La Société historique acadienne

Les Cahiers

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LA SOCIÉTÉ HISTORIQUE ACADIENNE

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Présentation

Les débuts difficiles de l'Église en Acadie après le Grand Dérangement demeurent encore méconnus même si passablement d'études y ont été consacrées. Puisque la communauté acadienne est desservie par la voie des missions, il importe de connaître les conditions dans lesquelles ont dû oeuvrer les missionnaires. François Ciquard représente un bon exemple de ces prêtres qui ont porté les secours spirituels aux Acadiennes et Acadiens au tournant du XIX[e] siècle, comme nous le démontre très bien le père Richard M[ac]Donough dans sa biographie de ce missionnaire que nous publions dans les pages qui suivent. Basé principalement sur des sources d'archives, dont les mémoires inédits du père Ciquard, cet article amène un éclairage nouveau sur ce personnage intimement lié à l'histoire acadienne.

Dans le but de nous faire découvrir un aspect plutôt insolite de l'Acadie du XVIII[e] siècle, le professeur Michel Poirier nous propose un texte sur un Acadien condamné aux galères après avoir été jugé coupable de piraterie. Ce flibustier, Louis Poitevin, natif de Port-Royal a terminé ses jours à Nantes après avoir perpétré ses actes de piraterie dans la région des Antilles.

Le père Anselme Chiasson nous a soumis un court texte sur la cérémonie des pains bénits en Acadie au XIX[e] siècle. Disparue de la liturgie catholique depuis au-delà d'un siècle, cette pratique religieuse en Acadie avait des particularités qui lui étaient propres comme l'illustre bien cet article du père Anselme.

En outre, nous reproduisons un article du *Moniteur acadien* rédigé par Placide Gaudet plus d'un siècle passé. Ce chercheur acadien avait déjà à coeur la conservation des archives comme il nous le démontre dans ce texte consacré à un document du XVIII[e] siècle conservé dans les archives d'une ancienne famille acadienne de la région de Pré-d'en-Haut.

Pour terminer, la présidente, madame Léone Boudreau-Nelson, nous communique les dernières nouvelles de notre société d'histoire. Nous ajouterons de plus, que la prochaine livraison des *Cahiers* contiendra les textes des conférences présentées à la *Société historique acadienne* au cours de l'année 1998-1999.

Le Comité de rédaction

The Missionary in Spite of Himself: François Ciquard, S.S.

Richard B. MacDonough, S.S., Ph.D.

François Ciquard, S.S.
1754-1824

When Jean-Jacques Olier founded the Society of St-Sulpice in 1641, for the purpose of forming diocesan priests, he did not exclude from its ends a certain amount of missionary activity. He himself had been actively involved in local missionary work in the provinces of France. Moreover, when he decided to send the first Sulpicians to the New World, he intended that they should, among other tasks, work for the conversion of the natives. France had only recently established a permanent colony at Québec, and this opened up exciting new possibilities for evangelization. Although the work of priestly formation became the primary goal of the new Society, the missionary charism was never totally absent.[1] The story is told of Olier

1. M. Emery, Superior General of the Society of St. Sulpice at the time Ciquard was sent to the U.S., makes it clear when corresponding with Bishop Carroll that the Sulpicians were engaged in missionary work there, in the strict sense, "only by the necessity of circumstances, and on the condition that they not lose from view that the establishment of seminaries always was their main goal." (J.-B.-E. Philpin de Rivières, p.s.s., [1813-1882] *Vie de quelques membres de la Compagnie de Saint-Sulpice qui ont été envoyés dans les missions des Etats-Unis à l'époque de la Révolution Française*, "Introduction," p. 5. The "Notice sur M. François Ciquard, Prêtre de la Compagnie de St-Sulpice, Missionnaire aux Etats-Unis et en Canada," found in this same work is a major, but not the only source for this study. The typescript is found in the Sulpician

that, during the singing of the antiphon *"Lumen ad revelationem gentium"* in his abbatial church of St-Germain des Prés, he was inspired to apply this to New France; and that in 1636, one couldn't think of pagans (*gentium*) without thinking of Canada. "God wanted him there."[2] Of course, he never got there himself. But it was ultimately in his spirit that François Roussel[3] Ciquard was sent to Montréal in 1783 and to Maine[4] and Eastern Canada in 1792.

But we should not get the idea that this was his first choice. The fact is that Ciquard first came to the New World to undertake missionary work only with reluctance. His autobiography makes this abundantly clear. When requested to go to Montréal by Fr. Emery in 1783, his first reaction was, to use his word, "repugnance." He later writes: "I told him that I hadn't entered St. Sulpice to be sent to the foreign missions." This remark was, of course, softened by assurances of resignation to the will

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Archives in Baltimore, Md., RG 52, Box 1: p. 5 The MS original is in the Sulpician Archives in Paris (MS n° 493) along with another typescript copy. The name of the purported author (1813-1882) is penciled on the front of the typescript. Hereafter, it will be cited with the short title: PDR, *Vie*. This typescript, in turn, is based in major part on Ciquard's autobiography, *Mémoires*. This latter document has been only recently relocated in Paris (April, 1999) after being missing for almost a century. I have consulted this document in detail, making whatever changes or additions were called for to the *Vie* of Philpin de Rivières. Allusions to these original *Mémoires* are made throughout this work. As a number of pages were removed from these *Mémoires*, because they were judged as politically insensitive by M. Quiblier, Fr. Philpin de Rivières had to complete the lacunae from other sources. He had access only to documents in Paris when writing this biography. I have had access to an additional 80 or more original documents on or by Ciquard now found in Canada in sources cited throughout this monograph.

2. Pierre Boisard, *La Compagnie de Saint Sulpice: Trois Siècles d'Histoire* [n.d., n.p.: Paris: 1941?]; I, 79 (mimeograph copy).

3. Although it usually is written *Rousset*, Ciquard's middle name (or perhaps his was a compound family name) was really *Roussel*. This is how Fr. Bruno Hamel, p.s.s., the former Sulpician archivist at Montréal, spells it, apparently relying on birth records he found in the Puy-de-Dôme archives. This is also how it appears in the list of faculty at the Petit Séminaire de Bourges in 1791, as noted in Auritz and de Rafignac, *Histoire du Grand Séminaire de Bourges*, Jouve: Paris, 1932, p. 169. This minor detail takes on significance when the biographer of Cardinal de Cheverus apparently confuses Ciquard with a rascal named Fr. Roussel who defrauded the Maine Indians.

4. The term is used anachronistically, since Maine was part of Massachusetts until 1820.

of his superior and God Himself. But after consulting at length with his spiritual director (Fr. Richard, the Superior of the Solitude), Ciquard told him, "I don't want to go to the Canadian missions unless you order me to do so. Then, being sure I am following God's will, I can endure patiently all the hardships and disgrace which might befall me in the future."[5] News of such hardships had surely filtered back to France. Several of his confrères had been massacred by the Indians![6] Then there were those Canadian winters! We can thus understand why his response to the missionary invitation was less than enthusiastic. In spite of this, Ciquard would willingly go back to the same New World and accept an assignment to be chaplain to the Passamaquoddy Indians in Maine, almost from the moment of his arrival in Baltimore in 1792. He later penned and published a document entitled *Portrait d'un Missionnaire apostolique* (1810); and, while serving the Acadians at St-Basile in the Madawaska territory joining western New Brunswick and northeastern Maine, he took pains, when signing the register at the baptism of my great-great grandfather in 1797,[7] to identify himself as "François Ciquard, missionnaire." Obviously, this was a man who had changed and grown considerably in the Spirit.

Unfortunately, we know little of the early life of Ciquard. The first pages of his *Mémoires* were removed, probably because they contained information considered politically dangerous in the era after the English Conquest (around 1760), when priests were being asked to swear an Oath of Allegiance to the English crown and the status of St-Sulpice in Canada was gravely threatened. We thus have minimal knowledge of the family to which he was born in Langlade[8] on August 30, 1754, the birth year of Louis XVI. Canada still belonged to France; the American

5. Ciquard, *Mémoires*, I, 30-33, as quoted in PDR, *Vie*, p. 598-600.

6. These included Frs. Guillaume Vignol and Jacques Lemaître in 1661 and de Chefville in 1687. (In fact, the body of Fr. Vignol was completely eaten by his Iroquois executioners!)

7. Isaac-Joseph Violette.

8. Near Vic-le-Comte in Auvergne, in the diocese of Clermont. PDR, *Vie*, says Aug. 29; but Ciquard himself in at least two documents gives Aug. 30 as the date of his birth and baptism. (See Archives du Séminaire de St-Sulpice à Montréal [ASSSM], S. 6, V. 2, A. 9, T. 115, doc. n° 13.) M. Hamel gives Langlade as the place and he, apparently, verified this in the Puy-de-Dôme archives.

colonies were still under England. How much would change in his world before he first set foot in America in 1783; and how much more, before he died in Montréal in 1824! By that time "The World Turned Upside Down" was an established reality. And his world, too, would be turned upside down in that period.

He must have belonged to a rather fervent Catholic family, to judge by the fact that two of his brothers became diocesan priests and another joined the Cistercian monastery at Sept-Fons. This was a reformed monastery and was known for its very strict observance. It is true that his parents were not pleased at the "loss" of all these sons and only with great reluctance later countenanced the vocation of François to St-Sulpice. They were probably of modest means, as young François was forced to help support himself by tutoring. He took a pupil with him when he journeyed to Clermont-Ferrand to study theology, with the intention of becoming a priest.

François must have been a pious young man from the start; as Philpin de Rivières tells us, "He was determined to leave the world to give himself to God in the ecclesiastical or religious state."[9] He wavered between these two alternatives. He hoped a visit to his brother's monastery at Sept-Fons might help him decide. The austerity of the order was indicated by the fact that François was forced to wait an entire day before seeing his brother. The latter encouraged him to join his order, and François was admittedly very much impressed with what he observed. Nonetheless, he doubted that he could live up to the demands of such a life and continued in his indecision.

Providence apparently helped him to decide, however. What determined his future was his encounter with the Society of St. Sulpice, members of which directed the seminary at Clermont-Ferrand. He was very much impressed by their spirituality and regular lifestyle, to the point that he decided to join the community. He had hesitations here too, especially regarding his qualifications. These were resolved, however, when he was admitted as a candidate for the Society on July 30, 1780. He was ordained a priest the next year (Dec. 22) and, following a pattern

9. PDR, *Vie*, p. 585 f.

not unfamiliar to Sulpicians even today, he was initially assigned to a parish in his diocese.

The laxity of the clergy in that assignment further strengthened his resolve to become a Sulpician; and, having obtained a sort of "release" or "indefinite leave" from his diocese, as is still the usage in the Society,[10] he entered the Solitude[11] in May of 1782.[12] Here Ciquard felt very content with both his decision and the lifestyle he encountered. His peace was to be disturbed, however, by the arrival of two businessmen from Montréal[13] bearing a letter from Fr. Montgolfier, the superior there, to Fr. Emery, the Superior General.[14] In this letter Fr. Montgolfier made a plea to Fr. Emery to send more Sulpicians to Montréal. The members of the Society there were dying off, and there was very real danger that it would come to an end very soon if their numbers were not replenished. Fr. Montgolfier also feared for the Church in Montréal should this happen, as their clergy were mostly Sulpicians at that time. It was the Sulpicians who were really the "Founding Fathers" of the Church there, having, in 1663 come into possession of the entire island, and having, together with the Jesuits, evangelized the Native population and cared for the colonists. The situation was further exacerbated because the Jesuits had been disbanded by this time.

M. Emery was very anxious to respond affirmatively to this plea. There was one major hurdle, however. Canada had become the possession of England with a basically Protestant government. It is true

10. Sulpicians remain formally incardinated in their diocese of origin. This may explain why Ciquard seemed to be able to move from Baltimore to Québec so easily later in his career.

11. This is a sort of quasi-novitiate for Sulpicians. It is not a canonical novitiate, however; as the Society is not a religious congregation or order, but a community of diocesan priests.

12. He himself dates his entrance into the Society May 7, 1782. (*Courte Autobiographie*, Sulpician Archives, Montréal: S. 6, V, 2, A. 7, T. 114, n° 13.) This document is about a page long and is little more than a chronology of events in his life.

13. MM. Bouteiller and Périnault. The latter remained in France

14. The original of this letter is to be found in the Archives de St-Sulpice, Paris (ASSP), in *Matériaux pour la vie de M. Emery,* VIII, p. 8304, dated October 5, 1782. This large collection of material was made by M. Faillon in preparation for writing his life of M. Emery and is found in the ASSP. I hereafter refer to this collection as *M.V.E.*

that this Government had tried to pacify the largely French and Catholic population; but there was a fear (not unfounded, in fact) that French clergy might alienate them from their loyalties to their new Government. Therefore, the entry of further French priests into the country had been proscribed. Fr. Montgolfier, however, was on very good terms with the current Governor, Frederick Haldimand; and he had reason to believe that the political climate had somewhat eased. In fact, he was convinced that if French Sulpicians were to come *incognito*, Governor Haldimand would overlook this violation of the agreement and let it pass. Fr. Emery was willing to take the gamble. All he needed was "volunteers."

Ciquard maintains that Fr. Emery sent around a circular letter asking for such volunteers. A Sulpician researcher, J.-B. Gosselin[15] doubts this, as there is no record of this in the minutes of the Local Councils. Whatever the case, only one priest offered himself for such an assignment: Fr. André Capel, who was on the faculty of the Seminary of Autun. Thereupon, Fr. Emery decided to approach Ciquard to attempt to interest him in such a "missionary" assignment. His response we have seen above. In the end, however, he gave in to the "command" of his Spiritual Director. He left the Solitude to undertake this journey on March 5, 1783 and sailed up the St. Lawrence on May 13, disembarking at Québec a week later. This "First Missionary Journey" ended in utter failure. The intriguing details of what came to be a *cause célèbre* for Ciquard will be discussed in a later chapter. In short, Fr. Montgolfier had misread the mind of Governor Haldimand; and both Capel and Ciquard were deported.

Fr. Ciquard arrived back in Paris on September 20, 1783, obviously very disappointed. But he was deeply impressed by what he found in Canada, however, so impressed that he could hardly think of anything else but to become a missionary. At this point he was assigned to the seminary in Bourges, first to the major seminary, and then, after three months, reassigned to become the treasurer or *économe* at the

15. He collected numerous data and documents from the various Sulpicians and their seminaries in preparation for writing his own *Vie de M. Emery*, one of several written.

minor seminary.[16] Thereafter, Fr. Ciquard was obsessed with the idea of missionary work and even tried to join the Société des Missions Etrangères of Paris. They accepted him, in fact; but Fr. Emery, who was nothing if not shrewd,[17] acquiesced to his request, while putting him off until he could find a replacement (a ploy which has worked numerous times in religious and ecclesiastical administration!) That day never arrived; and Ciquard was thus to maintain his position until he was forcibly ejected from the Bourges seminary by the revolutionary agents during the Reign of Terror, on August 28, 1791.

This second expulsion gave birth to a "Second Missionary Journey." This was occasioned by another letter to Fr. Emery: this time, from the newly consecrated first bishop of the United States, John Carroll. It was accompanied by a French translation of a letter addressed to Bishop Carroll by the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot Indians in Eastern Maine, requesting, for at least one year, a Catholic missionary. Fr. Emery was motivated to write to Ciquard, suggesting that he might respond to this request for a (temporary) missionary apostolate. In fact, it had the additional advantage of putting him on the doorstep of Canada, where he might someday go back to Montréal, once the political situation changed and he ceased to be *persona non grata.*[18]

CIQUARD AMONG THE INDIANS

The Passamaquoddies and Penobscots were two tribes belonging to a larger group of Indians inhabiting eastern Maine and western New Brunswick known as the *Abenakis.*[19] They had been converted to Catholicism in the early seventeenth century. Their first missionaries were most likely the Jesuits Pierre Biard and Enémond Massé, who

16. This term in France meant a "house of philosophy," or the two years preceding the Theologate.

17. This is not meant cynically. He understood human nature and was a man of great sanctity. In fact, legend has it that he was the only man feared by Napoleon! Emery was that compelling.

18. A situation which occurred only in 1812, almost 30 years after his original expulsion in 1783!

19. They are also called *Wabanakis.* The name derives from Algonquin and means "People of the Dawn."

sailed for Acadia[20] (Port Royal) in 1611. Both visited Maine as early as 1613, perhaps even previously. It is certain that they had contact with the Penobscot Indians on Mt. Desert Island (where Bar Harbor is located) in that year. It is true, missionaries came with Champlain in 1604 and in other voyages; and some of the Indians were converted by them. The first documented baptism of an Indian is by Fr. Jessé Fléché in 1610.[21] But this would have been with the Micmacs. He stayed one year. Whether he made it into Maine or not is uncertain. In addition to the Jesuit presence in Acadia, some Franciscan Recollects also appeared on the lower St. John River region in western New Brunswick, near what is now Fredericton, in 1614. They too undoubtedly ministered to the Indians, as did Capuchins, who later frequented the area, Holy Spirit Fathers, priests of the Société des Missions Etrangères, as well as secular priests from Québec.[22] Several Sulpicians from Montréal too were extensively involved with Acadian settlements, including that at Grand-Pré and the surrounding area. So they too surely contributed to the evangelization of the native Americans.[23] And their collective efforts were fruitful and lasting.

Despite such infrequent ministration from passing missionaries, the Penobscots of central Maine and the Passamaquoddies of eastern

20. Then including principally Nova Scotia, Cape Breton Island, New Brunswick, and much of Maine.

21. (Rev.) Maurice A. Léger, "Les missionnaires de l'ancienne Acadie (1604-1755)," *Les Cahiers de la Société Historique Acadienne*, v. 28, n[os] 2-3 (Jun.-Sept. 1997), p. 65. Fr. Fléché baptized chief Membertou and 21 members of his family, for which he was criticized by the "doctors of the Sorbonne" [read "Jesuits"?] for his "hasty" actions. (*ibid.*) In fact, though, Membertou remained a loyal Catholic and the benefits for the French of this "hasty" action were considerable and long-lasting.

22. A detailed history can be found in *Indian Missions in Maine in Chronological Order*, a pamphlet authored by the Rt. Rev. P. E. Desjardins, 1952 (n.p.) An even more detailed history is that of Sister M. Céleste Léger, *The Catholic Indian Missions in Maine (1611-1820)*, Cath. U. of America, Washington DC, 1929. The article by Fr. Maurice Léger referred to in the previous footnote gives a detailed list of all the missionaries in Acadia from 1604-1755 (*op. cit.*, p. 63 ff.) Over 200 names are given! Among the 14 Sulpicians listed we find such names as de Breslay, de la Goudalie, and Desenclaves, names which not infrequently show up in the church registers.

23. See Pierre Boisard, *La Compagnie de Saint-Sulpice... op.cit.*, I, 93.

Maine remained faithful to their new religion. When Jean de Cheverus, later bishop of Boston and the cardinal archbishop of Bordeaux, visited them in 1797, he was amazed that they knew portions of the Latin *Requiem* Mass by heart.[24] The lack of a regularly assigned priest left them frustrated, however. At times, they traveled long distances to Canada to go to confession. Once converted, they felt abandoned (for lack of clergy) and frequently requested a priest from the authorities, both Canadian and American, as this area shifted back and forth between France, England, the newly formed United States, and Canada.

By the treaty of Paris of 1763 it was clarified that Maine was English territory, as far east as the St. Croix River. Prior to that, France claimed, as part of Acadia, the lands reaching as far west as the Kennebec river in Maine, where the famous Jesuit Father Râle served the Abanakis and was killed by the English in 1724. With the Revolution the new Colonies were solicitous that the Indians be on the "right" side and gave them attentions heretofore denied, including land rights. The Passamaquoddies were more concerned about getting a resident priest than about their land rights, however. Partially as a reward for their support in the American Revolution, a certain sum was appropriated by the Massachusetts legislature for the support of such a priest. They prevailed on Colonel John Allan to write to the newly-appointed first bishop of the Infant Republic, John Carroll, an ex-Jesuit.

The Indian letter to Bishop Carroll is dated May 17, 1791, and the original still resides in the archdiocesan archives in Baltimore. It is issued in the name of "the Chiefs, Sachams and youngmen, the Women and children of the several tribes of Indians, situated on St. Johns, Passamaquady [sic], and other Rivers adjacent."[25] They note, in terms that are sometimes very touching and reflective of their deep faith, "It is long since we were blessed with the sight of a spiritual teacher. We have applied several times to our brothers the Americans—We have sent to the Fathers in the church of this state [Massachusetts—Maine was not a state until 1820], but none comes—it looks [as] if we were shut out from all the blessings and benefits of our Religion—We pray you, Father of

24. Sr. Céleste Léger, *The Catholic Indian Missions... op. cit.*, p. 138.
25. Archives of Archdiocese of Baltimore, Md., Document 1-A-2.

the Church in this land, to think of us & send one suitable for our purpose, to continue a year."[26] The letter is also signed by deputies of the Mickmas [*sic* for *Micmacs* or *Mi'kmags,* in current terminology] of western New Brunswick and John Allan,[27] "late Superintendent of Indians, Eastern Department."

Carroll must have been moved by this letter, so moved that, as noted above, he sent a copy to M. Emery, asking for a Sulpician to fill this post. The timing was right. As we have seen, Ciquard, by now not only willing but anxious to go to the missions, agreed immediately. He sailed in 1792 with Father Matignon (who established the Church in Boston), and two Sulpicians, Ambroise Maréchal, who later succeeded Carroll as archbishop of Baltimore, and Gabriel Richard, who was later elected to the U.S. Congress. Shortly after Ciquard arrived in Baltimore, Bishop Carroll asked him formally to undertake this mission, which, as Carroll noted, would be very difficult.[28] Ciquard, of course, agreed, and soon he and Fr. Matignon left for Boston, where they parted company. After a few weeks awaiting a ship, François Ciquard, S.S., arrived in Passamaquoddy Bay on October 7, 1792, the chaplain the Indians had so long awaited. He was in for a culture shock.

Champlain gives us an idea of how these Indians lived from the account of his first voyage there in 1604-1605:

> *There are six months of winter in this country.*[29] *During the winter, in the deepest snows, they hunt elks and other animals, on which they live most of the time. And, unless the snow is deep, they scarcely get rewarded for their pains, since they cannot capture anything except by a very great effort, which is the reason for their enduring and suffering much. When they do not hunt, they live on a shell-fish, called the cockle.*[30] They *clothe* themselves *in winter with good furs of beaver and elk. The women make all the garments, but so loosely that you can see the flesh under the arm-pits, because they have not sufficient skill to*

26. *Ibid.*

27. Colonel in the Revolutionary army. He organized an Abenaki regiment in the vicinity of Machias, Me., to harass British shipping along the Maine coast.

28. PDR, *Vie,* 622 f.

29. This is close to true, even today!

30. This is the clam.

fit them better. When they go hunting, they use a kind of snow-shoe twice as large as those hereabouts, which they attach to the soles of their feet, and walk thus over the snow without sinking in, the women and children as well as the men. They search for the track of animals, which, when found, they follow until they get sight of the creature; then they shoot at it with their bows, or kill it by means of daggers attached to the end of a short pike, which is very easily done, as the animals cannot walk on the snow without sinking in. Then the women and children come up, erect a hut, and they give themselves to feasting. Afterwards, they return in search of other animals; and thus they pass the winter. This is the winter mode of life of these people, which seems to me a very miserable one.[31]

Almost two centuries later their lives had been somewhat changed, but not necessarily improved, by the advent of Europeans on the continent. In the last few years prior to Ciquard's arrival the Indians in Maine were being wooed by the Revolutionaries, not always to their advantage. One telling incident concerns the Penobscots, the tribe just west of the Passamaquodies, who went to Boston in 1736 for a conference with the Massachusetts authorities. There they were bribed with all they could eat and all the liquor they could drink for over three weeks for the purpose of making them more pliable to manipulation.[32] There is little doubt that the Passamaquodies too had been corrupted by the white man, in more ways than one, not the least of which was by introducing them to cognac and rum, a convenient means of barter for

31. *Voyages of Samuel de Champlain: 1604-1618*, ed. W. L. Grant, Barnes & Noble: New York, 1959 (reprint of 1907 ed. of Charles Scribner's Sons), 55.

32. Nine chiefs were lodged with John Sale, who "entertained" them for twenty-four days, and thereafter rendered his bill and some interesting details of their stay. "He charges for three half-pints of wine, per day, each; for twelve pence worth of rum per day, each; for 120 gallons of cider; for damage done in breaking of sash doors, frames of glass, China bowl, double decanter; and sundry glasses and mugs; for two gross of pipes and tobacco; for candles all night; for showing them the rope-dancers; for washing 49 of their 'greasy shirts;' and 'for cleaning and whitewashing two rooms after them....They eat for the most part between 50 and 60 pounds of meat per day, besides milk, cheese, etc. The cider which they drank I sold for twelve shillings per quart. Besides, they had beer when they pleased. And as for meat, they had the best, as I was ordered.'" J. H. Schlarman, *From Quebec to New Orleans: The Story of the French in America*, Buechler Pub. Co., Belleville IL, 1930, p. 377, n. 2.

the white trader. To quote from a letter of M. Richard to Bishop Carroll: "English rum has destroyed more Indians than Spanish swords."[33] Ciquard was to experience the unfortunate results of this situation on more than one occasion.

Hardly had he arrived among the Passamaquoddies in 1792 when he was awakened at night by howls from neighboring huts. The commotion was being caused by a drunken mother and her sons. Only a few paces from their hut they had buried the head of the family who had drowned while intoxicated. Ciquard resolved to make an example of these individuals by expelling them from church at Mass the next day. He gave them a penance to perform and refused to readmit them until it was accomplished.[34] In some cases the squaws complained that, when their husbands got drunk, they had to hide the knives and hatchets to keep them from severely wounding or killing themselves like wild animals. The mothers and children then fled into the woods to protect themselves! As a result of this deplorable situation, Ciquard decided to require all his parishioners to abstain entirely from drink; for he believed that partial abstinence, or drinking "in moderation" would not work for them. He set the example for them, however, in limiting his own drinking to water, a habit particularly distasteful to a Frenchman, as he himself admits!

He could be firm, but he could also be flexible and gentle. In almost childlike fashion, his Indian parishioners tried his limits but found that he would not budge on this issue. Ultimately, they admitted that this policy had improved the morale and condition of their families enormously. Recalcitrants or those who refused to accept these strict rules wandered away from the tribe. Ciquard never lived to regret that decision; he had seen too much evil resulting from the prior situation.

There must have been days, however, when he regretted taking a decision to become their missionary. The physical hardships involved in

33. PDR, *Vie,* "Gabriel Richard," typescript, p. 511. This letter is dated Nov. 6, 1799.

34. This incident is reported in PDR., *Vie,* p. 627 f. This is found in the *Mémoires,* I. 108.

such a calling were not inconsiderable. Ciquard summarizes these hardships in a touching letter to Bishop Plessis of Québec:

> *How many times have I been reduced for lodging to no more than a poor and wretched Indian hut, living on what Providence sent me; night and day, blinded by smoke, devoured by flies, bitten by lice; by day seated on a stool; by night, lying or stretched out on the ground on a few fir branches to rest from the fatigues of the day; and thus, almost sleepless, passing entire months without a break in the painful work of ministry. How many times in my travels would I have been happy and content to fall upon some old shanty or Indian hut in which to take shelter against storms and to spend the night, with the bare ground for a bed and the canopy of heaven as a roof, or at least, in bad weather, to find a little overturned canoe or some hastily stripped pieces of bark or tree branches, feeble shelter against* the *cold, snow, and rain. I then had only the company of a few Indians. I was alone and abandoned to myself, more than a hundred leagues*[35] from *any priest. And now, after almost seventeen* [years] of *such a life, would I not be happy and content in the most wretched corner, in the company of my confrères?*[36]

Even more graphic, is the testimony of the later Cardinal de Cheverus, who visited the Passamaquoddies a few years later (1797):

> *What he found even more painful was to get close to these Indians in order to hear their confessions; and there, for long hours, to breathe the repulsive stench given off from their bodies, the irksome result of mixing hideous filth and habitual sweat; and, to crown this sacrifice, seeing himself invaded by the disgusting insects with which they themselves were covered.*[37]

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35. About 260 miles.

36. May 4, 1809, Archives de l'Archidiocèse de Québec (AAQ), NB, II-53. The translation is mine

37. Anon., *Vie du Cardinal de Cheverus, Archévêque de Bordeaux*, 4th ed., Lecoffre: Paris, 1850, p. 67: "Ce qu'il trouvait bien autrement pénible, c'était de tenir tête à tête avec ces sauvages pour entendre leurs confessions, et là, pendant de longues heures, d'aspirer cette odeur infecte qui s'exhalait de leur corps produit rebutant d'un mélange de malpropreté hideuse et de sueur habituelle, et pour mettre le comble au sacrifice, de se voir envahi par les insectes dégoûtants dont ils étaient couverts... ."

And he spent only three months there! Off and on, Ciquard spent more than twenty years among the Indians (1792-1815). For after the above letter was written to Bishop Plessis, he reassigned Ciquard to another Indian mission, at St-François-du-Lac. This Indian ministry began as totally distasteful to him. (He himself said facetiously that the Indians gave him "more lice than dollars.")[38] But, after making futile efforts to reform their more annoying hygienic habits, he finally resigned himself to accepting them as they were and adapted himself to their state. Eventually, by dint of great personal effort and God's grace, what began as a repugnant task evolved into a beloved ministry. In his letters he often refers affectionately to "my Indians."[39] There is every evidence that this affection was reciprocated. It was only with great regret that he retired from his mission among the St. Francis Indians, acquiescing to the wishes (as always) of the bishop.

His perception of "his Indians," as well as his rapport with them, is summed up in a quote from a letter to the bishop of Québec:

> *They are literally small children, but well mannered. I think they will be obedient and submissive in the future. They have been thus for the short time I have been their Father. They love me and I am attached to them, very much attached to some. I won't leave them without shedding tears.*[40]

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38. In the original French: "plus de poux que de piastres... ." (*Piastre* is the popular French Canadian term for *dollar*.) This phrase is taken from a letter of Ciquard to M. Duclaux, dated 1 April 1816, and found in the ASSP. It is partly transcribed by the Sulpician Archivist M. Irénée Noye, p.s.s., in the *Bulletin de Saint-Sulpice: Séminaires et esprit missionnaire,* n° 17, 1991, p. 33, n. 6.

39. Of course, he words it "*mes sauvages*."

40. Thomas Albert, *Histoire du Madawaska,* Imprimerie Franciscaine Missionnaire, Québec, P.Q., 1920, p. 25. (This is the original edition of this work and it is in French. I refer to it as Albert, *Histoire*. I also use the English translation of this work, translated by Sr. T. & Dr. F. Doucette, 2nd ed., Madawaska Historical Society, 1990. I refer to this as Albert, *History* [1990]). The translation of the above quote is mine. I have not found the original of the letter from which this quote is taken and am not sure to which bishop it is addressed nor of its exact date. As Fr. Albert relates this letter to the Maliseets on the St. John River, I would date it between 1794-1803.

CIQUARD AND THE AUTHORITIES

There is no denying that Ciquard had problems with the authorities. This is not to say he had problems with *authority*. On the contrary, he never tires of quoting the maxim which governed his life: "Ask for nothing; refuse nothing."[41] He was not defiant; but that is not to say he was never *imprudent*. Ciquard got into trouble with the Canadian authorities almost from the first moment he set foot in that country. The first incident was in 1783. This was Ciquard's "First Missionary Journey" to Canada. The English had definitively taken over French Canada in 1763. Part of their strategy was to "Anglicize" the territory. This included various techniques, including a Loyalty Oath, the infamous Deportation of the Acadians in 1755, and, as noted previously, the prohibition of the immigration of any more French priests, whom the English considered, not without some evidence,[42] disposed to incite alienation, if not downright rebellion. However, as we noted at the beginning, the Sulpicians in Montréal were getting on in age and were now desperate for replacements. We recall that the superior, Fr. Montgolfier, had so informed Fr. Emery and gave him to understand that by 1782 the English policy had relaxed somewhat. He believed that the Governor might "close his eyes" to the immigration of some French priests if they were to come into the country *incognito*, that is, disguised as laymen. Fr. Emery, as we saw previously, was able to talk Ciquard into going to Canada. Once he had set his mind to something, Ciquard was not easily dissuaded. Disguised as merchants, he and Fr. Capel set out for Québec. This incident, to which I alluded in the opening chapter, I would now discuss in detail.

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41. The is one of the famous "Maxims of Solitude" recalled by most older Sulpicians as one of those by which the "good Sulpician" should rule his life.

42. The most notorious case was that of Fr. LeLoutre in Acadie who incited his countrymen to resistance and even to rebellion, to the dismay of the Bishop of Québec. See Schlarman, *From Québec to New Orleans...op. cit.*, p. 315. However, a Sulpician was also deported by Governor Haldimand: Fr. Huet de la Valinière. The latter openly advocated the American Revolution! He was later made, rather imprudently it would seem, Vicar General of the Illinois country by John Carroll, then Apostolic Vicar of the U.S. (See Vincent M. Eaton, S.S., "Sulpician Evangelization in the United States," in *Bulletin de Saint-Sulpice: Séminaire et esprit missionnaire*, n° 17, 1991, p. 39.)

The accounts of what happened differ, and I was able to locate at least seven such accounts, there being plenty of reason to introduce bias and to shift blame from one side to the other. According to Ciquard, they went immediately to see the local Ordinary in Québec, Bishop Briand, who received them well and seemed very happy at their arrival. Then, says Ciquard's biographer, "They asked him if it was appropriate for them to go see the Governor before leaving for Montréal. This Governor, called Haldimand, was a Swiss national and was hated in this country because of his hard and inflexible character. *The bishop advised him not to go see him,*[43] but to go to Montréal and to stay there several days without revealing themselves, while M. Montgolfier, for whom the Governor had great esteem, would try to obtain his consent. Then, fearing to take upon himself alone the responsibility of this decision which could, and in fact did, have grave consequences, he called in his Vicar General, M. Gravé, who agreed with him completely."[44]

The end result was that General Haldimand found out and was furious. It is thus presumed that everyone was in trouble, beginning with the Bishop, at a time when the Sulpicians and, indeed, the Church itself were engaged in a delicate balancing act to maintain good relations with a "Protestant" and somewhat hostile Government.[45] How could one "save face" and rescue Haldimand's good will in such a situation?

A letter from Gravé, to Fr. Villars, his superior then in Paris, a copy of which exists in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Québec, describes the incident quite differently:

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43. Emphasis added. This course of action, by the way, is *precisely* what Montgolfier himself had suggested in his letter to Emery requesting the priests.

44. PDR, *Vie*, 604. The exact quote from the *Mémoires* is as follows: "Monseigneur nous répondit que cela n'étoit pas nécessaire, que nous pouvions aller sans le voir; que peut-être même les choses ne tourneroient pas si bien autrement... . Dès que nous fumes sortis de chez lui, il fit appeller son Grand Vicaire, Mr. Gravé, à qui il communiqua la chose, et ils portèrent encore tous deux la même décision." (I, 43).

45. The *New Encyclopedia Britannica* (Chicago, 1997), in the article "Frederick Haldimand" states, "His severity toward rebel sympathizers and resistance to political pressure made him unpopular with both the French and the English in Québec." (V. 5, p. 629).

> *These two gentlemen,* [Ciquard and Capel] sent *by the Seminary of St. Sulpice, arrived in Québec on May 22,* [1783] without *a passport, and guided by M. Bouthillier* [a businessman from Montréal who had brought them over from France], *left immediately for Montréal, without being willing to wait until the next day to be presented to the General. M. Montgolfier, gave notification by the first mail, that is four or five days later. But before engaging in ministry, they didn't take the precaution of taking the Oath of Loyalty. His Excellency* [the Governor] was *furious. I was the first victim, as the Bishop, who was ill, was not supposed to get involved in this affair; but I was blamed because I had not immediately given notification of their arrival. But I didn't see them, because I was absent.*[46] Moreover, *it would have been unbecoming to make public what M. Montgolfier might have intended to keep secret. Be that as it may, the Governor received me very badly when, at the moment of the reception of the letter which informed the bishop of their arrival in Montréal, I presented myself to His Excellency* [the Governor] *to inform him, in the name of the Bishop, of this matter.*[47]

In a short time Ciquard and Capel were deported. To make matters worse, Ciquard "jumped ship" when they anchored to await another vessel, under the pretense of going ashore to "say his breviary" and, according to Gravé, "for fear of being badly treated."[48] He never returned

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46. This, of course, is in *direct contradiction* to what Ciquard says.

47. AAQ, VG, VI, 21-22: June 28, 1783. Emphasis added.

48. This is found in a letter dated "Paris Aug. 26, 1783," from Fr. Villars to Cardinal Leonardo Antonelli, Prefect of the Propaganda Fidei in Rome, asking for help to pacify the English government, if necessary, in this incident. He says (undoubtedly quoting Gravé): "They had gone to Malbaie, 30 leagues below Québec, where a frigate of the English king had orders to embark them for London. They were waiting there, and on the fourth day, Mr. Sicard [*sic*], fearing some bad treatment, escaped and fled on land under the pretext of going to say his breviary while walking." (AAQ, VG, VI, 22 [p. 47]). It should be noted that both Villars and Gravé were members of the faculty of the seminary in Québec. They both seem to appear here as vicars general, not an impossibility. In fact, it was common practice for a bishop to have more than one, especially in mission territories, which were far-flung, and also if one were absent (as in his case), as a replacement. Fr. Capel, of course, went on to England alone and returned to service with the Sulpicians, for a time, in France. It is said that he received ribbing for this incident on numerous occasions. He was told by a certain Mr. Watson upon arrival in London, according to Villars, that "if he wished to return to Québec, he

and made his way through the woods back to Montréal. Needless to say, Haldimand could not let this pass. In fact, if his testimony can be trusted, Fr. Roux, the last superior of Ciquard from the time of his retirement in 1815, recounts his (hearsay) version of this event by noting that Haldimand ordered that Ciquard be apprehended "dead or alive"![49] This may indicate the degree of the General's displeasure. Indeed, a series of letters and memos ensued between Haldimand and Fr. Montgolfier and indicate that Haldimand even suspected the two priests of being French spies. The entry into the country of French priests was explicitly forbidden by the Treaty of Paris of 1763, as previously noted. Moreover, the clandestine entry of this pair made them even more suspect. It must be seen too in the light of the moment, recalling that the conflict between Britain and its American Colonies had only just concluded in January of 1783. In fact, the official peace treaty was not signed until September.

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would embark him on one of the ships ready to sail and that *he would obtain permission immediately from the Government.*" (*Ibid.* Emphasis added.) So the situation regarding such permissions was obviously ambivalent. And furthermore, although Fr. Capel declined to return, he was disposed to do so the next spring, according to Villars, with one or two confrères. (*Ibid.*) Another opinion regarding Ciquard's motive for escaping is that he was sick. This is found in the biographical notice on Ciquard, written by Bruno Hamel, p.s.s., for *Le Dictionnaire Biographique du Canada*, VI (1821-1835), U. Laval, P.Q., 1987, p. 158. See the exchange of correspondence between Gov. Haldimand, Fr. Montgolfier and some of the Governor's subordinates, transcribed in Roger Paradis, *Papiers de/Papers of Prudent L. Mercure: Histoire du Madawaska,* Madawaska Historical Society, Madawaska, ME, 1998, II, 132-150. The name of Ciquard is variously misspelled in this series of letters, while that of Fr. Capel, the second priest involved, is usually given as *Casselle.* These letters would suggest that Fr. Hamel confused Capel (who was ill) and Ciquard. Therein Fr. Montgolfier gives as the motive for Ciquard's escape "an insurmountable repugnance for navigation" [Letter of Montgolfier to Haldimand, July 3, 1783 (*op. cit.*, p. 144)]. Haldimand himself suggests that his intention was "to get into one of the American states" (Letter to his aide-de-camp, Major Brehin, June 30, 1783 [*op. cit.*, p. 142]). As Ciquard's biography makes no mention whatsoever of motive, it will have to remain a mystery. My own opinion is that Ciquard was motivated by nothing other then his *determination.* This trait of his character is discussed elsewhere.

49. Taken from an oral report from M. Roux, dictated to M. Faillon, and recorded in *Matériaux pour la Vie de M. Emery,* ASSP, III, 3517-3518. This account, obviously gleaned from M. Roux by "oral tradition," as he was in France at the time of the original incident, substantially agrees with Ciquard's own, but differs occasionally in some interesting details, such as this one.

Recall too that France was the major American ally in that conflict. Given this, coupled with what must have appeared to Haldimand to be defiance on the part of Ciquard and Capel and perhaps, in his mind, even possible collusion on the part of the French ecclesiastics in Canada, one can understand the Governor's rage.

M. Montgolfier was now put in an extremely difficult position, assiduous to maintain the good will of Haldimand, while very much aware that he himself had initially been responsible for the deception that brought Ciquard there in the first place. The situation was made even more volatile and distasteful to Haldimand by a delegation of French citizens from Montréal strongly supporting the retention of the two priests, a request which Haldimand had absolutely no intention of supporting.[50]

Ciquard was, indeed, apprehended again and this time deported successfully to England. By now the subterfuge had blown into an affair of some magnitude, and one which the Governor's Office refused to forget. For many years thereafter, Ciquard remained *persona non grata* in Québec. And even as late as 1794, when the bishop was disposed to let Ciquard come to Canada, he hesitated to give him faculties in order not to offend the Governor. By that time Haldimand had been replaced by Sir Guy Carleton (Lord Dorchester) who had been reappointed to this post. At this time the Passamaquoddies had decided to move to New Brunswick from Maine, and Ciquard, with permission and an *exeat* from Bishop Carroll, had decided to follow them. He went to Québec and, well aware of his reputation, made sure to visit the Governor, armed with a supporting letter from the Governor's own brother, Thomas Carleton,

50. It can be seen from the letters in the *Mercure Papers* that emotions were running high in this episode. Underlying issues involved were not only loyalty to the British Crown and the possibility of subversive activity on the part of French-born priests, but also the property rights of the Sulpicians, a matter of considerable concern to the Montréal Sulpicians and resolved only about fifty years later by Fr. Roux. Montgolfier was desperate to salvage this situation and somehow retain the two French Sulpicians with him, without further alienating Haldimand; but to no avail! Haldimand, who remained remarkably considerate of his two prisoners (probably in deference to Montgolfier), was adamant in his decision to deport them.

Governor of New Brunswick.[51] In spite of this, Sir Guy received him rudely and adamantly refused to admit him to minister in "Canada" (that is, Québec). Only after Ciquard received a letter from Thomas Carleton from New Brunswick, offering him an annual stipend of fifty *louis* or 100 *piastres*[52] to serve the Indians, did the bishop acquiesce.

It should be understood that the situation of the Catholic Church in Canada, after it fell to the English in 1763, was very precarious. That there was a good deal of anti-Catholicism among the loyalists goes without saying. The Government had softened its stand somewhat in the intervening years, however; and Guy Carleton can certainly not be accused of being anti-French. The Québec Act, which was mostly his creation, guaranteed freedom of religion. But both the bishop and the Sulpicians in Montréal, who, along with the Jesuits, were standing on thin ice, had to use prudence. Unfortunately, prudence was not one of Ciquard's strong suites.[53] At times he appears downright naïve, as evidenced in his escape from the English ship: namely, according to his own account, he disguised himself and thought he could deceive his pursuers into thinking he had jumped into the river by leaving his clothes at the foot of a tree![54] And that is not the end of the story. Ciquard was

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51. A copy of a letter from Gov. Thomas Carleton to Lord Henry Dundas (May 28, 1794) can be found in the Centre d'études acadienne, Fonds Placide-Gaudet, 1.54-20, as well as in the *Mercure Papers*, II, 171. It refers to M. Ciquard as follows: "He appears to be a Royalist, of good character; and he evidently has great influence with the Savages. I therefore beg leave to recommend him to your Lordship as a person whose residence in this province... would, in case of emergency, contribute greatly to the security of our scattered settlements." This appears to be the letter referred to above. In fact, there is a cover letter accompanying it in *Mercure*, II, 172, from Gov. Dundas to Lord Dorchester.

52. The value in that era is uncertain. He lost his government pension in 1802, when Governor Carleton went back to England. The paucity of this stipend may be seen by recalling that Fr. Romagné, who later became chaplain to the Passamaquoddies, was receiving $350 annually from the Americans. (Bp. Plessis, *Journal: 1815*, p. 241.)

53. Haldimand summed this up exactly by describing Ciquard's behavior as denoting "more zeal than discretion." (Letter to Montgolfier of June 26, 1783, quoted in French by Mercure, II, 139.)

54. PDR, *Vie*, p. 609. A letter from Haldimand from his aide-de-camp notes that Ciquard thereafter made himself more, rather than less, conspicuous by dressing in a "yellow waistcoat, blue britches, and black stockings"! (Quoted in Mercure, *op. cit.*, II,

given to walk a very narrow line in regard to his political status. For instance, in 1796, having gone to Québec from Madawaska to make his annual confession, he got permission (from the bishop, it is presumed) to visit his confrères in Montréal. He even preached in public, on this occasion. But, "as the English Government had forgotten nothing of his adventures in 1783,"[55] he decided not to "push his luck," and returned home. Yet, his confrères at Montréal must have seen him as something of a "loose canon," acting imprudently in the midst of a politically dangerous time for them; for two years later he aroused their ire in another episode.

This time Fr. Nagot, the superior of the Baltimore seminary, wrote Ciquard requesting that he go to Detroit to join Fr. Levadoux who was desperately in need of help. His biographer says that this request caused Ciquard great anxiety: "he felt torn by a thousand diverse impressions and subject to cruel incertitude."[56] Ciquard's *Mémoires* have some twelve pages missing at this point, so we don't have his own words to help us reconstruct the events and feelings. His biographer tries to do so from other sources. He quotes a letter (Feb. 18, 1798) from Fr. Dilhet at Baltimore to Fr. Emery, in which he states that it was Bishop Carroll who was "determined to send him near Detroit to a mission or parish deprived of a missionary."[57] This is puzzling, for Ciquard had received an *exeat* from Bishop Carroll in 1794.[58] Of course, this doesn't necessarily mean he was formally excardinated. Rather, it is probable that he was "on loan," perfectly in keeping with the unique canonical situation of the Sulpicians. In any case, after much rumination, Ciquard decided to take the long and perilous journey to Detroit. His biographer says he did this "without consulting the bishop of Québec." This is incorrect. There is, in fact, a letter from Bishop Plessis, then the Coadjutor, to the Ordinary, Bishop Denaut, which states: "M. Ciquard

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55. PDR, *Vie*, p. 648 f.

56. PDR, *Vie*, p. 649.

57. PDR, *Vie*, p. 649, n. 1.

58. This is confirmed by a letter from Fr. Nagot (Philadelphia, May 1, 1794), informing the Bishop of Québec that he has written to Dorchester (Sir Guy Carleton) to request a passport for Frs. Chicoisneau and Ciquart [sic] to work in his diocese, with the consent of the Bishop of Baltimore. (AAQ, EU, I-8)

wrote me on April 15 [1798] that the Bishop of Baltimore is asking for him to go to Detroit with M. Levadoux. Discouraged at the poverty of results he is having in his mission, he appears to want to make this move. The poor man[59] has a 'wandering soul' and often takes off to rest. He doesn't hesitate to take this long trip; he only requests a successor. The Halifax mail is supposed to leave next Wednesday. I'm going to answer him simply to leave when he wants."[60] Moreover, Ciquard drew up a will in two copies, one being dated from Québec, August 6, 1798. He must have delivered it personally to Québec, for he would have had to pass through that city on his was way up the St. Lawrence to Detroit.[61] This will mentions both Vicars General Jean-Louis Desjardins (as executor) and Bishop Joseph-Octave Plessis, leaving to the latter two lots of land in Madawaska. The second copy, a slightly different version, was written in Detroit on January 30, 1799. Both are found in the archdiocesan archives in Québec.[62] Without forgetting Ciquard's spiritual motto, "Ask for nothing; refuse nothing," there seems little doubt that one reason influencing his decision was his frustration with his parishioners, as we shall discuss later. But this move, probably without his knowing it, had some serious political overtones. Moving back and forth from the American to the Canadian side, as he did while in Detroit, could have

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59. He uses the term *le bonhomme*, which might best be translated "the poor devil"; it connotes goodness and simplicity.

60. Letter from Bishop Plessis to Bishop Denaut, May 13, 1798. (AAQ, Ev. Q., III-22). See also his letter to Ciquard of May 30, 1798(AAQ, *Registre des Lettres*, v. 3, p. 31). I interpret this as a permission "of courtesy," rather than *de jure*.

61. Some biographical notices on Ciquard indicate that at this time (1798) he went back to Baltimore to teach in the seminary or that he went to Detroit via Baltimore. In fact, it is even said that he taught in seminary at Baltimore in 1798. (J.-B.Allaire, *Le Clergé Canadien-Français: Les Anciens*, St-Hyacinthe, P.Q., 1908, p. 124.) This is not found in his biography. A statement in the recently relocated *Mémoires* would seem to confirm that he went via Montréal and Lakes Ontario and Erie, both ways (II, 62). This would certainly have been the "easier" route. Moreover, the dating of his 1798 will from *Québec* would seem to indicate further that *this* was the route he took. Placide Gaudet (CEA, 1.54-20), in a brief handwritten biography, says that Ciquard left Madawaska "in June, 1798, to return to Baltimore; from there he went to Detroit in Upper-Canada on the following October 12 [1798]; and in May, 1799, he went down to Montréal" (p. 3 of the MS referred to above). He gives no source for his information; it is not unlikely that he is simply following Allaire.

62. AAQ, NB, III-19 and NB-IV-7.

been interpreted as "fraternizing with the enemy," and perhaps even as inciting to disloyalty. At least, this was how the Sulpicians at Montréal saw it; and they may have tried to discourage him from going there for that reason. However, Ciquard's mind was made up; and, when he returned to Montréal about a year later, after being disillusioned with Detroit, he found his confrères very cold and even hostile because of the political jeopardy in which they felt he had placed them. It was, then, with a heavy heart that he made his way back to the bishop's house in Québec to report to him. He expected to be scolded roundly for his actions; but, to his surprise, Bishop Denaut and his coadjutor, Bishop Plessis, made no mention whatsoever of this trip to Detroit. Instead, they welcomed him back warmly.[63] As a result, they made a friend for life; and when they asked Ciquard to take another assignment in New Brunswick, he accepted very willingly. Little did he know how trying that position would turn out to be. But, to give Ciquard full credit, it must be noted that he *never* refused an assignment, faithful to his motto, no matter how unwilling he was to accept it. We must, to be fair, view in this light his attitude toward authority, at least ecclesiastical. As for civil authority, his approach was obviously more casual, as we have seen.

It is curious that the Québec Government remained so adamant towards Ciquard. This is even more puzzling when one realizes that it was even later willing to readmit the former Sulpician, Huet de la

63. A further development of this story is introduced in a book by Thomas Charland, O.P., *Histoire de Saint-François du Lac* (Collège Américain, Ottawa, 1942), chap. 1, p. 213. He notes, "... In 1799 [Ciquard] arrived in Montréal. As he hadn't received permission of the civil authorities, he was arrested again to be led to the border; but, thanks to the intervention of Vicar General Desjardins, he got permission to stay in the country. He then returned to the missions of the Maritime Provinces, particularly to Memramcook, which he pronounced, mumbling, *Madame Cook.*" (Fr. Thavenet, one of his confrères, later noted that Ciquard had a speech defect, "which made him difficult to understand." His trouble with names [frequently evident in his letters] might have been due to this.) Charland quotes as the source of this material N.-E. Dionne, *Les Ecclésiastiques et les Royalistes français réfugiés au Canada à l'Époque de la Révolution,* Québec, 1905, pp. 198-200. This would seem to contradict his biographer's version; but we must recall that there are pages missing from Ciquard's *Mémoires* at this point and perhaps some of the recounting of that episode is the result of guesswork on the part of Philpin de Rivières. No source is given for Dionne's information regarding this episode.

Valinière who had openly advocated rebellion![64] Perhaps Ciquard was seen by Haldimand and his successor, Guy Carleton, as particularly contumacious or dangerous, a fear entirely unfounded; as there is never the least hint in Ciquard's correspondence of any political concerns, save what was happening in France. Ultimately, however, Ciquard must have outlived this negative reputation. For we learn of no further conflicts, including regarding his transfer to "Canada" to work among the St. Francis Indians in the Province of Québec in 1812 and his retirement to the seminary of Montréal in 1815, by which time the old wounds of his confrères must have healed. He apparently had some apprehensions about this, however; as he wrote to Fr. Nagot, asking his permission (which he received) to retire to Baltimore, if necessary.

CIQUARD AND THE ACADIANS

Regarding their loyalty to the Church and their conduct, the Acadians had a sterling reputation from of old. In the late seventeenth century they are seen thus:

> *Contemporary witnesses agree in describing them as men of gentle character, generally compliant and naturally peaceful. Among them there prevails neither license nor drunkenness. God is not blasphemed, but blessed every day in the home and every Sunday in church. They celebrated no other festivities than those of the Church and the family. On Sundays and holy days they sang High Mass; and, although the inhabitants of Port-Royal were dispersed along the river for four or five leagues, they came to church in great numbers, even fasting each time they participated in the sacraments.*[65]

This passage seems to describe an idyllic Acadian people very different from that painted in the various letters of Ciquard. If he found great consolation in his ministry to the Indians, the same cannot be said about his time with the Acadians. He refers to this period as "his years of exile." His first exposure to the Acadian people began in 1794, when he

64. See a previous footnote reference to this individual. (n. 41).

65. H.-R. Casgrain, *Les Sulpiciens et les Prêtres des Missions-Etrangères en Acadie (1676-1762)*, Pruneau & Kirouac, Québec, 1897, p. 70.

moved to New Brunswick, taking up residence in the Upper St. John River Valley in St-Basile.[66] What had changed those folks in those succeeding hundred years? A tough and independent people, they of course were all at least culturally and nominally Catholic. And, undoubtedly, many remained faithful and loyal to the Church in belief and practice. But what had intervened was a century of invasion by the English, the Deportation, deprivation, abuse, and even some neglect (perhaps unavoidable) by the Church. By 1762 "not a single Catholic priest was left in what is now the Maritime Provinces."[67] By the Treaty of Paris of 1763 the French lost all their holdings in Canada, save the islands of St-Pierre and Miquelon. The Acadians had long been deprived of the regular services of Catholic clergy by the time Ciquard reached them. The old, pious generation had long since disappeared. Their descendants had been persecuted, dispersed, expatriated, and subjected to all sorts of manipulation and subterfuge, even from some clergy. So when Ciquard set up his missionary headquarters in St. Basil, many were understandably cautious, not to say indifferent, to the new missionary who arrived on their doorstep, their first resident pastor.[68]

In short, Ciquard, used to a generally respectful and obedient French Catholic, the product of centuries of Church discipline, was more than disappointed by the Acadians he encountered. As he says in a letter to his bishop in 1794, "...My French [parishioners] haven't given me all the satisfaction which I expected from Acadians, whom I thought to be more devout and religious than they are." And in another place in the same letter, he makes a significant statement: "I expect to govern them and not to be governed by them."[69] Even the civil authorities complained about the independent character of this pioneer people. Jean-Paul Mascarène, governor of Nova Scotia and a fine analyst of the Acadian mentality, noted in 1720, "The Acadians of the Mines [Grand-Pré] are

66. Then referred to as the Madawaska Territory. The dispersed Acadians had settled on both sides of the river, some in what is now the state of Maine.

67. Casgrain, *Les Sulpiciens et les prêtres..., op. cit.*, Appendix, p. 444.

68. They had been served as a mission of Isle Verte by Fr. Leclerc (1786-90) and Fr. Paquet (1791-94). Ciquard was their first resident pastor from 1794-98. After that, he stopped by from time to time, on his way to Québec, usually, to solemnize baptisms and marriages, to hear confessions and celebrate Mass.

69. This is from a letter dated Dec. 18, 1794, found in the AAQ.

less compliant and less willing to follow commands."[70] Ciquard's reaction was not unlike that of his Sulpician brothers in Montréal . In a letter from M. Roux we read an evaluation of the Canadian seminarians: "We don't see that fervor, that interior spirit that we saw in our seminaries [in France.] In a country of liberty, the result is that we [Sulpicians] pass for men of a lifestyle which is not only regular, but rigid. They like their freedom very much."[71] Since the Acadians were French and Catholics by birth and national tradition, Ciquard expected them to exceed the Indians in both faith and practice. The truth is, they frequently did not. When Bishop Plessis, a native French Canadian, made a pastoral visit to the Upper St. John River Valley a few years later (1812), his journal of the trip sizes up his subjects in the following terms:

> *The inhabitants of Madawaska, made up of rejects of Acadia and Canada, are a disunited people, lacking docility and not disposed to accept the lessons a pastor tries to give them. This rough parish has already tried the patience of several good priests. They have, on several occasions, been deprived of a priest. Now, however, they are too numerous for this type of punishment. Here as elsewhere crude vices will give way to Christian virtue only when preaching and education have dispelled the clouds of ignorance which still exist. Sooner or later, the Christian* seeds *will bear fruit.*[72]

A letter from Bp. Plessis to Ciquard (February 12, 1798) states that he approves his actions regarding the inhabitants of Madawaska. "These people do not sufficiently appreciate the presence of a priest." He encourages Ciquard to build a house for himself at his own expense and praises him for his "excessive goodness."[73] A year later Bp. Plessis writes to Jean-Baptiste Fournier, the first beadle at Madawaska, noting that Bp. Denaut will send a replacement for Ciquard "on condition that

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70. *"...moins traitables et moins sujets à être commandés."* Casgrain, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

71. Letter to the Superior General, M. Lescaux, June 11. 1816 (ASSP, Fichier "M. Roux- n° 75.")

72. This is taken from his entry for Sept. 7, 1812, and is quoted in Albert, *History* (1990).

73. AAQ, *Registre des Lettres*, v. 3, p. 27 (Feb. 5, 1799).

they commit themselves to feed and lodge him suitably."[74] He notes further in this same letter that "their conduct regarding M. Ciquard is not of the kind to merit the good graces of their bishop."[75] Moreover, in his journal of his pastoral visit of 1815, Bishop Plessis reinforces his judgments of the Madawaskans, stating that, after the departure of Fr. Ciquard from St-Basile, "...the residents of that parish, having deserved to be deprived of a resident pastor, whom they didn't appreciate, found themselves for the next two years reduced to the passing visits of a priest, as they had been previously [before Ciquard's pastorate]..."[76] This quote should help to explain Fr. Ciquard's feelings of impatience and frustration with the Acadians in his mission. He worked in the St. John River Valley from 1792 to 1798, dividing his time between St-Basile and the area around Fredericton. He became the first official pastor of St-Basile in 1794. The intervening four years must have been somewhat stormy. A letter to Bishop Plessis on January 20, 1798, may have represented the nadir of his morale. He writes: "You will see or you have already been told by the people of Madawaska, as they have so often threatened to do, that I am a useless worker, or at least detrimental in the Vineyard of the Lord; and that a hideaway and solitude would be more suitable for me to deplore my faults and my sins than exercising the holy ministry. Since this is my sixth year covering this area as a missionary priest[77], and I see only the evil I have accomplished, [and] no good; in no way am I advancing the glory of God. From whatever I undertake, for lack of talent or prudence, nothing good results. The proximity and frequenting of the English certainly weaken the little religion which is left in the faithful. The French inhabitants remain insensitive or indifferent. The Indians have been corrupted by it. Nevertheless, I am rather happy with a number of the latter. At least none of them is railing against me; and they don't give me the same grief as

74. AAQ, *Registre des Lettres*, v. 3, p. 66.

75. *Ibid.*

76. This quote is taken from the transcription of this same journal for 1815 as found in *Les Cahiers de la Société Historique Acadienne*, vol. 11, nos 1-3, (mars-septembre 1980), p. 227-228.

77. He is including his two years with the Passamaquoddy Indians in Maine, during which time he surely must have made occasional pastoral visits to the Acadians on the St. John River.

the French, especially those in Madawaska, whom I have not yet been able to harmonize or humanize, although I've often tried. Since my conscience reproaches me for nothing in their regard, I little fear their gibes."[78]

The fact is, though, Ciquard suffered greatly from their criticism, which remains somewhat vague. But he expected them to ask for a replacement when he returned from Fredericton to Madawaska in the spring of 1798. Perhaps he was too sensitive, or perhaps just too idealistic. Over several generations, at least, the ancestors of these Acadians had given what might be called in some instances *heroic* witness to their Catholicism. So many pressures were exerted on them by their English captors to swear allegiance to the British Crown (with which they had little problem), but also, to be a first-class citizen, to accept the wearer of that crown as Head of the Church, to deny the "Romish superstitions" of Transubstantiation, and so forth. This they adamantly refused to do, at the price of their status in the community (they could never hold office, for example) and even, one might argue, their lands. This loyalty to the Catholic Church cannot be easily discounted. Yet, as always, we are prone to generalizations. What pastor can satisfy all his parishioners? And vice versa. Many pastors have complained that their parishioners do not contribute their fair share to their parish or about laxity of observance. Moreover, the Madawaskans were obviously displeased that Ciquard had to divide his time between his two missions at Madawaska (St-Basile) and Fredericton, a distance of over 180 difficult miles. They wanted a resident pastor and they made their voice heard all the way to Québec.[79]

But Ciquard's Acadian parishioners in the Fredericton (Ste-Anne) area hadn't treated him much better. It is almost pathetic to read his complaints of his struggles to get them to help him build a shelter, while

78. AAQ, NB III-18.

79. One interesting note: Fr. Ciquard mentions in his own *Mémoires* that in 1802, returning to Fredericton from Québec via Madawaska, Bishop Denaut allowed him to do baptisms and marriages on his way through St-Basile, but *not* to hear confessions, celebrate a High Mass, nor preach. The parishioners were apparently under some sort of *interdict* from the bishop, partly because of an "insolent letter" they had written to him. This punishment lasted several years until they apologized. (II, 66)

he literally had no roof over his head. At one point, they gave in and agreed to pay his expenses; then they had second thoughts, and returned later to ask if, instead, they might give him a stipend each time they received Communion! Obviously, Ciquard was not very enthusiastic about such an arrangement, even though they claimed this is what they did for a previous missionary (the Jesuit Fr. Germain, apparently)[80]. Ultimately, Ciquard gave up the fight and ended up mostly supporting himself with his meager government stipend[81]. As he was very frugal and grew much of his own food, he was able to do so. Moreover, these settlers on the Upper and Lower St. John had lived independently of much government for several generations. They were somewhat anarchical. To get them to agree wasn't easy. Bishop Plessis also later complains about this in his *Journal*, in the entry for September 8, 1812: "The Bishop began his mission on Tuesday morning and ended it the following day after confirming fifteen persons, imposing public penance on some public sinners and urging the parishioners to build a new church [at St. Basil]. Although convinced of its necessity the parishioners cannot come to an agreement on the subject."[82] Is it any wonder that, after Ciquard left in 1798 until this 1812 visit, St. Basil had a turnover of seven priests![83]

By 1798 Ciquard was at the height of his frustration. This is when Fr. Nagot and Bishop Carroll asked him to go to Detroit. Discouraged by his parishioners as he was, he must have been glad for the chance to travel hundreds of very difficult miles to get away from them. As it turned out, however, this stint in Detroit left him frustrated as well. As his biographer puts it, "He had to mingle too much with high society."[84] We smile today to think that this frontier people were too sophisticated

80. This was Charles Germain, S.J., born in Luxembourg in 1707. He served the Abenaki missions on the St. John River from 1740 to 1763. He died at their mission of St-François-du-Lac in 1779.

81. See his letter of Sept. 3, 1794 (AAQ, NB III-15 [16], p. 5.)

82. Quoted in Thomas Albert, *Histoire* (1920), p. 60.

83. The situation had apparently changed radically by 1919, when the pastor of St. Basil (L. N. Dugal) wrote in Albert, *History* (1990): "The people love their parish, their church and they cherish their priests" (p. 192) Of course, he had the advantage of building on more than 100 years of previous religious instruction and clerical presence.

84. PDR, *Vie*, p. 650.

or too urbanized for Ciquard, who was more comfortable among the "rustics." And people can be fickle. For on his way back through Madawaska, heading to his new assignment in the Lower St. John in 1799, he notes, "The people of Madawaska seemed happy to see me again and received me well enough on my way through."[85] The priest who had been caring for them temporarily, Fr. Amyot, left immediately at Ciquard's arrival, perhaps happy to be relieved of this burden. Yet Fr. Ciquard was obviously harboring no hard feelings against the Madawaskans, for in a letter he pleads to the Vicar General to send them a replacement "for their good and my consolation."[86] It is of interest, however, to note the contrast in his description of his reception by the Indians at this moment: "The Indians expressed the greatest contentment and the greatest joy at seeing me again. They were beginning to despair of seeing me. Now they're happy, and so am I."[87]

In 1799 Ciquard was accepted back by the Provincial Government of New Brunswick as chaplain to the Indians around Fredericton. And he continued in this post, relatively content, as he notes in the above letter. This happiness would be short-lived, however. For the Bishop asked him to take over the mission at Caraquet, on the condition (impossible, as it turned out) that he would find the incumbent pastor (Fr. Joyer) willing to be transferred to Memramcook, N.B. The latter, apparently, was an assignment to which no priest of the diocese was willing to go. Fr. Joyer was no exception. Thus, Ciquard, who would have been delighted to take over Caraquet, went there with a heavy heart, knowing full well that, if given the choice, Fr. Joyer would refuse to leave. This, in fact, was precisely what happened. The Bishop, taking advantage of Ciquard's complete docility to his will, then asked *him* to accept this difficult assignment, which, true to his spiritual principle ("Refuse nothing"), he agreed to do. At this point he "jumped from the frying pan into the fire." For this assignment was further complicated by the fact that he had to succeed Fr. Thomas Power, an alcoholic Irish priest who had neglected his flock for years and who, to add insult to injury, refused to vacate his

85. Letter to M. Desjardins, Vicar General, from Fredericton, July 24, 1799 (AAQ, NB III-20).

86. *Ibid.*

87. *Ibid.*

post. Such an assignment would have challenged the most zealous missionary and most able diplomat. Finally, with the help of the Bishop, Ciquard reached a compromise with Fr. Power; but he also inherited his untended pastoral "garden." It should not surprise us, therefore, that the succeeding years gave Ciquard further cause for complaint and discouragement. This was in 1803. It took several years before he was able to get control of his parish. And it was these years from 1803-1812 that provided Ciquard with his main experience of the Acadians.

The flock at Memramcook showed the unfortunate results of the previous pastor's neglect. They lived in poverty and were, for the most part, tenant farmers or "squatters." Their landlord appears to have made every effort to drive them out; and in one of the parish missions (Menoudie), he eventually succeeded. In a number of letters to Bishop Plessis, Ciquard laments about his parishioners. His complaints seem to center mostly around their antipathy, evidenced by, among other things, their reluctance to support the church financially, and their laxity concerning certain ecclesiastical regulations (abstinence, for example) and the sacraments; even their lack of religion, in some cases. Bp. Plessis gives us an insight into the deplorable living conditions of Ciquard. During his pastoral visit of 1812, when he slept in Fr. Ciquard's rectory, the bishop himself described it as "the miserable hovel where Fr. Ciquart [*sic*] lived for ten years."[88]

Perhaps in regard to their parsimonious financial support, it should be noted, in addition to their poverty, that the Church in Acadia from its start was not self-sufficient. It inherited a mentality from the Old World of subsidization: the Court, the Seminary of Québec, private gifts from wealthy nobility of the *Ancien Régime*. The people, not unlike the faithful of France and Mexico today, were used to outside help in supporting the Church. Now, in the New World, such help had all but disappeared. This was to become a lay-supported Church; and the people were neither ready nor willing to assume this responsibility.

88. "Voyage de 1812 en Acadie de Mgr Plessis," *Les Cahiers de la Société Historique Acadienne*, vol. 11, n^{os} 1-3, (mars-septembre 1980), p. 114. (Translation is mine.)

Ciquard, throughout his pastorate in Memramcook, continually expresses his disappointments and frustrations with his parishioners. A telling passage, stating his viewpoint, is to be found in his letter to Bishop Plessis of December, 1810, wherein he reports on his parish, in view of the possibility of being moved (finally) by the bishop. His mission at Menoudie is finished, without much regret on his part. Most of the Acadian farms had been threatened or repossessed by their landlord and the English settlers. But his flock at Menoudie had been a severe disappointment. In one letter he describes the rectory-church building there as "deplorable." The cracks in the building were so bad that the wind whistled right through them. Of course, the abject poverty of the residents was obviously partly the reason, as was their precarious situation. But there was more than that. "Ménodie is no more," he writes, "and I'm happy, for it was a mission which was very pitiful, very disagreeable, very inconvenient, and very poor. I was unhappy with them, unable to get them to approach the sacraments. I dread having to return there and there are still a few families who are little more than rabble, almost without religion. All the good ones have left."[89] The climax of his disillusionment came when his parish was robbed of £3,000 by one of his own parishioners. (This occurred in 1811.) This was even more embarrassing as he had to report it to the local English Protestant authorities; and it made the French Catholics look very bad indeed. To make matters worse, the individual turned out to be someone to whom Ciquard was already giving charitable contributions! To his eternal credit, Ciquard, despite his humiliation, forgave the man so completely that he continued to give him contributions even after this scandalous event![90]

Before leaving Memramcook Ciquard mellowed and undoubtedly revised his expectations. His views of his former parishioners at

89. AAQ, 311 CN 3: 3 décembre 1810.

90. In his *Mémoires* Ciquard writes a whole chapter on this event, which left him quite shaken. The two thieves were of Irish extractiion and «called themselves Catholics.». One was a barkeeper, and the other, a shoemaker. They has planned the event for some time. The way the affair was settled was a complement to both the English justice system and to Ciquard's magnanimity. (II, 102 ff.)

Madawaska, however, don't seem to have softened. He reports to his Bishop on his Memramcook parish in 1810:

> [I have] *158 families, almost all rather poor, and a large number not possessing an entire piece of property, but rather pieces which their father gave them. To abandon them would be to leave many children orphans, in tears, worry, and pain. For I think they would be very hurt to see me leave. They are already alarmed at your plans for me, for they don't view my situation here as did the people at Madououescak* [Madawaska], *who saw me leave without regret and, without any good reason, even asked you to remove me, as they didn't want me to minister to them anymore. I wasn't shocked by this, but I pitied them in their bad conduct and deplored their short-sighted and senseless projects. As they, after my Indians, were my first children in this country, I loved them and, in some way, I have missed them afterwards. I pity them, especially my poor Indians. If they get worse, which they undoubtedly will, who could stay with them very long? Good Father Kelly, despite his zeal, abandoned them without being able to finish out his three-year term; likewise, Father Hot* [Hott].[91]

In fairness to the Madawaskan Acadians (many were my ancestors, after all), I should present an opposing, more complimentary evaluation. Eventually, they did improve; and one of their later pastors, Fr. Thomas Albert, challenged the judgement of Bishop Plessis in his 1812 journal entry as overly negative. He notes:

> *Without doubting the good intentions of the eminent bishop, nor the well-founded grievances he may have had against the inhabitants of Madawaska, it must be noted that Bishop Plessis saw them only in passing. He could have paid homage to the proverbial hospitality, the patience in adversity, the courage which in difficult circumstances was never less than heroic. It is easily seen that Bishop Laval's successor evaluated his flock by the relations he had with them. These relations from the point of view of the colonists, while being respectful, were at times strained and acrimonious, especially on the subject of service to their mission.*[92]

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91. *Ibid.*
92. Albert, *l'Histoire* (1920), p. 148. (My translation.)

In is interesting that, in retrospect, Ciquard himself revised his judgment of the Acadians, in Memramcook, at least. In 1812, he finally obtained entry into "Canada" and was transferred to the Indian Mission at St-François-du-Lac, near Trois-Rivières. By now, Ciquard was able to see things in a slightly different perspective. He notes, "People say I am a bit strict, and that's how it should be; for everything was so lax [here]. *The people here are not docile nor religious as they are in the missions* [i.e., those of N. B.]; in spite of everything that I can say or do, several have not come to confession, knowing that I am not as easygoing as Fr. Bouillet, who let anything go. I have some good Frenchmen, but I also have plenty of riffraff. A goodly number are now beginning to observe Lent. But I can't succeed in convincing some of them. They think they are doing it, no matter what I say, by abstaining three days and eating meat on the other three days. There are many who don't contribute to the tithe and many others renege on it."[93]

This quote is significant because it reveals the expectations of Ciquard of his people. He was, indeed, strict; and his parishioners were resistant to his demands, both regarding the fast and abstinence and regarding contributing to the church. He obviously "went by the book," when it came to religious observance. His parishioners went by "another book." These mismatched expectations could be calculated to produce frustration; it was not long in coming. Ciquard wrote to Bishop Plessis, "I am more vexed here in six months than in twenty years in my missions down below [in N.B.]."[94] At this juncture, to Ciquard the Acadians don't look so bad! And his harsh judgments of them must be seen in the context of his high expectations.

CIQUARD, THE PERSON

We have pointed out that Ciquard was *idealistic*. Isn't this, after all, what brings a young man to the priesthood? He did, indeed, have high expectations of others, but no less of himself. These high expectations are outlined in his sole publication: *Portrait d'un*

93. Quoted from an unknown letter of Ciquard in T. Charland, *op. cit.*, p. 216. He doesn't give the source.

94. Charland, p. 216.

missionnaire apostolique (1810).[95] The individual depicted in this portrait would be ready for canonization! And how well Ciquard fit this portrait is obviously open to question. At any rate, the testimonies we have about him are certainly flattering. M. Roux, for example, had met Ciquard in France and likewise on the occasional visits the latter made to Montréal (e.g., in 1796) and got to know him well as his superior from 1815-1824. A letter from Roux to M. Lescaux, Superior General, dated June 11, 1816, gives us a telling insight into the man: "Good Fr. Ciquard has joined us; and, although worn out by long work, he is still very useful to us. One can always do a lot when one is willing. Moreover, he is very regular. And we need a few of his type to maintain the Rule in a house where caring for a large parish dissipates the men and makes them less exact."[96] Those of us Sulpicians who were members of the Community before Vatican II have certainly encountered this type of spirituality, heard it proclaimed, and saw it practiced by those who were held up as role-models. It describes Ciquard very well. He "kept the Rule," as we noted. He had an extremely developed sense of duty. And it was this fidelity to duty, especially obedience to the will of his superiors (primarily the bishop of Québec, in his situation) that determined what he should demand of himself and of his flock. Thus, the Laws of the Church (from the Ten Commandments down to the regulations on fast and abstinence) were to be observed. He does, in one letter at least, suggest that these laws might be mollified for his pioneer parishioners; but, as long as the law is on the books, it is to be obeyed. This was his ideal. Be obedient. "Ask for nothing; refuse nothing." Recall that is was purely by obedience to his spiritual director in Solitude that Ciquard first accepted the missionary call. His mind had not changed.

In spite of his firmness, Ciquard was also the soul of *charity*. He had plenty of justification to feel angry at some of his parishioners and even some of his fellow priests. He was maligned, cheated, and abused throughout his missionary career. Some suggest that his episcopal

95. I have consulted this work in Ciquard's original manuscript version. It apparently appeared in several published versions, or reprints. The only one I have found can be consulted on microfilm at the Centre des Études Acadiennes. It was published at Québec in 1810 at La Nouvelle Imprimerie, rue Buade.

96. ASSP, Fichier "M. Roux- n° 75."

superiors took advantage of his good will, postponing as long as possible his retirement to the seminary at Montréal. The fact is, they needed him. He took on assignments they couldn't easily find others to take. Yes, he complained; but he never refused. He was also generous with his own meager belongings and savings. He frequently donated whatever he managed to save from his stipend to those who needed it more. He gave away the few objects of cult that came into his possession. One thinks of a set of cruets he donated to the newly-appointed bishop Flaget, his confrère and compatriot; and the beautiful chalice he donated to Bishop Plessis.[97] He was forgiving, refusing to mention nominally in his *Mémoires* anyone who had offended or taken advantage of him. These names, where I have identified them, were found only in his private letters to the bishop. And they are never mentioned therein with any kind of bitterness. Ciquard was the opposite of a petty man. He was big in his largesse and in his forgiveness. (We shall cite a prime example of this later regarding his seminarian protégé Jacques Paquin.) And, although he maintained the law of the Church, he was compassionate. Fr. Joyer, surely not an ally, refers in a letter to the bishop of "the gentleness of M. Ciquard."

He was *long suffering*, resigned, and humble, at times to the point of excessive self-deprecation. He was willing to accept whatever Providence sent him, especially as indicated by the will of his bishop. He suffered greatly in his assignments, "his exile," as he calls it. He accepted the extreme hardships, physical and psychological, of missionary living in the "Forests of the New World," romanticized by Chateaubriand but made all too real in the daily life of Ciquard. He accepted especially the pain of loneliness, his greatest cross. More than from criticism and rejection by the Acadians, he suffered from loneliness: "One of my greatest sufferings, or rather the only one, is to be always alone. Ask for nothing; refuse nothing; only obey."[98] He greatly missed clerical companionship. The few clerical friends he made (Fr. Bédard, for example) were far away and ended up being transferred.

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97. I tried to locate this chalice among the many now in the possession of the Musée de la Civilisation in Québec, but with no luck, as it was not sufficiently identified.

98. *Ibid.*

This is even more evident when we see to what lengths Ciquard would go for human contact: his long trips to Québec and Montréal, for example; his befriending even the Protestant minister of Fredericton (we must recall that this was before the days of ecumenism). His only outlet seems to be his letter-writing; for he constantly apologizes to Bishop Plessis for his prolixity. It is one of his few consolations. He had few others to talk to, other than his dog and cat! The bishop became his friend, his confident, his "father figure," his spiritual director. In deference to the bishop, his correspondence reveals that he did quite well in filling all these various roles: a tribute to his episcopal aptitude. Back from Detroit, Ciquard received a letter from Plessis at the end of 1799, reprimanding or at least reminding him of his "instability." His letter of response admits this defect: "You have reopened a wound which is still bleeding by reminding me of my unfortunate instability which, as you state so well, has caused me much grief."[99] It seems to me, though, that it was more frustration than instability which was at stake here. Once retired to the seminary in Montréal, he seemed to be perfectly happy to stay put. It bears noting that this same Bishop Plessis, in his journal of his pastoral visit in Acadia in 1815, gives a considerably more compassionate opinion of his missionary. He refers to Fr. Ciquard as a priest "...famous in Canada for his travels, his adventures, his disgraces, his hardships, his patience, and his invulnerability."[100]

In 1803 when Bishop Denaut stayed with Ciquard in Fredericton on a pastoral visitation, he facetiously reported to his missionary that his reputation around the diocese was that of a "bumpkin," or, to use the French phrase, *un ours mal léché.* The French expression refers literally to a bear cub that, after birth, is badly groomed by its mother. Thus, it describes someone who is unkempt or crudely mannered. The bishop, after experiencing the gracious hospitality and good humor of Ciquard, however, hastened to add that he was not in agreement with this epithet.

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99. Letter to Bishop Plessis (probably), February 6, 1800. (AAQ, NB III-22). (Letters of the time usually started "Monsieur," or "Monseigneur," with no further identification, unless this is found on the address [which is often missing]; so one must often guess at the recipient.)

100. Transcribed in *Les Cahiers de la Société Historique Acadienne*, vol. 11, nos 1-3, (mars-septembre 1980), p. 226. (Translation is mine.)

And Ciquard responded, in good humor, to the label by saying, "Ah, your Excellency, I used to be that way, it is true. But in the last several years, and especially since I have often had to sleep outdoors, sometimes in the forest and sometimes on sand and pebbles, I have rolled around and smoothed off the rough edges."[101] This image tells a lot about the personality of Ciquard. Former seminary professor though he was, he was tough yet flexible. His youthful portrait would suggest a sensitive, yet determined individual.[102] The radical transition from the role of seminary staff member to that of missionary was an extraordinary transformation, and one for which Ciquard must be given a good deal of credit. It also indicates a strength of character, which was very much part of his personality, and perhaps this too is to be seen in his portrait from the set of the eyes and mouth. He exhibited a physical endurance which would tax most "professionals" exceedingly. Ciquard had no background for this. Basically, he held what would today be called a "desk job." He was treasurer at the seminary of Bourges. Although not from the nobility, he was certainly from the *bourgeoisie*, and a man of education. What allowed him to make the necessary changes for survival in the world of forests and Indian canoes was a high degree of *self-discipline*. It is incredible to think of the facility with which he decided to undertake the long and taxing trip to Detroit from Maine, for example, hardly giving it a second thought. Although he complains a good deal in his letters, he rarely complains about his physical health or hardships. One such complaint, dismissed in a line, concerned the brutal removal of a tooth in Madawaska, a job so crude that the "dentist" left half the tooth still in his jaw. One can only imagine the excruciating pain which must have been the result of this "butcher job." And he says to the bishop in one letter, almost with a wave of the hand, that he constantly has colds. Yet, Ciquard accepts it all. "Bumpkin" he might have been, but one that elicits admiration.

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101. Quoted by PDR from Ciquard's *Mémoires*, II, 87.

102. This rare and unique portrait (seen above) is of unknown origin. A photo of it was found in a memorial booklet celebrating the 50th anniversary of the Diocese of Edmundston, N.B. (1994), 200 years after Ciquard was appointed the first resident pastor. (Jacques Albert, *Diocèse d'Edmundston: 50e Anniversaire du diocèse*, Soc. Hist. du Madawaska, Edmundston, N.-B., 1995, p. 44). Perhaps the original (location unknown) was an ordination portrait, for it depicts Ciquard as a very young priest.

CIQUARD, THE SULPICIAN

I can hardly conclude a study of François Ciquard, S.S., without discussing him as a member of the Society of St. Sulpice. Although he spent a good deal of his professional and clerical life outside the "mainstream" work of the Society, he was, in many ways, a typical and good Sulpician. His life exemplifies, in many ways, the best of Sulpician spirituality and tradition. We perhaps smile today at the old-line Sulpician maxim: "Keep the Rule"; or "Ask for nothing; refuse nothing." They smack of 17th-century piety and of too much emphasis on the passive virtues. But these were the principles by which Ciquard governed his life. They were what kept him "a very good priest"[103] in the midst of frustration, depression, and extreme hardship. He firmly believed that his sanctity lay in doing God's will, and that this will was signified by the commands, perhaps even the suggestions, of his legitimate superiors. *De facto*, for the most part, this took the form of letters from his bishop, J.-O. Plessis. He never questioned those commands or letters, although he might have dreaded to receive them on occasion. He more than once confesses that he read some of these letters, kneeling at the foot of the cross. He may, at times, have felt them repugnant; but he obeyed, willingly, in spite of any "rebellion of the flesh," as he would have put it.

The last assignment of Ciquard, like his first, was in a setting wherein he was involved in clerical formation. This last setting consisted in forming a seminarian to succeed him as pastor of St-François-du-Lac mission. The experience is described in the article by Fr. Thomas Charland, O.P. It shows us much of the personality of Ciquard, but it also shows us how he remained faithful to the primary Sulpician vocation: clergy formation. The missionary became secondary. Both the seminarian, Jacques Paquin, and Ciquard had strong personalities. And Ciquard apparently could be very demanding at times. As Charland describes him, "He led the life of an ascetic, practicing extreme frugality in his meals, staying up until eleven at night, and sleeping on the floor.[104] Regarding his seminarian protégé, on the other hand, Fr. Charland writes,

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103. The words are quoted from a letter from Fr. Thavenet to M. Faillon, many years later, recalling various priests (including Ciquard) whom he knew at Bourges. (ASSP, *M.V.E.*, III, 3535. May 28, 1842).

104. Charland, *Histoire de Saint-François du Lac, op cit.*, p. 214.

"M. Paquin had a very strongly sanguine temperament and, therefore, an imagination that was somewhat vivid, which certainly misled him into believing that he was being persecuted by M. Ciquard."[105] He accused Ciquard of telling the domestics to give him nothing, to search his room to be sure there was nothing there which wasn't his, taking from him a piece of soap and a night cap; of not giving him enough to eat, and so forth. In other words, there was plenty of tension between them. One might expect Fr. Ciquard to take a heavy hand to this young neophyte and to make a rather unfavorable report to his bishop. It is enlightening on the largesse of the man to read the report he actually wrote. It says volumes about him and about his aptitude for the Sulpician vocation:

> *Undoubtedly also your Excellency wants to know about my young ecclesiastic, M. Paquin. I must say, to your satisfaction and mine, that I don't have any bad news to report; and that if I had any, for that very reason I would have taken the liberty to write you earlier. I am sufficiently happy with him. At least, this year he has not given me the same trouble as last year. He has been more submissive and respectful. Therefore, I have taken a different approach with him and tried my best to form him in the spirit of his state. And, aside from his caustic and cantankerous character, I would never have had anything to complain of. Having become more affable and considerate, we would have gotten along better and our association would have been more profitable; but God wanted to give me this trial. Yet, he has improved; and, with the grace of God and your advice and mine, he will improve more in the future. Moreover, I know of no defect which should prevent him from becoming that to which he aspires. Without taking the responsibility of answering for him, I see in him good qualities and good inclinations which make me hope that, one day, he will make a good priest."*[106]

In fact, his judgments were correct. Jacques Paquin was ordained in 1815 and succeeded Ciquard in his post, very ably, we might add. Every Sulpician and every seminary faculty member who has ever written an evaluation could identify with this report. It is positive, truthful, and certainly gives evidence of the attempt to be as fair as

105. *Ibid.*, p. 218.
106. *Ibid.*, p. 218-219.

possible in describing a candidate for the Priesthood. It shows that Ciquard was ever the Sulpician!

Conclusion

Ciquard's final days, the retreat or retirement he so longed for at the Montréal seminary, were spent with the same zeal and vigor and devotion to prayer and duty that characterized his previous missionary days. It is an irony that even the last pages of his *Mémoires* were removed. We'll probably never know why; perhaps, by reasons of "prudence." But we can reconstruct his final days from other sources, including his own correspondence with Bishop Plessis. In a letter dated Nov. 21, 1815 (the Sulpician Patronal Feast) he notes that, since his arrival in Montréal (where he was very well received by the confrères – obviously, the past had been forgotten), he had not passed a single day without hearing confessions, sometimes until midnight! Moreover, he was giving more sermons than any other member of the house. (This is attested to by well over 1,700 pages of them in the Sulpician archives in Montréal--despite his speech defect, one might add!) He was also helping Fr. Roux as chaplain to the Sisters of the Congregation and helping Fr. Chicoisneau for the Lenten prayers. He also served as librarian, took baptisms, visited various quarters of the town (St- Pierre, St-Luc, St-Antoine), the Congregation of Men, confessions for all the boarders at the house of the Sisters of the Congregation, and took the 8:00 Mass at the parish; he received the stipends for the house, the Mass intentions, drew up baptismal certificates, and so forth! Thus, we see that his life of "retirement" was not given over to leisure pursuits. Nor, most likely, would he have wished it otherwise. In fact, he claimed he was now "leading a life more in conformity with my former inclinations,"[107] that is, the "regular" life of the institutional seminary. That life came to an end on September 28, 1824.

Apparently, Ciquard was appreciated and loved by the parishioners he served in Montréal. For, as his biographer points out, before he was buried in the crypt of Notre-Dame church in Montréal, while he lay in

107. AAQ, 71-31, CD SULP., 1 (21 November 1815), p. 2.

state, many parishioners touched images and rosaries to his body and some "pious ladies" even cut scraps from his cassock as relics![108] We may smile at this today. But he was an authentic and dutiful priest who, following the prescriptions of his own *Portrait of an Apostolic Missionary*, sought to "preach more by my example than by my lessons."[109] Today, copies of this little work are very rare. But the example of Ciquard lives beyond his words to "edify us," as Fr. Roux put it, who continue the work of preaching the Gospel and the work of St. Sulpice.

108. PDR, *Vie*, p. 375.

109. Translated from his MS text, 1801, found in ASSSM, S. 36, V. 2, A, 7, T. 115, n° 13. This work was published under the impetus of Bishop Plessis, who also encouraged Ciquard to write his memoirs. That in itself gives some indication of what the bishop thought of him.

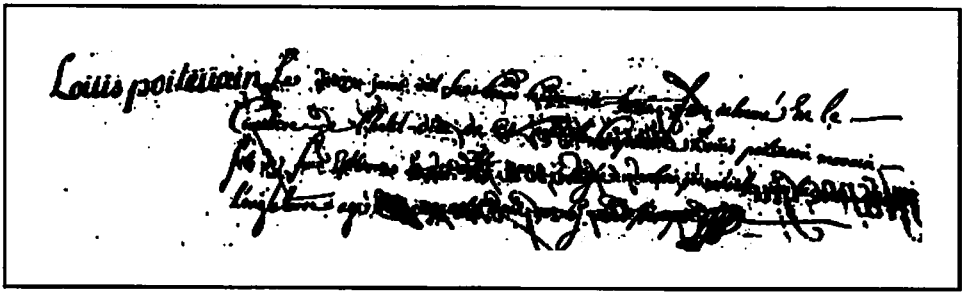
Un Acadien condamné et mort aux galères

Michel POIRIER

Le hasard de la consultation des registres d'État civil nous livre quelquefois de curieuses surprises. Un acte mentionnant une nationalité acadienne attire aussitôt l'attention, surtout quand il s'agit d'un Acadien mort dans un hôpital de France à une période où l'Acadie semble ne connaître ni conflits ni malheurs.

C'est le cas d'un acte au registre de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Nantes concernant Louis Poitevin, qui, à première vue, en tant qu'un enregistrement de la mort d'un marin, semble tout à fait normal. Voici l'acte en question :

> *Le douze juin mil sept cent cinquante trois fut inhumé dans le cimetière de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Nantes le corps de Louis Poitevin, marin, fils de feu Estienne et de delle Anne Degle* (Daigle) *de la paroisse de l'Acadie de l'Engleterre âgé de quarante deux ans environ*[1].



1. Archives départementales de la Loire-Atlantique (ADLA), Nantes, registre Hôtel-Dieu.

La généalogie de la famille Poitevin va effectivement nous apprendre que le marin est fils d'Étienne et d'Anne Daigle, et quatrième enfant d'une famille qui en comptera au moins treize, presque tous nés à Port-Royal. Certains membres de cette famille connurent le triste sort de la déportation. Madeleine, née en 1697, périra sur le navire anglais *Violet* qui déportait des Acadiens en France et fit naufrage sur les côtes du Portugal. Jacques-Christophe, né en 1698 y échappa puisqu'il mourut à Montréal en 1747. Marie-Judith, née en 1710, mourra peu après son arrivée à Saint-Servan, en 1759. Un premier Louis naquit le 3 octobre 1793 à Port-Royal, mourut jeune et fut inhumé en avril 1713 au cimetière de la chapelle Saint-Laurent du haut de la rivière de l'île Saint-Jean. Quant à notre Louis, il est aussi né à Port-Royal, le 30 août 1707, et baptisé au même endroit le 9 octobre suivant.

Les recherches pour trouver le navire venant des côtes acadiennes sur lequel notre marin Louis Poitevin se serait embarqué demeurèrent vaines. Le document suivant nous révèlera qu'il était bien un marin, mais d'une catégorie particulière et que le métier de terrien ne l'aurait probablement pas entraîné là où il a fini sa vie.

Voici la copie du jugement qui le condamna aux galères, avec les raisons de cette condamnation. Nous y ajoutons les accents pour faciliter l'intelligence du texte :

> *Louis, par la grâce de Dieu, Roy de France et de Navarre, à tous ceux qui verront... salut... que vu par notre Conseil Supérieur du Petit Goave, siégeant au Port au Prince au procez criminel extraordinairement fait et instruit au siège de l'amirauté... et diligence du procureur du Roy... contre Louis Poitevin, de l'Acadie, français, et les nommés Pierre Bruard dit Bocachica, François Velaser, Jean Baptiste* (Mulastre) *et Antoine Joseph, espagnol, accusés, prisonniers es prisons de la conciergerie de la Cour... suivant sentence rendue au dit siège le 20 février dernier* (1753), *par laquelle Louis Poitevin dûment convaincu de s'être embarqué furtivement dans un corsaire espagnol commandé par le nommé Laurent Daniel, d'avoir été témoin de la prise faite par ce capitaine d'une gouellette française à l'entrée de la baie des Flamans, d'avoir continué au service du dit capitaine, d'avoir réarmé à St Domingue avec lui pour la coste de Caraque. Et de s'être embarqué dans une prise hollandaise pour Saint Domingue, d'avoir atterré aux Anses à Pitre et y avoir pillé des français qui y faisaient*

la pêche... de quoi le condemné a servir de forçat sur nos galères à perpétuité, ses biens acquis et confisqués et... déclare pareillement atteints Pierre Bruard dit Bacachia, porteur de la prétendue commission, de Laurent Daniel, ce capitaine de la prise, François Velaser, Jean Baptiste, Mulaste, et Antoine Joseph, espagnol, d'avoir enlever le 31e 8bre de l'année dernière la gouellette française La Vergue, de Louisbourg, commandée par le sieur Dupont, à l'entrée de la Baye et d'avoir mis à terre aux Ances à Pitre et pillé des pêcheurs français qui étaient au dit lieu... les condamnés à servir de forçats sur nos galères pendant l'espace de trois ans... déclaré que la gouellette L'Anne Cornelier sur laquelle les prisonniers ont été pris... confisquée à notre profit... dite sentence et conclusions... seront exécutées (les accusés avaient fait appel). *Donné au Port au Prince le 15 mars 1753*[2].

L'information sur la fin de l'infortuné corsaire retraversa-t-elle l'Atlantique ? Elle ne s'est pas perpétuée, à ce qu'il semble, dans la tradition familiale.

2. Copie du jugement rédigée le 13 juin 1753. Source : ADLA, désarmement 1753.

Les pains bénits

Père Anselme CHIASSON

Selon une ancienne liturgie romaine, la cérémonie religieuse des pains bénits aux messes du dimanche a existé en Acadie et chez les Acadiens de la Côte-Nord du Saint-Laurent jusqu'aux années 1870 à peu près.

M^gr^ Plessis, évêque de Québec, affirmait en 1812 que cette pratique était inconnue chez les Québécois[1]. Il n'avait pas lu le *Journal des Jésuites* car il aurait su qu'elle y avait bel et bien existé au XVII^e^ siècle. Le Père Jérôme Lalemant nous dit dans ce *Journal* que cette cérémonie des pains bénits, qui avait été abandonnée depuis plusieurs années à cause de chicanes de préséance, fut réintroduite à Québec à la messe de minuit de Noël 1645. Et « ce que l'on fit pour obvier aux brouilleries des préférences prétendues, fut d'ordonner qu'en ayant donné au preftre et au Gouverneur, on donnerait à tout le reste comme il viendrait et se trouverait dans l'église, commençant tantoft par en haut, tantoft par en bas »[2].

À Québec, en plus des susceptibilités quant aux préséances pour recevoir le pain bénit, il y avait la rivalité à qui présenterait le plus beau et le plus orné. Le même Père rapporte qu'en 1646, le dimanche de la Septuagésime

> *Madame Marsolet devant faire le pain bénit, désira le présenter avec le plus d'appareil qu'elle pourait ; elle y fit mettre une toilette, une couronne de bouillons de gaze ou de linge à l'entour. Elle*

1. « Le journal des visites pastorales en Acadie de M^gr^ Joseph-Octave Plessis, 1811, 1812 et 1815 », *Les Cahiers de la Société historique acadienne*, vol. 11, n^os^ 1-2-3, p. 78.

2. *Le Journal des Jésuites*, publié par les abbés Laverdière et Casgrain, 3^e^ éd. Éditions François-Xavier, Laval, Montréal, 1973, p. 20.

désirait y mettre des cierges et des quarts d'efcus aux cierges, au lieu d'efcu d'or qu'elle euft bien désiré y mettre ; mais voyant qu'on ne luy voulait point permettre, elle ne laissa pas de le faire porter avec la toilette et la couronne de bouillons ; mais devant que le bénir, je fis tout ofter et le bénis avec la mefme simplicité que j'avais fait les precedens et particulierement celuy de Mons. Le Gouvernneur, crainte que ce changement n'apportaft de la jalousie et de la vanité »[3].

Les fidèles ne devaient pas en manger à l'église puisque l'auteur nous dit qu'ils ont communié à cette messe. Or, le jeûne eucharistique était de rigueur depuis minuit.

Voyons comment se déroulait cette cérémonie chez les Acadiens, du moins dans trois centres où l'histoire nous en a donné une description.

Voici comment Monseigneur Plessis décrit celle qu'il eut l'occasion d'admirer à Chédaïc lors de son voyage de 1812 aux provinces Maritimes :

L'évêque laissa donc le rivage et les fidèles de Gédaïque chez lesquels il n'avait eu rien à observer, sinon la manière extraordinaire dont on y présenta les pains à bénir le dimanche qu'il s'y trouva. Au Gloria in excelsis de la grand'messe, trois jeunes hommes accompagnés de trois jeunes filles, se présentèrent au balustre tenant chacun sur leurs mains un des pains qu'il fallait bénir. Dès que l'évêque se leva pour en faire la bénédiction, chacun remit son pain à sa compagne qui le prit de travers sur sa poitrine, le tenant par les deux côtés avec des linges dont elles étaient pourvues tout exprès. La bénédiction faite, les pains furent rendus aux trois hommes qui les avaient apportés, lesquels se mirent aussitôt en devoir de les couper et distribuer au peuple, tandis que les trois filles firent la quête par l'église. Cette cérémonie, étrangère à notre usage, s'exécuta, il faut l'avouer, avec une décence remarquable[4].

Le père Anselme Chiasson dans son volume *Chéticamp, histoire et traditions acadiennes*, nous dit qu'aux temps où l'on communiait très rarement au corps et au sang du Christ, cette tradition des pains bénits y

3. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
4. « Le journal des visites pastorales... », *op. cit.*, p. 78.

suppléait en tant que symbole d'union et de charité entre les chrétiens. Il écrit qu'autrefois à Chéticamp,

> *il y avait le pain bénit tous les dimanches. Chaque famille, à tour de rôle, fournissait le pain, le tranchait et l'apportait à la sainte table dans une grande corbeille. Au début de la messe, le prêtre descendait bénir ce pain. Les syndics le distribuaient alors de banc en banc à tous les assistants. Chacun en prenait immédiatement une petite bouchée puis serrait le reste dans sa poche pour les enfants ou les autres membres de la famille qui n'avaient pas pu venir à la messe*[5].

La description la plus détaillée nous vient d'un milieu acadien de la Côte-Nord du golfe Saint-Laurent, de Placide Vigneau, un témoin qui a vu se dérouler cette cérémonie religieuse durant plusieurs années. Il nous la décrit lui-même :

> *Autrefois, les dimanches et les fêtes obligatoires, chaque famille à tour de rôle offrait le pain bénit, qui consistait en quatre ou cinq gâteaux de grandeur ordinaire et dont le nombre variait selon le chiffre de la population. Ces pains étaient couronnés d'un plus petit pour le curé, et sur le grand on déposait ce que l'on appelait l'offrande, une pièce de monnaie variant de 10 ¢ à 25 ¢ selon la richesse et la générosité de celui qui les offrait. Cet argent allait dans le coffre de la fabrique.*
>
> *Celui qui offrait le pain bénit allait le déposer avant la messe sur la balustre du côté de l'épître. Après avoir entonné le Gloria in excelsis Deo et après l'avoir récité, le curé se rendait à la balustre accompagné des servants de messe ; un enfant de choeur sortait dans la nef en même temps et se tenait debout en face des pains, un cierge allumé à la main. Le curé après avoir béni les pains lui donnait un crucifix ou l'instrument de paix à baiser, après quoi il éteignait son cierge et faisait la quête dans la nef, les galeries et les jubés. Le curé retournait à son siège.*
>
> *Le bedeau prenait les pains, les emportait à la sacristie et les tranchait par morceaux d'environ un pouce carré plus ou moins gros, les déposant au fur et à mesure dans un grand panier. Aussitôt que le curé avait entonné le Credo, le bedeau sortait les distribuer*

5. A. Chiasson, *Chéticamp, histoire et traditions acadiennes*, Chapitre X, *La vie sociale*, éd. des Aboiteaux, Moncton, 1961, p. 206.

dans la nef en commençant du côté de l'épître. Il en plaçait trois morceaux plus gros que les autres sur le banc d'oeuvre pour les trois marguilliers, après quoi il continuait la distribution en présentant le panier à la porte de chaque banc. Alors chacun en prenait un morceau avec lequel il faisait le signe de la croix. D'après la rubrique, le pain bénit devait être mangé dans l'église, à l'exception bien entendu des personnes qui devaient communier.

Ce n'est pas tout. Je n'ai pas encore fini avec mon pain bénit. Le bedeau taillait le centre d'un des gâteaux en rond d'environ quatre pouces de diamètre, en lui laissant toute son épaisseur. Ce morceau de gâteau s'appelait La Grille et celui qui, tel dimanche offrait le pain bénit allait porter cette grille chez celui qui devait l'offrir le dimanche suivant, pour lui rappeler que son tour d'offrir le pain bénit était arrivé.

Cette coutume a cessé à la Pointe-aux-Esquimaux au printemps de 1877... Il y avait déjà des années que cette coutume était abolie dans les villes et les grandes paroisses.

Nous avions aussi l'habitude autrefois lorsqu'un enfant faisait sa première communion, de lui faire un pain bénit. Celui-ci n'était pas distribué dans l'église, mais de retour à la maison on en donnait aux parents et amis. Cette coutume fut abandonnée, je crois, la dernière année que M. Pelletier[6] demeura à la Pointe ou la première de M. Béland, soit : 1865 ou 1866.

Parfois, à de rares intervalles, quelques parents (un sur dix) faisaient encore un pain bénit de première communion, jusqu'à ces dernières années[7].

6. Autrefois, chez les Acadiens, les prêtres séculiers étaient appelés messieurs.

7. Manuscrit intitulée *Statistique 1900*, de Placide Vigneau, Acadien né aux Îles-de-la-Madeleine en 1842, émigré au siècle dernier à la Pointe-aux-Esquimaux, sur la Côte-Nord.

Vieux document[1]

Placide GAUDET

Lorsque la tourmente de 1755 et des années suivantes fut apaisée on permit, en 1768, aux Acadiens qui restaient encore en Acadie de prendre des terres en prêtant le serment d'allégeance. Le document suivant dont nous donnons la traduction française a été conservé parmi les papiers de famille des descendants de Pierre Belliveau, le jeune. Cet Acadien, natif de la vallée de Port Royal, joua un rôle important dans les guerres que les Acadiens eurent à soutenir contre les détachements du régiment des Rangers de 1755-1759. Charles Belliveau, son père, fut celui qui s'empara dans la Baie de Fundy, d'un vaisseau de transport, ayant à bord 226 Acadiens, de Port Royal, qu'on emmenait en exil, en décembre 1755. Le jeune Pierre était du nombre de ces déportés. On amena le vaisseau à St-Jean où il fut brûlé en 1756 et les Acadiens, après avoir passé quelques mois à la rivière St-Jean d'où ils écrivirent en date du 31 juillet 1756, une lettre à M. Daudin, leur ancien missionnaire, se dispersèrent. Les uns gagnèrent le Canada et s'y fixèrent, et les autres se rendirent d'abord à l'ancien village Acadien, en haut de Moncton, puis émigrèrent à Miramichi où il y avait un grand nombre d'Acadiens. Ceux-ci conclurent en décembre 1759 un arrangement avec le colonel Frye, et quittèrent alors Miramichi pour venir à Beauséjour. Pierre Belliveau était avec eux, et quelque temps après, il se rendit à Pisiguit (Windsor) où il resta jusqu'en 1768. C'est là qu'il fut marié en 1768 par l'abbé Frs. Bailly et qu'il prêta le serment d'allégeance. Dans la même année il se rendit à Memramcook où il se fixa en permanence et mourut rempli d'années. Il était le bisaïeul du Rév. Père Philippe Belliveau, jésuite, et du Dr L. J. Belliveau, de cette ville, de M. l'abbé Ph. F. Bourgeois, curé de Havre-au-Boucher, et du Dr Sifroi Belliveau, de Boston.

1. Article paru dans le *Moniteur acadien*, 18 janvier 1887.

Le document suivant est le seul de ce genre que nous ayons rencontré; cependant, on dit que M. Jean Bourgeois, de Fox Creek, en possède un semblable portant le nom de son grand-père, Benjamin Bourgeois.

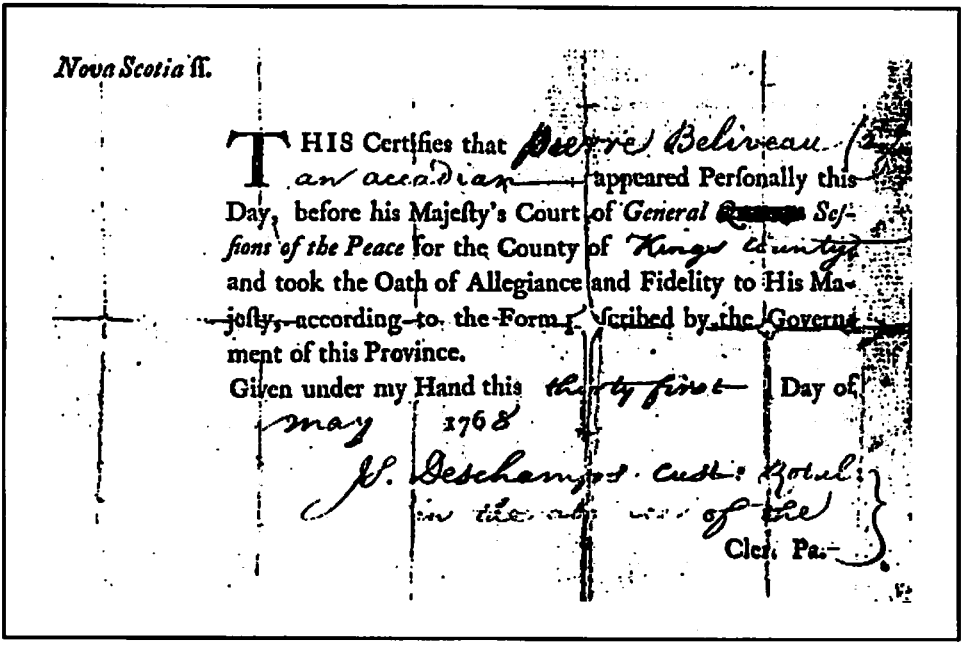
Nouvelle-Écosse, S.S.

Ceci certifie que Pierre Belliveau (2), un acadien, a apparu personnellement aujourd'hui, devant la cour des sessions générales de la paix de Sa Majesté, pour le comté de Kings, et a prêté le serment d'allégeance et de fidélité à Sa Majesté, selon la formule prescrite par le gouvernement de cette province.

Donné sous mon seing ce 31e jour de mai 1768.

(Signé) Is. Deschamps,

Gardien des rôles en l'absence du clerc de la paix[2].


Nova Scotia ſſ.

THIS Certifies that Pierre Beliveau (2) an acadian appeared Perſonally this Day, before his Majeſty's Court of *General* Seſſions *of the Peace* for the County of Kings County and took the Oath of Allegiance and Fidelity to His Majeſty, according to the Form ſcribed by the Government of this Province.

Given under my Hand this thirty first Day of may 1768

Is. Deschamps Custos Rotul in the abſence of the Clerk Pa.

2. Ce document original maintenant en montre dans l'exposition permanente du Musée acadien de l'Université de Moncton, a été remis au Centre d'études acadiennes (500-1-6) en 1977 par madame Marguerite Aubé, une descendante de la famille Belliveau.

Nouvelles de la SHA

Léone BOUDREAU-NELSON

CONFÉRENCES DE LA SOCIÉTÉ HISTORIQUE ACADIENNE

À l'aube du bimillénaire du Christianisme et du Jubilé An 2000, il convient de jeter un regard sur l'histoire religieuse en Acadie. À cet effet, la *Société historique acadienne* offrira à compter du mois d'octobre 1999, une série de conférences publiques sur le thème *Grandes figures d'apôtres en Acadie.*

En guise d'introduction, la première conférence portera sur la *Situation religieuse en France au XVII^e siècle.* Cette conférence sera donnée par M. Didier POTON, spécialiste du dix-septième siècle, professeur à l'Université de Poitiers, France, le lundi 11 octobre 1999 à 19 h à la salle Sainte-Croix (local 222) de l'édifice Landry à l'Université de Moncton.

Les cinq autres conférences auront lieu comme d'habitude le 2^e dimanche du mois, à 14 h, à la salle Sainte-Croix (local 222) de l'édifice Landry au campus de l'Université de Moncton.

PROGRAMME DES CONFÉRENCES (1999-2000)

Octobre	Conférencier : M. Didier POTON, Université de Poitiers, France Sujet : *Situation religieuse en France au XVII^e siècle.*
Novembre	Conférencier : M. Raoul DIONNE, Université de Moncton Sujet : *Le père Pierre Biard, s.j. né à Grenoble en 1567.*
Décembre	Conférencier : M. Maurice BASQUE, directeur des Études acadiennes Sujet : *L'abbé Jean-Louis LeLoutre, spiritain, né à Morlaix en 1709.*

Février	Conférencier : M. Gérald BOUDREAU, Université Sainte-Anne Sujet : *L'abbé Jean-Mandé Sigogne, né à Beaulieu en 1763.*
Mars	Conférencier : P. Anselme CHIASSON, écrivain et historien Sujet : *Le père Pacifique, c.a.p., né à Valigny en 1863.*
Avril	Conférencier : P. Maurice LÉGER, historien Sujet : *Évolution de l'Église en Acadie.*

40[e] ANNIVERSAIRE

À l'aube également de l'An 2000, la Société historique acadienne s'est d'ores et déjà penchée sur le déroulement des festivités qui marqueront le quarantième anniversaire de sa fondation et dont un aperçu vous sera communiqué dans la prochaine livraison des *Cahiers*.

Pour le moment qu'il suffise de rappeler que la SHA a été mise sur pied en 1960 à l'Université Saint-Joseph (ancêtre de l'Université de Moncton) par trois éminents Acadiens, soit le R.P. Clément Cormier, c.s.c., ancien recteur de l'Université ; M. Emery LeBlanc, ancien rédacteur en chef du journal *l'Évangéline*; et le R.P. Anselme Chiasson, le président honoraire actuel de la Société.

Le premier président, le P. Clément Cormier, écrivait :

> *... le culte du passé demeure une garantie de force et de persévérance.*
>
> *Notre histoire est exceptionnellement riche... Près de nous, il y a les faits de la petite histoire, celle de nos paroisses, de leurs courageux bâtisseurs et pionniers... le siècle obscur qui s'étend de la dispersion à la renaissance.*
>
> *... les grands thèmes demeurent d'un intérêt intarissable : l'ère des découvertes, celle de la colonisation, des guerres épuisantes qui ont précédé le traité d'Utrecht ; les événements précurseurs de la dispersion et le grand drame lui-même. À ce riche passé, la Société historique acadienne veut intéresser ses membres et le grand public.*
>
> *... aussi, elle s'est donné comme objectif... la publication de Cahiers pour projeter à l'extérieur les travaux qu'elle a inspirés*[1].

1. Clément Cormier, « Présentation », *Cahiers de la Société historique acadienne*, vol. 1, n° 1, [1961], p. 3-4.

La Société historique acadienne