, part 2, p. 299.

⁷⁰The Council of the Marine to Saint-Vallier, Paris, 14.6.1721. Ibid., series B, vol. 44, part 2, p. 315.

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CHAPTER VII

FOOTNOTES

¹William J. Eccles, Frontenac, The Courtier Governor (Toronto, 1959), chapter 17, "Tartuffe," pp. 295-308; Yves F. Zoltvany, Philippe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, Governor of New France 1703-1725 (Toronto: 1974), pp. 176-177, 205.

²Eccles, Frontenac, pp. 51-74.

³Instructions pour le sieur comte de Frontenac. 7.6.1689. "Correspondance échangée entre la Cour de France et le gouverneur de Frontenac, pendant sa seconde administration," RAPQ, 1927-1928, pp. 3-4.

⁴Tronson to Frontenac, 10.6.1690. ASQ Manuscrit 361, p. 158.

⁵Frontenac and Champigny to Pontchartrain, Quebec, 15.9.1692, "Correspondance (Frontenac)," RAPQ, 1927-1928, p. 109.

⁶Frontenac to Pontchartrain, Quebec, 4.11.1695, Ibid., 1928-1929, p. 276.

⁷Frontenac to Seignelay, Quebec, 12.11.1690. Ibid., 1927-1928, p. 46.

⁸de Meulles to Seignelay, Quebec, 28.9.1685. PAC Archives des Colonies, series C11A. vol. 7, p. 131.

⁹Pontchartrain to Saint-Vallier, Paris, 7.4.1691. PAC Archives des Colonies, series B, vol. 16, part 1, p. 134; Frontenac and Champigny to Pontchartrain, Quebec, 15.9.1692. "Correspondance (Frontenac)," RAPQ 1927-1928, p. 109; Pontchartrain to Saint-Vallier, Versailles, 21.5.1698, PAC Archives des Colonies, series B, vol. 20, part 1, p. 238.

¹⁰Frontenac to Pontchartrain, Quebec, 25.10.1693. "Correspondance (Frontenac)," RAPQ, 1927-1928, p. 162; Frontenac to Pontchartrain, Quebec, 4.11.1694, Ibid., p. 193; Arrêt du Conseil d'État, 27.5.1699, ASQ Lettres, O, no. 62.

¹¹Frontenac and Champigny to Pontchartrain, Quebec, 11.11.1692. "Correspondance (Frontenac)," RAPQ, 1927-1928, p. 125.

¹²Louis XIV to Frontenac and Champigny, Versailles, 1692, Ibid., 1927-1928, p. 94.

¹³Frontenac and Champigny to Pontchartrain, Quebec, 4.11.1693. Ibid., 1927-1928, p. 172.

¹⁴Henri Têtu, ed., Mandements, lettres pastorales et circulaires des évêques de Québec (Québec, 1887), pp. 347-350.

Notes to pages 101 to 103.

¹⁵Champigny mentions that they were "étroitement uni" and speaks of their "amitié réciproque." Champigny to Pontchartrain, Quebec, 27.10.1694. "L'affaire du prie-Dieu, a Montréal, en 1694," RAPQ, 1923-1924, p. 101.

¹⁶Frontenac to Pontchartrain, Quebec, 25.10.1693, "Correspondance (Frontenac)," RAPQ, 1927-1928, p. 162.

¹⁷Frontenac to Pontchartrain, Quebec, 15.9.1692, Ibid., p. 120.

¹⁸At the beginning of Saint-Vallier's reign, Louis XIV restated his policy:

A l'esgard des desordres causez par l'usage de l'eau de vie et de la proposition qu'ils font d'en deffendre la vente aux Sauvages, Sa Majesté est bien aise de leur expliquer qu'Elle ne trouve pas a propos de rien changer a ce qui est réglé par l'Ordonnance du 24 May 1679 ny de priver ses sujets de France et de Canada de l'avantage qu'ils tirent de ce commerce qui ne manqueroit pas de tomber entre les mains des Anglois aussytost que les francois ne le feroient plus.

Louis XIV to Denonville and Champigny, Versailles, 1.5.1689. PAC Archives des Colonies, series B, vol. 15, p. 186.

¹⁹Têtu, Mandements, p. 268.

²⁰Frontenac to Seignelay, Quebec, 17.11.1689, "Correspondance (Frontenac)." RAPQ, 1927-1928, p. 25.

²¹Frontenac to Pontchartrain, Quebec, 25.10.1693, Ibid., 1927-1928, p. 162.

²²See Jean Dubu, "De quelques rituels des diocèses de France au XVII siècle et du théâtre (II)," L'Année Canonique, 6 (1958): 99-114.

²³Champigny to Pontchartrain, Quebec, 27.10.1694. "L'affaire du prie-Dieu," RAPQ, 1923-1924, p. 101.

²⁴Têtu, Mandements, p. 307; for Saint-Vallier's pastoral letters, pp. 302-308.

²⁵Cadillac to Pontchartrain, (?) Montreal, 28.9.1694, "L'affaire du prie-Dieu." RAPQ, 1923-1924, pp. 81-91; Champigny to Pontchartrain, Quebec, 27.10.1694, Ibid., pp. 100-101, 103.

²⁶For the progress of these cases through the Sovereign Council see Jugements et délibérations du conseil souverain de la Nouvelle-France. (Quebec, 1887), vol. 3, pp. 829-830, 832-833, 841-842, 844-846, 856-860, 866-867, 877-878, 885-891, 893-895, 916-918, 923-924, 926-953.

²⁷Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 844-846.

²⁸Pontchartrain to Frontenac, Versailles, 8.6.1695, "L'affaire du prie-Dieu," RAPQ, 1923-1924, p. 107.

²⁹Frontenac to Lagny, Quebec, 2.11.1695, "Correspondance (Frontenac)," RAPQ 1928-1929, p. 267.

³⁰Tronson to Belmont, April 1697, Louis Bertrand, ed., La correspondance de M. Louis Tronson (Paris, 1914), vol. 2, p. 361.

³¹Frontenac and Champigny to Pontchartrain, Quebec, 15.10.1698 "Correspondance (Frontenac)," RAPQ, 1928-1929, p. 376.

³²Frontenac and Champigny to Pontchartrain, Quebec, 19.10.1697 Ibid., 1928-1929, p. 351; Frontenac and Champigny to Pontchartrain, Quebec, 15.10.1698, Ibid., 1928-1929, p. 377.

³³Tronson to Dollier de Casson, April, 1698, Bertrand, Correspondance, vol. 2, p. 364.

³⁴Pontchartrain to Saint-Vallier, Versailles, 21.5.1698, PAC Archives des Colonies, series B, vol. 20, part 1, p. 238.

³⁵Têtu, Mandements, pp. 206-207.

³⁶"L'affaire du prie-Dieu," RAPQ, 1923-1924, pp. 77-78, 91-92, 99.

³⁷Pontchartrain to Callières, Versailles, 27.5.1699, PAC Archives des Colonies, series B, vol. 20, part 2, p. 185.

³⁸Pontchartrain to Saint-Vallier, Versailles, 5.5.1700. Ibid., series B, vol. 22, part 2, p. 245.

³⁹Callières to Pontchartrain, Quebec, 16.10.1700. Ibid., series C11A, vol. 18, p. 38.

⁴⁰Pontchartrain to Vaudreuil and Begon, Versailles, 25.5.1713, "Correspondance entre M. de Vaudreuil et la Cour," RAPQ, 1947-1948, p. 25.

⁴¹Vaudreuil to Pontchartrain, Quebec, 16.9.1714, Ibid., 1947-1948, pp. 235-236.

⁴²Vaudreuil to Pontchartrain, Quebec, 16.9.1714, Ibid., 1947-1948, p. 263.

⁴³Vaudreuil and Begon to the Council of the Marine, Quebec, 26.10.1719. PAC Archives des Colonies, series C11A, vol. 40, pp. 1-2; Vaudreuil and Bégon to the Council of the Marine, Quebec, 26.10.1720. Ibid., series C11A, vol. 42, p. 14.

⁴⁴Decision of the Council of the Marine on the letter of Saint-Vallier. Louvre, 14.3.1719. AAQ Eglise du Canada, vol. 1, p. 74.

⁴⁵Vaudreuil and Bégon to the Council of the Marine, Quebec, 26.10.1719. PAC Archives des Colonies, series C11A, vol. 40, pp. 1-2.

⁴⁶Lionel Groulx, "Le gallicanisme au Canada sous Louis XIV," RHAF, 1 (1947-1948): 66.

⁴⁷Têtu, Mandements, pp. 300-301 would seem to be an indication of this.

⁴⁸Vaudreuil to Maurepas, Quebec, 13.11.1716. AAQ Église du Canada, vol. 1, p. 123.

⁴⁹Vaudreuil to the Council of the Marine, Quebec 12.1.1719, PAC Archives des Colonies, series C11A, vol. 40, pp. 94-95.

⁵⁰Deliberations of the Council of the Marine on the complaints of Vaudreuil, Paris, 14.1.1721. Ibid., series C11A, vol. 43, pp. 55-56.

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⁵²Deliberations of the Council of the Marine on the letter of Saint-Vallier, Louvre, 23.12.1721. PAC Archives des Colonies, series C11A, vol. 43, pp. 262-267.

⁵³The Council of the Marine to Vaudreuil, Paris, 5.6.1722. Ibid., series B, vol. 45, part 2, p. 38.

⁵⁴Saint-Vallier to Maurepas, Quebec, 4.10.1725. Ibid., series C11A, vol. 47, p. 267.

⁵⁵Beauharnois to Maurepas, Quebec, 16.10.1727. AAQ Église du Canada, vol. 1, p. 46.

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