

**Becoming Holy in Early Canada: Performance and the Making of Holy
Persons in Society and Culture**

**Timothy G. Pearson
Department of History
McGill University, Montreal**

March, 2008

**A Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy**

© Timothy G. Pearson, 2007

Abstract

The records and archives pertaining to the history of European settlement in what is now Canada are filled with hagiographic texts – documents that describe the life, death and miracles of individuals who were regarded as holy by their authors. While the names and vocations of many of these individuals (for example, Isaac Jogues, Jean de Brébeuf, Marie de l'Incarnation, and Catherine de Saint-Augustine) are well known to historians of early colonial Canada, what has not been explored is holiness itself, the way it was performed, recognized and written about, and the roles holy persons played in social and cultural life. In this dissertation, I analyze how local religious figures became holy and the social functions they played, in order to better understand the connections between religion and colonialism and the shaping of faith communities over time.

The study covers a broad time period from the early days of French settlement in Canada to the late nineteenth century. The focus falls on New France and the holy persons associated with the early years of settlement when religion and colonization were intimately connected. It was only towards the end of the nineteenth century that these figures were put forward for official recognition by the church in canonization causes, and consequently I conclude the study with an examination of the processes and resulting documents that contributed to the transformation of local holy persons into saints. Throughout the study, I concentrate on the place holy persons occupied in local society both during life and after death as intercessors for the faithful, the meanings they held and presented to their audiences, and the ways they performed the traditions of sanctity.

Rituals of holiness were a form of communication. Holy persons and audiences interacted with and influenced one another to create a saint that was efficacious and effective. While faith communities developed around local, family and community networks, hagiographic texts described the lives, deaths and intercessions of select individuals and spread cults of belief. Between performances of holiness and the inscription of holy lives into texts, local saints were made who responded to the needs of their faith communities and became important parts of local religious, social, and cultural life.

Resumé

Les archives et témoignages relatifs à l'histoire de la colonisation européenne à l'intérieur des frontières actuelles du Canada sont semés de nombreux textes à caractère hagiographique, ces textes qui s'attardent à décrire la vie, la mort et les actions miraculeuses d'individus considérés comme saints. Alors que les noms et les oeuvres des Isaac Jogues, Jean de Brébeuf, Marie de l'Incarnation ou Catherine de Saint-Augustin sont bien connus des historiens du Canada français, on en sait cependant beaucoup moins sur le concept même de sainteté et les façons dont celui-ci était reconnu, démontré et mis en récit. De même, les différents rôles sociaux, culturels et religieux que les personnes ainsi désignées saintes pouvaient jouer, a souvent été négligé. Cette thèse analysera donc comment des figures religieuses locales ont pu devenir saintes et les multiples fonctions sociales qu'elles ont ainsi remplies. Nous pourrons ainsi mieux comprendre les liens serrés entre religion et colonialisme ainsi que les transformations des communautés de croyants au fil du temps.

Car cette étude couvre une large période, des premiers temps de la colonisation française au Canada aux dernières années du XIX^e siècle. C'est la Nouvelle-France et les saints associés à ses débuts, alors que religion et colonisation vont de pair, qui constituera le point focal de mon attention. Ces figures religieuses de la Nouvelle-France nous entrainerons à la toute fin du XIX^e siècle, moment où elles verront leur statut de saint reconnu officiellement par l'Église par procès en canonisation. Je conclurai donc en examinant ces procès et leurs traces documentaires, qui ont permis cette transformation de personnes saintes en Saints. Nous verrons ainsi tout au long de cette étude la place que ces figures ont occupé

dans leurs sociétés, au cours de leur vie comme après leur mort (devenus intercesseurs pour les croyants) et tâcherons de découvrir le sens qu'ils pouvaient avoir et représenter de même que les façons par lesquelles ils pouvaient incarner des traditions de saintetés.

Les rituels de sainteté représentent une forme de communication à part entière. Les personnes saintes et leurs publics s'influençaient mutuellement, agissaient l'un sur l'autre pour parvenir à créer un Saint présent et efficace. Alors que les communautés de croyants se développaient autour de réseaux familiaux, locaux et communautaires, les textes hagiographiques décrivaient plutôt les vies, morts et intercessions de quelques individus choisis et de communautés éparses. Entre le « geste » de la sainteté et sa mise en récit, des Saints locaux sont construits pour répondre aux besoins de leurs communautés et s'inscrire pleinement dans leur vie religieuse, sociale et culturelle.

Acknowledgements

When I began my PhD in the Fall of 2002 I had not taken a course nor likely read a book in Canadian history since the second year of my undergraduate degree. With a masters degree in hand in Medieval Studies, I began the work that would become this dissertation. My thanks and appreciation must, therefore, go first to my advisors, Catherine Desbarats and John Zucchi, who took a risk on me and my project, and have been supportive from the very beginning. Professor Zucchi has always been available to discuss ideas with me and push my thought in directions I had not considered. Professor Desbarats's penetrating insights, timely advice, and suggestions have shaped my thinking and sharpened my writing in ways too numerous to count. Together they have shepherded this project to its conclusion, and along the way, taught me the historian's craft and a deep appreciation of the past.

In a project of this type the support and assistance of family and friends is indispensable. My parents, Graham and Miriam, have always supported everything I have tried and I can not thank them enough nor adequately express my deep appreciation. Thanks also go to my sisters, Kate and Sheila, as well as to newer members of the clan, especially Lucy who, without fail, provided me with the perfect excuse to take an hour's break every afternoon for a walk. Along the way, friends and colleagues have always been there for a discussion or a diversion and sometimes a place to stay; especially Melanie Moore, Duncan Cowie, Anna Lepine, Liz Kirkland, Tom Brydon, Bruce and Barbara Bartleman, Alex Boutros, Kaarla Sundström and Anu. My sincere thanks go to Jean-François Constant and Alexandre Dubé, not only for their friendship, but also for their last minute help in putting the manuscript

together. Finally, over the last two years, members of the French Atlantic History Group gave me a job when I needed one and made it enjoyable. For this my thanks and appreciation go to François Furstenberg, Nick Dew, Dominique Deslandres, James Delbourgo and Tom Wien.

There are several funding agencies and institutions that I would like to thank without whose aid this project would never have been completed. The History Department, Faculty of Arts, and Faculty of Graduates Studies at McGill University have all provided financial support at various stages. Doctoral fellowships from the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada, FQRSC, SSHRCC, and the Bibliothèque et Archives Nationale du Québec supported my work and research. I would like to thank the archivists at the Archives du Séminaire de Québec and the Archives Deschatellets at l'Université Saint-Paul for their help, and especially the librarians at the Grand Bibliothèque (Bibliothèque Nationale du Québec) for their assistance and patience in digging up obscure texts and canonization processes for me. At McGill I must also thank Colleen Parish, Celine Coutihno, Karen Connors, and Jody Anderson for their help and advice offered freely and without reservation on numerous occasions.

For Kirsty, who found me in a cloud of tear gas and never let go, I can not give thanks enough. She has put up with my mood swings, doubts and frustrations, and never became frustrated herself. Without her I would never have even started this project.

Table of Contents

List of Figures	ix
Introduction	1
I Saints and Holy Persons in Canada	27
<i>The Scenario of Holiness</i>	32
<i>Sources</i>	43
<i>The Holy in Canada</i>	47
<i>Conclusion</i>	59
II Missions and Colonialism: Ritual, Text and the Performance of Martyrdom	60
<i>Hopes and Expectations</i>	66
<i>Between Ritual and Writing</i>	75
<i>Victims and Oppressors</i>	103
<i>Conclusion</i>	111
III “Nous avons au Ciel notre saint Martyr:” Martyrs in Society and Text	113
<i>Relics, Miracles, and Holy Reputations</i>	116
<i>Aboriginal Holiness</i>	134
<i>The Martyrs and the Mission</i>	158
<i>Conclusion</i>	164
IV Asceticism, the Shaping of the Self, and the Making of a New World	167
<i>Coming to Canada</i>	171
<i>The Hôtel Dieu</i>	178
<i>Catherine’s Holy Performance</i>	184
<i>Asceticism and Ascetic Behaviour</i>	194
<i>Place</i>	208
<i>Conclusion</i>	225
V The Social Function of Miracles	230
<i>Miracles and Devotions</i>	233
<i>The Acts of Frère Didace Pelletier</i>	241

	<i>The Cause of Frère Didace</i>	264
	<i>Mgr de Lauberivière</i>	272
	<i>Conclusion</i>	278
VI	“Ce nouveau monde est Encore asses favorisé de Dieu”: Local Saints in Eighteenth-Century New France	282
	<i>Public and Private Saints</i>	286
	<i>Gender and the Veneration of the Holy</i>	294
	<i>Conclusion</i>	318
VII	The Saints of New France and the Ultramontane Church	326
	<i>Historiography and Hagiography</i>	330
	<i>Ultramontanism and the Writing of History</i>	340
	<i>Bearing Witness</i>	353
	<i>The Religious Press</i>	371
	<i>Conclusion</i>	384
	Conclusion	389
	Abbreviations	395
	Bibliography	396
	Appendices	427
Appendix I	Vatican-recognized Saints and Holy Persons of Canada	427
Appendix II	Survey of Holy Persons Associated with Canada, 1630-2005	429
Appendix III	The Miracles of Frère Didace Pelletier from “Actes du très devot frère Didace, Récollet, mort en odeur du sainteté en 1699.” Musée de la civilisation, fonds d'archives du Séminaire de Québec, fonds Viger-Verreau, P32/O-73.	466

List of Figures

Figure 1	Le premier monastère des Ursuline de Québec, 1642, Joseph Légaré, c. 1850. Musée des Ursulines de Québec.	3
Figure 2	<i>Preciosa mors quorundam Patrum é Societé Jesu in nova Francia</i> (c. 1664), Grégoire Huret	145
Figure 3	Frère Didace Pelletier (c. 1690) J.-B. Scrotin	379

Introduction

Hagiography is the most action-packed mode in our literary tradition.
-Geoffrey Harpham¹

In 1864 the Quebec churchman, romantic writer, and part-time historian, Henri-Raymond Casgrain, composed *Histoire de la mère Marie de l'Incarnation*, a lengthy and detailed biography of the Ursuline nun of New France, Marie de l'Incarnation (1599-1672).² Casgrain's work, called an *histoire*, but hagiographic in form and content, was part of a wider revival of interest in New France's mythic past that linked history with religion and holiness in the inscription of colonial religious heroes into texts that described them as saints and contributed to formal canonization causes in late nineteenth-century Quebec.³ In the life-story of Marie de l'Incarnation, a nun and mystic who emigrated from Tours to Canada in 1639, Casgrain believed that Quebecers of his own day might find a reflection of their past, and their history. He believed that by writing her life he engaged in "une oeuvre de reconnaissance," and built a little monument to her memory.⁴ In this dissertation I take up the

¹ Geoffrey Harpham, *The Ascetic Imperative in Culture and Criticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 3.

² Henri-Raymond Casgrain, *Histoire de la mère Marie de l'Incarnation: première supérieure des Ursulines de la Nouvelle-France* (Québec: G.E. Desbarats, 1864). See Serge Gagnon, "Histoire de la mère Marie de l'Incarnation, de l'abbé Henri-Raymond Casgrain," *Dictionnaire des œuvres littéraires du Québec*, vol. 1 (Montréal: Fides, 1978), 318-322.

³ Lucie Robert, "À la recherche de « l'Église des premiers temps »: formes médiévales, classiques et romantiques dans les « Vies » au Québec au milieu du XIX^e siècle," in *Entre la lumière et les ténèbres: Aspects du moyen âge et de la renaissance dans la culture des XIX^e et XX^e siècles, Actes du congrès de Montréal des 30 Mai et 1^{er} Juin, 1995*, ed. Brenda Dunn-Lardeau (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1999), 222. Robert argues that Casgrain wrote his history of Marie de l'Incarnation as much in a literary milieu as a religious one. His text followed the classical model of the hagiography as well as the new forms of French romanticism.

⁴ Casgrain, *Histoire de la mère Marie de l'Incarnation*, 10.

question of recognition as it pertains to the history of local saints, the notion of holiness in the Canadian past, and the writing of hagiographic texts such as Casgrain's. Local holy persons were recognized by local populations with a persistent regularity, and their reputations stubbornly endured in local memory, for decades and even centuries from the early days of New France to the beginning of the twentieth century, yet the role and function of local holy persons, plus hagiographic texts and discourse, are little understood in the Canadian context. My aim is to better appreciate why and how saints were made locally in the Canadian past, especially in New France and how their lives were mediated in text. How were saints recognized and by whom? How was a holy reputation created before a live audience and in text? What social and cultural functions did the local saints of New France, such as Marie de l'Incarnation, serve in their own day and in subsequent years, decades, and even centuries?

In the introduction to his *Histoire de la mère Marie de l'Incarnation*, Casgrain describes a painting by the mid-nineteenth-century Quebec artist Joseph Légaré that hung in the foyer of the Ursuline convent in Quebec.

La toile représente l'antique forêt qui couronnait le promontoire de Québec à la naissance de la colonie. Au centre du tableau s'élève, à travers les érables et les grands pins, le premier monastère fondé, en 1641, par Madame de la Peltrie.⁵

He describes in great detail the bucolic scene. A flock of sheep (a pervasive Biblical image) graze in a seemingly well-tended field surrounded by a palisade that separates the civilized realm of the French from the immense North American forest. A camp of aboriginal converts straddles the border between the monastery

⁵ *Ibid.*, 5.

grounds and the savage forest – the status of its occupants (purposefully) ambiguous between these two poles. To the left of the image, the forest itself is pierced by a road – the Grande Allée – where two knights, identified as the governor of New France, M. Louis d'Ailleboust (1612-1660), and the Governor of the town of Trois Rivières M. du Plessis-Bochart, have just been interrupted by “un chef sauvage qui leur présente une peau de castor.”⁶



Fig. 1 Le premier monastère des Ursulines de Québec, 1642, Joseph Lëgaré, c. 1850. Musée des Ursulines de Québec.

The painting and Casgrain’s history of Marie de l’Incarnation were both composed at a time when Quebec’s past was undergoing reconsideration on a

⁶ *Ibid.*, 6. Louis d’Ailleboust and his family settled in Montreal in 1643. He was an engineer, soldier, architect, and second in command after Paul Chomedey de Maisonneuve at Montreal. He was governor of New France from 1648 to 1651. In 1651, he and his wife, Marie Barbe de Boullongne, retired to their property at Coulonge which was linked to Quebec by the Grand Allée. Marie-Claire Daveluy, “Ailleboust de Coulonge et d’Argentenay, Louis d’,” *DCB*. The other man named by Casgrain was Charles Plessis-Bochart, head clerk of the Compagnie des Cent-Associés, founded by Cardinal Richelieu in 1627 to exploit the resources of New France. However, he is known to have been in Canada only between 1633 and 1636 and, although he helped Champlain to strengthen the fort of Trois-Rivières (f. 1634), he was never the governor of the town. Raymond Duville, “Du Plessis-Bochart, Charles,” *DCB*. In fact, it was Pierre Boucher who was Louis d’Ailleboust’s choice for protector of Trois-Rivières. He made Boucher captain of the town in 1648, and it may be Boucher and not Plessis-Bochart that the artist intended. Raymond Duville, “Boucher, Pierre,” *DCB*.

number of fronts. In hagiographic histories of the type composed by Casgrain, and in the art of Légaré, the significance of its religious origins were emphasized, as was the imagined separation and hierarchical relationship between French and native populations.⁷ Légaré was interested in the heroic struggle of French missionaries and early settlers against the *sauvage* and, for Casgrain, his painting represented the triumph of Christianity over paganism that allowed the metaphorical lions and leopards of North America to lie down before the Christian sheep (Isaiah 11:6). He writes, “Ces farouches Indiens, devenus plus doux que des agneaux...”⁸ The painting, he claims, collapsed the entire early history of Canada into a single moment.

Lorsque vous avez étudié, pendant quelques instants, cette peinture, vous demeurez involontairement tout pensif; car elle vous raconte toute l’histoire des temps héroïques du Canada, avec ses alternatives de joies et de sacrifices, d’allégresse et de deuil, de sang et de triomphe.⁹

The arrival of the first French ships on the St. Lawrence, the sense of awe and admiration of the “naturals du pays” as they contemplated “ces hommes d’une autre race qui portent le tonnerre dans leurs mains,” the first preaching of the Gospel on the shores of North America, the Jesuit martyrs and their hymn of victory that echoed from the Alleghenies and Laurentians; all are brought to mind, according to Casgrain, by this single image of divine simplicity. But what above all charms the

⁷ Gillian Poulter argues Légaré’s work was a “counter-narrative which attempted to preserve the particular history and character of the French-Canadian people” against British colonial picturesque and travel illustration that all but erased the history of French Canada and rendered the dividing line between the native and the *habitant* native almost indistinguishable. Légaré’s work codified hierarchies and visually established “the respective place of Natives, *habitants*, immigrants and the social elite” in the new British colonial society. “Representations as Colonial Rhetoric: The Image of ‘the Native’ and ‘the *habitant*’ in the Formation of Colonial Identities in Early Nineteenth-Century Lower Canada,” *The Journal of Canadian Art History/Annales d’histoire de l’art canadien* vol. XVI, 1 (1994): 11.

⁸ Casgrain, *Histoire de la mère Marie de l’Incarnation*, 7.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 8.

viewer, according to Casgrain, is a group of young people gathered beneath the arms of an old ash tree to the right of the image to listen to the lessons of Marie de l'Incarnation, "cette femme forte de l'Evangile, si bien nommée la Thérèse (d'Avila) de la Nouvelle-France."¹⁰

Casgrain imagined that amongst the children ranged in front of Marie de l'Incarnation, the viewer might recognize one of his or her ancestors, "qui eut le bonheur de recevoir ses saintes leçons, et de contempler ses grands exemples."¹¹ The works of Casgrain and Légaré, amongst numerous others of this type and vintage, offer access to a mythic past, and a late entry point into the ongoing *(re)connaissance* of local religious heroes from the early days of New France to the late nineteenth century. In such documents, religious heroes appear already made. But, in order to understand how Marie de l'Incarnation, and others who were regarded as holy, became the central figures in such works, it is necessary to return to New France to try to comprehend them not just as saints, but as historical actors and characters who responded to a tradition of holiness present in society and came to be considered holy by specific audiences over time.

Marie was one of the original foundresses of the Ursuline monastery in Quebec (1639) where she worked to convert native peoples to Catholicism and educate the daughters of white settlers until her death in 1672. A prolific letter writer, she became one of the most enduring voices of New France as well as a mystic,

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 8-9. Casgrain is paraphrasing the great French theologian and seventeenth-century bishop of Meaux, Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet (1627-1704) who called Marie de l'Incarnation the Sainte Thérèse du nouveau monde, in his *Instructions sur les états d'oraison, où sont exposées les erreurs des faux mystiques de nos jours* (Paris: Jean Anisson, 1697). Claude Martin repeated this formula in his 1677 *Life of Marie de l'Incarnation*. See Henri Bremond, *Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux en France. La conquête mystique* vol VI (Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1933), 9.

¹¹ Casgrain, *Histoire de la mère Marie de l'Incarnation*, 9.

missionary, and leader of the colony. The first hagiographic text to narrate her life appeared only five years after her death, penned in France by her son, Claude Martin. This work was followed by biographies too numerous to count, including Casgrain's, and to the present day Marie de l'Incarnation enjoys an extraordinary reputation.¹² Although she is one of the most well-known and extensively studied historical figures from Canada's past, she is far from the only individual who enjoyed a holy reputation both in her own day and subsequently. Throughout the dissertation I ask, what, historically, have been the prime markers of holiness in Canadian society? What expectations have faith communities held and how have these changed over time? What was the relationship between performers of holiness and their audiences? How, in short, have saints been recognized and made in Canada?

Canada is fertile terrain for the study of holiness. In the two thousand year history of the Christian cult of saints, Canada appears only towards the very end. Where the broad history of the cult of the saints is chronologically extensive and geographically diffuse, Canada's Catholic history is relatively circumscribed and

¹² Claude Martin, *La vie de la vénérable mère Marie de l'Incarnation: Première supérieure des Ursulines de la Nouvelle France, tirée de ses lettres et de ses écrits* (Paris: Louis Billaine, 1677). Since the publication of Martin's work, Marie de l'Incarnation has been the subject of numerous hagiographic works and scholarly studies, and she continues to resonate amongst scholars, the faithful of the Catholic Church, and the wider population of Canada, as an enduring figure from the past. In the 1750s, the Ursulines of Quebec began to plan for a formal canonization investigation when the English conquest of New France sidelined any such effort to promote Catholicism or the Catholic Church in Canada. By the mid-nineteenth century, her life-story, along with those of many of her contemporaries who had also enjoyed reputations for holiness, was revived by churchmen and historians like Casgrain who transformed these figures of the past into modern, romantic, and religious heroes of French Canada. More recently, in 2004, following the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's (CBC) "Greatest Canadian" competition and television broadcast, *Toronto Star* columnist, Philip Marchand, declared that Marie de l'Incarnation ought to be regarded as the 'greatest' Canadian even though she did not even crack the top ten finalists in national polling. "Honouring Greats: Is it Uncanadian?" *Toronto Star*, October 23, 2004. A few years early, in 1997, Louis-Guy Lemieux named Marie de l'Incarnation the "great man" of New France in a column in *Le Soleil de Québec*. "Marie Guyard (sic) de l'Incarnation, le grand homme de la Nouvelle-France est une femme," *Le Soleil de Québec*, 16 mars, 1997.

focused, allowing for a concentrated study that is nevertheless sensitive to change over time. The focus of this dissertation falls on the period of the French régime, 1608 to 1760, and especially on the period of intensive religious colonization, roughly 1632 to the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession in 1701. However, in order to better understand the connections between history and holiness alluded to by Casgrain, and to bring the story of the making of local saints to its logical conclusion, I have also traced the development of holy reputations through to the beginning of the canonization processes of the late nineteenth century. The dissertation, therefore, covers a broad chronological scope from the early-seventeenth to the late-nineteenth centuries but, within this wide frame, focuses especially on early New France and the holy reputations that began in this period.

From the beginning of French settlement in north eastern North America holy persons and hagiographic texts played a central role in how people related to and understood the world around them. In the early days of New France, colonizers and colonists alike were on the lookout for examples of Christian holiness in the ‘new’ world. Motives of religion guided exploration and colonization, and shaped the rhetoric that surrounded these expansion efforts. The explorer Jacques Cartier named the great river he entered for the first time on 10 August 1534 for the martyr Saint Lawrence whose feast day it was. Saint Joseph and Saint Anne were named patrons of the lands claimed by the French monarchy. Connections between religion and settlement were more than rhetorical, however. In early modern France, eschatological currents in intellectual life led court savants such as Guillaume Postel (1510-1581) and Jean Boucher (1548-1644) to construct elaborate arguments rooted in Christian and pre-Christian mythology to convince successive French sovereigns

that the world monarchy predicted in Revelations would be French. French kings from François I to Louis XIV took the advice of such men seriously, and responded to what they considered their God-given role to unite all Christians under France through absolutist policies and imperial expansion. The King of France was titled ‘His Most Christian Majesty’ and France itself was the ‘fille ainée de l’Église.’¹³ While it is the case that such ideas could mask other motives of colonization, we must be prepared to take seriously the connection between religion and colonialism in the early modern world, and connections between colonialism, notions of Christian holiness, and the advent of local saints in early Canada. By the same token, it is necessary to consider seriously the religiosity of hagiographic texts and not just mine them for “historical” kernels.¹⁴

The Catholic cult of the saints has proven itself to be extraordinarily adaptable. For two thousand years it has survived in innumerable cultures, amongst all classes and genders, and in every corner of the globe touched by the church.¹⁵ It

¹³ Alexandre Y. Haran, *Le Lys et le globe: Messianisme dynastique et rêve impérial en France aux XVI^e et XVII^e Siècles* (Seyssel: Camp Vallon, 2000), 51-55. Furthermore, Alain Tallon has argued that in early modern France, religious sentiment was central to any sort of French national sentiment. He argues that the civil wars of religion that dominated the second half of the sixteenth century demonstrated that one could not be French and anything but Catholic. The seed of a national myth was planted that France was the Christian nation *par excellence* and, as such, it would dominate Europe and an overseas empire. Effectively, Huguenots became foreigners in their own country and they were banned altogether from Canada which was to be a ‘new’ France. Alain Tallon, *Conscience nationale et sentiment religieux en France au XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2002).

¹⁴ Because hagiographic texts are one of the most common types of documents to have survived from the Middle Ages, Medievalists often mine them for all sorts of purposes that have little to do with the original intentions of their authors. John Kitchen, *Saints’ Lives and the Rhetoric of Gender: Male and Female in Merovingian Hagiography* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 10-11.

¹⁵ Several quantitative studies of the *longue durée* of European sanctity have attempted to track changes and consistencies over time in the cult of the saints. See for example, André Vauchez, *La sainteté en occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge d’après les procès de canonisation et les*

has done so by making itself local. Sanctity may be prescribed at the highest levels of the church and in formal doctrine, but saints' cults tend to have their greatest impact amongst those who knew the individual or witnessed the original performance. Therefore, performances and audiences, in addition to texts, are central to constructions of sanctity. Consequently, I regard the "saint" in the same manner as Allan Greer and Jodi Bilinkoff do in their collection, *Colonial Saints*. The saint is "any figure regarded as saintly or exemplary to a community of believers, not only someone officially canonized by the Catholic Church."¹⁶ Very few people related to Canada were officially recognized during the period under consideration, and of those who were, most had only just begun on the long road to canonization by the end of the nineteenth century. In an effort to clarify terminology, I draw a broad distinction throughout the dissertation between the terms holy, holiness, and holy persons to refer to local people who were not formally canonized, and reserve as much as possible the terms saint, sanctity, and sainthood to refer to those people who were formally recognized by the Vatican in some fashion. In fact, as Aviad Kleinberg has pointed out, canonization was generally only the very last step in a long process of *reconnaissance* that began locally, amongst a community of believers,

documents hagiographiques (Paris; Rome: École française de Rome, 1981); Michael Goodich, *Vita Perfecta: The Ideal of Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1982); and Donald Weinstein and Rudolph Bell, *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom, 1000-1700* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1982). Each of these works employs quantitative analysis to examine features of holy lives in order to identify ideal types and the changes that entered into the broad cult of European sanctity in the periods under study.

¹⁶ Jodi Bilinkoff, "Introduction," in *Colonial Saints: Discovering the Holy in the Americas*, eds. Allan Greer and Jodi Bilinkoff (New York: Routledge, 2003), xiii.

often while the holy person in question was still alive.¹⁷ The vast majority of individuals I discuss were recognized as holy only locally and informally during the time period covered by my research.

Surprisingly little recent academic attention has fallen on the question of holiness in Canada. In the late nineteenth century, clerical historians such as Casgrain were preoccupied with the religious heroes of Canada's past, but the advent of new methodologies in social and economic history in the second half of the twentieth century placed religious history on the back-burner.¹⁸ Yet, as Medievalist John Van Engen points out, "historians of religious culture must take 'religious man' seriously, just as economic historians take 'economic man,' or political historians 'political man,' seriously."¹⁹ Indeed, it seems that in recent years, religious history and questions of holiness have once again begun to attract the interest of some historians along with a few scholars of literature. In the 1970s and early 1980s several Quebec historians developed an interest in the popular religion of New France. Delving into the religious practices of the lower orders of society involved exploring the place of saints and holy persons in the beliefs and popular devotions of inhabitants. Marie-

¹⁷ Aviad Kleinberg, *Prophets in their own Country: Living Saints and the Making of Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 6-8.

¹⁸ The work of Louise Dechêne revolutionized the historiography of New France through the adoption of Annales school methods to study the everyday lives of colonists in Montreal. Considerations of the religious component of everyday life appear only as an after thought, especially in her early work, *Habitants et marchands de Montréal au XVII^e siècle* (Paris: Plon, 1974); and *Le partage des subsistances au Canada sous le régime française* (Québec: Boréal, 1994). Dechêne's students such as Thomas Wien, Catherine Desbarats, and Sylvie Dépatie carried on to study the social and economic lives of colonists and the colony in New France. See amongst their many works, *Vingt ans après Habitants et marchands: Lectures de l'histoire des XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles canadiens*, ed. Sylvie Dépatie, Catherine Desbarats et al. (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998).

¹⁹ John Van Engen, "The Christian Middle Ages as an Historiographical Problem," *American Historical Review* 91 (1986): 544.

Aimée Cliche's offered a quantitative overview of devotions to holy persons made by people in the region of Quebec as a part of her 1988 book, *Les pratiques de dévotion en Nouvelle-France*. Her concern was to establish the relative popularity of specific holy intercessors and the reasons they were invoked. This work laid the groundwork for future studies, including my own, by establishing the importance of local and universal saints in the religious life of New France and the forms devotions and invocations took at the time. It falls short, however, of offering an explanation of the role and functions of saints in society by relying too heavily upon a division between popular and elite religion. By asking if the gap between proscribed and lived practices in New France was greater or less in new France than in France, Cliche creates an a priori binary between the clergy who taught proper practice and the people who were more interested in the material and spiritual comforts offered by religion. Belief in miracles, especially in times of stress, she claims, was the product of a popular mentality while religious officials expressed caution and reserve.²⁰ This is a proposition that needs to be questioned further. To better understand the role and function of saints in society, it is necessary to ask how people, both lay and ecclesiastical, and at all levels of society, regarded holiness and the cults of local saints, interacted with holy persons, and responded to them. Meanwhile, Cliche's commitment to quantitative methods in this regard puts too much strain on sources

²⁰ Marie-Aimée Cliche, *Les pratiques de dévotion en Nouvelle-France: Comportements populaires et encadrement ecclésial dans le gouvernement de Québec* (Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1988), 26. Earlier works on popular religion in New France laid the groundwork for Cliche's study. These included the work of Guy Laperrrière, and Benoît Lacroix. See especially, *Religion populaire, religion de clercs?* eds. Benoît Lacroix et Jean Simard (Québec: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1984).

that are narrative, often impressionistic, and far from comprehensive.²¹ In my work, I regard hagiographic texts, miracle accounts, and references to local holy persons, not as quantifiable indications of popular devotion, but rather as documents that relate a cultural experience and provide some indication of how people at the time tried to make sense of the world they lived in.

In the same year, literary scholar Guy Laflèche published his six-volume edition and commentary on the early hagiographic texts pertaining to the Canadian Jesuit martyrs. This was a very different work from what social historians such as Cliche were producing at the same time, going to an opposite extreme of literary analysis without social contextualization. In his work, Laflèche argued that the martyrs were primarily a mythological creation of late-nineteenth-century ultramontane churchmen who wished to use them as examples and models for the devotional revolution that they were spearheading. He termed this invention of myth, “la farce du Mythe des saints Martyrs Canadiens.”²² Laflèche was soundly criticized by historians for the polemical nature of his work and an unoriginal

²¹ For example, in Cliche’s list of miracles and the holy persons credited with them (p. 30), the rather obscure Récollet lay brother, Frère Didace Pelletier, appears second only to Saint Anne and ahead of the Virgin Mary in number of miracles performed. The twenty-two miracles attributed to Frère Didace, however, come from a single document that contains reports of investigations into his holiness conducted between 1699 and 1717. While this is a very important document, as I discuss in Chapter Six, Frère Didace’s ranking on this list masks the fact that devotion to him was limited geographically to a small region and to relatively few people at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The miracles attributed to the Virgin on this list, eight in number, were likewise drawn from a single source and therefore do not even begin to take into account the multiple interventions attributed to her in a wide variety of sources over the entire history of the colony. Moreover, local holy persons and universal saints of the church fall into very different categories of holiness that can not easily be compared.

²² Guy Laflèche, *Les saints martyrs canadiens* (Laval: Singulier, 1988), 25.

thesis.²³ Nevertheless, his contribution lies in the extensive research behind his book, all of which Laflèche seems to have published. He provides an extensive bibliography of works relating to the Canadian martyrs and a detailed timeline of what he considers to be the development of the myth. What he does not offer, unfortunately, is any sort of critical examination of why the myth was created or the conceptual reality within which it operated. He did, however, steer historiography away from devotional studies and hagiographic-histories of the sort composed, for example, by René Latourelle in the 1990s, to more critical examinations of hagiographic texts.²⁴

Dominique Deslandres has offered a much more satisfying account of Jesuit activity and spirituality in the Americas in her recent monograph, *Croire et faire croire: Les missions françaises au XVII^e siècle*. In this work, she contextualizes the Canadian missions of the Jesuits within the broader activities of the French Jesuits in France and overseas in the seventeenth century; their aims, their methods and training, their models and their spirituality.²⁵ In numerous other articles, she has tackled the socio-religious history of France and New France and also of women in the colonial setting, especially Marie de l'Incarnation. This body of work has drawn considerable

²³ Dominique Deslandres, "Note critique: A quand une ethnohistoire des missionnaires?" *SCHEC: Études d'histoire religieuse* vol. 61 (1995): 120-122. See also Martin Tétreault's review in *Archivaria* 30, (1990): 146. More favourable is Gary Warwick's review in the *Canadian Historical Review* where he points to Laflèche's extensive research that shows how "literature fed on literature, constructing a long-term significance for the varied incidents of 1642-52." *Canadian Historical Review* LXX no. 3 (September 1989): 417-18.

²⁴ By René Latourelle see, *Jean de Brébeuf* (Saint-Laurent, Québec: Bellarmin, 1993); *Pierre-Joseph-Marie Chaumonot: Compagnon des martyrs canadiens* (Saint-Laurent, Québec: Bellarmin, 1998); and *François-Joseph Bressani: Missionnaire et humaniste* (Saint-Laurent, Québec: Bellarmin, 1999).

²⁵ Dominique Deslandres, *Croire et faire croire: Les missions françaises au XVII^e siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2003).

attention to the significance of religion and belief to French colonialism in early Canada but largely by-passes the role played by native peoples in shaping the colonial religious encounter in Canada.²⁶

In the April 2000 volume of the *William and Mary Quarterly*, historian Allan Greer revived the question of the role of the holy in early Canadian society by offering an overview of what he called “colonial hagiography.” In his article, entitled “Colonial Saints,” he explored some of the gender and racial dimensions of the genre through a series of examples that laid the groundwork for his later work on the “Iroquois saint” Catherine/Tekakwitha. He pointed to the hagiographic quality that infuses a great deal of missionary writing from early New France and called on historians dealing with such sources to “take account of the narrative principles and genre conventions at work in these narratives.”²⁷ In his 2005 book, *Mohawk Saint: Catherine Tekakwitha and the Jesuits*, Greer set out to better appreciate

²⁶ See for example, “Signes de Dieu et légitimation de la présence française au Canada: Le ‘trafic’ des reliques ou la construction d’une histoire,” *Les Signes de Dieu aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles*, ed. G. Demerson and B. Dompnier (Clermont Ferrand: Association des Publications de la Faculté de Lettres de Clermont-II, 1993), 145-160; “Les femmes missionnaires de Nouvelle-France,” *La religion de ma mère: Les femmes et la transmission de la foi*, ed. J. Delumeau (Paris: Le Cerf, 1992), 74-84; and most recently her work on the Sulpicians of Montreal, *Les Sulpiciens de Montréal: Une histoire de pouvoir et discrétion, 1657-2007*, ed. Dominique Deslandres et al. (Montréal: Fides, 2007). Her work on Marie de l’Incarnation includes, “Qu’est-ce qui faisait courir Marie Guyart? Essai d’ethnohistoire d’une mystique d’après sa correspondance,” *Laval théologiques et philosophiques* 53, 2 (juin 1997): 285-300; ““Le Diable a beau faire...”, Marie de l’Incarnation, Satan et l’Autre,” *Théologiques* 5, no. 1 (1997): 23-41; and “Altérité, identité et rédemption,” *Femme, mystique et missionnaire: Marie Guyart de l’Incarnation*, ed. Raymond Brodeur (Québec: Presses de l’Université Laval, 2001), 55-68.

²⁷ Allan Greer, “Colonial Saints: Gender, Race, and Hagiography in New France,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd series, vol. LVII, no. 2 (April 2000): 324-325. His work on Tekakwitha includes several published articles and a monograph. “Savage/Saint: The Lives of Kateri Tekakwitha,” in *Vingt ans après Habitants et marchands: Lectures de l’histoire des XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles canadiens*, eds. Sylvie Dépatie, Catherine Desbarats, et al. (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1998), 138-159; “Iroquois Virgin: The Story of Catherine Tekakwitha in New France and New Spain,” in *Colonial Saints: Discovering the Holy in the Americas*, eds. Allan Greer and Jodi Bilinkoff (New York: Routledge, 2003), 235-250.

Catherine/Tekakwitha as a Mohawk Christian by drawing on recent developments in the ethnohistory of the Iroquois in order to contextualize what French audiences saw as Christian holiness while seeking to understand why a specific Jesuit priest, Claude Chauchetière, regarded Tekakwitha as a Christian saint. The book focuses on the devotional practices of Tekakwitha and her sisters at Kahnawake, and Chauchetière's own cultural and personal baggage that prepared him to recognize an aboriginal woman from Canada as a Christian saint. The book focuses more on Tekakwitha the Mohawk woman than Catherine the Christian saint and, therefore, offers a glimpse of contact history through one extensively detailed case study. Greer's concern was to understand the processes of colonialism in early Canada through a deep study of one individual who lived in both Mohawk and European worlds and the priest whose preconceptions about 'savagery' and Indians she changed.²⁸

In May of 2000, Greer, along with Jodi Bilinkoff, an historian of Catholicism in Spain and New Spain, hosted a conference at the University of Toronto for scholars working on sanctity and hagiography in the new world. The papers presented at this conference (published in 2003) offer a generous overview of the state of scholarship in the field relating to the French, Spanish, and English colonial empires. Of particular note in this collection is Dominique Deslandres's overview of

²⁸ Allan Greer, *Mohawk Saint: Catherine Tekakwitha and the Jesuits* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2005). Tekakwitha is her Mohawk name, while Catherine was the Christian name given her at her baptism. As Greer points out, the name Kateri Tekakwitha, as she is generally known, represents an attempt by Anglo-American Catholics at the end of the nineteenth century to create an apparently Mohawk version of her name. For this reason, Greer generally avoids the use of this later invention of her name. I have chosen to refer to her as Catherine/Tekakwitha in order to reflect the dual nature of her name. I also follow this pattern for the names of other converts.

female holiness in New France.²⁹ In this article, Deslandres begins to explore the relationship between holy persons and their audience by focusing on the images that women such as Marie de l'Incarnation, Catherine de Saint-Augustin, and Jeanne Le Ber created for themselves. In this dissertation, I probe more deeply into this relationship to better understand what medievalist Nancy Caciola described as the performative aspect of sanctity – an embodied act shaped by the saint herself, historical contingency, and community audience.³⁰ Studies of sanctity often focus exclusively on text and ignore the performative contexts within which sanctity actually occurred historically where audiences interacted with local saints-in-becoming. I have, therefore, focused on performance as a central conceptual category. I ask, what was the relationship between performers, witnesses, and the texts that described the performance for a broad audience? How was the performance of sanctity an act of communication between performer and audience and what was communicated in these actions? Who constituted the audience for holy performances in Canada, and what was the relationship between the holy person and his or her audience?

Holiness was performed live before real audiences, but entered into cultural knowledge and authoritative archives through texts. The performance of holiness can be considered a type of ritual that brought about a transformation in the social as well as metaphysical status of the individual from someone who lived in this world to someone who had one foot (at least) in the next. In a 2001 article, historian Ollivier

²⁹ Dominique Deslandres, "In the Shadow of the Cloister: Representations of Female Holiness in New France," *Colonial Saints: Discovering the Holy in the Americas*, eds. Allan Greer and Jodi Bilinkoff (New York: Routledge, 2003), 129-153.

³⁰ Nancy Caciola, "Through a Glass, Darkly: Recent Work on Sanctity and Society. A Review Article," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 38, 2 (April 1996): 301-309.

Hubert called for a re-examination of religious rituals and rites as historical objects that might bridge the gaps between history and anthropology and between social, religious, and cultural history. The Catholic rite in particular, he pointed out, is both fixed in text (a fact often overlooked by anthropologists and historians of ‘popular’ religion), and practiced in society (a fact often overlooked by those interested in ideology and intellectual history). Ritual, he writes, “plonge au cœur de l’humanité sous le double aspect, toujours conflictuel, de la transcendance et de la socialisation.”³¹ Through a cultural and social history of holiness that pays attention to religiosity and focuses on performance and inscription of performances, I bring representations and practices into common view to try to understand the function played in society by holy persons, and how holiness was shaped by performers and audiences, and by the texts that recorded them.

Performance theorist Diana Taylor argues that “performances function as vital acts of transfer, transmitting social knowledge, memory and a sense of identity through reiterated...behavior.”³² Performance is, essentially, a form of

³¹ Ollivier Hubert, “Construire le rite comme un objet historique: Pour un usage pragmatique de l’anthropologie en histoire religieuse du Québec,” *SCHEC, Études d’histoire religieuse* 67 (2001): 90. He has put this approach into practice in other studies. See “Ritual Performance and Parish Sociability: French-Canadian Catholic Families at Mass from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century,” in *Households of Faith: Family, Gender and Community in Canada, 1760-1969*, ed. Nancy Christie (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2002), 37-76; and most notably in his book *Sur la terre comme au ciel: La gestion des rites par l’Église catholique du Québec (fin XVII^e – mi-XIX^e siècle)* (Québec: Les Presses de l’Université Laval, 2000).

³² Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 2-3. Taylor argues that performance is a system for learning, storing and transmitting knowledge that carries a decisive social function and can, therefore, be studied as a repository of history. Two other recent studies of colonialism in the Americas have adopted the concept of performance and performativity as analytical tools. In *Ceremonies of Possession*, Patricia Seed seeks to understand the ways European nations performed their claims to lands in the Americas. She argues that for the French, legitimacy was created through quasi-liturgical ceremonies, gestures and processions. Her study deals primarily with the rhetorical and hoped-for outcomes of these

communication. But, as performances are inscribed into text and entered into authoritative archives, meanings are attached that may not have been present in the original embodied act. I am, therefore, compelled to ask, what meanings were present in the original performance of holiness? How did the context of the performance shape the meaning of the action, and how were those messages reinscribed in text? Furthermore, historians Gabrielle Spiegel and Brian Stock have argued that text and language are fundamental shapers of social groups and social realities. Spiegel argues that texts are products of the social world as well as constructive of it and so are related to their sites of articulation as social phenomena. It is this intermingling of objective reality and perception in discourse that Brian Stock calls ‘social reality’ and Gabrielle Spiegel terms the ‘social logic of the text.’³³ By engaging in an in-depth study of the texts that were constitutive of select holy reputations, I examine how context and performance shaped the hagiographic text, and how the texts themselves shaped understandings of performances and faith communities-in-formation.

Both Spiegel and Stock argue that interpreters (for example, Henri-Raymond Casgrain) make the past useful through writing, reading, and explaining texts. Stock,

ceremonies rather than how audiences interpreted or made use of the knowledge they transmitted. The performances themselves are often reduced to single events representing reified national traits. Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe’s Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 41-68. Joseph Roach argues in *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance*, that performance enacts surrogation, or the overwriting of one culture upon another, and is a distinctly European and colonial tactic of centering and creating authoritative knowledge. *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 5-25.

³³ Gabrielle Spiegel, “History, Historicism and the Social Logic of the Text,” in *The Past as Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 9. Brian Stock, *Listening for the Text: On the Uses of the Past* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 87. Also by Gabrielle Spiegel see, *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

in particular, argues that micro-societies, what he calls “textual communities,” form around common understanding of a particular written or orally transmitted tradition. This is an idea that scholars such as Susanna Elm and Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker have advanced as a possibly fruitful avenue for understanding the role and function of saints’ lives and hagiography in local societies. If we accept that hagiographic discourse is shaped by communities, it becomes necessary to ask, as Mulder-Bakker proposes, how the faithful at all social levels created a saint who fulfilled the religious needs and wishes of the community and also fit the traditions of the church. Furthermore, how was the initial recognition of a given performance of sanctity expanded into regional, and in some cases, universal cults in subsequent decades and centuries?³⁴ These are questions that underscore the entire dissertation. Throughout, I ask if and how textual communities formed around common understandings of traditions of holiness and hagiographic narratives in Canada, and what these traditions looked like, in order to test the relevance of Stock’s theory.

Although historians and scholars of literature working on Canada have made a start investigating local sanctity and the texts that describe it, the vast majority of work on saints, holiness, and hagiography is still produced by medievalists and there remains, even in Canadian historiography, a tendency to regard saints and hagiography as pejoratively “medieval.”³⁵ Hippolyte Delahaye’s landmark book, *The*

³⁴ Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker, “The Invention of Saintliness: Texts and Contexts,” in *The Invention of Saintliness*, ed. Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker (London: Routledge, 2002), 17-18. Susanna Elm also proposed the examination of the role of “textual personas” in the creation of community in the introduction to the 1998 retrospective on Peter Brown’s “holy man” article published in the *Journal of Early Christian Studies* vol. 6, no. 3 (Fall 1998): 349.

³⁵ For example, Serge Gagnon described the willingness of nineteenth-century Quebec hagiographers to attribute all causal links to God as a “mentalité médiévale.” *Québec et ses*

Legend of the Saints, published in 1907 transformed hagiography into a subject of academic inquiry.³⁶ Delehaye was a member of the Bollandists, a group of Belgian Jesuits who, from the early-seventeenth century to the present, have been cataloguing the corpus of European hagiography, and publishing the results in their vast *Acta Sanctorum*. Recently, a number of prominent works from the field of medieval studies have pushed forward our understanding of the cult of the saints and developed new angles of investigation. Studies that focus on gender and holiness have asked how female experiences of sanctity and mysticism differed from male experiences and what practices considered traditionally female actually meant to their practitioners.³⁷ Historians of the late antique and early medieval periods have been particularly interested in questions of asceticism and its social and cultural function in society. The questions and theories scholars such as Peter Brown, Elizabeth Clark, and Richard Valantasis have posed concerning the social function of asceticism and ascetics, along with questions concerning discourses of gender in hagiography have influenced my own thinking about the importance of holy people in the Canadian

historiens de 1840 à 1920: La Nouvelle-France de Garneau à Groulx (Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1978), 52.

³⁶ Hippolyte Delehaye, *The legends of the Saints*, trans. by Donald Attwater (New York: Fordham University Press, 1962). On the influence of Delehaye's work on the current study of hagiography see the introduction to John Kitchen's, *Saints' Lives and the Rhetoric of Gender*, 5-10.

³⁷ Caroline Walker Bynum's work on women and food in the Middle Ages is probably the best example of this sort of study. *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987). Catherine M. Mooney's collection, *Gendered Voices: Medieval Saints and their Interpreters* (Philadelphia, Pa: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999) and the 2002 collection *Gender and Holiness: Men, Women and Saints in late Medieval Europe*, edited by Samantha J.E. Riches and Sarah Salih (London: Routledge, 2002), have added to knowledge about the gender qualities of sanctity. Grace Jantzen's work on mysticism and its connection to discourses of power has been particularly influential on my own thinking about female mystics such as Marie de l'Incarnation and Catherine de Saint-Augustin. *Power, Gender, and Christian Mysticism* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

past and the relationship between the performance of holiness and its inscription into authoritative, generally male-authored texts.³⁸ Moreover, questions of power arise when one group of people in society are responsible for framing the cultural performances and interpreting the rituals of others. In Canada this happened not only in cases where male authors composed the Lives of female holy persons, but also in instances where aboriginal rituals, understandings, and motivations were surrogated by Christian discourses that fixed the meaning of events.³⁹ Therefore, questions pertaining to understandings of diffuse power in the Foucauldian sense run through my examination of the performances, rituals, and texts of holiness.

Rather than study sanctity in Canada as a social fact – as a fully formed category – I wish to better understand holy-persons-in-information and the

³⁸ Peter Brown began to seriously consider the social function of asceticism in his highly influential 1971 article “The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity,” *Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971): 80-101. He argued that the holy man lived in ‘splendid isolation’ from society which allowed him to act as a patron before God for his community. In later articles Brown modified his interpretation to offer a vision of the role of the holy man in the late antique east as someone who was a part of local society. See “The Saint as Exemplar in Late Antiquity,” *Representations* no. 2 (Spring 1983): 1-25, and “Arbiters of the Holy: The Christian Holy Man in Late Antiquity,” in *Authority and the Sacred: Aspects of the Christianization of the Roman World* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 57-78. In 1998, the *Journal of Early Christian Studies* published a retrospective on Brown’s “Holy Man” article. In it, Elizabeth Clark demonstrated how there was no female equivalent to the Holy man because female saints were shaped by male authoritative texts, and argued against “rescue history” that attempts to redeem “real” women from male-authored texts. “Holy Women, Holy Words: Early Christian Women, Social History and the Linguistic Turn,” *Journal of Early Christian Studies* vol. 6, no. 3 (Fall 1998): 413-430. Theorists Richard Valantasis and Gavin Flood have argued that asceticism is primarily a public and social performance meant to shape the societies in which it is performed. R. Valantasis, “A Theory of the Social Function of Asceticism,” *Asceticism*, Ed. Vincent L. Wimbush and Richard Valantasis (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 544-552; and Gavin Flood, *The Ascetic Self: Subjectivity, Memory and Tradition* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

³⁹ Throughout the dissertation I use ‘Life’ to refer to the *vita* of a saint. I use ‘saint’s life’ and sacred biography virtually interchangeably. I also use hagiography to refer to the biography of a saint, but hagiographic discourse refers to any accounts pertaining to holy persons, saints or sanctity that appear within any literary genre. Following Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker, I argue that hagiography is primarily a discourse that pertains to the holy rather than a genre of literature. “The Invention of Saintliness,” 13.

communities that supported them and responded to them. This dissertation is about becoming holy, both in live performances of holiness and in its recognition in society. Holiness is understood as something akin to ritual, or, at least, the result of a ritual process. Like a ritual that changes participants' social statuses, holiness develops slowly, over the course of a lifetime, even if hagiographic literature often makes it appear as though the subject were always a saint. My 'object' of study, to borrow Greg Denning's phrase, is, therefore, "not only change, but changing too."⁴⁰ In Chapter Two, I trace the broad contexts of sanctity and hagiography in Canada. Before diving into an examination of specific cases of holiness that takes up the majority of the dissertation, I first lay out a broad overview of the characteristics of local sanctity and indicate some larger categories for analysis. My intention is to ground the reader in the Canadian cult of the saints and the types of sources I have examined over the course of this study, while providing some basic points of reference that can be compared and contrasted with subsequent findings about local saints and their audiences.

Chapters Three and Four focus on the Jesuit martyrs of Canada in the 1640s and 1650s. In Chapter Three I ask how several Jesuit priests who died while on mission in Canada in the 1640s came to be regarded as martyrs by their Jesuit brethren and how their reputations as martyrs were constructed by other Jesuit observers and witnesses, and in Jesuit writings from the period. In an effort to somewhat decentre the Jesuit experience in this narrative, I focus on Aboriginal contributions to the ritual contexts in which these priests died and how these rituals shaped efforts to transform them simultaneously into victims and victors and

⁴⁰ Greg Denning, *Mr. Bligh's Bad Language: Passion, Power and Theatre on the Bounty* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 6.

aboriginal persons into oppressors and resisters. In Chapter Four, I ask what impact the martyrs had in the colony. Who constituted their audience? How were they received and what function did they fulfill in local society? I also turn the historical lens on the Jesuits themselves as observers of holiness to try to better understand how they grappled not only with performances of holiness amongst members of their own order (which they were prepared to deal with and even expected), but also with examples of Christian holiness they observed in Aboriginal converts.

In Chapters Five and Six, I turn away from the Jesuit missions to focus on holiness within the settled French community of New France. Because New France was so sparsely populated in the seventeenth century, and because native peoples were never far away, physically and mentally, from French settlers, there can be no clear line drawn between missions and settled European space. Yet, the examples I discuss in these chapters are distinguished by the fact that the primary witnesses of the lived performance were French and not Aboriginal. In Chapter Five, I ask what meanings the ascetic behaviour of would-be saints in New France society held for French audiences and writers of hagiographic texts. I focus on the two most detailed works of hagiography produced about colonial figures; Claude Martin's *Life of Marie de l'Incarnation* and Paul Ragueneau's *Life of the Hôtel Dieu de Québec sister Catherine de Saint-Augustin*. The latter, especially, performed an extraordinary form of mystic piety behind the walls of the Hôtel Dieu and gained the admiration and respect of her confessor Paul Ragueneau who wrote a long and detailed account of her life and mystical experiences soon after she died in 1668. I ask what impact and meaning she had for the local religious community. How did her *Life* become public

when the performance itself took place in the private space of the Hôtel Dieu convent?

In Chapter Six, my interest is the miraculous and the social function of miracles in local communities. I examine the case of Frère Didace Pelletier, a lay member of the Récollets who died with a reputation for holiness in 1699 and became known as a miracle worker in the region of Trois Rivières. Documents produced by a diocesan committee of investigation into miracles attributed to his intercession from 1699 to 1717 offer a rare glimpse into the ritual of miracles and the role of miracle workers in local society, and help to answer questions concerning the formation of textual and faith communities at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

In Chapter Seven I am concerned with some thematic issues of the cult of the saints in eighteenth-century New France. Specifically, I ask how the public and private roles of local saints might have been different. I employ gender as a significant category of analysis to better understanding the social roles played by the holy. Taking the observations of several prominent witnesses from the time who believed that the religious quality of New France changed significantly in the eighteenth century from the early days of settlement as a point of departure, I ask how religious enthusiasm and belief communities were changing in the eighteenth century. I employ the cult of the saints as a barometer to gauge indications of religious change in order to better understand its causes, degree, and impact on the faith community.

Chapter Seven brings the story of the saints in Canada through a period of significant political and social change; the conquest of Canada by the English in 1760

and the arrival of a significant English Protestant population at the end of the century. In Chapter Eight, I examine how the cult of the saints developed through these significant events and bring my story to a conclusion at the point where ecclesiastical officials in the Quebec church began to initiate canonization causes for a number of the religious heroes of the colonial church at the end of the nineteenth century. In this chapter, I offer a number of broad observations about the connections between hagiography and understandings of history in ultramontane Quebec, and between the cult of the saints and the devotional revolution that began after 1840. This section is more suggestive than conclusive, offering a number of points for further investigation in a topic area that could easily become a dissertation (or several) of its own. It was at the end of the nineteenth century that churchmen joined with religious orders and pious laymen to advance the causes of local holy persons for official canonization. The resulting collections of documents from these processes and the interviews conducted with witnesses in support of canonization claims are rich resources that offer a glimpse of how historians of French Canada developed, regarded, and used holiness and sanctity at the end of the nineteenth century.

Holy persons and holiness as a cultural category are generally poorly understood in the historiography of early Canada. Most often when the religious heroes of early Canada have been the subjects of historical enquiry, it has been for the social roles they filled as nurses, teachers, and missionaries. Meanwhile, the extensive biographies composed by ultramontane churchmen at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century presented them only according to the dictates of hagiographic expectations and structure and with the

assumption that the religious heroes of New France were always already saints. Between these two poles lie significant unanswered questions about how local holy persons performed their holiness, the traditions to which they subscribed, and the ways their holiness entered into authoritative text and resonated with audiences. In short, there remain important questions about how the holy came to be so regarded in performance, text, and the spaces in between. The abundance of holy persons and the consistency with which they appear across time in the history of Canada, and especially French Canada, points to the social and cultural importance of these individuals and the religious models they embodied. In my dissertation I have taken up the task of better understanding how holy persons became holy in New France, the performative and communicative aspects of holiness, the role played by audiences in shaping holiness, and, finally, how holiness also shaped audiences and responded to the changing demands of communities over time.

Chapter I

Saints and Holy Persons in Canada

Le grand intérêt de la vie des Saints se trouve surtout dans les luttes de la nature et de la grâce, et c'est un des plus beaux spectacles que l'on puisse contempler.

-Adolphe-Basile Routhier¹

The cults of local holy persons in Canada have had a wide chronological, geographical, and ethnic scope. Broadly speaking the cult of the saints has followed European exploration and settlement from east to west, and over time from the early seventeenth century to the present. In terms of numbers and pre-eminence, individuals of French descent are far and away the dominant group represented in the cult throughout the period under study. In the early days of New France, these were the missionaries and religious men and women who came to settle the country and convert the native population. Jesuit fathers killed on mission such as Isaac Jogues (d. 1646) and Jean de Brébeuf (d. 1649) were considered martyrs almost as soon as reports of their deaths reached the French settlements. Religious women such as Marie de l'Incarnation (1599-1672) and Catherine de Saint-Augustin (1632-1668) who dedicated their lives to teaching the faith and nursing the ill in Canada were considered holy after they died as much for what they had done for the colony, as for their spiritual and mystical exploits often conducted privately and in contemplation. Canada, however, appears to have been relatively unique in its nurturing of holy lives. Other regions of French colonization in the Americas such as

¹ Adolphe-Basile Routhier in the preface to Berthe Jetté, *Vie de la vénérable mère d'Youville; fondatrice des Soeurs de la Charité de Montréal, suivie d'un historique de son institut* (Montréal: Cadieux & Derome, 1900), xiv.

Louisiana and Ile Royale, generally did not produce the sorts of holy persons we find in Canada.²

After the demise of the French Empire in America, French Canadians continued to recognize the holy in their midst. As populations moved south, west and north, Francophone and Catholic ecclesiastical structures were established across the continent. An apostolic vicariate was founded in St. Boniface (Winnipeg) in 1847 and its first bishop, Mgr Alexandre Taché (1823-1894), died with a reputation for holiness.³ Other apostolic vicariates and bishoprics were established in Saint Albert (1871) and in the Pacific Northwest (Victoria, 1846 and Vancouver, 1863) where a new wave of missionaries also earned reputations for holiness.

By the late nineteenth century the church in the rest of Canada –outside Quebec and the French Canadian administrative hierarchy that is – also began to recognize a few local holy persons and even to venerate them. In the west, the causes of French Canadian missionaries such as Vital Grandin (1829-1902), bishop of Saint Albert near Edmonton, were put forward for official consideration by their Anglophone successors.⁴ Yet no official cause has yet been introduced, to my

² Little work has in fact been done on the question of religious persons in other regions of French settlement. Recently Emily Clark's study of the Ursulines in New Orleans has shown that the nuns who arrived there from France in 1727 did so at a time when public enthusiasm for their missionary vocation had waned, and faced a combination of indifference and outright hostility. *Masterless Mistresses: The New Orleans Ursulines and the Development of a New World Society, 1727-1834* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 33, 42.

³ Sacred biographies of Taché include, P. Benoît. *Vie de Mgr. Taché* (Montréal: Beauchemin, 1904); and J.-M.-J. Bouillat, *Mgr. Taché, archevêque de Saint-Boniface (Canada), 1823-1894* (Paris: E. Petithenry, 1907). See Jean Hamelin, "Taché, Alexandre-Antoine," *DCB*.

⁴ Investigations into Grandin's sanctity began in 1929 under Bishop Henry Joseph O'Leary (1920-1938), although the process and resulting *positio* took place in French. *Beatificationis et Canonizationis servi Dei Vitalis Justini Grandin Epi Sancti Alberti e congregatione oblatorum M. Immaculatae, Positio Super Introductione Causae* (Rome: 1936), 370 in Archives Deschatellets, Oblats de Marie-Imaculée, Université Saint-Paul, Ottawa. On the occasion of the 100th anniversary of Grandin's death, the Archbishop of Edmonton, Thomas Collins, led a pilgrimage to his crypt and prayed at his tomb. Renato Gandia, "Bishop Grandin Honoured 100 Years After his Death," *Western Catholic Reporter*, June 10, 2002.

knowledge, for an Anglophone member of the Canadian Catholic hierarchy. The causes of several members of the non-francophone church have, however, recently been undertaken. These Servants of God include Catherine de Hueck Doherty (1896-1985), the foundress of Madonna House in Pembroke Ontario, Rose Prince (1915-1949), a native woman from British Columbia noted for her pious life, and Pauline Archer-Vanier (1898-1991), wife of former Governor-General, Georges Vanier (1888-1967) who likewise is a candidate for beatification.⁵

Several individuals considered holy have their origins in various minority ethnic communities. As the result of the restructuring of the administrative functions of the church along ethnic and linguistic lines at the beginning of the twentieth century, Nikita Budka (1877-1949) became the first bishop of Ukrainian Catholics in Canada in 1912 based in Winnipeg. In 1927, he was forced to resign his charge as a result of illness and he returned to the Ukraine where he was arrested by Soviet authorities in 1928. He died in 1949 in a Soviet concentration camp and was beatified as a martyr in 2001.⁶ Budka, along with his fellow Ukrainian Basil Velichkovsky, who died in Winnipeg in 1973 as a result of a slow acting poison administered in a Soviet camp, are claimed as martyrs by the church in Winnipeg. Antoine Kowakzyk, a Polish-born Oblate missionary in Edmonton, was recognized as holy following his death in 1947.⁷ Most recently a cause was introduced for Sister Carmelina Tarantino, an Italian immigrant who spent twenty-seven years in a

⁵ A cause for Catherine de Hueck Doherty was opened by the Bishop of Pembroke in 1996. In 1951, two years after her death, Rose Prince's body was exhumed and found to be uncorrupted. A pilgrimage takes place to her grave site every July where miracles have been reported. Pauline Archer-Vanier (1898-1991) and her husband Georges Vanier (1888-1967), both died with reputations of holiness, while their son, Jean Vanier, although still living, is widely spoken of as a strong candidate for sainthood.

⁶ Budka's auxiliary bishop Joseph Bala wrote a Ukrainian Language biography of the Servant of God in 1952. *Pershyi ukrains'kyi epyskop Kanady Kyr Nykyta Budka*, Winnipeg: Tsentralia ukrainsiv katolykiv Manitoby (Ukrainian Catholic Council of Canada), 1952.

⁷ Paul-Émile Breton, *Forgeron de Dieu* (Edmonton: Éditions de l'Ermitage, 1953).

Toronto hospital bed from 1965 to her death in 1992, dispensing spiritual advice and comfort to the thousands who came to visit her. An investigation into her sanctity was begun by the Archbishop of Toronto in 2007.⁸

Examples of Catholic holiness, therefore, have been a part of the Canadian historical landscape from the very beginning of European settlement, when the Canada known today was far from inevitable. History as an academic discipline is generally organized nationally, geographically and linearly. Everything that ‘happened’ within the confined space of the territorial nation is regarded as precursor to the present status quo. The difficulty with this sort of method often, however, is that it begins at the end and works backwards, to discover the “origins” of a present that is regarded as natural and inevitable. Modern Canada, however, is a far cry from the sorts of social and political organizations, and human populations that made their homes in north eastern North America three hundred or even one hundred years ago. As Dale Miquelon points out,

There is a temptation, one arising from our preoccupation with the present-day Canada of continental scope and multicultural population, to label these peoples (aboriginal peoples, early French settlers) the “first Canadians” and their history “Canadian history.” But this is an approach that would have baffled them.⁹

Miquelon argues that a better approach is to posit multiple Canadas, ones which involved very different organizational structures with loosely defined time periods. Jean de Brébeuf and Vital Grandin, for example, lived in vastly differing worlds and were considered saints for very different reasons. The former is considered a martyr while the latter earned his reputation for long and dedicated service to a mixed European and Aboriginal population in the northwest. Yet, as

⁸ Caitlin Badger, “Sainthood cause started for Canadian nun ‘on the cross with a smile,’” *The Catholic Register*, July 20, 2007. Leslie Scrivener, “Our First Toronto Saint?” *The Toronto Star*, August 12, 2007.

⁹ Dale Miquelon, *The First Canada to 1791* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1994), 2.

missionaries in North America they would likely also have found much in common had they had the opportunity to speak to one another. Both combined the ideals of religious mission, developed within post-tridentine and ultramontane devotional revolutions respectively, with the mundane needs of day-to-day survival in isolated outposts of European Christianity.¹⁰ The sanctity each performed reflected the times in which they lived and the audiences whose expectations they strove to meet, but also a deep tradition of holiness that was Catholic and western. Although it may often appear to adhere strictly to generic rules and formulations, the cult of the saints is contingent upon local communities and local memory, as well as pan-Catholic dogma, theology, and canon law. A local saint in seventeenth-century Quebec is not interchangeable with someone recognized as holy in late-nineteenth-century Alberta, but there are, nevertheless, many points of commonality attributable to their participation in the communion of saints. In this chapter, I take a broad overview of the cult of the saints and its documentary sources in order to come to some general conclusions about its nature, structures, and the ways in which it changed over time within changing Canadas. My purpose is to lay the ground work for the main focus of the dissertation. By way of an entry point into the cult of the saints, I look back from the present to gain a broad perspective and frame the case studies and in-depth analysis that will follow.

¹⁰ For example, Brébeuf's *Relation* of 1636 from the Huron mission describes the successful conversions, baptisms, and happy deaths achieved in that year along with the effects of a drought that struck the Huron country, fears of Iroquois invasions, descriptions of Huron customs and ways of life, and the dangers and also minor annoyances of the missionary life in New France. Reuben Gold Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* vol. 10 (Cleveland: Burrows Bros. 1896-1901). Likewise, Vital Grandin's journals mix the mundane activities of everyday life such as sweeping the chimneys of the mission to avoid fires, with descriptions of profound hardships, disappointments, and hard-won spiritual victories. *The Diaries of Bishop Vital Grandin*, ed. and trans. Alan D. Ridge (Edmonton: The Historical Society of Alberta, 1989).

The Scenario of Holiness

As a result of similarities in theme, structure, and storyline, hagiographic discourse often seems reluctant to give much of a place to individuality. Rather, narratives describing the lives of saints often read as though their authors were more concerned with demonstrating conformity to dominant archetypes.¹¹ Literary scholar Thomas Heffernan shows how, from the earliest days of the church, the cult of the saints was built around the veneration of a common type. Because holiness is ultimately rooted in the infinite word of God, sanctity is repeatable and universal despite the individuality of the specific performer. In fact, it is a basic characteristic of the cult that saints do more or less the same sorts of things and behave in more or less the same sorts of ways. In this sense, the hagiographic model provides a scenario and a veritable thesaurus of established and approved actions within which specific performances take place.¹²

The hagiography shows how an individual participated in the idea of holiness that unites all saints with each other and ultimately with God through Jesus and gives those individuals meaning as cultural and religious agents. Theologically speaking, the first Christian saint was Jesus and the first hagiographic texts are the Gospels. The saints are those who sit next to God in heaven, only a small number of whom are officially recognized and venerated by the Catholic Church. Each performance of sanctity is, on some level, an *imitatio Christi* and the Life reflects the dual ontology of the saint as someone who lived half in this world and half in the next. Not only do saints partake in the divine, but each is also related to all the others as members of

¹¹ Éric Suire, *La sainteté française de la Réforme catholique (XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles): D'après les textes hagiographiques et les procès de canonisation* (Bordeaux: Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux, 2001), 131.

¹² Thomas Heffernan, *Sacred Biography: Saints and their Biographers in the Middle Ages* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 6.

the *communio sanctorum*.¹³ For Gregory of Tours (c. 538 – c. 594), for example, even the laws of Latin grammar could be bent to the laws of divinity in order to reflect the communal life of saints. He entitled his sixth-century collection of saints lives *The Book of the Life of the Fathers* (*Liber Vitae Patrum*) because, “although there is a diversity of merit and virtue, in the world one life nourishes all bodies (of saints).”¹⁴ In other words, all saints participate in the same basic category of sainthood that emanates from God. As a result, the corpus of hagiographic writing expresses certain biographical patterns beholden to models established by selected *ur* texts such as Athanasius’ *Life of St. Anthony of Egypt* (c. 360) and Sulpicius Severus’ *Life of Saint Martin of Tours* (397), or, for the female model, the *Passions of SS. Perpetua and Felicitas* (3rd century). The intended result is not to diminish the personality of the saint, indeed, each performance is extraordinary within a particular historical and social context, but rather to situate the saint within the eternal and render the performance of sanctity recognizable to all believers. It was, therefore, not the job of the hagiographer to express only the individual qualities that made this or that saint great, but also to show how the individual fit the pattern of those chosen previously by God to be his representatives on earth. Hagiography has this dual aspect of being both historical and metaphysical.¹⁵

In the early church, sanctity was manifested most clearly in the Christians who were killed during the Roman persecutions of the second and third centuries. Martyrdom was considered the primary and most certain road to sanctity. But with the end of the persecutions and the legalization of Christianity new categories of saints were created. The hermits and anchorites who retreated to the deserts on the

¹³ *Ibid.*, 129-133.

¹⁴ Gregory of Tours, *Liber vita partum*, quoted in Heffernan, *Sacred Biography*, 7.

¹⁵ Heffernan, *Sacred Biography*, 62.

fringes of the eastern empire earned reputations for holiness during their lifetimes as a result of the extremes of their ascetic practices. In the western empire, the bishops, kings, and queens who brought the faith to the pagans of France, Britain, and Germany were recognized as holy. The broad categories of sainthood changed many times, while specific cases were identified by local faith communities. But the mysterious quality of holiness that defines sanctity infused them all. By the high Middle Ages and into the early modern period, as the formal recognition of saints was increasingly centralized at the Holy See, the practice of heroic Christian virtue became the primary criterion of sanctity and only those formally recognized by the pope were considered officially saints. As a formal process of investigation and canonization developed following the Council of Trent, virtue and miracle working were enshrined in canon law as requirements for sainthood.

Combined with the formal demands of hagiography, the extensive tradition of Christian sanctity bore down upon the Canadian cult along with the more immediate concerns of the Counter-Reformation, and later, of ultramontanist. The reformation of Christianity in the middle of the last millennium was a long and drawn out process that began in the late middle ages and resulted, in the sixteenth century, in the split of the European Christian Church between Catholics who remained loyal to Rome and Protestants who did not.¹⁶ The cult of saints was a special target of Protestant reformers who saw in it idolatrous tendencies and fanciful myth-making. Protestants held that the theology of sainthood was an abuse that had crept into the faith in the fourth and fifth centuries, and threatened the

¹⁶ Jean Delumeau, *Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire: A New View of the Counter-Reformation* (London: Burns and Oates, 1977), 1. More recently Brad Gregory has argued that both Protestant and Catholic ideas of martyrdom and holiness in the sixteenth century emerged out of a common late medieval ethos of martyrdom. Brad Gregory, *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999), 47.

monotheism of Christianity. In rejecting the cult of the saints, Protestants argued that they were returning to the original faith, the faith of the apostles, the Gospels, and of Christ. Article XXI of the Protestant Confession of Augsburg (1530), perhaps the most significant early statement of Lutheranism and the Protestant reform, reads,

Of the Worship of Saints they (the Catholics) teach that the memory of saints may be set before us, that we may follow their faith and good works, according to our calling, as the Emperor may follow the example of David in making war to drive away the Turk from his country; For both are kings. But the Scripture teaches not the invocation of saints or to ask help of saints, since it sets before us the one Christ as the Mediator, Propitiation, High Priest, and Intercessor. He is to be prayed to, and has promised that He will hear our prayer; and this worship He approves above all, to wit, that in all afflictions He be called upon, 1 John 2, 1: If any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, etc.¹⁷

For Philip Melanchthon, German theologian and primary author of the Confession, it was a “memory of saints” that the Roman church placed before believers and not the saints themselves as historical actors. The original definition of a saint, however, and the one embraced by Protestants, included anyone who believed in Christ and was saved, and not only the select few, the exceptional holy authenticated by Catholic functionaries. Rome offered believers only select saints from the past as didactic models of faith and good works, and urged the faithful to pray to them for favours thus creating yet another barrier, argued the reformers, between the individual believer and Christ. Protestant critics were sceptical about the miraculous content of Saints’ Lives, while their own accounts of Reformation martyrs were much more sober, historical, and less ‘hagiographic’ in style and content.¹⁸ The so-designated “saints” may have been good people, and may even be

¹⁷ Philip Melanchthon, “Of the Worship of Saints in the Augsburg Confession of Faith, 1530.” in *Triglott Concordia: The Symbolical Books of the Ev. Lutheran Church*, trans. and ed. F. Bente and W.H.T. Dau (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing, 1921): Article XXI. The Augsburg Confession was presented by a number of German Princes to the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V on 25 June 1530.

¹⁸ Brad Gregory, *Salvation at Stake*, 17-18.

in heaven, but they were not to be prayed to or venerated. For Protestants, the Bible was truth and history, while hagiography offered only the imperfect memories of men.

Protestant criticisms forced the Church of Rome to reform its own practices and doctrine. But in doing so, Rome also reinforced the place of the saints in the Catholic faith. The cult of the saints was a primary point of access for the laity into Catholic spirituality and one of the main ways that people experienced faith and interacted with the divine.¹⁹ The Council of Trent, convened by Pope Paul III in 1545 to reform Catholicism, therefore, positively affirmed the cult of the saints and emphasized the continuity of Christian history while branding Protestants as dangerous innovators. The Bible, as clarified by centuries of tradition and exegesis, and not the Bible alone, was affirmed as the basis of faith.

Although it affirmed the cult of the saints, the Council was acutely aware of the need for reform and the implementation of stricter controls over it to ensure that abuses were eliminated, and the proliferation of unsanctioned cults controlled. Reformers undertook to centralize the canonization process and rationalize the writing of hagiography. The legendary quality of high medieval hagiography fell out of fashion, at the institutional level at least, and was replaced by an emphasis on historicity and the authenticity guaranteed by credible eye-witnesses and meticulous official investigations. The Council sought to impose greater institutional control, especially over women, by decreeing that those who wished to live a holy life had to do so within sanctioned communities, and the priesthood. The conclusions of Trent regarding the cult of the saints were proclaimed in a Bull of 1564. Bishops and priests, it said, should teach the faithful,

... that the saints, reigning together with Christ, offer their prayers to God for people; that it is a good and beneficial thing to invoke them

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 313.

and have recourse to their prayers and helpful assistance to obtain blessings from God through his son our lord Jesus Christ, who is our sole redeemer and saviour. [...] And they should teach that the holy bodies of the blessed martyrs and others who live with Christ, in that they were living members of Christ and a temple of the holy Spirit (1 Cor 3, 16; 6, 15, 19), due to be raised by him to eternal and glorified life, are to be venerated by the faithful, and that through them many blessings are given to us by God. [...] All superstition must be removed from invocation of the saints, veneration of relics and use of sacred images; all aiming at base profit must be eliminated; all sensual appeal must be avoided... and people are not to abuse the celebration of the saints and visits to their relics for the purpose of drunken feasting, as if feast days in honour of the saints were to be celebrated with sensual luxury.²⁰

The Reformation had forced a church that had become increasingly complacent through the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries to rediscover its apostolic past, and the reformed brand of hagiography that resulted developed into another propaganda tool available to counter Protestant critics.²¹ The church came to see itself as militant on earth and triumphant in heaven as it began to turn the Protestant tide in central Europe and reach out to pagans overseas.²² A renewed enthusiasm for missionary work coincided with the settlement of colonial territories by leading European and Catholic powers, Spain, Portugal and France, and these mission fields proved fruitful in the production of saints.²³

²⁰ *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. II, *Council of Trent, Session 25, 3-4 December 1563*, edited by Norman P. Tanner (London: Sheed & Ward; Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1990), 774-777.

²¹ Luigi Lippomano wrote in his collection of *Lives of the fathers* published in the 1560s that "... the following saints' lives demonstrate the truth of Catholic dogma against the heretics of our time just as one would sustain an impregnable fortress." *Sanctorum Priscorum Patrum Vitae*, edited and published between 1551 and 1560. Quoted in Gregory, *Salvation at Stake*, 125.

²² R. Po-chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540-1770*, Second edition (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 61, 131.

²³ There is growing body of recent scholarly literature in English concerning religious missions and holiness in New Spain. See for example Maureen Ahern, "Visual and Verbal Sites: The Construction of Jesuit Martyrdom in Northwest New Spain in Andrés Pérez Ribas' *Historia de los Triunfos de nuestra Santa Fee* (1645)," *Colonial Latin America Review* vol. 8,1 (1999): 10-26. Jodi Bilinkoff, *Related Lives: Confessors and their Female Penitents, 1450-1750*

France, however, was slow to implement the reforms of the Council of Trent. The civil wars that pitted Huguenots against Catholics and, at times, Catholics against the crown, in the second half of the sixteenth century put a pause on any colonial ambitions held by the France crown and resulted in a reluctance on the part of the church to promote itself and its martyrs for fear of a Protestant backlash.²⁴ Moreover, the decrees of the Council met opposition from Gallican clergy who relished the independence of the French Church from Rome. The clergy of France, nevertheless, declared their acceptance of all of Trent's decrees, but their implementation was obstructed by old habits and inertia.²⁵ The full effect of the reform movement was not felt in France until the seventeenth century, just about the same time that colonization and missionary endeavours were beginning anew in New France.

The first Saints Lives in the tradition of reformed Catholicism to reach France were translated from Italian and Spanish. These lives arrived during the reign of Henry IV (1589-1610) and inspired a process of imitation, both in performative models of sanctity and in the structural model for writing about saints. There was a return to the genre of the biographical witness, popular in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which privileged firsthand accounts in the writing of the Life to

(Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005). Ellen Gunnarsdóttir, *Mexican Karismata: The Baroque Vocation of Francisca de los Angeles, 1674-1744* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004). Ronald J. Morgan, *Spanish American Saints and the Rhetoric of Gender* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2002). *Word from New Spain: The Spiritual Autobiography of Madre María de San José (1656-1719)*, ed. and intro. Kathleen Myers (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1993).

²⁴ Suire, *La sainteté française*, 26. Peter Burke shows that this was not a fear limited to the French Church. Between 1523 and 1588 no new saints were officially canonized by the Catholic Church. Burke calls this hiatus a 'crisis of canonization' and blames it on a 'failure of nerve.' Peter Burke, "How to be a Counter-Reformation Saint," *Religion and Society in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800*. ed. Kaspar von Greyerz (London: 1984), 46. Between 1540 and 1770 only twenty-seven men and five women were canonized and a further six individuals beatified. Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal*, 127.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 27-29.

impart a confidence of veracity.²⁶ Lives from this period were generally published very quickly after the deaths of their subjects in order to make the best use of the most immediate information and witnesses. Authors began to cite their sources and present documentary evidence where it was available. They strived to present Counter-Reformation saints as rational and historical actors to whom the faithful might pray for aid and intercession with God. Significantly, the post-Tridentine cult of the saints placed an increased emphasis on local holy figures. There was a move to “particularize the universal and universalize the particular” as a part of a belief that local saints would prove more edifying than distant ones.²⁷

It is unrealistic, however, to view the reform of hagiographic writing during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as a linear process leading from corrupt, miracle-laden texts to accurate histories. Rather, as Simon Ditchfield points out, “we must be prepared to tolerate not only the chronological overlap of continued interest in the miraculous with Bollandist rigour but the fact that these two strands did not exist in isolation from one another.” The continuing popularity of legendary narratives rife with miracles clashed with the unpopularity of humanist biography that strove towards historical accuracy.²⁸ Even amongst the Bollandists, the humanist turn did not entirely strip hagiography of its miraculous elements. In fact, at the same time that the Bollandists were developing and propagating a spirit of rigour in their

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 26. The first Life written in the reformed style about a French Counter reformation figure was the Life of Pierre Favre (1506-1546), a companion and disciple of Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556), and a co-founder of the Jesuits, composed by an Italian, Nicolas Orlandini. This Life was published first in Rome as a part of the *Historia Societatis Iesu Prima Pars* (1614) and subsequently in Lyon in 1617. It was translated into French the following year. Pierre Favre was beatified in 1872. Following the publication of his Life in France in 1617, the hagiographic genre exploded in France.

²⁷ Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal*, 132-33.

²⁸ Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 123.

selection of only the most authentic texts for the *Acta Sanctorum*, they were also preserving miracle stories on a massive scale.²⁹ As with the cult of the saints itself, the Council of Trent reaffirmed the miraculous within orthodox belief, and it remains a defining part of official and unofficial sainthood to the present day throughout the Catholic Church.

With the creation of the Sacred Congregation of Rites in 1588, the Holy See instituted a multi-step investigatory process into the lives and deaths of candidates put forth for canonization that afforded a special place to miracles. Guidelines for the reform of the cult of the saints were issued by Pope Urban VIII (1623-1645) in 1625 and 1634, while the procedures of canonization were codified in Canon law by Pope Benedict XIV in the 1730s. Investigations were to be based on legal principles – the need to prove sanctity according to the terms of Canon law. All candidates except for martyrs had to satisfy three general requirements: doctrinal purity, heroic virtue, and miraculous intercession after death. It was particularly important in the context of the Reformation to ensure that no heretics were declared saints (declaring a pretender was a long-standing concern of the church).³⁰ The second criterion was measured according to the heroic practice of the three theological virtues of faith, hope and charity, and the four cardinal virtues of prudence, temperance, justice, and fortitude as outlined by Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) in the thirteenth century.³¹ Finally, miraculous intercession was required to prove that the saint, indeed, was a member of the communion of saints and was able to intercede with God on behalf of the faithful. Miracles were proof that a saint was in heaven and so required official

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 124.

³⁰ See Nancy Caciola, *Discerning Spirits: Divine and Demonic Possession in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y.; London: Cornell University Press, 2003).

³¹ Donald Weinstein and Rudolph Bell, *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom, 1000-1700* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 141.

authentication to be accepted by Catholic authorities. Prior to the advent of modern medicine, “the zeal and credulity of the faithful usually prevailed,” but by the mid-nineteenth century there was a marked progression towards the medicalization of holiness.³²

The pronouncement in 1870 of the doctrine of papal infallibility by the First Vatican Council complicated canonization further by making certainty an even greater concern. The doctrine states that the Pope, when speaking *ex cathedra*, exercises infallibility and can not be wrong in matters of faith or morals. Correct discernment of holiness was of the utmost importance given the grave consequences of declaring a pretender, someone inspired by the Devil, to be a saint. Only towards the end of the twentieth century (1983) was the adversarial legalistic system of proceeding replaced by a system that emphasized the historical investigation of the candidate’s life; a change which one commentator has dubbed the triumph of historians over lawyers.³³ Prior to 1983, “what made for a reputation of holiness among the people were the stories...of the extraordinary deeds and charismatic power of the Servant of God. What officially counted for beatification and canonization, on the other hand, was judicially established evidence of exemplary heroic virtue.”³⁴ My research has focused on the former rather than the latter.

The institutionalization of saint-making following the Council of Trent in no way removed the local belief community from the process of recognizing the holy in their midst. Veneration by a community remained a basic criterion for advancing a formal canonization cause, while initial investigations were begun and carried out at

³² *Ibid.*, 142. On the medicalization of holiness at the end of the nineteenth century see Ruth Harris, *Lourdes: Body and Spirit in the Secular Age* (London: Allen Lane, 1999), 320-330.

³³ Kenneth Woodward, *Making Saints: How the Catholic Church Determines Who Becomes a Saint, Who Doesn't, and Why* (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1990), 90-95.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 226.

the diocesan level by local initiative. Once a cause was opened, the candidate received the title ‘Servant of God’ and more in-depth investigations took place, including interviews with witnesses, called the Ordinary Process. A decree of heroic virtue declared, in effect, that the church recognized the performance of extraordinary virtue in the candidate’s life and declared him or her ‘venerable’. The decision to beatify, the next step in the process, required evidence of one miracle, while canonization required evidence of a second.

The Holy See’s claim to the exclusive right to make saints had a great impact on hagiographic writing. Pope Urban VIII (1634) banned the veneration of any unofficially recognized holy figure, and forbade the publication of books about saints pending official recognition. This ban on unofficial Lives threatened to severely curtail the activities of hagiographers. As a result, Lives published following this decree were generally accompanied by a paratextual disclaimer in which the author of the work denied any knowledge of whether or not his subject was a saint according to canon law, leaving judgment up to the proper authorities. This paratextual element is common in Canadian hagiography, especially from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.³⁵ Having issued such disclaimers most writers felt themselves at liberty to declare their subjects holy much as before in the Lives they wrote.

³⁵ In his 1668 collection of miracles worked by St. Anne at her shrine at Beaupré, Thomas Morel (1636-1687), parish priest of the region of Beaupré from 1661 to 1668, referred to *merveilles* rather than miracles “in order not to transgress in the least the mandates of the Holy Church.” JR 51: 86. A typical example of the paratextual formulation from the late-nineteenth century states, “Pour nous soumettre aux décrets d’Urbain VIII, nous déclarons que, dans l’appréciation des faits, comme dans les titres honorifiques donnés à Mgr de Laval ou à autres personnages, dans cet ouvrage, il ne faut voir qu’un témoignage purement humain, qui ne veut en aucune manière prévenir le jugement de l’Église, notre mère.” A. Gosselin, *Le vénérable François de Montmorency-Laval, Premier Évêque de Québec* (Québec: Dussault et Proulx, 1901), np.

Sources

The first full and independent sacred biography from Canada was Paul Ragueneau's *La vie de la Mère Catherine de Saint Augustin*, published in 1671.³⁶ This work, along with Claude Martin's 1677 biography of his mother, Marie de l'Incarnation, both published in France, were exceptions rather than the norm, however. They stand out for their length, the amount of detail they relate, and the practice both authors employed of using the original writings of their subjects as primary source material that they quoted from at length. During the French regime, hagiographic discourse more often appeared in epistolary form, either within the extensive pages of the Jesuit *Relations* or in letters and notes composed for informal circulation within the networks of religious orders in France. The *Relations* include extensive accounts of the deaths of Jesuit missionaries in Canada who were considered martyrs to the faith, and also notes on other prominent religious figures from the period such as Marie-Madeleine Chauvigny, Madame de la Peltrie, the lay foundress of the Ursulines of Quebec, and the Ursuline sisters Marie de Saint-Joseph and Marie de l'Incarnation.³⁷

Towards the end of the seventeenth century, more formal texts dedicated to the hagiographic form began to appear yet most remained in manuscript form. In the early eighteenth-century, for example, Charles de Glandelet, a high-ranking

³⁶ Paul Ragueneau, *La vie de la Mère Catherine de Saint-Augustin, religieuse hospitalière de la miséricorde de Québec en la Nouvelle-France* (Paris: Florentin Lambert, 1671).

³⁷ The "holy death" of Madame de la Peltrie on 18 November 1671 was recounted in great detail in the Jesuit *Relations* for that year; JR 56: 219-285. An account of the "blessed death" of Marie de l'Incarnation on 30 April 1672 followed immediately; JR 56: 186-299. Both these accounts were written by the Jesuit superior Claude Dablon who relied extensively on Marie de l'Incarnation's own writings about Madame de la Peltrie. Marie wrote about her in her own spiritual relation of 1654 (*Ecrits spirituels et historiques*, vol. II) and in letters, for example, MI Corr: 904-914 (lettre CCLXIX). See Françoise Deroy-Pineau, *Madeleine de la Peltrie: Amazone du Nouveau Monde* (Québec: Bellarmin, 1992). Marie de l'Incarnation's Life of Marie de Saint Saint-Joseph, originally composed in a letter to the Ursulines of Tours was published in the 1651-52 *Relation*; JR 38: 69-165. The original is found in MI Corr: 436-468 (Lettre CXL) à la Communauté des Ursulines de Tours, Spring 1652.

churchman in Quebec, wrote two works about the foundress of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame, Marguerite Bourgeoys, and a third about Marguerite's successor as superior of the Congrégation, Marie Barbier (1663-1739), none of which were published.³⁸ Hagiographic narratives could also be found embedded in other works and genres. For example, François Dollier de Casson's *Histoire de Montréal* (c. 1672), Marie Morin's *Annales de l'Hôtel Dieu de Montréal*, and the *Annales de l'Hôtel Dieu de Québec*, all contain accounts of the lives of various prominent religious figures from New France.³⁹ Despite the existence of a few published accounts then, the majority of hagiographic texts from New France, were brief, contained within the pages of letters or *Annales*, and were either published as a part of *Relations* or *Annales*, or remained unpublished in their own day.

As we move into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, there was a revival of the cult of the saints and interest in hagiography, especially within the French Canadian/Quebec Church. Many of the works that remained in manuscript form during the French régime were published at this time in various forums as a part of the canonization processes that were begun to honour the religious heroes of the

³⁸ "Le vray esprit de l'Institut" (1701) and "La vie de la Sœur Bourgeoys dite du Saint Sacrement" (1715). The originals of both these works burned in a fire at the Congrégation's motherhouse in 1893. There are several recent printed editions of both these works. I have used *The True Spirit of the Institute of the Secular Sisters of the Congregation de Notre-Dame*, trans. Frances McCann, Montreal: Congrégation de Notre-Dame, 1977; and *Life of Marguerite Bourgeoys (1715)*, Montreal: Congrégation de Notre Dame, 1994. Glandelet's life of Marguerite Bourgeoys's successor Marie Barbier, "Recueil touchant la S[œur Marie Barbier], fille séculière de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame," is found in the Archives du Séminaire de Québec, ms. 198. On Mary Barbier see Colleen Gray, "A Fragile Authority: Power and the Religious Life in the Congrégation de Notre-Dame of Montreal, 1693-1796," (PhD diss., McGill University, 2004), 273-319.

³⁹ François Dollier de Casson, *Histoire de Montréal, 1640-1672* (Montréal: Société littéraire et historique de Québec, 1871). Dollier de Casson's work was composed for the Paris Sulpicians as a relation of the history of Montreal. It remained in manuscript form until 1871. Marie Morin, *Histoire simple et véritable: Les Annales de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Montréal, 1659-1725* (Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1979). Jeanne-Françoise Juchereau (de St-Ignace) et Marie André Duplessis (de Ste Hélène), *Les Annales de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec, 1636-1716* (Montréal: Des Presses de Garden City, 1939).

past. At the same time, new, lengthy, and detailed accounts of the lives of local holy persons, both those from the French régime and those of the contemporary church, were published by clerical historians such as Henri-Raymond Casgrain. So prevalent were these new works that literary scholar Lucie Robert calls biography the characteristic literary genre of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Quebec.⁴⁰

In addition to the independent biography, by the end of the nineteenth century the collection had also become an accessible vehicle for saints' lives. Henri Têtu's *Les Évêques de Québec* (1889), and N.-E. Dionne's *Serviteurs et servantes de Dieu en Canada: Quarante biographies* (1904), offered short biographical accounts of prominent religious figures to a popular reading audience.⁴¹ Between 1923 and 1925, the Marist brother Ernest-Beatrix Bergeron (1885-1962) published *Notre légende dorée*, a collection of stories and anecdotes about the religious and lay heroes of French Canada from the ancien régime to his own day, offered to children as morality lessons. The work was used in Marist schools alongside the catechism and sold very well by the standards of the time.⁴² In English Canada, a short collection of biographies also appeared. In 1947, the Rev. Brother Alfred published *Catholic*

⁴⁰ Lucie Robert, "Sa vie n'est pas son œuvre: Figures féminines dans les Vies Québécoises," *Recherches sociographiques* XLIV, 3 (2003): 435.

⁴¹ Henri Têtu, *Les Évêques de Québec* (Québec: Hardy, 1889). N.E. Dionne's *Serviteurs et servantes de Dieu en Canada: Quarante biographies* (Québec, 1904).

⁴² *Notre légende dorée* was published in three volumes between 1923 and 1925. All three appeared in a single volume in 1926. H.-E. Bergeron, *Notre légende dorée* (Montréal: l'Action nationale, 1926). Volume one sold 3140 copies, volume two sold 3260 copies, and volume three sold 3198 copies at a time when sales of 2000 copies was considered a very good result. Brenda Dunn-Lardeau, "The Shaping of National Identity Through History and Hagiography in *Notre Légende Dorée* (Montreal, 1923)," *Poetics Today* 13: 1 (Spring 1992): 68. More recently Frère Gérard Champagne's *Nos Gloires de l'Église du Canada* (Les Frères des Écoles Chrétiennes, 1984) has offered an overview of French Catholic religious heroes from Canada.

Pioneers of Upper Canada that recounts the biographies of religious and secular Catholics prominent in the founding and establishment of Ontario.⁴³

The religious press was another method of disseminating holy reputations. Beginning with the weekly newspaper *Melanges Religieux* in 1840, the clergy, especially in Montreal, sought to establish a press that they might use to spread their views and counter the secular liberal press in Quebec.⁴⁴ Numerous newspapers and periodicals appeared over the next several decades including the very conservative and extraordinarily influential *Courrier du Canada*.⁴⁵ Individual religious orders also published their own journals. For example, the Franciscans, when they returned to Quebec in 1890, began a journal called *Revue du Tiers-Ordre de la Terre sainte* that aggressively promoted the reputation and cause of the Franciscan (Récollet) Frère Didace Pelletier (1657-1699) between 1891 and 1917. In 1925, les Frères de l'Instruction Chrétienne began publishing a monthly journal for young people entitled *l'Abeille* that ran a semi-regular series recounting the heroic exploits of past heroes of the French Canadian church. Through newspapers and journals, the political, cultural, and social views of the church along with narratives of the saints and accounts of the miraculous were disseminated to a wider reading audience than could be reached by more standard hagiographic texts.

The final significant body of sources I have employed in this study are *positios*, the formal published document that issued from institutional canonization procedures. *Positios* were prepared at the diocesan level by investigatory committees for submission to the Congregation of Rites (Congregation for the Causes of Saints

⁴³ Brother Alfred, *Catholic Pioneers of Upper Canada* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1947).

⁴⁴ Jean de Bonville, "La presse dans le discours des évêques québécois de 1764 à 1914." *RHAF* 49, 2 (automne 1995): 196

⁴⁵ Philippe Sylvain and Nive Voisine, *Histoire du catholicisme québécois, tome 2, 1840-1898* (Montréal: Boréal, 1991), 135-38.

after 1983) as a part of formal canonization procedures. A variety of documents might be published at various stages in the canonization process, but generally the most complete *positios* consisted of documents gathered together from disparate sources and archives to support the sanctity of the holy person in question, plus selected testimony from the Ordinary Processes held in conjunction with the canonization procedure. For example, testimonies submitted in support of Bishop François de Laval's (1623-1708) cause were published in 1890 when he was declared venerable. Subsequent information on his cause did not appear until 1980 when he was beatified, at which time the complete *positio*, finished in 1956, was finally made publicly available.⁴⁶ Canonization procedures are notoriously secretive. Material is published only at particular stages in the process and even then the material, especially transcriptions of the Ordinary Process, is often heavily edited and the originals remain unavailable. Nevertheless, where *positios* have been published, they are extremely useful for the diversity of documentation they include, often drawn from archives that are normally inaccessible or far distant. Even the selection of witness testimony from the Ordinary Processes are extremely important, if truncated, for gaining an impression of what people thought about local saints, and how and why they were venerated.

The Holy in Canada

Just who was a saint? What characteristics were typical of sanctity in Canada and how did these change over time? In order to answer such questions, I have undertaken a broad survey of hagiographic literature and holy reputations from the

⁴⁶ *Sacra Rituum Congregatione, Quebecen. Beatificationis et Canonizationis servi dei Francisci de Montmorency-Laval. Primi Quebecensis Episcopi; Positio Super Introductione Causae*, Rome : 1890. *Quebecen. Beatificationis et canonizationis ven. servi dei Francisci de Montmorency-Laval, Episcopi Quebecensis (1708) Altera nova positio super virtutibus ex officio critice disposita*. Roma: Typis polyglottis Vaticanis, 1956.

early days of French settlement to the present. It is important to note that the construction of this survey rests on normative conceptions of holiness that flow from the sources themselves. I have consulted primarily full hagiographic texts (sacred biographies), but also include works of hagiographic intent that remained unpublished from the French regime. I have not, however, included newspaper articles concerning individual holy persons, websites, or other informal means of promoting a cult, such as pilgrimage sites, except where they are supported by more complete hagiographic texts, my aim being to establish the tradition of veneration before moving on to the more informal and performative aspects of holiness. My survey of sources has, therefore, taken place primarily in library collections with the aim of ensuring that only those individuals who received some level of formal (although not necessarily official) recognition are included.⁴⁷ Measuring the objects of historical inquiry in this way creates what Emile Durkheim called “social facts” and provides both history and the historian with a sense of groundedness, a sense that history is built upon the real.⁴⁸ But numbers rarely, if ever, begin to tell the full story, and the “createdness” of these “social facts” must be borne in mind.

⁴⁷ The most important single library deposit is that of the Bibliothèque Nationale du Québec, especially the Collection Nationale and the Collection Sulpicienne. At McGill University, I have made great use of the collection of sacred biography in the McLennan Arts and Social Sciences Library, plus the rare books and special collections library which holds the Rodolphe Joubert Collection of French Canada and the Lawrence Lande Collection of Canadiana. *The Lawrence Lande Collection of Canadiana in the Redpath Library of McGill University: A Bibliography*. Collected, arranged and annotated by Lawrence Lande (Montreal: The Lawrence Lande Foundation for Canadian Historical Research, 1965). *Catalogue of the Rodolphe Joubert Collection on French Canada in the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections* (Montreal: McGill University Libraries, 1984). I supplemented this research through the Collections of the Bibliothèques des lettres et sciences humaines and the Services des livres rares et collections spéciales at the Université de Montréal and for English Canada, the collections of the John M. Kelly Library at St. Michael's College, University of Toronto.

⁴⁸ For Durkheim social facts are things not ideas. They have reality and can be observed. Sanctity insofar as it can be counted is a social fact. See *The Rules of Sociological Method*, Steven Lukes, ed; trans. by W.D. Halls (New York: Free Press, 1982), 50-59.

I have employed three basic criteria to determine the designation of a given biography as hagiographic and, therefore, the inclusion of its subject in my survey. First, and most important; does the author clearly regard the subject as a saint? Are readers encouraged to venerate or perhaps imitate the individual? Second, does the structure of the work display a recognizable hagiographic form relative to the period in which it was written? Does the author narrate any miracles attributed to the intercession of the subject? Does the Life conclude with an account of the “good death” expected of a saint? Third, is there now, or has there been in the past, a tradition of holiness surrounding the individual? Has the subject been offered forth as a didactic model of religious, social, or cultural behaviour or been the subject of formal canonization proceedings? Are there any traditions of veneration, pilgrimage sites, or relics that support the text?

I have endeavoured not to place greater weight on any one of these criteria. Nor do I consider the absence of any one of them as a *sine qua non* for inclusion. In the end, I have had to rely to a certain extent, where the criteria are unclear, on my own perception in reading. The result is that this is likely not a complete list.⁴⁹ There are names on it that, given other circumstances and criteria, perhaps would not be, and it is possible that I have missed some. I therefore regard the survey as an ongoing project, but also believe that the results of my analysis are broadly representative of trends in the Canadian cult of the saints and provide evidence of overarching traits of holiness from the beginning of European settlement until the present that will need to be nuanced through the close examination of particular cases.

At the time of writing, a total of ten individuals associated with Canada have been canonized by the Vatican; the eight Jesuit martyrs in 1930, Marguerite Bourgeoys in 1982, and Marguerite d’Youville in 1990. A further fifteen individuals

⁴⁹ An abbreviated version of the survey, containing all 160 names, is contained in appendix II.

have been beatified and another four declared venerable. Finally, twenty-seven “servants of God” are the subjects of ongoing investigations at the diocesan level for a grand total of fifty-six individuals considered at some official level to be holy. I have been able to add considerably more names to the list of persons who have been considered holy or who have been advanced as candidates for holiness at one time or another and have been the subject of at least one hagiography. In total, 160 individuals and the works of hagiography that pertain to them meet the established criteria (appendix I). This in itself is an astounding number, but becomes even more so when it is considered that almost 43% of the entries (69 of the 160) were the subjects of two or more hagiographies indicating an expressed need to re-inscribe and reinterpret their lives in different times and contexts. The existence of multiple biographies is not, in itself an indication of popularity as the expansion of the publishing industry, plus the growth of reading audiences over time, made for a greater market for such works beginning at the end of the nineteenth century, but it does suggest that these subjects found resonance with multiple authors, and possibly also multiple audiences of various scope, over time. Marguerite d’Youville (1701-1771), for example, was the subject of a succession of sacred biographies from just after her death through to the present. In contrast, large gaps exist in the hagiographic record of others like Frère Didace Pelletier, (1657-1699) and even the Jesuit Martyrs (1642-1650).⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Marguerite d’Youville died in 1771. The first account of her life was composed the same year by her son Charles-Marie-Madeleine (Dufrost) Lejemenais. Biographies followed by Antoine Sattin (1818); Etienne-Michel Faillon (1852); and D.S. Ramsay (1895, the first English biography) plus many others. The first materials concerning the holiness of Frère Didace Pelletier (d. 1699) were assembled around 1717. A gap of more than 150 years followed before he again became the subject of hagiographic interest. Materials pertaining to the Jesuit martyrs were assembled in 1652 but a sustained push towards canonization did not take place until the late-nineteenth century. A significant gap in the bibliographic record exists for much of the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-centuries. The most complete bibliography pertaining to the martyrs is found in Guy Laflèche, *Les saints martyrs Canadiens: Histoire du mythe* vol. 1 (Laval: Singulier, 1988), 83-227.

Thirty-four people in the survey (22%) lived and died in the early period of French settlement between 1625 and the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession in 1701. When this date is extended to the outbreak of the War of the Austrian Succession in 1744 forty-one, or 25.7% of the total number of holy people associated with Canada, had lived and died. This marks an increase of only seven over a forty year time span, which is a significant decrease from the pre-1701 period. When just sacred biographies are considered, however, only twenty-one appeared prior to 1701 and another six between 1701 and 1744. Relative to its population size, New France produced an astonishing number of holy persons, especially in the seventeenth century. Yet, over 70% of the survey list pertains to individuals who lived and died in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries representing a total of 112 people. It must be borne in mind that the European population of New France in 1663 was only around 3000 and at the conquest (1763) numbered only 60,000, while in 1861 Montreal alone had a population of over 90,000 and Quebec City over 50,000.

Between 1744 and 1840 only six people enter the survey, but of these two could arguably be removed from the list: André Grasset (1758-1792) a Canadian-born priest who died a martyr in the French Revolution in 1792 can not really be considered a Canadian saint, and Edmund Burke (1753-1820), the first vicar apostolic of Halifax is a borderline case at best.⁵¹ Furthermore, the biographies of two others, Joseph Calonne (1743-1822) and C.F. Painchaud (1782-1838) were penned only in 1892 and 1894 respectively. Likewise, Joseph Bourg, a missionary priest from Acadia, only garnered significant hagiographic attention at the end of the

⁵¹ Cornelius O'Brien, *Memoirs of Rt. Rev. Edmund Burke, Bishop of Zion and First Vicar Apostolic of the Archdiocese of Halifax* (Ottawa: Thoburn, 1894).

nineteenth century.⁵² Only Marguerite d'Youville, the foundress of the Grey Nuns of Montreal, stands out as a significant holy figure between 1744 and the explosion of hagiographic works that occurred after 1840. The fact that few new holy performances or works of hagiography appeared between 1744 and 1840 can not obscure the enduring popularity of Marguerite d'Youville from the time she lived to the present. Yet, the reputations of many figures from the earlier period of New France appear to lapse in the hagiographic record and few new holy persons were recognized in this one hundred year period. But written record, for the most part, does not allow for evidence of informal recognition and veneration for earlier figures that undoubtedly continued in various ways amongst local audiences throughout this period.

In some cases there could be considerable lag-time between the death of a holy person and the composition of a sacred biography. The average number of years between a holy death and the composition of a hagiographic text prior to 1701 was less than a year and a half. This gap, however, increased significantly after 1701. Lives written between 1701 and 1744 about individuals who died in this same time period appeared, on average, 18.3 years after the deaths of their subjects. The average gap jumps to 45.6 years when all persons who died between 1701 and 1744 who eventually became the subject of a hagiographic text are considered. In some cases, it could take many years for a holy performance to be recognized and a text to be written. In rare cases, the life of someone who died during the French regime was

⁵² Calonne was the chaplain of the Ursulines of Trois Rivières and was most prominent among that community. Sœur Marguerite-Marie, O.S.U. *Vie de l'abbé de Calonne mort en odeur de sainteté aux Trois-Rivières* (octobre 1822) (Trois-Rivières: P.V. Ayotte, libraire-éditeur, 1892). C.-F. Painchaud founded the Collège St. Anne de la Pocatière. N.-E. Dionne, *Vie de C.-F. Painchaud, prêtre, curé, fondateur de Collège Sainte-Anne de la Pocatière* (Quebec: Léger Brousseau, Imprimeur, 1894). A briefer account of his virtues appeared earlier in 1863. Charles Bacon, *Éloge de messire C.F. Painchaud, fondateur du Collège de Ste. Anne* (Ste. Anne de la Pocatière: F.H. Proulx, 1863). Arthur Melanson, *Vie de l'abbé Bourg, premier prêtre Acadien, missionnaire et grand vicaire pour l'Acadie et la Baie-des-Caleurs, 1744-1797* (Rimouski: Chez-nous, 1921).

not composed until the nineteenth century.⁵³ On the other hand, a cult that enjoyed popularity immediately following a holy death or sparked the interest of a select few observers might fail to catch on or fade over time. For example, certain Récollet priests in New France hoped that the missionary Nicholas Viel, who drowned after falling into Rivière-des-Prairies in 1625 might be recognized as a martyr, but his cult did not catch on.⁵⁴

In addition to illustrating the important periods of saint-making in Canada, the numbers also provide a glimpse of the kinds of people who might be successfully recognized as saints and how types changed over time. Women constituted a consistently high percentage of the total number of holy figures, about 40%, throughout the period under examination. Prior to 1701, 42% of people regarded as holy were women (13 of 31). This percentage drops only slightly to 38.6% when the end date is extended to 1840. Between 1840 and 1930 fully 38% (43 of 112) of holy persons were female. These numbers are in considerable contrast to the findings of Donald Weinstein and Rudolph Bell in their quantitative study of hagiography from 1000 to 1700. They found that only 17.5 percent of the saints in their sample were women. Furthermore, they found that the percentage of female saints fell sharply following the Reformation, a fact they attributed to a crack-down on female religious vocations following the Council of Trent.⁵⁵ Weinstein and Bell's sample, however,

⁵³ For example, a specific Life of Marie Morin, the chronicler of the Hôtel Dieu de Montréal who died in 1730, did not appear until N.-E. Dionne's 1904 collection *Serviteurs et servantes de Dieu en Canada: quarante biographies*.

⁵⁴ Chrestien LeClercq, *The First establishment of the faith in New France* vol. 1, trans. John Gilmary Shea (New York: John Shea, 1881), 245-46. This work was originally published in Paris in 1691 under the title, *Premier établissement de la foy dans la Nouvelle-France* (Chez Amable Auroy).

⁵⁵ Weinstein and Bell, *Saints and Society*, 220-221. On the effort to curb female religious vocations in early modern France and its impact in New France see Elizabeth Rapley, *The Dévotes: Women and the Church in the Seventeenth Century* (Montreal, Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990).

included only officially canonized individuals. The relatively high percentage of female holy figures from the New France sample suggests that women were more likely to be recognized locally as holy figures, but did not enjoy the same institutional success as their male counterparts. Had Weinstein and Bell employed a more flexible definition of sanctity, it is likely their numbers would have been significantly different. I have no comparable numbers for the post 1700 period with which to compare the Canadian case, but it is nonetheless significant, I think, that the percentage of female holy remained so consistent high across time. Even when the numbers of holy persons subjected to official proceedings are considered, only the highest category of official recognition comes close to matching Weinstein and Bell's numbers in the Canadian case. Only two of the ten canonized individuals related to Canada are women.⁵⁶ Meanwhile, women constitute 53.3% of beatified persons, 50% of those declared venerable, and 46% of Servants of God.

The vast majority of authoritative Lives were the work of male authors. There were exceptions, however. Marie de l'Incarnation wrote accounts of the lives and virtues of three of her contemporaries, Madame de la Peltrie, the lay foundress of the Ursulines, Marie de Saint-Joseph, who was a founding member of the Ursuline convent along with Marie herself, and Anne Bataille, a low ranking Ursuline nun whom Marie noted for her great piety.⁵⁷ Her accounts of all three of these women were composed in epistolary form meant for circulation within the Ursuline network of France. As noted above, the Lives of Madame de la Peltrie and Marie de Saint-

⁵⁶ However, the eight Jesuit martyrs were canonized all at once in 1930, meaning that if we consider just canonization acts, a total of three, two related to women and only one to men.

⁵⁷ She wrote an account of the life and acts of Madame de la Peltrie in 1670 at the request of the Jesuit Father Joseph Poncet. *MI Corr.* 904-914 (lettre CCLXIX). A complete Life of Marie de Saint-Joseph is found in *MI Corr.* 436-468 (Lettre CXL) à la Communauté des Ursulines de Tours, Spring 1652. And finally, "La Vie et les vertus de la Soeur Anne Bataille, dite de Saint-Laurent," *MI Corr.* 843-847 (Lettre CCXLIX), 1669.

Joseph were subsequently published by the Jesuits in their *Relations*, and consequently reached a much wider audience than otherwise would have been possible. Other female-authored Lives from New France appeared likewise as letters or within the pages of institutional histories and *annales*, while more public venues of publication were left to male-authored texts.

Women also composed their own spiritual autobiographies, generally at the request, they claimed, of a male authority, their spiritual director. Marie de l'Incarnation wrote two such biographies, one in 1633 for her confessor in Tours, and a second in 1654 at the request of her son, Claude Martin. Catherine de Saint-Augustin kept a spiritual journal that is now lost, but extensive portions of it survive within the pages of the authoritative biography written three years after her death by the Jesuit Paul Ragueneau who served as her spiritual advisor for much of her adult life.⁵⁸

When the lives of female religious figures appeared in text, they were generally authored by male religious authorities. It is not surprising that more women did not compose Lives or that more female-authored Lives were not published very widely. Authors of hagiographies have traditionally been men. Where female-authored Lives do exist these tend to be preliminary works intended for a limited audience. When a religious order wished to broadcast its holy women widely, they generally selected a male author, a member of the church, whose official status would lend legitimacy and credibility to the work and reputation, and whose knowledge would ease the formal acceptance of the candidate. This is a practice replicated throughout the period under study. In effect, male authored hagiographic

⁵⁸ The spiritual autobiographies of Marie de l'Incarnation have been edited and published in *Marie de l'Incarnation: Ecrits spirituels et historique*, 2 vols. ed. Albert Jamet (Paris: Desclée-De Brouwer, 1929-39; Québec: Les Ursulines de Québec, 1985). Paul Ragueneau, *La vie de la Mère Catherine de Saint-Augustin*, 1671.

texts relocated women into a restricted narrative structure reflective of patriarchy's imagined location for her, says historian Jane Tippetts Schulenburg. In male authored Lives of holy women, subjects tend to be constructed in opposition to men, denying women a full and independent identity.⁵⁹

By the end of the nineteenth century, a female religious institution desiring an authoritative biography of its holy dead in preparation for a formal canonization procedure, could call on one of a number of semi-professional hagiographers such as Eugène Nadeau or E.-J. Auclair. The chosen author was given access to institutional archives in order to compose a Life destined for external circulation. The result was that the vast majority of Lives which appeared in public were authored by men and the overwhelming majority of these men were ecclesiastics.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, there was a marked increase in female-authored Lives in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Upwards of 14% of first, second, and third post-1840 biographies in the survey were written by women, and this does not include several anonymous Lives about female subjects likely also composed by women. Official investigations, of

⁵⁹ Jane Tippetts Schulenburg, *Forgetful of their Sex: Female Sanctity and Society ca. 500-1100* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 30-34.

⁶⁰ Eugène Nadeau's oeuvre includes Lives of Thérèse Gélinas (1936), Mère Léonie, fondatrice des Petites sœurs de la Sainte-Famille (1950), Père François-Xavier Fafard, o.m.i (1954), Mère Marie-Anne, foundress of the Sisters of St. Anne (1956), and Victor Lelièvre, o.m.i. (1964). His Life of Esther Blondin, Mère Marie-Anne was commissioned by the Sisters of St. Anne, the order she founded. *Martyre du silence: Mère Marie-Anne, fondatrice des Soeurs de Sainte-Anne (1809-1890)* (Lachine: Eds. Sainte-Anne, 1956). Elie-Joseph Auclair wrote Lives of Rosalie Cadron-Jetté, foundress of the Sœurs de Miséricorde de Montréal (1928), Mother Cadron of the Sisters of Charity of Providence (1914), Mère Catherine-Aurélien Caouette of the Institut du Précieux-sang (1923), and John Forbes, a missionary in Uganda (1929), amongst many other works. Earlier examples of this practice include Michel-François Ransonet's *La vie de la sœur Marguerite Bourgeois: Institutrice, fondatrice et première supérieure d'une communauté de filles séculières établie en Canada sous le nom de congrégation de Notre Dame* (Liège: Barnabé, 1728), commissioned by the Congrégation de Notre-Dame.

course, were always headed by male clerics with the result that *positios* were always assembled by men even when the research and work was conducted by women.⁶¹

Moving beyond gender categories, other ideal types of saints can also be noted in the survey. The pious child, both male and female was a typology that emerged in the ultramontane church which was completely absent from earlier times. This category gained great popularity in the Catholic world at the beginning of the twentieth century as a result of the canonization of Thérèse de l'Enfant Jésus (1873-1897) in France.⁶² Seven children show up in the survey. They were regarded as holy for their precocious piety and for the simplicity of the lives they led. The male youth generally wished to become, or was preparing to be, a priest when he died, while female children led lives devoted to family and internal piety. Generally, these children died slow yet edifying deaths as a result of degenerative diseases.

Class background, too, must be considered as a central element in the typology of saints. I have divided the individuals in the survey into three broad categories reflective of their individual social status or background. I was not able to determine social background for all individuals in the survey and regard such designations as inapplicable in the case of aboriginal peoples. Therefore, the totals do not add up to 160 and percentages do not equal 100. Moreover, these designations are impressionistic and, as with the results of this survey generally, the conclusions ought to be regarded as general rather than specific.

⁶¹ The introduction to the *positio* pertaining to the cause of Esther Blondin, Mère Saint-Anne, states that the research was done by Sœur Marie-Jean-de-Pathmos, s.s.a, but the postulator of the cause was Père Yvon Beaudoin, o.m.i. *Canonisation de la servante de Dieu Marie-Esther Sureau dit Blondin (en religion Mère Marie-Anne), fondatrice de la Congrégation des Soeurs de Sainte-Anne (1809-1890): Dossier sur la vie et les vertus* (Rome: Congrégation pour les causes des saints, 1985).

⁶² Claude-Marie Gagnon, *La Littérature populaire religieuse au Québec: Sa diffusion, ses modèles et ses héros* (Laval: Cahiers de recherches en sciences de la religion, 1986), 145-148, 189-192.

Overall, sixty-one individuals, or 57.7% of subjects of hagiographic texts in the Canadian context can be described for certain as having a lower class background. Twenty-seven individuals, or 17% of the total generally belonged to the middling social range of society, and thirty-seven, or 23.3%, came from upper class or noble backgrounds. In the French regime persons from the upper classes of society dominated the ranks of the holy, but after 1840 the tables turned and people who had generally grown up poor or in rural settings found themselves enrolled on the lists of saints in greater and greater numbers. Of those individuals who died before 1744, a total of forty-one, only one person could be described as being from an agricultural background, Frère Didace Pelletier, the son of habitant farmers. By contrast, fifty-eight individuals regarded as holy who died following 1840 came from the ranks of the urban poor and rural folk. This amounts to 51.3% of the total. A further twenty-nine (26.1%) came from the professional classes and only eight (7.2%) could claim upper class backgrounds.

It appears, then, that the social profile of holy people changed during the period studied here. Michel de Certeau has argued that there was, in fact, a movement towards the humbler classes in the saint-making of the early modern period.⁶³ This seems to be the case most obviously in comparison with the high Middle Ages when kings, queens, and bishops were the preferred saints. But in Canada, it was the modern period that witnessed the arrival of those who came from the stock of urban workers and farming folk into the cult of the saints. In the ultramontane period, a humble background, in fact, became a positive attribute in a potential saint. The families of holy persons drawn from the ranks of the working classes were invariably described as hard-working, unpretentious, pious and, often, uneducated, in hagiographic texts, all of which were considered positive attributes by

⁶³ Michel de Certeau, *The Mystic Fable* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 43-44.

a church that was engaged in an ideological struggle with intellectual liberalism for the hearts and minds of Quebecers.⁶⁴

Conclusion

It is clear then that the cult of the saints was significant and sustained in the Canadian past from the first arrival of Catholic Europeans to the present. Nevertheless, recognition of holy persons was not consistent, encountering a significant downturn from the 1740s to the 1840s between periods of relative popularity and great hagiographic production. The numbers, however, are only broadly suggestive of the full range of social roles occupied by holy persons in Canadian society over time. Moreover, the variety and number of sources pertaining to the holy is only hinted at in the results of this survey. In New France and after the conquest, local saints appeared on the historical stage at significant moments, performed, caught the attention of audiences and faith communities, at times disappeared quickly and without fanfare, and at others received a great deal of sustained attention. How they performed their sanctity, how audience directed and reacted to those performances, how their lives were inscribed into text and why, in short, how they became saints is the subject of the rest of this dissertation, where the broad themes introduced here are nuanced and complicated leading to a better understanding of why local holy persons existed, were considered important, and endured in textual and collective memories.

⁶⁴ For example, the Life of Arthur Guertin, a missionary with the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, begins with a chapter about his family history that combines genealogy with nationalism. His family history is described as simple but heroically beautiful, defined by work, pride and the harsh Canadian landscape. Henri Morisseau, *Un Apôtre Canadien: Le Père Arthur Guertin missionnaire oblat de Marie Immaculée 1868-1932* (Ottawa: Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1942), 32.

Chapter II

Missions and Colonialism: Ritual, Text and the Performance of Martyrdom

Your New France, Louis, has many saints of every kind that the apostle mentions everywhere in his Epistles.

-François Du Creux (1664)¹

Whenever Christianity encountered a frontier, it had need of martyrs.

-Donald Weinstein and Rudolph Bell²

On the 1st of August, 1642, a company of about forty people consisting of Hurons, and Frenchmen, and including one Jesuit priest, left the French settlement of Trois Rivières travelling west along the Saint Lawrence River. They were headed for Huron country. Before they had travelled very far, however, they were ambushed by a group of Iroquois warriors and after a brief fight about half the company were taken captive including three of the Frenchmen, Guillaume Couture, a Jesuit *donné* named René Goupil, and the Jesuit father Isaac Jogues. With most of the captives suffering from mild wounds sustained during the fight or as a result of superficial tortures inflicted afterwards, they endured a thirteen day march to the Iroquois village of Ossernenon (Auriesville, NY). As war captives they became participants in Iroquois rituals of punishment and torture that would end either in adoption or death. Eight days into their journey they encountered another Iroquois war party. A scaffold – or *theatre* according to Jogues – was built on a hill and the captives were

¹ François Du Creux, *Historia Canadensis seu Novae Franciae seu Nova-Franciae* (Paris: Sébastien Cramoisy, 1664). François Du Creux, *The History of Canada or New France*, vol. 1, trans. Percy J. Robinson, ed. James B. Conacher (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1951), 6.

² Donald Weinstein and Rudolph Bell, *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom, 1000-1700* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 160.

forced to run a gauntlet that consisted of about one hundred warriors on either side who beat the captives mercilessly as they passed through.³

Having been identified as a leader of sorts, Isaac Jogues was last to go through the gauntlet with the result that the greatest number of blows fell upon him. He emerged almost dead, he later reported, but was placed upon the stage with the others where he was forced to endure further tortures before the journey continued. When finally the group arrived at their destination, the captives were forced to undergo the gauntlet again and were subjected to further torments within the village. Over the course of these journeys, Jogues began to think of his sufferings, and those of his French and Christian Huron companions, as divinely ordained. He believed he sacrificed himself to the mission and the propagation of the gospel, and so his sufferings took on transhistorical meaning as he began to see himself within a wider cultural and religious frame. Indeed, since at least the early 1630s, Jesuits in Canada had been on the lookout for possible martyrdom and several, such as Jean de Brébeuf, had pledged their willingness to die. “We offered ourselves with great courage to his fatherly goodness,” wrote Jogues in a later reflection on his experiences, “in order to be victims sacrificed to his good pleasure and to his anger, lovingly zealous for the salvation of these peoples.” His sufferings were a public performance of his dedication to the mission and to Christianity; the gauntlet, he said, was a funeral procession along the road to paradise. Quoting I Corinthians 4:9-10, he exclaimed in his heart in the throes of his torment, and later recorded in his

³ JR 31: 30.

written account of these events, “Nous avons esté fait un spectacle aux yeux du monde et des Anges et des hommes pour Iesus-Christ.”⁴

Jogues did not die on the scaffold, although he languished there along with his two French companions and unnamed and uncouneted Huron survivors from their party. In fact, this was just the beginning of a long captivity from which he eventually escaped, only to return in 1646 to the scene of this spectacle where the final act of his martyrdom also took place.

The texts that describe these events are several. Some were composed by Jogues himself in letters he wrote from his captivity or in memoirs written afterwards. Others come from the pens of Jesuit officials in New France who heard about his ordeals from native and European eyewitnesses. Slowly, as news of Jogues's death trickled back to the French in the St. Lawrence Valley, his fellow Jesuits began to put together the pieces of the drama and a pattern emerged. An account was composed about Jogues's experiences as a missionary and his sufferings from 1642 until his death four years later by Jesuit superior Jérôme Lalemant for the *Relation* of 1647. It was based largely on texts and testimony given by Jogues himself before he died, but framed Jogues's experiences according to the scenario of martyrdom. Within a year of his death, Jogues's story had become a part of the Christian martyrological and hagiographical tradition. Although suffering and martyrdom took place in spectacle, and in specific historical contexts, they became transhistorical when inscribed into hagiographic texts according to Christian

⁴ JR 31: 42 (1647).

traditions of sanctity for audiences that extend well beyond those who witnessed the actual events.⁵

The Jesuits, especially the martyrs, are well-known historical actors, and the *Relations* have served the needs of historians investigating any number of topics related to the colonial encounter in north eastern North America. Ethnohistorians and anthropologists have mined them in order to reconstruct native views of contact history, while scholars of literature and post-colonial studies have examined them for the ways they narrated Jesuit experiences in Canada – not for what they said, but for how they said it, and the meanings generated by the texts. In many of these studies, the erasure of native perspectives and contributions to colonial Christianity, and the attempt on the part of the Jesuits to establish a Christian hegemony in North America, are considered givens. Carole Blackburn, for example, doubts the possibility of moving beyond Jesuit colonialist rhetoric to access an accurate picture of native peoples at the time.⁶ Yet, ethnohistorians have developed compelling models of native practices and perspectives on contact history by reading through and against the flow of these same texts.⁷ Such works have shown how, even as

⁵ Although spectacle and theatre, especially, were considered suspicious at best, if not outright dangerous, by ecclesiastical officials in early modern France, they were also a part of the Jesuit tool kit for teaching the faith. On the close relationship between education, rhetoric, and performance in Jesuit teaching see David Crook, “A Certain Indulgence”: Music at the Jesuit College in Paris, 1575-1590,” in *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences and the Arts, 1540-1773*, ed. John W. O’Malley et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 452-478.

⁶ Carole Blackburn, *Harvest of Souls: The Jesuit Missions and Colonialism in North America, 1632-1650* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2000), 5-6. Other significant studies of the ‘literary’ *Relations* include Marie-Christine Pioffet, *La tentation de l’épopée dans les Relations des Jésuites* (Québec: Septentrion, 1997); and Réal Ouellet, Alain Beaulieu, et al. eds., *Rhétorique et conquête missionnaire: Le jésuite Paul Lejeune* (Sillery, Québec: Septentrion, 1993).

⁷ For example, Daniel Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992); Bruce

agents of Catholicism advocated an ideal Christianity, native peoples contributed to the fashioning of new world ‘Christianities’ that were ultimately local, yet tied into the transnational beliefs and practices of universal Catholicism.⁸

Between 1642 and 1649 a total of nine Jesuits died either in Huronia, Iroquoia or, in the case of Anne de Nouë, on the ice of the Saint Lawrence River, and were subsequently regarded as martyrs for the faith. Their deaths took place in ritual, war, and even accident, but in the narratives that recorded them the Jesuit fathers became martyrs. Martyrdom was such a predominant concern of French colonists, especially members of the church, and such a powerful experience in mid-seventeenth century Canada, that it ought not to be passed off merely as gloss, nor regarded uncritically. While the Jesuits recognized a typical martyr’s tale in what happened to Jogues in Iroquoia, his death, in fact, occurred within a set of ritual practices that belonged to the Iroquois. The Frenchmen were war captives who had to be dealt with according to proper rituals of torture and adoption. But for Jogues, Lalemant, and knowledgeable Christian authorities, the Iroquois were really players in a Christian drama – one that extended beyond execution into text, and then to a reading and listening audience. Although hagiographic literature over the years has tended to present Native peoples as passive in these events – carrying out the will of

Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1680*, 2nd edition (Kingston; Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1987); Kenneth Morrison, *The Solidarity of Kin: Ethnohistory, Religious Studies, and the Algonkian-French Religious Encounter* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002); Dean Snow, *The Iroquois* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1994); Denys Delâge, *Bitter Feast: Amerindians and Europeans in the American Northeast, 1600-64* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1993).

⁸ Allan Greer and Kenneth Mills, “A Catholic Atlantic,” in *The Atlantic in Global History, 1500-2000*, ed. Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra and Erik R. Seeman (New Jersey: Pearson/Prentice Hall, 2007), 10. Greer and Mills argue that in the Americas, Christianity developed in multiple ways, shaped locally by Indians, mixed race persons, Europeans and white creoles, but rooted in a circum-Atlantic universal Catholicism.

the Christian God either as converts or resisters – ethnohistories have demonstrated repeatedly the complexities involved in the colonial encounter and the active role taken by native peoples and groups in shaping entangled colonial cultures.⁹

In this chapter, therefore, I aim to turn some of the insights and conclusions of ethnohistorical approaches to the early contact period back on the producers of the texts and sources that ethnohistorians have drawn upon in their own work. I suggest that a better understanding of the full context in which a death such as Jogues's occurred, *and* the way that it was subsequently inscribed into authoritative texts according to Christian paradigms and traditions of holiness, sheds some light on the way the colonial encounter affected European notions and scenarios of holiness, and how and why the Jesuits presented the martyrs and themselves in hagiographic text. Therefore, I ask first and foremost, how were the Canadian martyrs made in the 1640s, first in ritual and spectacle, and then in text? While the focus falls, once again, more on the European side of the colonial encounter than the aboriginal, I suggest that the two are not so easily distinguished, and hope that by exploring the deep contexts in which these deaths took place and the process through which they were transformed into martyrdoms, I can reorient somewhat the Jesuit perspective on martyrdom and consider aboriginal roles in the creation of new world Christianities.

⁹ Even in more recent works such as René Latourelle's study of Jean de Brébeuf, the martyr and the events that contributed to his martyrdom are interpreted only according to the Christian doctrine of martyrdom, while the roles played by native peoples are almost entirely erased. René Latourelle, *Jean de Brébeuf* (Montréal: Bellarmin, 1993), 248-250.

Hopes and Expectations

The 1640s was a difficult decade for Jesuit missionaries in Canada. The optimism they had felt following their return to New France in 1632, especially for the possibilities of the Huron mission begun in 1634, had dissipated beneath wave after wave of disease and warfare.¹⁰ Their harvest of souls had not lived up to expectations and the models of evangelization they had tried to copy from the Society's South American missions had been largely ineffective.¹¹ The Huron, who had been willing to receive Jesuit fathers into their villages, largely as agents of their French allies, initially expressed some interest in the spiritual messages of Christianity but were generally uninterested in converting, regarded conversion as unnecessary, or only half-heartedly converted. But as European diseases ravished the Huron population beginning late in 1636, without affecting the French, many began to blame the priests "whose mysterious and antisocial behaviour seemed to match the profile of malevolent sorcerers."¹² Most baptisms were performed surreptitiously on

¹⁰ In a 1636 letter to Mutius Vitelleschi, Superior of the Jesuits at Rome, Jean de Brébeuf, superior of the Huron mission, outlined the (European) qualities of the Hurons that made him hopeful for a successful mission. "We have good hope of some day reaping a large harvest of souls at this mission. The Hurons live in towns, not wandering about after the manner of wild animals, or even like many other savages. [...] They are not so uncivilized as not to be endowed with excellent sense and judgment; and this is true of almost all of them. As for the mysteries of our faith, although these are entirely new to their ears, they do not gainsay them, or mock them, or scorn them; nay, rather they wonder, praise, and approve, though without keeping them long before their minds." *JR* 11: 7-9 (1636). The very next year Brébeuf wrote again to Vitelleschi telling him of the epidemics that had struck the Huron population and the check they had made of the progress of the faith. *JR* 11: 13-19 (1637).

¹¹ The model for settled Jesuit missions in Canada were the society's missions in Paraguay. Known as reductions, they were intended to reduce the liberty of the native population and bring them under the yoke of Christianity. The first reduction in Canada was established in 1637 at Sillery. See Marc Jetten, *Enclaves amérindiennes: Les réductions du Canada 1637-1701* (Sillery, Québec: Septentrion, 1994).

¹² Allan Greer, ed., *The Jesuit Relations: Natives and Missionaries in Seventeenth-Century North America* (Boston and New York: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2000), 12. Jean de Brébeuf alerted the

the dying, especially children, whom the Fathers believed had not had time enough to commit the sins of adults. The missionaries were disappointed and frustrated and they began to wonder if their mission was favoured by God.

Amid the disappointments there were some triumphs and each was savoured in the letters and yearly reports the missionaries sent back to France enumerating the conversions the fathers believed they had achieved. Although the combination of epidemic disease, warfare, and growing economic dependency on the French sparked backlashes against the missionaries, they also prompted, over time, significant numbers of adult Hurons to seek baptism possibly as a new source of spiritual power.¹³ In 1639-40 the thirteen priests and fourteen assistants then living in Huronia built the fortified village of Sainte-Marie and the Christian community began to grow. But these successes caused a split in Huron society between those who accepted the new spiritual message of the French and those who did not. The prosperity and solidity of Huron society, which had initially given the Jesuits hope for easy conversions, was disintegrating. By the end of the 1640s, the confederacy was so weakened and divided as a result of stresses caused by the colonial encounter, represented most tangibly by the presence of the Jesuits, that it could no longer resist

Jesuit leadership to the problem in a letter to Mutius Vitelleschi, General of the Society of Jesus at Rome, 16 June 1637, *JR* 11: 12-21.

¹³ Greer, *The Jesuit Relations*, 13. Kenneth Morrison argues that native groups sought access to Christian rites as new sources of spiritual power when their own failed to met the challenges of new diseases and new social realities. "Baptism and Alliance: The Symbolic Mediations of Religious Syncretism," *Ethnohistory* 37:4 (1990): 416-437.

its enemies, the Iroquois, who destroyed it and dispersed its peoples in the spring of 1649.¹⁴

Following the dispersal of the Huron Confederacy, the Jesuits tried to keep as many of their converts together as they could and in 1650 a group of Christian Hurons, along with the remaining Jesuit missionaries, arrived in Quebec seeking refuge and accommodation.¹⁵ Five Jesuits were killed in Huronia during the conflict with the Iroquois; Antoine Daniel, Gabriel Lalemant, Charles Garnier, Noël Charbanel, and the so-called apostle of the Huron, known as *Echon*, Jean de Brébeuf.¹⁶ Although incidental relative to the massive loss of life and home experienced by the Huron, these deaths took on a disproportionate importance in the imaginations of the missionaries themselves and of members of the French colonial community. For the dead were regarded as martyrs. With these deaths the Jesuits believed they had the proof they were looking for that their mission was blessed and that it would prosper in the end. The blood of the martyrs, as Tertullian had stated at the end of the second century, and as the Jesuits in Canada liked to

¹⁴ Internal issues and the motivations of the Iroquois also need to be considered in any understanding of the dispersal of the Huron confederacy. For a good account of the Huron perspective see Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic* (1987), and for the Iroquois point of view Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse* (1992).

¹⁵ Many Huron were killed during these conflicts. Others dispersed to join other Iroquoian nations such as the Neutral and Petun, while still others eventually reformed into the nation known as the Wyandot. Many more were taken captive and eventually adopted into the villages of the Iroquois confederacy. It was the Huron themselves and not the Jesuits who suggested the move to Quebec. For a good account of Huron population changes see Gary Warrick, "A Population History of the Huron-Petun, AD 900-1650" (PhD diss., McGill University, 1990).

¹⁶ Brébeuf was sent to the Huron in 1625 by Pierre Coton, Provincial Superior of the Jesuit Order in France. In his account of the life and virtues of Brébeuf, Paul Rageuneau referred to his friend and colleague as "the first apostle of the Hurons, the first of our Society who set foot there..." JR 34: 159 (1649). He was called Echon by the Huron. René Latourelle, "Brébeuf, Jean de," DCB.

repeat, would water the seeds of the new church as the colonization of the ‘new’ world produced examples of holiness beyond measure.¹⁷

From the early days of the church there have been three basic requirements of martyrdom; 1. that physical life has been laid down and real death undergone; 2. that death has been inflicted in hatred of Christian life and truth (*odium fidei*); and 3. that death has been voluntarily accepted in defense of these.¹⁸ Of these three, number two has presented theologians with the most difficulty. It is the requirement most troublesome to substantiate and the one that, historically, has been most susceptible to interpretation. Most broadly, martyrdom referred to the direct witness to the truths of the faith that the martyr makes in suffering and dying for Christ. In stricter definitions, however, a clear persecution undertaken out of *odium fidei* was necessary to prove sanctity.

Over the course of the seventeenth century there was a progressive movement towards this stricter definition in the Roman church reflected in discourses from North America.¹⁹ In his definitive treatise on canonization composed between 1734 and 1738, Cardinal Lambertini, later Pope Benedict XIV,

¹⁷ Not a lot is known about the life of Quintus Septimus Florens Tertullianus. He was born at Carthage probably around 160 AD and converted to Christianity in his middle age. He was a lawyer by profession, but made his name as an ecclesiastical writer when he became a priest around 200. Consistently orthodox in his views, he nevertheless broke with the church around 212 to join the schismatic Monanists who rejected the notion that the church could forgive sin. This phrase, often quoted by Canadian Jesuits, is taken from his *Apolegeticum* (c. 197), a defence of the Christians against their Roman persecutors. John Chapman, “Tertullian,” *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. XIV (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912).

¹⁸ T. Gilby and L.S. Cunningham, “Martyrdom, Theology of,” *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd Edition, vol. 9, (Detroit: Gale, 2003), 230.

¹⁹ *Odium fidei* was the guiding theological requirement of martyrdom until the Second Vatican council of 1962-65 when emphasis switched to the witness of love for Christ rendered by the martyr. René Latourelle, *Jean de Brébeuf* (Québec: Bellarmin, 1993), 248-49.

was concerned above all that *odium fidei* be proven in cases of potential martyrdom. Death had to be inflicted directly by the persecutor, he argued, and the intentions of the persecutor had to be examined very closely. Martyrdom consisted for Lambertini in the voluntary acceptance of death for the faith, but he emphasized the hatred of the faith *ex parte persecutoris*.²⁰

We must be cautious, however, not to invest too much stock in such general pronouncements when studying specific cases of sanctity and martyrdom. Theological definitions framed official understandings, but, in Canada, first impressions of holiness were formulated in the local community and by eye-witnesses. Death was only the final issue while martyrdom took place in action. The Jesuit Order, however, carried with them certain expectations framed by general theological notions of what it meant to suffer and die for God, framed by a profound eschatological belief and forged in their considerable corporate experience as missionaries both inside France and in foreign regions such as Japan and China. Mission was a war, a holy war for souls waged against ignorance and the devil. It was not expected that it should be conducted without casualties, on both sides. It could, therefore, be a road to sanctity for the committed missionary. If history showed anything, Jesuits believed, it was that holiness and sanctification went hand-in-hand with the expansion of the frontiers of Christendom. Paul Le Jeune wrote in the *Relation* of 1639,

We have sometimes wondered whether we could hope for the conversion of this country without the shedding of blood; the principle received, it seems, in the Church of God, that the blood of Martyrs is the seed of Christians, made me at one time conclude that

²⁰ R. Hedde, "Martyre," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* vol. 10, (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1951), 226. "On the part of the persecutor."

this was not to be expected, - yea, that it was not even to be desired; considering the glory that redounds to God from the constancy of the Martyrs, with whose blood all the rest of the earth has been so lately drenched, it would be a sort of curse if this quarter of the world should not participate in the happiness of having contributed to the splendour of this glory.²¹

From their arrival in Canada the Jesuits expected to suffer and undergo martyrdom. Colonialism and holiness were intimately bound together in their understanding of the missionary enterprise. Theologically and spiritually, they were trained for it, and thought of themselves as the inheritors of the apostles of the ancient church who had also died to propagate the faith. Le Jeune's paraphrase of Tertullian's maxim directly linked the Canadian mission to its apostolic model and, through his description of the violent sufferings of the martyrs, successfully joined the Jesuits in Canada with the ancient martyrs at the same time that it called to mind more contemporary bouts of religious bloodshed. This passage could refer to any number of deaths considered holy by Catholics; both those achieved in combating Protestantism in Europe and those encountered in the new missions of the Catholic Church in Asia and South America.²² It would be a curse, from the perspective of Jesuits in Canada, for the Canadian mission to have to do without.

To a significant degree, martyrdom and thinking about martyrdom defined Jesuit aspirations early on in the Canada mission. Dominique Deslandres has pointed out the great similarities between French Jesuit missions on both sides of the

²¹ *JR* 17:13 (1639).

²² For example, in 1597 twenty-six Christians, including native converts and six Franciscan missionaries, were crucified at Nagasaki Japan as a part of an organized persecution against Christians in the area. Persecutions continued for fifty years in Japan claiming the lives of many converts and missionaries, including fifty-five Jesuits, who were considered martyrs. Louis Delplace, "Japanese Martyrs," *The Catholic Encyclopedia* vol. IX (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1910), <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/09744a.htm>.

Atlantic where missionaries expected to sacrifice themselves for the salvation of peoples.²³ Through rigorous training in the Jesuit colleges of France, missionaries were infused with an eschatological world view that propelled them to think of mission as an opportunity to save and be saved. Several of the Canadian missionaries, amongst them the most prominent, were trained by Louis Lallemant who taught at the College of Rouen from 1619 to 1631. Lallemant taught an Augustinian rigor to his charges in a time when such doctrines were under greater and greater scrutiny due to the rise of Jansenism and its subsequent condemnation by the Jesuit Order, the French government, and also the papacy.²⁴ He taught that mission was an opportunity first and foremost for personal suffering directed towards interior spiritual development. “Our first care as well as our chief study must be our own perfection, which should be preferred before everything; then...we shall apply ourselves to the service of our neighbour under the influence of a true zeal regulated by prudence.”²⁵ Paul Le Jeune and Jérôme Lalemant²⁶, as well as the future

²³ Dominique Deslandres, “*Exemplo aequo ut verbo*: The French Jesuits’ Missionary World,” in *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773*, ed. By John O’Malley et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 263-265. Also *Croire et faire croire. Les missions françaises au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2003), 289-300.

²⁴ Peter Goddard has argued that the rigourism expressed by the Jesuits in their Canadian mission was, to some degree, a response to Jansenist accusations of Jesuit laxity. “Canada in Seventeenth-Century Jesuit Thought: Backwater or Opportunity,” *Decentring the Renaissance: Canada and Europe in Multidisciplinary Perspective, 1500-1700*, ed. Germaine Warkentin, Carolyn Podruchny (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 193-197. On Louis Lallemant’s spiritual doctrine and the development of his school in the early seventeenth century see Henri Brémond, *Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux en France, La conquête mystique*, vol. V (Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1933), 4-65.

²⁵ *The Spiritual Doctrine of Father Louis Lallemant of the Society of Jesus*, trans. Frederick William Faber (New York: D. and J. Sadlier and Co., 1884), 85. This work was composed after his death from lecture notes taken by two of his students; Jean Rigoleuc and Jean-Joseph Surin. It is available in numerous editions and translations.

martyrs Jean de Brébeuf, Antoine Daniel, and Isaac Jogues, were all his students, as was Paul Ragueneau, the author of many of the authoritative accounts of Jesuit martyrdom amongst the Huron, plus the most complete hagiographic text to come out of early New France, *La vie de la mère Catherine de Saint-Augustin*.²⁷ The Jesuits who embarked on mission to Canada regarded their own salvation as at least as important as that of those they set out to convert.²⁸ The saints, Lallemant said, are those who were able to defeat the external and worldly self in the interest of the interior spiritual self. “Thus the saints, though persecuted by men, and assaulted by devils, laughed it all to scorn. It was but the outside that felt the blows, the interior was in peace.”²⁹

Long before the missionaries arrived in Canada, sanctity and colonialism were inextricably linked in their minds. Lallemant himself hoped to be sent on mission and requested specifically to be sent to Canada because he regarded it as more fruitful in labour and crosses (physical and spiritual sufferings) than other missions, and believed that it contributed more than any other mission to the

²⁶ Jérôme Lalemant and Louis Lallemant were apparently not related, despite Henri Brémond’s claim that they were brothers. Charles Lalemant’s brother, the first superior of the Jesuits in Canada, was Jérôme’s brother, and both were uncles to Gabriel Lalemant who died in Huronia in 1649. Henri Bremond, *Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux en France: La conquête mystique*, vol. VI (Paris : Bloud et Gay, 1933), 7.

²⁷ “Louis Lallemant” in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité ascétique et mystique: Doctrine et histoire* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1932-1995), 125-135. See also Peter Goddard, “Augustine and the Amerindian in Seventeenth-Century New France,” *Church History* 67, 4 (1998): 668. Paul Ragueneau, *La vie de la Mère Catherine de Saint-Augustin, religieuse hospitalière de la miséricorde de Québec en la Nouvelle-France* (Paris: Florentin Lambert, 1671).

²⁸ Dominique Deslandres, “*Exemplo aequo ut verbo*,” 261.

²⁹ *The Spiritual Doctrine of Father Louis Lallemant.*, 57.

sanctification of its missionaries.³⁰ Jesus, he said, had achieved the redemption of the world through the cross, not through miracles or preaching, “so likewise the evangelical labourers apply the grace of redemption only by their crosses, and by the persecutions they suffer. So much so that no great fruits can be expected from their ministry, if it be not accompanied by contradictions, calumnies, injuries and sufferings.”³¹ In his personal writings, the future martyr Jean de Brébeuf vowed his dedication to die for the faith.

Tibi ergo, domine mi Iesu, et sanguinem et corpus et spiritum meum iam ab hoc die gaudenter offero, ut pro te, si ita dones, moriar, qui pro me mori dignatus es. Fac ut sic vivam, ut ita mori tandem me velis. Ita, Domine, calicem tuum accipiam et nomen tuum invocabo : Iesu, Iesu, Iesu.³²

Martyrdom was such a central component of Jesuit mission identity and ideology in the seventeenth century that they could not really imagine a successful mission without it. Dominique Deslandres argues that because the missionaries saw themselves as the inheritors of a foundational model of Christianity, they were conditioned to see all their acts in the light of a developing holiness and sanctity. In their view, they met with the same challenges as the first apostles: persecution, error, magicians and miracles workers, inhospitable peoples, slander, long and dangerous

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 14. The most commonly cited motivation for wishing to be sent overseas offered by potential missionaries in letters to the General Superior of the Society in Rome was the desire to help the native population. Nevertheless, it appears that Lallemant’s enthusiasm for Canada was rather unique to him and his students. Requests from French Jesuits for mission postings rarely stated a preferred destination, but when they did it was rarely Canada. See Luca Codignola, “Competing Networks: Roman Catholic Ecclesiastics in French North America, 1610-58,” *Canadian Historical Review* 80, 4 (December, 1999): 546-47.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 74.

³² *MNF* VII: 508 (doc. 104). Brébeuf quoted by Paul Ragueneau in a letter to Vincent Carafa, dated 1 March 1649. “Therefore to you, my lord Jesus, I offer gladly my blood, my body and my spirit now this day so that I may die for you, who deigned to die for me, if you grant it. Grant that I may so live that I can die when you call me. So, Lord, I will accept your chalice and invoke your name: Jesus, Jesus, Jesus.”

travel, disbelief, etc. And they could win the same divine graces through their sacrifices for God. When they experienced success in learning native languages, the ability to cure or work other miracles as the apostles of the ancient church had done, they considered these gifts as signs that they were the elect of God.³³ First amongst the ranks of the holy were the martyrs, taught Louis Lallemant, because it was they who suffered most and they who spread the faith to the world. “It is to the holy martyrs that the Church owes its propagation throughout the whole world, and the subjection of the Roman Empire to the faith.”³⁴

Between Ritual and Writing

Given the importance the Jesuits placed on suffering and martyrdom in regard to their own identity as the inheritors of the apostles of the ancient church, and the success of the new church in Canada, the fact that the Canadian mission produced no martyrs became a cause for concern. As consolation, Paul Le Jeune began to regard the entire mission as a living martyrdom. He wrote in the 1639

Relation,

But I confess, - now that I am here, and see what is taking place, namely, the combats, battles, attacks, and the general assaults against all Nature, which the Gospel laborers suffer here every day, and at the same time their patience, their courage, and the continual assiduity in pursuing their object, – that I begin to wonder whether any other martyrdom is necessary for the results we aim at; and I do not doubt that many persons could be found who would prefer to receive at once a hatchet blow upon the head, than to spend their years enduring the life one must every day lead here, working for the conversion of these barbarians.³⁵

³³ Dominique Deslandres, *Croire et faire croire*, 301.

³⁴ *The Spiritual Doctrine of Father Louis Lallemant*, 240.

³⁵ JR 17: 13(1639).

Already their experiences in the new world had begun to altar perceptions and understandings gained in the sterile classrooms of France. Martyrdom, for Le Jeune, not only consisted in the physical act of dying, but also, and perhaps more importantly, in voluntary suffering. Nor was this assessment without support at the time by others experienced in the physical work of missions. Vincent de Paul (1581-1660) also described mission as a living form of martyrdom.

C'est donc une espèce de martyre que de se consumer pour la vertu. Un missionnaire qui est bien mortifié et bien obéissant, qui s'acquitte parfaitement de ses fonctions et qui vit selon les règles de son état, fait voir, par ce sacrifice de son corps et de son âme, que Dieu mérite d'être uniquement servi, et qu'il doit être incomparablement préféré à tous les avantages et plaisirs de la terre. Faire de la sorte, c'est publier les vérités et les maximes de l'Evangile de Jésus-Christ, non par paroles, mais par la conformité de vie à celle de Jésus-Christ, et rendre témoignage de sa vérité et de sa sainteté aux fidèles et aux infidèles; et par conséquent vivre et mourir de la sorte, c'est d'être martyr.³⁶

Actual death, then, was not, in point of fact, a necessity of martyrdom. Nevertheless, it helped those left behind to recognize the teleology of holiness in a given performance of personal and voluntary suffering. The first Canadian Jesuit to be written about as a martyr was the *donné* René Goupil, a surgeon who joined the Jesuit novitiate in Paris in 1639 but due to poor health failed to become a full member of the society. Around 1640 he traveled to New France regardless to work in menial jobs in the Jesuit house at Quebec and in the hospital as a surgeon.³⁷ In 1642, while in Trois Rivières, Father Isaac Jogues requested the superior, Barthélemy Vimont, that Goupil make the return trip to Huronia with him as the mission there

³⁶ Vincent de Paul, *Entretiens spirituels aux missionnaires*, 130-131 (conférence 175) tome 11 (Paris: Pierre Coste). Quoted in Dominique Deslandres, *Croire et Faire Croire*, 62.

³⁷ JR 28: 117 (1645-46).

was in need of someone with a surgeon's skills. We have already seen what befell Jogues, Goupil, and their companions as they set out for the mission field. Their captivity was described in the *Relations* between 1643 and 1646, at times penned by Jogues himself, and at others by the Jesuit Superior who compiled the yearly reports. Guillaume Couture was returned to the French in 1645 as a part of a peace treaty between the Iroquois, Huron, and French concluded at Trois Rivières. Jogues escaped in 1643. But Goupil was killed after only a brief time amongst the Iroquois.

News of Goupil's death was first reported to the French by a Huron man who had escaped captivity. It was noted by Vimont in the *Relation* of 1642-43. Despite anxieties over the lack of martyrs in the Canadian mission, however, the death of Goupil did not immediately raise a great deal of excitement. Vimont attributed Goupil's death to his love for the native peoples, but celebrated it only in that it reportedly encouraged another surgeon in France to go on mission to New France. He stopped well short of calling Goupil a martyr.³⁸ Whether this was because there were questions over the circumstances of his death or because of Goupil's status as a *donné* and not a full priest, or both, is not clear. Whatever the reasons, it fell to Jogues to become the chief advocate of Goupil's cause. Just before leaving on his final journey to the Iroquois in the late summer of 1646, Jogues penned an account of what he regarded as the martyrdom of René Goupil. In this account, he clearly defined why he considered Goupil a martyr.

I give him this title not only because he was killed by the enemies of God and of his Church, and in the exercise of an ardent charity towards his neighbor, – placing himself in evident peril for the love

³⁸ JR 25: 31-33 (1642-43); JR 24: 281-283 (1642-43).

of God, – but especially because he was killed on account of prayer, and notably for the sake of the holy cross.³⁹

Martyrdom, by Jogues's reckoning, is not found in death only, but rather in the actions, moments, and intentions that precede death. In this sense, his understanding shares some of the aspects of martyrdom considered transhistorical by medievalist Alison Elliot. The climax of any martyrdom, she argues, takes place just prior to when the death blow is given. At such a moment, the martyr confronts his or her persecutors in a theatrical and dramatic scene rich in symbolic meaning that will speak well beyond "the seemingly intended receiver" to a much wider audience through the text that records it.⁴⁰ Similarly, Jogues described a sudden and quick death, but lingered over the days and hours that preceded it. During this period (as narrated by his fellow captive and potential martyr, Jogues) Goupil seemed to anticipate what was to come; he confessed several times and right before he died pronounced the formal vows of a Jesuit to become a full member of the Order (in rather extraordinary circumstances).⁴¹ Then Jogues narrated his own tireless and risky mission to recover and bury Goupil's body. "Our lord gave me courage enough to wish to die in this charity," he wrote.⁴² For Jogues, the body of the martyr was precious, a record inscribed with proof that a martyr had been made, and a potential source of relics for the faithful left behind.

³⁹ JR 28: 133 (1646).

⁴⁰ Alison Goddard Elliott, "The Power of Discourse," *Medievalia et Humanistica*, ns, 11 (1982): 40. Such scenes of confrontation, argues Elliott, owe as much to literary criteria as to historical fact.

⁴¹ Whether these vows were recognized by the Order is not clear. In subsequent literature he is almost always called *donné*.

⁴² JR 28: 131 (1646).

The events that immediately preceded Goupil's death appear at the very end of the narrative.

One day, seeing a little child of 3 or 4 years in the cabin, – with an excess of devotion and of love for the cross, and with a simplicity which we who are more prudent than he, according to the flesh, would not have shown, – he took off his cap, put it on the child's head, and made a great sign of the cross upon its body.⁴³

So enraged at this was an old Iroquois man, the child's grandfather, who was also in the cabin at the time, that he asked a young warrior, possible his nephew, to kill Goupil. When Goupil left the cabin to join Jogues, the warrior followed. As the Frenchmen walked, the young warrior struck from behind, felling Goupil with a hatchet blow and finishing him off with two more. Jogues immediately dropped to his knees in an attitude of prayer expecting to receive a similar blow, but when none came his way he rushed to aid his dying friend and grant him final absolution.

From the Christian perspective, this is the climatic moment when the tension, which has been building throughout Jogues's narrative, is resolved. This simple and innocent action that Christian audiences at the time would have recognized as a blessing, an act of charity, is juxtaposed to the irrational rage it caused in this old man. There is no doubt of Goupil's innocence in this confrontation. Nor is there any mention of why the old man was so enraged by Goupil's act. The narrative plots Goupil's actions as purely innocent and the reaction of the native man as incomprehensible.⁴⁴ The result is that Goupil's actions and

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 133 (1646).

⁴⁴ Christian martyrs are always considered innocent by Christian writers and in Christian theology because they are believed to adhere to a divine and not human law. Elizabeth Castelli, *Martyrdom and Memory: Early Christian Culture Making* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 49.

death recall the paradigm of the Christian martyr when in fact they took place within a completely other social and cultural script.

Recent work by ethnohistorians has shed considerable light on Iroquois captivity and adoption rituals and lends understanding to the Iroquois perspective on these deaths, on Jesuits as captives, and on how Goupil eventually came to be seen by some as a Christian martyr. Scholars have long recognized, as did seventeenth-century Jesuits before them, that Goupil and, as we will see, Jogues, Brébeuf and others, died within Iroquois rituals, but have not regarded those rituals as significant to the framing of events. Nor have they explored how the dead Jesuits were removed from these ritual contexts through Christian texts; how, within the constraints imposed by Iroquois rituals, Christian witnesses and writers produced counterscripts that did not simply overwrite Iroquois perspectives, but rather transformed them into aspects of a Christian scenario and tradition of holiness for audiences in no way limited to those who were actually present at the original performance.⁴⁵

Numerous accounts of Iroquois torture and adoption survive in firsthand reports of survivors from which ethnohistorians have been able to reconstruct the main components of the ritual as well as its purpose. In fact, the same texts that narrate the martyrdoms of Isaac Jogues, Goupil and other Jesuits, have been used to recreate the Iroquois rituals in which these deaths took place. Upon capture, a

⁴⁵ In order to point to the participation of Christians in aboriginal rituals, I have borrowed the notion of the counterscript from Elizabeth Castelli who argues that early Christians transformed the script of Roman rituals of violent public execution of Christians in the arena into Christian scripts of martyrdom. Christians were persecuted formally in the Roman Empire, not on account of their Christianity *per se*, but rather because they refused to worship the cult of the emperor and were therefore considered a threat to civil order and obedience. In Roman law, this was a crime, because to do so threatened the unity of the social and political fabric. Where Romans used violence as spectacle to inscribe imperial authority, Christians used the same violence to demonstrate the righteousness of the sufferers. *Martyrdom and Memory*, 119-120.

prisoner was first stripped of his clothing, the outward signs of his former life. The captive then received blows from cudgels, his finger nails were ripped out and, at times, entire fingers were completely severed. These were superficial tortures, painful but not life-threatening. The captive was then marched from the point of capture to an Iroquois village carrying the spoils of the recent victory on his back. If the prisoner faltered or tried to escape he would be killed. Most women, children and adolescent boys escaped the worst of the torture, and generally the initial wounds inflicted on adult males were painful but superficial. The point was not to kill the individual but rather to recreate his identity through ritual death and rebirth so that the captive might be adopted. Violence was used to break down the previous identity of a captive, and compassion to create a new, Iroquois, one. Ethnohistorians have recently argued that the so-called Beaver Wars, the wars of the Iroquois against the French and Huron in the 1640s and 1650s, were pursued not so much for economic gain, but rather for captives who might become Iroquois through adoption and bolster the population of the five nations decimated by European diseases.⁴⁶ By the mid 1660s it is estimated that upwards of two-thirds of the population of many Iroquois villages were adoptees. Yet war and disease ensured that the overall population of the League remained steady at about 10,000.⁴⁷

When the captives reached the Iroquois village they were greeted by the inhabitants ranged in two lines outside the palisade and armed with clubs, sticks and

⁴⁶ Richter, *Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 66-74. Roland Viau argues that war for the Iroquois was first and foremost a cultural and social enterprise aimed towards taking captives. Capture was a violent shock that created psychological trauma in the victims of ritual torture. *Enfants du néant et mangeurs d'âmes: Guerre, culture et société en Iroquoisie ancienne* (Montréal: Boréal, 1997), 120.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 61-66.

other weapons. Prisoners were led slowly between the two lines while they were beaten mercilessly. Inside the village all prisoners were placed on a scaffold where they were derided by the crowd and forced to undergo further physical punishments and humiliation. These torments were usually led by the senior women in the village. During this period, village headmen and clan mothers decided if the captives would live or die. If life was offered the tortures ceased and the captive was showered with affection by the adopting relatives who conducted a “requickening” ceremony to integrate the newcomer into their lineage. If the captive accepted his new identity life could be very good, but those who resisted or tried to escape were dispatched quickly and unceremoniously by a hatched blow to the head.⁴⁸

Captives were expected to undergo these torments stoically and bravely and to accept the fate that befell them. If they did, the torments forced upon them would remain superficial and non-life threatening. If they did not the tortures became more extreme and might even lead to death. When a verdict of death was pronounced, tortures increased in severity in order to test the strength and bravery of the captive until finally death was administered. In these final hours, “Resolute prisoners clung to their dignity, singing their death songs in the face of excruciating pain until they lost consciousness.” The blood of brave victims anointed the children of the village while warriors consumed the heart in the hopes of acquiring a portion of the victim’s courage.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Richter *Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 66-74.

⁴⁹ Dean Snow, *The Iroquois* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1994), 127.

Of the Huron who were taken captive with Jogues and Goupil, all but two were apparently spared and likely adopted in some capacity.⁵⁰ But Goupil and Jogues were neither killed nor formally adopted. When it came to the two Frenchmen, the rituals of torture and adoption broke down. They were given life as “confusion arose in the councils of the Iroquois.”⁵¹ Some wished to put them to death while others thought they should be ransomed to the French. The French were not unfamiliar with these rituals. In a letter he wrote from his captivity dated 5 August 1643, Jogues told the Provincial superior of the French Jesuits,

When they spare the life of any slave, they usually receive him into some family in the place of some dead kinsman, whom the slave is said to bring to life again, by taking the name and the same degree of relationship; so that they call him, like the dead man, “father,” “brother,” “son,” etc. But, in the case of René and myself, because we were not so strong the final decision was not taken, but they left us together, as it were, in a free slavery.⁵²

Jogues was clearly familiar with the rituals in which he found himself a participant. He knew the terms of adoption and also the likely fate of someone who was not adopted. He and Goupil were left in a state of limbo; they were outsiders within the Iroquois village existing somewhere between life and death. They occupied a status roughly equivalent to a probationary period that could last months or an entire lifetime during which a captive was expected to prove his willingness to

⁵⁰ JR 24: 281 (1642-43).

⁵¹ JR 28: 127 (1646).

⁵² JR 39: 199 (1653). This letter was written originally in Latin and addressed to the Father Provincial of the French Jesuits. It was translated into Italian by the missionary Joseph Bressani and included in a relation he wrote in 1653 for an Italian, primarily Jesuit, audience about the history of the Canadian mission. Part III of Bressani’s relation recounts the deaths of several missionaries including Jogues and Goupil. Lalemant drew extensively on Jogues’s letter in the 1647 *Relation*.

integrate into Iroquois society by acting like an Iroquois.⁵³ Lalemant wrote, “Those Barbarians are accustomed to give prisoners, whom they do not choose to put to death, to the families who have lost some of their relatives in war. [...] But when they retain some public prisoner, like the Father, without giving him to any individual, this poor man is every day within two finger-lengths of death.”⁵⁴

Jogues and Goupil were allowed to move about the village with a fair amount of freedom, but it seems they may have flouted conventions by refusing to play the part of the willing adoptee. They ignored warnings not to provoke others by preaching, they continued to pray both on their own and in public, and they continued to try to convert others. They were outsiders and because of their behaviour they must have remained a threat. In this context, the sign of the cross made on the forehead of a child was no innocent act from the perspective of a Mohawk. It must have been seen as a statement of Goupil’s refusal to adhere to conventions considered vital for political and cultural integration, and it was a statement of provocation and aggression. The response: a quick and unceremonious death.

The ambiguous status of these two Frenchmen in Iroquois society must have caused considerable psychological anxiety, certainly for Jogues and Goupil who did not know from one moment to the next if they would live or die, but also for the Iroquois, divided amongst themselves, and resentful of the continual preaching and

⁵³ Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 69. Roland Viau concludes there were two modes by which captives were integrated into society; adoption which transformed a stranger into a relative, and a form of slavery that denied the captive any social relations and left them at risk of death at any moment. Roland Viau, *Enfant du néant*, 149-151.

⁵⁴ JR 31: 53 (1647).

breaches of proper comportment. For those who killed Goupil, his death resolved these tensions as should have happened weeks earlier according to Iroquois customary practices for dealing with war captives. When an Iroquois “has split the head of his slave with a hatchet,” wrote Father Le Jeune, “they say: ‘It is a dead dog; there is nothing to be done but to cast it upon the dunghill.’”⁵⁵ But the two fathers also hovered in an ambiguous status of their own that begged to be resolved. They did not know what God had planned for them. In the seventeenth century martyrdom was considered a special grace and actively seeking it meant second guessing the will of God.⁵⁶ Still, all the signs seemed to indicate that their time on earth was limited. Moreover, they had been sent to Canada, they believed, to preach, convert, and pave the way for the development of a new church, but threats to their lives curtailed these activities. Could they continue to preach when they knew it might result in their deaths?⁵⁷

A few days after Goupil died, Jogues went to eat with the old man who had ordered the death of his friend. Offering the blessing, Jogues made the sign of the cross and the old man told him, “That is what we hate: that is why they have killed your companion, and why they will kill you.”⁵⁸ Reading against the grain of Jogues’s text, we can perhaps venture that Goupil was killed for the violence he did to

⁵⁵ Le Jeune quoted in Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 69.

⁵⁶ Michel Morineau, “Les Jésuites parmi les hommes: La soif du martyre,” in *Les Jésuites parmi les hommes aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles*, edited by G. Demerson et al. (Clermont-Ferrand, France: Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de l’Université de Clermont-Ferrand II, 1987), 51.

⁵⁷ For example, the Jesuit fathers awaiting the final Iroquois assault on the Huron mission village of La Conception in 1649 regarded themselves “as so many victims consecrated to our Lord, who must await from his hand the hour when they should be sacrificed for His glory, without attempting to delay or wishing to hasten it.” JR 34: 122-137 (1649).

⁵⁸ JR 28: 135 (1646).

Iroquois adoption rituals. Jogues, in the text he wrote about this event and in the narrative he composed about his own captivity, however, saw only innocence and *odium fidei*, and the tradition of Christian martyrdom led him to a conclusion that, by this point, and from a Christian perspective, was inevitable; Goupil had died a martyr. In Lalemant's account of this meal, the hagiographic frame is much more in evidence than it is even in Jogues's own account. Jogues implies that he complied with the old man's injunction against making the sign of the cross by moving on to other matters, but in Lalemant's version, Jogues defended himself and used the opportunity to give a lesson about Christianity. He insisted that the sign of the cross could only be beneficial to those who use it. The old man gave in, according to Lalemant, and Jogues continued on making the sign with relative impunity. The differences between these two texts illustrate how events that took place in a radically different cultural and ritual context could be reinscribed into Christian frames of reference to reflect and reinforce Christian understandings.⁵⁹ For Jogues, the old man's warning is just that, but for Lalemant it is an opportunity for the future martyr to defend the faith despite personal danger.

Although anthropologists have been able to reconstruct the Iroquois rituals that framed the captivity and death of René Goupil, written access comes only through texts composed from the Jesuit perspective where the active participation of the native is often reduced to that of a facilitator in a narrative that, paradoxically,

⁵⁹ Jesuit missionaries, in fact, spent a great deal of effort explaining the difference between the tortures of hell, and ritual tortures that, if endured bravely, conferred respect and honour on the sufferer. David Murray, "Spreading the Word: Missionaries, Conversion and Circulation in the Northeast," in *Spiritual Encounters: Interactions between Christianity and Native Religions in Colonial America*, ed. Nicholas Griffiths and Fernando Cervantes (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 52. In essence, native peoples could not win salvation by suffering ritual torture, but Jesuits could.

was not theirs. Such textual lopsidedness, frequently noted in post-colonial studies of Christian missions around the world, marks a significant difference between our knowledge of events of martyrdom in Canada and other persecutions considered as martyrdom by Christians. Christian deaths during the Roman persecutions, for example, were recorded both in Christian martyrologies and in the legal records maintained by Roman magistrates. During the Reformation, Protestant and Catholic polemicists recorded their separate views on the deaths of their religious brethren in texts and pamphlets intended for broad circulation. In Canada, however, the religious and cultural significance of these deaths appear uncontested *ex parte persecutoris* either because objections were not recorded by Jesuit writers, not understood by Europeans, or, as seems more likely, because the Iroquois were not overly concerned with the meanings Europeans ascribed to the deaths of a small number of other Europeans. The Jesuit authors of the *Relations* did not control the rituals or contexts within which their brethren were killed, but they could control the meaning given to their deaths by mediating them through their belief sets, expectations, Christian traditions, and textual representations. In this way, the Iroquois lost control over the meaning of their own rituals as they became a part of European Christian counterscripts.⁶⁰ For Christian and French purposes, the actions of the Iroquois-participants in these rituals were hived off from the beliefs that made them meaningful and efficacious in Iroquois society. These events, rituals, and even understandings remain in Christian martyrological texts but meaning is changed through the frame of Christian martyrdom.

⁶⁰ Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), 8. For Buc, the danger of ritual for performers is that once it is performed its meanings can no longer be controlled, nor can outside observers be prevented from redefining meanings.

Theorist Catherine Bell argues that dualities between action and thought often are a basic component of outsiders' understandings of the rituals of others. By erecting a duality between the thinkers who perceive the truth in rituals, and the participants, who are merely actors, outsiders cast themselves as credible observers who understand the truth in what is taking place.⁶¹ In text, the Jesuit fathers who were killed stand apart from the action that results in their own deaths and are instead inserted into the ritual tradition of Christian martyrdom. Even where they narrated their own experiences as Jogues did, the Christian appears as though he is somehow separated from the rituals of suffering he is undergoing: the thinking observer pauses to take stock and interpret the ongoing action in light of Christian traditions of martyrdom. Jogues knew, even as he suffered horrible torments, or so he claimed later in his writings about these events, that God was making of him a spectacle for the whole world. His tormentors are merely the vehicle of God's will.

In addition to its ability to transform native rituals into Christian dramas, the hagiographic text could also reinscribe the observations of Christian participants in order to enhance the desired meaning. For example, in the letter Jogues wrote from his captivity in August of 1643, he chose to write in Latin in order, he says to quote more easily the scriptural passages that comforted him during his captivity. The text is riddled with quotations that pertain to his state of mind and seem to explain the

⁶¹ Bell argues that the triumph of the observer over the participant is the logical conclusion of Clifford Geertz's argument that ritual is where belief and thought converge for the believer (the participant) and the best opportunity for the outsider to examine this interaction. The observer, therefore, is in the best position to understand the true meaning of the ritual and so the meaning to the participants is superseded by the observer. The thinking observer can impose his own understandings upon the ritual which may be quite different from what the participants, who have lost control of meaning, actually intended. Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 25-29.

wider significance of his ordeals. But one scriptural passage, Corinthians 4:9, concerning the spectacle that Jogues believed he and Goupil had become for Christ, was not quoted, but rather paraphrased, and appears in the letter in the context of the Iroquois Council that decided they were to live.⁶² We saw above, however, that although Lalemant drew heavily on this letter, he attributed this sentiment to Jogues much earlier, only eight days into his captivity, when he was tortured by an Iroquois war band met on the road into Iroquoia. Furthermore, where Jogues paraphrased, Lalemant quoted in full. In this way, Lalemant ensured that the meaning ascribed to Jogues's torture, and ultimately his death, was present from the very beginning of the narrative and the action. The reader knows that the purpose of the narrative is to present Jogues as a spectacle, an example of constancy and suffering for Christ, and that Jogues himself saw his participation in these rituals in just this way. Consequently, Jogues, while a participant in the Iroquois ritual, is not like the Iroquois themselves. He stands apart and maintains his separate status, showing himself to be an outsider caught up in events he could not control, but to which he submits willingly. His own martyrdom, as a result, becomes his choice. Consequently, he becomes the victor insofar as what he does and what is done to him is regarded as the will of God that he accepts voluntarily.

Lalemant's *Relation* of 1647 introduced another motivation for Goupil's death – one that again had no connection to Iroquois motivations and only vague roots in Jogues's firsthand account. After explaining the ritual adoption of captives, Lalemant reveals that it was in fact the Dutch who told the old Mohawk man that making the sign of the cross could have no positive effect and could only result in trouble. In

⁶² JR 39: 197 (1653).

case the adaptation of Iroquois rituals to Christian paradigms of holiness was a failure, Lalemant generated a fallback position. Ultimately, the Protestant Dutch were responsible for Goupil's death. Goupil had died not at the hands of just one enemy of the faith, but of two. Yet, Lalemant still hesitated to call Goupil a martyr. His death, rather, served to bolster Jogues's claim to martyrdom.

Following Goupil's death, Jogues was given to some families as a servant for the winter hunt. With them he visited several villages over the course of the winter where he served mostly by chopping firewood while he sought opportunities to pray alone and continue to minister to captive Huron converts. It seems he managed to ingratiate himself in a way that Goupil had failed to do for, over time, says Lalemant, his adopted family began to treat him with more mildness. He was given the name Ondesson.⁶³ Jogues took the opportunity to ratchet up his preaching and missionizing efforts. He baptized many children, sick people, and captives, he claimed, and journeyed extensively amongst villages to visit neophytes. Although numerous opportunities to escape were presented to him, he decided to stay as long as he considered himself able to help other captives. As a result, he lived with the constant threat of death.⁶⁴ Eventually he determined that the risk to his life had become too great, that if he were killed he would no longer be able to help others, and so when an opportunity to escape presented itself late in 1643, Jogues took it, but not before vowing that he would one day return to complete what he now saw as his mission.

⁶³ JR 31: 87 (1647).

⁶⁴ JR 39, 215-223 (1653). He was almost killed on Good Friday, 1643, a day fraught with meaning for Christians.

It was Jogues' death in 1646 rather than Goupil's in 1642 which precipitated great and widespread excitement amongst the Jesuits in Canada. After escaping in November of 1643 to the Dutch colonies, he made his way to England and France, to the court of the Queen, then eventually back to Canada in May of 1646. Under the protection of a treaty of peace that Father Bressani described as 'feigned,' he volunteered once again for a mission into Mohawk country.⁶⁵ He made two, or possibly three, trips that summer and on the final one he was killed almost as soon as he set foot in the village of his former captivity. The date was 18 October 1646 and he was 39 years old. His companion, Jean de Lalande, was also killed.

His death, however, comes as something of an anti-climax in Lalemant's narrative. The dramatic point in the ritual of martyrdom had taken place years before during his first captivity, and any reader who had been following the *Relations* over a number of years would already have been familiar with the details of his sufferings. Lalemant believed that Jogues only escaped the Iroquois in 1643 because his life had already been given up and he knew one day he would return to complete his martyrdom. He wrote,

if he had not seen that it was all over with his life, and that he could no longer help those poor Barbarians unless he escaped, so that he might come and find them at another time, never could he have abandoned them; but our Lord prolonged his life, that he might come and present it to him another time, as a burnt-offering at the place where he had already begun his sacrifice.⁶⁶

Many who saw him during this long liminal period between life and death, in New Netherland, England, France, and back in Canada, recognized him as a martyr,

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 235 (1653).

⁶⁶ JR 31: 137 (1647).

it was reported. In the Dutch settlement where he found refuge at the end of 1643 a young boy, a Lutheran, who did not know him or even speak his language (he was Polish), nevertheless reportedly threw himself at Jogues's feet, kissed his hands and exclaimed, "Martyr, Martyr of Christ!"⁶⁷ An unnamed Jesuit father who was his companion during the last summer of his life in Montreal when he made a second and then a third and final trip into Iroquoia, "plainly recognized that God was preparing him for Heaven."⁶⁸ Jogues himself even seems aware of what awaited him in the weeks before he departed on his final mission. He wrote to a friend, "Ibo et non redibo" – I will go, but I will not return.⁶⁹

His initial captivity was his martyrdom in Lalemant's telling, as much, if not more so, than the actual fact of his death. Subsequently, Marie de l'Incarnation attributed three martyrdoms to him, one for each trip he took into Iroquois country.

Nous pouvons meme dire qu'il est trois fois Martyr, c'est-à-dire, autant de fois qu'il est allé dans les Nations Hiroquoises. La première fois il n'y est mort, mais il y a assez souffert pour mourir. La 2. fois il y n'y a souffert, et n'y est mort qu'en désir, son cœur brûlant continuellement du désir du martyre. Mais la troisième fois Dieu lui a accordé ce que son cœur avoit si long-temps désiré.⁷⁰

Father Jacques Buteux was the first Jesuit to receive word of Jogues's death which reached him at Trois-Rivières on 6 June 1647. He was informed by a Huron man who said he had heard about it from eye-witnesses. In a letter dated the same day, Buteux announced the news to his superior Jérôme Lalemant at Quebec, but admitted that he did not know all the details, nor entirely trust his sources. "Je n'ay

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 99 (1647).

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 125 (1647).

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 113 (1647).

⁷⁰ *MI Corr.*, 326 (Lettre CX) de Québec à son fils, été 1647.

peu apprendre autre circonstance de ce glorieux martire. Vostre Révérence sçait bien que presser un sauvage qui ne parle que par ouy-dire, c'est l'engager à faire mentir et à estre trompé.”⁷¹ This is not the last time the Jesuits would fail to entirely trust a native source in matters of martyrdom that took place in Iroquois rituals. The native source was not a credible one, he did not clearly stand apart from the action – the ritual in which the martyr was made – in the way that the Jesuit did.

Within two months Buteux had composed a brief hagiographic account of Jogues's life and death. The narrative is quite short, but was the first to posthumously structure Jogues's life according to the scenario of martyrdom. It begins with Jogues as a student, narrating in Latin his accomplishments as an academic in the Jesuit Order, as well as his decision to become a missionary in Canada. Buteux describes Jogues's virtues, his humility, and his strict obedience to the rules.⁷² The narrative then switches to French to describe his captivity and death. Buteux describes a struggle in the Iroquois village between those who wished to put Jogues to death and wage war on the French and those who preferred to let Jogues go and concentrate on the Huron. This is the first and one of the few attempts to acknowledge Iroquois reasons for killing the missionary that extend beyond blanket accusations of a nefarious *odium fidei*.

Jesuit accounts, however, are not the only ones to have survived. In fact, the first written reports to reach French colonial officials in the St. Lawrence Valley came from the Dutch colonies, from Protestants disinclined to regard the death of a Catholic priest as martyrdom or the man himself as a saint. These letters provide a hint of what Mohawk

⁷¹ *MNF* VII, 44 (doc. 20). Jacques Buteux to Jérôme Lalemant, 6 June 1647. Father Buteux had been a student with Jogues and had briefly served as his superior at Montreal. Both had studied under Louis Lallemant at the College du Rouen.

⁷² *MNF* VII, 48 (doc. 24). P. Jacques Buteux au P. Jérôme Lalemant, 29 July 1647.

motivations may have been. On 14 November 1646, the Dutch Governor at Fort Orange sent a letter to the French governor Montmagny in which he warned of Iroquois plans against the French and reported what he described as the “massacre que les barbares et inhumains Maquois ou Iroquois ont fait du P. Isaac de Jogues et de son compagnon (Jean de LaLande).” The governor reported that he had been able to discover little about the motivations of the Mohawk beyond the charge that “le dit père avait laissé le diable parmi quelques hardes qu’il leur avait laissé en garde. Qui avait fait manger leur blé ou maïs aux vers.”⁷³ This passage clearly alludes to alternative motives that had nothing to do with hatred of Christianity. By this time, Jogues was no doubt well-known amongst the Mohawk and was apparently less than trusted.

Enclosed within the first letter was a second from a Dutch agent among the Mohawk, Jean Labatie, addressed to Sieur Bourdon (1601-1668) who was the king’s engineer at Quebec and who had been on a reconnoitering trip into Iroquois country with Jogues in the spring of 1646.⁷⁴ In the letter, Labatie alludes to divisions amongst the Mohawk – the same divisions alluded to by Buteux. He blames the deaths of Jogues and Lalande entirely on the Bear clan of the Mohawk and adds that both the Wolf and Tortoise clans were opposed to killing them and had even tried to save them.

Il faut que vous sachiez que se sont été seulement la nation de l’ours qui les ont fait mourir, sachant que la nation du loup et de la tortue ont fait tout ce qu’ils ont pu pour leur sauver la vie et ont dit contre l’ours tuez nous premiers, mais hélas ils ne sont pas pourtant en vie.⁷⁵

⁷³ Guilletmus Kieft to Mons. De Montmagny, 14 November 1646 in “Mémoires touchant la mort et les vertus des Pères Jésuites (1652),” *Rapport de l’archiviste de la province de Québec* (1924-1925): 40.

⁷⁴ Jean Hamelin, “Bourdon, Jean,” *DCB*.

⁷⁵ Jean Labatie to Sieur Bourdon in “Mémoires Touchant,” 39.

This report makes Jogues's death seem political and possibly reflects the interests and perceptions of a lay man who had little or no motivation to regard Jogues as a martyr, nor the authority to make such a judgment even had he wished. There is no mention of hatred of the faith in these letters, nor do the writers ascribe to Jogues (or Lalande) the status of martyrs. Significantly, the writers allude to internal Mohawk division and conflict over the fate of these missionaries. Moreover, they allude to distrust of Jogues and his intentions. Such accusations, however, were easily deflected through the invocation of the Christian tradition of holiness and reference to long-held connections between holiness and missions. Lalemant wrote,

Now, just as of old in the primitive Church, the reproach was cast against the children of Jesus Christ, that they caused misfortunes everywhere, and as some of them were slain on that account, likewise we are persecuted because by our doctrine, which is no other than that of Jesus Christ, we depopulate – as they say – their countries; and it is for this doctrine that they have killed the Father, and consequently we may regard him as a martyr before God.⁷⁶

As time passed, and in subsequent martyrological accounts of these events, the motivations of the Mohawk were written out. But in these early versions, they survived in order to be reinterpreted in the counterscript of Christian martyrdom. Martyrdom was performed in order to be witnessed and recorded. Because it followed an existing scenario and tradition, the performance was immediately recognizable and its value understood by those versed in it. Inscribed into text for a Christian and French audience, the performance of holiness justified the presence of the Jesuits in North America, and in turn North America and their mission made of

⁷⁶ JR 31: 121 (1647).

them holy men and saints. The new world sanctified them and they in turn sanctified the new world by making of themselves victims for its salvation.

Jogues may have been the first to be so regarded and so written about by his Jesuit brethren in Canada, but in the collective memory of Christians in New France (and even now in Canada) he was nowhere near the most famous. That distinction belongs to Father Jean de Brébeuf who likewise suffered as an Iroquois captive of war. Along with Father Gabriel Lalemant, Brébeuf was killed in Huronia on 16 March 1649. The two were taken captive when a powerful Iroquois force attacked and destroyed the Huron mission village of Saint-Louis. They were then taken to the Iroquois-occupied Huron village of Taenhatentaron (Saint-Ignace) where they were put to death after undergoing tortures that resembled the rituals of adoption, but also differed in significant ways.⁷⁷

In the *Relations*, two narrators provide the primary accounts of the death of Brébeuf and Lalemant. The first account was written by the *donné* Christophe Regnault. He was among the first Jesuits to hear of these deaths from several Hurons who had escaped the Iroquois and made their way to the Jesuit stronghold at Sainte-Marie. The second was written by Paul Ragueneau who, as superior of the Huron mission, was also at Sainte-Marie. His account is found in the *Relation* of 1648-49 and draws heavily on Regnault who had gone to Saint-Ignace and witnessed the mutilated bodies of Brébeuf and Lalemant.⁷⁸ Where Regnault wrote only of the deaths,

⁷⁷ René Latourelle, "Brébeuf, Jean de," *DCB*.

⁷⁸ *JR* 34: 139-157; 159-195 (1649).

however, Ragueneau added a short account of Gabriel Lalemant's life and, in a separate chapter, a much longer narrative on the life and virtues of Brébeuf.⁷⁹

Regnault reports that the Jesuits first learned of the deaths of Brébeuf and Lalemant, and the manner in which they occurred, from a group of Huron refugees who escaped to the mission village of Sainte-Marie where he and other missionaries were staying. Covered in wounds of various sorts, including a fractured skull and a severed hand, these refugees told the fathers not of their own sufferings or the destruction of their homes, family and friends, but rather of the "martyrdom and blessed death" of Jean de Brébeuf and his companion.⁸⁰ They related how first the Iroquois warriors had stripped the fathers naked and bound them to posts where they tore the nails from their fingers, and how the Iroquois had then beaten the two fathers mercilessly with clubs and sticks. They told their enthralled audience that throughout these torments Brébeuf never ceased to speak of God or to encourage the other Christians (Hurons) who were also captives with him. They related how a Huron apostate had poured boiling water over Brébeuf's head in mockery of Christian baptism saying to him, "Echon, thou sayest that Baptism and the sufferings of this life lead straight to Paradise; thou wilt go there soon, for I am going to baptize thee, and make thee suffer well, in order to go sooner to thy Paradise." This Huron man knew well the rituals and understood the beliefs of the Christians and, just as the Jesuits used native rituals to frame new-world martyrdom, so he made use

⁷⁹ Christophe Regnault, "A Veritable Account of the Martyrdom and Blessed Death of Father Jean de Brébeuf and of Father Gabriel L'alemant, In New France, in the County of the Hurons, by the Iroquois, Enemies of the Faith," *JR* 34: 24-37 (1649). Paul Ragueneau, "The Blessed Deaths of Father Jean de Brébeuf, and Father Gabriel Lallemant," and "Some Remarks on the Life of Father Jean de Brébeuf," *JR* 34: 139-195 (1649).

⁸⁰ *JR* 34: 31 (1649).

of aspects of Christianity for his own purposes. Following this baptism, red-hot hatchets were applied to various parts of Brébeuf's body and in a collar around his neck. A belt of resin was tied around Lalement's waist and set on fire, roasting him alive. Throughout these torments Brébeuf reportedly continued to preach in an effort to convert his persecutors and so his lips were cut off and his tongue was removed to prevent him from speaking.⁸¹ Then these witnesses reported how the Iroquois had cut chunks of flesh from the bodies of their captives, which they roasted, and ate as Brébeuf and Lalemant looked on. Finally, Brébeuf was scalped and his heart was removed, roasted and eaten. Lalemant lived until the following morning enduring further torments before he too succumbed.

Immediately, similarities and difference can be seen between the treatment of Brébeuf and Lalemant and the ritual treatment of war captives. The two priests were stripped of their clothing, bound to posts and forced to undergo preliminary superficial tortures, but rather than being marched off to Iroquoia, they were quickly tortured further. In the absence of clan mothers who might decide their fate, the warriors took charge. As far as can be determined from the text, the fate of the two fathers was never in doubt from the moment of their capture. Far from home and in the midst of a protracted campaign, it may have been impractical to escort captives home. We know, however, that Hurons captured during this phase of conflict were removed to Iroquoia where no-doubt they were either adopted or killed according to established ritual and the needs of the confederacy.⁸² The Jesuits would not, and perhaps could not, be adopted. The Iroquois warriors, inspired by so-called apostate Hurons who were themselves captives, incorporated mockery of the

⁸¹ Ragueneau claims that Brébeuf's nose was cut off, but his tongue was not and so he continued to preach throughout his torture. *JR* 34: 143 (1649).

⁸² *JR* 34: 135-37 (1649).

Christian faith (according to the Jesuits) into their treatment of Brébeuf and Lalemant. Christianity was used by the Iroquois against the Christians demonstrating how the faith brought by the French might be used and adapted in various ways in the cultural intersections created by the colonial encounter. If the intention of the Iroquois warriors was, indeed, to mock their captives, this was an element not normally a part of the rituals of captivity and adoption. The baptism of boiling water too, says Regnault, was an element of the ritual the Jesuits had not seen before. Later, however, the Jesuits were able to make use of this symbology to claim that the fathers had died in *odium fidei*. The ritual symbols of another could be manipulated and redefined to suit one's own needs and purposes by both Frenchmen and Iroquois. Jesuit accounts and subsequent hagiographies penned through the centuries have not failed to mention this 'mock' baptism. Inevitably it is reinscribed with Christian meaning while the Huron and Iroquois who performed it are portrayed as ignorant of the true power of Christianity.⁸³ A power they unwittingly helped to advance by making martyrs who will become advocates in heaven for the missions and the colony. Ragueneau wrote in the *Relation* of 1649,

These were Infidel Hurons, former captives of the Iroquois, and, of old, enemies of the Faith, - who having previously had sufficient instruction for their salvation, impiously abused it, - in reality, for the glory of the Fathers; but it is much to be feared that it was also for their own misfortune.⁸⁴

Not only had the Huron and Iroquois torturers in fact aided Brébeuf and Lalemant's glory in heaven, in the Christian view, they had also ensured their own damnation. Yet, it seems, that these Huron and Iroquois knew only too well the power of Christian symbols which they adopted and used to great effect against the Christians themselves sending an all-too-clear message to the French.

⁸³ For example, in René Latourelle, *Jean de Brébeuf*, 252.

⁸⁴ JR 34: 145 (1649).

Regnault was familiar with the ritual treatment of captives. He states, “I do not doubt that all which I have just related is true and I would seal it with my blood; for I have seen the same treatment given to Iroquois prisoners whom the Huron savages had taken in war...”⁸⁵ Yet both he and Ragueneau easily transformed Iroquois rituals into a spectacle of Christian martyrdom and Iroquois actors into pawns of God’s will.

While they tormented him in this manner, those wretches derided him, saying: “Thou seest clearly that we treat thee as a friend, since we shall be the cause of thy eternal happiness; thank us, then, for these good offices which we render thee, – for, the more thou shalt suffer, so much more will thy God reward thee.”⁸⁶

In the frame of martyrdom the Jesuits recognized the truth contained in statements made in contempt and derision by persecutors. Yet, mockery may only be the Jesuit interpretation of these events and, consequently, we can not know what message the Iroquois warriors really intended. Hagiography, the ritual-in-text, does not reproduce reality, but rather how the past was understood by its authors. The detached, thinking observers assigned meaning to the actions of participants depicted as non-rational. The Iroquois act in the way they do only because God allows it, according to Jesuit understandings, but in their ignorance they do not recognize that they are, in fact, advancing the very cause they believe they are attacking. Sanctity was created between the performance of holiness and its inscription into text. It was easy enough for these writers, these author(ities), to attach their own meanings to the actions of others. Ragueneau charges that it was hatred of the faith that

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 33. Not all Jesuit captives were put to death. François Bressani was spared after a month of torture in 1644 and was adopted. He was ransomed by the Dutch. *JR* 39: 55-77. In 1653, Father Joseph Poncet was captured near Cap Rouge and after a long journey and several days of torture he too was adopted by an old woman to replace her brother. He was soon returned to the French as a part of peace negotiations. *JR* 40: 119-155.

⁸⁶ *JR* 34: 31 (1649).

drove the Iroquois.⁸⁷ In the end, the captives passed the test. The refugees reported that the Iroquois warriors drank Brébeuf's blood and consumed his heart saying that he had been courageous to endure so much pain and that they would become courageous like him.

Just as Buteux had not entirely trusted his native informant about the death of Isaac Jogues, this stunning report brought to the fathers at Sainte-Marie by a group of desperate Huron refugees required verification by experts. The fathers needed to see the site of martyrdom, view the bodies of the holy dead, and confirm for themselves that the events had indeed taken place as told to them. The second half of Regnault's account narrates the author's own witnessing of just these things and illustrates how vitally important the credible eye-witness was considered at the time.

Eye-witnessing was necessary in order for the Jesuits to take final control of these events.⁸⁸ The uncorroborated word of the Huron witnesses could not be trusted in a matter so important to Jesuit views of themselves as suffering victims, and what they considered the sanctifying signs of their mission. Once assured that the enemy had departed, Regnault set out for St-Ignace with seven other Frenchmen to seek the remains of the martyrs. He found their bodies lying close to one another, recovered them, and began to examine them closely. "They were brought to our cabin and laid uncovered upon the bark of trees, – where I examined them at leisure, for more than two hours, to see if what the savages had told us of their martyrdom and death were true."⁸⁹ Despite a general mistrust of aboriginal witnesses,

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 139.

⁸⁸ Michel de Certeau insists upon the importance of vision and the visual appropriation of space in the colonial encounter. See Luce Giard, "Michel de Certeau's Heterology and the New World," *Representations* no. 33 (Winter 1991): 214-15. Michel de Certeau, *Heterologies: Discourse of the Other*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986).

⁸⁹ *JR* 34: 33 (1649).

Regnault proceeded to read upon the bodies of the martyrs the truth of what the Huron refugees had related.

The marks of torture these men bore rendered witness to their sufferings, to what the two men had endured in the moments before death, and, although they had been silenced, to their preaching and resistance. Regnault tells us that he saw and touched what remained of Brébeuf's lips which "they had cut off because he constantly spoke of God while they made him suffer." He saw and touched the blisters made by the baptism of boiling water, and also the opening in Brébeuf's chest from which his heart had been extracted and eaten.⁹⁰ The truth of Brébeuf's suffering was inscribed on his body for Regnault to read and transcribe into his report and for Ragueneau to insert into his hagiography. The Hurons who had witnessed the deaths and reported them to the Jesuits were removed from the account. They were only the "unauthorized spectators."⁹¹ The performance was not for them. Rather, these deaths only became martyrdoms when they entered into texts that stripped them of their aboriginal meanings and infused them with a distinctly Christian interpretation directed towards an audience that was "offstage but centrally important" – the Jesuits at Sainte-Marie and Quebec, the French audience in the Saint Lawrence Valley and in France and, most important of all, the Christian God.⁹² "In fine, I saw and touched all the wounds of his body, as the savages had told and declared to

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 33-35.

⁹¹ Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 57.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 57.

us; we buried these precious Relics on Sunday, the 21st day of March, 1649, with much Consolation.”⁹³

With the Christian meaning of these events firmly established and verified, the deaths could become a consolation for those left behind. The Iroquois ritual, still graphically present in Regnault’s account along with Jesuit understandings of its Iroquois meanings, was reinscribed according to the narrative of Christian martyrdom and assigned a new meaning. By looking beyond the scenario of martyrdom, to the contexts in which these deaths actually took place, we begin to see a picture where Jesuits and Iroquois interacted with each other, and the social and cultural tensions spawned by the colonial encounter were negotiated. We gain some impression of why Jogues and Goupil were killed from an Iroquois perspective and, as a result, we can better understand how the counterscript of Christian holiness was imposed on these events. It often appears that French and Aboriginal were continually speaking past each other in the colonial encounter, but in these cases it can be seen how each in fact understood something of the perspectives and motivations of the other, even as each continued to act according to their respective cultural traditions.

Victims and Oppressors

At the end of the 1640s many missionaries in Canada sent letters to friends and family in France detailing what they considered the good news of the martyrdoms that had blessed New France. These letters express the profound impact that the deaths of these Jesuit missionaries had on their brethren left behind. In a letter to his brother, Father Joseph Poncet wrote in March of 1649 about the death of his cousin, Gabriel Lalemant. “Après la grâce du martyre, je ne sache pas de vie

⁹³ JR 34: 35 (1649).

plus mourante ou de mort plus vive et qui crucifie plus avantageusement que celle-là.”⁹⁴ In Canada the missionary could live a life of dying. In this letter, Father Poncet celebrated the martyrdoms that had been won and looked forward to more. “Nous voici arrivé, grâces à Dieu, au temps des grandes miséricordes, après lesquelles nous soupirions depuis plusieurs années. Nous avons des martyrs, et pas un n’est hors d’espérance d’une semblable couronne.”⁹⁵

Although considered a blessing, the deaths of these Jesuits precipitated a psychological crisis of confidence amongst many missionaries and settlers. The violence that characterized these deaths was palpable and the mutilated body of the martyr became a focus for those who meditated on its wider meanings. The corpses of the dead served as evidence of the suffering, pain and hatred they had endured. Father Poncet writes, “Je n’ai pas eu le Bonheur d’avoir été témoin de leurs (Lalemant and Brébeuf) combats, mais au moins j’ai vu leurs sacrés corps, où tous ceux qui étaient ici ont pu contempler les marques affreuses, mais honorables, de leurs horribles tourments.”⁹⁶ Those left behind searched for the bodies of their comrades, conducted intimate autopsies to identify the physical manifestations of their sufferings, and preserved their remains in order to make relics. Finally, texts were composed, letters, lives, and martyrologies that explained the reasons for their sufferings, and made them comprehensible. Charles Garnier wrote to his brother Henry de Saint-Joseph on 25 April 1649,

Je dis ils ont été fait martyrs, non seulement parce qu’ils ont choysit la mort pour sauver plusieurs âmes, demeurant à fructifier dans le bourg

⁹⁴ *MNF* VII, 525 (doc. 108). Joseph Poncet to his Brother, 18 May, 1649.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 522-23.

⁹⁶ *MNF* VII, 523 (doc. 108). Joseph Poncet to his brother, 18 May 1649.

où ils étoient lorsque l'ennemy l'envahit, ayant pu aisément se sauver avec plusieurs autres, mais encore parce que les ennemys ayant pris et emmenez dans leur fort, ...ils leur ont fait souffrir toutes sortes de cruautéz, et nommément leur on fait endurer en haine de notre sainte foy.

He wished that he might have been one of those who underwent martyrdom and worried over the worthiness of his own soul should the opportunity arise in the future.

O mon cher frère, bénissez Dieu de ce qu'il m'a donné des frères martyrs et des saints qui aspiraient tous les jours à cette couronne. Hélas, priez Dieu pour moy qu'il me fasse la grâce de le servir fidèlement et d'accomplir le grand ouvrage qu'il a mis entre mes mains et de consommer ma vie à son service. Véritablement, je me regarde doresnavant comme une hostie qui est à immoler.

Garnier pledged his own body as a sacrifice in his on-going performance as a missionary, ascetic, and martyr in the scenario of holiness. Both fear and dedication to his vocation infuse this letter. "Si je suis en vie l'an qui vient," he wrote in closing, "je ne sçay où je seray."⁹⁷ He was dead within the year, "comme une victime destinée pour le salut et conversion des âmes."⁹⁸

Over the course of the two decades the Jesuits had spent in Canada, they slowly developed a view of themselves not as conquerors but as victims, both in life and in death, who, like Christ, suffered for the salvation of those they hoped to convert to the faith. Their identity as victims replaced their initial optimism over the prospects of the mission field and the "harvest" they might gather. They would conquer through death rather than through the spiritual conquest they had originally envisaged. Once the performance of holiness entered into the written archive,

⁹⁷ *MNF* VII, 494 (doc. 101). Charles Garnier to P. Henry de Saint Joseph, 25 April 1649.

⁹⁸ *MNF* VII, 560 (doc. 125). Observation du P. Henry de Saint-Joseph sur le P. Charles Garnier, c. 7 December, 1649.

meanings and interpretations were formalized and presented for easy digestion by the reading audience already familiar with the tradition of martyrdom in the church. As Robert Mills points out, hagiography has the ability to create and manipulate image. The missionary enters the archive as a saint, a victim, a hero, an advocate for all peoples regardless of class, gender or race, while the operations of power in the original performance of martyrdom become “notoriously blurred.”⁹⁹ In the performance and inscription of sanctity, oppressors are disguised as victims and victims as oppressors. Hagiographic discourse rescued Frenchmen from Indians by transforming the Jesuits into innocent victims of unprovoked violence and saints while the Iroquois became tyrants and unjust persecutors. The perspectives and motivations of the Hurons and Iroquois that had so contributed to the formulation of local Christianity receded inevitably into the background as the division between participant-actors and thinking-observers was asserted in text.

By portraying the missionaries as meek and innocent victims of a non-rational aggression, the ritual-in-text of Jesuit holiness simplified the confusion and mixing of signs that characterized the actual events and the fraught power relationships that led to unsustainable social tensions between priests and natives. For example, Jesuit accounts present Antoine Daniel’s death in 1648 as the brave and selfless act of a defenceless man that enabled his Huron converts to escape the unprovoked and ruthless aggression of the Iroquois. Having been taken by surprise by Iroquois warriors, Father Daniel first rallied his flock to the defence of the village of St. Joseph, even leading the resistance himself. “The Father, among the first to rush where he sees the danger greatest, encourages his people to a brave defense

⁹⁹ Robert Mills, “Can the Virgin Martyr Speak?” *Medieval Virginites*, eds. Anke Berneau, Ruth Evans and Sarah Salih (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003): 204-207.

[sic].” Soon overwhelmed, the survivors of the initial attack gathered in the church where Daniel blessed them and helped them to escape by a backdoor while he went out the front door. “At the same time, he goes out in the direction whence come the enemy, who stop in astonishment to see one man alone come to meet them, and even recoil backward as if he bore upon his face the terrible and frightful appearance of a whole company.” Given that he had led the initial defence of the village, it is not difficult to imagine that, to the Iroquois, Daniel looked more like the leader of a counter-attack than the “good pastor who exposes both his soul and his life for the salvation of his flock.” Indeed, the commentator seems to briefly acknowledge the slippage between aggressor and victim in describing the hesitation of the ‘enemy’ before firmly settling back into the victim narrative. The Iroquois “surround him on all sides and cover him with arrows.” In the rhetoric of the narrative, Daniel has offered himself as a victim for the salvation, spiritual and physical, of others.¹⁰⁰ We can venture that, given the general Jesuit assault on native culture that had been underway for a considerable time by 1648, the Iroquois present on that day regarded Daniel as the aggressor.

The use of the historic present tense in this account of Daniel’s death gives immediacy to the presentation of the injustice and violence of the Iroquois assault and the innocence and righteousness of Daniel’s sacrifice. Such rhetorical turns mask a certain aggression in Jesuit performances. Robin Briggs describes the Jesuit missions in France as “one of the greatest repressive enterprises in European

¹⁰⁰ *JR* 34: 87-91 (1649) and *MNF* VII, 270 (doc. 60), “Notice Nécrologique du P. Antoine Daniel.”

history.”¹⁰¹ In Canada, the Jesuits consciously formulated their mission in military terms and conceived of their own vocation as a conquest – one in which losses had to be sustained in order for victory to be achieved.¹⁰² Carole Blackburn has outlined the aggressiveness of the Jesuit mission and its connections with French and Christian imperialism in Canada. The Jesuits did not hesitate to enlist the temporal power of the state in aid of the spiritual power of the church. They were amongst the most avid lobbyists for greater state intervention in the affairs of New France and the *Relations* continually invoke an image of the inevitable sovereignty of the church and crown in the ‘new’ world.¹⁰³

On several occasions the Jesuits compared the Iroquois to Romans as pagans and enemies of the faith, and in the cruelty of their persecution of Christians. Paul Ragueneau wrote in the *Relation* of 1649, that,

... hatred for the Faith and contempt for the name of God have been among the most powerful incentives which have influenced the mind of the Barbarians to practice upon them (Brébeuf and Lalemant) as many cruelties as ever the rage of tyrants obliged the Martyrs to endure, who, at the climax of their tortures, have triumphed over both life and death.¹⁰⁴

Yet, the Jesuits could not bring themselves to ascribe to the Iroquois the sort of organized, hierarchical wielding of power that the Romans had directed against the first Christians. In a letter of 27 April 1649, the future martyr Charles Garnier

¹⁰¹ Robin Briggs, *Communities of Belief: Cultural and Social Tensions in Early Modern France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 230. François Du Creux argued forcefully for greater state intervention in the affairs of New France in his *Historia Canadensis* (1664).

¹⁰² Dominique Deslandres traces the military metaphor employed by seventeenth-century missionaries not only to Ignatius of Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits, but more importantly to the Bible itself. “*Exemplo aequo ut verbo*,” 265.

¹⁰³ Carol Blackburn, *Harvest of Souls: The Jesuit Mission and Colonialism in North America, 1632-1650* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2000), 120-128.

¹⁰⁴ JR 34: 139-141 (1649).

wrote to Pierre Boutard in France that although “Ils (Brébeuf and Lalemant) n’ont pas esté fait mourir par un tyran qui persécutast l’Eglise, comme faisoient les anciens tyrans, mais nous les appellons martyrs, parce que les ennemys de nos Hurons leur ont fait beaucoup endurer en dérision de nostre sainte foy.”¹⁰⁵ In Christian tradition, a tyrant is a supreme ruler who either gains power illegitimately or oppresses his people unjustly.¹⁰⁶ The tyrants of the ancient world oppressed the church through organized persecution. As long as the Iroquois did not partake in an organized persecution against Christians they did not directly threaten the nascent church from the Jesuit point of view, nevertheless they were just as effective in making martyrs as great as those who died in the coliseum. The Iroquois were crueller “than any Nero or Diocletion.”¹⁰⁷ But because the Iroquois were not a challenge to the church itself, the real threat to the new church in Canada was not persecution or even death, but, indeed, the absence of martyrs who might signal God’s blessing upon it. It was the God-given role of the Iroquois, in Jesuit perspective, to make those martyrs that the nascent church so desperately needed, desired, and expected. Never did the Jesuits scorn God for the sufferings they endured, nor even question the designs and motivations of the divine. On the 8th of September 1649, Jérôme Lalemant wrote to the Provincial of the Jesuits in France, “Our consolation (in suffering) is, that the differences of times are as subject to God

¹⁰⁵ MNF VII, 496 (doc. 102). Charles Garnier to Pierre Boutard, 27 April 1649.

¹⁰⁶ J.M. Harty, “Tyrannicide,” *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Volume XV.

¹⁰⁷ JR 43: 283 (1656-57).

as those of place; and that we ought to be only too content with everything which it shall please his divine Majesty to ordain.”¹⁰⁸

For the Jesuits in Canada, the greatest tragedy of 1649 was the destruction of their promising mission, and the greatest triumph was the spiritual victory that belonged to the martyrs. By contrast, Huronia itself and its people barely came into consideration, at least in the pages of the *Relations*, beyond the effort to gather together those converts who remained in the hope of carrying on the mission elsewhere. In their moment of greatest defeat, the Jesuits were granted their greatest triumph. The victory of victimhood was celebrated and savoured, the spoils of battle – the relics of the holy dead – were collected and treasured. After the destruction of the mission village of Saint-Jean (Tionnontaté) on 7 December 1649 that resulted in the death of Charles Garnier, the last missionary to die in that ill-fated mission, two Jesuit fathers once again made their way to a site of martyrdom to bear witness to the sacrifice and take possession of it. There they encountered a “spectacle most sad indeed, but nevertheless acceptable to God.” They picked through the blood and carnage of innumerable ruined aboriginal bodies, until “they descried the body they had come to seek” – the invaluable white body of the European Christian – which they collected and buried with due reverence.¹⁰⁹ As Allan Greer observes, “The Jesuit *Relation* for 1649 recounts the destruction of Tionnantaté and most of its inhabitants purely as backdrop to the more significant event of martyrdom, for this was the

¹⁰⁸ JR 35: 85, Lalemant to Claude de Lingendes, 8 September 1649. This letter introduces the Huron *Relation* for 1648-49.

¹⁰⁹ JR 35: 115-117 (1650).

occasion on which God marked a favoured individual as one of his own.”¹¹⁰ In their performances of holiness and the hagiographic texts that recorded and interpreted those performances, the Jesuits, were transformed into victims of unprovoked aggression and became the victors in the battle for souls.

The reputation of the Jesuits as saints made in texts depended on such rhetorical omissions and slights-of-hand. The speaking ‘I’ of the martyr in the text, however, is not an autonomous individual but rather what Robert Mills describes as a “nexus of multiplicity...in which a body of contradictory discourses compete for attention.”¹¹¹ The martyr is created from all the competing meanings present in the original performance *and* the ability of outside interpreters to take control of those meanings and manipulate them towards their desired ends in texts aimed at audiences far beyond those who participated in or witnessed the original performance.

Conclusion

Martyrdom was a central part of the world of the seventeenth-century New France missionary. The Jesuits were conditioned to expect it, recognize it, and even strive for it in their education and training, but their knowledge and experiences were also shaped by their encounter with North America and North Americans.¹¹² In the

¹¹⁰ Allan Greer, “Colonial Saints: Gender, Race, and Hagiography in New France,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, vol. LVII, no. 2 (April 2000): 330.

¹¹¹ Robert Mills, “Can the Virgin Martyr Speak?” 207.

¹¹² Michel De Certeau argued in his collection of essays entitled *Heterologies* that no one returns unchanged from their encounter with the Other. *Heterologies: Discourses on the Other*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986). See Giard, “Michel de Certeau’s Heterology,” 216.

rituals in which these Jesuit fathers died, differing representations and understandings of the world met and confronted one another in a working-out of tensions that existed between missionaries and aboriginals – tensions over the social role of missionaries in Iroquois and Huron villages, the status of Jesuits as captives, their participation in conflicts between the Huron and Iroquois that ultimately were not their own, and finally tensions over what new world Christianity would look like. It was only in text that the Jesuits were able to take control of the meanings assigned to their heroic dead as they asserted again and again the close connection between Christian holiness and the work of mission and colonization. Yet, the active roles played by Native peoples in shaping Jesuit experiences, even such a basic Christian experience as martyrdom, were not entirely obscured.

In 1649, after the dispersal of the Huron confederacy, when the Jesuits left the country along with the remnants of the Christian Huron, the remains of Brébeuf and Lalemant were exhumed. Christophe Regnault was given the job of preparing these relics for transport. He boiled away the remaining flesh, scraped and cleaned the bones, and dried them in a little oven. Then he wrapped them separately in silk, put them into two small chests and took them to Quebec, “where they were held in great veneration.”¹¹³

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 35.

Chapter II

“Nous avons au Ciel notre saint Martyr:” Martyrs in Society and Text

This calamity of our people was, though, destructive to their bodies, salutary to their souls, – for, up to this time, our labors have not yielded greater fruits; never before has the faith gone more deeply into hearts, or the name of Christian been more glorious, than in the midst of the disasters to a stricken people.

-Paul Ragueneau, 13 March 1650¹

Nous avons au Ciel notre saint Martyr qui prie pour nous, nous en ressentons les effets par tant de périls échappez, et par tant de conversions que nous voyons depuis son martyre.

-Marie de l'Incarnation, 18 October 1648²

Although shaken by their experiences in Huronia, the Jesuits continued to work to advance their mission throughout the 1650s. Incessant warfare, however, kept their ambitions to open a mission amongst the Iroquois in check. Moreover, the destruction of the Huron sparked domestic troubles as some Jesuits began to blame others for its failure and the continuing difficulties of building the church in Canada. When missionaries were finally accepted by the Iroquois it was more as French political agents than as spiritual experts, while the advancement of the faith remained a frustratingly slow affair. Never far from these renewed enterprises was the spectre of the martyrs, the threat/opportunity for further suffering, and the conviction that the missions had been blessed.

The expansion of the reputation of the martyrs in the 1650s and 1660s occurred almost exclusively before Euro-Canadian and European audiences, and

¹ JR 35: 23 (1650), Paul Ragueneau, Superior of the Huron mission to Vincent Carafa, Father General at Rome, 13 March 1650.

² MI *Corr.*, 352 (Lettre CXVII), De Québec à la Mère Ursule de Saint-Catherine, Tours, 18 Octobre 1648.

especially within ecclesiastical circles. New composite accounts of the lives and deaths of the martyrs as a group appeared in a number of documents and publications that contributed to the transfer of performances and rituals of holiness into sacred biography. Stories about them, accounts of miracles, and intercessions began to circulate orally amongst the French population and, at times, emerge in the written records from the period. For some, especially the religious women of the colony, the Jesuit martyrs gave meaning to the dangers and calamities of the new world and offered hope of divine assistance, as well as the consolation that they too might be captured or even killed for the faith. To the nursing sister and chronicler of the Hôtel Dieu de Montréal, Marie Morin, the life of a nun in Montreal “estoit un espece de martire.” Those nuns who came to the colony had to be prepared for the cold and poverty, hard work amongst the sick and dying, and above all the attacks of the Iroquois on the lay settlers, the town, its religious institutions, and even the nuns themselves.³ In this chapter I trace these evolving reputations, primarily in New France, and set them against Jesuit treatments of examples of aboriginal holiness they found in their missions. Furthermore, I ask about the impact that these deaths had on the Jesuits themselves as a corporate body in New France, not just spiritually, but in other ways too.

Sanctity was a well known and well understood paradigm in French Catholic society of the seventeenth century. That the martyrs might offer their help to the faithful when called upon was not surprising. That they might be responsible for miraculous events, conversions, and intercessions was not surprising. Nor was it necessarily a surprise when the man suspected of murdering Isaac Jogues converted

³ Marie Morin, *Histoire simple et véritable: Les Annales de L'Hôtel-Dieu de Montréal, 1659-1725*, ed. Ghislaine Legendre (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1979), 6.

to Catholicism and died “with the name of Jesus on his lips.” Indeed, in classical martyrs’ stories, the executioner, the crowd, or both, are often so overcome by the witness rendered to the faith by the martyr that they convert. The man accused of killing Jogues was taken prisoner in a skirmish and brought to Sillery where he converted easily to Christianity, and was given the name Isaac Jogues, before the governor handed him over to the natives of Sillery to be tortured and killed according to custom.⁴ Although he reportedly endured torture bravely, he refused to admit to the crime, and his conversion, although appreciated, could not be demonstrably attributed to Jogues’s sacrifice. Although French state and religious authorities were convinced of his guilt, such mitigating factors may account for the fact that they seem unimpressed by his conversion.

It may, however, have been the case that a conversion of this type was expected in the aftermath of martyrdom according to tradition. Such repercussions of what was considered the witness to the faith rendered by the martyrs seem to echo throughout the 1650s and 1660s and offer clues as to why the Jesuit martyrs were considered important, by whom, and for what purposes. In the first half of the chapter, I take up the question of how the martyrs were received by French society in the 1650s. I then move on to build upon the groundwork laid out in the previous chapter to ask about the Jesuits not only as performers and recorders of Christian rituals of martyrdom, but also as observers of performances of Christian holiness by aboriginal persons. This chapter, then, is about the various ways that the martyrs entered into the spiritual stores of the Jesuits and other colonists and influenced the

⁴ JR 32: 19-27. Generally, converts were given saints’ names when they were baptized.

evolving history of Christian holiness and holy persons in seventeenth-century Canada.

Relics, Miracles, and Holy Reputations

In 1652, upon the request of the archbishop of Rouen who claimed jurisdiction over New France at that time, Paul Ragueneau made provision for all the texts from the *Relations* pertaining to the martyrs to be collected and assembled into a single document that might be used as a foundation for formal canonization proceedings.⁵ Ragueneau, along with his assistant Joseph-Antoine Poncet, edited and corrected the transcriptions and added their signatures of authentication to each entry and in some cases additional notable information. The resulting manuscript entitled “Mémoires touchant la mort et les vertus (des Pères Jesuites),” and known more commonly as the manuscript of 1652, established the martyrs as the founding local saints of New France and imbued them with authenticity.⁶ As historian Maureen Ahern has argued for a similar work from the Jesuit missions in New Spain,

⁵ *Journal des Jésuites*, 1652-53 in JR 38: 189. The Archbishop of Rouen claimed jurisdiction over New France prior to the creation of an independent apostolic bishopric in 1657 the Vicar apostolic François de Laval, Bishop of Petraea.

⁶ “Mémoires touchant la mort et les vertus des Pères Isaac Jogues, Anne de Noüe, Anthoine Daniel, Jean de Brébeuf, Gabriel Lallemant, Charles Garnier, Noël Chabanel et un seculier René Goupil,” Archives de la Société de Jésus, Canada Français [ASJCF], St.-Jérôme, Québec, CSM no. 210. A printed edition can be found in *Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec* (1924-1925): 3-93. References are to the printed edition. Julia Boss argues that in the absence of a shrine, this collection functioned for the Jesuits like a traditional relic linking the faithful on earth with the saints in heaven. “Writing a Relic: The Uses of Hagiography in New France,” *Colonial Saints: Discovering the Holy in the Americas, 1500-1800* (New York, Routledge, 2003), 222-223. Although saints’ lives were sometimes used as intercessory objects, they were generally not venerated like relics, and moreover, I have found no sources to suggest that the manuscript of 1652 was ever used in this way. Books used as relics generally belonged to the saint as we will see later in Chapter Six with Frère Didace Pelletier. While the manuscript of 1652 was certainly a site of authoritative memory, as Boss argues, it served a function different from that of relics. Its purpose was to officially authenticate the holiness of the martyrs.

the manuscript presents dramatic scenes of the frontier heroes of Christianity and endows the “perilous labor of evangelization...with a richness of martyrs and relics.” Over the course of the next decade, Jesuit and other concerned authors worked to make the martyrs the emblematic figures of the mission itself.

The Manuscript of 1652, however, makes no real attempt to synthesize the narratives it records or to place them into the broader history of the Canadian mission. The first attempt to do this came a year later in a relation about the Jesuit missions in Canada written by François-Joseph Bressani. Bressani was an Italian who had joined the French missions in Canada in 1642. After the failure of the Huron mission in 1650 there was not enough work for all the missionaries and so Bressani, amongst others, was sent back to Europe. He returned to Italy where he wrote his relation in Italian for the Jesuits there. The account is divided into three sections. Part I introduces New France and the natives of the country to an unfamiliar audience. Part II concentrates mostly on Bressani’s own experiences as a captive, while Part III narrates the deaths the Jesuits suffered from 1642 to 1649. The relation as a whole is preceded by an authorial declaration of adherence to Pope Urban VIII’s restrictions on the publication of saints’ lives.⁷

⁷ Bressani himself was a captive of the Iroquois in 1644 when he was tortured before he was given to an Iroquois woman to replace a recently dead relative. She later ransomed Bressani to the Dutch from whence he made his way back to Quebec. The work was approved for publication by the Superior of the Jesuit Order, Goswin Nickel, on 26 March 1653. Bressani’s *breve relatione* is contained in volumes 38-40 of Thwaites’s edition of the Jesuit *Relations*. Guy Lafleche counts Bressani’s narrative as the single most important relating to the martyrs because it was the first to emplot their memory as a hagiography and therefore the origin, in his estimate, of the myth of the Canadian martyrs that exploded at the end of the nineteenth century. This may be true if one is looking for the origin of a later myth of the martyrs, but in terms of historical sources, Bressani’s text offers little, other than Isaac Jogues letter describing his captivity experience discussed in the previous chapter, that is not found in the *Relations*. What Bressani, and subsequently Du Creux, offered was the martyrs as a coherent group rooted in the history of the Canadian mission, when, until that time,

The first attempt at a similar synthesis by a French author came in 1664 with the publication in Latin of the Jesuit François du Creux's *Historia Canadensis sev Novae-Franciae*. Like Bressani's work, this book summarized the history of the Canadian mission drawn from the *Relations*, and narrated it as a sacred epic punctuated by the heroic deeds of saintly men.⁸ The composition and, in the case of the latter two works, publication of these collective accounts of the martyrs suggests that very soon after the destruction of the Huron mission, Jesuits in Canada and in Europe regarded the martyrs as an identifiable group. These accounts are indicative of continuing efforts to represent the dead Jesuit fathers as martyrs and the Jesuit desire to make their experiences in Canada more widely known by condensing the *Relations* for easier consumption by European audiences.

In addition to the composition of hagiographic and martyrological texts, accounts of miracles offer some of the most conclusive evidence that a saint had been made and accepted by his or her audience. Yet, surprisingly few miracles attributed to one or more of the martyrs were recorded in the years immediately following their deaths. In the 1649 *Relation*, Paul Ragueneau somewhat hesitantly described the spiritual apparition of Antoine Daniel to another father. He wrote, "Although some reasons might oblige me, perhaps, to be more reserved in publishing what follows, I have nevertheless believed it my duty to render to God

they had appeared in print as individuals or only in groups of two. Guy Laflèche, *Les saints martyrs canadiens: Histoire de mythe*, vol. 1 (Laval, Qc.: Singlier, 1988), 104.

⁸ François du Creux, *Historia Canadensis sev Novae-Franciae* (Paris: Sébastien Cramoisy, 1664). Du Creux, *The History of Canada or New France*, 2 vols., trans. Percy J. Robinson, ed. James B. Conacher (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1951).

the glory which is due him herein.”⁹ This rhetorical construction is a trope of the hagiographic genre. It shows that the writer does not relate the Life or miraculous event for his own glory or the glory of the person about whom he writes, but rather for the benefit of the faith community and the glory of God.¹⁰ In this case, it might also demonstrate Ragueneau’s discomfort with the miraculous, something not uncommon in those trained in a rigorous early modern French Catholicism as Ragueneau had been, but also his conviction that Daniel enjoyed a place in heaven. He declined to reveal the name of the Father to whom Daniel appeared and gave very few details of what happened. Martyrdom itself could be substantiated through observation, but miracles and visions were more difficult to prove.

These apparitions are the first recorded miraculous phenomena associated with any of the Jesuit martyrs. Ragueneau reports in the *Relation* that the unnamed recipient, faced by the specter of his dead colleague and friend, posed a simple but significant question.

The thought which most readily occurred to the person to whom he appeared was, to ask him how the divine goodness had permitted the body of his servant to be so unworthily treated after his death, and so reduced to powder that we even had not had the happiness of being able to gather up its ashes.¹¹

⁹ JR 34: 97 (1649).

¹⁰ Ragueneau claimed the same motivation for writing the Life of Catherine de Saint-Augustin. *La vie de la Mère Catherine de Saint-Augustine* (Paris: Florentin Lambert, 1671), 1-2. When the Jesuit superior Claude Dablon recorded the deaths and virtues of Madame de la Peltrie and Marie de l’Incarnation in the *Relation* of 1671-2, he did so, “in order to avoid the charge of committing an injustice, by keeping concealed a blessing that ought to be public; and to satisfy to some extent – in advance, so to speak – a multitude of people whose only desire is the glory of God, by making them acquainted with two holy Souls.” JR 56: 221.

¹¹ JR 34: 97 (1649).

The absence of relics was a burning concern that needed to be explained. Antoine Daniel was the third to have been killed and called a martyr (and the fourth if Anne de Nouë or Jean de Lalande is counted) and still the living had no relics to venerate. Why would God not allow such a grace to the faithful? The apparition of Daniel answered, “Magnus Dominus et laudabilis nimis” (Truly God is great and praiseworthy always). He explains that God has rather made amends for the indignities done to his body by rewarding him with a number of souls from purgatory who accompanied him into glory in heaven. The climax of the martyrdom as a dramatic act may come in the hours and moments just before death, but even in death the saint continued to be a victim for the salvation of others. Daniel’s death was worthwhile in Christian reckoning because it accomplished what the Jesuits had come to Canada to do – to save souls and make victims of themselves.

In the second apparition Daniel appeared not just to one father, but to an entire council of the fathers where they were discussing ways of advancing the faith in Canada. He appeared, Ragueneau says, “strengthening us in his courage, and filling us with his light, and with the spirit of God with which he was completely invested.”¹² Here Daniel appeared as an advocate and an encouragement for those left behind.

In the more private venue of a letter written to the Superior of the Society of Jesus in Rome, Vincent Carafa, on 1 March 1649, Ragueneau finally identified the recipient of these celestial visitations as Father Pierre-Joseph Chaumonot.¹³ But it

¹² *Ibid.*, 97.

¹³ *MNF* VII, 464 (doc. 87). Ragueneau to Vincent Carafa, 1 March 1649. Perhaps surprisingly, Chaumonot did not mention these visitations in the spiritual autobiography he wrote in 1688. Indeed, he did not even refer directly to the deaths of his companions in the

was in the manuscript of 1652 that Father Poncet provided the greatest amount of detail of these miraculous events, and offered a rather different interpretation of the meaning of Daniel's appearance at the Jesuit council.¹⁴ Poncet says that the vision of Daniel at the council occurred in Chaumonot's dream, a detail missing from Ragueneau's account. When Chaumonot asked what it was that God desired, Daniel replied in the Huron tongue,

Sasandionehenx nonouarikouanderai, qui est le 5ème demande du *Pater Noster*, pardonnez-nous nos offenses, et embrassa le père lui imprimant en l'embrassant sur le cou, une froideur si grande qu'elle le fit réveiller, et se trouver si rempli d'un sentiment de componction et d'appréhension de la justice de Dieu particulièrement sur sa pauvre église, que ce fut son occupation intérieure plusieurs mois et même jusques à la désolation du bourg et de sa mission.¹⁵

The coldness of Daniel's embrace woke Chaumonot and filled him with apprehension and the fear of divine justice. Gone are Daniel's assurances that the work of the fathers would be rewarded. They are replaced by a warning that God's justice would fall upon the nascent church – a warning for the church in Canada that resonated in Chaumonot's heart when the mission was destroyed. The new church had to suffer affliction and punishment and the sins of the land and its people had to be extirpated before it could grow. The Jesuits had to beg forgiveness from God. Expressing this sentiment in the Huron

Huron mission, although he did discuss the destruction of the mission itself. By 1688 these events were long in the past and perhaps did not really belong in the written confession of an old man. *Le Père Pierre Chaumonot de la Compagnie de Jésus; Autobiographie et pièces inédites*, ed. Auguste Carayon (Poitiers: Henri Oudin, 1869), 47-50.

¹⁴ Julia Boss writes that the Manuscript of 1652 often provided details such as names where the Jesuit *Relations* offered only general references and argues that this "repersonalization" attests to the importance of corporeality and eye-witnessing in recording saints' lives. Boss, "Writing a Relic," 223.

¹⁵ "Mémoires touchant la mort et les vertues des Pères Jésuites," 54.

language allowed Daniel's accusations and warnings to fall upon the Huron as well as, if not more so than, upon the Jesuits.

Ragueneau's interpretation in the *Relation* of Daniel's manifestation, destined for a reading audience of potential donors and supporters in France, achieved a wider distribution than Poncet's which was never published. His was also the more positive interpretation of Daniel's message. For him, Daniel offered encouragement to continue in the work of mission and colonization. In Poncet's account, written for the official record and a small reading audience, a greater pessimism can be noted which, as will become evident below, only continued to grow after 1649. These two very different accounts of the same event represent two of the social roles occupied by local holy persons, the role of an advocate and that of a counsellor, and the appropriate uses to which differing interpretation might be put.

This was the first, but certainly not the last, time the Jesuit martyrs would miraculously intervene in the affairs of the church and colonists in New France. The nursing and teaching sisters who arrived in the colony beginning in 1639 readily invoked the Jesuit martyrs as intercessors and religious heroes. From the very beginning of their foundation in Canada, the Augustinian nuns of the Hôtel Dieu de Québec, especially, enjoyed a close relationship with the Jesuits that they expressed, following 1649, through devotion to the memory of the martyrs. Their *Annales*, compiled between 1717 and 1720, clearly marked the special veneration the sisters held for Antoine Daniel, Gabriel Lalemant and Jean de Brébeuf. Several of the sisters would have known these men and their personal connections may have been very important to them.

...(I)ls souffrirent avec une force et une constance semblables a celle que l'on admire dans les plus illustres Martyrs. Nous les avons regardez depuis comme tels, particulièrement le Révérend Père de Bréboeuf, que nous avons fort connu, et qui nous avoit beaucoup affectionnées. Nous ne manquons point tous les ans de remercier

Dieu des graces qui luy a faites, et de communier toutes, le 16^e de mars, qui fût le jour de sa mort.¹⁶

The martyrs, and especially Brébeuf, had a great impact upon this community over the second half of the seventeenth century. They were considered imitators of the most illustrious martyrs of the church, members of the *communio sanctorum*, and the nuns regarded their holiness with great seriousness and veneration. When the Augustinian nun and future holy woman Catherine de Saint-Augustin came to Canada in 1648 it was Isaac Jogues's example, mediated through Lalemant's 1647 account of his life and death, that convinced her reluctant father to permit her passage to the new world. When she began to experience a vibrant mystical life of suffering as a victim for the sins and salvation of others, it was Jean de Brébeuf who appeared to her while in a state of mystical ecstasy as her celestial spiritual advisor.

The Hôtel Dieu, along with the Ursuline convent in Quebec, housed the relics of the martyrs after 1650 until they were transferred to the Seminary of Quebec in 1925 on the occasion of the beatification of the martyrs.¹⁷ At the Hôtel Dieu these relics entered into the

¹⁶ Jeanne-Françoise Juchereau de St-Ignace et Marie Andrée Duplessis de Ste Hélène, *Les annales de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec: 1636-1716*, ed. Albert Jamet (Québec: Hôtel-Dieu de Québec, 1939), 73. Hereafter *AHDQ*. The *AHDQ* were compiled between 1717 and 1720 from "petits cahiers" left behind by the former superior Marie de Saint-Bonaventure when she died in 1698, and notes made by other sisters. The original sources were destroyed in a fire in 1755 that destroyed the Hôtel Dieu. The project was the initiative of Jeanne-Françoise Juchereau de Saint Ignace (1650-1723) and Marie-Andrée Regnard Duplessis de Sainte-Hélène (1687-1760) who wrote much of the text.

¹⁷ Musée de la civilisation, fonds d'archives du Séminaire de Québec, Journal de Séminaire, vol XI, p. 326 (Friday, 12 November 1925). In 1925, the relics of the martyrs kept at the Hôtel Dieu de Québec and at the Ursuline monastery were translated in solemn procession to the Séminaire de Québec. These included the complete cranium of Jean de Brébeuf, two femurs and two vertebrae of Gabriel Lalemant, two incomplete fibulae belonging to Charles Garnier and a few collections of fragments belong to these fathers. The Ursuline convent also housed a collection of relics including three rib fragments and a fragment of shoulder blade from Brébeuf, two rib fragments and other bones belonging to Lalemant, and an ankle bone and other fragments belonging to Charles Garnier. Most of these relics are now housed in the martyr's shrine at Midland, Ontario. *Apothéose des bienheureux Martyrs Canadiens de la*

spiritual stores of the nuns. Catherine de Saint-Augustin often experienced the “vertu de ces précieuses reliques,” and used them to work cures and rescue lost souls.¹⁸ On one occasion she used Brébeuf’s remains to cure and convert “un hérétique des plus opiniâtres” who was in the care of the nuns after he fell mortally ill. Catherine pulverized some bone fragments and mixed them into the man’s drink and almost immediately the nuns noticed a complete change in him. According to the *Annales*, he became as peaceful as a lamb and pleaded to be instructed in the true religion. He embraced Catholicism and made a public abjuration of his former beliefs. And almost as an afterthought, he was also perfectly cured of the illness that had brought him to the Hôtel Dieu in the first place.¹⁹ Through the intervention of Brébeuf, the nuns believed, this man had been cured in body and in his soul, and was brought back into the sanctioned social community of the faithful. The ritual of the cure, achieved through miraculous intervention, resulted in the social transformation of an outcast into the accepted social role of the penitent and *miraculé*.

In another case from 1660-61, a young woman plagued and possessed by demons as the result of attentions paid to her by a Huguenot and suspected magician and sorcerer was exorcised, again through a relic of Brébeuf. According to one account of this event, after trying the relics of several major saints of the church, the lay woman Marie Regnouard of Beauport was able to exorcise her servant Barbe Halay using one of Brébeuf’s ribs which had been given to her by Paul Rageuneau in

Compagnie de Jésus: Translation des reliques et triduum (12-15 novembre, 1925) (Québec: L’action sociale, 1926), 145.

¹⁸ Dominique Deslandres, *Croire et Faire Croire: Les missions françaises au XVII^e siècle (1600-1650)* (Paris: Fayard, 2003), 421.

¹⁹ *AHDQ*, 148.

1650.²⁰ This exorcism raises a number of questions. Although it was not prohibited, why did Ragueneau give this relic to Marie Regnouard, a secular woman, wife of the Seigneur de Beauport? More seriously, what was she doing performing exorcisms, liturgical rituals reserved to the clergy? A lay woman who performed such a ritual, especially using the relic of an unauthenticated holy man, would more likely have found herself accused of witchcraft and heresy than praised for exorcising a demon from an innocent girl. Yet the use of this relic by a lay person, the failure of the relics of established saints to make any difference in Barbe Halay's condition, and the success of the relic of Brébeuf suggests that the martyrs held a special power in the French community and in New France alongside, and even superseding, the better established saints of universal Christendom. It also suggests that the faith community developing around the martyrs extended beyond the religious elite of the colony to the wider lay community. This is one of the few places where veneration of the martyrs in these early days shows up amongst people and in contexts not explicitly related to the church.

Indeed, rather differing accounts of this incident come from two other ecclesiastical sources that dispute these lay associations. Marie de l'Incarnation and Paul Ragueneau both report that Barbe Halay was, in fact, placed by Bishop Laval into the care of Catherine de Saint-Augustin at the Hôtel Dieu, and that she was cured through the care and help of Jean de Brébeuf in his capacity as Catherine's

²⁰ ASJCF CSM no. 247, "Récit du soulagement d'une possédée par l'entremise des reliques du R.P. Jean de Brébeuf." Unfortunately I have been unable to consult the original document despite several requests as a result of on-going renovations at the Jesuit archives at the time of writing. The details of the story come from Julia Boss, "Writing a Relic: The Uses of Hagiography in New France," *Colonial Saints: Discovering the Holy in the Americas, 1500-1800* (New York, Routledge, 2003), 225. Boss, however, mentions this event only briefly and does not discuss two other versions of it, one composed by Marie de l'Incarnation and the other by Paul Ragueneau.

spiritual advisor. Neither mentions the questionable use of an unauthenticated relic or sacred liturgical rites, but rather each firmly places Barbe Halay within the institutional care of the church.²¹ If the first narrative is authentic, it strongly suggests that the holy reputations of the martyrs were not limited to, nor entirely controlled by, the ecclesiastical hierarchy or established religious institutions. Rather, the broad faith community engaged with these holy men as an active audience putting the saints and their holy remains to work for them according to custom and conventional usage that church officials may not have entirely trusted or wished to authentic.

Relics, both of local and universal saints, were perhaps more accessible to the local faith community than were hagiographies. Bishop Saint-Vallier's catechism, published for use in the Diocese of Quebec in 1702, explained to each and every child preparing for first communion how the faithful ought to interact with the relics of saints. The body of the saint, it explained, was considered the enduring temple of the Holy Spirit and the instrument through which the saint had performed good works during life and, moreover, the means through which God could perform miracles after their deaths. Relics were to be celebrated and venerated so that the faithful might render them the honour that was due the saints and thereby garner divine assistance.²² Relics could be carried around, kept, and venerated by individuals so long as they did so with proper reverence. "*Est-il permis de porter sur soi des reliques*

²¹ MI *Corr.*, 814 (Lettre CCXXXVIII), à son fils, 7 Septembre 1668. Ragueneau, *Vie*, 163-5. Peter Goddard has shown how Jesuits in early modern France were reluctant to put too much stock into a literal demonology or participate in public exorcisms. "The Devil in New France: Jesuit Demonology, 1611-1650," *Canadian Historical Review* 78, 1 (March 1997): 47-49.

²² Jean-Baptiste de Saint-Vallier, *Catéchisme du diocèse de Québec* (Paris: Urban Coustelier, 1702), 430-431.

des Saints?” “Oüi, pourvû qu’elles soient véritables et certaines, et qu’on les porte avec respect.”²³

Relics could be made and collected in a variety of ways. The Jesuits took great care to recover what relics they could of those they believed had died as martyrs in Canada. We have already seen the concern expressed by Father Chaumonot over the lack of relics left behind by Antoine Daniel and, in the previous chapter, the great care taken by the *donnée* Christophe Regnault to prepare and preserve the bones of Jean de Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant for transportation from Huronia to Quebec. Long before Brébeuf died, his surgeon in Quebec, anticipating that his patient would become a martyr, saved a vial of his blood as a relic.²⁴ In another case, when Mgr de Laval, the first bishop of Quebec, died at the Séminaire de Québec in 1708, his companion and caregiver, Hubert Houssart was inspired, “a prendre la resolution ... de remasser tout ce que je pourois qui ait appartenu a sa Ste personne.” He made relics by dipping pieces of cloth in the former bishop’s blood when the body was drained and prepared for burial. He saved some of the bones, plus locks of hair that he cut from the head of the corpse, and he kept his clothing, “et tout cela pour servir de tres précieuses reliques.”²⁵ In these ways and others, the remains of the dead passed into the archives of the living, along with textual explanations of their holy lives and saintly deaths. The survival of relics was a

²³ *Ibid.*, 431.

²⁴ MI *Corr.*, 380 (lettre CXXIII), à son fils, 22 Octobre 1649.

²⁵ Hubert Houssart, “Copie de la lettre que jay ecrite a Monsieur Tremblay, directeur du Séminaire des Mission Etrangères de Paris et procureur du Séminaire de Québec au sujet de la mort de Monseigneur de Laval, premier Evêque de Québec en date du premier Septembre 1708,” Musée de la civilisation, fonds d’archives du Séminaire de Québec, lettre P, 102.

testament to, and guarantor of, the holiness of their former owners, and provided the faithful with physical access to the influence of the saint.

Ecclesiastical officials were charged with verifying local relics and ensuring that devotion to them did not devolve into superstition. Diffusion tended to take place mostly amongst a closed circle of religious specialists, their friends, and their families in New France and in France. Dominique Deslandres argues that the collection of local relics proved to people at the time that Canada too had an important religious history, while the exportation of these relics to France helped to maintain important connections with the metropolis.²⁶ Relics could be powerful tools in the work of spreading a holy reputation. Marie de l'Incarnation, superior of the Ursulines, wrote vivid descriptions of the martyrs' deaths and virtues in letters back to France where she expressed the hope that she might one day send some of their mortal remains. In this way she hoped that her son, himself a Benedictine monk, might participate in their holy example and merit the martyrdom of the penitential life they inspired.²⁷

The news of the martyrs spread rapidly and so, apparently, did the demand for relics. On 15 November 1649, Jérôme Lalemant wrote to his niece, Mère Anne du Saint-Sacrement, a Carmelite nun in France, about her brother, Gabriel Lalemant.

Je me suis grandement senti de l'avoir invoqué en diverses
circonstances. Plusieurs en ont éprouvé les mêmes effets. Après tout,
ce n'est pas à nous à faire les saints. Il faut que les miracles éclatent

²⁶ Dominique Deslandres, "Signes de Dieu et légitimation de la présence Française au Canada," *Les Signes de Dieu aux XVI^e et XVII^e Siècles*, ed. Geneviève Demerson and Bernard Dompnier (Clermont-Ferrand: Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines de l'Université Blaise Pascal, 1993), 146-47.

²⁷ *MI Corr.*, 397 (Lettre CXXVIII), à son fils, 30 août 1650. Marie de l'Incarnation expressed her own desire to suffer similarly for the faith on numerous occasions, but felt that she was unworthy of doing so. See *Corr.*, 387 (Lettre CXXV); and *Corr.*, 344 (Lettre CXIII).

dans l'Eglise. C'est ce qui m'a engagé à ne point obtempérer aux demandes d'un grand nombre de personnes dévotes qui recherchaient de ses reliques. Je ne puis, toutefois, refuser à la dévotion de votre cœur une portion de la chevelure de sa tête, arrachée par ses bourreaux. Je vous l'envoie avec obligation de n'en point faire de bruit.²⁸

Lalemant's response to Mère Anne du Saint-Sacrement's request expresses the reservations one would expect of an ecclesiastical authority when asked for a relic of an unapproved saint. Yet it also expresses a poorly disguised enthusiasm and excitement over the graces that he believed had been granted to his confrere and to the Canadian mission. Despite his reservations and despite having refused many others the same gift, so he says, he sent Mère Anne du Saint-Sacrement a lock of her brother's hair with the stipulation that she not advertise it.²⁹ Whether he really meant this latter part or not is questionable, for it was through such means that a reputation might spread and veneration and miracles result. Miracles were the tangible proof that a saint was in heaven and that he enjoyed a certain influence with God. The flow of relics, reputations, and Saints' Lives traversed the Atlantic in both directions creating an extended faith community linked by its common recognition of the significance of the martyrs' devotional and sacrificial acts. Europe may well have been the centre of Christianity, and Rome the metropolis of Catholicism, but North America was the place of action and it was the saints of North America who, at the end of the seventeenth century, for a short time, edified France.³⁰

²⁸ *MNF* VII, 543-44 (doc. 121). J. Lalemant à la Mère Anne du Saint-Sacrement Quebec, 15 November 1649.

²⁹ It is not entirely clear how such a relic came into the Jesuit Superior's hands as Regnault testified that he burned all the flesh and only collected the bones of Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant.

³⁰ Boss, "Writing a Relic," 214.

Relics, texts, and holy reputations from Canada flowed east to France and stories of the miracles they worked there and the devotions they inspired flowed back to Canada. In the Ursuline convent at Amiens a sister by the name of Catherine Canterel, Sœur de Saint-Augustin developed a devotion for the Jesuits in general and for the martyrs of Canada in particular. She would accept only Jesuit priests as her spiritual advisors and she cultivated a fruitful spiritual relationship with Brébeuf and other high-profile Canadian missionaries, Le Jeune, Ragueneau and de Quen. Although she never left her convent in France to go to Canada, she maintained a continual interest in the Canadian mission and, writes Laurence Lux-Sterritt, embraced a world-wide missionary zeal.³¹

The number of relics left behind by the martyrs was very small, and in most cases none at all, and consequently second-hand relics, items that the martyr may have touched, owned, or used were also collected and acquired a proportionally greater importance. Relics were potentially accessible to all the faithful and, when authenticated and treated correctly, recorded, and made the holiness of their former owners functional, just as effectively as hagiographic texts. In May of 1654 a nun from the Ursuline convent in the French town of Saint-Jean d'Angély near La Rochelle, Sœur Marie Prévostière de Sainte-Thérèse, formally testified before nine of her sisters to a cure she received through a pair of gloves once owned by Isaac Jogues. On 20 January 1648 Sœur Sainte-Thérèse, long discomforted by a pain in her thigh accompanied by a fever, awakened to find a large abscess had formed on her swollen leg. She was unable to stand without great pain, and unable to find any rest either. Following the regular process in such cases she was interviewed by the

³¹ Laurence Lux-Sterritt, *Redefining Female Religious Life: French Ursulines and English Ladies in Seventeenth-Century Catholicism* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2005), 111.

Mother Superior about her illness and the various remedies she had tried. Sœur Sainte-Thérèse testified that nothing had been effective and the Superior told her to try praying for the intercession of Isaac Jogues because “Dieu auroit esgard aux priers de ce bon Père, si la malade s’adressoit à luy pour sa guérison.” Given that there are no earlier written accounts of cures attributed to Jogues that I am aware of, this statement seems to suggest that stories were circulating orally and informally in Canada, in France, and amongst religious orders such as the Ursulines, about the wonders and intercessions attributed to Jogues and perhaps to other Canadian martyrs already in the early 1650s. François Du Creux guessed that Jogues visited this monastery when he was in France between 1644 and 1646 and consequently was known to the nuns.³² The Mother Superior claimed that Jogues had used the pair of gloves she gave to Sœur Marie for several years in Canada. How she came to acquire these gloves is not said.³³

That night, Sœur Sainte-Thérèse applied the gloves to her thigh and immediately entered into a state of mystical understanding of her own unworthiness for the pains she was suffering and the justice of God who inflicted them upon her. Her pains increased and her fever burned until three hours after midnight when it all suddenly stopped. The following day she got up as usual and went before the holy sacrament without any pain at all “pour remercier Dieu de la guérison qu’il luy accordée en consideration et par les priers du révérend Père Isaac Jogues.” From that time on, testified Sœur Sainte-Thérèse, not only was she perfectly cured, but she also

³² François Du Creux, *The History of Canada or New France* vol. 2 (Champlain Society, 1952), 481.

³³ Du Creux guessed that Jogues himself had left them forgotten when he had stayed in La Rochelle before returning to Canada. *Ibid.*, 481.

experienced in herself “un desir extraordinaire de souffrir pour Dieu.” On the first anniversary of her cure, at precisely the same time as the year before, she was seized again by the same pain, and at the same time as the year before she was once again cured. “Elle crut que ce mal ne luy estoit arrive que pour l’obliger de rentrer dans la recognoissance de la grâce qu’elle avoit obtenue un an auparavant.”³⁴

Miracle stories such as this one illustrate the channels through which second class relics might travel and the ways personal favours were achieved. They seem to have circulated amongst the faithful through informal networks, especially those established through the personal connections of religious persons in the colony and their relatives and spiritual friends in France, and the more formal networks of religious orders. Although Saints’ Lives were included by Saint-Vallier on a list of books that every family in his diocese should own, those that turn up in notarial records and the libraries of religious houses were generally the Lives of the universal saints of the church and contemporary French holy persons, and not texts about local holy persons.³⁵ Relics and word of mouth were the primary, and more practical means (in a society with a relatively low rate of literacy and where books were rare and expensive) of disseminating a holy reputation. Books took time to produce, especially in New France where there was no press. But relics and the stories that circulated from person to person about cures and miracles linked the faithful physically to local saints, aided in devotions, and helped obtain miraculous assistance.

In a recent article, Allan Greer and Kenneth Mills have argued in favour of viewing colonial Catholicism as an essentially local religion that nevertheless was

³⁴ *MNF* VIII, 651-52 (doc. 128). Récit d’une guérison attribuée au P. Jogues, 17 May 1654.

³⁵ Boss, “Writing a Relic,” 213-14, n. 4, n. 7.

connected to overarching Catholic beliefs that circulated within a “Catholic Atlantic world.”³⁶ The effect of such an approach seems to be the reduction of the conceptual impact of national churches in national colonial enterprises to little more than administrative units allied to state power. Emphasis consequently falls on local Christianities, born out by the local and personal networks of communication through which the reputation of the martyrs spread and grew in the 1650s and 1660s. Yet, aside from Bressani’s Italian relation, these networks appear largely limited to France and New France, while the primary correspondents of the Canadian Jesuits appear to have been religious and personal contacts in France first, and in Rome second. Efforts to canonize these martyrs that may have prompted a more widespread cult of devotion within the frame of the universal church, ultimately, did not extend beyond the archbishop of Rouen and Ragueneau’s efforts in New France.

Miracles stood at the heart of local and practical devotions and experiences of the divine. Miracles and relics united the faithful, ecclesiastical and lay, and at all levels of society, and joined the Christian communities of New France with those in France, and each with the saints in heaven. Through miracles the holy became tangible and accessible. They performed various social functions, warning of calamities and disasters, mending rifts in the social fabric by reintegrating the sick and outcast back into society, and serving as cultural symbols of the divine favour God was believed to hold for Canada and its colonization. Yet, the affected community was largely limited to members of the church and their circle. More comparative work is required to determine if this was generally the case in early

³⁶ Allan Greer and Kenneth Mills, “A Catholic Atlantic,” in *The Atlantic in Global History, 1500-2000*, ed. Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra and Erik R. Seeman (New Jersey: Pearson/Prentice Hall, 2007), 12-13.

modern cults or an exception. Yet, in the early days following the destruction of the Huron mission, the martyrs seem to have been most active amongst a limited circle of Jesuits and their friends in Canada and France, and only rarely reached beyond these networks.

Aboriginal Holiness

In addition to performing sanctity, writing about it, and promoting the veneration of their own brethren, Jesuits in Canada were also observers of holiness in others. From the very beginning of their missions in Canada the Jesuits had recognized aboriginal holiness and written about individual neophytes and converts as holy persons despite the worries and reservations they had about the capacity of native soul to embrace the divine, and of native peoples more generally for sanctity. “Dieu est admirable en ses saints, autant en cette barbarie qu’en autre lieu du monde,” wrote Paul le Jeune in 1639.³⁷ Yet, although many aboriginals, both Christian and non-Christian, died alongside the Jesuit martyrs in the 1640s, they were greatly overshadowed by the deaths of a few missionaries in records of these events.

In the broad anthropological outlook of the Jesuits at the time, aboriginal peoples were a part of a rhetorical other that included tepid Catholics, ignorant peasants, the heretics of France, pagans of the near east, idolaters of India, and the Turks, who were all outside the faith.³⁸ As potential converts living in a state of barbarity, aboriginal peoples were no different, argued Le Jeune, than the peoples of

³⁷ Paul Le Jeune quoted in Deslandres, *Croire et Faire Croire*, 423. Also JR 19: 27, “...there is no heart so barbarous that it can not receive Jesus Christ.”

³⁸ Deslandres, *Croire et Faire Croire*, 56.

Spain, Britain and Germany had been before they were converted to the faith.³⁹

Aboriginals of North America were “like our peasants” in their ignorance and lacked only instruction to come to the faith.⁴⁰ Yet the missionaries worried openly and often about the capacity of the native soul to embrace the divine and be saved. Peter Goddard has written extensively about the influence of early modern Neo-Augustinian thinking about grace upon Jesuit perceptions of the native soul in early Canada. He argues that Jesuit concern with rigor and their focus on divine grace as the only route to salvation caused them to regard native peoples as inherently sinful. But Goddard focused on the broad anthropological statements typical of European travel literature of the time and found in chapters in the *Relations* that outline the “customs and characteristics” of the peoples of Canada. He bypassed Jesuit writings about their interactions with specific neophytes, accounts of teachings, and the content of lessons and conversations.⁴¹ In forums such as these, Jesuit rhetoric moved away from general pronouncements on the quality of the native soul. Rather the missionary engaged the neophyte in conversation, negotiation and debate, tailoring his discourse towards points of mutual understanding. In their teaching, they combined the rigor of the Neo-Augustinian trend present in northern European Catholicism at the time with a humanist, more southern European outlook upon

³⁹ JR 5: 33 (1632).

⁴⁰ Le Jeune in the *Relation* of 1634, MNF II 596 (doc. 145).

⁴¹ Peter Goddard, “Augustine and the Amerindians in Seventeenth-Century New France,” *Church History* 67, 4 (Dec. 1998), 680. In this essay, Goddard shows how Augustine provided the early Jesuits, especially Paul Le Jeune, with an anthropology that cast native peoples as hopelessly lost in sin and concupiscence. Also, “Canada in Early Modern Jesuit Thought: Backwater or Opportunity?” in *Decentering the Renaissance: New Essays on Canada 1500-1700*, ed. Germaine Warkentin and Carolyn Podruchny (University of Toronto Press, 2002), 186-199. Such chapters on virtues and vices, customs and characteristics were not an uncommon part of renaissance and early modern travel literature. See Natalie Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-Century Muslim Between Worlds* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006), 109.

which their order had been founded in the sixteenth century.⁴² The result was that even as they made very pessimistic statements about the divinity of the native soul, the Jesuits were writing about the extraordinary indications of intelligence, and even faith and devotion, they saw in neophytes. Yet, they did so always from the perspective of Christianity and in view of possible conversion to the Christian faith.

Father Chaumonot wrote to Father Philippe Nappi in Rome on 26 May 1640 to describe a Huron man who, at the height of the resentments directed towards the Jesuits nevertheless “did not fear to make the round, as an apostle, of nearly all the villages. He went into the assemblies and the councils of the captains...and boldly censured their follies. [...] If his spiritual reflections be written in the French Relation, they may serve as a lesson even to the most pious and the most fervent.” He continued in the same letter,

It would be tedious to relate all the heroic examples of constancy which this savage and some others of our converts, though in small number, have given us. But this is enough to show Your Reverence that God does not refuse his grace, even to the most savage of men, and that these peoples are capable of receiving the doctrine of the Gospel....⁴³

Recent work on the religious dimensions of the colonial encounter has shown how local Christianities, those produced as the result of interactions between missionaries and indigenous persons, were shaped as much by native persons as by evangelists. Native persons did not simply assimilate or resist, but “had a hand in

⁴² Dominique Deslandres argues in favour of viewing Jesuit practices as a combination of these northern and southern models. In early modern France this translated into an emphasis on rigor in belief and practice, as exemplified in the teaching of Louis Lallemant, and a willingness to adapt Christianity to native conditions as long as those adaptations did not compromise the truths of the faith. *Croire et Faire Croire*, 97-100.

⁴³ JR 18: 21-23 (1640).

creating the multiple realities of overseas Christendom.”⁴⁴ Traces of this creative process survive in passages such as this one from the *Relations*. Yet, despite pronouncements of this type, and despite Jesuit willingness to recognize converts in other missions, such as Japan, as saints and martyrs, the converts who died alongside the martyrs of Canada generally were not recognized by the Jesuits and other Europeans as holy, or at least not in the same way that Europeans were. Why the apparent discrepancy? Had this Huron convert been a French Jesuit, it is difficult to believe that Chaumonot would have found it at all tedious to relate all the “heroic examples of constancy” he displayed. For the most part, however, the missionaries did not write extensive martyrologies or hagiographies about indigenous persons. In fact, most native persons in whom the missionaries believed they saw examples of the divine were only perceived to perform their holiness upon their death bed. Dying well as a pious convert, in other words, was the main way that aboriginal peoples distinguished themselves as good Christians in Jesuit accounts, and the *Relations* are indeed filled with narratives of ‘pious Indian deaths.’

Erik Seeman argues that such narratives in both Catholic and Protestant missionary texts flatten individual death experiences into “didactic lessons that supported missionaries’ agendas,” and that they merely reflected well-established European ideas concerning the good death. This, in fact, is a common critique of

⁴⁴ Allan Greer and Kenneth Mills, “A Catholic Atlantic,” in *The Atlantic in Global History, 1500-2000*, ed. Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra and Erik R. Seeman (New Jersey: Pearson/Prentice Hall, 2007), 10. Examples of this approach include, William B. Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred: Priests and Parishoners in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996); Kenneth Mills, *Idolatry and its Enemies: Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation, 1640-1750* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997). Allan Greer, “Conversion and Identity: Iroquois Christianity in Seventeenth-Century New France,” in *Conversion: Old Worlds and New*, ed. Kenneth Mills and Anthony Grafton (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2003), 175-198; Allan Greer, *Mohawk Saint: Catherine Tekawitha and the Jesuits* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

hagiography; that its conventions and formalism render any potential literary or historical value meaningless.⁴⁵ But it is a critique that fails to take into consideration the wider purpose of these sorts of pronouncements and discourses. They were not intended to narrate the extraordinary life as something different, but rather to show how a life (or a death) was the same as other extraordinary lives (and deaths) insofar as they took part in the essence of holiness, in the communion of the saints.⁴⁶ Death bed narratives about 'pious Indians' derived from European models were, for their composers and their Catholic audience, evidence of an extraordinary performance – a performance of holiness in one whom the Jesuits had trouble believing such a thing was possible. Not everyone who died the good death was necessarily a saint in the classical sense, but slowly the Jesuits began to recognize the possibility that some were.

In the *Relation* of 1665-66 the Superior François Le Mercier gave an account of the death of a Huron girl that took place at the Ursuline monastery.

Finally, the moment so ardently desired by her having arrived, she gently expired, commending her soul, until she breathed her last, to her heavenly Spouse. Her face, always extremely beautiful, appeared after her death fresher, livelier, more strikingly beautiful than usual, so that all glorified God therefore [sic], as being a manifestation of his almighty power, whose will it was to bestow this visible sign of the blessed state to which he had called that admirable girl. The people, persuaded of her sanctity, decked that virgin form, and accompanied its internment with all the magnificence that can possibly be employed in this country, as if they were rather celebrating her nuptials with her heavenly Spouse than performing a mournful ceremony.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ See John Kitchen, *Saints Lives and the Rhetoric of Gender: Male and Female in Merovingian Hagiography* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 4-6.

⁴⁶ Allan Greer offers a good description of the 'good death' of an aboriginal person in *Mohawk Saint*, 3-16.

⁴⁷ JR 50: 113 (1665-66).

Pious infants and children were particularly valued by the Jesuits because it was believed they died in a state of innocence. This deathbed scene draws on a number of motifs familiar not only from the standard Christian model of the good death, but also from the model of the death of a saint. The child yearns to die in order to be united with Jesus who is described as her spouse. Her appearance changes so that she no longer looks like an aboriginal girl, but rather as though a hallow of sanctity surrounded her. She is a virgin, the category *par excellence* of female sanctity. Finally, her death is celebrated as a great triumph expressed through Euro-Christian rituals. Dying well was important for the soul of the deceased and the edification of witnesses.⁴⁸ In such deathbed narratives and in the rare instances when Jesuits composed more complete sacred biographies about the saintly lives of certain converts, the subject was transformed into a Christian and European paradigm using Christian and European scenarios. This was not meant to flatten the character, but in fact the opposite. It was intended to make her all the more extraordinary and may well have had just this impact upon the early modern reader.

Nevertheless, this pious Huron girl remained unnamed as the Jesuit author stripped her of her own culture and inserted her into the paradigms of his own. Those who celebrated her death as that of a holy person also were unnamed. Were they Huron or French? What rituals did they perform? Where Le Mercier saw nuptials and celebrations did they see something else? Jesuit interpretations of native holiness were made in the context of European models. Those they saw as holy they forced into the frame of hagiography while separating them from their own cultures

⁴⁸ A. Lynn Martin, *The Jesuit Mind: The Mentality of an Elite in Early Modern France* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1988), 173.

and societies. This Huron girl died out of context in a European monastery, surrounded by nuns and according to Christian traditions. The scenario of holiness framed every aspect of the action, and defined the limits of the roles played by the characters within the performance.⁴⁹ The result is that the Jesuit text appears to take control of the event, defining it, and overwriting the multiple meanings that no doubt accompanied the death of this girl, but to which the historian has no access.

Jesuits were not the only Europeans to record the edifying deaths of aboriginal converts in this way. The *Annaliste* of the Hôtel Dieu wrote about a Malecite chief, again unnamed, who died the good death at the Hôtel Dieu in 1709; “Le Sauvage mourut peu de jours après fort chrétiennement, et nous laissa parfaitement édifiées de ses bons conduites de Dieu, et pleines de reconnaissance et d’admiration des conduites de Dieu sur ces pauvres barbares.”⁵⁰ The nuns of the Hôtel Dieu recorded numerous accounts of such “pious Indians” in their *Annales*, some drawn from the Jesuit *Relations* and experienced only second-hand, but others that related to people they had known personally within their convent. A few months later a young Abenaki girl died at the Hôtel Dieu in a holy fashion.

Nous regardâmes comme une faveur de Nôtre Seigneur l’honneur que nous avions eû de loger et de servir une jeune fille dont l’ame luy étoit si chere.... Il ne faut pas douter que l’heureux trépas de tant de bonnes personnes qui meurent dans nos sales n’attire sur nôtre hospital et Communauté de précieuses graces, que nous devons beaucoup priser et faire valoir, afin que Dieu soit toujours bien servi chez nous.⁵¹

⁴⁹ The transition from performance to authoritative archive takes place, according to performance theorist Diana Taylor, through the medium of the scenario – in this case the traditions and expectations of holiness. Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham, London: Duke University Press, 2003), 53-54.

⁵⁰ *AHDQ*, 338.

⁵¹ *ADHQ*, 345

These individuals were not necessarily considered saints, but the cherished deaths of “pious Indians” were valued for the indications they offered of God’s favour for the religious community in New France and evidence of the success of the missions. Missionaries not only recognized the holy deaths of converts who died in European contexts, however. The Jesuits also acknowledged and wrote about the pious deaths of converts who died in native villages where the Jesuits conducted their ‘flying’ missions.⁵² Generally, these narratives relate extraordinary deathbed conversions, often of individuals who had previously been inimical to the faith. The *Relation* of 1645-46 records an “act of the mercy of God” in the Huron mission. “One of the greatest enemies of the faith in the mission of Saint-Ignace, chancing to be near death, feels himself influenced from Heaven, at the first sight of the Father who was going to speak to him of his salvation.” The man in question asked the Jesuit for baptism and he agreed because of the apparent sincerity of the conversion and closeness to death. The convert then drove away the infidels, his former friends, and died the death of a good Christian.⁵³

Pious deaths that took place in aboriginal villages generally appear much more complicated than those that took place in European contexts. The complexities of native Christianities are much more in evidence as the missionary has to contend with non-Christians, as well as efforts to shape the faith itself to the needs and expectations of the converts themselves. The pious deaths of natives who died in European circumstances, such as the Huron girl and Malecite chief, therefore, tend

⁵² For example, *JR* 13: 29, 35 (1637); *JR* 14: 151-159 (1638); *JR* 30: 103 (1646); *JR* 31: 147, 237, 245, (1647) etc.

⁵³ *JR* 30: 105-107 (1646-47).

to resemble much more the holy death and not simply the good death of someone who converted to die in the faith. Just as the Jesuit martyrs who had died in ritual contexts where they did not, culturally and religiously, belong, so too it seems, pious Indians who died in European contexts might more easily be recognized as holy, than those who perished as converts in their own villages surrounded by their own family and friends. We can venture then that missionary influence over the definition of local Christianity was dependent on place as well as control over textual representations.

On rare occasions, the Jesuits seem inclined to recognize examples of convert piety as heroic and holy. In the spring of 1650 a young Algonquian Christian from the mission village of Saint-Joseph at Sillery near Quebec named Joseph/Onoharé was captured while on a raid into Mohawk country, tortured for three days and three nights, and then put to death.⁵⁴ His death filled the Jesuits with “both grief and joy.” It was witnessed by two Huron men who escaped to tell what they had seen.

They tell us that these good Neophytes chanted the praises of God in the midst of the flames; that it seemed as if Heaven, towards which they cast unceasingly their eyes, had afforded them more satisfaction and delight than the fire had caused them pain and anguish. But they extol, above all, one named Joseph Onaharé; some of them say that he deserved the martyr's palm, for indeed he suffered for Jesus Christ.⁵⁵

The circumstances of his death, his invocation of Christ, and his ability to withstand the torments of the Iroquois with the aid of heaven are motifs a Christian

⁵⁴ Onaharé was his Algonquian name while Joseph was his Christian name given to him at baptism. The Jesuits tended to call converts by their Christian names or a combination of the two as another sign of the cultural transfer they underwent when they became Christian. I have chosen to represent both names.

⁵⁵ *JR* 35: 223 (1650).

audience would have recognized in the death of any martyr. According to Paul Ragueneau who wrote this *Relation*, Onaharé took up arms against the Iroquois with “the object only of preserving the Church,” and made the “resolution to suffer and die with constancy for his cause.” Indeed, Ragueneau compared the conflict with the Iroquois to a holy war “for the greater number of our Christians have not taken up arms for some time, except for the preservation of Christianity in our new Churches.” Death in holy war for Thomas Aquinas was sufficient cause to claim the status of martyr, but for Benedict XIV it was also necessary to show that the victim was fighting to defend his faith rather than his life.⁵⁶ Ragueneau claimed that Joseph/Onaharé regarded the Iroquois as nothing but enemies of the faith and destroyers of Christianity. The Iroquois mocked Onaharé, Ragueneau reported, and they mocked his faith, telling him to ask God for help just as Herod had told Jesus to do. Onaharé’s death thus became an *imitatio Christi*, and his death in holy war made him a martyr.

As soon as Ragueneau invoked Christ as a model he also removed Onaharé from his cultural context. “But this young man, despising their fury, thanked God for the grace he had given him to suffer as a Christian, and not as a common savage.” He subsequently ceased to be Onaharé (or even Joseph Onaharé) in the *Relation*, and became “Our Joseph.” His death as a captive was transformed into a witness for the faith and a model for others to follow. Another captive who had the chance to sneak upon the scaffold and talk with him before escaping back to Quebec reported his final words. “Tell them (the Algonquians),” he said to him, “that I died gladly, in the

⁵⁶ R. Hedde, “Martyre,” *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, vol. 10 (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1951-), 231.

hope of going very soon to heaven.”⁵⁷ The *Relations* and other French colonial sources are filled with quotations of native people translated into French. Historian Joyce Chaplin calls it ventriloquism when native speech appears in colonial texts, because what was reported often had much more to do with European interests and concerns than with native perspectives, and made more sense in European contexts.⁵⁸ This is not to say that Joseph/Onaharé never made this statement, but rather that it is very difficult to know what exactly he intended by it, and other reported speech attributed to him, given the filter of Jesuit expectations about holy war, martyrdom, and conversion through which it has come down to us.

In addition to Ragueneau’s account of his death, Onaharé was also included in early versions of Grégoire Huret’s famous composite image of the Canadian martyrs, published in François Du Creux’s, *Historia Canadensis seu Nova Francia* (1664).⁵⁹ This woodcut shows the martyrs undergoing various stages of torture. The most prominent are depicted in the front row; Isaac Jogues, Jean de Brébeuf, and Gabriel Lalemant. A second row shows a second rank of martyrs such as Antoine Daniel and Charles Garnier, and at the very back, standing almost (it appears) on top of the post to which Brébeuf is bound, is Joseph/Onaharé. As the straightforward depiction of the noble deaths of “some fathers of the society of Jesus,” the meaning of the image is clear; these men were killed in wanton acts of violence as a result of *odium fidei* and are, therefore, martyrs. But where does Joseph/Onaharé fit in? He is

⁵⁷ JR: 35: 217-229 (1650).

⁵⁸ Joyce Chaplin, *Subject Matter: Technology, the Body, and Science on the Anglo-American Frontier, 1500-1676* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2001), 26-27.

⁵⁹ François Du Creux, *Historia Canadensis seu Novae Franciae seu Novæ-Franciae* (Paris: Sébastien Cramoisy, 1664).

not a Jesuit father and, moreover, he is the only native person depicted in the image not taking part in acts of torture.



Figure 2: Grégoire Huret, *Preciosa mors quorundam Patrum é Societé Jesu in nova Francia* (1664) in Francois du Creux, *The History of Canada or New France* vol. 2 (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1952), 481.

There are two distinct groups of men in this image, one group engaged in killing, the other being killed, one native, the other European, one pagan, one made up of Catholic priests. Yet everyone is a participant in the same rituals of torture, captivity, and warfare. Joseph/Onaharé's double status as a native and a martyr makes him stand out despite the attempt by the artist to hide him at the back of the image. The caption below reads: "Joseph Onaharé, a young Algonquin, tortured for three days and nights in the spring of 1650, for refusing to give up the worship of Christ." In the text, Du Creux praised Joseph Onaharé for imitating "all that the

Church venerates in the holy martyrs” and called him an athlete of Christ.⁶⁰ Yet, in other contemporary texts and, indeed, in subsequent versions of Huret’s woodcut, Onaharé was left out of the tableau of the martyrs.⁶¹ The account of his death from the Jesuit *Relations* was not included in the manuscript of 1652, and Joseph Bressani failed to mention him in his 1653 Italian relation. Onaharé’s ambiguous status in this image, combined with his wavering status as a martyr in Jesuit texts from the period, prompts several questions: why were the Jesuits in Canada not more willing to recognize and celebrate Aboriginal performances of Christian holiness? Was there, perhaps, something in the Christianity of Onaharé and other converts that prevented the Jesuits from advancing them as martyrs? In other parts of the world, such as Japan, native martyrs were recognized quickly and easily by Christian missionaries, including Jesuits. Would a native martyr in Canada not have been a great triumph for the Jesuits?

In answer to these questions, Allan Greer suggests that Joseph/Onaharé’s presence among the Jesuit martyrs raised “disturbing questions about the racial-religious hierarchy implicit in the missionary enterprise itself,” and it was for this reason that he was excluded from the pantheon of Canadian martyrs.⁶² Race was certainly a factor in complicating Onaharé’s performance of Christian martyrdom for Jesuit observers, but I suggest that the dualities present within Iroquois rituals of captivity and adoption discussed in the previous chapter and depicted so graphically in Huret’s image complicate this interpretation. The insights of ethnohistorical

⁶⁰ Du Creux, *History of Canada*, vol. 2, 571.

⁶¹ On subsequent versions of Huret’s image see, Greer, “Colonial Saints,” 335-336.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 336.

approaches to European texts not only help to understand aboriginal perspectives on contact history, but also reflect back upon the European experience and help to illuminate the understandings and motivations of the missionaries themselves. They show the creativity involved in the creation of local, native Christianities, but also how control over those Christianities was reasserted in texts and images crafted by Europeans for European audiences.

As an aboriginal man, Onaharé was much more difficult to rhetorically remove from the captivity rituals in which he died than were the Jesuits. It seems that in the opinion of the missionaries, Jesuits did not belong as participants in those rituals. Where it was clear to the Christian observer that the Jesuit died for the faith in such situations, it was not clear that the Native convert did so. The Native could just as easily be a full participant in the Iroquois ritual rather than the thinking, Christian, observer who symbolically stood apart. The Jesuits in Huret's image, especially those in the front row, could be just about anywhere by the stances of their bodies and the expressions on their faces staring out at the viewer, seemingly serene. The natives in the image (Onaharé excluded), however, appear mindless as they go about the grim business of slaughter with their faces turned away. As someone who might share the cultural background and understanding of the persecutors, the Native convert belonged in those rituals, whereas the Jesuit did not. The native man might simply be a war captive, someone who could be adopted or killed in a set of rituals that did not require recourse to Christian counterscripts in order to be explained. Certainly there is a racial component here, but there is also a religious disjuncture, as well as an issue of incommensurability between the Jesuit and the captivity ritual in which he died that did not exist, in the Jesuit mind, for aboriginal

performers – even converts – in these same rituals. It was difficult for the Jesuits to prove that Joseph/Onaharé was killed because he was a Christian, and that the cause of his death was *odium fidei*, even if they believed this to be true.

While it was clear to contemporary commentators that the obviously Christian Jesuit was a martyr, it was not clear that the ambiguously Christian convert was too. Consequently, converts who died alongside Jesuits in the 1640s were not regarded by Christians as martyrs. Christian converts such as twenty-four Hurons who were killed alongside Jogues in 1646, according to Marie de l'Incarnation, were written out of the official hagiographic record.⁶³ By point of contrast, the Japanese martyrs of 1597 died in a way that made the meaning of their deaths unambiguous for Christian audiences; they were crucified in organized persecutions against the church. In Canada, Jesuit rhetoric transformed physical defeats into triumphs of missionary devotion and rendered the perpetrators of the rituals in which the fathers perished into non-rational purveyors of an unjust violence. It was thus that dead Jesuit missionaries and the Iroquois respectively entered into the collective memory of Christians in Canada.

Nevertheless, the Jesuits did find an example of indigenous holiness that they eventually came to accept. Catherine/Tekakwitha was a Mohawk woman who died at the Jesuit mission village of Kahnawake south of Montreal in 1680. She was baptised in 1676 in the Mohawk village of Gandouagué (Auriesville, NY), the same place Isaac Jogues had been killed in 1646. The following year she migrated along with

⁶³ Our primary source for these deaths comes from several letters written by Marie de l'Incarnation in the summer of 1647. MI, *Corr.* 307 (lettre CIV), à la mère Thérèse de l'Incarnation, Tours, 12 Septembre 1647. Also letters CVII (p. 312), and CX (pp. 323-325). For Marie de l'Incarnation too, Isaac Jogues and Jean de Lalande were “martyrisés” while the Hurons converts with them were merely put to death as they sang the praises of God.

many other Christian Mohawks to live at Kahnawake under the nominal guidance of the Jesuit fathers Claude Chauchetière and Pierre Cholenec. These two priests were the first to perceive in Tekakwitha the quality of sainthood, and each after his fashion set out to write her hagiography and to promote her cult after she died. Chauchetière played the role of the impulsive and credulous believer, while the more reserved and analytical Cholenec required greater convincing. By the early eighteenth century, however, both had been persuaded of her sanctity. Chauchetière was the first to write her sacred biography, but it was Cholenec's version which received the sanction of the Jesuit Order and was published in 1717.⁶⁴

In his recent book, *Mohawk Saint*, Allan Greer draws upon current ethnohistorical knowledge of the Iroquois to argue that what was perceived by the Jesuits as a performance of Christian holiness is better understood within the cultural context of Mohawk Kahnawake. In order to understand Tekakwitha, he argues, we must understand her as a Mohawk, and Christianity as a Mohawk religion.⁶⁵ Greer also focuses on Claude Chauchetière's own spiritual journey, the role Catherine/Tekakwitha played in it, and how his colonial encounter changed him.

Although Chauchetière may have been the more gripping character of the two priests, it was Cholenec who likely knew Tekakwitha best and he who defined

⁶⁴ P. Cholenec, "Lettre du Pere Cholenec, missionnaire de la Compagnie de Jésus, au Pere Augustin le Blance, de la même Compagnie, Procureur des Missions du Canada, au Sault S. Louis, le 27 Août 1715," in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, écrites des missions étrangères, mémoires d'Amérique* tome VI (Paris: J.G. Merigot le jeune, 1781), 40-100 (Hereafter, "Lettre"). Claude Chauchetière, *La vie de la B. Catherine Tegakouita, dite à présent La Sainte Sauvagesse*, Manate: Presse Cramoisy, 1887. The original is in ASJCF, no. 343. See Allan Greer, "Savage/Saint: The Lives of Kateri Tekakwitha," in *Vingt ans après Habitants et marchands: Lectures de l'histoire des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles canadiens*, ed. Catherine Desbarats et al. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998), 138-159.

⁶⁵ Allan Greer, *Mohawk Saint: Catherine Tekakwitha and the Jesuits*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2005.

her holiness for a wide public audience through the ‘official’ version of her Life. Where Chauchetière only came to know her as she lay dying, Cholenec had been her confessor from the time she arrived in Kahnawake and had witnessed her progression in the faith. He used his status as eye-witness to bolster his authority in the account he wrote of her life. “Je ne vous dirai rien, mon Révérend Père, que je n’aie vu moi-même lorsque j’ai eu soin de sa conduite, ou que je n’aie appris du missionnaire (James de Lamberville) qui lui a conféré le saint baptême.”⁶⁶ The Jesuit hierarchy considered Cholenec to be the more sober and reliable of the two and it was his work, directed towards a French and largely clerical audience, that finally offered the official and sanctioned version of her life within the scenario of European holiness.⁶⁷ His 1717 account transformed Tekakwitha into Catherine. It was he who reconciled her Mohawk Christianity with the Christian model of holiness and turned her into a model of sanctity in her own right. Cholenec’s biography presented Catherine’s life in an acceptable, palatable, and understandable form made necessary by the burgeoning popularity of her cult in the French communities of La Prairie, La Chine and Ville Marie.

Three versions of Catherine/Tekakwitha’s Life survive from Cholenec’s pen written over the course of almost four decades. Reading them successively demonstrates how he shaped her memory over time and transferred her lived performance into text and archive. The first, a short letter, was written not long after she died in 1680. The second is a lengthy draft of what would become the published

⁶⁶ P. Cholenec, “Lettre,” 41.

⁶⁷ Greer, *Mohawk Saint*, 172. Chauchetière’s earlier narrative of Tekakwitha’s life was buried and forgotten until it was finally published in 1887. Claude Chauchetière, *La vie de la B. Catherine Tegakouita, dite à présent la Sainte Sauvagesse* (Manate: Presse Cramoisy, 1887).

version of the Life. It was penned sometime between 1696 and 1715. And finally, the heavily edited, published version appeared in the 1717 volume of the *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses*, an annual publication of letters from Jesuit missions around the world.⁶⁸

All three of these works to varying degrees undertake the removal of Catherine from her Mohawk background in order to demonstrate how, even amongst what Cholenec considered to be barbarity, she managed to preserve her Christian purity. Virginity is a standard motif in female hagiography, but for Cholenec it stood at the centre of Catherine's claim to holiness. Her ability to maintain perpetual virginity despite her savage nature, full of the taint of the natural world and the lust associated in the Jesuit mind with nature and wilderness, made her exceptional to them and was the pre-eminent mark of her heroic virtue in Cholenec's biographies. "This Indian maiden," he wrote, "was uncivilized in name only."⁶⁹

Sex and sexuality in Iroquois culture bore entirely different meanings than in French culture. Within Iroquois society, family ties were generative of status and one's place in the social organization as well as necessary for economic reasons. For the Iroquois and other indigenous groups, abstinence might be recognized as useful in certain situations, but the life-long chastity embraced by French religious figures was a mystery. It made no sense to dissociate oneself from ties of family and

⁶⁸ The three texts are: "Extraict d'une autre lettre du pere Chonelec [sic] sur le mesme suiet et la mort d'une Ste fille (du Canada), escritte le premier Jour de may 1680." In Henri Béchard, s.j. *L'Héroïque indienne Kateri Tekakwitha* (Montréal: Fides, 1967), 190 (hereafter "Extraict"). The original is lost. A copy can be found in the Archives of the Seminary of Quebec, ASQ ms 374. Second, "La vie de Catherine Tegakouita, première vierge Iroquoise." The original is held in the Archives de l'Hôtel Dieu de Québec. A translation can be found in *The Positio of the Historical Section of the Sacred Congregation of Rites on the Introduction of the Cause for Beatification and Canonization and the Virtues of the Servant of God, Katherine Tekakwitha, the Lily of the Mohawks* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1940), 241-335 (hereafter "La vie"). Third, "Lettre du Pere Cholenec, missionnaire de la Compagnie de Jésus," *op. cit.*

⁶⁹ Cholenec, "La vie," 296.

community bonds.⁷⁰ Chastity as a culturally specific term was untranslatable and a chaste Indian was something Europeans never expected to find, and indeed in their broader anthropology, never considered possible. What made Tekakwitha outstanding to Cholenec's mind was her bodily purity, and it was this that characterized her heroic virtue and, therefore, her sanctity.⁷¹

The narrative of her death in each of these versions provides a good point of comparison for examining the changes that entered into Cholenec's thinking about Catherine's holiness over time. The death of the saint forms the focal point of sacred biography and the turning point where the saint gives up the earthly life to take up the heavenly one. But in Cholenec's accounts, as in the accounts of pious deaths mentioned above, the body rather than the spirit remained his focus even after Catherine died. In his 1680 letter he described what took place in the moments after she passed away. "Entre les autres merueilles, dont nous parlerons en son lieu, aussi tost quelle fut decedée son visage changea tout d'un coup, et parut si riant et si deuot, que tout le monde en demeura extremement estonné."⁷² Cholenec repeated this observation in the draft of the full life he wrote in the first decade of the eighteenth century, more than twenty years after the event. The changes he observed in her appearance were rhetorically enhanced, emphasising the change in her nature

⁷⁰ Greer, *Mohawk Saint*, 175.

⁷¹ Guillaume Aubert has recently shown how, by the eighteenth century, French authors had begun to insist that people were born with inherent qualities, transmitted through blood. Early French colonial propaganda expressed the hope that through preaching and education the aboriginal might be converted to Christianity and French culture. But by the end of the century views had changed. Education could only partially alter one's nature and so to completely defy nature, as Cholenec believed Tekakwitha had done, required an extraordinary gift of God's grace. "'The Blood of France': Race and Purity of Blood in the French Atlantic World," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 61, 3 (July 2004): 439-478.

⁷² Cholenec "Extraict," 190.

from earthbound to heavenly, symbolized by a change he believed he perceived in her skin colour.

This face so marked and swarthy, suddenly changed about a quarter of an hour after her death, and became in a moment so beautiful and so white that I observed it immediately (for I was praying beside her) that I cried out, so great was my astonishment. [...] I admit openly that the first thought that came to me was that Katherine at that moment might have entered into heaven, reflecting in her chaste body a small ray of the glory of which her soul had taken possession.⁷³

To Cholenec, Tekakwitha had become white. Allan Greer writes, “with this momentous death, both Jesuits implied (Cholenec and Chauchetière, for Chauchetière had marked the change too), God had removed the marks of disease, suffering, and racial inferiority, transforming the Mohawk woman into a radiant corpse exuding a saintly aura.”⁷⁴ Masarah Van Eyck, who wrote about discourses of the colonized body in her 2001 PhD thesis, shows how seventeenth-century French writers believed that the body was shaped through dialectical interactions between the self and the environment. Theorists at the time believed that the body would change to reflect changing environmental conditions. It was thought that human bodies exhibited their natural form in temperate Europe, and that French civilization, diet, mores, etc. might regenerate the native body.⁷⁵ In this case, the entry into heaven appears as the ultimate ‘environmental’ change. However, when the expected changes did not occur amongst the aboriginal populations of Canada at

⁷³ Cholenec, “La vie,” 307.

⁷⁴ Greer, *Mohawk Saint*, 17.

⁷⁵ Masarah Van Eyck, “We Shall be One People,”: Early Modern French Perceptions of the Amerindian Body” (PhD diss., McGill University, 2001), 7-8.

large by the early eighteenth century, opinions began to change.⁷⁶ And, in the heavily edited 'official' version published in 1717, Cholenec's account changed once again. Catherine's bodily virtues remain the central focus, but gone is the reference to whiteness. Moreover, Cholenec replaces himself as the primary observer with *les sauvages* who were present at her deathbed.

Son visage, qui avoit été extrêmement exténué par ses maladies et par ses austérités continuelle, parut si changé et si agréable quelques momens après sa mort, que les Sauvages qui étoient présens ne pouvaient en marquer assez leur étonnement, et qu'on eût dit qu'un rayon de la gloire, dont il y avoit lieu d'espérer qu'elle venait prendre possession, rejaillissait jusque sur son corps.⁷⁷

In the earliest account, everyone present at her death marveled at the change in her appearance. In the second account, Cholenec alone stands in awe, but by the published edition it is only the native observers who are taken aback by what they see. Why Cholenec wrote himself out (or was edited out) of this event is unclear. We can speculate, however, that for the Jesuit priest familiar with the ways of saints, it ought to have been no shock at all to perceive such a change, but rather a fact that proved her holiness. And so Cholenec (or his editor) erased any reference to his own surprise.⁷⁸ But for those who were thought to reside day-to-day in the depths of nature such a change was beyond comprehension.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 55.

⁷⁷ Cholenec, "Lettre," 95-96.

⁷⁸ Pierre Berthiaume has argued that, although changes made in the editing process to letters published in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* appear significant, they did not seriously alter the spirit or sense of the text. But he also points to an example where the editor downplayed the surprise expressed by a missionary at the Christian behaviour of an Amerindian neophyte. *L'aventure américaine au XVIII^e siècle: Du voyage à l'écriture* (Ottawa: Les Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1990), 276-280.

By point of comparison, when Marguerite d'Youville, the foundress of the Grey Nuns of Montreal, died at the age of 70 in 1771, her face was observed to take on a youthful freshness that lasted for several days until an artist came to do her portrait, at which point it reverted to that of an old woman. For her biographer, Antoine Sattin, this miracle was evidence first of Marguerite's humility and second, that she was in heaven. Nowhere does he express shock or surprise at this miracle.⁷⁹ Rather it was proof of what was already widely suspected.

In Cholenec's draft version, Catherine's virtues were presented again and again against a backdrop of Iroquois vices, but in the pages of the published version she was completely removed from her cultural and social context. Gone is the rhetoric dedicated to vilifying the Iroquois and segregating her from them. Indeed, it is almost as if she were not Iroquois at all. She is called the Sainte Geneviève of New France because of the miracles she worked for its inhabitants. Even before she converted, when she lived in the Mohawk village where she was born, writes Cholenec "elle avait un grand amour pour la pureté, avant meme qu'elle pût connaître l'excellence de cette vertu."⁸⁰ The anti-Iroquois tone of Cholenec's earlier draft is gone in the published version and the focus falls more surely on Catherine and the Jesuits. It made no sense for the Jesuits to ridicule the quality of the Iroquois soul and their lack of Christianity which only served to remind readers of Tekakwitha rather than Catherine, and of the failures of the missions rather than the triumphs of this virgin of God. In the published version, Isaac Jogues is credited for laying the

⁷⁹ Sattin wrote this life around 1828. The manuscript was published in French under the title *Vie de Madame d'Youville* (Québec, 1930). Reference is to the English translation, Antoine Sattin, *Life of Mother d'Youville: Foundress and First Superior of the Sisters of Charity or Grey Nuns*, trans. Georgianna Michaud (Montreal: Éditions du Méridien, 1999), 105.

⁸⁰ Cholenec, "Lettre," 41, 47.

ground work that made Catherine and her example of extraordinary piety possible. His blood was the seed of holiness in Iroquoia that allowed those Jesuits who came after him to succeed in their work, and Catherine was their greatest success.

Il semble pourtant que son sang devait être la semence du christianisme dans cette terre infidèle... Les travaux de ses deux compagnons (Goupil et Lalande) furent couronnés par une mort semblable; et c'est sans doute au sang de ces premiers apôtres de la nation iroquoise, qu'on doit attribuer les bénédictions que Dieu répandit sur le zèle de ceux qui leur succédèrent dans le ministère évangélique.⁸¹

This reference to Jogues may well have been added by Jesuit editors in France who wished to frame Catherine's achievements in the context of those of their own Order and remind readers of their successes in the Canadian mission field rather than the failures consistently invoked by Cholenec in his earlier versions. Indeed, it is difficult to say how many of the differences between the second and third versions, which are significant, were due to Cholenec or to his editors.⁸² Whatever the case may have been, Catherine was a great triumph for the Jesuit mission, and it has even been suggested that promotion of her cult contained a political element at a time when the Jesuits were under suspicion of coveting too much secular power by the governor of the colony and ecclesiastical authorities.⁸³

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 45.

⁸² In a similar case, the life and death of the Jesuit martyr Sebastien Rasle was published in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* in 1724. "Lettre du Pere de la Chasse, Supérieur Général des Missions de la Nouvelle France, au Pere *** de la même Compagnie, à Québec, le 29 Octobre 1724," *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, écrites des missions étrangères, mémoires d'Amérique* tome VI (Paris: J.G. Merigot le jeune, 1781) 226-238. The discovery of a draft version of this Life written by the Pierre de la Chasse demonstrated how heavily it was edited prior to publication indicating that this practice may have been common and may well have taken place in France. "Une relation inédite de la mort du P. Sébastien Racle, 1724," *Nova Francia* vol. 4 no. 6 (novembre-décembre 1929): 342-350.

⁸³ K.I. Koppedray, "The Making of the First Iroquois Virgin: Early Jesuit Biographies of the Blessed Kateri Tekakwitha," *Ethnohistory* 40 (1993): 292-93. As Greer points out,

Between the time of her death and the publication of her Life, thirty-seven years passed. In this time her performance of sanctity was shaped by the scenario of holiness and finally entered into the archive as a part of, and framed by, a tradition and Christianity that was not her own. Only by separating her from her culture, family and people, could the Jesuits transform her into a Christian saint. She went from an actor in her own right to a character in someone else's drama. It is perhaps not surprising then that her popularity as a holy intercessor began first, and remained most vibrant until the mid-twentieth century, amongst the French colonists of Canada and not amongst the Iroquois of Kahnawake. Cholenec reported that her cult reached to the highest levels of the colonial hierarchy and eventually even to the court of Louis XIV. The transfer was complete and effective.

In cases such as Tekakwitha's and Onaharé's, it took a long time for the difficulties surrounding their status as martyr and saint respectively to be worked out. Tekakwitha had to be completely removed from her cultural heritage, eventually simply by ignoring it altogether, before her performance was recognized as that of a saint. Meanwhile, only in Charlevoix's 1744 *Histoire et description générale du Canada* did Onaharé reappear as a martyr alongside the Jesuit fathers. And in 1930, when the Vatican formally canonized the Canadian martyrs, Onaharé was once again excluded.⁸⁴ In the 1640s, the Jesuits failed to record the names and details of any converts who died in battle or ritual. They were overshadowed by the Jesuit fathers

whatever political effect she may have had was mostly eliminated by the Jesuit establishment's own reluctance to support Chauchetière's zeal for her. "Savage/Saint," 147. Moreover, their emphasis on her separation from sin-riddled Iroquois society rendered her into one success amid a myriad of failures. It makes little sense to view her as a political tool employed by the Jesuits against secular authority.

⁸⁴ P.F.X. Charlevoix, *Histoire et description générale de la Nouvelle France* vol. 2 (Paris: Rollin fils, 1744), 34-37.

whose performances, for later commentators, were unambiguously those of martyrs and were easily transferred to the European Christian scenario of martyrdom holiness. We can venture then, that for Jesuit observers, Christianities shaped by converts as much as by evangelists were not unambiguous enough to meet the rigorous test of *odium fidei*.

The Martyrs and the Mission

Despite their rhetoric of victory and victorious victimhood, the destruction of the Huron mission was a challenge for the Jesuits. From their return to the Canadian field in 1632, the Huron mission had been their most promising. They believed that the relative prosperity of the Huron and their more-or-less sedentary lifestyle, combined with their importance as the primary native allies of the French in the *pays d'en haut*, offered the best chance for a stable and even prosperous Christian community.⁸⁵ Nevertheless, the mission proceeded with difficulty as we have seen. These were long years of learning for the Jesuit fathers. Far from home and living in a completely foreign environment and culture their understandings of missions slowly changed to a conception of a living martyrdom. By the late 1640s, disease and warfare had begun to take their toll on the Huron population and large numbers of adults sought conversion as a way of countering these disasters. Yet, the *Relations* recorded these conversions as evidence of the work of the martyrs.

From the death of Father Antoine Daniel...up to that of Father Jean de Brébeuf and of Father Gabriel Lallemant...we baptized more than thirteen hundred persons; and from the latter murders up to the month of August we baptized more than fourteen hundred [...]. So true are those words, *Sanguis martyrum semen est Christianorum* – “The

⁸⁵ MNF II, 525 (doc. 143), Paul Le Jeune, Superior to P. Barthelemy Jacquinot, Provincial, August, 1634.

blood of the Martyrs,” if they may be so named,’ is the seed and germ of the Christians.”⁸⁶

Yet, as the incursions of the Iroquois increased in intensity the Huron began to disperse. Entire villages were abandoned and famine struck because there was no one to tend the fields. In the summer of 1649, after the deaths of Brébeuf and Lalemant, Sainte-Marie was abandoned and the Christian community removed to St. Joseph (now Christian) Island in Georgian Bay where many of the Christian Hurons had fled for safety. On the cusp of victory, their flock began to fall to the wolves.

Just as with the baptism of a dying person, spiritual victory in Huronia came at the price of physical defeat – the loss of the mission itself. Now the fathers too were laid low. All were forced to scabble for acorns and roots in the forests of St. Joseph Island. In the spring, the Iroquois arrived once again in Huron country and attacked any who ventured to the mainland in search of food. The choice was proposed by the Huron and agreed to by the Jesuits that the remnants of the Christian Hurons should remove to Quebec and start anew. On 28 July 1650 about three hundred survivors along with Paul Ragueneau and the rest of the missionaries arrived in Quebec seeking refuge.

The Huron mission was a failure that required explanation. Letters written between missionaries in New France and the Jesuit hierarchy in Paris and Rome discussed personal matters and issues of concern to the Order and so provide insights that their published works glossed over. On 17 August 1650 Paul Ragueneau, who had been made Superior of the entire Canadian mission after his return to Quebec and the departure of Jérôme Lalemant for France the previous autumn, wrote to the new Superior General at Rome, Father François Piccolomini,

⁸⁶ JR 34: 228 (1649).

to explain the decision to abandon the Huron mission.⁸⁷ The following March, the Father General replied with words of support and understanding. And in subsequent letters to Barthélemy Vimont and François Le Mercier, Piccolomini made clear his approval of the decisions taken in Canada. “But since, with God so permitting, the fury of the infidel was growing strong, you wisely convinced the remains of the destroyed flock to travel elsewhere with you.”⁸⁸

With the destruction of Huronia, new opportunities began to open up and the Jesuits set their sights on the peoples of the Iroquois confederacy where many Huron Christians had been adopted. The continuing hostilities between the French and the five nations presented a stubborn obstacle. By mid-decade, however, a change occurred in the relations between the two and in 1654 the French and Iroquois began to pursue a peace agreement that resulted in the Onondaga accepting missionaries at the village of Gannentaha. This was primarily an ambassadorial mission, however, meant to secure the peace that was being negotiated. The embassy was a success. All the nations of the confederacy with the exception of the Mohawk agreed to the peace and more missionaries were sent the following year. The new

⁸⁷ *MNF* VII, 667 (doc. 146). Paul Ragueneau to François Piccolomini, 17 August 1650.

⁸⁸ *MNF* VIII, 31 (doc. 11). François Piccolomini to François Le Mercier, 27 March 1651. “At quoniam Deo sic permittente invaluerat furor infidelium, fecistis sapienter dum gregis desolate reliquias alio vobiscum navigare compulistis.” Also *MNF* VIII, 29 (doc. 9), Piccolomini to Ragueneau, 27 March 1651; and *MNF* VIII, 31 (doc. 10), Piccolomini to Vimont, 27 March 1651. It should be noted that in the *Relation* of 1649 it is the Huron who suggest removing to Quebec.

General Superior at Rome, Goswin Nickel, attributed these successes to “the precious blood of your companions” the martyrs.⁸⁹

The *Relation* of 1656-57 reported that more than two hundred Onondaga had been baptised, yet, the superior wrote;

We know that these Savages have eaten us with pleasure and drunk the blood of the Fathers of our Society; that their hands and their lips are still wet with it, and that the fires in which they roasted their limbs are not yet quite extinguished. We have not forgotten the conflagration that they set in our houses and the cruelties that they exacted on our bodies which still bear the marks: we know that their whole policy consists in knowing well how to plot treachery, and to conceal all their plans for it; that no Nero or Diocletion ever declared himself so strongly against the Christians as these bloodthirsty Savages have done against us. [...] We have not yet been able to dry the tears in which, for six years, our eyes have been bathed when we cast them upon the flourishing condition of the Huron Church before those Oppressors had sapped its foundations, - making Martyrs of its Pastors, and Saints of most of its members. [...] Notwithstanding all that, we consider ourselves so convinced of the will of God – who, of old, turned his greatest persecutors into his most illustrious Apostles – that we have no doubt that, at the present time, he opens the door to his Preachers, that they might go and plant the faith in the very heart of his enemies....⁹⁰

Despite such sentiments, the support and consolation of the Jesuit hierarchy, and even the perceived support of the martyrs in heaven, questions were raised about the aims of this new mission and the failure of the previous one. François Le Mercier had replaced Paul Ragueneau as superior in August of 1653 amid accusations that Ragueneau was too much involved in politics and too willing to mix religious

⁸⁹ *MNF* VIII, 729 (doc. 142), Goswin Nickel to François Le Mercier, 7 January 1655. “Haec sane mutatio desterae Excelsi et fusi anti aliquot annos sociorum vestrorum pretiosi sanguinis suavissimi fructus.”

⁹⁰ *JR* 44: 54-57 (1656-57). The reference to saints here should be taken in the broadest sense of the word meaning those who were saved. The pastors stand out from the flock as martyrs.

with civil affairs.⁹¹ There was a feeling amongst some that Ragueneau's leadership in Huronia had contributed to the disasters of 1649 and that the new mission to the Iroquois was nothing but a political venture to secure them as allies of the French. On 30 July 1655 Father Joseph Poncet, recently a captive of the Iroquois, wrote to the Father General in Rome accusing Ragueneau of putting his own interests ahead of those of the Jesuits, interfering in the political life of the colony, and drawing down public resentment upon the Order. He asked that Ragueneau be recalled and Le Mercier be replaced as superior.⁹²

A few weeks later another missionary and former superior, Barthélemy Vimont, also wrote to Goswin Nickel. His letter levelled similar accusations but in a more moderate tone. For Lucien Campeau, modern editor of the *Relations*, these letters point to a state of crisis precipitated by the decision to open a new mission amongst the Onondaga – a decision made largely by Ragueneau and Le Mercier. Together with Father Chastelain, according to Vimont, the three formed a faction that had led to ruin in Huronia and was likely to do the same in Iroquoia. “All this I attribute not to a weakness of virtue in those three, but a lack of experience, which none of them had because they led the Huron mission to ruin, which died in their hands [...] Now four years after that I shout out again, “The Quebec mission will die by that road that you hold to.”⁹³

⁹¹ Léon Poulliot, “Ragueneau, Paul,” *DCB*.

⁹² *MNF* VIII, 736-742 (doc. 149), Joseph-Antoine Poncet to Goswin Nickel, 30 July 1655.

⁹³ *MNF* VIII, 745 (doc. 150), Barthélemy Vimont to Goswin Nickel, 8 August 1655. “Hoc totum attribuo non defectui virtutis in illis tribus, sed experientiae defectui, quam nullam unquam habuerunt, quod valde contulit ad perditionem missionis huronensis, quae in eorum minibus periit. [...] Iam nunc a quatuor annis clamo illis iterum. ‘Peribit missio quebecensis per illam viam quam tenetis.’”

Although the main issue was Ragueneau's alleged political interferences, his leadership was considered a threat to the survival of the entire mission and a reminder, for Vimont and Poncet at least, of the disasters of 1649. Was the fate of the Huron and the Huron mission beyond Jesuit influence? Could the fathers have done anything to save the mission? Indeed, did they do anything to put the Huron into peril in the first place? Such questions were never posed explicitly, but Vimont and Poncet insinuated at least that despite the gift of the martyrs, the mission to the Huron had not ended in complete victory for the Jesuits or, indeed, for the Huron. And if blame was to be handed out, it ought to go to Ragueneau before all others.

The following year, 1656, Le Mercier was replaced as superior in Quebec by Jean de Quen and Paul Ragueneau was removed from the College at Quebec by request of the Provincial Father of France. He was sent to the Jesuit mission at Trois-Rivières effectively exiling him, and separating him from any centre of power or seat of politics.⁹⁴ The new superior, Jean de Quen, wrote,

I admit that Father Ragueneau is a man of singular virtue, but he has been implicated in too many political negotiations, which are not useful for our Society and have caused many quarrels and much bad feeling amongst us. This bad feeling will cease if he disengages himself from such negotiations and if he is sent to a remote mission.⁹⁵

The next year, 1657, he was sent to the Iroquois as superior of the new mission there, and in 1662 Ragueneau left New France for good to succeed Paul Le Jeune as Procurator of the Canadian mission in Paris – a position no doubt suited to

⁹⁴ *MNF* VIII, 809 (doc. 183), Jean DeQuen to Goswin Nickel, 1656.

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, 809. “Vir est, fateor ingénue, singularis virtutis Pater supernominatus, sed saecularibus negotiis plus aequo implicate, quae Societatem nostrum non decent et multarum in nos querelarum causa sunt et odiorum. Cessabunt odia, si ab eiusmodi negotiis sese expediat et in nissionem remotissimam mittatur.”

his political talents. Ragueneau was never formally accused of any misconduct and continued to enjoy an illustrious career in the Order for the remainder of his life. Whether he deserved his reputation or was guilty of the accusations levelled against him is an open question. Certainly Lucien Campeau disagrees with the allegations made by Vimont and claims that Poncet's ravings were those of an unstable mind.⁹⁶ Poncet returned to France in 1657 and although he wished return to Canada his requests were consistently refused.⁹⁷ The destruction of the Huron was beyond the ability of any one man, Jesuit or otherwise, to stop, nevertheless, there is no doubt that Christianity was a destabilizing influence amongst the aboriginal societies of Canada. In the tragedy of the fall of Huronia, there was a nexus of causes that converged in the texts of European observers and the stories of the sufferings of a few, the martyrs, that trumped and largely discounted the sufferings of the many.

Conclusion

The martyrs edified those Jesuits left behind and in the 1650s their reputations began to spread amongst the Christian community in New France, especially amongst the religious orders and the personal and spiritual networks of the Jesuits fathers, but also, it seems, amongst the lay population. The holy functioned as intercessors on earth and advocates in heaven for the people and land of New

⁹⁶ Lucien Campeau blamed Poncet's charges to mental instability resulting from his time as a captive amongst the Iroquois. As evidence of this instability he points to the numerous errors in Poncet's Latin and suggests that if any of what he claimed were true, Ragueneau would surely have been recalled. *MNF* VIII, 736-742. This document is one of the most heavily annotated documents in the collection and the notes betray Campeau's desire to defend Ragueneau from any accusations. Léon Pouliot's entry for Ragueneau in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* was written in a similar vein. It reads like a panegyric and any hint of scandal is glossed over.

⁹⁷ Lucien Campeau, "Poncet de la Rivière, Joseph-Antione," *DCB*.

France performing miracles that cured the ill and brought the wayward back into Catholic society. They warned of danger when the faith community wondered too far off the path set for it by God and left relics for the faithful to venerate and even use to obtain miracles. The Jesuit martyrs were the first local holy persons to edify the French community in New France and as such paved the way for others to follow by demonstrating that Canada was a land of saints. Even as disputes arose internally amongst the Jesuits in the 1650s over whom to blame for the failure of the Huron mission, the martyrs were used to justify an advance into Iroquois territory. Moreover, as observers of holiness the Jesuits used the scenario to frame examples ‘discovered’ amongst native converts and achieve the transfer of those performances from native cultural contexts into a wholly European and Catholic context. In the end, examples of holiness observed in native converts were attributed to the salutary effect of the blood of the martyrs.

Yet challenges faced colonial writers as they tried to transfer the live performance of holiness into authoritative texts. Contemporary understandings of the native body, perceptions of aboriginal rituals, and the creation of multiple aboriginal Christianities, complicated Jesuit efforts to reinscribe events that took place in the ‘middle ground’ of the colonial encounter according to Christian scenarios of holiness and martyrdom. The colonial audience remained small, at least as far as documentary evidence shows. It was primarily members of religious orders and their networks that invoked the martyrs and requested their aid. The case of Barbe Halay hints towards a broader oral tradition, but for the most part, lay audiences remain opaque. Nevertheless, the martyrs worked for their colonial audiences and even for select audiences in France. They validated the settlement of

Canada and the missions of the Jesuits. The martyrs' sacrifices, as depicted in colonial texts, made colonialism appear natural and blessed by God.

Chapter IV

Asceticism, the Shaping of the Self, and the Making of a New World

Les grands desirs qu'elle avoit de souffrir et d'entreprendre pour l'amour de Dieu et le Salut des ames, tout ce qui pourroit se presenter à son courage et à son zele, luy firent prendre la resolution de tout quitter, parens et amis, et la France même, pour s'en aller en Canada où elle n'avoit aucune connoissance, et où elle sçavoit qu'il y avoit beaucoup à souffrir et tout à craindre: mais elle ne craignoit rien, y étant uniquement portée par l'amour de Dieu qui l'y devoit accompagner, et auquel elle mettoit toute sa confiance.

-Paul Ragueneau¹

By the second half of the seventeenth century the Jesuits in Canada had developed a view of themselves and their martyrs as victims for the faith in the new world. But as Thomas Heffernan has pointed out, the model of the heroic victim was originally a female model endorsed first by Tertullian and then by Saint-Augustine in his homilies on the passions of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas.² In Canada, in the seventeenth century, the Jesuits invoked the models of the first apostles of the church and believed they were similarly blessed. As we have seen, such a model of new world holiness developed slowly over the course of the 1630s, 1640s and 1650s in observations and writings about the missions and the martyrs. The model of the heroic victim, however, achieved perhaps its greatest expression in Canada in the performance and biography of the holy woman Catherine de Saint-Augustin.

¹ Paul Ragueneau, *La vie de la Mère Catherine de Saint-Augustin, religieuse hospitalière de la miséricorde de Québec en la Nouvelle-France* (Paris: Florentin Lambert, 1671), 40.

² Thomas Heffernan, *Sacred Biography: Saints and their Biographers in the Middle Ages* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 17. For Augustine's homilies see Mary-Ann Stouck, "Augustine Preaches on the Feasts of SS. Perpetua and Felicitas," in *Medieval Saints: A Reader* (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1999), 39-42.

Mère Marie-Catherine de Saint-Augustin was a nursing sister in the Hôtel Dieu de Québec. She was about to be elected superior of her congregation for the first time when she died at the age of 36 on 8 May 1668, having spent twenty years in New France. Over the course of the following days, her death drew a great deal of attention and comment, both from ecclesiastical writers and authorities, and from the wider population of Quebec. Crowds (a relative term given the entire region of Quebec numbered only 2857 Frenchmen, and the city itself only about 600, in the census of 1666) reportedly came to view her remains and mourn for her.³ Through the convent grill colonists paid their respects to this local religious hero. Over the succeeding years miracles were reported and an informal cult of belief in her sanctity developed locally and in regions of France, especially amongst the Augustinians. “Cette chere Mere mourut en odeur de sainteté...” wrote the Annaliste of the Hôtel Dieu, and was “regrettée universellement de toute la Communauté et de toute la colonie, comme une ame qui attiroit de grandes graces sur ce pauvre pais.”⁴

With Catherine and her contemporaries, Marie de l’Incarnation and Madame de la Peltrie of the Ursulines, Jeanne Mance and Marguerite Bourgeoys in Montreal, holiness entered into the settled world of colonial New France. The mission environment of Canada may have been particularly conducive to forging sanctity, but so too were the religious institutions of the new church and the women who ran

³ The region of Quebec included not only the town, but also île d’Orléans, côte de Beaupré, Beauport, Sillery and Cap Rouge. The census was conducted by the Indendant of New France, Jean Talon, in the winter and spring of 1666. Marcel Trudel calculates the total population of the Saint Lawrence valley according to this census as 3173. But, by reconstructing the population, he concludes that the census missed up to a quarter of the inhabitants. The total may have been closer to 4219, and the region of Quebec may have counted as many as 2857. Marcel Trudel, *La population du Canada en 1666: Recensement reconstitué* (Sillery: Québec: Septentrion, 1995), 49-54.

⁴ *ADHQ*, 158.

them. The first narrative accounts of Catherine de Saint-Augustin's life, death, and virtues were written very quickly. In September of the same year, Marie de l'Incarnation wrote to her son praising Catherine's great virtues, especially her charity, patience and humility. The following month, the superior of the Hôtel Dieu, Mère Marie de Saint-Bonaventure completed a circular letter about her life and death for the Augustinian Order in France that was included in the Jesuit *Relation* for that year by the superior, François Le Mercier.⁵ A full and detailed biography composed by the former missionary and now Procurator in Paris of the Jesuit's Canadian mission, Paul Ragueneau, and based on Catherine's own autobiographical writings, appeared only three years later. Another account, written specifically for the nuns of the Hôtel Dieu de Québec, is found in their *Annales* compiled between 1717 and 1720.⁶ This last version is based almost exclusively on Ragueneau's text plus a few institutional memories of the sisters.

⁵ MI *Corr.*, 813-815 (Lettre CCXXXVIII), à son fils, 7 September 1668. Marie de Saint-Bonaventure de Jésus to the Mother Superior of the Hospital Nuns of Dieppe, "Lettre Circulaire de la mort de la Reverende Mere Catherine de Saint-Augustin, Religieuse Hospitaliere de Quebec [sic], decedée le 8 May 1668," 4 Octobre 1668. Published in JR 52: 56-81 (1668) (hereafter "Lettre Circulaire"). In the Jesuit *Relation* this letter is followed by a brief commentary probably written by Le Mercier.

⁶ Paul Ragueneau, *La vie de la Mère Catherine de Saint-Augustin* (hereafter *Vie*). Mères Jeanne-Françoise Juchereau de St-Ignace and Marie Andrée Duplessis de Ste-Hélène, *Les Annales de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec, 1636-1716*, ed. Dom Albert Jamet (Québec: Hôtel Dieu de Québec, 1939) (hereafter *AHDQ*). More recent works include, Henri-Raymond Casgrain, *Histoire de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec* (Québec: L. Brousseau 1878); Léonidas Hudon, *Une fleur mystique de la Nouvelle-France: Vie de la Mère Marie-Catherine de Saint-Augustin, religieuse de l'Hôtel Dieu du Précieux-sang de Québec, 1632-1668* (Montréal: Bureaux du Messenger Canadien, 1907); André Merlaud, *L'Épopée fantastique d'une jeune Normande: Catherine de Longpré* (Paris: Édition S.O.S., 1981). Dom Guy-Marie Oury, *L'Itinéraire mystique de Catherine de Saint-Augustin* (Chambray-lès-Tours: C.L.D., 1985). A wide variety of documents concerning her canonization procedure can be found in *Beatificationis et canonizationis servae dei Mariae Catharinae a Sancto Augustino (in saec. Catharinae Symon de Longprey) monialis professae Sonorum Hospitalarium a Misericordia O.S. Augustini (1668): positio super introduzione causae et virtutibus ex officio concinnata* (Rome: Sacra Congregatio Pro Causis Sanctorum Officium Historicum, 1974).

In this chapter I focus on the life, mysticism, and asceticism of Catherine de Saint-Augustin, plus the texts that narrated these, in order to come to a better understanding of how local individuals became holy within the French settlements of colonial New France, and what their performances of holiness might have signified to those around them and to those who composed their biographies. Why focus on Catherine? For several reasons. First, her biography was the first complete and independent hagiography produced about a holy figure from Canada. It is a rich and detailed text that combines her own writings, drawn from a spiritual journal that she kept from her time in New France, with letters she wrote, and Paul Ragueneau's own contributions, into a narrative that describes her spiritual development and asceticism. Second, hers is one of the few biographies composed about a non-Jesuit Canadian holy person that was written by someone who actually spent significant amounts of time in Canada and knew the country well. Marie de l'Incarnation's biography, for example, the most similar in form to Catherine's own, was written by her son, Claude Martin, who never set foot in Canada; and while it is true that Marie herself wrote biographies of two of her sisters in the Ursuline convent and Madame de la Peltrie, these lack the depth and detail of Ragueneau's biography of Catherine and also the authoritative voice of the male ecclesiastical interpreter that was vital, at the time, to the formation and acceptance of a holy reputation.⁷ Third, the existence

⁷ Neither Marie de St-Joseph nor Anne Bataille, the subjects of Marie's hagiographic works, enjoyed a wide or prolonged reputation as a holy person. Marie de Saint-Joseph, *MI Corr.*, 436-473 (Lettre CXL) à la Communauté des Ursulines de Tours, printemps 1652. Anna Bataille, *MI Corr.*, 843-848 (Lettre CCXLIX) aux Communautés des Ursulines en France, 1 septembre 1669. On Madame de la Peltrie see *MI Corr.*: 904-914 (lettre CCLXIX). Other hagiographies from the time such as those about Marguerite Bougeoys, Jeanne Le Ber, Marie Barbier, and Marguerite d'Youville, dating from the first half of the eighteenth century, were each composed by local clerical writers, but were never published and so did not have the same reach as Ragueneau's *Life of Catherine*.

of a number of other important sources for her life makes it possible to understand its impact from a variety of perspectives. Finally, this well documented case allows for a broad contextualization of her life that draws on other analogous examples in comparison and contrast, especially that of Catherine's contemporary Marie de l'Incarnation, in order to come to a better understanding of how holiness developed, how it was interpreted and by whom, and what it meant in the society and culture of New France. To what purpose was Catherine de Saint-Augustin's holiness directed, whom did it benefit, and what did her asceticism and excessive suffering represent within the contexts, both social and textual, in which they took place? At the same time, I specifically emphasize New France, to understand the importance of place in her own understanding of her religious vocation, and the understandings of others who wrote about her and regarded her as holy.

Coming to Canada

Marie-Catherine Simon de Longpré was born in the town of Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte in Normandy on May 3, 1632. She was the daughter of Jacques Simon de Longpré, a native of Cherbourg in Normandy, a lawyer and minor nobleman, and Françoise Jourdan, the daughter of the civil administrator of Saint-Sauveur. A member of the local elite, she was raised primarily by her maternal grandparents who themselves were reportedly extremely pious. When she was only two years old, her grandfather, M. Launey-Jourdan, had a premonition of his granddaughter's future sanctity and from a very young age Catherine expressed a holy precociousness and inclination towards the religious life.⁸ She wrote in her spiritual journal that by the

⁸ JR 52: 59 (1668).

age of three and a half she felt herself touched by God and experienced a great desire to do God's will.⁹ At the age of ten she gave herself spiritually to the Virgin Mary in a written donation that she signed in her own blood. She subsequently found herself miraculously cured of a fever that had plagued her for three years.¹⁰ Shortly thereafter she joined the Augustinian nursing sisters of Bayeux and first expressed her desire to go to Canada.

The convention of female sanctity in vogue at the time stipulated that holiness developed slowly over the course of a lifetime and did not, generally, involve radical transformations or profound conversion experiences. The post-Tridentine emphasis on male hierarchy and the importance of the priesthood resulted in a passive model of ideal female religious expression.¹¹ Even Marie de l'Incarnation, who came to cloistered religion relatively late in her twenties after experiencing a profound mystical experience, wrote in her spiritual autobiography that she had cultivated an interior spirituality from her early childhood.¹² The earliest hagiographic narrative about the recluse Jeanne Le Ber (1662-1714) declared that she had "sucked piety with milk," and that, "la vertu de cette Ste. Fille n'a pas été semblable a une convalescence ou au changement de La Maladie à la santé ce n'est

⁹ *Vie*, 17. Long extracts from this journal make up a significant proportion of the *Vie*.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 28-30.

¹¹ Donald Weinstein and Rudolph Bell, *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 228.

¹² Marie de l'Incarnation, *Écrits spirituels et historiques* vol. 1, ed. Dom. Albert Jamet (Québec: Les Ursulines de Québec, 1985), 151-153. See Marie-Emmanuel Chabot, "Guyart, Marie dite Marie de l'Incarnation," *DCB*.

pas proprement une conversion, sa sainteté a plutôt été semblable au progrès de l'aurore des ténèbres de L'enfance....”¹³

In hagiographic discourse from the time, holiness was always already present in those selected by God to be his servants on earth, lying dormant at birth, but developing over the course of the life to a predetermined end. The holy were considered always holy, even if public recognition only emerged over time or even long after the death of the individual. Mère Saint-Bonaventure wrote shortly after Catherine died,

Her perfect responsiveness to all of God's designs with regard to her, and the free entrance that she had, from her earliest infancy, given to that adorable spirit that she might become the tyrant over her self-love, gained for her a great facility in the practice of the most substantial virtues. Indeed, one would have said that they had been born with her, so perfectly did grace and nature act in concert in that dear soul.¹⁴

In what turned out to be a pivotal moment in her life, Catherine took a solemn vow to become a missionary in Canada at the age of fifteen. It is here that Canada first entered into her religious vocation and became a part of her desire to sanctify herself. In an event that stands out in the narrative description of her early life, she attempted to sign in her own blood a vow to live and die in Canada, as she had done earlier when she pledged herself to Mary. And she would have succeeded if it had not been for the Mistress of Novices who discovered her and put a stop to this early expression of an asceticism that would only achieve its fullest expression in New France.

¹³ François Vachon de Belmont, “Éloges de quelques personnes mortes en odeur de sainteté à Montréal, en Canada, divisés en trois parties” (c. 1722), *Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec* (1929-30): 148-150.

¹⁴ “Lettre Circulaire,” 57.

Elle eut recours à Dieu, faisant vœu de vivre et de mourir en Canada, si Dieu luy en ouvroit la porte, et meme elle alloit signer de son sang le vœu qu'elle en avoit fait, si la Maîtresse des Novices ne fût survenüe, lorsqu'elle se picquoit pour offrir ainsi les premices de son sang à Dieu.¹⁵

Through this attempt, Catherine forcefully inserted herself in the most physical way possible into the scenario of holiness. According to Diana Taylor's definition of scenario, it is banal in itself, reducing complexity and conflict to stock elements, but when embodied it becomes the frame of a real life.¹⁶ In this act, Catherine physically and symbolically committed her body to her vocation for Canada. The actor asserted herself over the character of the saint and the pious fiction became a narrative of a real life. Such an act was not demanded by the scenario but rather was a performance of will that expressed Catherine's deep desire to be a saint and Canada as the place where that ambition would be realized.

This vow, registered in such a physical manner, was necessary because her choice of vocation had not gone unchallenged. Her own father, although pious according to Ragueneau, feared losing the "plus chérie de tous ses enfants" to what must have been considered the *mort main* of Canada so much that he forbade her to go and even resorted to the law to thwart her ambitions.¹⁷ She remained resolute,

¹⁵ *Vie*, 41.

¹⁶ Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 54-55.

¹⁷ Fatherly opposition to the religious desires of a cherished daughter is a stock element in early hagiographic literature. The motif generally centres upon the desire of the father, often a pagan, to marry his pious daughter to another pagan. The daughter must resist such an abomination and in almost every case she triumphs over her father's will through a dramatic act of her own will such as flight or martyrdom. In addition to the literary precedent for resistance, the post-Tridentine Church was generally wary of active female vocations. In an effort to curtail public expressions of female piety which were viewed as suspect at best and, often, as threats to orthodoxy, the Council of Trent had wished to impose strict rules of enclosure on religious women and any communities they might form, and regarded the

however, and sought recourse to God. By taking this vow, she successfully transformed her determination to go to Canada into a question of obedience either to God or to her father. Her father could not stand in the way of a vow made to a higher power. Her strategy was successful.

Notre Seigneur permit que ce bon Gentilhomme étant tombé malade de chagrin et de melancolie à cette occasion, demanda à voir une Relation nouvellement venüe du Canada, qui parloit de la mort du Pere Isaac Jogues Jesuite, massacré par les Iroquois l'année d'auparavant 1647 [sic].... Ce pere abbatu de tristesse, fut saisi tout d'un coup d'un assoupissement et d'un sommeil, sans doute mysterieux; pendant lequel il fut inspirée et porté fortement de permettre à nôtre Catherine de faire ce grand voyage.¹⁸

Inspired by what he had read of the martyrdom of Isaac Jogues, Catherine's father recognized the holiness of his daughter's chosen vocation and changed his mind. Paul Ragueneau drew a direct link between the generous Père Jogues who gave his life for God in Iroquoia and the 'genereux sacrifice' of Père de Longpré who gave his daughter to Canada as a victim for the souls of that country.¹⁹ In the rhetoric of the hagiographic narrative Catherine is passive; she is permitted to go to Canada because God inspired her father through Jogues's sacrifice, and M. de Longpré complied with the divine will. But, by reading against the grain of the scenario, we

contemplative life as the only legitimate expression of female piety. During the seventeenth century, however, the church in France, in an effort to reach the wider lay population, expanded at a rapid rate into charity, hospital care and education – fields often dominated by women – resulting in a change in the structure of the church itself. The rule of the cloister was gradually and grudgingly circumvented, allowing religious women to work for God in the world. The women who dedicated themselves to these professions soon made themselves indispensable to society and the church. See Elizabeth Rapely, *The Devotes: Women and the Church in the Seventeenth Century* (Montreal; Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990).

¹⁸ *Vie*, 41.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 41.

can see Catherine's own subjective act – her choice of vocation, commitment to it, and the actions she took to achieve it.

One final obstacle remained. At fifteen years of age, Catherine was too young to legally enter into religious life, sixteen being the earliest age at which a novice could take her vows. By special dispensation of the bishop and of the superior, however, she was granted the necessary permission to take her vows of religion a few days before her sixteenth birthday in the port city of Nantes just prior to embarking for Quebec. Although subsequent writings about her have made a great deal of her young age, it was not, in fact, overly unusual that a novice should enter religion before the required age under special circumstances.²⁰ What was unusual was that she was given permission to go to Canada at such a young age. Generally, the religious women who went to Canada were in their late 20s or even 30s. Marie de l'Incarnation was already 40 when she went in 1639. Marguerite Bourgeoys was 33 when she embarked for Montreal in 1653, and Marie de Saint-Bonaventure was relatively young at 24 years of age when she arrived in Quebec in 1639 with the first hospitallers. Even the Ursuline Marie de Saint-Joseph, who entered religion at the age of 14, did not go to Canada until she was 23.

That at such a young age Catherine would voluntarily accept, indeed insist upon, a virtual exile to a place considered in France to be beyond the pale must have been viewed by others at the time as either extraordinarily pious or astonishingly reckless. The cumulative effect of miracles and marvels in hagiographic discourse often has the ironic ability to reduce the most extraordinary into the ordinary

²⁰ The average age of entry into religious life at the time was 14-16. Jean-Pierre Asselin, "Regnard Duplessis, Marie-Andrée dite de Sainte- Hélène," *DCB*. Indeed, the *Annales de l'Hôtel Dieu* make little fuss about her age of profession. *AHDQ*, 66-67.

through the invocation of centuries of models and traditions, but although saints may have been of the same essence in the *communio sanctorum*, it must be borne in mind that, for the audience, the live performance was very often astounding. Jérôme Lalemant wrote upon her arrival that, “Her vocation to this new world is rather remarkable.”²¹

Catherine’s actions were not formed only by the requirements of the tradition of holiness, but also by an enormous act of personal will. After a perilous voyage across the Atlantic punctuated by close encounters with icebergs and bouts of infection, which Catherine herself contracted, she and her two companions, Mère Anne de l’Assomption and Mère Jeanne Thomas de Sainte-Agnes, arrived at Quebec on 19 August 1648. Her party was welcomed with great fanfare and enthusiasm by the population of the settlement and especially by the sisters of the Hôtel Dieu. “From the very first interview,” Mère Saint-Bonaventure reported, “we esteemed her a precious treasure for this house.” She continued,

Her nature was one of the most perfect that could have been desired: prudent; with simplicity; keen of perception, without curiosity; sweet and gracious, without flattery; invincible in her patience; tireless in her Charity; amiable to all, without undue attachment to any; humble, without being mean-spirited; courageous, without any haughtiness.²²

Here was a well balanced soul, one that embraced virtue but did not succumb to excess. Catherine successfully negotiated the gaps between self and social expectations, between a personal will and an identity shaped by the needs of her community and adherence to the Augustinian rule.

²¹ JR 32: 133 (1648).

²² “Lettre Circulaire,” 65-67.

The Hôtel Dieu

Even after forty years of settlement, Quebec in 1648 was little more than a small town on the edge of a vast river and a vaster forest. It was, however, a town with imperial aspirations; a governor, numerous religious institutions including, schools, a hospital, a seminary and a Jesuit college. New France consisted of two other primary settlements at Trois-Rivières and Montreal (the latter barely six years old) which were little more than fur trading posts, between which a sparse population ranged out on both sides of the river.

The Hôtel Dieu de Québec, where Catherine would spend the remainder of her life, had been established in 1639 by three nursing sisters who arrived in New France in response to Paul Le Jeune's call in the *Relation* of 1636 for female aid in colonization and mission work. When the first *hospitalières* arrived at Quebec on the 1st of August 1639 they were greeted with great joy by officials and settlers alike. "When we were informed that a bark was about to arrive at Kebec," wrote Paul Le Jeune, the superior of the Jesuits, "bearing a college of Jesuits, an establishment of hospital nuns and a convent of Ursulines, the news seemed at first almost a dream."²³ These sisters, and the Jesuits who accompanied them, according to Le Jeune, arrived as fully formed corporate bodies. Colonization was not to be a starting over, but rather a transplantation of Old France into the New.

The governor, M. de Montmagny, the principal men of the country, and the population of the town all went down to the dock to greet the newly arrived nuns and priests with rituals of public celebration. Psalms were sung and cannon were fired (perhaps the most tangible symbols of French power in Canada) before the

²³ JR 16: 19 (1639).

nuns were led away to the Jesuit church where the *Te Deum* (the hymn of thanksgiving) was performed. Christian ritual infused with the symbols of state power played a vital role in sacralizing the colony and performing European claims to possession. Even the Jesuit church building where the liturgy took place, described as “fort jolie; la voûte et le balustre luy donnoient un air de propreté qui la rendoit for gaye,” expressed the propriety of a well-practiced post-Tridentine Catholicism transplanted to Canada.²⁴

Following these rituals of welcome, the nuns were conducted “to the houses set apart for them” and the following day they were given a tour of the Christian reduction of Sillery where primarily Montagnais Indians had settled under the direction of the Jesuit Fathers. On the third day after their arrival the nuns “entered their seclusion.”²⁵ Immediately the sick were brought to the hospital for care and the nuns began their work without delay. The new world was both pressingly imminent and comfortably far away outside the sacralized space of the makeshift convent and hospital. “Would not one say,” wrote Paul Le Jeune, “that this hospital, which is but newly founded, had been erected for a hundred years in the heart of Christianity.”²⁶ It was expected that there would be little break between New France and the old, but rather the uninterrupted continuation of the institutions and practices of French Catholicism in a new place that offered new opportunities. Dominique Deslandres writes;

²⁴ *ADHQ*, 18-19.

²⁵ *JR* 16: 19 (1639).

²⁶ *JR* 16: 31-33 (1639).

Très respectueuses de leurs règles de Tours et de Dieppe, les Ursulines et les Hospitalières n'étaient pas venues pour innover mais bien pour transplanter, dans le nouveau monde, l'ancien monde, remodelé selon les normes tridentines.²⁷

Catherine's performance of holiness took place in a very different social and political context from those of Jogues, Brébeuf, and the other Jesuit martyrs. Where Jesuit performances of martyrdom had taken place before native audiences, Catherine performed her holiness resolutely within the French settler community. Her immediate audience was already familiar with the paradigms and expectations of the tradition of holiness. Although physically *in* North America, the nuns of the Hôtel Dieu and the Ursuline convent nevertheless lived apart from that environment in the sanctified, enclosed, and segregated space of the European convent.

Life in New France was, nevertheless, undoubtedly overwhelming for the sisters who arrived that August day in 1639, and for those who would follow them. Most striking must have been the immediate contact they had with *les sauvages*. Within days of their arrival, the sisters began to learn the Algonquian language from Paul Le Jeune who gave them prayers and the catechism to learn by heart. Although cloistered, Ursulines and Augustinians alike regarded themselves as missionaries in New France. They undertook to learn native languages just as the Jesuits were doing and, like the Jesuits, they regarded their ability to do so as an indication that their vocations were blessed and that they followed in the footsteps of the apostles of the ancient church. The hospital nuns were to be more than nurses of the body, but also healers of the soul. Marie de l'Incarnation wrote in her 1652 biography of the Ursuline sister Marie de Saint-Joseph, "Elle aprit en peu de temps les langues

²⁷ Dominique Deslandres, "Femmes missionnaires en Nouvelle-France: Les débuts des Ursulines et des Hospitalières à Québec," *La religion de ma mère: Les femmes et la transmission de la foi*, ed. Jean Delumeau (Paris: Cerf, 1992), 214.

Huronnes et Algonquines, et elle s'en servoit avec un grande facilité. Notre Seigneur lui avoit donné une grâce particulière pour gagner les cœurs, non seulement des filles, mais encore des hommes et des femmes de ces deux Nations.”²⁸

In the *Relation* of 1640, Paul Le Jeune elaborated on what he saw as the noble work and excellent comportment of the hospital nuns. Their arrival happened to coincide with an outbreak of disease so that they were completely overwhelmed by work. He placed great emphasis on their charity and their salutary effect on their native patients.²⁹ Yet, despite these praises, Le Jeune was generally sceptical that religious women had much to contribute to Canada at such an early time in its development. Earlier in the same *Relation* he had warned,

It is not everything to be sent from France; one must be called to New France, in order to produce more fruit here than noise. The sisters cannot penetrate into the more distant and more populous Nations; those who have come are amply sufficient for the occupations they can have in a country which has accomplished only its birth.³⁰

Despite the enthusiasm Lalemant expressed for Catherine's vocation when she arrived, Jesuit officials were guarded about the utility of female foundations in New France. The women who came from France, however, were determined to stay

²⁸ MI *Corr.* 451 (Lettre CXL) à la Communauté des Ursulines de Tours, Spring 1652.

²⁹ JR 19: 9-35 (1640). Paul Le Jeune, in fact had been the architect of the reform of the Augustinian community at Dieppe and regarded it “one of the best regulated communities in Europe.” See Leslie Choquette, ““Ces Amazones du Grand Dieu”: Women and Mission in Seventeenth-Century Canada” *French Historical Studies*, 17, 3 (Spring 1992): 633-4.

³⁰ JR 18: 77 (1640).

and to help build the new church.³¹ As though in response to Le Jeune's early reservations, Marie de L'Incarnation wrote years later in 1664,

Il est vray qu'encore que notre clôture ne me permette pas de suivre les ouvriers de l'Évangile dans les Nations qui se découvrent tous les jours: étant néanmoins incorporée comme je suis, à cette nouvelle Église, notre Seigneur m'ayant fait l'honneur de m'y appeler, il me lie si fortement d'esprit avec eux, qu'il me semble que je les suis par tout, et que je travaille avec eux en de si riche et si nobles conquêtes.³²

Amongst the religious women who came to New France there was a profound sense of having been called there by God. Le Jeune's praise of their work and reservations about their vocations stand in marked contrast, however, to their own account of the early years of establishment contained in the *Annales de l'Hotel Dieu*. The *Annales* recount the great hardships and privations that greeted the nuns during the winters of 1639-40 and 1640-41. Early in 1640, all three sisters fell ill from exhaustion and the Jesuits had to take over care of their patients while they recovered. Meanwhile, so great was the number of patients who died while under their care, especially native peoples, that the local Amerindian population began to refer to the hospital as the *maison de mort* and refused to enter it.³³

In the spring of 1640, the Augustinian nuns moved from Quebec to the *réduction* at Sillery in order to be closer to the Montagnais community there. The

³¹ Guy-Marie Oury, *Les Ursulines de Québec, 1639-1953* (Sillery: Septentrion, 1999), 40. Generally, Le Jeune considered the *Hospitalières* to be more useful than the Ursulines thanks to their nursing skills. See Chantal Théry, "Femmes missionnaires en Nouvelle-France: dans la balançoire de la rhétorique jésuite," *Rhétorique et conquête missionnaire: le jésuite Paul Lejeune*, ed. Réal Ouellet and Alain Beaulieu (Quebec: Septentrion, 1993), 92-93, and by the same author, "Amazones du Grand Dieu en Nouvelle France," *De Plume et d'Audace: Femmes de la Nouvelle France* (Paris: Cerf, 2006), 18-33. Leslie Choquette argues that the story of women missionaries in New France was one of "female eagerness and official reticence." "Ces Amazones," 632.

³² MI *Corr.* 734-35 (Lettre CCXIII), à la Mère Angélique de la Conception, Ursuline à Tours, 19 August 1664.

³³ *AHDQ*, 25.

move took place in December even though the hospital building in Sillery was far from ready. The building they moved into resembled a log cabin much more than it did a hospital. The wind whipped through its fragile walls and in winter snow entered through the gaps between the planks and accumulated inside. The cold was intense. “Ce que nous souffrimes en ce tems de froid et de misere ne se peut pas exprimer,” wrote the *annaliste*.³⁴ Despite an increase in the grant allotted to the nuns by the financial backer of their project, Madame la Duchesse d’Aiguillon, and the arrival of two more *hospitalières* in 1640, conditions in the hospital did not improve. The sisters came to depend upon the native population for survival. They were given a share of the winter hunt that had been successful that year, and they purchased a goat for milk and cheese in the hope of nursing the recently arrived Mère Jeanne de Sainte-Marie back to health. Nevertheless, Mère Sainte-Marie, described as weak of constitution and unsuited to life in New France, died in March of 1641 at the age of 28, followed on the same night by the hapless goat. Le Jeune reports that because the nuns gave everything they received to the poor in the hospital they had to be ordered to keep a portion for themselves.³⁵ To him their privation and suffering was the result of their dedication to their work and their own asceticism.

The women who came to Canada arrived, as Chantal Théry puts it, without a return ticket. They were determined to found a new life, a new community, and most

³⁴ *AHDQ*, 30. Conditions were no better for other female orders. The sisters of the Hôtel Dieu de Montréal also had considerable problems with snow blowing into their hospital. Marie Morin, *Histoire simple et véritable*, 104. The living space of the Ursulines consisted of “deux petites chambres qui nous servent de Cuisine, de Réfectoir, de Retraite, de Classe, de Parloir, de Chœur.” *MI Corr.*, 98 (XLVIII) à une Dame de qualité, 3 September 1640.

³⁵ *AHDQ*, 31-32. *JR* 19: 25 (1640).

importantly, a new church in Canada despite the challenges that faced them.³⁶ The two remaining sisters' time was spent in work at their hospital taking care of the sick and injured inhabitants of the mission village. Days were long and grueling, and free time, even for devotions, was almost nil. At the beginning of 1642 they were forced to take a new grey habit to replace the white worn in Dieppe and Bayeux because it was too difficult to clean off the blood and dirt.³⁷ Like camouflage, the new habits helped the sisters blend into their environment. Eventually, however, the hardships, and especially the threat of Iroquois attacks, became too great for even grey habits to hide and the sisters moved back to Quebec on 29 May 1644 never to return. Less than a year later, no longer toiling directly amongst the native population, the sisters put aside their grey habits and resumed wearing white marking their return to a European environment.³⁸

Catherine's Holy Performance

It was into such a world that Catherine de Saint-Augustin arrived four years later. By 1648, however, the Hôtel Dieu was well-established in Quebec, and the sisters were engaged in the work of caring for the bodies and souls of both native peoples and French colonists. Yet, given the hardships that her predecessors in Canada had suffered in the early years as they struggled to establish the Hôtel Dieu,

³⁶ Théry, *De plume et d'audace*, 53, 58-61. Over time both the Hôtel Dieu and the Ursulines came to prefer Canadian novices over those from France because they were more familiar with life in the colony, more suited to its challenges, and less likely to abandon their vocations. See for example, MI *Corr.* 591-92 (Lettre CLXXV) à son fils, 15 October 1657; and *AHDQ* 166-7.

³⁷ *AHDQ*, 41-42.

³⁸ *AHDQ*, 53.

it is necessary to ask why Catherine stood out. Why did she earn a reputation for sanctity when others did not? From the moment of her arrival she seemed to garner more attention from observers than any other. Of the three hospitalières who landed in Quebec in 1648, she alone was singled out for special comment by the Jesuit Superior Jérôme Lalemant in the *Relation* for that year. He praised the “zeal which led her to desire Crosses with affection,” recited the story of her father’s conversion, and credited God with saving her from a shipboard infection she had contracted.³⁹ Already, at only sixteen years of age, it was believed she was marked out for great things.

Catherine’s arrival in Canada anticipated by only a few months the destruction of the Huron confederacy by the Iroquois in 1649. It is almost impossible to imagine the trial by fire endured by the new arrivals as they attempted to cope with the sick and dying refugees of war. In a letter of 29 September 1650, the superior of the hospital, Marie de Saint-Bonaventure told a Monsieur N. of Paris that, “our little ward for sick people is full of poor French soldiers wounded in battle with the Hiroquois.” Meanwhile, Huron refugees had made camp just outside the gates of the hospital.⁴⁰ In addition to their nursing duties, the *annaliste* reported that a sister of the hospital would fill in at the “grille du Chœur” when the Jesuit fathers were too busy to hear the prayers and confessions of the Huron Christians.⁴¹

From her arrival in the country, Catherine’s day-to-day life was filled with the duties of a nurse, missionary, and aid to new French settlers whom the sisters

³⁹ JR 32: 133 (1647-48).

⁴⁰ Marie de St. Bonaventure to Monsieur N. of Paris, 29 September 1650, in JR 36: 57-61.

⁴¹ AHDQ, 86.

instructed in the ways of Canada.⁴² She was elected treasurer (*dépositaire*) of the community in 1654 and again in 1659, but towards the end of the decade her interior spiritual life began to change even as she maintained an exterior façade consistent with that of her pious and devoted sisters. Paul Ragueneau, who was her spiritual director from his return to Quebec in 1650 until his departure for France in 1662, writes in the *Vie* that she suffered continual temptations against her religious vocation, her vocation in Canada, and her chastity from the time she left France. But it was in 1658 that she experienced a mystical call to suffer for the health and redemption of sinners in Canada that changed her life – a call that gave meaning to all the temptations she suffered.

The following year, with Ragueneau's permission, she formally offered herself to God as a victim and in return received a mystical blessing from the divine. The theologian Ghislaine Boucher marks this year, 1659, as the point when Catherine left behind her worldly vocation as a nurse and missionary and took up a vocation of spiritual suffering and victimhood. In her mystical flights, the temptations that plagued her took the form of demons sent to her by God for whom she was "jailer, host and victim."⁴³

Catherine cultivated her humility through strict adherence to the discipline imposed by the Augustinian rule and in meditation, in humbling herself before others and obeying strictly the rule of obedience. Such practices were valued, but were not entirely exceptional amongst her sisters at the Hôtel Dieu. Mère Saint-Bonaventure wrote,

⁴² *Ibid.*, 71.

⁴³ Ghislaine Boucher, *Dieu et Satan dans la vie de Catherine de Saint-Augustin, 1632-1668* (Montreal: Bellarmin, 1978), 17.

In the house, she (Catherine) was foremost in labors, and one of the most zealous to mortify herself in all that she regarded her own person, – choosing always for herself those things that were most disagreeable; bearing all things from others; excusing everyone, without excusing herself, – but, rather, desiring her faults to be known to everyone.⁴⁴

Why, then, did Catherine stand out for contemporary observers? A quick survey of obituary notices of Hospitalières found in the *Annales de l'Hôtel Dieu* provides an indication of the 'average' life and death of a nursing sister in early New France. Between 1641 and 1710, the *Annales* report the deaths of 39 nuns or lay sisters including Catherine de Saint-Augustin. In the majority of cases an obituary consisted of a brief biography that mentioned the departed's family background, her history with the Augustinians, the offices she held, if any, and the circumstances of her death. This was followed by a description of her virtues which tend to be quite generic and revolve around obedience to the monastic rule, and dedication usually to the poor. For example, the obituary of Sœur Marie Bourdon de Saint-Thérèse (1660) praised "sa patience, sa douceur, son ardente devotion, jointe a un grand amour pour la sainte pauvreté et une haute estime de sa vocation...." Sœur Marie Clémence de l'Incarnation, who died at age 54 in 1683 "avait une grande facilité pour l'oraison et pour l'entretien intérieur avec Dieu; son exactitude a s'acquitter de ses exercices spirituels et son obéissance promptes aux ordres des superieurs étoient un grand sujet d'édification pour la maison."⁴⁵

Not all entries followed this structure. Aside from the account of Catherine's life and death, which is by far the most detailed and thorough, the *Annales* marked out others who also displayed a certain sanctity. Catherine Chevalier de la Poisson, a

⁴⁴ "Lettre Circulaire," *JR* 52: 73.

⁴⁵ *AHDQ*, 116, 208.

sœur converse who died in 1705 at the age of 91, was regarded as a saint in heaven because, after her death, she successfully intervened with God on behalf of the sister who had taken care of her in her old age – something she had promised to do before she died. The *Annales* also recorded the deaths of individuals not directly connected to the Hôtel Dieu. These included political persons such as Frontenac (1698), outstanding converts such as Cécile/Gannenderis (1668), and members of the religious elite. Of these, political figures tended to receive the shortest shrift, but religious persons, especially Jesuits, were often singled out for special attention. This was the case for Father Chaumonot who died in 1693. According to the *annales*, he died with a reputation for sanctity on account of his profound humility,

une douceur inaltérable, une charité sans borne, un zele infatigable, une union continuelle avec Dieu, une tendresse pour la tres sainte Vierge qu'il inspiroit à tous ceux qui l'approchoient; en un mot une confiance en Dieu et une foy vive qui luy ont fait operer plusieurs miracles.⁴⁶

These virtues are not unique to him. Rather, what stands out in this list is his reputed ability to work miracles and his union with God. Indeed, Chaumonot, as we saw in the previous chapter, was known to have had mystical visions during his life. In addition to his vision of Antoine Daniel in 1649, he also experienced a mystical encounter with another dead Jesuit father, Father Fremin, in 1692. Fremin had been the confessor of the Hôtel Dieu and Chaumonot reportedly was favoured with a vision of him in paradise.⁴⁷

Likewise, what made Catherine stand out from her sisters as someone holy was not just her vocation, her work in Canada, or even her physical sufferings, but

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 300. This entry appears under the year 1701 in the *Annales*.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 292.

rather her mystical life, her decision to bend her own will into accordance with that of God, accomplished through her asceticism, for which she was rewarded with marvelous visions and miraculous feats. Mère Marie-Andrée Régnard Duplessis de Sainte-Hélène, who was the redactor of the *Annales* and later superior of the Hôtel Dieu (the last superior of the French régime) wrote in a private letter on 13 October 1749 that,

...le secret de la sainteté n'est ni dans la paix, ni dans le trouble, mais dans l'accomplissement de la volonté de Dieu. C'est là, la route la plus certaine qu'aient suivie les saints. On en voit dans toutes les conditions, et ce qui les distingue de ceux de leur profession, c'est qu'ils s'acquittaient le leurs devoirs comme Dieu voulait.⁴⁸

Finally, Catherine had something none of the others had; a confessor and outside supporters who saw in her something special, ordered her to write about her experiences while she lived, and then recorded their own versions in authoritative texts after she died.

Even so, Catherine's holy performance, conducted within the walls of the Hôtel Dieu, was supposed to be a secret, shared only by her confessor and the Bishop. Even her sisters were apparently unaware of the extent of her devotions. Marie de Saint-Bonaventure wrote,

We were well aware that her bodily weaknesses were great and constant, and we saw that she bore them like a saint – always with a calm countenance, diffusing a joy full of piety in the hearts of those who saw her. But we were surprised, after her death, to learn that for sixteen years God had been trying that brave Soul by periods of aridity and temptation, seasons of spiritual abandonment and extreme destitution.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Mère Sainte-Hélène to Mme Hecquet, 13 October 1749 in *Nova Francia* vol. 3, no. 5 (June 1928): 306. Jean-Pierre Asselin, "Régnard Duplessis, Marie-Andrée," *DCB*.

⁴⁹ Lettre Circulaire, 67.

Catherine wrote extensively about her mystical experiences and the demons that afflicted her in her spiritual journal. Such a journal was a common method of interior self-examination for religious women, and a tool for exterior oversight of exceptional souls by male confessors. Typically, the male confessor would use the resulting autobiography to compose the Life of the extraordinary soul after her death. As Jodi Bilinkoff has shown, this method of spiritual examination, generally understood as a method of patriarchal oversight and control, in fact often led to deep and complex spiritual relationships between male confessors and female penitents. Each offered the other affirmation of their spiritual identities, explored through writing, in a relationship that was much less hierarchical than has generally been thought. Male confessors offered to female mystics the chance for legitimacy before the ecclesiastical hierarchy and in society, and spiritual women in turn offered their male confessors direct access to an “ecstatic form of religious experience beyond anything they had learned at seminary and university.” Furthermore, a priest’s relationship with a spiritually famous woman could enhance his own reputation, and for Ragueneau who left Canada under somewhat of a cloud, Catherine possibly provided an avenue through which he could argue for the importance of the Canadian mission before a French audience, and demonstrate Jesuit accomplishments and the extraordinary things that God did there.⁵⁰

Even after his departure, Ragueneau maintained what appears to have been a close relationship with Catherine through letters, several of which appeared in the *Vie* alongside entries from her spiritual journal. “On ne peut voir plus clairement, ny

⁵⁰ Jodi Bilinkoff, “Confessors, Penitents, and the Construction of Identities in Early Modern Avila,” *Culture and Identity in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800: Essays in Honor of Natalie Zemon Davis*, ed. Barbara B. Diefendorf and Carla Hesse (Ann Arbor, Mi.: University of Michigan Press, 1993), 95.

plus fidelement l'état de son ame," he wrote, "que par le recit qu'elle en faisoit tous les ans a un Pere Iesuite, qui avoit été son Directeur depuis l'année 1650, jusqu'en l'année 1662, qu'il partit de Québec pour la France."⁵¹ The letters Catherine wrote to Ragueneau continued the narrative of the state of her soul over the most trying years of her spiritual and ascetic experiences in Canada. Although Ragueneau left Canada, he did not leave Catherine, and he continued to lay claim to her as his special spiritual friend. It is through his narrative of her life and his structuring of her writings that she became a saint and all her sufferings made sense.

Because Ragueneau assembled Catherine's writings, we must ask to what extent he edited them and, therefore, to what extent they can be relied upon. This is difficult to determine as the originals have been lost. It is possible, however, to draw a comparison with Claude Martin's 1677 *La vie de la vénérable Mère Marie de l'Incarnation*, which was written in a very similar fashion and has obvious contextual similarities to Ragueneau's work. The originals of many of the letters and spiritual testaments Martin used to compose this work have survived. Natalie Zemon Davis compared the original versions of Marie de l'Incarnation's spiritual writings with those published by Martin and determined that his editing was restrained. Although he took pains to render his mother's writings into "a more intelligible style" and make them more acceptable to dominant French society, he made very few serious changes to meaning. He altered words here and there, added phrases of his own where he felt explanation was needed, and omitted some of passages where he felt

⁵¹ *Vie*, 200.

she may have strayed into dangerous territory in regard to doctrine and orthodoxy.⁵² In extensive commentaries on her texts, which he called *additions*, however, he offered his own interpretations of what his mother had written. Calling himself the echo of his mother's voice, he interpreted her life through long meandering digressions, despite the fact that he considered her life "so spiritual and sublime that language and the pen [could] not find adequate terms to describe it."⁵³ The result is a work that is more a treatise on her sanctity than a recounting of her life, but is nevertheless, largely accurate where he quoted her own writings at length.⁵⁴ Given this accuracy, and if we accept that Ragueneau's relationship with Catherine was a close one, and that much of his own identity was tied up with hers (as Bilinkoff and, indeed, the evidence of their on-going correspondence after 1662, suggest), we can assert with some confidence that the writings of Catherine de Saint-Augustin that appear in Ragueneau's *Vie* differ only in detail from what she actually wrote.

In the very year that Ragueneau departed for France, Catherine received two new spiritual advisors. Father Pierre Chastelain took over the duties that Ragueneau had performed and, beginning in September of 1662, the spirit of the martyred Jean de Brébeuf began to appear to Catherine during her spiritual meditations. Aside from confirming her opinion that Brébeuf was a saint in heaven, the apparitions that she described in her journal guided her in her own

⁵² Natalie Zemon Davis *Women on the Margins: Three Seventeenth-Century Lives* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1995), 129-132.

⁵³ Claude Martin, *La vie de la vénérable Mère Marie de l'Incarnation*, 3.

⁵⁴ Martin often quoted entire letters and in a separate volume actually published many of her letters in their entirety. *Lettres de la vénérable Mère Marie de l'Incarnation, première supérieure des Ursulines de la Nouvelle-France* (Paris, 1681). For the most part, it was this collection that Dom Guy-Marie Oury used when he compiled the modern edition of her correspondence, which historians now widely quote as her authentic writings, as I do here.

spiritual life. Brébeuf was to be her ‘spiritual’ confessor and her protector against the demons that plagued her. In his first appearance to her, she described him as sad even though he was in glory. He said to her that it caused him great pain to see the country for which he had worked so hard and given his blood “maintenant une terre d’abomination et d’impiété.” And addressing himself to Catherine he said, “Sœur de Saint-Augustin! Nous porterez-vous compassion! Aidez-nous je vous en prie?”⁵⁵

Brébeuf asked Catherine to suffer as he had done for the salvation of the country and in so doing charged her with a mystical vocation. And she agreed. Rather than go on mission, however, she would stay in the relatively safe confines of the Hôtel Dieu and suffer a living martyrdom of temptations, and physical and spiritual sufferings. Through suffering and asceticism she would work for the salvation of New France, its people, and herself. While in meditation during her spiritual exercises sometime in 1658 she felt that she heard Jesus speaking to her. She called out to him, “Monseigneur! Je voudrais être une seconde Magdeleine en amour.” Suddenly her soul was calm and Jesus spoke to her.

Toute ame qui aime la croix, et qui pour mon amour s’y attaché, et n’en veut point sortir, me navre le coeur et me fait une playe toute d’amour. Telle ame est ma sœur, mon épouse, ma bien-aimée, et la compagne de ma croix. Ne l’es-tu pas, ne la veux-tu pas être?

And then he told her what he was he wanted her to do.

Sçaches aussi que souffrant pour les pecheurs, tu me fais un aussi grand plaisir, comme si au temps de ma Passion tu eusses essuyé avec un linge pur et net, les crachats qui couvroient ma face; et qu’avec un baume odoriferant, tu eusses frotté mes playes et meurtrissures. O si on sçavoit combien je prise la charité desintéressée, on s’oublieroit de soy-même pour le salut de son prochain. Tu n’es pas encore capable de penetrer les tresors cachez dans cet abandon; mais un jour viendra

⁵⁵ *Vie*, 182

que tu feras contrainte de me dire que j'ay trop de bonté pour toy: Il faut qu'en attendant ce temps-là, tu me laisses faire mes volontez en toy.⁵⁶

Asceticism and Ascetic Behaviour

Catherine's health, always frail, declined precipitously in the 1660s as she engaged in ever greater struggles with her demons.

Sa mortification a été continuelle en tous ses sens, en toutes ses puissances, en son corps, en son ame, en son esprit et en sa volonté. Plus même les tentations y ont été violentes et continuelles par l'infestation d'un nombre infiny de démons qui l'obsedoient de tous côtez pour y faire regner le peché; plus sa constance a été invincible.⁵⁷

In the introduction to the second book of Ragueneau's *Vie* entitled "Sa vie éprouvée par tentations," Ragueneau wrote, "Nous verrons dans la suite de cet Ouvrage, que la vie de celle dont nous parlons, n'a été qu'un enchaînement de toutes sortes de tentations, et avec une violence qui fait même horreur a ceux qui l'entendent." The *Vie* itself was written in such a way that chronology is obscured in the interest of spiritual development. This structure reflects the concerns of someone more focused on the spiritual accomplishments of his subject than her place in history. The demons that afflicted Catherine, Ragueneau explained, caused in her great temptations and sufferings, but also allowed her to practice all the Christian virtues, humility, faith, hope, love, and charity, to an heroic and exemplary degree.⁵⁸

In practice, sufferings such as these led to acts of self-discipline and self-denial in holy persons such as fasting, self-flagellation, mortifications, and vows of silence, but also charity and mission, the recitation of psalms, meditations, *oraisons*,

⁵⁶ *Vie*, 155-158.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 80.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 78-81, 200-204.

and engagement in all sorts of spiritual exercises and liturgies. The aim of ascetic behaviour was to suppress desire caused by temptation which was thought to lie primarily in the mind, and thereby to avoid bodily impurity altogether. The holy person sought perfect *apatheia*, passionlessness, and perfect indifference.⁵⁹ The quest for indifference through asceticism held a prominent place in the religious culture of early New France. Louis Lallement, the spiritual mentor of many of the early Jesuit missionaries, taught his protégées to deny their inclinations and conduct themselves in a state of holy indifference. Seek nothing in life except to possess God, he said, “and that all else is a matter of indifference to us.” To seek indifference in all things was to seek to do the will of God and suppress the individual will which allowed the self to be made into a sacrifice to God.

Asceticism has been a part of the Christian definition of holiness from the very early days of the church.⁶⁰ It features most prominently in the “flight to the desert” undertaken by holy men and women in the third and fourth centuries in the Christian near east and was institutionalized and formalized within the monastery from whence it spread throughout Christendom. Asceticism is central to the concept of Christian holiness and ascetic acts have been central to the identification and promotion of Christian sanctity. In fact, it is such a common part of Christian holiness that it becomes necessary to ask, as many scholars of early Christianity have, what did it mean to engage in such activities? What was the ascetic trying to achieve?

⁵⁹ Elizabeth Clark, “Foucault, the Fathers and Sex,” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 56, 4 (1988): 628. Indifference, in this case, does not mean a lack of caring, but rather constancy in the spiritual life, stoicism, and a rejection of worldliness. For a good overview of recent work in this area see Elizabeth A. Clark, *Reading Renunciation: Asceticism and Scripture in Early Christianity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), 14-27.

⁶⁰ Walter O. Kaelber, “Asceticism,” *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. I, ed. Mircea Eliade (New York: MacMillan, 1987), 441.

How was ascetic behaviour understood by outside observers, and what can be learned, first, about the holy of Canada, and second, about their impact on French colonial society, from something apparently so general and rooted in long tradition? What can such personal and often secret acts of self-denial tell us about social and cultural life?

Late antiquity may have been the high point of Christian asceticism and the focus of many histories and theoretical studies of the phenomenon, but religiously motivated self-discipline, denial and bodily mortification were far from uncommon in other periods of Christian history. Historian Ann W. Ramsey has argued that the devout religious culture of early modern France had more in common with sixteenth-century religious enthusiasm than eighteenth-century rationalism and enlightenment. There was a strong penitential streak in society that endured from the sixteenth-century wars of religion and even the late medieval tradition. Such a view is supported by the relatively late implementation of post-Tridentine reforms in France and the fact that the seventeenth century was a high-water mark for holy performances and French hagiographic discourse. Ramsey criticizes the historiography that regards seventeenth-century France as an age of liberal and scientific progress, one in which traditional religious practices gave way to a more intellectual brand of religion based in rationalism. The unity of the penitential period, she argues, was broken around 1700, not 1600.⁶¹

⁶¹ Ann W. Ramsey, "Flagellation and the French Counter-Reformation: Asceticism, Social Discipline, and the Evolution of a Penitential Culture," *Asceticism*, ed. Vincent L. Wimbush and Richard Valantasis (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 577. Ramsey critiques especially the work of Peter Burke who argued that the early modern period witnessed the acculturation of lower classes to elite standards of behaviour which he called the "reform of popular culture." *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London: Harper Touchbooks, 1978).

Catherine de Saint-Augustin's performance of sanctity was characterized by an asceticism that was remarkable even by contemporary standards. Ragueneau's *Vie* describes how Catherine chastised her body in order to defeat the temptations she suffered against her religious vocation and against her call to service in Canada. "Elle joignît l'austerité des jeûnes, des disciplines sanglantes, et de toutes les mortifications qu'elle pût." She wore bracelets covered with iron points on her arms that pierced her skin as she worked in the hospital. She slept little at night and never took rests during the day no matter how tired she might be, and when she did sleep it was on a hard board. In winter she would roll in the snow in order to defeat her internal enemies. She would often tear at her body in order to root out the cause of a crime of which she believed herself to be guilty. But, Ragueneau assures the reader, "toujours elle a été victorieuse par la grace de Jesus-Christ."⁶²

Catherine's conflict with demons was not a passive possession, but rather an obsession. Possession, explains Ragueneau, "est une operation maligne, par laquelle le diable se rend maître des puissances de l'homme, jusques à luy ôter la reflexion et la liberté, et à parler et répondre personnellement par sa bouche."⁶³ The obsessed person, on the other hand, knows that her afflictions are caused by demons, and her suffering for divine justice remains a choice. Catherine's sufferings were active. She accepted them willingly for her own salvation and the benefit of others. On the 18th of March 1663, Jean de Brébeuf appeared to her at about 8:45 in the evening as she was engaged in her spiritual exercises and offered her the choice in her words, to

⁶² *Vie*, 86-87.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 172-3.

“restitoit comme j’étois, ou de passer en un état plus paisible.” Catherine responded by giving herself entirely to the will of God.⁶⁴

About a year later, Brébeuf appeared to her again this time in the company of Gabriel Lalemant and Saint Joseph, the patron saint of Canada since the very early days of colonization. In this vision, Catherine recounted, Saint Joseph asked Brébeuf what he would give to Catherine for all the sufferings she had undertaken for the country. Brébeuf turned the question on Catherine, asking her what it was that she wanted. Initially she demurred, claiming she wanted only to follow their desires completely. But they pressed her. Passivity was not sufficient. She responded that she desired whatever they consider best for the country and for her. But they did not accept this answer either, and they pressed her further, even offering her deliverance from her demons if that was what she wanted. Declining this offer, she replied that what she really wanted was entire remission for her past sins and assurances that she would not sin against God again in any future sufferings she undertook as a victim for others and for the country. Immediately, she wrote, she felt that she had been purified of all her sins.⁶⁵

Generally, ascetic behaviour is regarded as acts intended to shape spiritual interiority by bending the personal will into accord with the will of God. For such reasons, histories of asceticism have tended to focus on questions of origin and motivation.⁶⁶ The individual practitioner is the focus, often decontextualized both from the society in which he or she lived and from the texts that described these

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 190-1.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 192-193.

⁶⁶ Clark, *Reading Renunciation*, 18.

performances and made them relevant to a wider audience.⁶⁷ Michel Foucault regarded ascetic acts as ‘technologies of the self’ which “permit individuals to effect...a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conducts and ways of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality.”⁶⁸ In other words, asceticism and ascetics aim to shape the self towards a higher good, but it is a good which ultimately extends beyond the self. Ascetic acts are not merely subjective, but also social and cultural. They are designed to discipline the self, but take place within social communities and historical contexts that give them a broader meaning. According to theorist Gavin Flood, the ascetic self “shapes the narrative of her life to the narrative of tradition” that gives social meaning to superficially anti-social behaviour.⁶⁹ In this way, the practitioner, often by removing herself physically from society, paradoxically gains a prominent place in local culture and social life. Thus asceticism shapes the self, but also aims to shape society.

⁶⁷ For Peter Brown, the holy man of the desert lived in ‘splendid isolation’ from his community, sitting resolutely on his pillar, handing out advice, legal decisions, blessings and curses to clients who came to see him. His astonishing feats of asceticism transform him into a total stranger so that he was no longer entirely human. “The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity,” *Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971): 80-101. Such an objectification of the holy man has been one of the more criticized and revised portions of Brown’s argument, not least by Brown himself. In a later article, he sought to re-immense the holy man into “the world of shared values” from which he had arisen and bound him to local society as an accessible exemplar. “The Saint as Exemplar in Late Antiquity,” *Representations* 2 (Spring 1983): 11-13. Articles presented at a 1997 retrospective conference on Brown’s 1971 article further pursued the social and cultural connections of the holy man (and woman). See *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 6, 3 (1998).

⁶⁸ Michel Foucault, *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michel Foucault*, ed. Luther H. Martin et al. (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), 18.

⁶⁹ Gavin Flood, *The Ascetic Self: Subjectivity, Memory and Tradition* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 3-4.

Catherine's sufferings were always undertaken by choice, and in return she had the chance to become holy. Mère Saint-Bonaventure wrote upon Catherine's arrival in New France that, "Elle a aussi un desir ardent de se faire une grande sainte; et ce n'est que pour cela qu'elle a tant desir le Canada; ayant quitté pour cet effet toutes les douceurs qu'elle possedoit si pleinement en France."⁷⁰ She could not achieve sanctity in "splendid isolation."⁷¹ Consequently, place and community play defining roles in her asceticism and religious vocation.⁷² When the superior of the Augustinian Order at Bayeux, Catherine's aunt, offered her the chance to return to France in 1659 without shame on account of her poor health, Catherine refused saying that she "was nailed to the cross of Canada by three nails, which she would never remove." These three nails were the will of God, the salvation of souls, and her vow to die in Canada.

She added that, even if all the Nuns should choose to return to France, she would remain alone in Canada, – provided she were permitted to do so, – in order to end her life there in the service of the poor savages, and of the sick persons of the country.⁷³

Even when Bishop Laval offered in 1660 to annul all vows made by religious women to serve in Canada she refused.⁷⁴ Holiness was to be found in Canada. For

⁷⁰ "Letter circulaire," quoted in *Vie*, 360.

⁷¹ Phrase used by Peter Brown in "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity," *Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971): 92-93. See note 66 above.

⁷² John H. Arnold cautions against viewing community as something obvious or natural and rather sees it as something created. Creating and sustaining communities, he writes, has been one of the most important social roles of religion in the past. The formation of identifiable social groups with boundaries that were policed was a process, and not a bi-product, of religious activity. John H. Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief in Medieval Europe* (London: Hodder-Arnold, 2005), 106-108.

⁷³ *JR* 52: 85 (1668).

⁷⁴ *Vie*, 81-88

Catherine as for many of the other missionaries and nuns who came to New France, Canada, with its dangers both physical and spiritual, was an ascetic undertaking. The country itself took a prominent role in their own understandings of their vocations and the understandings of those who wrote about them and invoked them as saints. Marie de l'Incarnation also vowed that she would stay in Canada despite what disasters might strike. Marie-Florine Bruneau has demonstrated how a return to France would have been a defeat for her – one that would have disproved her as a holy woman whose vocation had been granted by God.⁷⁵ Even for the foot soldiers of religious colonialism – the nurses and teachers of the various religious orders of Montreal and Quebec – the new world experience defined notions of their own sanctity. Marie Morin, chronicler of the Hôtel Dieu de Montréal wrote that, “Nos trois premieres meres, que je peux appeller les victims de la croix, eurent de quoy contanter le desir ardent qu’elles avois de souffrir pour leur divin espoux crusifié qu’elles estois venue chercher en Canada pour l’y trouver plus avantageusement et s’unir a luy plus intimement.”⁷⁶

Catherine’s sufferings, her penances, spiritual exercises and acts of asceticism were performed for the benefit of the country, for its salvation, and for the salvation of its inhabitants. Often, Ragueneau wrote, God would give her knowledge of sins committed by others and the resistance others posed to God’s grace and justice so

⁷⁵ Marie-Florine Bruneau, *Women Mystics Confront the Modern World: Marie de l'Incarnation (1599-1672) and Madame Guyon (1648-1717)* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), 44. See Marie de l'Incarnation, *Ecrits Spirituel et historique* vol. 2, ed. Albert Jamet (Québec: Ursulines de Québec, 1985), 150.

⁷⁶ Morin, *Histoire simple et véritable, Les Annales de l'Hôtel Dieu de Montréal*, 102.

that she might offer herself for their salvation.⁷⁷ On numerous occasions Catherine was given the care of souls, physically as a part of her duties as a hospital nun, and also spiritually in the mystical sufferings she undertook in accordance with what she believed was God's will. We have already seen in an earlier chapter how the possessed Barbe Hallay was given into her care at the hospital by Bishop Laval in 1660. Although reportedly physically beaten and bruised by the demons that possessed the girl, Catherine nevertheless emerged victorious over them.⁷⁸ On another occasion, she sought and received assurances from Brébeuf that all the sick who died in the Hôtel Dieu would receive the mercy of God. In exchange she was required to procure four masses and offer a confession each month to this end.⁷⁹ Slowly, soul by saved soul, Catherine's community in New France grew.

Her work on behalf of sinners also took place spiritually. In 1666, Bishop Laval asked her to pray for someone whom he refused to name, but who nevertheless urgently required her aid. While in prayer on the day of Mary Magdalene (July 22), 1666, around 2 AM she had a vision of Paul Le Jeune, the former missionary who was recently dead in France. He too asked that she pray for the same unnamed person and made her to understand that she would render a great service by her efforts, even though she would suffer greatly and the unnamed subject was unlikely to be moved. Catherine abandoned herself completely to the task, as she describes her mystical experiences, and to "la plus grande gloire de Dieu." Immediately she began to feel the afflictions of the demons that, for a time, had

⁷⁷ *Vie*, 236.

⁷⁸ *MI Corr.*, 814 (Lettre CCXXXVIII), à son fils, 7 Septembre, 1668.

⁷⁹ *Vie*, 249.

largely left her alone.⁸⁰ She experienced sentiments of impiety, impurity, and hatred for God as well as a powerful aversion towards her vocation. Nevertheless, she developed a powerful desire to achieve the total conversion of this sinner who obstinately refused the grace of God.

Her sufferings for this sinner lasted for almost two years from 22 July 1666 until she died in May of 1668. After the first several months, on 1 January 1667, “après avoir bien chatié mon corps,” Catherine went to pray before the Holy Sacrament where she experienced a mystical vision of the infant Jesus in the arms of Mary. In his hands he carried a list of all the sins committed by the person to whom she had committed herself and he asked her, “Qui me satisfera donc pour tous ces crimes?” Catherine suggested that it was Jesus himself who would make amends through his love and infinite merits. But she also offered her own sufferings as compensation; an offer that the infant Jesus accepted while warning her that her sufferings would do no good unless the person for whom she suffered wanted to convert. From that point on she was overwhelmed by the attacks of demons. Neither she nor any of her confessors ever revealed the name of this would-be penitent, and Catherine only saw her once, in a vision, standing in a church, trying and failing to improve the state of her soul.⁸¹

Catherine’s religious vocation achieved its climax in the physical and psychological sufferings she undertook voluntarily, making herself a victim for the country and its inhabitants. As a victim of divine justice, she bore “sur soy les

⁸⁰ “La plus grande gloire de Dieu” was the Jesuit motto and her use of the phrase reflects her close relationship with them.

⁸¹ *Vie*, 277-283.

punitions qui étoient préparées pour les autres.”⁸² And in return God sanctified her. Such a vocation depended on a concept of purgatory, a late medieval development in Catholic theology that posited a place less distant than heaven or hell where the living could maintain some contact with the dead and where penitential suffering could continue after death in the hopes of one day meriting heaven. The concept of purgatory meant that the living could assist the dead in their search for salvation and consequently, writes John Bossy, Christianity became a ‘cult of living friends in the service of dead ones’ with an emphasis on personal connections and locality, in other words, on community.⁸³ In life and in death, Catherine’s sufferings had direct results for persons revealed to her to be in purgatory and even for some people who were still alive. She suffered for people she had known personally and, in some cases, for people she did not know at all, as well as for the general population, French and native, of New France, paying for the sins of the land and its inhabitants with her own ascetic undertakings.⁸⁴ Mère Saint-Bonaventure wrote in 1668,

We know that she spared no pains when an opportunity offered to win a soul to Our Lord, either by her prayers or her mortifications – even to the point of giving herself up to divine justice in the quality of a victim. And in truth, God did not spare her, but made her feel the weight of his arm, terribly punishing in her the sins of those for whom she made a sacrifice of herself.⁸⁵

Her mystical asceticism, as it is described in Ragueneau’s text, was primarily a psychological form of suffering that took place in spiritual meditation before the

⁸² *Ibid.*, 237.

⁸³ John Bossy, “The Mass as Social Institution, 1200-1700,” *Past and Present* 100 (1983): 42.

⁸⁴ For examples see *Vie*, 240, 247-48, 277-283 and 289-294. According to Claude Martin, this desire to suffer for others was a central part of the missionary vocation. Claude Martin, *La vie de la vénérable Mère Marie de l’Incarnation*, 431, 435-443.

⁸⁵ “Lettre Circulaire,” 67.

altar, and it is for this reason that it is often difficult to reconcile the theoretical aspects of mysticism and asceticism with the practical performance of devotions and mortifications. Henri Brémond defined mysticism as the intellectual experience of God, “le sentiment direct de la présence de Dieu,” when all external communication with the outside world is lost. External signifiers, physical ecstasies, visions, speech, etc. become merely extras as he isolates mysticism proper from the contexts of performance.⁸⁶ But feminist theorist and theologian Grace Jantzen has argued that such psychological and subjective definitions of mysticism are modern constructs that have little relation to what mystics actually believed and wrote about their own experiences. These modern definitions came about as a result of the invention of separate public and private realms and the relegation of women to the private. For Jantzen, modern psychological definitions of mysticism that posit it as something entirely subjective and ineffable have more to do with issues of power and gender definition than how mystics actually regarded themselves.⁸⁷ For a mystic to be legitimate she had to meet certain male-imposed standards that rendered the mystical experience entirely private and non-rational. For Catherine (and to a certain extent Ragueneau too), however, such notions had yet to take a firm hold. For her, the division between the public impact of asceticism and its private performance was far from complete.

Suffering was a ritual and a liturgy that was conducted according to established paradigms in order to bring about a desired result. It began in meditation,

⁸⁶ Henri Bremond, *Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux en France depuis la fin des guerres de religion jusqu'à nos jours: l'Invasion mystique*, vol. II (Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1930), 586, 603.

⁸⁷ Grace Jantzen, *Power and Gender in Christian Mysticism* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 322-328.

progressed to visions and spiritual conversions, and concluded, often, in practical actions undertaken by the sufferer in order to experience physical pain. Catherine suffered not for the precise sins others had committed, but on account of her own temptations which she dedicated, for lack of a better term, to her chosen beneficiary. The demons that caused these sufferings, she believed, were sent to her by God to benefit others. Therefore, her asceticism had a symbolic public and communal function. Her demons caused her interior pain in the form of desires and temptations that she tried to defeat through exterior mortifications. Still suffering for the same unnamed soul, she wrote,

Le second jour de Janvier, en disant Matines avec la Communauté, je fus si violemment tentée, que j'en étois quasi au desespoir. Après les Matines, je me sachay contre moy meme, et je promis à Nôtre Seigneur que si-tôt que je ferois sortie de Chœur, je domterois ce miserable corps rebelle à la loy de l'esprit. Ma prétention étoit de me dépouïller, de me jetter et de m'enfoûir dans la neige, et y demeurer si longtemps, que j'en fusse contente pour une bonne fois. Comme j'étois en devoir d'exécuter mon dessein, il me vint en pensée que je ne devois pas faire cela sans congé: De sorte que jusqu'à ce que je l'eusse demandé, je me contentay de me mettre seulement dans la neige jusques à la ceinture, et d'y rester environs deux *miserere*. Le reste de la nuit je fus un peu plus repos qu'à l'ordinaire.⁸⁸

Obedience itself was a form of asceticism where the penitent curved her desire to suffer to the authority of a superior. Catherine desired to immerse herself completely in the snow for a long time, but was given permission only to stand partially submerged for the time it took to recite the psalm *miserere mei* (psalm 50) twice. Interior and exterior mortifications of all kinds had the effect of atoning for sin and rooting out desire by conforming the personal will to social and cultural tradition. According to Gavin Flood, the “shaping of the self in the form of tradition” is an act of ritual asceticism *and* subjectivity that takes place primarily in

⁸⁸ *Vie*, 282.

pre-modern societies with “high degree[s] of hierarchical social coherence and continuity.” Asceticism is the performance of tradition where “the ascetic writes or inscribes tradition on the body through action.” The body is entextualized, made into a script that can be read and understood according to traditions. The disciplining of the self, although directed towards the interior, is a performative ritual presented to a public audience that corresponds to a known and accepted tradition and replaces personal memory and personal narratives with collective tropes.⁸⁹ Tradition in Catherine’s performance of holiness was constantly reinforced by Ragueneau’s repeated references to other saints who “ont reçu de semblables faveurs,” or performed the same acts as she did.⁹⁰ Hagiographic text is eminently imitable, according to Geoffrey Harpham, and it is this quality that provided the community of the holy with its continuing identity. Indeed, Harpham argues that the goal of the ascetic is to become text, to become example.⁹¹

Although she ultimately failed in this case to bring the soul for whom she suffered back to the path of religion, Catherine nevertheless made herself responsible for bringing the outcast back into Catholic society. For the most part she undertook to suffer for those who were outside of society with the result that the rituals of asceticism performed the reintegration of the wayward into Christian social life. In another case she offered herself for someone who was called to the religious life but

⁸⁹ Flood, *The Ascetic Self*, 194, 212-213.

⁹⁰ See for example, *Vie*, 158, 160, 204, 220.

⁹¹ Geoffrey Harpham, *The Ascetic Imperative in Culture and Criticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 13-15. In a nineteenth-century life of Adèle Coulombe (1835-1852), a hospitalière at the Hôtel Dieu de Montréal, the hagiographer André Nercam wrote, “Les vies les plus utiles ne sont donc pas les plus extraordinaires, mais les plus imitables.” André Nercam, *Vie d’Adèle Coulombe, Religieuse Hospitalière de l’Hôtel Dieu de Montréal en Canada* (Montréal: Les Sœurs de l’Hôtel Dieu, 1863), 4-5.

was having trouble remaining faithful to her vocation. And in yet another example she converted a man who had been experimenting in witchcraft.⁹² She also undertook on numerous occasions to suffer for souls mystically revealed to her as already in purgatory so that they could enter heaven that much sooner.⁹³

Place

Ascetic acts do more than just purify the individual in preparation for heaven. Catherine's asceticism performed the ideal Catholic community in a society that itself was marginal. She offered herself as an example of the type of religious and devotional life that was possible in the new world. According to theorist Richard Valantasis, it is through asceticism that the performer of holiness aims to change both herself and the culture within which she acts. He writes, "At the centre of ascetical activity is a self who, through behavioural changes, seeks to become a different person, a new self; to become a different person in new relationships; and to become a different person in a new society that forms a new culture." Asceticism, he continues, consists of "performances designed to inaugurate an alternative culture, to enable different social relations, and to create a new identity."⁹⁴ In the broadest terms asceticism, or the control of desire, is what allows people to live together in societies and what shapes the parameters of acceptable behaviour in formulating cultures. More specifically, however, determined or focused individual

⁹² *Vie*, 284, 289.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, book 5.

⁹⁴ R. Valantasis, "A Theory of the Social Function of Asceticism," *Asceticism*, Ed. Vincent L. Wimbush and Richard Valantasis (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 547-548.

asceticism performs a resistance to dominant culture and sets out the terms of initiation into a new culture. From this perspective, therefore, it may well be the case that the ascetic performance was about much more than transplanting an old world religious culture to the new. The ascetic acts of someone like Catherine aimed to redefine that culture.

Not only did Catherine take the sins of individuals upon herself, but she also, at times, accepted to suffer for the sins of the entire community. On the fifth of February, 1663, a Monday and the day before shrove Tuesday or Mardi Gras, Catherine was alone before the altar praying to the Martyrs of Japan of the Society of Jesus (whose feast day it was) when she had a vision. “J’eus pour lors un présentiment assez considerable, et comme une assurance infaillible, que Dieu étoit prêt de punir le pais, pour les pechez qui s’y commettaient, sur-tout pour le mépris qu’on faisoit de l’Eglise. Il me sembla pour lors que Dieu étoit beaucoup irrité.” In her spiritual journal, transcribed by Ragueneau, she reported that despite herself she hoped this punishment would come, and in the very same moment the earth began to shake violently.

Je vis en esprit quatre demons, qui occupoient les quatre côtez des terres voisines, et les secoüoient fortement, comme voulant tout renverser; et sans doute ils l’auroient fait, si une puissance superieure, qui donnoit comme le branle à tout, n’eût mis obstacle à leur volonté.⁹⁵

The earthquake that shook New France on that day was centered somewhere near the Saguenay region and is thought to have measured about a seven on the

⁹⁵ *Vie*, 238-39.

Richter scale.⁹⁶ Reports from the time indicate that it was powerful enough to flatten large hills, uproot entire forests, and alter the courses of rivers. Yet no one was killed or even seriously injured, and no great damage was done to buildings in nearby Quebec, in Trois-Rivières, or Montreal. Lynn Berry has recently pointed to the importance of cultural as well as environmental and geological histories of what are now considered natural disasters. She shows how ecclesiastical writers at the time believed that there was nothing natural whatsoever about this earthquake. Rather, it was considered “une chose merveilleuse, mais contraire au cours ordinaire de la nature, et donc une sorte de présage.”⁹⁷ It was a warning to the people of New France that God was angry with them, and Catherine’s visions found a central place in ecclesiastical interpretations and understandings of what it meant for the colony.

A few days after the earthquake and her first vision of the demons shaking Canada, Catherine experienced a second. In it, St. Michael the archangel spoke to her quoting Isaiah, Chapter 40, 2. “Speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem, and cry unto her, that her warfare is accomplished, that her iniquity is pardoned.” In his left hand, she saw that he carried a scale, as he often does in Christian iconography, and in his right he carried three arrows that she believed he was about to unleash on account of three sins which were general in Canada; impiety, impurity, and lack of charity. She prayed to St. Michael to have patience and offered herself as a victim if God would pardon the sins of others. “Je luy dis, Dieu s’oubliera-t’il de ses grandes

⁹⁶ Lynn Berry, “Le Ciel et la Terre nous ont parlé:” Comment les missionnaires du Canada français de l’époque coloniale interprétèrent le tremblement de terre de 1663,” *Revue d’histoire de l’Amérique française* 60, 1-2 (été-automne, 2006): 19.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 21.

misericordes? Qu'il me punisse, moy qui ay attiré sa colere sur ce pauvre païs; qu'il pardonne aux autres."⁹⁸

The symbolism is unmistakable. New France is a new Jerusalem and God will punish his chosen people in order to keep them on the right path. To prevent this punishment, Catherine offered to take the sins of others upon herself. Numerous accounts of the effects of the earthquake have survived, but perhaps the most detailed, especially in the matter of causes, are three from the pens of persons associated with the church, all of whom recorded Catherine's visions. In the *Relation* of 1663, Jérôme Lalemant wrote a lengthy account of the quake and the various prodigious events that surrounded it. The Jesuit missionary Charles Simon, who spent less than a year in Canada, from November 1662 until the following September, also wrote a chronicle of the earthquake. His account was subsequently translated into Latin by François Ragueneau, brother of Paul and rector at the Jesuit College at Bourges. This translation was sent to the Father Superior of the Jesuits in Rome in December of 1663, and was also tacked on to the end of the 1662-63 *Relation*. Finally, Marie de l'Incarnation wrote extensively about the quake in a series of letters dating from the second half of 1663. Of these, the most significant is dated 20 August 1663, addressed to her son, to whom she described the earthquake and its after effects in great detail.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ *Vie*, 239-40.

⁹⁹ Jérôme Lalemant's account is found in *JR* 48: 36-73; The Latin version of Charles Simon's letter is in *JR* 48: 182-223; The letters of Marie de l'Incarnation are found in *Corr.*, 686-706 (lettres CCIII-CCV); 710-720 (lettres CCVII-CCIX). The most significant of these is Lettre CCIV (687-704), addressed to her son. A detailed account can also be found in the *Annales de l'Hôtel Dieu*, 138-149, and of course, Catherine's own account of her visions is included in Ragueneau's *Vie*, 236-240. Other writers also mentioned the earthquake. Pierre Boucher, governor of Trois-Rivières, for example, mentioned it in the *avant-propos* of his *Histoire*

Each of these narratives is remarkably similar in the matter of Catherine's vision, not only to each other, but also to Catherine's own version of her experiences that she recorded for her confessor in her spiritual journal. Berry did not examine Catherine's account in any detail in her article, nor did she attempt to establish any sort of relationship between the other three. Jérôme Lalemant's version seems to stand more or less independently. He was most concerned with the effects of the earthquake physically on the colony and spiritually on the colonists. He mentions Catherine's vision and that of an Algonquin woman who also received a divine warning of what was to come, only as evidence of the care that God took to scare the population but not really harm it.¹⁰⁰ No one, says Lalemant, was killed or even seriously injured during the quake or any of its many aftershocks despite the widespread physical damage caused to the surrounding countryside. He seems quite knowledgeable about Catherine's vision even relating for his readers the details of the demons she saw shaking the four corners of the colony.

The accounts of Charles Simon and Marie de l'Incarnation, on the other hand, appear to be closely related not only to each other but also to Catherine's own account. Both begin with a vision of the quake experienced by the unnamed Algonquin girl and proceed to narrate Catherine's two visions in great detail and in

véritable et naturelle where it prompted him to discuss the religious values of the population of New France. *Histoire véritable et naturelle des moeurs et productions du pays de la Nouvelle-France vulgairement dite le Canada* (Paris: Florentine-Lambert, 1664). It should be noted that there is a mistake in Thwaites's translation of François Ragueneau's Latin version of Charles Simon's letter. The recipient of the vision of St. Michael is translated using the male pronoun where the Latin is ambiguous. The similarities between Simon's account and Catherine's version in her spiritual journal, however, leave no doubt that this was Catherine's vision. JR 48: 197 (1663).

¹⁰⁰ JR 48: 51-53.

terms strikingly similar to those employed by Catherine herself in her spiritual journal as published by Paul Ragueneau. Only once these visions had been related did either continue on to discuss the physical, moral, and spiritual effects of the earthquake. Catherine's mystical experience and explanation were clearly prominent in both their minds. Yet neither of these accounts, nor Lalemant's, mention Catherine by name. In his *Life of Marie de l'Incarnation*, Claude Martin wrote that Marie did not consider it proper to reveal Catherine's name while she was still living, and it was only in a letter she wrote about Catherine's virtues after the death of the holy woman that Marie named her as the recipient of these visions.¹⁰¹

It is not readily clear whether it was Marie who followed Simon's text or vice versa or if both had separate access to Catherine's account. Indeed, both claimed first-hand knowledge of all the miraculous events they reported. We know, for example, from Marie's later description of Catherine's virtues that Father Chastellain, Catherine's confessor after 1662, had shown her sections, at least, of Catherine's spiritual autobiography.¹⁰² Indeed, as Dominique Deslandres points out, there was likely little that went on in Quebec that Marie did not know about.¹⁰³ Simon, for his part, claimed that he learned of all the apparitions he wrote about from the very

¹⁰¹ MI *Corr.* 813 (Lettre CCXXXIII), 7 September 1668. Claude Martin, *La vie de la vénérable Mère Marie de l'Incarnation: première supérieure des Ursulines de la Nouvelle France: tirée de ses lettres et de ses écrits* (Paris: Louis Billaine, 1677), 674. Martin reproduces Marie's account in full and writes that he took it from a letter she wrote to a nun in Tours.

¹⁰² MI *Corr.* 814 (Lettre CCXXXIII).

¹⁰³ Dominique Deslandres, "In the Shadow of the Cloister," *Representations of Female Holiness in New France*, in *Colonial Saints: Discovering the Holy in the Americas*, ed. Allan Greer and Jodi Bilinkoff (New York: Routledge, 2003), 142.

person to whom they had appeared.¹⁰⁴ Guy-Marie Oury, the modern editor of Marie's letters, suggests that it was Marie who followed Simon's account simplifying long passages and editing out his unnecessary descriptions of the topography of New France.¹⁰⁵ If so, Marie, whose letter is dated 20 August 1663, must have seen Simon's vernacular account before it was sent to France, translated, and tacked on to the end of the *Relation* for that year, for there would not have been enough time for the translated version to re-cross the ocean before she composed her own account. It is also possible that, given Marie's prominence in the colony as an arbiter and mediator, Simon had seen Marie's account or spoken with her himself before he left for France in September, and composed his version based on hers either just before he departed or while en route. Another possibility, of course, is that each, in fact, acquired knowledge of Catherine's vision separately; Marie from Father Chastellain, and Simon possibly via his translator, François Ragueneau, who may have received an account of the visions directly from his brother Paul who was then living in Paris (Paul says in the *Life* that he and Catherine were always in contact). The remaining similarities between the two accounts, damage reports and accounts of the conversions that took place in the aftermath of the quake, could have resulted from the simple fact that New France was a small community and stories were likely to be repeated. Whatever the circumstances of their composition may have been, the fact remains that these two reports were very similar and each displays an intimate knowledge of Catherine de Saint-Augustin's spiritual life – a spiritual life that was supposed to be secret.

¹⁰⁴ JR 48: 221 (1663).

¹⁰⁵ MI *Corr*: 699-700, n. 1.

The detail of these accounts suggest that knowledge of Catherine's communications with God, her mystical experiences, and even her asceticism extended at least to a small circle of religious elites in New France if not beyond. If, indeed, Catherine told Simon about her visions, as he claims, she may have done so out of a sense of obedience to a religious superior, but she need not have done so given that he was not her confessor. This suggests either that Catherine was willing to talk about her experiences even with a priest whom, given his short stay in the colony, she likely did not know terribly well, or that stories of her spiritual accomplishments and "grandes communications avec Dieu" were not as carefully guarded as others suggested they were following her death.¹⁰⁶ Either way, it seems clear that during her life some details of her mysticism, ascetic behaviour, and religious virtue escaped the walls of the Hôtel Dieu and the confidences of her confessors. Even when it takes place in 'secret', according to theorist Gavin Flood, asceticism is still public because it is enacted in, and given meaning by, tradition and community.¹⁰⁷ Indeed, in order to be effective, the religious interpretation, along with Catherine's predictions and explanation of the earthquake, had to pass on to the population in some form. Her visions bolstered the interpretation of the earthquake as a warning and chastisement formulated by the ecclesiastical elite of the colony.

And the results seemed to speak for themselves. All three writers reported the salutary effects of the earthquake on the religious behaviour of the community. The churches were full, the colonists flocked to confession. Carnival was forgotten, replaced by conversions and repentance. Following the earthquake, the population of

¹⁰⁶ MI *Corr.* 688 (Lettre CCIV), August-September 1663.

¹⁰⁷ Gavin Flood, *The Ascetic Self*, 7-9.

the colony joined the missionaries and Catherine de Saint-Augustin in the reformed Christian community. For a short time, a purified faith community centred on an asceticism of suffering was not only offered by the religious elite, but also accepted by the wider faith community. This ought not to be viewed only as a top-down process, however. All these accounts report what appears to be a calculated turn to religion by the general population of the colony. Holed up in the Hôtel Dieu, the local holy woman who was not as unknown as the conventions of religious humility claimed, helped to render a potentially devastating disaster into something salutary, beneficial, and not at all accidental.

But like most charismatic religious movements, it did not last. Marie de l'Incarnation wrote in late August of 1663, "Il y a maintenant bien du monde effrayé, nous voyons bien qu'il y aura beaucoup de conversions, mais cela durera peu, nous trouverons bien le moyen de ramener le monde à nous. Cependant continuons à ébranler la terre, et faisons notre possible pour tout renverser."¹⁰⁸ Even as aftershocks continued to shake the colony, Marie de l'Incarnation was thinking ahead to the work that still needed to be done to create the community for which she, and other performers of holiness and asceticism, strived. And her projections proved all too correct. At the beginning of 1664, Brébeuf appeared to Catherine and told her she needed to start praying a lot for the country, because God was very angry again and was preparing to take action against it. Towards the end of January, Catherine wrote that she saw demons celebrating the great progress they had made, and all the troubles they had caused in regard to payment of the tithe and for other disturbances. She saw twelve judges including Saint Joseph (patron of Canada), Saint

¹⁰⁸ MI *Corr.*, 689 (CCIV) à son fils, August-September 1663.

Ignatius (founder of the Jesuits), Saint Francis Xavier (Jesuit missionary) and Jean de Brébeuf, at the head of whom was Jesus himself, sitting in judgment of the country and its inhabitants. Her fear for the country caused in her unbearable pain. She prayed to Brébeuf to stay Jesus's hand and once again offered herself as a victim of his divine justice. With the help of Saint Michael, who again took a prominent role in rescuing New France from punishment, Brébeuf was able to achieve a delay.¹⁰⁹ Catherine's intercessions and those of her heavenly allies once again appear as the effective remedy of God's wrath against the colony.

It was extremely rare that Catherine offered a concrete cause for the threat of God's justice against the country beyond general charges of impiety. The tithe was central to the implementation of an ordered, ecclesiastical hierarchy, and the refusal of the inhabitants to pay threatened the authority of the bishop and his priests. In New France the tithe was originally set by the vicar-apostolic, François de Laval, at one-thirteenth of the grain harvest but there was general opposition to this rate within the colony. After four years of protest through sporadic non-compliance the Conseil Souverain stepped in in 1667 and set the rate at one-twenty-sixth of the grain harvest. Habitants paid the tithe once a year at Easter and consequently it became a part of the religious duties of the population.

Even at this relatively low rate, the tithe remained a substantial burden to many habitant families. Nevertheless, once set, it was paid generally without great complaint.¹¹⁰ Although there were certainly cases of evasion, complaints from the

¹⁰⁹ *Vie*, 251.

¹¹⁰ Allan Greer, *Peasant, Lord and Merchant: Rural Society in Three Quebec Parishes, 1740-1840* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 114.

bishop's palace may have exaggerated the realities of the situation.¹¹¹ As parishes developed, especially after the beginning of the eighteenth century, the tithe came to provide a substantial income to the church, and because the funds generated from it went primarily to the local curé, habitants often regarded the local church and even the priest's private residence as public space, built with their money and manpower. The church was not an exclusively sacred space, but also a space for socialization. Priests and even the Bishop often complained about the improper behaviour of parishioners at mass; chatting, gossiping, inappropriate dress, bringing their dogs, even smoking outside or racing their horses during the sermon. Such activities ought not to be taken as evidence of irreligiosity, but rather as indications of the multiple uses people and communities might make of cultural and public spaces in their everyday lives. Even in the second half of the seventeenth century the institutional church did not have the authoritative reach to impose its will over all religious comportment throughout the colony. For religious authorities and spiritual specialists the ideal of the reformed Catholic society remained, for the most part, just that.

Successful practitioners of asceticism offered biting critiques of the cultures and societies in which they lived by removing themselves physically and spiritual from the 'taint' of decadent civilization, yet the performative quality of asceticism ensured that the ascete always remained a public figure. Catherine's ascetic performances and her claims to holiness worked towards the creation of what

¹¹¹ Louise Dechêne, *Le partage des subsistances au Canada sous le régime français* (Montreal: Boréal, 1994), 28-30. For examples of evasion see Louise Dechêne, *Habitants and Merchants in Seventeenth-Century Montreal*, trans. Liana Vardi (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 267-68.

theorist Richard Valantasis calls an ‘alternative symbolic universe’.¹¹² The separation of the ascetic from society, he elaborates elsewhere, grants the ascetic power to criticize the dominant culture and build an alternative through the creation of new solidarities amongst the holy.¹¹³ Through symbolic and physical removal from the world she rejected, Catherine offered an alternative vision of the good life rooted in strict adherence to reformed Christianity. In France, Canada was a symbol of suffering and hardship, but going there, if conducted with the right religious motivations, could be an act of holiness. The excessive penances, mortifications and psychological sufferings undertaken by Catherine and others enhanced their own holiness and performed a new cultural understanding for others to emulate.

The influence of the ascetic over society is founded upon her rejection of, and physical separation from, that society, in the monastery, in the hermit’s cell, or *au bout de monde* – in Canada. To Catherine, the Quebec she discovered in 1648, despite its dangers, poverty, and complete otherness to what she had known, but more properly because of these things, was a “petit paradis.” “Je vous diray, ma chere Mere, qu’il est vray que j’ay quitté une Maison de sainteté, mais que j’en ay trouvé une autre au bout du monde qui ne luy cede en rien.”¹¹⁴ Catherine’s assessment of Canada as a paradise stands in sharp contrast to the destruction of the Huron, the attacks of the Iroquois, and the sufferings and even death endured by the population daily in the 1650s. But as theorist Geoffrey Harpham has argued, asceticism is, in

¹¹² Richard Valantasis, “A Theory of the Social Function of Asceticism,” in *Asceticism*, ed. Richard Valantasis and Vincent L. Wimbush (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 544–551.

¹¹³ Richard Valantasis, “Constructions of Power in Asceticism,” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* (1995): 807.

¹¹⁴ *Vie*, 55.

essence, ambiguous, constantly crisscrossing binaries so that through renunciation, affirmation is achieved. The ascetic must be at once alive in spirit, but dead to the world. He writes, “The life of the eremite was at once squalid and pretensions, beneath civilization and far beyond it, subhuman and semidivine.”¹¹⁵ In text too, this ambiguity is maintained, for to be legitimate Christian asceticism had to be practiced away from human eyes, but to be effective it had to be made public and recorded. Canada was a paradise because, in the words of Natalie Zemon Davis, its “terrors made it a splendid place to follow Christ’s footsteps, especially for women.”¹¹⁶ By imitating the asceticism of holy persons who came before her, Catherine offered herself as a model for others and for her community. The text that recorded her performance granted her a continuing life after death and bore the social function of her performance. Her practices presented in hagiography to reading as well as listening audiences, symbolically transformed Canada, a land in every way considered deficient in comparison to France, into a land of God. It was thus that Catherine and New France were presented to French reading audiences in Ragueneau’s *Vie*.

In the Christian tradition of holiness and in hagiography asceticism and place are intimately connected; the desert, the monastery, on pilgrimage, or, in this case, Canada. It is difficult to imagine the fears and apprehensions that a young woman of sixteen years must have felt disembarking on the banks of the St. Lawrence River for the first time knowing she would never go home. Ragueneau writes, “it was

¹¹⁵ Harpham, *The Ascetic Imperative*, 16, 23.

¹¹⁶ Natalie Zemon Davis, *Women on the Margins*, 78. Marie de l’Incarnation also described Canada as a paradise when she embarked in 1639. “Lorsque je mis le pied en la chaloupe qui nous devait mener en rade, il me sembla entrer en paradis, puisque je faisais le premier pas qui me mettait en état et en risqué de ma vie pour l’amour de lui, qui me l’avait donné. *Écrits Spirituels et historiques* vol. 2, 242.

necessary that a girl have an invincible courage and an extraordinary strength to not fear the dangers of this land, and to love Canada.” But Catherine, apparently, embraced her new home, she had longed for it, and dedicated herself to it, even though she suffered almost constant temptation to return to France. According to Valantasis, asceticism creates a new cultural venue that is separate from the centres of the old culture from which the ascetic wishes to remove herself symbolically through internal devotions, and also physically through withdrawal and bodily mortifications.¹¹⁷ Canada not only offered Catherine the chance to remake herself, striving towards perfection and salvation through ascetic self-denial, but also the chance to make a new society in a new place – on the margins of the old and degenerate society that offered her only temptations and luxuries. Canada would sanctify her if she would commit herself to it.

New France as a purified realm, separated from the strife and religious dissension of Old France, it was conceived of as a new society by the devoted religious who set out to colonize it. In the early days of French colonization, eschatological obsessions amongst the loose organization of pious lay men and women known in France as *les dévotes* pushed forward the view of the new world as a new Israel and the promised millennial kingdom. Members of the semi-secret militant society Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement, responsible for the Société de Notre-Dame de Montréal, and ultimately the foundation of Montreal as a religious colony in 1642, once marched through the streets of a Rouen declaring that the “faith had departed from France and that, as “les fous de Jésus Christ,” they would

¹¹⁷ Valentatis, “A Theory of the Social Function of Asceticism,” 549.

go to the New World to rebuild his kingdom.¹¹⁸ As Peter Brown argued for the near east in late antiquity, stories of holiness, suffering, and martyrdom emanating from the margins of civilization carried weight within society because they confirmed attitudes that were forged at the cultural centre.¹¹⁹ In order for Catherine and her contemporaries to first formulate and then enter into such a world, they had to undertake the acts of asceticism that the purified religious culture demanded. As imitators of holiness, they in turn become models for others. It was the function of the text to articulate this model and spread the reputation of the one who had performed it.

On 18 July 1666, Bishop Laval officially dedicated his new cathedral church in Quebec to the Immaculate Conception. On that day in July, New France professed its fidelity to God and king and its hope for the future through the medium of an ancient religious ritual steeped in tradition. Unable to attend in person because of her cloister, Catherine was taken on a spiritual tour of the ceremony by Brébeuf that she described in detail in her spiritual journal. From the perspective of her ongoing claim to holiness it was vital that Catherine attend this seminal event. It was not just the Cathedral church that was consecrated that day, but Catherine too. She wrote,

Et il me sembloit qu'à chaque action de la ceremonie, le Pere de Brebeuf me faisoit approcher pour y recevoir la même part que l'Eglise. [...] S. Joseph et la Sainte Vierge daignerent bien de temps

¹¹⁸ Cornelius Jaenen, "The Frenchification and Evangelization of the Amerindians in Seventeenth-Century New France," *CCHA Study Sessions*, 35(1968), 57-71. The original account of this event is found in Bibliothèque municipale de Rouen, Papiers Féron, ms. M, 276.

¹¹⁹ Peter Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity: Towards a Christian Empire* (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), 73.

en temps m'offrir à la tres-Sainte Trinité et Jésus-Christ, pour être nouveau dédiée et consacrée à la divine Majesté.¹²⁰

Brébeuf explained to Catherine that the dedication of the new church to God and the saints freed the entire church of God from all stains and recommended to her that she also rededicate herself to the divine majesty. And just as a church is dedicated to the protection of a saint, he promised her that all her holy patrons would renew their dedication to her.¹²¹ Catherine then supplied a detailed report on the liturgical ceremony and the symbolism it bore as explained to her by Brébeuf. At each point in the ceremony she felt that she received the same blessings as the new church – that she too was newly consecrated in this act of ritual and dedication and became one with the church of Canada. “Lorsque l'on faisoit les trois tours autour de l'Eglise, aux aspersions et aux Prieres; je sentoís comme si cela eût tombé sur moi, et me sembloît que c'étoient autant de coups de foüet que je recevois.”

This was just the beginning of the ceremony. Brébeuf went on to explain to her the symbolic significance of the entire ritual in a passage highly significant for the study of early modern Catholic liturgy. He explained to her that the four crosses that sat atop the altar at its four corners stood for the expansion of the church to the four corners of the world while the cross in the middle of the altar was symbolic of the unity of the worldwide church. The church of New France represented by its cathedral was joined to the universal Catholic Church, unified in faith. When the procession entered the church itself Catherine reported that she felt three thousand demons leave her. As they did so they struck her and burned her and she felt as

¹²⁰ *Vue*, 146.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 147.

though “un éclat de tonnerre fût sorty de dedans moy, et la violence m’en a laisse de tres-sensibles douleurs.”¹²²

But she also saw along side her and Brébeuf a host of her spiritual allies including Jesus himself, Mary, Saint Joseph, the patron saint of the country, the apostles, Saint Michael again, and also the martyrs of the new Canadian church who among “toute cette celeste troupe, avoient une tres-grande joye de voir ce Temple dédié...”¹²³ The dedication of the Cathedral was a particular triumph, especially for those who had given their lives to establish Christianity in the country. Catherine had fulfilled her promise to Brébeuf to help him advance the task he had left unfinished when he was killed. Furthermore, through her attendance at this ritual, Catherine was the living witness to the sanctity of the martyrs. For anthropologist Roy Rappaport, doubt over holiness is transcended in such rituals which play vital roles in making the holy and offering them as symbols of social identity. Ritual creates an aura of timelessness by placing even the relatively new into an extended past evoked in memory through performances steeped in tradition.¹²⁴ Within this ritual of dedication was performed the memory of the entire history of the Catholic church and its continual expansion to new peoples and places.

The dedication, however, did not end Catherine’s sufferings for the church and its people. Although her demons had left her in peace during the ceremony, they had not left her for good. Soon they returned to their old tricks and Catherine

¹²² *Vie*, 147.

¹²³ *Vie*, 151.

¹²⁴ Roy A. Rappaport, *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 430. See also Douglas J. Davies, “The Sociology of Holiness: The Power of Being Good.” *Holiness: Past and Present*, ed. Stephen C. Benton (London; New York: T & T Clark, 2003), 52-53.

continued to live out her vow to suffer for the salvation of others, the country, and herself for the remainder of her life. It was suffering that sanctified her and made her example efficacious and meaningful for others and for her community however it was defined. She could not, within the structure and expectations of sacred biography, have given up her vocation of mysticism and suffering as Marie de l'Incarnation had done. She was too invested in it, as were her supporters amongst the clergy. Within days of the dedication she had undertaken to suffer for the salvation of the unnamed sinner discussed above; a burden that would accompany her to her death.

Conclusion

Shortly after Catherine died, Marie de l'Incarnation wrote about her reputation in a letter sent to her son on 7 September 1668. Rather than revel in Catherine's mystical sufferings as Ragueneau would do in the *Vie*, Marie praised her virtues that were the result of her ascetic undertakings. "Ce sont des choses extraordinaires, dont je ne diray rien, mais je vous parleray volontiers de ses vertus dont je fais plus d'état que des miracles et des prodiges." Marie compared her own vocation at that time with Catherine's saying that God no longer led her down such extraordinary paths.¹²⁵ Historian Marie-Florine Bruneau argues that Marie abandoned the mystical life in order to separate herself from the great number of ascetics in New France and, indeed, Marie seems to suggest that her own path of

¹²⁵ Claude Martin wrote that when his mother came to Canada, God took away her visions and revelations and told her to lead a common life. This was a mark of humility. She then engaged in regular practices, but to an eminent degree. Martin, *La vie de la vénérable Mère Marie de l'Incarnation*, 404.

cultivating virtue through work was “plus à estimer que les miracles” that imbued Catherine’s life with holiness.¹²⁶ Nevertheless, Marie praised Catherine and hoped that God might grant her an equally holy death.

Although they chose different paths, the sanctity of both Marie and Catherine was dedicated towards building church and society in New France. It is possible to view Marie’s assessment of Catherine’s vocation not necessarily as criticism, but rather as an attempt to validate her own ongoing performance which was so very different. There was a time when Marie had experienced mystical transports of the sort that were rumored to bless Catherine, and perhaps she felt she needed to make it clear that although she no longer experienced such things, her own holy vocation was no less valid. Neither woman hesitated to claim God’s favour, even amid protestations of humility and unworthiness. Both aimed to shape their own sanctity for future audiences.

There were multiple ways that a religious woman might commit herself to New France, and in a few special instances these performances stood out and were recognized as holy. Catherine’s performance argued forcefully that a new society was emerging, a society favoured by God and blessed with saints. During her life, in her own accounts of her experiences, and in texts written by those who admired her, and worked to spread her reputation after she died, Catherine offered a mode of life that aimed to inaugurate a new, reformed Christian community in a ‘new’ France. Ragueneau’s hagiography gave meaning to Catherine’s sufferings by interpreting her vocation as that of a victim for the whole Canadian church.

¹²⁶ MI *Corr.* 813-815 (Lettre CCXXXVIII), à son fils, 7 Septembre 1668. Bruneau, *Women Mystics Confront the Modern World*, 44.

Religious movements built around charismatic individuals, however, tend not to last. Catherine's audience was composed primarily of the religious elite in New France who held a particular vision of what her life meant. Amongst this elite, Catherine was a hero who embodied their greatest ambitions. But how were these ambitions to be sustained after she died? Marie de l'Incarnation wrote scathingly about the quality of individuals who immigrated to the colony after 1663.

Il est vrai qu'il vient ici beaucoup de monde de France, et que le païs se peuple beaucoup. Mais parmi les honêtes gens il vient beaucoup de canaille de l'un et de l'Autre sexe, qui causent beaucoup de scandale. Il auroit été bien plus avantageux à cette nouvelle Église d'avoir peu de bons Chrétiens, que d'en avoir un si grand nombre qui nous cause tant de trouble.¹²⁷

For her it would benefit the country much more to have a few good Christians than a great number of settlers whose religious commitment was at best questionable. She complained bitterly especially about the new colonists who engaged in the liquor trade with native peoples, something Bishop Laval had been fighting against since his arrival in 1659. She also worried that the disrespect and violence many of these traders exhibited towards native peoples would destroy all the good works of the missionaries, and perhaps even result in their deaths and the overthrow of the colony by a force of offended natives. By the end of the century, Marie Morin, the chronicler of the Hôtel Dieu de Montréal was also complaining about the quality of religion in New France. She blamed the soldiers who had been sent to the colony by the king in the 1660s for putting an end to the piety that had characterized the early days of settlement in Montreal. They had "ruined the Lord's

¹²⁷ MI *Corr*: 863 (Lettre CCLIV), to her son, October 1669.

vine and established vice and sin which is almost as common now as it is in old France.”¹²⁸

By the end of the seventeenth century many of the religious specialists who had once viewed New France as an antidote to all that was wrong in French society were despairing for it. For a brief moment Catherine had offered the community of New France salvation through her sufferings. At the same time that her strict asceticism removed her from profane society physically, spiritually she had offered a model of how to live in a new and reformed Catholic community. In text, and in the stories that no doubt circulated orally in New France, Catherine lived on, but the society she proposed was predicated upon a moment that could not last.

How was she regarded amongst the wider community of New France? How was her model received? These are difficult questions to answer. The sources that have survived are those that aimed to shape her holiness according to a particular vision of society held by their authors and the spiritual elite they represented. As I will show in the next chapter, however, the ways in which local holy persons were taken up in New France society could be multiple and depended more often on local networks than grand narratives.

Asceticism enabled Catherine de Saint-Augustin to offer a critique of the decadence of early modern French society and a vision of a new way to live in the new world. New France was central to Catherine’s holy life, and her biographers and commentators strove to make her central to New France. The result was an image of a reformed Christian society that was imitable insofar as Catherine herself, as the

¹²⁸ Morin, *Histoire simple et véritable: Les Annales de l’Hôtel Dieu de Montréal*, 114-115.

embodiment of the tradition of holiness in culture, was an imitation of the saints who had come before her and a model of those who would come after.

Chapter V

The Social Function of Miracles

La Mere Marie Catherine de St Augustine a secouru tant de personnes qui se sont recommandées a elle, et leur a obtenu des graces si grandes dans de pressants besoins, que nous ne douterions point de son bonheur, quand même elle n'auroit donné depuis sa mort aucune autre preuve de sa beatitude et de son pouvoir aupres de Dieu; mais la divine bonté a bien voulu manifester la sainteté de son épouse par des guerisons miraculeuses en France et en Canada.

-Annales de l'Hôtel Dieu de Québec, 1689¹

In 1689 the nuns of the Hôtel Dieu de Québec requested permission from the Bishop of Quebec, Mgr de Saint-Vallier, to translate (move) the mortal remains of Catherine de Saint-Augustin from her burial plot in the monastery's grounds to a more honoured place inside the monastery itself.² The translation of the mortal remains of someone considered holy was not an unknown ritual. It dates from the very early church when the graves of exemplary Christians became the focal points of new cults and the tradition of interring the remains of martyrs and saints beneath the altar began. The translation of the remains of an honoured member of the community marked her importance, and the vitality of her memory, amongst the Christian community, and acknowledged the many favours she was believed to have obtained for those left behind. Miracles were regarded as essential proof that an individual who, during life, had demonstrated the recognizable qualities of holiness, had indeed achieved this honoured state in heaven, and that she carried a certain influence with God over the affairs of the world. As an 'unofficial' saint,

¹ *AHDQ*, 242.

² *AHDQ*, 243-244.

unsanctioned by the Pope, however, Catherine did not qualify for burial within the altar of the community chapel, but her developing reputation as a holy woman on both sides of the Atlantic demanded that her sisters honour her in some way. The translation of Catherine's remains inside the monastery provided the sisters of the Hôtel Dieu with an opportunity to display their reverence and respect for Catherine, and also to lay claim to her legacy on earth and promote her sanctity to a wider audience.

Under the year 1689, the *Annales* record several examples of miraculous events connected with Catherine to support the case for translation. In one, a young man walking by the Seine in Paris discovered a copy of Ragueneau's *Vie* and was inspired to become a missionary in Canada as a result of reading about her extraordinary life.³ In another instance, Catherine's intercession resulted in the cure of the son of a colonist, an habitant of the parish of Dombour (Pointe-aux-Trembles), who, having heard others speak of Catherine and her holy life, asked her to cure an infirmity suffered by his son since birth. With his son, Nicholas Matte commenced a nine day sequence of daily devotions and prayers known as a *neuvaine* (novena) on the final day of which he discovered his son completely cured.⁴ As evidence of the miracle with which his family had been favoured, Matte gave a formal attestation, presumably to the local priest, which he offered to sign with his own blood.

³ *Ibid.*, 237.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 243. A novena typically consisted of a series of prayers or readings for nine days during which confession was required and mass and communion either daily or, at least, on the final day.

The brief account of the cure of Nicholas Matte's son in the *Annales* contains all the central elements of the typical miracle anecdote: an incurable illness, fruitless medical intervention, a recommendation to pray to a holy person for help, a prayer or devotion of some sort, followed by a complete and enduring cure to which the *miraculé(e)* offered official testimony, usually to a member of the religious hierarchy. The experience of the young man in Paris, moreover, invoked a deep and enduring literary motif of the ideal conversion based on Augustine's account of his own conversion in his *Confessions*.⁵

To these two encounters, the *annaliste* added several miraculous visitations and an account of a cure obtained through Catherine's intercession by a Visitation nun in the French city of Caën.⁶ These occurrences demonstrated for the nuns of the Hôtel Dieu that Catherine, already by 1689, enjoyed a reputation as a holy woman and thaumaturge amongst the *habitant* population of New France and in certain religious circles in France itself. It is not immediately clear from the *Annales* how M. Matte came to invoke Catherine. The Visitation nun of Caën, Marie Suzanne des Maires was "inspirée de faire une neuvaine à la Mere Catherine de Saint

⁵ Augustine of Hippo, *Confessions*, trans. F.J. Sheed, intro. Peter Brown (Cambridge: Hackett, 1993), 134-147. In perhaps the most paradigmatic of Christian conversion narratives, Augustine was compelled to fully embrace Christianity when a friend told him the story of a civil servant who was prompted to convert after reading Athanasius's *Life of Saint Anthony*. Following this encounter, Augustine, in a state of internal torment, retreated to a garden attached to the house where he was staying in Milan. There he heard the voice of a child repeating over and over the refrain "take and read, *tolle lege*." Augustine took up the Gospel, read the first passage he turned to, and was converted. This is not the first time an Augustine-inspired theme was linked to a holy person of New France. While a missionary in Huronia in the early 1630s, Jean de Brébeuf in meditation had asked God, "quid me vis facere (what do you wish of me)?" To which God replied, according to Paul Ragueneau's account, "tolle, lege." Brébeuf, who was reading Thomas à Kempis's, *Imitation of Christ*, at the time, turned to the chapter entitled *De regia via sanctae crucis* (On the royal way of the holy cross), and resolved to dedicate his life to the mission. JR 34: 163.

⁶ *AHDQ*, 237-243.

Augustine, dont elle avoit entendu parler,” we are told, but there is no indication of who she had heard talking or how they knew of Catherine.⁷ Miracles were not uncommon in the religious culture of early colonial Canada and, as we saw in Chapter Four, they had a role to play in advancing the reputations of local holy persons.

In this chapter I return to the miraculous to consider how miracles functioned and what they accomplished in society. Furthermore, I seek to understand the ways in which both the clergy and the laity regarded miracles and how they played out in elite and popular religion. Indeed, I ask whether there was a significant difference between ecclesiastical and lay, elite and popular involvement with the miraculous. I focus on the case of Frère Didace Pelletier, a late seventeenth-century Récollet lay brother and carpenter who died in Trois-Rivières in 1699 with a reputation for sanctity. While his life is relatively poorly documented, his after-death career as a holy intercessor was extensively investigated by ecclesiastical officials between 1700 and 1717 for a canonization process that never happened. The documents left behind by these investigations offer an unparalleled glimpse at the functioning of miracles in society, lay and clerical responses to them, and the ways in which the cult of a local holy person spread in turn-of-the-century Canada.

Miracles and Devotions

The translation of Catherine’s remains inside the monastery provided the sisters of the Hôtel Dieu with an opportunity to display their reverence and respect

⁷ *Ibid.*, 242.

for Catherine, and also to lay claim to her legacy on earth and promote her sanctity to a wider audience.

Nous ouvrîmes donc sa fosse, et nous recueillîmes avec grand soin tous ses os, que nous mîmes dans un petit cercueil proprement couvert, et nous portâmes cette petit châsse au pied d'une Croix a l'oratoire qui est dédié au Calvaire, jugeant que cette illustre deffunte, qui avoit tant chéri la Croix et qui en avoit souffert de si sensibles, seroit ravie de reposer aupres d'un morceau de la vraie Croix....⁸

The removal of the bones of the holy dead to a more honoured burial site was a ritual with its own liturgy that marked the importance of the individual to the community, and invested the community's hopes for the future in the anticipated favours it would receive from the intervention and assistance of the blessed departed. As Ollivier Hubert observed, the post-Tridentine church placed great emphasis on the efficacy of its own rituals and the validations they carried. Meanwhile, Mgr Saint-Vallier's (the bishop of Quebec) decision to grant permission to the nuns to translate Catherine's remains brought her memory into the controlled boundaries of the official church.⁹ Furthermore, the translation offered the community the opportunity to mourn their loss publicly. Although the performance of the ritual was an ostensibly private affair, it was not kept secret, and through it the fact was made known that holiness had been nurtured within the walls of the cloister. When the nuns of the motherhouse at Bayeux learned of the translation they wrote to Quebec asking to be sent "quelqu'uns des ses os" so that they too might participate in Catherine's holiness and venerate her as one of their own.¹⁰ The ritual

⁸ AHDQ, 243.

⁹ Ollivier Hubert, *Sur la terre comme au ciel: La gestion des rites par l'église catholique du Québec (fin XVII^e – mi-XIX^e siècle)* (Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval), 52, 59.

¹⁰ AHDQ, 244.

publicly proclaimed Catherine's holiness, the importance of the Hôtel Dieu as a house of holiness, and the spiritual authority of the Catholic Church.

Catherine was regarded by her sisters at the Hôtel Dieu as their own special protector whose help they could invoke in times of need or crisis. In 1686, the *Annales* record that the Hôtel Dieu was hard pressed to recruit new postulants to join their ranks and as a result the nuns were severely over worked and struggled to fulfill all the duties requested of them by their community and demanded by their vows.¹¹ In a population as dependent upon its hospital as Quebec was at the end of the seventeenth-century, such a crisis affected the entire community and not just the religious one. The Superior of the convent, Mère Saint-Bonaventure, therefore, decided to engage a young Jesuit priest, François de Crépieul (1638-1702), to pray to Catherine and ask her to intervene with God on their behalf. Crépieul was a well known devotee of Catherine who, having initially doubted what he had read about her in her *Vie*, experienced a vision in which she appeared to him carrying a great cross, the Christian symbol of suffering, in her arms. He woke in a state of spiritual pain which lasted several years before he realized that it was possible that she had, indeed, suffered all that Ragueneau had attributed to her. From that point on, he returned each year from his mission to say mass in the chapel of the Hôtel Dieu in order to thank Catherine and God for this grace he had received. On his journey from Tadoussac to Quebec in 1686, however, the river, stirred up by a sudden and

¹¹ Despite these fears, demographic studies note that the numbers of women belonging to the Hôtel Dieu grew continually from its foundation until the 1720s when a royally mandated increase in the dowry amount to be charged to novices put a brake on enrolment. The king desired to limit the number of women joining religious orders in the hopes that more would have families and the population of the colony would grow. Louis Pelletier, *Le clergé en Nouvelle-France: Étude démographique et répertoire biographique* (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1993), 39.

violent wind, made off with his *chapelle* (portable altar) and other belongings which had been left carelessly on the bank.¹² Crépieu made a vow to render a gift to Catherine if he should recover his *chapelle*. The next day he found it downstream on the river bank where it had been deposited unharmed. In recognition of this grace, he gave “deux petits ouvrages sauvages” to the Hôtel Dieu. In 1689, when Catherine’s remains were translated into the chapel, these gifts were placed beside her resting place where they remained when the *Annales* were compiled, evoking the memory of this priest and this event.¹³

It would be, of course, a fairly simple matter to explain this event without recourse to the miraculous. It is, after all, not so much the event itself which is miraculous, but belief and context that makes it so. We are, therefore, confronted by the impossibility and, indeed, undesirability, of determining the ‘true’ event from what was reported as a miracle. Following historian Thomas Kselman’s approach to the miraculous developed in his book *Miracles and Prophecies in Nineteenth-Century France*, I seek to dissolve “the boundary that separates the miracle from its evidence,” and look instead at the miracle itself as a social event that had meaning and significance to people at the time.¹⁴

To Crépieu, Catherine had proven her holiness and so he owed her a particular devotion. Crépieu responded favourably, then, to Mère Saint-Bonaventure’s request for aid and told her, in effect, that Catherine de Saint-

¹² A small altar made for traveling used by missionaries to perform the mass where there was no church. *AHDQ*, 223-224.

¹³ *AHDQ*, 224.

¹⁴ Thomas Kselman, *Miracles and Prophecies in Nineteenth-Century France* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1984), 8.

Augustin had provided him with assurances that the Hôtel Dieu would recover. The *annaliste* writes,

En effet, nous vîmes bientôt l'accomplissement de sa prophétie, et, depuis ce tems la, nôtre noviciat a toujours été bien remply."¹⁵ "Nous vîmes, l'année suivante 1687, le commencement de l'accomplissement de la prophétie du Reverend Pere Crépieul et des promesses de la Mere Catherine de St Augustin."¹⁶

In 1687 five new postulants joined the community and over the course of the next two years only four died. The crisis that had precipitated recourse to the supernatural for help had been resolved. The community was able to rebuild itself under the protection of its holy defender and with the proven favour of God. Moreover, the nuns were able to shore-up their connections with their traditional temporal defenders, the Jesuits, by enlisting the aid of Crépieul. Catherine's promise that the Hôtel Dieu would lack for nothing, in the broader context of late seventeenth-century New France, meant that its position in the community was assured, the defense of the Jesuits procured, and Catherine's holiness proven which reflected brilliantly on her successors on earth. There is little wonder that the nuns regarded these events as miraculous.

Given their ubiquity, miracles have received surprisingly little attention in the historiography of New France and Canada. Devotional practices, considered more generally, have provoked a somewhat greater interest amongst historians, but generally as evidence of a popular religion that dominated historical discourse in the

¹⁵ *AHDQ*, 223.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 228.

1970s and early 1980s.¹⁷ Perhaps the most extensive treatment of religious practices, saints, and miracles in New France is Marie-Aimée Cliche's *Les Pratiques de dévotion en Nouvelle-France*, published in 1988. In this work Cliche set out to test the hypothesis that the gap between popular and elite religion was smaller in New France than in Old France. She regards acts of devotion as the place where the religious preoccupations of society were best on view because they provided an opportunity for people to exteriorize religious sentiments that were interior. She argues that because of the watchful eye the clergy were able to turn on the relatively small colonial population, and the strong role played by the church in teaching and controlling religion, the gap between popular and institutional religious practices was smaller in New France than in France, although devotions otherwise were very similar in the two places.¹⁸

Cliche understands devotions as singular events and employs a quantitative approach towards the historical record in order to determine degrees of practice.¹⁹ While such a method grants a cursory indication of the types of devotions people participated in, and the most popular intercessors, it offers little in the way of understanding how miracles actually functioned as events, what they did, and the ways in which people engaged with the holy. Counting the number of miracles attributed to this or that intercessor, as Cliche proposes, can not help us determine

¹⁷ For example, Jean Simard, *Un patrimoine méprisé: La religion populaire des Québécois* (Montréal: Hurtubise, 1979). *Les pèlerinages au Québec*, eds. Pierre Boggioni et Benoît Lacroix (Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1981). *Religion populaire, religion de clercs?* Benoît Lacroix et Jean Simard, dirs. (Québec: Institut Québécois de Recherche sur la Culture, 1984).

¹⁸ Marie-Aimée Cliche, *Les pratiques de dévotion en Nouvelle-France: Comportements populaires et encadrement ecclésial dans le gouvernement de Québec* (Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1988), 2.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 3. See especially Chapter. II, "Les pratiques de piété," 13-74.

the relative popularity of a local holy person as it is impossible to know the percentage of miracles that went unreported. Cliche acknowledges the problem. “Le nombre de miracles attribués à chaque saint peut être considéré comme un texte de sa popularité, mais ces données chiffrées ne doivent pas nous faire illusion, car certains documents ont disparu.” Frère Didace appears near the top of the list (number two behind Saint Anne) because the miracles he was reputed to have obtained drew the attention of the hierarchy, but in cases where there were no official investigations, devotions offered by people at all levels of society and miracles received may well have gone unrecorded. It is impossible to know for certain. Moreover, Cliche apparently did not consult the full range of hagiographic texts where examples of miraculous interventions not investigated by officials or contained in texts dedicated exclusively to recounting miracles are often cited.²⁰ Cliche’s work provides a sense of the importance of the miraculous to the colonists’ view of the world and the way it functioned, but we ought to be wary of divorcing this world of devotions and miracles from the everyday social, political, and cultural realities that encourage recourse to them in the first place.

In a collection of articles presented at a conference in 1982 and published in 1984 by Benoit Lacroix and Jean Simard under the title *Religion populaire, religion de*

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 29-31. Sainte Anne, with 54 miracles to her credit tops the list ahead of Frère Didace Pelletier with 22. Comparing local with universal saints can lead to serious distortions, however. Saint Anne was a saint of the universal church known throughout the colony but, as we will see, Frère Didace’s cult was largely confined to the region of Trois-Rivières. Catherine de Saint-Augustin is tied for tenth position with Jeanne Le Ber, each credited with three. It is not clear what three miracles she has in mind for Catherine de Saint-Augustin although it seems like they are those given in Ragueneau’s text. As we have seen, however, the *AHDQ* relate several more, while numerous others are recorded in various documents in the Archives of the Hôtel Dieu. Moreover, comparing local with universal saints can lead to serious distortions. Saint Anne was a saint of the universal church known throughout the colony but, as we will see, Frère Didace’s cult was largely confined to the region of Trois-Rivières.

clerics?, several historians called for a review of the perceived relationship between elite and popular religion. Jean Du Berger's article in this collection draws attention to the performance of rites of passage and their capacity to shape social coherence at all levels of society. "Ainsi posée, la question des rites de passage se situe dans le champs beaucoup plus large de la communication traditionnelle où les considérations de niveaux socio-économiques, de culture savante ou non savante n'entrent plus en ligne de compte car les rites de passage se retrouvent dans toutes les classes de la société."²¹ In the same collection, Guy Laperrière, following Natalie Zemon Davis, called for the study of religious culture rather than popular religion thus avoiding the anachronistic division of popular and elite.

Also in 1984, the American historian Thomas Kselman published, *Miracles and Prophecies in Nineteenth-Century France*, in which he argued that miracles are, in fact, rituals that bear important social functions both for those who experienced them, the *miraculé(e)s*, and for the audiences that viewed the performances.²² Kselman argued that miracles had the social function of re-integrating the sick and ill, the marginalized of society, back into their communities. In Québécois historiography, the best illustration of such an anthropological approach to ritual in history is Ollivier Hubert's recent work, *Sur la terre comme au ciel: La gestion des rites par l'église Catholique du Québec*. In this book, Hubert shows how the institutional church sought to use ecclesiastical ritual as an instrument of power in order to forward its vision of the world, the central place of Catholicism in it, and the proper relationship between

²¹ Jean Du Berger, "Les rites de passage: Pour une nouvelle lecture," in *Religion populaire, religion de clercs?* Benoît Lacroix et Jean Simard, dirs. (Québec: Institut Québécois de Recherche sur la Culture, 1984), 320.

²² Thomas Kselman, *Miracles and Prophecies in Nineteenth-Century France*, 40-41.

the church and the laity.²³ Both of these books make the argument that rituals are cultural texts that impart meaning to audiences, solve problematic cultural situations, while striving to resolve social tensions.

Devotions were not merely the exteriorization of interior sentiment. Rather they must be considered for what they did in society and what they contributed to cultural and religious life in the past. Wendy Larson defines devotions to saints as the “full range of practices and productions which are associated in some way with promoting or drawing on the subject’s sanctity and efficacy as an intercessor.” This definition, she continues, puts all members of society into a shared role – priests, hierarchy, lay women and men and every social class – all helped to form a saint’s image and therefore a variety of perspective must be taken into account when considering the social function of local saints’ cults.²⁴ The case of Frère Didace Pelletier offers an opportunity to explore precisely the social functions served by miracles in the religious culture of New France.

The Acts of Frère Didace Pelletier

Frère Didace Pelletier was the first Canadian-born man to join the Récollet Order, a reformed branch of the Franciscans and, according to his early twentieth-century hagiographer, the “premier de sa nationalité qui ait laissé après lui le renom

²³ See part III especially of Ollivier Hubert, *Sur la terre comme au ciel*.

²⁴ Wendy R. Larson, “The Role of Patronage and Audience in the Cults of Sts. Margaret and Marina of Antioch,” in *Gender and Holiness: Men, Women and Saints in late Medieval Europe*, ed. Samantha J.E. Riches and Sarah Salih (London: Routledge, 2002), 24.

d'un saint."²⁵ Born Claude Pelletier to Georges and Catherine (Vanier) in the region of St. Anne de Beaupré on 28 June, 1657, he joined the Récollets in Quebec at the age of 21 in 1678 and took the name Didace when he made his vows two years later. Trained as a carpenter, he remained a *Frère converse* (brother and not a priest) throughout his life and had a hand in almost every construction effort the Récollets undertook in New France in this period, from their mission at Percé to Plaisance in Newfoundland, Montreal, and finally Trois-Rivières, where he died in the hospice of the Ursuline monastery on 21 February, 1699.²⁶

Almost immediately, Frère Didace's reputation for holiness began to circulate, first amongst the Ursulines nuns in Trois-Rivières, and then amongst the Récollets who had been his companions in life. Miracles began to take place at his grave site and within a year of his death the bishop of Quebec, Jean-Baptiste de Saint-Vallier, had ordered an official inquiry into their authenticity. Over the course of the next two decades, a total of five official inquiries were held at Quebec and

²⁵ Odoric-M. Jouve, OFM, "Étude historique et critique sur Les Actes du Frère Didace Pelletier, Récollet," *Recherche historique: Bulletin d'archéologie, d'histoire, de biographie, de bibliographie, de numismatique, etc. etc.* vol. 17 (1911): 54. Jouve wrote a complete Life of Frère Didace in 1910. *Le Frère Didace Pelletier, Récollet* (Québec: Couvent des SS. Stigmates, 1910). The Récollets began in Spain in the fifteenth century and moved into France at the beginning of the post-tridentine reforms at the end of the sixteenth century. Four of their company (three priests and a lay brother) were among the first French missionaries to reach Canada, invited by Samuel de Champlain to serve at Quebec shortly after he founded the settlement in 1608. Father Joseph le Caron was the first French missionary to establish a mission amongst the Huron. Always understaffed, the Récollets were unable to meet all the demands of the Canadian mission and consequently invited the Jesuits to come to New France in 1625. Following the capture of Quebec by the English in 1629 and its return to France in 1632, the Récollets were officially banned from returning to Canada by Cardinal Richelieu and the mission was turned over entirely to the Jesuits. It was not until 1670 that the Récollets were granted permission to return. See *Dictionnaire biographique des Récollets missionnaires en Nouvelle-France, 1615-1645, 1670-1849*, eds. Odoric Jouve, Archange Godbout, Hervé Blais and René Bacon (Saint-Laurent, Québec Bellarmin: 1996).

²⁶ Jouve, "Etude historique," 54.

Trois-Rivières as new miracles were reported and his reputation for holiness increased and spread. Around 1718 a collection of the texts of these inquiries and other testimonials to his sanctity and miraculous interventions was arranged and edited by the Récollet Father Joseph Denis who had been his constant companion in life. The *Actes du très dévot frère Didace, Récollet, mort en odeur du sainteté en 1699* is an extraordinary document that grants access to first-hand accounts of the miracles as attested to, and narrated by, the *miraculé(e)s* themselves and their witnesses. In 1719, Joseph Denis took the collection to Paris where it was copied and sent to Donacien Larcenau, the Récollet Procurator in Rome, whom Denis hoped would show it to Pope Clement XI as a prelude to an official canonization process.²⁷

A copy of the document addressed to Larcenau evidently made its way back to New France as a facsimile was made at the Récollet monastery in Quebec likely between 1742 and 1744 that includes Denis's letter to the Récollet Procurator.²⁸ In total, the collection includes accounts of twenty-two miracles, seventeen of which were officially investigated, while the remaining five were reported to ecclesiastical authorities through letters and informal testimonials (appendix III). Separate original versions of two of these *procès-verbaux*, one which took place in 1699 at the Ursuline

²⁷ The *Actes* were copied again in the 1740s in Quebec and it is this copy that has survived. The version of this document I draw on here is a copy of the 1740s version made by the educator and archivist Hospice-Anthelme-Jean-Baptiste Verreau (1828-1921) in the late 1880s in preparation for publication in the Journal *Canada Français* IV (1891): 253-282. Both the Verreau copy and the 1740s copy are preserved in the Archives of the Seminary of Quebec. Musée de la civilisation, fonds d'archives du Séminaire de Québec, fonds Viger-Verreau, P32/O-73 (Hereafter, *Actes*). The collection made by Denis is dated 20 May 1719. The *Actes* read 'Larcenau' but this was likely a copying error for the more common 'Larceneux.' Jouve, "Étude historique et critique," 59.

²⁸ On the date of the Quebec copy see Odoric Jouve, "Étude historique et critique " 119-127, 142-148.

monastery in Quebec, and another held at Trois-Rivières on 18 July, 1717, survive in the Archives du Séminaire de Québec.²⁹

The first *procès-verbal* took place a mere eight months after the death of Frère Didace. Bishop Saint-Vallier, a strong supporter of the Récollets in Canada, sent Charles de Glandelet, Canon of the Cathedral and Vicar General of Quebec, to the Ursuline Convent of that city to investigate reports that two members of the community had received cures after invoking the Récollet's aid.³⁰ The inquiry took place before the leading members of the Ursuline community and the two *miraculées*, Mère Rose de Lanaudière de Sainte-Catherine, age 25, and the *pensionnaire*, Marie-Anne-Geneviève-Angélique Robineau de Bécancourt, age 14.

Rose de Lanaudière, Sœur Sainte-Catherine, told Glandelet's commission that at the age of eight she had broken her arm when she fell on some ice. The arm had healed badly and a year later she broke it again, and although it healed a second time, it became the cause of increasing discomfort for her as she grew older. Eventually Rose joined the convent of the Ursulines at Quebec, but even the organized medical care available to a religious establishment in the capital city of New France could offer no remedy to her damaged arm. The winter of 1698 was a difficult one, and Sœur Sainte-Catherine found herself incapacitated by the pain in

²⁹ Musée de la civilisation, fonds d'archives du Séminaire de Québec, Polygraphie 3, no. 30. and Musée de la civilisation, fonds d'archives du Séminaire de Québec, SME 12.2.1/1/67 respectively.

³⁰ Charles de Glandelet was an important member of the ecclesiastical hierarchy of Quebec from his arrival in Canada in 1675 until his death at the Ursuline Convent in Trois-Rivières in 1725. He was most intimately associated with the Séminaire de Québec which itself was connected to the Séminaire des Missions Étrangères in Paris. He served as Canon of the Cathedral of Quebec and was appointed Vicar General in 1697. He held the post until he died in 1725. Glandelet also served at various times as Superior of the Ursulines of Trois-Rivières and of Quebec, and Superior of the Hôtel Dieu de Québec. Noël Bélanger, "Charles de Glandelet," *DCB*.

her arm. M. Sarrazin, the community's doctor, was consulted, and he determined there was very little that could be done. Unable to serve in the convent or fulfill her vows as a choir nun, she found herself effectively relegated to the side-lines of the social and religious life of the community. Another year passed before sometime in the late winter or early spring of 1699 the *converse* Sœur Saint-Paul suggested to Sœur Sainte-Catherine that she ought to pray to Frère Didace Pelletier for help. The Récollet brother, recently dead in Trois-Rivières, “en reputation d’un grand serviteur de Dieu,” had already, according to accounts that had reached Sœur Saint-Paul, brought about several cures at the site of his tomb.

Rose de Sainte-Catherine greeted this advice with derision and mockery saying she preferred to place her confidence in saints who were actually canonized. But she soon found that her arm was much worse. She wondered if God was punishing her for her incredulity. Not only did she find herself outside of the communal life of the convent and the day-to-day world of work and devotions that had shaped her life since her commitment to religion, but Mère Sainte-Catherine also began to believe that she was excluded from the Christian belief community itself and from God's favour. She found herself on the margins, not only of the Ursulines but also of the faith. Not surprisingly perhaps, given the apparent hopelessness of her situation, Rose de Sainte-Catherine was ‘inspired’ to invoke Frère Didace “avec confiance.” She sought out the aid of her uncle, Joseph Denis, the longtime companion and dear friend of Didace Pelletier. He reportedly chastised her for her disbelief and recommended that she seek Frère Didace's favour through the performance of special devotions. She was ordered to say daily the *Obsecro*, a prayer in honour of the Virgin, which Frère Didace had been accustomed to recite

everyday.³¹ After a period of fifteen days she felt the pain in her arm slowly start to recede. Having proved her faith and constancy, Joseph Denis brought her a rosary (*chapelet*) that had belonged to Frère Didace which she applied to her arm, and after another fifteen days Rose de Sainte-Catherine found herself completely cured.³²

She immediately returned to work in the Ursuline convent, taking on even the heaviest and most menial of chores, “comme de laver la lessive et autres semblables qu’elle a continue depuis le temps de la guérison susdit jusqu’à présent sans s’en être trouvée aucunement incommode.” This work was normally performed by lay sisters (*Sœurs converses*) and not *choristes* such as Mère Sainte-Catherine. These tasks were an act of penance and humility that demonstrated her changed status within the community – she had become a humble recipient of God’s grace. Through chastisement and penance the disbelieving sinner had been broken down and a new person constructed who reintegrated into the faith community and the community of her sisters in religion.

The performance of religious belief and devotions did not take place only in the shadowy corners of drafty cathedrals, head bowed in solitude before the tomb of a long forgotten saint. Religion more properly defined social bonds and the ways people interacted with each other and with the divine, rather than boundaries of isolation.³³ The cure of Rose de Sainte-Catherine was a ritual performance that negotiated the public bestowal of supernatural grace upon the penitent. It took place

³¹ The *obsecro te* (I Beseech Thee) is a prayer of indulgence directed towards the Virgin Mary begging her for her aid.

³² *Actes*, 23.

³³ Marcel Gauchet, *The Disenchantment of the World: A Political History of Religion*, trans. Oscar Burge (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 27.

over time and in public between real people; Rose, Sœur Saint-Paul, Joseph Denis, the Ursulines and the male ecclesiastical hierarchy, and even Frère Didace. These negotiations defined the social, cultural and religious relationships of the participants to each other and of each to God, and they helped to define what role a holy man such as Frère Didace would play in their socio-religious world. Would he be a patron of the community? Would he support the faith community that supported him? Would he behave as a holy man was expected to? Rose de Sainte-Catherine's decision to invoke Frère Didace was as much a test of his qualifications as a patron as it was a test of her faith, and her place in the socio-religious community.

During the same *procès-verbal*, the cure of Angélique Robineau was also recounted and recorded. Angélique, a student with the Ursulines, suffered from an enflamed knee which caused her a great deal of pain and prevented her from walking. For eight days the surgeons tried various remedies to no avail before she too was counseled by Sœur Saint-Paul to seek the intervention of Frère Didace. Angélique performed a novena that consisted of the recitation of three *Pater Nosters* and three *Ave Marias* each day for nine days in his honour. When she noticed Sœur Saint-Paul holding Frère Didace's copy of the *Imitation of Christ* by Thomas à Kempis she asked that the book be placed on her knee as a relic. Immediately Angélique felt herself completely cured, and within just two hours "elle marchoit et fit ses fonctions comme à l'ordinaire."³⁴ Angélique's cure, like that of Rose de Sainte-Catherine, allowed her to rejoin the social and religious community from which she had been excluded by illness and incapacitation. Illness in the seventeenth century was a

³⁴*Actes*, 26. The *Imitation of Christ* (*De Imitatione Christi*), by Thomas à Kempis was published first in 1418. Although intended for monastics and ascetics, it met with extraordinary popularity amongst both Catholics and Protestants and is now thought to be the most widely read Christian text other than the Bible.

gravely serious matter that, even beyond the risk of death, threatened social marginalization. The supernatural offered the hope of a cure, but perhaps more importantly, a means of reintegration into the prevailing social and faith community.

In his book, *Miracles and Prophecies in Nineteenth-Century France*, Thomas Kselman draws on the work of the anthropologist Victor Turner to argue that miracles were comprehensive social events where a “breach” – here the inception of an ailment – resulted in the social separation of the sick from her community. This breach “of regular, norm governed social relations,” led to a crisis rooted in the tensions caused by disrupted social roles that required quick repair. The failure of doctors to cure the individual precipitated a crisis of hope. An alternative course of action was required and a miraculous option was settled on, often suggested by a religious authority, a nun, priest or pious lay person. It was during this period of what Turner termed ‘redressive action’ that the miracle actually occurred and the sick, ‘betwixt and between’ established social states, entered into *communitas* with others in similar conditions. The sick person was no longer outside of society but rather a part of an alternative social awareness and it was in this phase, says Turner, that the social group was at its most self-conscious, painfully aware of its own fragility. While the type and form of religious devotions involved in redressive action varied widely, their performance was necessary to prepare the sick for the reception of supernatural grace. Once cured, the *miraculé(e)* re-entered dominant society and was reintegrated into the social group through another set of rituals such as the singing of the *Te Deum*, or immersion into the ritualized social world of the religious community. However, the *miraculé(e)* re-entered society under a new social status – that of the cured, the recipient of God’s grace. Generally an increased religious

commitment followed, and often a mini religious revival was experienced by the group.³⁵ Or, as in the cases above, devotion to the effective saint spread to others.

Turner regarded such social events as dramas which took place over time in conflict situations. In employing this concept of the social drama to illustrate the function of the miraculous cure and its ritualistic dimensions, Kselman draws attention to the often overlooked performative aspect of miracles that allow for the temporal dimensions of the cure to be viewed, rather than overshadowed by more common political or economic understandings. Such understandings often construct the miracle as a single event, significant not in itself, but rather as an indication of other, secular social processes or as evidence of a 'popular' religion of the 'people' that was different from that of the 'rational thinking' elite. But miracles took place over time and through ritual performances that often involved people of various socio-economic backgrounds. According to Turner, rituals such as miracles are always tentative, and alternative means and choices are always present.³⁶ It is necessary, therefore, to explain why people chose to resort to miracles, how they functioned as rituals, and why a given holy intercessor was invoked.

Recourse to miraculous intervention generally arose from a lack of alternative effective options and a cultural milieu accepting of the effective power of the supernatural and the imminence of God in human affairs. Invariably, accounts of

³⁵ Thomas Kselman, *Miracles and Prophecies in Nineteenth-Century France* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1983), 40-41. Victor Turner, *Dramas, Fields and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974), 38-41. Ritual functions as process within time and space, it has a beginning, middle and end and so, as Greg Denning points out, shows "not only change, but changing too." Greg Denning, *Mr. Bligh's Bad Language: Passion, Power, and Theatre on the Bounty* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 6.

³⁶ Turner, *Dramas, Fields and Metaphors*, 37.

miraculous interventions from the French régime report that all other avenues, especially medical options, had been exhausted before the sufferer sought recourse in divine intervention. Generally, a long period of time passed while doctors were consulted and various cures were tried. All the while pain increased and the ability of the penitent to participate in meaningful social life and fulfill accustomed social roles decreased. Those who sought the help of the saints were generally bedridden. But why Frère Didace? Why not have recourse to a saint who was actually canonized as Sœur Sainte-Catherine pointed out? This is the central question in trying to understand the reception of local holy persons.

Sœur Saint-Paul played a critical role in both these miracles as the facilitator and the initiator of the miracle ritual, and therefore seems to be a key to understanding the place of Frère Didace in the religious culture of these *miraculées* and their community. It was she, in both cases, who recommended that the ill have recourse to Frère Didace, who provided knowledge of Frère Didace and, in the case of Angelique Robineau, presented the effective relic from which the final cure resulted. How did Sœur Saint-Paul, a *converse*, acquire such a central role in these social dramas and how did she become such an advocate for Frère Didace? How, indeed, did she come to be in possession of his book?

Sœur Saint-Paul was born Marie-Madeleine Gravel dit Brindellerie in the parish of Château-Richer east of Quebec City near Saint-Anne de Beaupré in 1662. Marie-Madeleine was the seventh of twelve children born to Joseph-Massé Gravel dit Brindellerie and Marguerite Tavernier. At the age of seven she entered the Ursuline convent at Quebec as a *pensionnaire* and five years later in 1674 she entered the

novitiate of the Ursulines as a *sœur converse* in which status she remained until her death on March 17, 1721 or 1722.³⁷

The reasons for her dedication to Frère Didace and how she came to be in possession of one of his books are not overly clear, but likely had a lot to do with family connections. Her sister Françoise was also a *converse* sister in the Ursuline Order (Sœur Sainte-Anne), and in 1697 was one of three Ursulines who went to Trois-Rivières to establish a new house there.³⁸ It was not at all unusual at the end of the seventeenth century that multiple members of the same family would enter religious orders, even the same religious order. Multiple children in religious orders could be a mark of social advancement for the family concerned. Marie-Madeleine, Françoise, and a third sister, Geneviève (Sœur de la Visitation), all joined the Ursulines as *sœurs converses*, which meant they performed manual labour duties within the convent rather than the main vocational and religious functions of the order. Choir Nuns (*choristes*) paid a hefty dowry upon their profession to the religious life and, therefore, came mostly from the notable classes. *Sœurs converses*, on the other hand, were generally drawn from the middling ranks of New France society and were overwhelmingly of Canadian birth by the end of the century.³⁹ Sœur St-Paul's father,

³⁷ Marcel Trudel, *Les écolières des Ursulines de Québec, 1639-1686* (Montréal: Hurtubise, 1999), 258.

³⁸ Thérèse Germain, *Autrefois, Les Ursulines de Trois-Rivières: Un école, un hôpital, un cloître* (Sillery: Anne Sigier, 1997), 24.

³⁹ The dowry of a choir nun reached 1000 *livres* at the end of the seventeenth century and jumped to 5000 *livres* between 1722 and 1732 by edict of the King before settling at 3000 *livres* thereafter. According to Louis Pelletier, a third social class in New France, made up of domestics, soldiers and workers, furnished very few religious women or men. *Le clergé en Nouvelle-France*, 76-79.

Joseph-Massé Gravel was a successful habitant farmer who, according to the 1666 census, worked fifty-two arpents of land and owned thirty-four domestic animals.⁴⁰

It was as a lay sister that Françoise Gravel, Sœur Sainte-Anne, worked to establish the new Ursuline convent in Trois-Rivières where, in February of 1699, Frère Didace passed his final days. Not even a month after he died, on the 9th of March, Françoise herself passed away in the same one-room, six-bed hospice that had served Didace in his final days. She may well have shared it with the Récollet holy man. Françoise certainly would have become familiar with his reputation for holiness during the few years they both lived and worked in Trois-Rivières. The Ursulines of that town developed an early reverence for him and believed that he had lived a holy life and died in a holy state. They were amongst the first to promote a cult of belief, and they reported in their *Annales* that he died in their meager hospital “en odeur de sainteté.”⁴¹

Frère Didace’s copy of the *Imitation of Christ* must have fallen into Sœur Saint-Paul’s hands through the Ursuline network, either from her sister or from another Ursuline friend at Trois-Rivières. It is not difficult to imagine that Sœur Saint-Paul and her sister Françoise, both *converses* dedicated to labour in the convent, would have recognized a kindred spirit in Frère Didace who was also a fellow labourer and a Canadian in religious orders at a time when notables and French-born men and women dominated the church in New France. Furthermore, the Gravel and Pelletier families both came from the Chateau-Richer area, and Didace and the Gravel sisters

⁴⁰ André Lafontaine, *Recensements annotés de la Nouvelle-France, 1666 et 1667* (Sherbrooke: 1985), 247.

⁴¹ *Les Ursulines des Trois-Rivières depuis leur établissement jusqu’à nos jours*, t. 1 (Trois-Rivières: P.V. Ayotte, 1888), 14-15. Germain, *Autrefois*, 78-79.

were of approximately the same age. It is at least possible that the two families knew each other.⁴²

These connections provide some indication of the importance of personal contacts, family connections and word-of-mouth transmission for the diffusion of local holy reputations in New France. In the first decades of the eighteenth century, Trois-Rivières, the town of Frère Didace's death, was also the centre of devotion to him. It was here that he was accessible, that his body lay, and that penitents could visit his grave site. It is not entirely clear where he was initially buried, but with the completion of the Récollet church in 1703 his remains were exhumed and reburied beneath its altar with an inscription that read, "Ci-gît le corps du vénérable Frère Didace Pelletier, mort en odeur de sainteté." During this translation, his head was apparently removed and taken to Quebec as a relic where it was "enchassée dans une pyramide dans la sacristie de l'église des R. Pères Récollets."⁴³ The first to advocate for his holiness were those who knew him in life, cared for him on his deathbed, and had the means and opportunity to visit his grave site and ask for his favour.

Where veneration extended beyond the region of Trois-Rivières, it followed patterns of personal and family connections and the paths taken by the relics distributed by Joseph Denis. This was the case in the cure of François Chése, a Sulpician priest from Montreal, Antoine Bruslé, habitant of Beçancourt, and Julien

⁴² While the two families were not neighbours, they did not live terribly far apart. The Pelletier family was, however, considerably less land-wealthy than the Gravels. André Lafontaine, *Recensements annotés*, 259.

⁴³ Letter from Louis-Hyacinthe de la Place, 21 April, 1721 in O. Jouve, "Le Frère Didace: Documents dieppois," *Nova Francia*, 4 (1929): 210. De la Place was *Commissaire Provincial* of the Récollets in Canada from 1710 to 1720. This letter is included in a copy of the *Actes* made in Dieppe in the early nineteenth century. The relic was likely lost in a fire which destroyed the Récollet monastery in Quebec on 6 September 1796. O. Jouve, *Le Père Didace Pelletier, Récollet*, 188.

Constantinau, the young son of habitants from Neuville near Quebec, all of whom reportedly were cured by the application of pieces of Frère Didace's robe.⁴⁴

Despite Frère Didace's extensive travels throughout New France while he lived, his popularity as a saint and intercessor was concentrated in the region of Trois-Rivières and, to a much lesser extent, as we have seen, at Québec. It is possible to trace familial and local connections amongst many of the *miraculé(e)s* who credited him with an effective intercession and whose claims were investigated by the diocese. Five of the twenty-two *miraculé(e)s* were members of the religious establishment of New France, either nuns or priests, including the Bishop of Quebec himself, Mgr de Saint-Vallier.⁴⁵ The others all pertained to lay people, several of whom wrote to the ecclesiastical authorities of their own volition to report what they had experienced, while the rest of the *miraculé(e)s* appeared before one of the official inquiries to offer testimony to their cure and their faith. Four recipients of favours are referred to directly as *habitants* while a fifth, Pierre Le Maistre, described as a bourgeois of Trois-Rivières, was likely a merchant.⁴⁶ Four of the *miraculé(e)s* were members of the notables classes – seigneurs or relatives of seigneurs – while a further two came from the ranks of the professionals.

⁴⁴ *Actes*, 90-95, 68-71. Furthermore, cures received by persons outside the region often involved pilgrimages to the tomb either to seek a cure or afterwards as fulfillment of a vow. This was the case in the cure of Mgr de Saint-Vallier, François de Chèse, and Marguerite Aubuchon.

⁴⁵ While technically not a religious, Angelique Robineau has been included in this group because she experienced her cure while at the Ursuline convent in Quebec and had recourse to Frère Didace at the suggestion of the sisters.

⁴⁶ He testified to being spared the brunt force of a storm by a vow he made to Frère Didace while transporting hay on the St. Lawrence River.

The second official inquiry held into the reputed miracles of Frère Didace took place in 1703 in Trois-Rivières where six *miraculé(e)s* came forth to testify to the favours they had received. A third was held a year later where two more miracles were recounted. Both were presided over by Louis Geoffroy, a Sulpician priest from Montreal and the Vicar of Mgr de Saint-Vallier who was in France at the time.⁴⁷ Each report received the approbation of Charles de Glandelet. The board of inquiry in 1703 consisted of a veritable who's-who of the Trois-Rivières and Récollet establishment, including Joseph Denis, *Commissaire Général* of the Récollets in Canada, Luc Filiastre, Superior of the Récollets in Trois-Rivières, Paul Vachon, curé of Cap de la Magdelaine, Jean le Chasseur, King's Counselor in Trois-Rivières, Sieur Claude Pauperet, a merchant from Quebec and one of the directors of the Company of New France, Monsieur Michel Godefroy Sieur de Linctot, "Major et Commandant" of Trois-Rivières, and his nephew René who was the king's procurator in the town.⁴⁸ The governor of Trois-Rivières, Antoine de Crisafy, Knight of the Order of St-Louis, appeared at the third inquiry held in 1704.

There was, evidently, considerable local interest in the proceedings of the inquiry and those in the highest positions of civil, military, and ecclesiastical power were willing to lend their names and authority to the investigations and testimonies. Indeed, at the 1703 inquiry, Michel Godefroy de Linctot's own daughter bore witness to a cure she believed she had received through the aid of Frère Didace.

⁴⁷ Saint-Vallier had gone to France in 1700 and to Rome in 1702 when he had an audience with the Pope. He returned to France in 1703 and took ship to Canada in 1704, but his ship was captured by the British in the English Channel and he became a prisoner of war in England until 1709 when he was returned to France. He remained in France until 1713 when he returned to New France.

⁴⁸ *Actes*, 30.

Michelle Godefroy, 24 years of age, had been ill for four years in 1699, “pendant laquelle elle n’avoit pû se coucher dans son lit n’y prendre de nourriture sans grande douleur...”⁴⁹ She testified that shortly after Frère Didace died in the odour of sanctity, she began a novena in his honour at the end of which she found herself perfectly cured of her affliction.

This was not the last time that a member of the extended Godefroy family would appear before a commission of inquiry and testify to the miraculous abilities of Frère Didace Pelletier.⁵⁰ Michel de Godefroy also participated in the 1704 *procès-verbal* where his wife, Perriné Picotte de Belestre, the mother of the *miraculée* Michelle, testified that she too had been cured of a dangerous malady through recourse to Frère Didace. Although initially sceptical of his virtues, she testified that she was convinced to invoke his aid by the experience of her daughter.⁵¹ Furthermore, in 1717 Madame Marguerite Hameau (Ameau) appeared before a fourth inquiry, presided over by Charles de Glandelet, to testify to the cure of her son Charles Antoine, born in 1698. Marguerite Hameau’s husband and Charles Antoine’s father was René Godefroy de Tonnancour, the King’s procurator at Trois-Rivières and nephew of Michel Godefroy de Linctot and Perriné Picotte. Indeed, Charles Antoine’s father had likely known the holy man personally when he served as legal representative (*syndic*) for the Récollets at Trois-Rivières. René de Tonnancour was in charge of the temporal affairs of the Récollets from 1698-1703 during which time he

⁴⁹ *Actes*, 31.

⁵⁰ The Godefroys were one of the founding families of Trois-Rivières. See Pierre-Georges Roy, *La Famille Godefroy de Tonnancour* (Levis, 1904).

⁵¹ *Actes*, 42.

oversaw the construction of their monastery and church – the very buildings Didace was working on when he died in 1699.

The inter-personal connections illustrated here provide a wonderful example of the kind of community New France was. Personal and family connections plus regional affiliations played an important role in disseminating the reputation of Frère Didace as a holy man and a thaumaturge, and in decisions to invoke him. His positive responses to requests and expectations of those who sought his help resulted in the growth of his reputation. On the 2nd of September 1704 Jean-Baptiste Pottier, a notary and court clerk at Trois-Rivières wrote a letter to Père Joseph Denis on behalf of his wife, Marie Boubert, who believed that she had been cured by the intercession of Frère Didace. He wrote, he said, “pour contribuer à lever le scrupule que ma femme sent avoir sur sa conscience,” for having failed to offer her testimony at the inquiry held the month before.⁵² Marie Boubert feared punishment in the next life for failing to bear witness publicly to the favour she had received from Frère Didace and sought redress through writing.

Approximately ten months prior to the writing of this letter Marie had given birth. The birth had been a difficult one and had confined her to bed with a pain in her leg so terrible that she found herself paralyzed. Subsequently, the pain moved into her kidneys and caused her to cry out so loudly that she attracted the attention and concern of the neighbours. One, Madeleine Baudoin, whom Jean-Baptiste Pottier describes as the wife of M. Hameau, “premier notaire de cette ville,” came to

⁵² *Actes*, 60. The manuscript mistakenly dates this letter to 1714. The letter was addressed to Joseph Denis, *Commissaire Provincial*, a position he held in 1704, but not in 1714. Moreover, there was no *procès-verbal* held in August of 1714. This more likely refers to the inquiry of August 1704. Finally, Pottier, the author of the letter died in 1712. Jouve, “Étude historique et critique,” 91, n. 1.

her aid. In offering sympathy, comfort and aid to Marie, Madeleine recommended she seek the help of Frère Didace.

This was not Madeleine Baudoin's first experiment with the abilities of Frère Didace. She herself had appeared before the 1703 inquiry to testify to her own cure which she believed had come as the result of a novena she had performed in honour of the holy man.⁵³ Madeleine, therefore, was already well acquainted with Frère Didace, his virtues, and his reputation for successful interventions when she found her friend and neighbour bed-ridden and beset with pain. Madeleine was so struck by this scene of misery and despair she was moved to cry out like her friend "en souffrant intérieurement avec elle de la voir en un tel état." As a *miraculée* herself she entered into a state of *communitas* with her friend. Marie Boubert, following her friend's advice, resolved "d'aller durant neuf jours dans votre eglise (the newly constructed Franciscan church at Trois-Rivières) où repose son corps (Frère Didace) lui présenter ses vœux et de faire dire une messe à son honneur."⁵⁴ In the same moment that she made this vow, she felt herself greatly relieved of her pain and within three days she was back on her feet.

Marie Boubert's letter demonstrates the importance that was attributed both to honouring the memory of the saint publicly and to bearing witness to the changed status of the *miraculé(e)* in society. It was not enough to have experienced privately the grace and favour of the holy man. Rendering witness to a miracle and giving

⁵³ Nor was it her last. Madeleine (Hameau) Baudoin's daughter, Marguerite, was the wife of René Godefroy de Tonnancour and mother of Charles Antione whose cure at the intercession of Frère Didace was presented before the commission of inquiry in 1717. Devotion to Didace and his favours ran through the branches of this extended family whose witness persuaded others to seek his aid as well. *Actes*, 33.

⁵⁴ *Actes*, 66.

credit where credit was due was almost as important as the fact of the miracle itself. Pottier's letter explains that it was the common sentiment of the people that Frère Didace was good (*bon*) and holy (*saint*) and that Marie felt it her duty to "server à la gloire de son libérateur" by reporting what she had experienced to the religious authorities. Marie Boubert feared for her mortal soul if she did not acknowledge publicly what she believed Frère Didace had done for her. Miracles and cures were not a private matter between God and penitent. They were public. They rendered testimony to the holiness of the miracle worker and the grace that God had bestowed upon the penitent.

In the interconnected rural society of New France religion helped to forge and maintain effective social bonds between family and neighbours who participated in the same belief systems and the ritual performances of redressive action in the face of social crisis. Ill and in pain, Marie Boubert's cries attracted the attention of her neighbour who, having suffered herself, offered a solution that was practical, proven, and symbolically rich. Madeleine Baudoin, whose extended family was well connected with the cult of Frère Didace, facilitated Marie Boubert's re-entry into the social group by encouraging her to put her faith into one whom the local population already considered to be a saint and through whom Madeleine had already experienced her own cure. This common bond of faith strengthened the communal and social bonds between neighbours, but also between secular and religious communities, the Récollet and the laity of the town, and, perhaps most importantly, between the heavenly patron and his audience/faith community. Once cured, Marie Boubert joined a select group that as *miraculé(e)s* enjoyed a special relationship with

the holy man and an obligation to ‘faire paraistre l’honneur qui est du au Saint Religieuse.’⁵⁵

As one might expect then, this was not the last time that Marie Boubert experienced the intervention of Frère Didace. In 1717, now a widow, she finally succeeded in offering her testimony in person before Glandelet and his official inquiry where she offered witness to two miracles – her own – and the cure of one of her daughters.⁵⁶

Once the saint had favoured a family, he had the tendency to repeat the performance indicating that a successful intervention might lead people to adopt him as their patron of choice. To the faith community of Trois-Rivières, Frère Didace was accessible both physically and spiritually. He was one of their own, someone who had lived amongst them and whom they had known. To those outside the region he was made accessible through the distribution of his relics and through pilgrimage. Access to the holy person, to the site of burial, and to sites of devotion and pilgrimage evidently played a not insignificant role in promoting veneration and preserving the memory of local holy persons within the population.

Nor is it coincidental, I would suggest, that those religious orders that recruited their membership from amongst the Canadian population and were willing to draw upon the intermediate social classes were also the ones that tended to nurture the most successful holy persons. This observation is born out by circumstantial evidence. The Récollets were the only order of priests open to Canadian born men in New France. Of those that kept their ranks largely closed to

⁵⁵ *Actes*, 67.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 58.

Canadians, the Jesuits produced no major holy figures after 1650, and the Sulpicians produced none whatsoever. Female orders in Canada were much more receptive to local recruitment than male orders and they produced the majority of holy figures in New France.⁵⁷ These communities, even the cloistered ones, maintained familial and other ties with the lay community that no doubt aided in the promotion of holy reputations.

To what extent did veneration of Frère Didace's extend beyond these boundaries? Reports of miracles did come from outside of Trois-Rivières and Quebec, from Montreal and the village of Neuville near Quebec, through letters written by local curés. It is possible, moreover, that miracles also occurred elsewhere in New France and were not reported to the authorities and, consequently, did not come to the attention of the Récollets or the official inquiry. The ecclesiastical administration of New France did not have the resources to search extensively for evidence of Didace Pelletier's holiness. Joseph Denis wrote, "Car il y en a quantité d'autres (miracles) dans le pays et dans des endroits où ils (les grands vicaires de l'église du Canada) n'auraient pu aller sans dépenses, et qui donnent lieu à toutes les personnes du Canada de le (Didace) révéler comme un saint."⁵⁸ It is difficult to say to what extent this statement was formulaic or represented the actual popularity of Frère Didace. Certainly he was known in Quebec amongst the ecclesiastical elite and also likely in the region of St. Anne de Beaupré where his father continued to live in 1699. He was also known in France by at least the 1720s – in Dieppe where his

⁵⁷ On the composition of the membership of religious orders see Louis Pelletier, *Le clergé en Nouvelle-France*, 58-64. Canadian-born women formed a majority in female holy orders by about 1690, whereas Canadian-born male clergy did not achieve majority status until the end of the French regime.

⁵⁸ *Actes*, 11.

father had been born. In 1721 the former Commissaire Provincial of the Récollets in Canada (1710-1720), Louis Hyacinthe de la Place, wrote to urge Didace's distant relatives in Dieppe to always keep "le saint religieux devant eux."⁵⁹

Cures were important not just as spiritual and medical marvels experienced by individuals, but as markers of the integrity and sacrality of the entire community that nurtured and supported Frère Didace and his holiness in life and death. The best method for resolving social tensions and the exclusion of individuals from recognized social categories was the performance of symbol-rich ceremonies – ceremonies which were steeped in tradition and invoked communal memories, mythologies, and understandings.⁶⁰ All levels of society participated in the miraculous cures. Glandelet and Bishop Saint-Vallier participated in the miracles as judges and the holders of authority. They played a fundamental role in the miracle ritual as the dispensers of spiritual authority, guaranteeing for the faithful the authenticity of the miracle in question and the holy status of the local intercessor. The religious and lay hierarchy played the role of witnesses, while the cured themselves came from all ranks of lay and religious society. Although they played different roles in the social drama, all participated in the same belief system, understood social symbols in similar ways, and engaged in cultural practices that were recognized and accepted as generative of cultural meaning.

Sometime in the winter or spring of 1716 Bishop Saint-Vallier himself traveled to Trois-Rivières, to the tomb of Frère Didace, to beseech the venerable man for the cure of a persistent fever that had troubled him for several months and

⁵⁹ Louis Hyacinthe de la Place, 1721, in Jouve, "Document Dieppois," 214.

⁶⁰ Victor Turner, *Dramas Fields and Metaphors*, 37-42.

“qu’aucun remède put enlever.”⁶¹ Before Didace’s tomb and the altar of the Récollet church Mgr de Saint-Vallier knelt and prayed each day for eight days and on the ninth he found himself completely cured of his illness. This miraculous event was announced to all the priests and parishes of New France in a circular letter dated 9 June 1716. The letter marked out in a public and official way, open only to the Bishop and perhaps the governor of New France, what many in Trois-Rivières already believed. Frère Didace had lived a holy life and his reputation was worthy of being spread throughout the diocese for the edification of all souls. He wrote,

Dieu voulant apparemment faire connoître à tout nostre Diocèse le grand crédit qu’avoit ce serviteur de Dieu auprès de luy en nous obligeant de reconnoître que notre mal s’aigrissant plutost que de diminuer, mesme durant nostre neuvaine. Nous ne pouvions devoir nostre guérison qu’à la persévérance avec laquelle nous la demandions à Dieu par les mérites de son serviteur. C’est le témoignage que nous devons à la vérité et que nous rendons bien volontiers pour luy marquer nostre reconnaissance et augmenter dans tous les cœurs la confiance qu’on a à ce saint Frère Récollet dont nous voudrions bien qu’on imitât les vertus.⁶²

Mgr de Saint-Vallier encouraged the inhabitants of every parish in his diocese to have recourse to Didace in their needs and to imitate the holy man’s virtues from the pulpit of every church in the diocese.⁶³ Since his return to New France in 1713, Saint-Vallier had been on a mission to remove the abuses that had crept into the church during his long absence. In 1714 he had made an Episcopal visit to Trois-Rivières during which he had visited every house over a period of twelve days. Now

⁶¹ *Mandements, lettres pastorales et circulaires des évêques de Québec* vol. I, ed. Henri Têtu et C-O. Gagnon (Québec: A. Côté), 487. Saint-Vallier’s testimony was included in the *Actes*, 87.

⁶² *Actes*, 87-88.

⁶³ While there is no direct evidence that Saint-Vallier’s testimonial was read out in the churches of the diocese, it was common practice for parish priests to make ecclesiastical directives and news public knowledge in this fashion.

in 1716, Trois-Rivières once again was his focus.⁶⁴ Frère Didace was on his way to becoming the most popular local intercessor in the region.

The Cause of Frère Didace

The first Life of Frère Didace was a brief biographical account written by Joseph Denis in France in 1719. Written in epistolary form, it served to introduce Frère Didace and the *Actes* to Donacien Larcenau, the Procurator General of the Récollet Order in Rome.

...ayant apporté un recueil des procès-verbaux, que l'on a fait des miracles opérés par l'intercession du très pieux Frère Didace Pelletier que notre Très Révérend Père Provincial (of France) vous envoie, j'ai cru, mon Très Révérend Père, devoir, pour la gloire de Dieu, dans la personne de son serviteur, me donner l'honneur de vous marquer en peu de mots son caractère et la manière dont il a vécu. Personne ne le cachant mieux que moi pour avoir été son confesseur l'espace de quatorze ans et travaillé ensemble à tous nos établissements du Canada.⁶⁵

Denis may have written a fuller hagiographic account about his friend around this time, but if he did, it has not survived. The introductory letter describes Frère Didace's dedication to the religious life, his work, and his ascetic observance of the rule of St. Francis. It emphasizes his humility and obedience as well as his dedication to the Virgin Mary and to the souls of purgatory. Denis drew attention to his own connections with Frère Didace and the deep roots both had in Canada. "Il est le

⁶⁴ Hermann Plante, *L'Église catholique au Canada, 1604-1886* (Trois-Rivières: Édition du bien publique, 1970), 106.

⁶⁵ *Actes*, 3-4.

premier Frère lay Canadien, comme je suis le premier novice clerc aussi Canadien, c'est à dire l'un et l'autre sont de familles Françaises établies en ce pays là."⁶⁶

Frère Didace may have first acquired his reputation for holiness amongst those who knew him in Trois-Rivières, but it was as an unofficial saint, supported by the Canadian Récollets and the Diocese of Quebec, that he entered into the religious networks of the early modern Atlantic world.⁶⁷ Urging Donacien Larcenau to support Didace's cause, Joseph Denis informed him,

que Monseigneur de Saint-Vallier, qui estoit à Rome, il y a quelques années, et qui a parlé à Sa Sainteté, a donné son attestation luy mesme de sa guérison telle qu'elle est à la fin de ce recueil, et attend la réponse de Sa Sainteté pour luy en escrire luy-mesme et sur la devotion que tous les peuples ont à ce grand serviteur de Dieu qu'ils ont desja canonisé de vive voix.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 12

⁶⁷ Allan Greer and Kenneth Mills argue in favour of a Catholic Atlantic where a broad and diffuse Catholicism guided the local actions of religious persons such as Frère Didace and helped to shape local Christianities. They intend the idea to displace, or at least co-exist with, nationally determined Atlantics. Frère Didace's reputation, however, seems circumscribed by the French sphere and, even when it did cross the Atlantic, endured strongest amongst localities transplanted from New France – the Canadian Récollets, Bishop Saint-Vallier. Only his legacy in Dieppe seems to step beyond these boundaries, and this too can be traced to local family connections. Where the idea of a Catholic Atlantic may be helpful is in drawing comparisons with other regions of Catholic colonization in the Americas. "A Catholic Atlantic," in *The Atlantic in Global History, 1500-2000*, ed. Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra and Erik R. Seeman (New Jersey: Pearson/Prentice Hall, 2007), 3-20.

⁶⁸ *Actes*, 13. It is not entirely clear when Saint-Vallier made this trip to Rome. Jouve guesses that he went in 1712-13 before returning to New France, but this is impossible if Denis is correct in saying that the bishop spoke to the pope about his own cure which only took place in 1716 (Jouve, "Études historique et critique," 58-59). Either Denis was mistaken, or it must have taken place in 1717 or 1718, but Saint-Vallier is generally thought to have remained in Canada from his return in 1713 until his death in 1727. Laurent Croisé included a reference to Denis's collection in his 1723 chronicle of the city of Dieppe and was aware that Frère Didace's case had been submitted to Rome "avec espérance qu'on travaillera un jour à sa canonisation." This work dated 14 July 1723 is entitled "Histoire abrégée et chronologique de la ville, chateau et citadelle de Dieppe et du fort du Pollet depuis leur origine" and is found in the Bibliothèque de Dieppe, manuscrits: Ar. 9. It is quoted in Jouve, "Documents Dieppois," 202.

This was the first time since the Archbishop of Rouen had asked Father Ragueneau to prepare a dossier on the Jesuit martyrs in 1652 that ecclesiastical authorities sought the canonization of a Canadian holy person. On the surface, Didace had a good case. He could boast a vibrant faith community and miracles backed up by the authority of ecclesiastical investigation and approbation. He had the support of the bishop of New France, the Récollets of Canada, and the superior of the Sulpicians in Montreal. He could also boast of supporters in France such as a certain M. du Belloy, a doctor of the Sorbonne, who had received a copy the *procès-verbaux* from Denis. His letter of acknowledgement and thanks is found in the *Actes* following Denis introductory letter.

Nous n'avons garde de mépriser un pays si favorisé du Seigneur. Ce que nous en apprenons aussy bien que ce que nous en voyons, ne nous peut qu'inspirer une sainte jalousie; heureux la terre dont votre ordre a reçu de si précieux prémices; heureux les yeux qui ont vus, et les mains, Mon Révérend Père, qui ont mérité de les cultiver.⁶⁹

A note that precedes du Belloy's letter explains that he was one of those French theologians who opposed the Papal Bull known as *Unigenitus*, issued 8 September 1713, which had condemned 101 purportedly Jansenist propositions contained in a 1693 book of meditations on the New Testament by Pasquier Quesnal. This Bull had been requested by Louis XIV when initial papal condemnation of Quesnal's work in 1708 had not been accepted in France because it was deemed to infringe upon the "Gallican liberties" of the French Catholic church. This second condemnation was drawn up with the aid of French government officials but the king died before it could be fully implemented, and his successor, the regent Duc Philippe d'Orléans, favoured those ecclesiastics who refused to

⁶⁹ M. du Belloy to Père Joseph Denis, 11 June, 1719. *Actes*, 16.

accept it on the grounds that it was obscure and in need of papal clarification. Pope Clement, however, could not tolerate such a protest, as to do so would undermine his spiritual authority over the French church, and so the controversy developed into a test of the Pope's will against the traditional independence of France's bishops. On 4 January 1716 the Sorbonne annulled its previous registration of *Unigenitus* and in response Clement XI excommunicated all those who refused to acknowledge the Bull. The matter was temporarily resolved in 1720 through a compromise initiated by the French government, but not before the Bull had become a serious issue between France and Rome and between factions within the French Church itself.⁷⁰

Joseph Denis sent his collection of documents to du Belloy at the height of the controversy no doubt in the knowledge that his correspondent was a known opponent of *Unigenitus* and likely a Jansenist sympathizer. Indeed, du Belloy's initial mockery of the miracles of Frère Didace reportedly had prompted Denis to send him a copy of the collection in the first place.⁷¹ According to du Belloy's letter, the contents forced him to change his mind. Indeed, he came to regard Frère Didace as a symbol of all that was wrong with the church in Europe, and Canada as a place of refuge from the degeneracy of the faith in France.

Hatez-vous, Mon Révérend Père de faire voir à notre hémisphère les grâce dont-il s'est rendu indigne depuis longtems et dont Dieu arrose ainsy la pitié du vostre; nous raisonnons ici et discourons à l'aveugle des mystères de la grâce pendant que vous en ravissez les secrets.⁷²

Just as the *dévots* "fous de Christ" in the mid-seventeenth century had regarded Canada as an outpost of religion in comparison with decadent France, so

⁷⁰ Michael T. Ott, "Unigenitus" *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. XV.

⁷¹ *Actes*, 15.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 17-18.

this Jansenist continued to regard the country and its saints as proof that God's favour lay elsewhere. The view of Canada as an outpost of true religion became somewhat of a recurring theme in the period, and stories of extraordinary religious persons that emanated from across the sea reinforced such assumptions. Anecdotes such as those found in the Didace collection carried weight because they confirmed attitudes and impressions already in existence.

Canada became a refuge for at least one Jansenist who harboured a similar view of New France. In August of 1715 Georges Poulet, a Benedictine monk and friend of Quesnal, traveled to Canada after he was expelled from the monastery of St-Maur for refusing to acknowledge *Unigenitus*. "Je n'y embarquay pour le Canada que je scavoir etre Catholique et sous l'obeissance du Roy," he wrote in his account of his travels. In Canada, Saint-Vallier deprived him of the sacraments for refusing to submit to *Unigenitus* and eventually he made his way back to France in 1718 where he disappeared.⁷³ The Récollet Order in Canada was not without its Jansenist sympathizers. For example, the Récollet authored work, *Premier établissement de la foy dans la Nouvelle France* (1691), presents a sympathetic view of Jansenist theology and mercilessly attacks the Jesuits, perennial enemies of the Jansenists, for their mission methodology, and accuses them of stealing the mission field of Canada from the Récollets.⁷⁴ Yet, it is not entirely clear what in Didace's legacy may have appealed to

⁷³ Georges Poulet, "Récit simple de ce qu'un Religieux Benedictin a souffert en Canada, au sujet de la Bulle unigenitus," Library and Archives Canada, reel C-9193, vol. 20973. This narrative was written after his return to France under the reign of the regent Duc d'Orléans who was opposed to *Unigenitus*.

⁷⁴ This work is generally ascribed to the Récollet missionary Chrestien le Clercq. *Premier établissement de la foy dans la Nouvelle France* (Paris: Amable Auroy, 1691). Raphael N. Hamilton, however, argues that Le Clercq in fact had little to do with its authorship. "Who Wrote Premier Établissement de la Foy dans la Nouvelle France?" *Canadian Historical Review* vol.

a hardened Jansenist such as M. du Belloy. Jansenists tended to regard God as remote and judgmental rather than immanent, and so miracles were considered highly unlikely and mysticism misguided. Perhaps Denis considered du Belloy an ally who would support Frère Didace once he saw the evidence for his cause. If so, he must have been content with du Belloy's response.

If Clement XI did see the collection of material about Frère Didace, his reaction was almost certainly negative. Clement would not have looked kindly upon a Récollet candidate for holiness supported by one of his recalcitrant priests and political enemies. He may even have discouraged Saint-Vallier from pursuing the matter further as evidence of a cult of devotion almost completely dries up in the 1720s just as his cause seemed to be gathering momentum.⁷⁵ Catholicism in Canada did not carry on in the sort of bubble imagined by M. du Belloy, but was heavily invested in, and dependent upon, what went on in France and, to a lesser extent, Rome. It should not be surprising then, to find that theological trends and controversies traversed the ocean in the same fashion as saints and relics. There were no more investigations into the sanctity of Frère Didace or the authenticity of his miracles in New France or anywhere else after Joseph Denis's ill-fated mission to

LVII, no. 3 (1976): 265-288. Whatever the authorship, the book was associated with the Récollet Order and bears a strong Jansenist perspective.

⁷⁵ Guy Plante cites several contemporary complaints suggesting that Mgr de Saint-Vallier's own orthodoxy in the matter of Jansenism and *Unigenitus* was at times questionable. For example, in 1715 Pontchartrain, the minister of the Marine, suggested in a letter to the Abbé de Maupéou that Saint-Vallier had not expressed his acquiescence to *Unigenitus* as quickly as he might have. There is no question that Saint-Vallier was a rigorous prelate, especially in the years after his return from exile in 1713, but Plante concludes that it was unlikely he was a Jansenist. Guy Plante, *Le rigorisme au XVII^e siècle: Mgr de Saint-Vallier et le sacrement de pénitence* (Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1971), 152-155.

France. His cause lay dormant until the beginning of the twentieth century when it was reopened by the Franciscans.

Holy reputations depend on the quality of life led by the candidate, the demonstrated ability of the candidate to respond to the needs and expectations of the faithful, and the successful diffusion of that reputation amongst local populations. But they also require a favorable political and theological climate. In the charged religious atmosphere following *Unigenitus*, French (and especially Récollet) candidates for holiness would not have been at the top of the list of a pope whose authority in France was threatened by recalcitrant bishops and an unhelpful government. Moreover, Didace lost a powerful supporter when Mgr de Saint-Vallier died in 1727. Thirteen years of absentee bishops followed.⁷⁶ After 1720, the hierarchy in Canada was apparently no longer willing to support Didace's claim, while the Récollets in Canada lacked the authority and financial ability to proceed alone.

In this light, the copy of the *Actes* made in the early 1740s seems more like an act of retrenchment than an escalation in the quest for canonization. This document was made shortly after 1742 likely by Frère Didace Cliche, a relative of Frère Didace Pelletier who took the name of his honoured relative when he joined the Récollets himself in 1735. The manuscript was addressed to M. Claude Cliche, father of Didace Cliche and the nephew of Didace Pelletier. Frère Didace Cliche copied out with care, and likely on his own initiative, the record of sanctity of his cherished relative and sent it to his father, a carpenter in the king's navy, who was living in

⁷⁶ Saint-Vallier was succeeded by Mgr Louis-François Duplessis de Mornay (1728-1733) and Mgr Pierre Herman Dosquet (1734-1739).

Charlesbourg after 1742.⁷⁷ The work appears, then, as an act of personal devotion, and also offers evidence of an enduring local faith community despite official silence in the matter of the holiness of Frère Didace.

As in the case of the Jesuit martyrs, of Catherine de Saint-Augustin, of Marie de l'Incarnation, and of every person who died in the odour of sanctity in New France, a lack of official interest or support for a cause did not mean that a holy reputation perished on the spot. Indeed, veneration functioned best and most vibrantly at the local level where knowledge of the deeds and reputations of the holy spread through personal and community channels. Frère Didace did not disappear entirely when his cause was dropped by ecclesiastical authorities, but only from the official records of church. Hints of his enduring reputation emerge from time to time, as in Didace Cliche's transcription of the *Actes*, to offer glimpses of a memory that survived amongst the faithful. While organizing the parish register in 1770, for example, the curé of Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré, Pierre-René Hubert, inserted a note at the bottom of one entry that recorded a baptism for which Claude (Didace) Pelletier had served as godfather. The note read, "Claude Pelletier dont il est parlé ci-dessus est le Frère Didace, Récollet, mort en odeur de sainteté au couvent des Récollets de Québec vers 1700."⁷⁸ Although the note is wrong in the place and time of his death,

⁷⁷ The document was addressed to Claude Cliche via a M. Marin who lived in Quebec's lower town. Based on this information, Odoric Jouve used notarial records to trace Claude Cliche to the village of Charlesbourg where he moved from Quebec in 1742. Following a series of conjectures, Jouve reasonably concludes that M. Marin must have been hired to take the document to Claude Cliche after 1742 when the latter moved from Quebec to Charlesbourg, and before he died in February of 1744. At any rate, the copy could not have been made prior to 1735-36 as it was in this year that Claude Cliche, Jr. took the name Didace as a member of the Récollet. Jouve, 119-127.

⁷⁸ Quoted in Jouve, *Le Frère Didace Pelletier, Récollet*, 270-272. Pierre-René Hubert was curé of Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré between 1767 and 1777 during which time he reorganized the

it nevertheless provides evidence of an enduring memory. The wording is significant. The curé does not offer an argument in support of Frère Didace's holiness, nor does he attempt to prove Didace's sanctity. Rather, Claude Pelletier is described as *the* Frère Didace, the one whom everyone already knew, and about whom little explanation was required.

Furthermore, Odoric Jouve recorded in his biography of Frère Didace that the descendants of the families of Trois-Rivières living in his own day (turn of the Twentieth century) reported a continuing tradition present in the mid-nineteenth century that a saint was buried within the Anglican church of the town (which was originally the church of the Récollet). Voices such as these emerge from the past to offer evidence of a tradition that continued informally for generations amongst the local population.

Mgr de Lauberivière

Meanwhile new figures emerged to grab the attention of the faithful and ecclesiastical hierarchy equally. One such person was Mgr François-Louis Pourroy Lauberivière, fifth bishop of Quebec. Named bishop when he was only 28 years old in 1739, he was the first to physically occupy his Episcopal See since the death of Saint-Vallier when he arrived in the colony in 1740.⁷⁹ Lauberivière's tenure in

records of the parish adding many such notes that are important for the history of the region. See *Annales de la Bonne Sainte-Anne de Beaupré* vol. 34 (November, 1906), 233.

⁷⁹ The two men who occupied the See in the intervening years, Mgr de Louis-François Duplessis de Mornay (1728-1733) and Mgr Pierre Herman Dosquet (1734-1739), both remained in France, choosing to leave the day-to-day administration of their diocese to the archdeacon of the Cathedral of Quebec, Eustache Chartier de Lotbinière. Dosquet had been in Quebec as co-adjutor bishop from 1729 to 1733 when he returned to France in order to

Canada, however, was destined to be a short one. On the crossing to Canada fever ravaged his ship, and he worked constantly to provide care and reassurance to his stricken ship-mates. He arrived in Quebec in good health, apparently untouched by the fever that had carried off many of his companions and sent many others directly to the Hôtel Dieu. But within days, the new bishop fell ill. The shipboard fever gripped him with intensity and he was dead within a week. He had been bishop in name for just over a year, but occupied his See for only twelve days. Due to the contagiousness of his illness, he was buried the same day he died, the 20th of August 1740, and laid to rest in the Cathedral of Quebec next to the tomb of Mgr de Laval.⁸⁰

Lauberivière captivated and held the attention of his diocese much longer in death than he had been able to do in life. Well-known for his personal austerities, asceticism, and devotion, he quickly became known as the “martyre de la charité.” He was widely regarded as a victim of his zeal to help those who fell ill aboard the *Le Rubis*, and was admired for his dedication to his Episcopal See. The Bishop of Grenoble, who knew Lauberivière well, extolled his virtues in a circular letter to the curés of his diocese on 13 November 1740. He was a martyr of charity, the bishop said, because he had not had time to become a martyr for the faith in Canada.⁸¹ Such assertions reflect a persistent perception in France of Canada as a place to die for the

be invested as Bishop. He returned to Canada briefly as bishop in 1734 before going back to France for good.

⁸⁰ “Acte de sépulture de Feu Mgr Pourroy de Lauberivière, Évêque de Québec,” in *Monseigneur de Lauberivière, cinquième évêque de Québec, 1739-1740: documents annotés*, dir. Cyprien Tanguay (Montréal: E. Senécal, 1885), 51 (Hereafter, Tanguay). This book contains a comprehensive collection of original source documents pertaining to Mgr Lauberivière from the archives of the Archdiocese of Québec and various sources, including family archives from France.

⁸¹ Jean, Évêque de Grénoble, 13 November 1740, in Tanguay, 67-80.

faith that was predicated on grisly stories of martyrdom and suffering from the mid seventeenth century. In Quebec, meanwhile, Lauberivière quickly acquired a reputation as a saint and miracle worker. Only ten days after his death, the Jesuit Father Canot, who had been on board *Le Rubis* with the bishop, wrote in his relation of the voyage,

Jamais évêque n'a été si peu connu et si estimé. On le pleura et on le regretta amèrement. Le jour qu'il mourut, fut et sera peut-être celui où il se versa le plus de larmes à Québec. La consternation y fut si générale qu'on n'entendit que cette parole : « *Notre saint évêque est mort.* »⁸²

Although not a direct recipient of a miraculous favour, the Jesuit Father Canot attested to his own increased religious fervor as a result of having witnessed the holy performance of his mentor. “La douleur que je ressentis de cette perte, produisit bientôt en moi une révolution si étrange que je crus que le Seigneur voulait m'appeler bientôt à lui.” It is remarkable that someone who spent so little time in Quebec should have acquired such a reputation so quickly. Even allowing for the hyperbolic tendencies of the hagiographic genre, this is a remarkable statement attesting to a spontaneous cult of belief in someone who, mere weeks before, was a virtual unknown. Such was the popular reaction, reported Father Canot, that religious officials were obliged to tear up his clothing in order to distribute them amongst the people as relics.⁸³

It did not take long before reports of miracles reached the ears of local curés and priests. Indeed, on the voyage to Canada, Lauberivière's prayers were credited

⁸² “Relation du voyage de Feu Mgr François-Louis de Pourroy de Lauberivière, Évêque de Québec, et de sa mort, par une lettre Écrite de Québec le 20 Août 1740,” par le Père Canot, Jésuite de Dôle, in Tanguay, 63.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 63.

with saving a child who had fallen over board. His reputation in Canada was based primarily on his apparent ability to work miracles on behalf of the faithful, and it spread quickly. On 22 September 1740, one month after his death, in the church at Longe Pointe, just east of Ville Marie on Montreal Island, a service was held to pray for Lauberivière's soul during which Louise Foran undertook to pray for the intercession of the bishop to cure her son Antoine Pepin, aged three, who suffered from a persistent weakness in his legs that prevented him from walking. The priest of the parish had counseled Mme Foran to offer a novena in honour of the Virgin Mary in hopes of a cure, but the commotion (*bruit*) caused by Lauberivière, and the stories that were already circulating about him, caused her to place her faith in him instead. During the course of the entire mass held that day, the sermon, and the office of the dead, she prayed to Lauberivière for the cure for her son who, too weak to attend himself, had been left at home in the care of his older sister.⁸⁴

Waiting at home, young Antoine suddenly rose from his chair all by himself and went to the window, and then to the door to watch for the return of his parents, and finally walked all around the room.⁸⁵ When his mother and father returned from church they were shocked to discover their son standing and waiting for them. In her excitement, Louise Foran ran to the window, threw it open and, much to the surprise of her passing neighbour, Pierre Duclos, shouted into the street "miracle, miracle!"

When the parish priest, Father Thomas Ruffin conducted an intensive investigation into the alleged cure it was Pierre Duclos, chanter in the parish church, who stood as witness and testified to the truth of the cure of his young neighbour.

⁸⁴ "Relation d'une guérison obtenue pour un enfant de trois ans," in Tanguay, 115-124

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 120.

Father Ruffin wrote to Lauberivière's successor in Quebec, Mgr Pontbriand, to relate the miracle story and vouch for its authenticity. "...je ne doute nullement que sa guérison, arrive d'une manière si prompte dans le temps même que la mère priait pour l'obtenir..."⁸⁶ In such ways, the local clergy played a role not only in spreading reputations for holiness, but perhaps more importantly, in authenticating them and the miracles holy persons were credited with by the faithful.

Lauberivière's reputation as an effective thaumaturge spread like wildfire through the Saint Lawrence Valley, pushed along by word of mouth and clerical support for his reputed holiness. Such an apparently spontaneous outpouring of devotion and belief indicates how local enthusiasm and excitement could cause people to seek the aid of a local intercessor before that of the staid and established saints of the universal church. This "bruit assez public" prompted the ecclesiastical establishment to appoint an official to investigate the legitimacy of the miracles and claims circulating about Lauberivière's holiness, much as Charles de Glandelet had done for Frère Didace. Citing three examples of miraculous cures, including that of Antoine Pepin, the Sulpician Priest Mathieu Falcoz recommended that the Bishop undertake an official investigation.

[P]lusieurs personnes, depuis longtemps très dangereusement malades ... se seraient intérieurement senties portées à demander à Dieu leur guérison par l'intercession de son serviteur, et que, en effet, ayant eu recours à lui par la prière et s'étant obligées par vœu, à cette intention, à visiter son tombeau, à réciter une certaine quantité de prières, à faire d'autres bonnes œuvres, porter sur soi, et même appliquer sur leurs maux quelques portions des habits, linges ou autres choses qui avaient été à son usage, et l'ayant accompli, elles se seraient trouvées parfaitement guéries dans le moment même.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 123-24.

⁸⁷ Falcoz to the Vicar General of the Diocese of Quebec, Tanguay, 126. The letter is not dated by Tanguay, but was written between 1742-1749.

The Vicar General of the Diocese of Quebec, Father Briand, responded favourably to the evidence supplied by his delegate and initiated an investigation by at least 1750. It is remarkable that within a decade, an official investigation was begun into the sanctity of someone who had spent a total of twelve days in New France. Lauberivière had not been a patron or defender of the colony in the way that earlier holy figures had been. He did not suffer for the sins of the country, nor its inhabitants, and neither did he perform the advent of a new Christian society in the new world. He was only twenty-eight years old when he died and yet a population that did not know him at all embraced him as one of their own. Lauberivière was venerated throughout the Saint Lawrence valley within months of his death, and at Quebec his tomb became a pilgrimage site for people throughout the colony, especially those coming from Montreal where he seems to have enjoyed a particularly strong reputation. Early in the 1740s, Marguerite d'Youville, a future saint in her own right, traveled to Quebec to pray at Lauberivière's tomb to obtain a cure for a knee injury she had suffered in 1738. Despite the claim surrounding his sanctity, however, Lauberivière was unable to help. She continued to suffer severely until 1744 when she was suddenly and miraculously cured for no apparent reason except, according to her son and biographer, Charles Dufrost d'Youville, that God had tested her and she had passed.⁸⁸ All members of society, no matter their ecclesiastical affiliations or socio-economic standing, might participate in the cults of local holy persons, but the local holy persons might not always respond. The investigation into Lauberivière's

⁸⁸ Charles-Marie-Madeleine (Dufrost) d'Youville, "La Vie de Madame Youville, fondatrice des Sœurs de la Charité à Montréal," (1771) in *Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec* (1924-25), 368.

miracles apparently did not proceed very far likely because of war that broke out in 1754 and the subsequent conquest of New France by the English army.

Conclusion

Often historians have resorted to a two-tiered model of religious practice to explain away the miraculous as the beliefs of the uneducated masses that the religious elite tried to control. Indeed, an enduring theme in histories of post-tridentine France has been the attempt on the part of the counter-reformation church to replace local practices with clerical Catholicism.⁸⁹ However, as Peter Brown argued in his 1981 essay, “The Holy and the Grave” a two-tiered model that posits the imposition of the beliefs and practices of one class of society upon another, whether it be the elite upon the popular or vice-versa, is often anachronistic. In the historiography of New France, the clergy has often been alternatively praised and blamed for maintaining an authoritarian grip upon the people, and stifling their innate creativity and liberty. Depending on the perspective taken, this elite/popular divide tends either to gloss over the ‘vulgar’ in order to present an image of an ideal and obedient society, or to romanticize it as the suppressed natural knowledge and vitality of the folk. The former perspective often obscures history in the interest of image, and was prominent in religious histories written in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The latter view has been espoused more recently by historians following the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s who sought to throw off the

⁸⁹ Jean Delumeau, *Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire: A New View of the Counter-Reformation* (London: Burns and Oates, 1977). Delumeau argues that it was only with the counter-reformation that the pagan-influenced folk beliefs of the French peasantry were overcome by orthodox Catholicism. Perhaps the best example of the two-tiered model employed towards an understanding of the cult of the saints is Hippolyte Delehaye, *Les Légendes hagiographiques* (Brüssel, 1905).

constraints of religion and discover ‘what life was really like’ in New France. Where the former rests more on wishful thinking than reality, the latter has the tendency to read not unlike a gossip column that presents the crimes and peccadilloes of the population and finds not a little pleasure in them.⁹⁰ Both types wind up obscuring the very history they want to discover, the so-called history of the masses, by removing ‘the people’ from their historical context and ignoring cross-class cultural interactions. It is easier to contemplate, as Peter Brown points out, a conspiracy of control and manipulation than the seeming incomprehensibility of living humans venerating the remains of dead ones and believing in their ability to work miracles.⁹¹

As Keith P. Luria points out, the post-tridentine church did not launch an all-out attack against popular belief as a part of its reform initiatives, but rather wished to bring decorum to practices.⁹² In New France clerical concerns, even those of a reforming bishop such as Mgr de Saint-Vallier, tended to focus on material conditions such as appropriate attire for women or an acceptable tithing rate rather than devotional or doctrinal issues. Clergy and laity were not rigidly divided by practices or beliefs as is demonstrated by the participation of both in the cults of

⁹⁰ Examples of the first type include much of the religiously driven historiography discussed in chapter eight that emphasized what Lionel Groulx termed the high degree of ‘moral hygiene’ of the *habitant Canadien*. See Serge Gagnon, *Quebec and its Historians: The Twentieth Century*, trans. Jane Brierly (Montreal: Harvest House, 1985), 59. Examples of the second type include Robert-Lionel Séguin’s *La vie libertine en Nouvelle France* (Ottawa: Lemeac, 1972), and more recently, Guy Giguère’s *La scandaleuse Nouvelle France: Histoires scabreuses et peu édifiantes de nos ancêtres* (Montréal: Stanké, 2002). Such works made little attempt to distinguish between normal and marginal behaviour and are consequently of little historical value. Gagnon, *Quebec and its Historians*, 60.

⁹¹ Peter Brown, “The Holy and the Grave,” *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 21.

⁹² Keith P. Luria, “Popular Catholicism’ and the Catholic Reformation,” in *Early Modern Catholicism; Essays in Honour of John W. O’Malley*, s.j. ed. Kathleen M. Comerford and Hilmar M. Pabel (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 16-18.

local holy persons. The cults of local saints caught the attention of elites and masses equally only in different ways, and freeing ourselves from an elite/popular dichotomy opens up the possibility of understanding the processes that led to the diffusion and reception of cults of local holy persons amongst all levels of society, and the needs these cults fulfilled.

Holy reputations spread amongst the population of New France initially through local and familial networks that were largely separate from the more official, epistolary and literary channels that existed amongst religious orders and the church hierarchy which we saw in the case of the Jesuit martyrs. Nicholas Matte, the habitant from Dambour who sought the intercession of Catherine de Saint-Augustin to cure his crippled son, was likely encouraged to do so by someone he knew, and not necessarily the local priest. It was only after his son had been cured that Nicholas Matte offered his official attestation to church authorities and sought their approval for what was, by then, a done deal. His attestation, meanwhile, had the double advantage of winning official approval for his actions and recognition for Catherine, thereby advancing her cause, and demonstrating publicly that he and his family had received the favour and blessing of heaven and were, therefore, part of a special community of *miraculés*.

Cults of devotion were built on momentum while reputations spread through local channels of communication. Friends told other friends what they had heard, seen, or even experienced themselves. Family members urged others in need to have recourse to an intercessor whom they had found to be effective. The example of Frère Didace illustrates the local and circumscribed nature of belief communities in New France, but also how someone venerated by a small community of believers

might gain the attention and approval of the hierarchy and enter into an Atlantic world of cultural and religious exchange. Mgr de Lauberivière, on the other hand, demonstrates how a cult of belief could explode almost out of nowhere and sweep all along in its path. Neither cult, however, managed to maintain its momentum, especially amongst the clerical elite, as the demonstrative form of religion that sustained them was in the process of changing in the early eighteenth century. Both largely disappeared from the textual record relatively quickly as the cults of local holy persons entered into a sustained period of decline.

Chapter VI

“Ce nouveau monde est Encore asses favorisé de Dieu”: Local Saints in Eighteenth-Century New France

Quand une sainte est morte, elle inspire de l'amour de la confiance de
la devotion personne n'en a peur, il semble que sa face il sort des
raïons de gloire, que les anges sont ses gardiens.

-François Vachon de Belmont¹

In 1722 François Vachon de Belmont, Superior of the Sulpicians in Montreal, sent a letter to M. Le Pelletier, Abbé de St.-Albin in France. Belmont feared that the church in New France was entering into dark days and he hoped that M. Pelletier, a prelate whose star was on the rise, might be able to help. To win Pelletier's favour, Belmont sent him edifying accounts of several holy persons associated with his order, the Sulpicians, and affiliated with the Congrégation de Notre-Dame de Montréal, a teaching community of women. The letter included a brief Life of Jeanne Le Ber (1662-1714), the hermit of Canada who had voluntarily enclosed herself for years behind the chapel of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame, Belmont's own eulogy of Marguerite Bourgeoys, the foundress and first superior of the Congrégation, plus a collection of her spiritual maxims, and very short accounts of the lives of two “excelentes chrétiennes sauvagesses,” one Marie-Thérèse Gannant from the Sulpician mission at Montreal, and the other Catherine Tekakwitha from the Jesuit mission at Sault Saint-Louis (Kahnawake). When he wrote this letter, Belmont had been a priest in Canada for over forty years and superior of the

¹ François Vachon de Belmont, “Abrégé de la vie et éloge funèbre de la Vénérable Sœur Jeanne Le Ber,” in “Éloges de quelques personnes mortes en odeur de sainteté à Montréal, en Canada, divisés en trois parties” (c. 1722), *Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec* (1929-30): 166

Sulpicians for more than twenty years. He had seen many changes in the colony over the course of his tenure, contributed greatly to the development of the Sulpicians and their missions at Montreal (La Montagne) and Sault au Récollet, and was nearing the end of his life. By rendering tribute to these holy women at this time he hoped to make known the needs of the colony “dans un temps où il a si grand besoin de protection.”²

Belmont’s letter of introduction seems to be a lament for times past in a world that was rapidly changing. He wished to assure his reader that Canada was still favoured by God as it had been in the days of Louis XIV, as evidenced by the extraordinary saints it still produced, especially Jeanne Le Ber.

La Vie de Mademoiselle Le Ber fait voir que ce nouveau monde est Encore asses favorisé de Dieu pour produire des nouvautés en fait de sainteté, et qu’il a voulu faire en l’Amerique septentrionale, en mademoisèle Le Ber, ce qu’il a fait en l’Amerique méridionale en la persone de Ste Rose de Lima; mais peut-estre d’une manière plus cachée, qui manifestera un jour.³

Belmont was not alone in believing that the religious ethos of French colonialism in Canada had changed since the heady days of the mid seventeenth century. In 1744, the Jesuit historian P.F.X. Charlevoix published his three volume history of New France entitled, *Histoire et description générale de la Nouvelle France*. Charlevoix too noticed a difference between religious devotion in his own day and the practices of those he wrote about. He commented on the extraordinary character of the faith of both missionaries and colonists in the previous century and how

² *Ibid.*, 145.

³ *Ibid.*, 144.

religious enthusiasm changed after de Tracy's expedition against the Iroquois in 1666.⁴

Mais les moeurs changerent dans la Colonie à mesure, qu'on s'y crut plus en sûreté; ce zèle pour la conversion des infidèles, dont tous les Habitans avoient paru jusques-là aussi animés, que les Ouvriers Evangeliques, se ralentit peu à peu dans les premiers; et les seconds ne trouverent plus toujours dans les Chefs le même appui, qu'ils avoient trouvé dans leurs Prédecesseurs. De sorte qu'ils se virent presque réduits à regretter ces tems d'orage et de calamité, où leur liberté et leur sang, mêlé avec leurs sueurs, multiplioient les Chrétiens à vûë d'œil.⁵

In France too, the place of religion in social life was changing at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Charlevoix was evidently criticized for focusing too much on the extraordinary deeds and deaths of the Jesuits and their neophytes. After relating the death of Joseph Onaharé in considerable detail, he wrote, "Je me suis peut-être un peu plus arête dans ces details, que n'auroient voulu plusieurs de ceux, qui liront cette Histoire; mais j'ai cru qu'ils étoient nécessaires pour donner une idée juste de cette Chrétienté Sauvage, dont quelques Ecrivains, qui n'en ont vu que la décadence, se sont efforcés de ternir l'éclat."⁶ Although his work retained the underlying theme of the mystical epic he hoped that it would speak not only to a religious audience, but also to a bureaucratic one that would recognize within the pages of his book the importance of the colony to France, and also to the educated elite that would invest in its future.

⁴ In 1665, Louis XIV sent a regiment of the regular army to New France to deal with the Iroquois problem. In the Fall of 1666, under the command of the Chevalier Alexandre de Tracy, the French army invaded Mohawk territory only to find that the villages had been abandoned. The army burned the villages and fields and retreated to Montreal claiming a decisive victory.

⁵ P.F.X. Charlevoix, *Histoire et description générale de la Nouvelle France avec le journal historique d'un voyage fait par ordre du roi dans l'Amérique septentrionale*, tome II (Paris: Rollin Fils, 1744), 162.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 38.

On parle si diversement parmi nous des etablissemens, que nous avons faits en divers tems dans l'Amerique Septentrionale, que j'ai cru plaisir au Public, et rendre même quelque service à ma Patrie, si aux observation, que j'ai faites en parcourant ces vaste Pays, où la France possede plus de terrain, qu'il n'y en a dans le Continent de l'Europe, je joignois une Histoire exacte et suivre de tout ce qui s'y est passé de mémorable depuis plus de deux siècle. Mais ce motif n'est pas le seul, qui m'a engagé dans ce travail. Persuadé, que si je me dois à la République comme Citoyen, ma profession m'oblige aussi à servir l'Eglise, et à lui consacrer du moins une partie de mes veilles.⁷

Charlevoix's reference to himself as a citizen of the republic and the priesthood as his profession is striking. This is language that was not used in the seventeenth century, and it gives added credence to historian David Bell's argument that a transition occurred between the mid seventeenth century and mid eighteenth century in France from a public life rooted in religion, to one rooted increasingly in the state.⁸ Charlevoix divided his professional life as a priest and Jesuit from his civic duty as a citizen of France. They are separate and he seems to think he owes allegiance to each, but in different ways.

In this chapter I ask how religious life in New France changed and more importantly how the changes affected the performance of sanctity, the cult of the saints, and the reception of local holy persons from the mid seventeenth to the mid eighteenth centuries. How did Jeanne Le Ber represent the ongoing sanctity of the

⁷ *Ibid.*, tome 1. 1-2.

⁸ See David A. Bell, *The Cult of the Nation: Inventing Nationalism, 1680-1800*, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2001. More secular seventeenth-century histories of early New France could have different motivations. For example, Pierre Boucher hoped his *Histoire véritable et naturelle des moeurs et productions du pays de la Nouvelle-France* (Paris: Florentin Lambert, 1664) would encourage immigration from France to Canada. For him, the religious quality of the colony and its inhabitants was a drawing point for others of like mind. "En un mot, les gens do [sic] bien peuvent vivre icy bien contens; mais non pas les meschans, veu qu'ils y font éclairer de trop près: c'est pourquoy ie ne leur conseille pas d'y venire car ils pourroient bien en estre chassés, et du moins estre obligez de s'en retirer, comme plusieurs ont déjà fait."

church in New France for Belmont? In what ways could a hermit, a performance that is ultimately private, become a public emblem for the colony, and did this hold for other performers of holiness in the eighteenth-century? These questions call into view the public and private roles of local holy persons in New France society and the changing relationship of the religious hierarchy to missions, religious institutions, and the laity. I employ gender as a category of analysis in order to better understand the prominence of women amongst the informal saints of New France and how they fared as candidates for official sanctity in the eighteenth century. The changing paradigms of female sanctity over the course of this period illustrate the sorts of changes taking place in religious society more generally that were noted by Belmont, Charlevoix, and others at the time. It is necessary to explore these changes in order to understand how the saints of New France were taken up in later religious culture – a topic I discuss in the final chapter of the dissertation.

Public and Private Saints

The majority of recorded miracles from the French régime that involved the invocation of local holy persons pertained to personal rather than collective crises. We saw in the previous chapter how personal anxieties and especially illnesses might be tackled through recourse to the intervention of local holy persons, and social dislocations might be rectified. But concerns that pertained more to the general well-being of the colony usually did not generate appeals to local intercessors, but rather recourse was had to the established saints of the universal church. Catherine de Saint-Augustin's prediction of the earthquake of 1663 provided a plausible explanation of its cause and a solution that drew upon traditional religious and moral

categories that had wide cultural appeal. Yet, it was Jesus to whom she appealed, and Saint Michael who helped Brébeuf, and together they interceded with God to save New France from the worst of divine wrath.

Brébeuf's association with Saint Michael and the other established saints of the church who appeared from time to time in Catherine's visions proved his sanctity, but as an unofficial saint it seems he could not be invoked alone for matters of public and general concern. Local holy persons were the informal religious heroes of New France and invoking them could be risky. On the one hand, public devotion to an uncanonized holy person violated canon law and Catholic dogma, and could destroy any chance that the local saint might have at one day being canonized.⁹ On the other, local holy persons were unproven. Despite the crises of war and famine that periodically threatened New France, recorded invocations did not concern such calamities. These were matters of collective interest and required collective redressive action. A division can be drawn between public and private devotion, and while privately the faithful could call on either local or universal intercessors, publicly this was not the case. In a letter of 25 October 1729, the *hospitière* Mère Marie-Andrée Duplessis de Sainte-Hélène (1687-1760) wrote to Mme Hecquet de la Cloche in France in passionate terms about the Jesuit martyrs, "qui nous reverons en secret comme martyrs...."¹⁰

⁹ Belmont wrote in his life of Jeanne Le Ber, "Personne ne se gesne de l'appeller sainte parce qu'on sçait bien l'étendue que le St. Siège permet de donner a ce nom et qu'il n'appartient d'honorer d'un culte public que ceux que le souverain pontife en a déclaré dignes." "Éloges," 162.

¹⁰ Mère Sainte-Hélène to Mme Hecquet, 25 October 1729 in *Nova Francia* 3, 1 (October 1927): 42. Jean-Pierre Asselin, "Regnard Duplessis, Marie-Andrée," *DCB*.

Subsistence crises were tackled through collective redressive action of a practical as well as religious nature. In her book, *Le Partage des subsistances au Canada sous le régime français*, Louise Dechêne shows that food self-sufficiency was generally maintained through recourse to a rural collectivity during the subsistence crises and general food shortages that regularly threatened New France. While government regulations against hoarding by merchants and producers, and its powers of requisition in times of crisis, might help to mitigate the worst effects of shortages, exchanges also took place locally between families in the form of food or loans to ensure that everyone had enough. For example, a family with a small surplus might lend to a family with a yearly deficit to be repaid in labour or in kind within the complex structures of rural social networks.¹¹

Religious devotions could enhance these local social bonds. In 1743, for example, Bishop Pontbriand ordered public prayers of contrition when a caterpillar infestation threatened to destroy Montreal's grain crop (the 'bread basket' of the colony). The infestation was regarded as "divine justice" for the sins of the colonists who had to publicly demonstrate their "sorrow and repentance."¹² In times of crisis, or in periods of food shortage, practical solutions were bolstered by prophecy that blamed events on God's anger and explained the reasons for it, and public devotions that attempted to mollify it. Religious authorities used Catherine's explanation of the cause of the 1663 earthquake in both spiritual and political ways, blaming God's anger on the on-going trade in alcohol to the Amerindian population that Bishop

¹¹ Louise Dechêne, *Le Partage des subsistances au Canada sous le régime français* (Montréal: Boréal, 1994), 24.

¹² *Mandements, lettres pastorales et circulaires des évêques de Québec* vol. 2 (Québec: Chancellerie de l'Archevêché), 31-33 (Hereafter *MEQ*).

Laval was trying to force political authorities to end, and recommending public and private acts of contrition.¹³ Prophecy demonstrated God's immediate concern with the world and, moreover, offered a key to understanding past, present, and future events, and a reality that was hidden from everyday appearances.¹⁴ Public devotions helped to forge a collective understanding of a crisis and bring about a collective response in the form of processions, prayers and widespread confessions. Such actions not only eased people's fears, but also provided an outlet for collective redressive action which foreshadowed a better future.

When disaster threatened the colony as a whole it was the established saints of the universal church whose aid was invoked, usually by religious authorities. When the English laid siege to Quebec in 1690, Mgr de Saint-Vallier hung a portrait of the Holy Family on the spire of the Cathedral of Quebec as a talisman against the enemy. Despite the best efforts of the English to smash it, the image survived, and when the English withdrew seven days later, the Virgin was widely credited with the victory. The processions of penance that filled the streets during the siege became parades of thanks-giving and celebration afterwards. The Virgin Mary was the privileged intercessor between heaven and earth in New France and was regarded as the divine protectress of the colony.¹⁵ As a result of this victory, the feast of Notre-

¹³ Alexandre Y. Haran demonstrates the importance of prophecy in early modern France, especially its political implications. *Le Lys et le Globe: Messianisme dynastique et rêve impérial en France aux XVI^e et XVII^e Siècles* (Seyssel: Camp Vallon, 2000) 215-221.

¹⁴ Thomas Kselman, *Miracles and Prophecy in Nineteenth Century France* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1983), 61-62.

¹⁵ Chantal Théry, *De Plume et d'audace: Femmes de la Nouvelle-France* (Montréal: Triptyque; Paris: Cerf, 2006), 170-71. According to Marguerite Bourgeoys, the colonists of Montreal believed that God had given New France into the protection of Mary. *Les écrits de Mère*

Dame-de-Victoire was instituted throughout the diocese, and a recently consecrated church in the lower town was renamed in honour of Our Lady of Victory.¹⁶

The catechism of Quebec published in 1702, taught children the meaning of, and reason for, the feast.

Qu'est ce que la fête de Nôtre-Dame de la Victoire?
C'est une fête en laquelle on reconnoît la tres-Sainte Mère de Dieu
pour la cause des victoires qu'on remporte sur ses ennemis.
Pourquoi l'a-t-on instituée dans ce Diocese?
Pour la tres-insigne victoire et protection que nous avons reçûe de la
tres-Sainte Vierge contre les Anglois heretiques.
Quel bien nous a-t-elle conservé par cette protection?
La Foi, la religion, tous les avantages spirituels et temporels dont
nous aurions été dépouillés sans son secours.
Quelles sont les dispositions et les sentimens que nous devons avoir pour honorer cette fête?
Remercier beaucoup la Sainte Vierge des signalez services qu'elle a
rendus à cette Eglise et à cette Colonie, et faire ce jour-là quelque
bonne œuvre agréable à la Saine Vierge, et en son honneur.¹⁷

Every October 7th, the people of New France were reminded of the favours with which the Virgin had blessed them and celebrated victories over her enemies, the heretics. Children memorized this victory as a matter of faith in preparation for their entry into the belief community.

In addition to their role as collective protectors, the universal saints, Saint Anne and her shrine at Beaupré, the Virgin, and Saint Joseph, were also, far and away, the most popular sources of divine personal aid. In 1699 the curé of Sainte-

Marguerite Bourgeoys: Autobiographie et testament spirituel (Montréal: Congrégation de Notre Dame, 1964), 125.

¹⁶ *MEQ*, vol. 1 1659-1740, 342. "Instructions for the establishment of the feast of N-D de la victoire, 19 September 1694." The *Annales* of the Hôtel Dieu de Québec contains a gripping account of this siege, the fear and dislocation it caused, and the religious devotions to which the population resorted. See *AHDQ*, 246-257. This church is Notre-Dames-des-Victoires which still stands in Place Royale. The name was pluralized in 1711 after another failed English attempt to conquer the colony.

¹⁷ Saint-Vallier, Jean-Baptiste de la Croix de Chevrères de, *Catéchisme du diocèse de Québec* (Paris: Urbain Coustelier, 1702), 442-3.

Anne du Petit Cap, Michel Le Veyer, recorded the miraculous cure of Jean Lalois, resident of Ile d'Orléans, whose leg tendon had been severed by a hatchet while chopping wood with his brother-in-law.¹⁸ Numerous miracles of this type – personal cures and invocations – were recorded at the shrine of Saint-Anne de Beaupré from the earliest days of the colony.¹⁹ In a case from the 1680s, a pregnant woman named Marie went to Saint Anne's shrine to pray to the saint and Jean de Brébeuf for a good delivery.²⁰ Where local intercessors, or in this case a combination of the local and universal, were invoked, the requested favour was almost always a personal matter or concern. Universal saints might be invoked both privately and publicly, but local saints generally were not.

Marking the situations in which universal saints were called upon, and the times when local saints were invoked can, therefore, provide some indication of what people at the time considered to be matters of broad public interest and what remained personal. We must be careful not to draw this boundary too firmly, however. As we have seen, miraculous cures did not simply affect the body, but also the body social. Exclusion from one's social group or religious community could be reversed by the intercession of a local saint whose special qualities were recognized by the local group – neighbours, a village, or a religious community as we saw with the miracles of Frère Didace. Consequently, even where a miracle pertained to something private, as a ritual it retained a social function. Therefore, local saints,

¹⁸ Musée de la civilisation, fonds d'archives du Séminaire de Québec, SME 12.2.1/1/71.

¹⁹ See Thomas Morel, "Recit des merueilles arrives en l'eglise de Sainte-Anne du Petit Cap, Coste de Beaupray, en la Nouvelle France," in *JR* 51, 86-100 (1667-8).

²⁰ Musée de la civilisation, fonds d'archives du Séminaire de Québec, SME 12.2.1/1/84. This is a later version of Thomas Morel's "Recit des Merueilles," that includes 31 miracles dating to around 1687.

while responding to private invocations, also served public functions, but in unofficial capacities. Where the fate of the entire colony was concerned, however, the unifying symbolism and intercessory power of the universal saints was required. Individuals were more likely to take a risk on a local intercessor in a personal matter based on the recommendation of a friend or neighbour or a familiarity and affinity with the holy person in question. The established church, however, could not afford to take the same risk. Devotion and recourse to local intercessors remained informal and a matter of private faith, hence the predominance of miraculous cures and other forms of personal favours amongst the lists of miracles credited to the holy persons of New France.

Where collective and public crises did affect the cults of local saints was in instances of new performances of holiness. We have seen the strong connection between the fragility of French colonialism in Canada and live performances of holiness in the mid-seventeenth century. These individuals, the Jesuit martyrs, Catherine de Saint-Augustin, Marie de l'Incarnation, etc. took on leadership roles in a time when the colony's existence was threatened by internal weakness and external enemies. Catherine de Saint-Augustin's asceticism was symbolically directed towards the salvation of the colony itself and its inhabitants. Marie de l'Incarnation was a central figure in the religious and public life of the early colony, as a missionary, a nun, a writer, teacher, and advisor. The martyrs shed their blood for the faith and their mission. Their holy performances symbolized the emerging French and Catholic community in the new world and the blessing God was believed to hold for the new church.

But, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, this model of local holiness seemed to undergo a change. Frère Didace and Mgr de Lauberivière were known less for what they had done in life, and more for their intercessions after death. Michel de Certeau has argued that the Life of a saint reflects the relationship that a social group has with other groups. The martyr's tale predominates in communities under threat while the virtue tale represents an established church, "as an epiphany of the social order in which it is inscribed."²¹ Frère Didace and Mgr de Lauberivière lived virtuous lives and died well after the expected fashion of saints, but they did not perform the type of extraordinary holiness that the martyrs and Catherine de Saint-Augustin had in earlier decades. The Bishop of Grenoble's claim that Lauberivière was a martyr of charity was a symbolic gesture rooted more in what European audiences expected of North American holy persons than what the bishop had actually done in his short life and considerably shorter tenure as head of the church of New France. The function of local holy persons in society and the roles they played changed over time as the character and needs of the colony and its colonists changed. The religious heroes of the early church were active during their lives in advancing the faith and were known primarily for what they had accomplished in life. This changed in the eighteenth century when local holy figures went from representing the external needs of the colony in their lived performances to aiding colonists in their personal needs primarily through after-death intercessions. It was a change that was reflected in the removal of female holy figures from the public religious roles they had so resolutely occupied in the mid-seventeenth century to a holiness that was confined and limited by hierarchical prescriptions and expectations.

²¹ Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History*, trans. Tom Conley (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 273.

Gender and the Veneration of the Holy

Despite holy performances such as those of Catherine de Saint-Augustin, Marie de l'Incarnation, and Catherine/Tekakwitha, official canonization was predominantly a male preserve in early modern Christendom. Only 17 of the 118 saints (14.4%) declared holy by the Vatican in the seventeenth century were women. After three centuries of increase in the proportion of women amongst the ranks of the saints, the sixteenth century witnessed a steep decline from 27.7% in the fifteenth century to 18.1% despite a slight overall increase in the total number of persons canonized and beatified. In the seventeenth century the proportion slipped still further to 14.4%. These numbers are based on a quantitative study that counted only those saints who were officially recognized by the Vatican between 1000 and 1700. It did not include unofficially recognized holy persons and, therefore, not one holy figure of New France was counted. The authors blame this decline on the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, and the fact that overseas expansion tended to favour male religious figures over female ones which, in the case of New France, is not entirely true.²²

The proportion of women amongst unofficially recognized holy persons in seventeenth-century Europe would no doubt have been much higher than these numbers indicate. But women were not popular subjects for canonization in the Counter-Reformation period. Marie de l'Incarnation, along with Catherine de Saint-Augustin, Marguerite Bourgeoys, and Marguerite d'Youville, would wait until the end of the nineteenth century for any form of official recognition. Catherine/Tekakwitha

²² Donald Weinstein and Rudolph Bell, *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom, 1000-1700* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 221-225.

would wait until well into the twentieth century, while figures such as Jeanne Le Ber and Jeanne Mance have advanced but a very little way down the path of official sanctity. Nevertheless, these cases, and the predominance of female holy figures not only in New France, but also in Spanish America, point anecdotally towards the importance of female holy persons in the period.²³

Despite whatever reservations Paul Le Jeune may have had towards female missionary vocations at the end of the 1630s, the fact remains that religious women played important, and often very public, roles in building the French colony in the St. Lawrence Valley. In assuming such roles the nursing and teaching sisters had powerful female models to follow, both in contemporary Europe – figures such as Jeanne de Chantal and Thérèse d'Avila – and from sacred history – the Virgin Mary and her mother, Saint Anne. These were all women who had been active in society and were presented as such by those who invoked them as models in early New France. The image of Mary called upon by the nuns of the Hôtel Dieu and the colonists of Quebec during the siege of 1690 was very much a martial image. She was the defender of the church, colony, and people against the heretics. A little earlier, Marguerite Bourgeoys, foundress of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame de Montréal, had invoked an active Mary as the defender and model of the itinerant mission adopted by her institute. They were teaching sisters who fiercely guarded their uncloistered status in order to maintain their itinerant missions throughout New France. In Marguerite's view, Mary was the inheritor, mother, and teacher of

²³ See, for example, Ronald J Morgan, *Spanish American Saints and the Rhetoric of Gender*. Tuscon: University of Arizona Press, 2002; Kathleen Myers, *Word from New Spain: The Spiritual Autobiography of Madre María de San José (1656-1719)*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1993; and Kathleen Myers, *Neither saints nor Sinners: Writing the Lives of Women in Spanish America*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

her son's church from his death, when the apostles abjured him, until the descent of the Holy Spirit. She was not a wit inferior to the apostles, but rather it was what Marguerite described as "la vie voyageère de la sainte-vierge" that served as a model for the Congrégation, and allowed the sisters to resist the cloister that Bishop Saint-Vallier wished to impose upon them, and his plan to incorporate them with the Ursulines of Quebec.²⁴ In 1680 the sisters elected the Virgin Mary superior of their Congrégation. She had been the protector of the infant church and she would be so again for her daughters in Canada.

The Council of Trent, however, had ordained that women who chose religious life ought to live out their vocation in the cloister through a contemplative form of piety, and not in the world. The council's emphasis on the importance of the priesthood in the revival of the church relegated women to the cloister where they were to quietly follow the rules laid down for them under the supervision of male authorities. In the early days of colonization prior to 1663 such prescriptions were impractical in New France. In France too, female work in the domains of teaching and nursing soon became indispensable to the Counter-Reformation church and rules about cloister were quietly circumvented.²⁵ But as the colony became more secure and the religious establishment more confident, the place of women, both

²⁴ Mary-Ann Foley, "La vie voyageère for Women: Moving Beyond the Cloister in Seventeenth-Century New France," *CCHA Historical Studies* (1997): 22. These sentiments appear in a number of Marguerite Bourgeoys's writings. See *The Writings of Marguerite Bourgeoys*, trans. Mary Virginia Cotter, CND (Montreal: Congrégation de Notre-Dame, 1976), 47. For her thoughts on the Virgin Mary's apostolic vocation see *The True Spirit of the Institute of the Secular Sisters of the Congregation de Notre-Dame*, trans. Frances McCann (Montreal: Congrégation de Notre-Dame, 1977), 22. Also, Charles de Glandelet, *Life of Marguerite Bourgeoys* (Montreal: Congrégation de Notre Dame, 1994), 94.

²⁵ On female religious vocations in early modern France and New France see Elizabeth Rapley, *The Dévotes: Women and Church in Seventeenth-Century France* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990).

religious and secular, became more circumscribed.²⁶ In 1698, the Congrégation finally succumbed to pressure from the Episcopal palace in Quebec and accepted a modified constitution and a monastic rule that required the sisters to take simple vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, but avoided cloister.²⁷ At the age of seventy-eight, Marguerite Bourgeoys, a secular all her life, became Sœur Saint-Sacrament.

Female holy figures in early New France had been mystics, ascetics, missionaries, living martyrs, writers, teachers, and doctors of souls and bodies. Chantal Théry has argued that the eighteenth century emasculated female saints such as Anne and Mary, and rendered them nurturers of male religious heroes (Saint Joseph, Jesus) who were ultimately responsible for the defense of the colony. Anne, depicted in the late Middle Ages as the head of the holy family became, following the Council of Trent, the humble educator of her daughter Mary and the prototype of the affectionate grandmother.²⁸ Local holy women in New France, as potential saints, were subject to male observers, ecclesiastics, and the writers who provided them with a wider public audience through hagiographic texts. These texts presented the official memory of the holy woman and over time came to replace the personal and institutional memories of those who had actually known them or who belonged to the same order. The *Annales de l'Hôtel Dieu* recorded this process of memory replacement,

Le Reverend Pere Paul Ragueneau de la Compagnie de Jesus a
composé l'histoire de sa vie (Catherine de Saint-Augustin), que lon

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 100-101.

²⁷ Foley, "La vie voyageuse," 27.

²⁸ Théry, *De plume et d'audace*, 173.

garde dans nôtre bibliotecque, où l'on peut voir les voyes
extraordinaires par lesquelles Notre Seigneur l'a conduite, et les
souffrances excessive qu'elle a supportée. Sa memoire sera
éternellement en benediction dans cette maison ou nous la regardons
comme une de nos plus cheres protectrices.²⁹

While living memories of the holy person endured, text-based belief communities did not form. But as living memory faded, the way was cleared for authoritative text to take its place at the centre of faith communities. We must suppose that this was a slow process in New France due to the lack of a press and a small population that tended to advance memory through local channels of communication, as we have seen. Nevertheless, slowly the archive asserted itself often with the complicity of the faith community.

Doctrine and belief at the time required that the male authoritative voice interpret the female performance. In a state of mystical union, it was believed that the soul was so completely overtaken by the divine that active reflection was impossible. Both mystical union and mystical suffering were considered completely passive and, therefore, in need of interpretation by an outside authority. Neither Catherine nor Marie de l'Incarnation, two of the great mystics and writers of New France, recorded their mystical experiences of their own accord, if we are to believe their biographers, but rather because they were told to do so by their confessors. According to Grace Jantzen, mystic women who wrote were believed, essentially, to channel the divine without reflective thought of their own. "The self is lost in the Infinite, merged with it in a unity preceding discursive thought."³⁰ Claude Martin says that his mother, Marie de l'Incarnation, wrote her spiritual autobiography

²⁹ *AHDQ*, 158.

³⁰ Grace Jantzen, *Power and Gender in Christian Mysticism* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 314-15.

without lifting her pen and with no corrections, for she was guided by the Holy Spirit in all her actions and all her writings.³¹

Often holy women themselves were complicit in framing such discourses of female holiness, declining to assert their own active roles. Out of a sense of humility and no doubt in the knowledge that a successful claim to holiness required that such expectations be met, Marie de l'Incarnation wrote in the letter that accompanied the spiritual relation she sent to her son in 1654,

Ne croyez pas que ces cahiers que je vous envoie ayent été
prémeditez pour y observer un ordre comme l'on fait dans des
ouvrages bien digérez, cela ne m'auroit pas été possible dans l'état où
Dieu me tient; et la voye par où sa divine Majesté me conduit ne me
peut permettre de garder aucune méthode dans ce que j'écris.
Lorsque j'ay pris la plume pour commencer je ne sçavois pas un mot
de ce que j'allois dire, mais en écrivant l'esprit de grâce qui me
conduit m'a fait produire ce qu'il luy a plu....³²

The writings themselves tell a different story. They are often highly reflexive and filled with expressions of personal will and choice. Jantzen shows how the trope of pre-rational discourse was a rhetorical construction used by female mystics to make interpretations of their experiences seem less threatening to orthodoxy, and ultimately by male interpreters to take control of the mystics themselves. Outside of rhetoric, however, female mystics often interpreted their own experiences, demonstrating the actions of their own will within the mystical union.³³ But the texts draw the reader “into an intimate knowledge of the woman writer’s secret self while

³¹ Martin, Claude. *La vie de la vénérable mère Marie de l'Incarnation, Premier supérieure des Ursulines de Québec de la Nouvelle France tirée de ses lettres et de ses écrits* (Paris: Louis Billiane, 1677), 17-18.

³² MI *Corr.*, 526 (Lettre CLV), à son fils, 9 August 1654. This was a common rhetorical strategy of Thérèse d'Avila, perhaps the best known of early modern mystics who, like Marie and Catherine, composed her own spiritual autobiography before she died. *The Life of Theresa of Jesus by Herself*, trans. David Lewis (London: Thomas Baker, 1904), chapter XXIX.

³³ Jantzen, *Power and Gender*, 322-328.

at the same time sustaining the reader's belief in the author's modesty or reserve, and in the male hegemony over the printed text."³⁴

Although there were certainly male mystics in early modern France, mysticism tended to be gendered female, and as it was believed that women were more susceptible to the devil's trickery, there was a correspondingly greater need for authoritative control over such vocations. A mystic vocation was always a bit of a gamble as it tended to circumvent the regulations and expectations for female religiosity as established by the male hierarchy, yet if successful, could reap extraordinary spiritual and temporal rewards both for the mystic and her spiritual advisor. Bruneau points out that there was something akin to an unwritten agreement between spiritual women and the male hierarchy to accept orthodox performances of mysticism as legitimate when performed within the bounds of official expectations, but women whose performances could not be reconciled with prevailing theology and ideology were likely to find themselves excommunicated as heretics.³⁵

Ragueneau put up a vigorous defence of Catherine's vocation and mysticism in the introduction of the *Vie*.

C'est une demande tres-raisonnable que de vouloir sçavoir quelle assurance on peut avoir de la verité de tant de visions, apparitions, et revelations si extraordinaires et si frequentes, dont toute cette Vie est remplie.... [I]l n'est que trop veritable que l'imagination, principalement des filles qui sont portées à la pieté, se trompe aisément, et qu'elles croient fort legerement avoir veu et entendu ce qu'elles se sont imaginé.³⁶

³⁴ Elizabeth C. Goldsmith, *Publishing Women's Life Stories in France, 1647-1720* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 36.

³⁵ Marie-Florine Bruneau, *Women Mystics Confront the Modern World, Marie de l'Incarnation and Madame Guyon* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), 21.

³⁶ *Vie*, 10.

He offered several reasons why her performance ought to be believed, arguments which he supplemented throughout the work with examples of famous saints who had had similar experiences or done similar things. Tradition proved the truth of the new performance. *Non est inventus similis illi.*³⁷ First, she had to be believed because her holiness from the very beginning to the very end of her life did not allow for any other conclusion. She was constant in her faith displaying no sudden changes – a motif common to the female prototype at the time. Second, God revealed things to her that she could not have otherwise known, such as the deaths of some people in France that she claimed to know about before news arrived in New France. Third, she had a natural aversion to extraordinary ways. Indeed, had she been trying to deceive, he wrote, she would not have revealed her most intimate and humiliating temptations and obsessions. Fourth, she was examined with great care by those who bore the necessary authority to legitimize her performance – her directors, confessors, and even the Bishop of Quebec – and they all believed that God took her despite herself. Fifth, her miraculous appearance amongst the saints before people in both France and New France following her death demonstrated that she was in heaven. Finally, her sanctity was best made known through her works – her charity, her suffering, and her asceticism.

In the end sanctity was a performance of actions, and authentication was founded in tradition and authority. She sacrificed her whole life to God, and according to Ragueneau, this is the true road of great souls.³⁸ “Dieu fait des graces à

³⁷ Vulgate Bible, Ecclesiasticus, Chapter 44.

³⁸ *Vie*, 10-15.

qui il veut, et quand il veut; et si quelquefois il se fait voir aux femmes plutôt qu'aux hommes, c'est souvent un manquement d'humilité en nous de vouloir leur dénier toute créance."³⁹ If God should choose a woman to be his servant on earth, men should regard it with humility and accept it. Ragueneau's justification of Catherine's sanctity began with the mystical quality of her vocation, but seems here to rest primarily on more tangible proofs such as her constancy and her work in the world even though in the main body of the text it is the former, rather than the latter that is emphasized.

Ragueneau was not the only commentator to seek wide approval for Catherine's intense spirituality by appealing to reason. A list of her virtues and accomplishments composed by a Jesuit commentator in the *Relation* of 1668, following Mère Saint-Bonaventure's circular letter, reinforced the rational character of her vocation over the miraculous.

Although she had great knowledge and great enlightenment, - through the extraordinary agency of Revelations, and of frequent apparitions of the Saints of Paradise, and of Jesus Christ himself, - yet she never guided herself by these means. The maxims of the Gospel, reason, and the impulse of obedience, were her sole support, and the only way that she always followed, and on which those who had charge of her guidance depended.⁴⁰

Ragueneau's work met with some criticism even before publication from just those circles he had hoped to reach. According to Dom Guy-Marie Oury, Jansenists found faults in details of the work and her vocation, and it was the patronage of the Duchess d'Aiguillon, foundress of the Hôtel Dieu, that was instrumental in publishing the book beyond the Augustinian audience that Ragueneau claims he

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁴⁰ JR 52: 85 (1668).

originally envisaged when he began the project.⁴¹ The work met with the approval of M. Grandin, doctor of the Sorbonne, however, and was given permission to be published by both the Jesuit Provincial in France, Etienne Dechamps, and royal authority.⁴²

After the live performance was complete, it fell to religious authorities to inscribe the official version of the life and make it useable. It was through text that the life story of the holy person entered permanently into society and over time became a part of collective memory. Paul Ragueneau's *Life of Catherine de Saint-Augustin* and Claude Martin's publications concerning the life of his mother were unique to late-seventeenth-century New France. Meanwhile, works from the eighteenth century were much shorter and, on the whole, were not published. They were destined for local audiences already familiar with the holy persons and were, therefore, more concerned with complementing memory than creating it.

In 1715 Charles de Glandelet, who held a number of important positions within the Quebec church from 1675 to 1725, was asked by the sisters of the *Congrégation de Notre-Dame de Montréal* to compose a *Life* of their foundress, Marguerite Bourgeoys.⁴³ In 1701, he had compiled a short collection of Marguerite's

⁴¹ Dom Guy-Marie Oury, *L'Itinéraire mystique de Catherine de Saint-Augustin*. 12.

⁴² The vast majority of books published about New France appeared under royal privilege because the colony itself was a royal enterprise, encouraged and sponsored by political and religious authorities who held sway over the book trade. According to Réal Ouellet, the battle for public sympathy carried out between the Jesuits and Jansenists took place through the printing of texts about New France. Réal Ouellet, "Explorers, Travellers, Traders and Missionaries," in *History of the Book in Canada*, ed. Patricia Lockhart Fleming and Yvan Lamonde (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004-2007), 24-27.

⁴³ As we have seen, Glandelet was lead investigator of the miracles of Frère Didace. He was also Canon of the Cathedral of Quebec and spiritual advisor to the Ursulines of Trois Rivières and the Hôtel Dieu de Québec during his career in Canada. Glandelet also likely served briefly as Marguerite Bourgeoys' spiritual advisor.

writings under the title “Le vray esprit de Marguerite Bourgeoys et de l’Institut” and the Congrégation hoped that a proper Life might bring to light “la vie de notre sainte fondatrice.”⁴⁴ Glandelet agreed, and within a very short time, five days by his own reckoning, he composed “La vie de la Soeur Bourgeoys.”⁴⁵ He composed the work from a collection of notes and letters sent to him by the Congrégation for this purpose, and from records he already had in his possession. Much of it, in fact, duplicates the contents of the 1701 collection and, on the whole, conveys an air having been composed in some haste.⁴⁶ Although plans were made for a printed edition, the sisters quibbled with Glandelet over details of the work, and it never appeared. Sœur Marie-Marguerite de Saint-Joseph wrote to Glandelet in February of 1716,

...Monsieur de Chaumaux (Sulpician priest), notre digne confesseur, avait dessein de faire imprimer ce livre et de l’envoyer en France par les premiers vaisseaux; nous devons même ne pas différer de la transcrire. Cependant, comme quelques-unes de nos Sœurs ont fait quelques remarques que l’on croit devoir vous communiquer, à raison que ce livre sera lu de bien du monde, et quoique ce soit peu de

⁴⁴ Sœur du Saint-Esprit to Charles de Glandelet, 16 October 1715 in S. Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame*, vol. III (Montréal: Congrégation de Notre Dame, 1947-1974), 210 (hereafter *HCND*).

⁴⁵ Charles de Glandelet to Sœur Marie-Marguerite de St-Joseph (Trottier), CND, 7 September 1715 in *HCND*, 207. This work remained in manuscript form and the original burned in the fire which engulfed the motherhouse in 1893. Luckily a copy was made for Marguerite Bourgeoys’s official canonization process (1881-1887) and so the text survived. There are several editions available. I have primarily made use of an English translation, *The Life of Sister Marguerite Bourgeoys*, Montreal: Congrégation de Notre-Dame, 1994.

⁴⁶ Subsequent research has demonstrated that many of the events of her early life were incorrectly represented, but details were not Glandelet’s main concern, according to historian Patricia Simpson. Rather, Glandelet was concerned with his own understanding of her spirituality and sanctity and tended to impose upon her his own understanding of what a saint should be. Patricia Simpson, *Marguerite Bourgeoys and Montreal, 1640-1665* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1997), 7.

chose, nous sommes bien aises de ne nous point adresser à d'autres qu'à vous.⁴⁷

For the most part, the issues raised appear to be minor points, but they were significant enough to cause concern for the sisters. They asked that Glandelet not exaggerate and that he change certain words and phrases in order to clarify meaning – requests that may have been linked to the formulaic character of the work.⁴⁸ When Glandelet claimed that the Le Ber family of Montreal had paid for the construction of their motherhouse, the nuns pointed out that this was not true. Although M. Le Ber was a generous supporter, the motherhouse “n’a été bâtie que par la grande économie, les épargnes, le travail et les veilles des sœurs.”⁴⁹ They asked Glandelet to emphasize Marguerite’s strictness in enforcing the rules as well as her quickness to forgive transgressions against them, and they hoped he might add somewhere that she always had them pray for the king and the royal family. But the concern that appeared most prominently related to Marguerite as an example for others. They worried that Glandelet had not made it sufficiently clear that Marguerite’s first voyage to Canada, which she had undertaken alone in 1653, was to be considered more admirable than imitable. “Quoiqu’il paraissait évidemment que Dieu voulût ce voyage, cependant, comme les gens du monde n’ont plus cette simplicité qui régnait, dit-on, autrefois, ne faudrait-il point marquer que cette conduite est plus admirable qu’imitable, ou un petit mot équivalent?”⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Marie-Marguerite de St. Joseph (Trottier) to Father Glandelet, 1 February 1716 in *HCND*, 216-219.

⁴⁸ Patricia Simpson, *Marguerite Bourgeoys*, 7.

⁴⁹ Marie-Marguerite de St. Joseph (Trottier) to Father Glandelet, 1 February 1716 in *HCND*, 218.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 217.

Times had changed. What the religiously heroic had accomplished in the mid seventeenth century was no longer to be undertaken physically, but rather admired and venerated spiritually by people in the present who no longer seemed to possess the required religious simplicity to live in accordance with God's will. Indeed, it seems that it was a common assumption at the time that contemporary religious life was not what it had been in the early days of the colony. Mère Marie Andrée Duplessis de Sainte-Hélène of the Hôtel Dieu de Québec was considerably more pessimistic about the religious quality of the colonists in a letter she wrote on 23 October 1730.

Nous sommes dans un païs qui deviant plus dur que jamais, nous ny voyons rien qui puisse plaire, on n'y parle que de miseres, de mauvaise foy, de calomnies, de proces, de divisions, tout le monde se plaint et personne ne remedie à rien. Je croy que Dieu châtie cette Colonie, pour les crimes qui s'y comettent et les bons souffrent avec les méchants, les une pour sepurer, les autres pour faire penitence. [...] Nous avons un nouveau Prelat qui ne fait rien par luy même. [...] Nous nous trouvons si desorientées que nous ne sçavons ou nous sommes.⁵¹

The sisters of the Congrégation hoped that many people throughout the world would read about their foundress, so it was necessary to clarify what was and was not achievable and advisable. The work, however, was not published as planned. Whether because the sisters remained unsatisfied with the work or because it met with some other form of opposition, is unclear. Nor is it clear if Glandelet made the changes that were requested since the version that has survived is the original that the Congrégation received and commented upon.

⁵¹ Mère Sainte-Hélène to Mme Hecquet, 23 October 1730 in *Nova Francia* 3, 1 (October 1927), 54-55. The new prelate was Mgr Louis-François Duplessis-Mornay who succeeded Saint-Vallier in 1727. He never set foot in the colony during his episcopate which lasted until 1733.

Glandelet's work was directed primarily towards the sisters of the Congrégation and not a broad audience. He did not explicitly promote her as a saint and intercessor for the population of the colony more generally. Although he included references to miracles performed by Marguerite Bourgeoys following her death, these were quoted from a second-hand account written by "a member of the Congrégation" in a letter to another sister on mission, and no investigations, such as those ongoing for Frère Didace, were held to authenticate what was reported. Furthermore, Glandelet included an excerpt from Bishop Laval's condolences to the community on the death of their foundress that made it clear that the ecclesiastical hierarchy regarded Marguerite Bourgeoys as a model for her community and not necessarily for the broader population. The bishop wrote, "There is reason to believe that she will soon enjoy lasting happiness in the company of the saints, and that, as an intercessor before the Lord, she will obtain great blessings for your community." Among the many virtues Marguerite possessed, the one that had the greatest impression on the Bishop was her hidden life of prayer and humility.

What a precious grace for those who have the responsibility for directing others! I consider it to be one of the surest signs of the Lord's favour that He is pleased to grant such persons a time before death during which they have the opportunity to make amends for faults they may have committed in exercising authority over others.⁵²

⁵² Mgr de Saint-Vallier to the Superior of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame, 31 January 1700, in *Life of Sister Marguerite Bourgeoys*, 150. Dying well in New France was considered particularly important and, unlike today, that meant a long and drawn out death that allowed time for confession and final rites. Saint-Vallier instructed in the *Rituel du diocèse de Québec* of 1703, "Rien n'étant plus terrible, qu'une mort imprévue, un malade ne doit pas tant appréhender de mourir que de ne pas être bien préparé à la mort, ... ainsi il doit donner ses premiers soins à la guérison de son âme avant de penser à celle de son corps." See André Lachance, *Vivre, aimer et mourir en Nouvelle-France: La vie quotidienne aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles* (Montréal: Libre Expression, 2000), 193.

What a contrast this makes with his pastoral letter about Frère Didace in which he urged the entire diocese to put its faith in the holy man. Marguerite's greatest achievement, even as a superior, foundress, and director, was her humility, hidden virtues, and her good death that allowed her time to make amends for her mistakes. Holy men performed their holiness in public and were destined for a public audience upon their deaths. Holy women, by the eighteenth-century, were being enclosed in their communities, both in life and death, and circumscribed in text, and this was considered their greatest virtue. Issues of power ran through hagiographic discourses, shaping understandings and formulating lives.

It is certain that Glandelet regarded Marguerite Bourgeoys as a holy woman, but it is equally clear that she fell in a different category from Frère Didace even though she died only a year after the Récollet of Trois-Rivières. Whatever the reasons were that Glandelet's *Life of Marguerite Bourgeoys* failed to be published, the sisters of the Congrégation continued to harbour the ambition of presenting the life of their foundress in text to a broader audience. Within ten years they were actively searching for a new author. They settled on Michel-François Ransonnet, who published *La vie de la sœur Marguerite Bourgeois* in 1728.⁵³

A priest of the Séminaire des Mission Étrangères in Paris, Ransonnet had never set foot in New France when he wrote this life.⁵⁴ Rather, he explains in the introduction, he was asked to write the work by Pierre-Herman Dosquet (1691-

⁵³ Ransonnet, Michel François, *La vie de la sœur Marguerite Bourgeois: Institutrice, fondatrice et première supérieure d'une communauté de filles séculières établie en Canada sous la nom de Congrégation de Notre Dame* (Liege: Barnabé, 1728), 118.

⁵⁴ Honorius Provost, "Ransonnet, Sylvestre Michel François," *DCB*. He later went to Quebec in the 1730s where he served various ecclesiastical functions at the seminary.

1777), a Sulpician priest and member of the Mission Étrangères who had spent time in Canada in the early 1720s and had served as chaplain of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame from 1721-23.⁵⁵ Ransonnet composed the Life based on documents sent to him by the Congrégation that included all of Marguerite Bourgeoys's papers and Glandelet's works (which Ransonnet terms a collection). Although he considered these sources incomplete and inadequate for formulating a complete history, he believed that the final work did contain some edifying and heroic things which ought to be pleasing to people of piety. The work follows Glandelet closely but adds supplementary material and, on the whole, is much better organized and written. Despite his complaints about inadequate sources, Ransonnet concludes at the end that the work sufficed to give a very high idea of her perfections and to authorize a universal veneration of her memory.⁵⁶

Was this the aim of the sisters of the Congrégation all along? Did they wish to see their foundress venerated as a saint beyond the walls of their motherhouse? It seems reasonable, given their dissatisfaction with Glandelet's version of her life, and possibly their disappointment that it was not published, that the sisters would seek another author to fulfill the task. Yet, in doing so, Ransonnet emplotted Marguerite Bourgeoys's performance of holiness according to a masculine paradigm. He described the religious zeal that drove her vocation as "virile," and wrote that, ordinarily, religious zeal "dans les filles les plus parfaites" leads only to prayers offered in support of evangelical workers (male missionaries). These religious women believe, he says, and often not without reason, that God does not want them to work

⁵⁵ Jean-Guy Pelletier, "Dosquet, Pierre-Herman," *DCB*. Dosquet became the fourth bishop of Quebec in 1733.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 40.

outside in the world. “Mais la Soeur Bourgeois a eu, si l’on peut s’exprimer ainsi, un zele virile, un zele intérieur et extérieur, un zele complet.” The zeal she demonstrated in crossing the ocean and establishing her community would be admirable in an apostle.⁵⁷ In contrast with the holy women of the mid-seventeenth century, Marie de l’Incarnation, Catherine de Saint-Augustin, and even Marguerite Bourgeoys, who were not content to pray for male missionaries but regarded themselves as missionaries, Marguerite Bourgeoys by the 1720s had to become male in order to be an apostle of the new world. Where Rageuneau believed that men should humble themselves if God chose a woman for his servant, Ransonnet instead infused Marguerite with a male soul. It is not uncommon in Christian hagiography to find female saints assigned a virile nature. In Ransonnet is found an early example of this paradigm in New France.⁵⁸ Belmont too evoked the image of the male soul in his eulogy of Jeanne Le Ber given in 1714, and Charlevoix described Marie de l’Incarnation as male in appearance in the life he wrote about her in 1724.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 93-95. The term “virtue,” central to conceptions of theological sanctity, is etymologically descended from the Latin *vir*, or man.

⁵⁸ In the paradigmatic text of female holiness, the *Passion of SS. Perpetua and Felicitas*, Perpetua has a vision that in the arena, in the face of martyrdom, she becomes a man. “The Passion of SS. Perpetua and Felicitas,” in *Medieval Saints: A Reader*, ed. Mary-Ann Stouck (Peterborough: Broadview, 1999), 26. In a late fourth-century commentary on this narrative, Saint Augustine wrote that holy zeal causes in female martyrs “the manliness of their soul [to] hide the sex of their flesh.” “Augustine Preaches on the Feast of SS. Perpetua and Felicitas,” in *Medieval Saints*, 39. In the Canadian context, this paradigm of virility became more common in nineteenth-century lives, for example, in those composed by Henri-Raymond Casgrain about Marie de l’Incarnation and Catherine de Saint-Augustin. See Serge Gagnon, “Histoire de la Mère Marie de l’Incarnation de l’abbé Henri-Raymond Casgrain,” in *Dictionnaire des œuvres littéraires du Québec*, vol. 1 (Montréal: Fides, 1978), 321.

⁵⁹ François Vachon de Belmont, “Abrégé de la vie et éloge funèbre de la vénérable sœur Jeanne Le Ber,” in *RAPQ* (1929-30): 163. P.F.X. Charlevoix, *La vie de la Mère Marie de l’Incarnation institutrice & première supérieure des Ursulines de la Nouvelle France* (Paris: Ant. Claude Briasson, 1724), 387. “Ses traits étoient réguliers, mais c’étoit une beauté mâle, et l’on y voyoit toute la grandeur de son courage. Elle étoit forte et bien constituée...”

In the first half of the eighteenth century the dividing line between male and female religious vocations became increasingly stark in comparison with the early days of the colony. The religious roles of men remained decidedly public, while those of women were properly considered private, hidden, and domesticated. Marguerite's very public performance, her solo trips across the Atlantic for example, were doubly re-inscribed, on the one hand, as aspects of a virile zeal, and on the other, as admirable but not imitable. Male saints performed miracles and wonders in the world, helping the sick to recover and maintaining the links between religion and community. Holy women belonged to their religious orders and even when they did intercede on behalf of the laity they did not, generally, become the objects of official investigation. Where women crossed into the public domain, their religious zeal became virile.

Of course, this progression was not perfectly linear. Ironically perhaps, the exception to the rule is found in someone who followed the most hidden of all religious vocations – the hermit – but became one of the most public holy figures in eighteenth-century New France. Jeanne Le Ber was born in 1662, the first daughter of Jacques Le Ber, the wealthiest man in Montreal, and the god-daughter of Paul Chomédý de Maisonneuve and Jeanne Mance, founders of the colony. She was widely considered the most eligible girl in New France before she undertook a life of seclusion, first in her room in her father's house, and later in a cell she had constructed behind the altar in the chapel of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame in exchange for the donation of the funds necessary to build and outfit the chapel

itself.⁶⁰ In 1685 she took a simple vow of perpetual seclusion, poverty, and chastity, and ten years later scores of curious colonists gathered at the Congrégation de Notre Dame to witness her solemn vows of seclusion.⁶¹

Despite her reclusive life, Jeanne Le Ber was a central figure in the religious and social life of Ville Marie. She retained a maid, maintained business contacts, and continued to receive distinguished visitors at her cell behind the altar of the Congrégation chapel. She also maintained a rigorous religious devotion which included self-mortifications, perpetual adoration of the sacrament, and a grueling regimen of work.

As we saw above, the first general account of Jeanne Le Ber's life was composed in 1722 by the Superior of the Sulpicians of Montreal, Abbé François Vachon de Belmont. In his account of her life, Belmont described Jeanne Le Ber's piety as a progression rather than a conversion, one that resulted overtime in her adoption of the way of life of the ancient anchorites. This was a vocation rarely seen in New France and unheard of for women. She excelled at it, according to the author, even beyond what the desert hermits of the ancient world had accomplished.⁶² Where they had had gardens, and fresh air, and had taken walks, she

⁶⁰ This is the chapel constructed by the Le Ber family that Sister Saint-Joseph was so concerned to differentiate in Glandelet's Life of Marguerite Bourgeoys from the motherhouse that the Congrégation had built through its own efforts. M-Marguerite de Saint-Joseph to Charles de Glandelet, 1 February 1716, in *HCND*, 218.

⁶¹ C.J. Jaenen, "Jeanne Le Ber," *DCB*. Solemn vows require the absolute surrender of the self to God. With simple vows an individual retains the right to own goods, but with solemn vows they renounce all ownership. Arthur Vermeersch, "Vows," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. XV.

⁶² The only other example of a religious hermit I have come across is Georges Poulet, a Jansenist who took up residence in the forest near Trois Pistoles in 1714 but was eventually denied the sacraments and expelled from the colony by Bishop Saint-Vallier for refusing to submit to *Unigenitus*. Nive Voisine, "Poulet, Georges-François," *DCB*.

had none of these things. Rather she embraced poverty, humility and self-mortification completely within the walls of her self-imposed prison. She hid from the world and lived in her solitude as though in a tomb.⁶³ Nevertheless, while she passed away the hours making altar cloths in her cell at the back of the chapel, her reputation spread throughout Montreal and even beyond. Jeanne Le Ber became a hero of the faith and a protector of the colony and “on la regardoit par tout comme une sainte...”⁶⁴

Her fame spread so widely that two Englishmen, one of whom was a Protestant minister, requested that Bishop Saint-Vallier take them to see the penitent in the solitude of her cell. When they arrived the minister began to quiz her about her practices and especially about the divine presence in the sacrament that she worshiped everyday from her space behind the altar. To these inquiries (provocations?) she responded “avec tant de zele et de ferveur” that the minister was confounded and when he returned to his own country, according to Belmont, he often spoke of the extraordinary things he had seen in Canada.⁶⁵

For Belmont, religion and soldiers were the two defenders of New France and the Le Ber family exemplified both. Two of Jeanne’s brothers served in combat for the colony and Belmont described her uncle, Charles Le Moyne, Baron de Longueuil, as the “vray macabée du Montréal et de Ville Marie,” for his contributions

⁶³ Belmont, “Éloges,” 155.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 160.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

to the defense of the colony.⁶⁶ Jeanne, who had “sucked piety with milk,” defended the faith and served the colony in other ways.⁶⁷

When the English threatened New France with conquest in 1711, by the sea towards Quebec and by land towards Montreal, Jeanne Le Ber offered the local community comfort and divine aid. She informed a sister of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame that the colony had nothing to fear, that the Virgin would protect it. She then wrote a short prayer on a card that bore an image of the Virgin Mary, which was placed on the door of the Congrégation’s granary in the countryside (likely their farm in Pointe Saint-Charles) to protect it from the English. Soon she was besieged by the inhabitants of Montreal who, regarding her “comme une sainte,” requested similar cards for themselves. She refused them, however, as they did not have permission to break her seclusion and vow of silence, and so they went away and instead took the image that she had given to the Congrégation for themselves so that she was obliged to make another. Furthermore, Jeanne Le Ber wrote prayers on an image of the Virgin painted by her brother, Pierre Le Ber. A banner was made from this image and carried by the handful of troops assembled under the command of her uncle, Baron de Longueuil, as they marched out to ambush the far superior English forces that were moving towards Montreal. At the same time the English navy was approaching Quebec.

Mais la Ste-Vierge sans doute par ses (Jeanne’s) prieres et celle des
Stes-ames de ce pays les fit perir et abisma vaisaux de guerre avec la

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* Her third brother Pierre, was a painter. He painted the only known likeness of Marguerite Bourgeoys just after she died in 1700. He was also a member of the Community of the Hôpital Général in Montreal and, according to Belmont, he too died a holy death.

⁶⁷ In his 1860 life of Jeanne Le Ber, Etienne-Michel Faillon compared her to Saint Genevieve, the legendary protector of Paris from Attila the Hun. *The Christian heroine of Canada, or, Life of Miss Le Ber* (Montreal: J. Lovell, 1860, 1861), 139.

perte de millions par le plus grand miracle qui soit arrive depuis le temps de moïse et ou la Ste-Vierge renouvella celui quelle avoit fait 20 ans auparavant.⁶⁸

On September 2, the English fleet encountered contrary winds and thick fog at the mouth of the Saint Lawrence River and was wrecked on the rocks of Île aux Oeufs. The army marching from New York dispersed when they heard the news of the disaster. Jeanne Le Ber had been right in her prediction: not only had Montreal been spared, but New France as a whole had survived again, against the odds. The War of the Spanish Succession was effectively over in North America. The church credited the Virgin Mary with the victory as it had done in 1690, and renamed the church of Notre-Dame-de-Victoire in Quebec's lower town, Notre-Dames-des-Victoires. The *Annales de l'Hôtel Dieu* record the general feeling of the population at the time.

Comme on ignoroit toutes les circonstances de ce fameux naufrage, chacun en raisonnoit de son mieux, tout le monde avoüoit que la main de Dieu y avoit travaillé. On étoit véritablement pénétré d'une tres vive reconnoissance, et les moins dévots étoient touchez de la grandeur de ce miracle, car cette deffaite de nos ennemis ne fut point regardée icy autrement que comme un effet merveilleux de la puissance de Dieu et de son amour pour le Canada, qui de tous ces cantons est le seul endroit ou la vraye religion soit professée.⁶⁹

Jeanne Le Ber died in her cell on the morning of October 3, 1714. For two days her body lay in the chapel of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame "pour satisfaire

⁶⁸ Belmont, "Éloges," 161. The reference is to the defeat of the English at the siege of Quebec in 1690.

⁶⁹ *AHDQ*, 365. The English expedition was poorly planned and plagued by infighting from the start, especially amongst the army that was composed mainly of militia from New York and native allies who tended not to trust one another. See Dale Miquelon, *New France, 1701-1744: A Supplement to Europe* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987), 45-46.

à la devotion des peuples qui luy venoient faire toucher des chapelets.”⁷⁰ The faithful of Montreal came in crowds to see and admire her and to make relics of their rosaries by touching them to the body of the holy woman. On 5 October she was presented a final time to the parish, accompanied by the clergy and “un grand concours.” A solemn funeral was held after which her body was taken back to the chapel where she had spent the final 20 years of her life and interred next to her father. “L’odeur de sainteté dans laquelle est morte cette grande servante de Dieu a été suivie d’une confiance générale de tout ce peuple à son intercession.”⁷¹ In his funeral oration, Belmont praised Jeanne Le Ber’s virtues, called attention to the model she set for others to follow, and thanked her for her prayers that shielded the country from wars and plagues. He compared her to the apocryphal Judith, a woman who alone first beguiled the Assyrian General Holofernes with her beauty and then killed him in order to lift the siege of the Jewish city of Bethulia and save her people. Quoting the Bible, he said, *Tu honorificentia populi nostri Judith* (You are the honour of our people, Judith).⁷²

For Belmont, Jeanne Le Ber was a *fortem virili pectore virginem* – a strong virgin with a virile heart. She had saved Montreal, and even if the religious fervour of the early years of colonization was slipping away, she proved that Canada was still loved by God and that wonderful things still took place there.⁷³ Addressing those who

⁷⁰ *AHDQ*, 410.

⁷¹ Belmont, “Éloges,” 161-62.

⁷² Book of Judith, 15:10. The story is included in the Greek versions of the Christian Bible and was translated into Latin by Jerome and therefore made it into the Catholic Vulgate. It does not appear in the Hebrew Bible.

⁷³ Belmont, “Éloges,” 163.

attended her funeral, he said "...la vie toute extraordinaire de cette admirable recluse va donner un relief a votre ville et un avantage au nouveau monde par dessus l'ancien qui egalera ces deniers temps aux premiers aages de l'Eglise...."⁷⁴ For Belmont, Jeanne Le Ber was undoubtedly a public figure who proved for him that an evangelical religion persisted in New France. The *Annales de l'Hotel Dieu* report that many sick persons came to touch her coffin and were later cured, but the *annalistes* supplies no specific examples and neither does Belmont beyond the reported immediate outpouring of grief upon news of her death. Rather, his account is dedicated towards soliciting sympathy and aid, if possible, from France and convincing his audience that New France is still the land of saints it once was. Change did not come all at once, but rather the role of religion changed gradually in the early modern world from something that was public and overt to something more private and increasingly concerned with interior matters, personal needs, and a personal God. As a part of this over all change, the place and function of women, and especially holy women in the church of New France changed from the very public roles filled by the early heroes of the church to more circumscribed roles that developed over time in hagiographic writing. Overall, the cult of the saints itself was changing. No longer do we see the sorts of extraordinary performances that characterized the mid-seventeenth century, and nor do we see the publication of the sorts of detailed sacred biographies that Ragueneau and Martin produced.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 162.

Conclusion

These changes in the roles of local holy persons and hagiographic discourses were reflected in changes taking place in French Catholicism more widely in the eighteenth century. Sanctity, mysticism, and religious heroism of the sort that had characterized mid-seventeenth-century New France were increasingly discredited by theologians and the new enlightenment philosophers alike. The theologian Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, and others in the church attacked mysticism in their condemnation of the Quietest movement advocated in France by François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon and others. In essence, advocates of Quietism argued for the complete passivity of the human soul to the will of God which, if taken to its logical conclusion, implied justification by faith alone and the complete abandonment of personal will.⁷⁵ Bossuet argued against Quietism sparing only two seventeenth-century mystiques from his attack: Theresa of Avila and Marie de l'Incarnation, whom he called the Teresa of the new world. We can speculate that Bossuet's approval of Marie de l'Incarnation was related to Claude Martin's (whose works he was familiar with) insistence that she largely abandoned the mystical path after she went to Canada, compared with Ragueneau's insistence upon the extraordinariness of Catherine's mystical path. In 1699, the papacy condemned Fénelon's "Explication de Maximes des Saints" and by extension Quietism and more dramatic forms of mysticism.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Suire, *La sainteté française*, 64.

⁷⁶ On Quietism see E.A. Pace, "Quietism," *Catholic Encyclopedia*; Antoine Dégert, "François de Salignac de la Mothe de Fénelon," *Catholic Encyclopedia*. Bossuet's condemnation of Quietism and praise of Marie de l'Incarnation is found in his "États de oraison (1697)." Henri Bremond considered Marie de l'Incarnation's religious life to be the height of the

The leading secular philosophers of the French ‘Enlightenment’ were also, of course, opposed to such mystical and religious explanations of reality. Rather, they increasingly sought answers to the problems of society in reason, and philosophy, and not in religion. Historian David Bell believes that around 1700 the importance of religion in French public life began to decline, replaced by conceptualizations of the *patrie*. It was in the eighteenth century that “having a national identity started to be seen as indispensable to a person’s existence” while relationships with the divine became internal and personal.⁷⁷ Following the thinking of French philosopher Marcel Gauchet, Bell calls this change from a public life rooted in religion to one rooted in the nation “disenchantment,” rather than secularization.⁷⁸ Gauchet argues that the end of the seventeenth century marked the end of a truly Christian history where God played a direct role on earth, following which religious belief moved away from “a belief in miracles and other manifestations of divine providence in the world” and became a matter of personal belief and internalized devotions.⁷⁹ In other words, the public role of religion in defining social life and social relations decreased from the start of the eighteenth century and was replaced by the development of a sense of nationality and nationhood in civic life that, during the French Revolution,

mystical experience. *Histoire littéraire de sentiment religieux en France: La conquête mystique*, vol. VI (Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1933), 9.

⁷⁷ David A. Bell, *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism, 1680-1800* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2001), 27-30.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 39.

⁷⁹ Marcel Gauchet, *The Disenchantment of the World: A Political History of Religion*, trans. Oscar Burge (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 162.

translated into the replacement of religion by a cult of nationalism.⁸⁰ This change, however, ought not to be termed secularization. Rather, for Gauchet, it was a change in religion itself from something that ordered the bonds of society – which he regards as the true and original purpose of religion – to something that was a matter of personal faith and internal devotion.⁸¹ The world was less magical, less ordered by connections with the divine, but not really less religious.

In New France, beginning with the political reorganization of the colony in 1663, French colonial life became more settled and the missionary impulse and zeal for martyrdom that had marked the earlier period dissipated into the regular routine of Euro-Canadian life.⁸² Increasingly, France ceased to think of its colony as a mission territory, but rather as a settlement of economic and strategic importance, especially in dealings with other early-modern colonial powers, Britain and Spain. As early as 1701, Louis XIV gave to New France the imperial mission of containing the British territories in North America. In the same year the colony of Louisiana was founded not as a religious settlement initiated by a private group of wealthy religious enthusiasts, as Montreal had been in 1642, but as a government-directed commercial centre and a strategic location between the English to the east and Spanish to the

⁸⁰ See Dale Van Kley, *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution: From Calvin to the Civil Constitution, 1560-1791*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996.

⁸¹ Gauchet, *The Disenchantment of the World*, 47.

⁸² Luca Codignola argues that the year 1658, when the first vicar apostolic was named, marks the point when the church in New France turned from its focus on missions to preserving the faith amongst European colonists. Luca Codignola, “Competing Networks: Roman Ecclesiastics in French North America, 1610-1658,” *Canadian Historical Review* vol. 80 (1999): 539-584.

west.⁸³ Saliha Belmessous argues that France and New France were in fact growing apart during this period as the colony and the mother country developed separate identities.⁸⁴ Carla Zecher points out that as early as 1666, Marie de l'Incarnation held and expressed a concept of hyphenated identity in reference to colonists in New France calling the "issue des François, habitants de ce lieu" *François-Canadois*. Marie used the term *Françios-Canadois* five more times in letters from 1669 and 1670. Zecher concludes that the meaning of the term, which at one point was used to designate native peoples, was in transition, acquiring a sense closer to modern definitions of the term and modern uses of hyphenated identities.⁸⁵

While the arguments of Zecher and Belmessous may prematurely fix such terms of identity, a generational change was underway from the first settlers and religious adventurers of the 1630s and 1640s to an increasingly creole population born in Canada of French parents in the relatively stable years following 1663. Natalie Zemon Davis could describe the New France of the 1640s as the "spiritual kingdom of the religious, and more specifically of the Jesuits," but by the end of the century "a new set of institutions linked Marie's (and Catherine's) 'Paradis' to European structures of power and conflict."⁸⁶ Concern turned from a focus on the

⁸³ Dale Miquelon, *New France, 1701-1744: A Supplement to Europe* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987), 14-16.

⁸⁴ Saliha Belmessous, "Être français en Nouvelle-France: Identité française et identité coloniale aux dix-septième et dix-huitième siècles," *French Historical Studies* 27: 3 (Summer 2004), 509.

⁸⁵ MI, *Corr.*, 852 (Lettre CCLI) à la Mère Cécile de S. Joseph, Supérieure des Ursulines de Mons, October 1 1669. Carla Zecher, "Life on the French-Canadian Hyphen: Nation and Narration in the Correspondence of Marie de l'Incarnation," *Quebec Studies* 26 (Fall 1998/Winter 1999): 41.

⁸⁶ Natalie Zemon Davis, *Women on the Margins: Three Seventeenth-Century Lives* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1995), 85.

evangelization of native peoples and their incorporation into French society to the development of social and political institutions. Even amongst the religious houses, Zemon Davis points out, there was a marked decline in the appetite for conversion. Rather, superiors became concerned with preserving the Christian virtues of the nuns themselves.⁸⁷

Hagiographies of the sort produced by Ragueneau and Claude Martin were no longer written or published in the eighteenth century. The new lives were short, often written in epistolary form, and were rarely published. When an account of the life and possible martyrdom of the Jesuit missionary Sébastien Rasle appeared in the pages of *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* in 1724, an annual Jesuit publication of missionary reports from around the world, specific reference to him as a martyr that had appeared in an earlier draft had been edited out.⁸⁸ Indeed, the editing of this tract was significant, and recalls the treatment Claude Cholenec's account of the life and virtues of Catherine/Tekakwitha had received in the same publication in 1717. Catherine Desbarats writes about the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*; "nous sommes passablement loin, dans ces textes...des récits épiques de conquête missionnaire du siècle précédent, des mises en scène théâtrales de martyrs canadiens, loin aussi de

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 122. Although, as we saw in Chapter Three, concern for the souls and salvation of missionaries was generally considered as at least as important as the conversion of native peoples.

⁸⁸ The unedited version of this account by Pierre de la Chasse is held by the National Archives of Belgium, Brussels and was published as, "Une relation inédite de la mort du P. Sébastien Racle, 1724," *Nova Francia*, 4, 6 (novembre-décembre 1929): 342-350. The edited version published in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, écrites des missions étrangères, mémoires d'Amérique* tome VI (Paris: J.G. Merigot le jeune, 1781) 226-238. Pierre de la Chasse's letter was dated 23 August 1724. The published version is dated 29 October 1724. There are considerable differences, but also enough similarities to suggest that the published letter is an edited version of the manuscript letter.

l'identification utopique avec l'Église chrétienne primitive.”⁸⁹ Hagiographic writing declined in France up to the Revolution, and those hagiographers who continued to write did so with a view towards defending the credibility of their works and their subjects, and as a result contributed to the historicization of the genre – a trend that reached its peak in the lengthy, detailed and well-documented historical tomes of the post 1840 period. This transition period was a time of official uncertainty and scepticism towards holy performances and reluctance to memorialize the holy in text. It marks a lengthy intermediary between periods of enthusiastic saint-making in Canadian cultural and religious history.

The trend towards increasing scepticism was exemplified in 1751 by an attempt on the part of royal officials in France to censure the publication of a history of the Hôtel Dieu de Québec. A publisher in Montauban requested the *privilège du Roi* for *Histoire de l'établissement de l'Hôtel Dieu de Québec*, a work based on the *Annales*, but Abbé Geinoz who reviewed it, refused on the grounds that the work contained too many unsubstantiated miracles, devotions, apparitions and visions. A second censor, however, approved the work and the first acquiesced because “cette histoire est edificante et ne respire que la pieté et les bonnes moeurs.”⁹⁰ Nevertheless, such

⁸⁹ *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites par des missionnaires de la compagnie de Jésus*, ed. and intro. Catherine Desbarats (Montréal: Boréal, 2006), 227. Pierre Berthiaume points to significant differences between the *Relations* of the seventeenth century and the eighteenth-century *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*. The *lettres*, he says, are more personal, and less concerned with the rules and image of the Jesuit Order. Authors were free to write about their observations in a more authentic manner. He also points out, however, that the *lettres* often underwent significant editing prior to publication. *L'aventure américaine au XVIII^e siècle: Du voyage à l'écriture* (Ottawa: Les Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1990), 276-280.

⁹⁰ Lettre de Abbé Geinoz à Malesherbes, Paris, 20 August 1751, Library and Archives Canada, microfilm reel C-9193, vol. 22137. The work was published in 1751 “avec privilège du Roi” but with a disclaimer that stated that the majority of the miracles in the book came from Ragueneau’s Life of Catherine de Saint-Augustin. *Histoire de l'Hôtel Dieu de Québec*. Montauban: Chez Jérosme Légier, 1751.

waffling is symbolic of the uncertainties that existed with regard to the lives and deeds of the saints.

The cult of the saints did not, of course, disappear, but rather changed course and character. The local saints of the eighteenth century were not the imperial missionaries and French-born agents of Catholicism of the earlier age, but rather Canadian-born men and women such as the Récollet lay brother Frère Didace Pelletier and the foundress of the Sisters of Charity (Grey Nuns), Marguerite d'Youville (d. 1777). In the Grey Nuns (est. 1747), New France received its first religious institution that was not consciously apostolic. The Sisters of Charity were part of an established Euro-Canadian community from their inception and undertook the care of the urban poor of Montreal. Frère Didace, for his part, was a lay brother and a carpenter who helped construct the chapels of the Récollets.

Certainly people in New France did not cease to be religious, to be Catholic, or to believe in saints and miracles. There is plenty of evidence from the eighteenth-century to demonstrate that this was not at all the case. However, the public urgency that had characterized the earlier period dissipated somewhat, and religious expression and devotion became more personal and internal. There was a strong sense even at the time that things had changed from the heady days of the mid-seventeenth century. The hierarchy became less concerned with preserving a new church than with governing an established one. The clerical elite ceased publishing hagiographic texts and started carefully investigating reputed miracles. Even the Jesuits ceased to publish their *Relations* as early as 1672. In light of these changes, Belmont's *Life of Jeanne Le Ber* appears more nostalgic than dynamic. Her

performance was a throw-back to an earlier age in a period of decline for the church and for religious action that even she could not altogether halt.

Chapter VII

The Saints of New France and the Ultramontane Church

Pour moi, à la lecture de ces pages, où, comme dans celles de votre livre, se déroulent comme une sainte et glorieuse épopée, les gestes de nos ancêtres dans la foi, des apôtres qui ont arrosé et fécondé notre Église de leur sang, des pontifes intrépides et magnanimes qui l'ont gouvernée, des vierges au courage héroïque qui l'ont tour à tour édifiée et réjouie par le spectacle de leurs vertus, je me sens porté à m'écrier avec Tobie : *Filii sanctorum sumus*. Puissé-je ajouter avec le même, comme gage de cette filiation bénie : *Et vitam illam expectamus, quam Deus daturus est his, qui fidem suam nunquam mutant ab eo!*

- Louis-Nazaire Bégin¹

Mais au-dessus de tout cela comment ne pas nous demander, avec émotion, dans quel dessein particulier la Providence a voulu donner à notre petit peuple, au début de sa vie, un pareil groupe de saintes femmes et d'hommes de Dieu? ... Or qui nous dira ce qu'ont pu faire entrer dans les destinées, les immolations de nos premières fondatrices et le sublime holocauste de nos martyrs? L'historien ne sait enfin s'il fait de l'histoire ou s'il raconte une légende dorée.

-Lionel Groulx²

On the 9th of August 1874, Vital Grandin (1829-1902), Oblate missionary and recently installed Bishop of St. Albert in the north western territories of the Dominion of Canada (near the present-day city of Edmonton, Alberta), was traveling from the native village of Takukewin to his Episcopal See.³ He had just finished reading an account of the life of Marie de l'Incarnation and stopped to write a brief

¹ Cardinal-Archbishop of Québec Louis-Nazaire Bégin in the introduction to Léonidas Hudon, s.j. *Une fleur mystique de la Nouvelle-France: Vie de la Mère Marie-Catherine de Saint Augustin, religieuse de l'Hôtel Dieu du Précieux-sang de Québec, 1632-1668* (Montréal: Messager Canadien, 1907). The Latin quotation comes from the book of Tobias and translates, "We are children of saints. We strive for the life that God will give to those who never change their faith from him."

² Lionel Groulx, *La naissance d'une race: Conférence prononcées à l'Université Laval, Montréal, 1918-1919* (Montréal: Bibliothèque de l'Action française, 1919), 121.

³ See Raymond Huel, "Grandin, Vital-Justin," *DCB*.

note to its author, the Abbé P.-F Richaudeau, Aumonier of the Ursuline convent in Blois, France. He told Richaudeau that he had read the book from cover to cover while en route, in overnight encampments, and the book made such an impression on him that he even read it while riding on his horse. He added that over two hundred years after the death of Marie de l'Incarnation, he saw himself as the inheritor of the work begun by the first missionaries to come from France to Canada.

For Grandin, Marie de l'Incarnation was a link to the past and also an example for the present. Much as Casgrain had done in his biography of Marie de l'Incarnation, Grandin imagined that the ancestors of the priests, nuns and *frères converses* working in the Northwest may have been taught by her. He wrote,

J'ai la consolation, d'emmener dans ce voyage, non-seulement des Pères des Frères converses oblats, mais aussi de bonnes religieuses canadiennes, dont les ancêtres ont peut-être été formées à la science et à la vertu par la Mère Marie de l'Incarnation. Elles lisent maintenant cette Vie; tous, à peu près, nous l'avons lue, et elle contribuera, j'espère, à nous rendre supportables, peut-être même aimables les nombreuses difficultés de notre si long, si pénible et si ennuyeux voyage.⁴

The life of Marie de l'Incarnation, and more importantly the *Life* that Grandin held in his hand, forged a link across the centuries and added meaning to the difficulties of mission life in the northwest. The new wave of Catholic missions that began in Canada in the mid-nineteenth century revived the old associations between missionaries and holiness. Grandin himself would be the subject of several

⁴ P.-F. Richaudeau, *Vie de la Révérende Mère Marie de l'Incarnation, Ursuline, née Marie Guyard, première supérieure du monastère des Ursulines de Québec*, Deuxième édition (Tournai: Vve H. Casterman, 1874), np. Grandin had read the first addition and his is the first of many approbations and recommendations that precede the text. The first edition was published in 1873.

sacred biographies after he died and even a canonization process.⁵ But where the Jesuits of the seventeenth century had seen themselves as followers in the footsteps of the apostles of the ancient church, the missionaries of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries might look to the history of the French in North America for examples and models of religious heroism they could emulate. In the January 1925 edition of the Children's Catholic monthly *l'Abeille*, it was noted that for French Canadians living in western Canada, Quebec was the mother country just as in a former time France had been for Quebec. It was necessary, the journal claimed, for Quebeckers to support the minority francophone populations elsewhere in Canada in their efforts to preserve their language, their schools, and most importantly, their faith.⁶ Beginning in the second half of the nineteenth century, ecclesiastics in the French Canadian Catholic church began work on a grand historical project to rewrite the history of French Canada as a religious history in which the heroes of the church, the Jesuit martyrs, Catherine de Saint-Augustin, Marguerite Bourgeoys, Jeanne Le Ber, Marie de l'Incarnation, etc. bore the weight of the past in the present and for the future.

This chapter takes up the question of how the lives and reputations of seventeenth and eighteenth-century historical/religious figures became a part of the useable past at the end of the nineteenth century. How did they enter into the culture of late nineteenth-century Canada? How were belief communities formed? I

⁵ Emile Jonquet, *Mgr Grandin, Oblat de Marie-Immaculée, premier évêque de Saint-Albert* (Montréal: Beauchemin, 1903). Léon Hermant, *Thy Cross my Stay: The Life of the Servant of God, Vital Justin Grandin, Oblate of Mary Immaculate and first Bishop of St. Albert, Canada* (Toronto: Mission Press, 1948). P.-É. Breton, *Vital Grandin, o.m.i.: La merveilleuse aventure de "l'Évêque sauvage" des prairies et du grand nord* (Paris et Montréal, 1960).

⁶ *L'Abeille, Revue mensuelle pour la jeunesse*, no. 5 (January 1926), 158-59.

approach these questions through an examination of the hagiographic histories that were composed after 1840, and the canonization processes that at once sought to make the holy of the past into emblems of a specifically French Canadian present and into saints of the universal church. I seek to understand how clerical authorities, the church and various religious orders used media and publishing opportunities available at the time to create the sorts of faith- and text-based communities that were dreamed of, but rarely developed, in the earlier age.

I begin by setting the historical scene, tracing the relationship between history and hagiography from later New France through to the 1840s and 1850s. I focus on several key historians of what Serge Gagnon has termed the clerico-conservative nationalist school in order to rethink depictions of the relationship between hagiography and history. In the second half of the chapter, I move away from the grand narratives of ultramontane historians to try to understand the more personal relationships that people had with the past and its heroes. Far from an exhaustive treatment of local sanctity in the ultramontane period, this chapter lays out some basic parameters for further study and brings the history of the making of holiness in Canada full circle, from the initial holy performances of apostolic New France to the formal introduction of the first causes of canonization before the Vatican. Although this does not mark the end of the history of holiness in Canada, it does represent a significant milestone and, therefore, a plausible place to bring this study to a conclusion.

Historiography and Hagiography

It has become a truism that history, or perhaps memory, occupies a privileged place in Quebec society.⁷ Prior to the 1950s, a significant portion of that history (and memory) was rooted in religious and hagiographic discourses that interwove, at times seamlessly, with historical narrative. In his 1722 account of the life of Jeanne Le Ber, the Sulpician priest François Vachon de Belmont drew a direct connection between these two modes of exposition that we now regard as entirely separate. He believed that the hagiographer ought also to be an historian, for truthfulness was the defining characteristic, the essence, soul and foundation, of history, and saints' lives, he said, were they to succumb to flattery and exaggeration, would lose all the authority that they ought to have as historical narratives. The Life of the saint had to remain faithful to the facts, he said, and not engage in panegyric or fiction.⁸

As we saw in the previous chapter, when Belmont wrote, hagiography was entering a period of declining popularity in France and New France as a result of the discrediting of mysticism and quietism. Consequently, authors were preoccupied with the credibility of their work.⁹ According to historian Faith Beasley, two modes of history writing vied for predominance in late seventeenth-century France; exterior

⁷ Ronald Rudin, *Making History in Twentieth-Century Quebec* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 3.

⁸ François Vachon de Belmont, "Éloges de quelques personnes mortes en odeur de sainteté à Montréal, en Canada divisés en trois parties" (c. 1722), *Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec* (1929-30): 146.

⁹ Éric Suire, *La sainteté Française de la réforme catholique (XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles)* (Bordeaux: Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux, 2001), 68.

and superficial histories published under the king's patronage, and works that dealt with motivations and sentiments. There was no agreed upon historical style, method, or even subject matter, and historical writing in France was consequently in a state of crisis.¹⁰ In 1690, the Jansenist-leaning author of the *Premier établissement de la foy dans la Nouvelle-France*, in a poorly veiled attack on Ragueneau's Life of Catherine de Saint-Augustin, criticized "certain books of some Canadian lives," suggesting they had no place in history. Rather, "it suffices to know the particulars in the cloister and believe them piously."¹¹ By the beginning of the eighteenth century, objective had emerged victorious from this crisis. As we saw in the previous chapter, the few hagiographic texts dating from the eighteenth century were much more cautious and circumscribed than those of earlier decades, and very few of them were actually published. Moreover, with the notable exception of Marguerite d'Youville, few new performances of holiness attracted widespread attention in Canada after about 1740.

When the Jesuit priest Pierre-François-Xavier Charlevoix published his *Histoire et description général de la Nouvelle-France* in 1744, it was unlike any history of New France that had been published to that point.¹² His purpose and intention was to present his audience with a reasoned and scientific account based on documentary sources and sound logic. "The historian's duty," he wrote, "is to give a faithful account, and furnish accurately and without bias the authorities on which he bases his judgment; and this I shall endeavor to do with all the care and sincerity in my

¹⁰ Faith E. Beasley, *Women's Fiction and Memoirs in Seventeenth-Century France* (New Brunswick, NJ, and London: Rutgers University Press, 1990), 39.

¹¹ Chrestian Le Clercq, *First Establishment of the Faith in New France*, trans. John Gilmary Shea (New York: J.G. Shea, 1881), 155-156.

¹² David M. Hayne, "Charlevoix, Pierre-François-Xavier," in *DCB*.

power.”¹³ Charlevoix defended Ragueneau’s *Life of Catherine de Saint-Augustin*, but granted the holy woman barely two pages of his three volume work. Jeanne le Ber’s death merited only a footnote. To be certain, his treatment of the Jesuit martyrs, especially Brébeuf, was significant, but as we have seen, he recognized that this was no longer a popular narrative. He also included several brief hagiographic accounts of the Christian deeds of converts and reintroduced Joseph/Onaharé into the category of martyr. But, hagiographic themes do not provide an overarching narrative structure to his history. When he delved into holy lives to a significant degree, for example, in his own *Life of Marie de l’Incarnation*, he did so in a separate work dedicated exclusively to the hagiographic form.¹⁴

Charlevoix’s history was widely read for more than a century.¹⁵ It was not superseded until the mid-1840s when François-Xavier Garneau published his multivolume *Histoire du Canada depuis sa découverte jusqu’à nos jours*.¹⁶ Garneau offered a lay, worldly, and secular history from the perspective of a liberal and a nationalist that continued the marginalization of the religious epic from the main thrust of the

¹³ P.F.X. Charlevoix, *History and General Description of New France* vol. 1, trans. John Gilmary Shea (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1870), 104. The original French language edition was published by five separate publishers simultaneously in 1744. The edition I have consulted is *Histoire et description générale de la Nouvelle France avec le Journal Historique d’un voyage fait par ordre du Roi dans l’Amérique Septentrionale* (Paris: Rollin Fils, 1744).

¹⁴ P.F.X. Charlevoix, *La vie de la mère Marie de l’Incarnation: Institutrice et première supérieure des Ursulines de la Nouvelle France* (Paris: Ant. Claude Briasson, 1724). This work was composed in fulfillment of a vow Charlevoix had made in exchange for the intercession of Marie de l’Incarnation when he was shipwrecked off the Florida coast on his return journey from Saint-Domingue to France in 1722. The work took less than eleven months to complete after his arrival in France.

¹⁵ Réal Ouellet, “French and European Writings about the New World,” in *History of the Book in Canada*, ed. by Patricia Lockhart Fleming and Yvan Lamonde (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004-2007) 24.

¹⁶ F.-X. Garneau, *Histoire du Canada depuis sa découverte jusqu’à nos jours* (Québec: Aubin, 1845-1848).

history of New France and French Canada. Garneau was the first historian of significance to be influenced by the political upheavals that afflicted Lower Canada in the 1820s and 1830s. Equally significant was a shift in the intended audience from clerical and civic officials of the old régime to the new French Canadian middle class who aspired to positions of power in the emerging Canadian democracy. Garneau was not anti-religious in his writings or perspective on history, but rather believed that the church should serve the interests of the state rather than vice-versa.¹⁷ He was, therefore, an opponent of excessive clericalism which he blamed for the economic and political stagnation of New France that he believed had caused the colony to fall far behind its English rivals.¹⁸

The *Histoire* enjoyed an extraordinary popularity and filled a gap in the historiography of Canada, but it also incited the opposition of conservatives especially in the church who denounced Garneau for ignoring the mystical quality of Canada's past. The gradual marginalization of the mystical epic and separation of history and hagiography that had been underway for upwards of a century reached a high point in the work of Garneau even as secular history was already bowing to the revival of religious history that would become the dominant theme in historical writing of the 1850s and beyond.

Religion and politics were never far apart in Quebec in the first half of the nineteenth century. Although the church viewed itself as the defender of the rights of Catholics in Lower Canada, it seemed to others, especially amongst the liberal

¹⁷ Serge Gagnon, *Le Québec et ses historiens de 1840 à 1920* (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1978), 289-90. Later editions of this work were more orthodox and generally more supportive of church perspectives on history.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 298-299.

middle class, that it was out of step with wider currents in society. Although the church was active in resisting British efforts to unite Upper and Lower Canada in 1822 (a move that threatened assimilation), it decided to remain neutral (a highly political position) when the British Governor refused to recognize Louis-Joseph Papineau, leader of the Parti Patriote, as speaker of the legislative assembly in 1827. The Parti Patriote formed a majority in the assembly and used their position to agitate for responsible government and a decade later, with their ambitions thwarted by the crown, there was a popular rebellion in the region of Montreal. In 1837-38 the church failed completely to support the aspirations of the rebels and sided with English civil authority to defeat them. With the victory of government forces, Mgr Lartigue, bishop of the newly minted diocese of Montreal (1836), and Papineau's cousin, ordained a day of fasting and prayer on 26 February 1838 in penance for the armed rebellion of the previous November. Catholic doctrine of supporting political authorities, even Protestant ones, was not novel, indeed, there was a longstanding history of such policies in Quebec and in the church generally.¹⁹ But as Lucien Lemieux points out, "Canadiens trouvèrent bizarre qu'on les force à remercier Dieu, alors que leurs église, leurs maisons, leurs granges avaient été pillées et brûlées." At the village of Saint Charles, site of a battle between rebels and government troops in 1837, the local curé left town on the appointed day and the event did not take place.²⁰

The Rebellions marked a profound change in relations between the people of Lower Canada and their political and religious authorities. The political solution to

¹⁹ Lucien Lemieux, *Histoire du catholicisme québécois, les XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles*, tome I: *Les années difficile (1760-1839)*, ed. Nive Voisine (Montréal: Boréal, 1989), 28-50.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 389.

the frustrated aims of the colony had been tried and had failed. The defeat, however, offered the church the opportunity to take a greater leadership role in all facets of society. In order to do this, however, the church required a history, one that lay at the very roots of French Canada. The heroes of New France were dredged up from the past and inserted into the starring roles of the religious histories that dominated Quebec for decades to come.²¹ Clerical writers and part-time historians took it upon themselves to elaborate a collective memory of the past, which they believed was repeating itself in their own day. The narrative structure of the mystical epic was revived in direct competition with more secular narratives and soon swamped them.

Historian Gabrielle Spiegel argues in a recent article that there is a fundamental difference between liturgical time and historical time in Biblical cultures where history must compete with a revealed past. In such cultures, events had meaning and could be explained only insofar as they could be subsumed within Biblical categories and precedents, and their interpretation took place through the medium of scripture. Liturgical time is cyclical, repeatable, constantly drawing the past into the present.²² In the Biblical culture that, arguably, developed in Quebec after 1840, clerical historians regarded the settlement of Canada as providential – a renewal of the ancient missions of the apostolic church. In turn, the revival of ecclesiastical fortunes in the nineteenth century seemed to imitate what was regarded as the dominant role of the church in society and culture of New France. Historians developed an image of New France in which the church was the focal point and dominant institution and the population was pious and compliant. Following the

²¹ Serge Gagnon, *Québec et ses historiens*, 33-34.

²² Gabrielle M. Spiegel, "Memory and History: Liturgical Time and Historical Time," *History and Theory* 41 (May, 2002): 152.

failure of the rebellions of 1837-38 the church once again found itself on the ascendancy and in a leadership role. There were new missions in western Canada, new institutions were established, and the church expanded at an unprecedented rate. There was a devotional revolution underway and suddenly there were also new holy persons who once again seemed to indicate that God's favour was focused on the French Canadian people.²³

In this atmosphere, the priest, lecturer, and professor of arts at Université Laval, Abbé J.-B.-A. Ferland, was invited by the ecclesiastical hierarchy to write a definitive history of the church in Canada, one that would counter the secular, liberal view. *Cours d'histoire du Canada* was published in two volumes in 1861 and 1865.²⁴ In it, Ferland articulated a vision of French Canadian history and society in which the church took pride of place.

D'ailleurs, cette histoire présente, dans ses premiers temps surtout, un caractère d'héroïsme et de simplicité antique que lui communiquent la religion et l'origine du peuple canadien. En effet, dès les commencements de la colonie, on voit la religion occuper partout la première place.

For Ferland, religion was the motor of history that shaped New France, the French Canadian people, and by extension, the Quebec of his own day and of the future.

Ainsi, la religion a exercé une puissante et salutaire influence sur l'organisation de la colonie française au Canada; elle a reçu des éléments divers, sortis des différentes provinces de la France; elle les a fondus ensemble; elle en a formé un peuple uni et vigoureux, qui

²³ Gagnon, *Quebec and its Historians, 1840-1920*, 330-331. Although I focus here on the re-inscription of the saints of New France into the historical hagiography of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it ought not to be forgotten that new holy performances were also being recorded at the time.

²⁴ J.-B.-A. Ferland, *Cours d'histoire du Canada* (Québec: Augustin Côté, 1861, 1865). Serge Gagnon, "Ferland, Jean-Baptiste-Antoine," *DCB*.

continuera de grandir aussi longtemps qu'il demeurera fidèle aux traditions paternelles.²⁵

In a series of histories beginning in the 1840s, Etienne-Michel Faillon, a French Sulpician priest, took up the cause of representing the history of the church by resurrecting the religious heroes of New France's heroic age in well researched and documented sacred biographies.²⁶ Published in three volumes, his *Mémoires particulières pour servir à l'histoire de l'Église de l'Amérique du Nord* consisted of biographies of Marguerite d'Youville (1852), Marguerite Bourgeoys (1853), and Jeanne Mance (1854). The work served as the foundation for a general history that Faillon wrote later in which he illuminated his view of the place of religion in the history of the French Canadian people.²⁷ In his work, hagiography and history were interwoven to such an extent as to be inseparable. The history of a people could be told through the life narratives of its greatest sons and daughters. History would conserve for posterity precious and edifying memories from the past so that the past might be renewed in the present.

Cette Église, par la sainteté de ses mœurs et par l'éclat qu'elle jeta à son premier âge, fut pour l'Amérique septentrionale ce que l'Église naissante de Jérusalem avait été autrefois pour le reste de la chrétienté. Il serait donc à désirer qu'on en publiât l'histoire, tant pour conserver à la postérité des souvenirs si édifiants et si précieux, que pour montrer la fécondité toujours inépuisable de l'Église

²⁵ *Ibid.*, iv-v.

²⁶ Faillon's interest in Canada was sparked in 1841 when he wrote a biography of Jean-Jacques Olier, the founder of the Sulpicians, who took a leadership role in the settlement of Montreal. Etienne-Michel Faillon, *Vie de M. Olier, fondateur du Séminaire de S. Sulpice* (Paris: Poussielgue-Rusand, 1841).

²⁷ Etienne-Michel Faillon, *Histoire de la colonie française en Canada* (Ville-Marie (Montréal): Bibliothèque Paroissiale, 1865-66).

catholique, qui, après seize siècles, renouvela ainsi, dans le Nouveau Monde, les vertus et les prodiges des premiers temps.²⁸

Where Faillon immortalized the religious heroes of Montreal, Henri-Raymond Casgrain eulogized those of Quebec City. Amongst his numerous literary and historical works are accounts of the lives of Marie de l'Incarnation, which we saw some of in the introduction, and of Catherine de Saint-Augustin. Casgrain was a much more diverse literary figure than Faillon, Ferland, or even Garneau had been. Eschewing the plodding and methodical style of Faillon, he wrote in a romantic style on a wide variety of topics in a variety of genres. He was editor of several literary magazines to which he often contributed poems and short legendary tales rooted in French Canadian folklore, and he was interested in developing a national literature which would be religiously and patriotically edifying.²⁹ He was influenced by Faillon's work but was also partial to Garneau as a national historian.

Other writers of the so-called clerico-conservative national school were not so well disposed towards Garneau. In his 1907 account of the life of Catherine de Saint-Augustin, entitled *Une fleur mystique de la Nouvelle-France*, the Jesuit writer Léonidas Hudon attacked Garneau directly for ignoring Catherine's place in the providential history of New France. Hudon was an educator and activist in the ultramontane church who drew the links between history, hagiography, and truth in stark terms.³⁰ He questioned both Garneau's abilities as an historian and his

²⁸ Etienne-Michel Faillon, *Mémoires particulières pour servir à l'histoire de l'Église de l'Amérique du Nord*, vol 1 (Paris: Poussielgue-Rusand, 1853), i.

²⁹ Jean Paul Hudon, "Casgrain, Henri-Raymond," in *DCB*.

³⁰ Hudon was a Jesuit who taught rhetoric at College Sainte-Marie in Montreal before founding the League of the Sacred Heart, a prayer society that became a lobby group for Catholic education. In 1911, he was instrumental, along with Joseph-Papin Archambault, in

credentials as a Catholic. Garneau had mentioned Catherine only once in his history in reference to the earthquake of 1663 where he discounted her vision and all but accused her of quietism. To Hudon, this was inexcusable. “C’est une page malheureuse du célèbre historien. (...) Il semble bien qu’il l’ait prononcé sans avoir étudié au préalable ni les personnes ni les choses dont il parle.”³¹

Hudon’s self-assigned task was to reinsert Catherine into her proper place in Canada’s providential past and rehabilitate her memory in his own time. “Nous espérons que notre modeste travail contribuera quelque peu, en faisant mieux connaître la Mère de Saint-Augustin, à lui restituer son auréole de sainteté et de gloire nationale aussi amoindrie, en attendant que l’Église l’élève sur les autels.”³² Hudon’s mission was not to represent the past, but to resurrect it. He understood New France as a land and time of heroes. It was the “coin destiné de la terre d’Amérique,” a lighthouse of civilization in barbarity, a holy mountain, the little paradise of Jesus Christ, and the religious heroes of the past had sanctified it and made of it an inheritance for future generations. “O Canada!” he wrote, “Réjouis-toi; si tu savais le don que le Seigneur vient de te faire.”³³

founding the École sociale populaire, a confessional organization that brought together clergy and laity in an effort to improve the lot of the working classes. Paul La Verdure, “Sunday in Quebec, 1907-1937,” *CCHA Historical Studies* (1996): 47-61.

³¹ Hudon, *Une fleur mystique de la Nouvelle-France*, xxi-xxii. See François-Xavier Garneau, *Histoire du Canada* tome. 1, 368-370.

³² Hudon, *Une fleur mystique de la Nouvelle-France*, xxii.

³³ *Ibid.*, 47.

Ultramontanism was introduced into the Quebec church in the 1830s but only became a force after Ignace Bourget became bishop of Montreal in April of 1840. As an ideology, it called for the independence of the church from the state, a dominant role for the church in society, and the primacy of Rome and the pope in the governance of the Catholic world.³⁴ Historian Patrice Groulx calls the devotional revolution sparked by ultramontane ideas a “contre-revolution tranquille,” and like any revolution it needed its ideologues and it needed legitimacy. Consequently, the movement was intimately tied up with representations of the past.³⁵ Hagiography served the needs of history because it offered religious heroes to a church that felt itself threatened by secularism. As Eric Hobsbawm argued, traditions were invented in the nineteenth century in order to support all sorts of modern ideologies and supply them with roots deep in the mythical past, especially in societies rent by rapid social and economic change.³⁶ Such was the state of Quebec in the second half of the nineteenth century when political change, rapid industrialization, the end of the

³⁴ Ultramontanism began in France in the 1820s led by the Catholic reformer Father Félicité de Lamennais (1782-1854). Initially, ultramontanists rejected the Enlightenment ‘tyranny of reason,’ but embraced many other tenants of liberalism including the separation of church and state and freedom of the press. Less than a year after his election in 1831, however, Pope Gregory XVI surprised the French ultramontane party by condemning its liberal ideas in the encyclical *Marari Vos* (15 August 1832) at the same time that he embraced the idea of a strong and independent universal church. Catholic opposition to modern, secular society began under Pope Gregory XVI (1831-1846), and spurred on by the *Risorgimento* in Italy, reached a fever pitch under Pope Pius IX (1846-1878). It was Pius IX’s brand of conservative ultramontanism that was embraced by the Quebec hierarchy. Eamon Duffy, *Saints and Sinners: A History of the Popes* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2002), 288.

³⁵ Patrice Groulx, *Pièges de la mémoire. Dollard des Ormeaux, les Amérindiens et nous* (Hull, Québec: Vents d’Ouest, 1998), 112-114.

³⁶ Eric Hobsbawm, “Introduction: Inventing Traditions,” *The Invention of Tradition*, 2nd edition, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 1-10.

seigneurial system, and immigration transformed an agrarian society into a modern one. The heroes of New France justified the rise of the centralized ultramontane church, its power in society, and the devotional revolution it advocated by rooted these things in an authoritative past and tradition. In a long digression about Mgr de Laval, Hudon wrote in his *Life of Catherine de Saint-Augustin* what amounts to a declaration of ultramontane ideology. “L’Évêque de Québec (Laval) venait unir les fidèles de la Nouvelle-France pour en faire une société vraiment une et sainte, soumise au Pontife Romain.”³⁷ Gabrielle Spiegel has clearly elucidated the close connection between history and ideology. “Historical writing is a powerful vehicle for the expression of ideological assertion, for it is able to address the historical issues so crucially at stake and to lend to ideology the authority and prestige of the past, all the while dissimulating its status *as* ideology under the guise of a mere accounting of “what was.””³⁸

Catholic devotion to the pope, however, was just one aspect of a devotional revolution that swept the Catholic world beginning in the 1830s. The romantic movement revived interest in ancient Roman liturgies, Gregorian chant, medieval spirituality and even saints.³⁹ The cult of Mary blossomed during this period, beginning in 1830 with the first of a series of Marian apparitions that would lead to the declaration of the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception in 1854. The Pope himself became a popular icon amongst Catholics the world over while mass-

³⁷ Hudon, *Une fleur mystique*, 103

³⁸ Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 2.

³⁹ On the revival of interest in Medieval saints in France in the second half of the nineteenth century see Elizabeth Emery and Laurie Postlewaite, *Medieval Saints in Late Nineteenth Century French Culture* (Jefferson, NC; London: McFarland, 2004).

produced books and images spread and standardized the religious culture of the Roman church at the expense of local traditions.⁴⁰

In his 1978 work, *Le Québec et ses historiens de 1840 à 1920*, Serge Gagnon set out to trace the social history of history writing in the ultramontane period in order to understand the values, judgements, and causalities that framed understandings of the past in this period. As a part of this study, he explored the relationship between the church and the past and between history and hagiography, separating ‘les hagiographies’ from other forms of history writing, biographies of secular heroes, and large works of historical synthesis. He argued that understandings of the history of New France in this period were driven by a powerful group of clerical historians who wished to impose stasis on a society that was entering into a period of great change. These authors looked to the past, to New France, and found an idealized society upon which to construct a model of an ideal present. They wrote hagiographies that represented the past through conservative and ultramontane ideologies, and the result was the ‘folklorization’ of contemporary French Canada. The benighted peasantry of the countryside were placed within a mythological past filled with miracles, morality lessons, and models of how to be good Catholics. They were told to live in the same ways as the heroes of the past or risk losing their faith, their language, and ultimately their nation.⁴¹

More recently, historians of religion in nineteenth-century Quebec have revisited the ultramontane devotional revolution and the relationship between clerical authorities and the faithful, not through documents that reveal only top-

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 292-293.

⁴¹ See especially the introduction and chapter one, “Les Hagiographies,” in Serge Gagnon, *Québec et ses historiens de 1840 à 1920*.

down prescriptive discourses, but rather through sources that show how both prescription and practice contributed to change over time. Historians René Hardy and Louis Rousseau offer differing models of change that respectively emphasize gradual acculturation to the desired social strictures of the church, and a rapid, conversion-like, change in society as the result of charismatic revivals held in the 1840s.⁴² Christine Hudon offers a third perspective on religious change. She argues that it was the result of a change in clerical discourse at the local level, and the ways that discourse was taken up by the faithful. There was a change from a religion of austerity to one that gave increased importance to demonstrative forms of piety and greater room for lay participation than had been the case through much of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This model allows for a more give-and-take relationship between clergy and laity. For example, she shows how the faithful might exercise great influence over the local clergy simply through gossip. Lucia Ferretti's study of an urban Montreal parish supports this position. She found that far from being reactionary to the social changes going on in society, the church embraced change and helped people adjust to it through social activities and the brand of religion it offered the new working classes.⁴³

⁴² By René Hardy see, "À propos du réveil religieux dans le Québec du XIX^e siècle: Le recours aux tribunaux dans les rapports entre le clergé et les fidèles (Trois Rivières)," *RHAF*, 48,2 (automne, 1994): 187-212; and *Contrôle social et mutation de la culture religieuse au Québec, 1830-193* (Montréal: Boréal, 1999). Louis Rousseau, "À propos du 'réveil religieux' dans le Québec du XIX^e siècle: Où se loge le vrai débat?" *RHAF* 49.2 (automne, 1995): 223-245.

⁴³ Christine Hudon, *Prêtres et fidèles dans le diocèse de Saint-Hyacinthe, 1820-1875* (Sillery: Le Septentrion, 1996); and "Beaucoup de bruits pour rien? Rumeurs, plaintes et scandales autour du clergé dans les paroisses gaspésiennes, 1766-1900," *RHAF*, vol. 55, no. 2 (Fall, 2001): 217-240. Lucia Ferretti, *Entre Voisins: La Société paroissiale en milieu urbain Saint-Pierre-Apôtre de Montréal, 1848-1930* (Québec: Boréal, 1992).

Michael Gauvreau has gone a step further to argue that ultramontanistism is actually a teleology more present in contemporary historical analysis than an historical reality. It was not the all-pervasive system it was, and is, often made out to be.⁴⁴ He, and historian Nancy Christie, favour a model of social regulation rather than social control in regard to religion in nineteenth-century Quebec. The church became active in the social and political changes taking place in society through charismatic preaching, retreats, confraternities and social organizations for the laity. The church was not backward, they argue, as 'liberal order frameworks' often hold, but merely backward-looking.⁴⁵ In the light of this research, perhaps it is time to revisit the relationship between history and hagiography in ultramontane Quebec, taking into consideration the notion of an active church and a demonstrative and inclusive piety.

Not one of the nineteenth-century clerical writers mentioned so far was a professionally trained historian. Indeed, prior to the beginning of the twentieth century there was no professional history in Quebec.⁴⁶ History was produced by teachers, amateur collectors and antiquarians, members of the professional class, and priests. Nevertheless, they were considered historians at the time. Even priests who

⁴⁴ See the introduction to Michael Gauvreau's recent work, *The Catholic Origins of Quebec's Quiet Revolution, 1930-1970* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 2005). Also, a review of this book by Michael Beheils, "French-Canadian Catholicism: Bulwark Against or Purveyor of Modernism," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* XXXIX, 78 (Nov. 2006): 497-503. For a more measured account of the role of the church in the origins of the Quiet Revolution see David Seljak, "Why the Quiet Revolution was 'Quiet': The Catholic Church's Reaction to the Secularization of Nationalism in Quebec after 1960," *CCHA Historical Studies* vol. 62 (1996): 109-124.

⁴⁵ Nancy Christie and Micheal Gauvreau, "Modalities of Social Authority: Suggesting an Interface for Religious and Social History," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* vol 36, no. 71 (May 2003), 29.

⁴⁶ Ronald Rudin argues that the Abbé Lionel Groulx was the first professional historian of Quebec. *Making History in Twentieth-Century Quebec*, 60-61.

wrote edifying biographies of holy figures were regarded as historians and not as hagiographers. Witnesses for the canonization processes that were begun towards the end of the century consistently cited “les historiens” when asked how they knew about the candidate’s reputation for holiness. All nine witnesses whose testimony in regard to the reputation of Marguerite d’Youville published in 1894 mentioned Faillon’s biography, and some also cited tradition, ecclesiastical authority, and archival sources that supported what they had read. For example, Julie Casgram-Baby testified, “j’ai puisé mes connaissances sur la Vie de la Vénérable dans ses histoires, que j’ai lues, histoires, qui ont pour auteurs Monsieur Dufrost son fils, Monsieur Sattin, et Monsieur Faillon; dans les Archives de la Communauté et dans les traditions de nos anciennes et vénérables mères.”⁴⁷ Newspaper man, lawyer, and teacher of history at Université Laval, Thomas Chapais, testifying before the commission of inquiry into the sanctity of Mgr de Laval in the late 1880s, stated,

Mgr. de Laval a continué à jouir dans l’Église Canadienne d’une haute réputation de vertu et de sainteté. Les historiens s’en sont faits les interprètes à différentes époques au dix-huitième siècle, et dans le siècle actuel, comme le témoignent les œuvres de Charlevoix, de l’Abbé Bois, de Mgr. Têtu et de l’Abbé Gosselin, de sorte qu’on peut dire que la réputation de Mgr de Laval s’est transmise de génération en génération, jusqu’à nos jours.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Julia Casgram-Baby, in, *Beatificationis et canonizationis V.S.D. Mariae Margaritae Dufrost de Lajemmerais viduae d’Youville Institutricis et Primae Antistitae Sororum Charitatis, Marianopolitana* (Rome: Typis Guerra et Mirri, 1894), 52 (Hereafter, Youville 1894).

⁴⁸ *Sacra Rituum Congregatione, Quebecen, Beatificationis et Canonizationis servi dei Francisci de Montmorency-Laval, Primi Quebecensis Episcopi. Positio Super Introductione Causae* (Rome, 1890), 54 (hereafter, Laval 1890). Charlevoix we have met already. Louis-Eduard Bois published *Esquisse de la vie et des travaux apostoliques de Sa Grandeur Mgr. Fr. Xavier de Laval-Montmorency* under the pseudonym De Vapeaume in 1845 (Québec: A. Coté). Henri Têtu published *Monseigneur de Laval, premier évêque de Québec: esquisse biographique* (Québec: P.G. Delisle) in 1887, and a collection of biographies about the bishops of Quebec, entitled *Les évêques Québec* (Québec: Hardy) in 1889. Finally Auguste Gosselin published what he hoped would be a definitive history of Laval in 1890 in order to push the canonization process along. *Vie de Mgr de Laval, premier évêque de Québec et apôtre du Canada, 1622-1708* (Québec: L.-J. Demers, 1890). All of these men were priests.

These historians worked hard to root their works in contemporary historical methods. Biographies were very long and detailed, based on careful and well documented research. Faillon especially was extremely concerned with archival research. In the *Histoire de la colonie française en Canada*, Faillon undertook the task of laying bare all his archival research and avoiding “generalities founded on conjecture made under the vain title of the philosophy of history.”⁴⁹ Delving into empirical research in this way had the effect of rooting the teleological narrative of the mystical epic in the methods of contemporary academic history and imparting that narrative with a truth claim it might otherwise have lacked. Even Casgrain, in his own romantic way, glorified archival research. Under his pen, the archives of the Hôtel Dieu became a place of adventure, discovery, and romance filled with the treasures of human knowledge and piety.

Mais à mesure que je pénétrais dans les annales de ce monastère, que je m'enfonçais dans ces vieux manuscrits, véritables catacombes où dormait la pensée humaine depuis deux siècles, je découvrais des trésors inaperçus jusqu'à nos jours, des points de vue historiques entièrement nouveaux, des merveilles de grâce et de sainteté, de grandeur et de dévouement, des épisodes charmants, des scènes délicieuses, touchantes ou sublimes, des correspondances, des notices biographiques pleines d'édification, de naïveté et de fraîcheur, dont la lecture me ravissait d'admiration. Je passais des jours et des nuits sans pouvoir détacher mes yeux de ces pages lumineuses d'où s'exhalaient des parfums de piété et d'amour de Dieu qui me paraissaient venir du ciel.⁵⁰

History was alive, it inspired him with passion, and it was guided by God.

Hudon was slightly more restrained. He was not only cautious in his own work, but also warned his reading audience against accepting all that they read about the

⁴⁹ Faillon, *Histoire de la Colonie française en Canada*, x.

⁵⁰ Henri-Raymond Casgrain, *Histoire de l'Hôtel Dieu de Québec* (Québec: L. Brousseau, 1878), 6

marvelous and miraculous. A man of his times, he recognized the advances that medical science had made in understanding not only cures, but also psychology and hallucinations that might trick some into thinking they had had a religious experience. The church, he argued, was not afraid of science. Indeed, he pointed out, had not the church established a medical office at the popular French shrine of Lourdes in order to investigate and substantiate the miracles taking place there? If science failed to explain an event, however, the authority of the church would guarantee its authenticity. Science did not remove the miraculous from the world for these men, if anything it proved God's intervention in the affairs of humanity when it failed to find rational justifications for extraordinary events. In his biography of Catherine de Saint-Augustin, Hudon assured his readers that they could believe the deeds and miracles attributed to Catherine because Mgr de Laval and Paul Ragueneau had thoroughly investigated them at the time and granted their approval. Moreover, as the canonization procedure gained steam, he wrote, one could rest assured that the contemporary church would double check all these marvelous things to ensure their authenticity. Scientific investigation combined with the authority of tradition would guarantee that truth prevailed in history and history illuminated the truth of faith.

By rooting their works in careful research and archival documentation, clerical historians were able to benefit from the authority of the new objective history that was then developing in European academic circles, at the same time that they advanced a sacred understanding of the past. It was within the bounds of the new positivist truth structure that the religious heroes of New France were transformed into the national heroes of the Catholic and French nation. Hagiography lay at the

junction of religion and history and also, as the scholar of Quebec literature, Lucie Robert has shown, at the junction of religion and literature.⁵¹ Robert classified that literature in an article from 2004 in which she argues that there was a quick progression in the second half of the nineteenth century from what she calls *Vies* (Lives, hagiographies) to biographies proper. The former, she says, were characterized by a lack of historicity and a quality of exemplarity. They did not trace the trajectory of a unique life, but rather reduced individuals to uniform profiles. Biographies, on the other hand and by her definition, present their subjects in historical terms without recourse to the supernatural. They tend to be about male figures, especially politicians and the *patriotes*, but also bishops, while *Vies* were about female figures.⁵²

Robert's classification system assumes that biographies proper are the natural form of the genre and consequently posits a process of desacralization in society and literature that results in an inevitable failure of *Vies* to live up to the standards of modern secular biography. As Felice Lifshitz has shown in her examination of late nineteenth-century understandings of twelfth-century hagiography, however, categorizations that seek to separate hagiography and erect it as an independent literary genre are generally anachronistic and overly simplified.⁵³ For the writers I am interested in here, there was no obvious or appreciable difference between history

⁵¹ Lucie Robert, "Sa vie n'est pas son œuvre: Figures féminines dans les Vies Québécoises," *Recherches sociographiques* XLIV, 3 (2003): 434.

⁵² Lucie Robert, "Quand la vie est littérature: Parcours de la biographie depuis 1840," *Archives des lettres canadiennes*, tome XII, *Approches de la biographie au Québec*, ed. Dominique Lafon, Rainier Grutman, Marcel Olscamp et Robert Vineault (Montréal: Fides, 2004), 15-37.

⁵³ Felice Lifshitz, "Beyond Positivism and Genre: Hagiographical Texts as Historical Narrative," *Viator* 25 (1994): 97.

and hagiography. Rather, authors from Belmont to Hudon believed that the best and most current historical methods ought to be used to illuminate holy lives and reveal God's hand in the history of humanity. Robert's classification is useful for marking out the teleology present in *Vies*, and the themes of holiness and sanctity that continued to infuse them even as, methodologically, authors turned towards a more critical practice of history. Separating 'les hagiographies' from history proper leads inevitably to the conclusion that late the nineteenth-century authors of these books were uninfluenced by objective history and possessed "structures mentales médiévales" when, in fact, they wrote from modern perspectives and ideologies, and about modern concerns.⁵⁴

Robert is correct, however, that authors such as Faillon, Casgrain, and Hudon were particularly enamored with the female heroes of Canada's Catholic past. The female heroes of New France were presented by nineteenth-century authors and churchmen as models to be followed, but also as mother figures of the nation. According to Faillon, "Ces héroïnes de la charité chrétienne méritent ... de trouver place dans l'histoire de l'Église de Canada."⁵⁵ Writing about Marie de l'Incarnation, Marguerite Bourgeoys and Jeanne Mance, Lionel Groulx stated in 1913, "J'observe que ce sont des femmes à la fois d'esprit mystique et de grands sens pratique, et qu'elles vont façonner dans leurs mains l'esprit et le coeur de nos aïeules."⁵⁶

Faillon's 1860 *Life of Jeanne le Ber* provides a striking illustration of the uses to which female lives could be put in contemporary society. In addition to the

⁵⁴ Gagnon, *Le Québec et ses historiens*, 39, 52.

⁵⁵ Faillon, *Mémoires particulières*, vol. 1, vii.

⁵⁶ Lionel Groulx, *La naissance d'une race*, 121.

history of her life, Faillon offered lessons in morality, child-rearing, and proper comportment through the model of Jeanne Le Ber. Its overtly didactic content gives it a somewhat different character from Faillon's other biographies which were more self-consciously historical. Faillon offered a vision and set of moral and practical guidelines for living in the present and invited his readers to become a part of a community defined by Jeanne's example. For example, he recommended that parents name their children after saints, as Jeanne's parents had done, and not succumb to new trends towards made-up names. He viewed the division between elite and lower classes as a natural one and in this regard the book offers a glimpse of how class divisions were regarded by the church in the second half of the nineteenth century. As a member of the elite, Jeanne Le Ber was a model for the lower classes to follow. Her life offered examples of how to be a good daughter, and how to be humble and obedient to one's betters. Her own ideas on education, as explained by Faillon, demonstrated that schooling above one's station would only make the poor unfit for the humble positions they were destined to occupy in society.⁵⁷ In these ways and others, Faillon invited the reading and listening audience to enter into the belief community according to social regulations deemed proper and useful by the ultramontane clergy, while he offered historical justifications for the way things were and a history for the church and nation.

Such a work, so self-consciously directed towards the shaping of contemporary families, was not the product of a medieval mentality even if it plotted history according to a providential plan. Gagnon regards Faillon's

⁵⁷ Etienne-Michel Faillon, *The Christian heroine of Canada, or, Life of Miss Le Ber* (Montreal: J. Lovell, 1861), 4, 37, 156. These are but a few examples of the lessons Faillon offered in this work. The original French language version of this book was published by the Congrégation de Notre-Dame in 1860 under the title, *L'héroïne chrétienne du Canada ou Vie de Mlle Le Ber*.

pronouncements on education here and elsewhere as evidence that the priest believed strongly that education was not to be used to achieve social advancement, and that his intention in advancing such a view was to preserve the ancient hierarchy of society with the church at the top. Undoubtedly this was the case. But can it really be seen only as a product of traditionalism? Were Protestant industrialists, modern and liberal, making significantly different statements about class divisions at the same time? To label clerical writers of the time as anti-modern is to assume that they wished to turn back the clock while keeping the laity in their place. But, in fact, what Faillon's prodigious advice-giving makes clear is that he regarded the past as a repository of examples that were useful for Catholics in the present. Certainly the clergy wished to impose an ultramontane social vision and set of practices, but as historians such as Hardy, Rousseau, and Hudon have shown recently, this vision represented a new course in church policy, education, and social initiatives after 1840. The ultramontane church was on the offensive, but its vision was also contested. It was, therefore, consistently reinforced in the types of discourse Faillon offered to parents and children through the model of Jeanne Le Ber.

In this way, the histories written in this period were more concerned with commemoration and the generation of a useable past, than imposing stasis. The same clergy who were writing hagiographic-histories were also, to a significant degree, at the forefront of the public commemoration movement, dubbed *statumania*, that gripped Quebec – English and French, Catholic and Protestant – at the end of the century. Indeed, sacred biography (memorialisation of the holy) mirrored in literature the construction of monuments and the holding of festivities and celebrations in the commemoration of the past described in recent works by

Ronald Rudin, Alan Gordon, and H.V. Nelles.⁵⁸ Both aimed towards the formulation of collective memories, and a collective past. Guy Laflèche observed that “la canonisation est tout à fait comparable à l’érection des statues et monuments par les gouvernements.”⁵⁹ The purpose of building statues was not only to commemorate the past, but rather to reinforce power structures in the present. But as Ronald Rudin has shown, the surface appearances of these monuments to the past often hid the multiple and contested meanings and perspectives that had resulted in their construction in the first place.⁶⁰

Hagiographic-histories made the triumph of ultramontanist appear as the logical working out of a divine plan that began in the distant past and resolved itself in the present. But like the hard marble and granite faces of historical monuments, they often masked more than they displayed. Lucie Robert argues that Lives were written not so much for the benefit of the hero herself or to illuminate an extraordinary life, but rather to shore-up the moral authority of their authors. She suggests that Ignace Bourget supported the writing the Lives of contemporary female holy figures from his diocese in order to enlist these new religious heroes in his fight against modernism and secularism. Holy women from the past, and the foundresses of the new religious orders that were the backbone of the new

⁵⁸ Ronald Rudin, *Founding Fathers: The Celebration of Champlain and Laval in the Streets of Quebec, 1878-1908* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 29-33. See also Allan Gordon, *Making Public Pasts: The Contested Terrain of Montreal's Public Memories, 1891-1930* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001). H.V. Nelles, *The Art of Nation Building: Pageantry and Spectacle at Quebec's Tercentenary* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999).

⁵⁹ Guy Laflèche, *Les Saints Martyrs Canadiens* vol. I (Laval: Singulier, 1988), 239.

⁶⁰ Rudin, *Founding Fathers*, 5.

ultramontane church, served as evidence of the accomplishments of Bourget and the wisdom of his ideas and ideologies.⁶¹

All this commemoration of the past may appear as if the church were trying to impose stasis on society, to limit change, and even to go back to a 'golden era' rooted somewhere in the distant past and distant memory. But in fact the church was changing too and justification for that change, as well as efforts to limit it, were presented in histories that made clerical authority and the ultramontane vision of society appear natural and inevitable. In as much as ultramontanism was an innovation, so much the greater was the necessity to root it in an enduring past. In the minds of the authors of sacred biographies, and many of the readers too, history and hagiography were not separate literary genres, nor were the holy persons of the past to be regarded as somehow non-historical in comparison with the secular historical actors who were also being commemorated in texts and monuments at the time.⁶² For the clerical historians of mid-nineteenth century Quebec, the past was not only a tool for contesting modernism and secularism, but could also help to formulate a new church that could meet the needs of new social realities.

Bearing Witness

To mark the 78th anniversary of the death of their foundress, the Sisters of Charity of Montreal, commonly known as the Grey nuns, sought and received permission from the Bishop of Montreal, Ignace Bourget, to exhume the remains of

⁶¹ Lucie Robert, "Sa vie n'est pas son œuvre," 438-40.

⁶² Although it must be pointed out that clerical history had its critics at the time, especially amongst the liberal professionals of the *Institut Canadien* who argued against their overt appeal to providential causality.

Marguerite d'Youville from the crypt below the chapel of the Hôpital Général and rebury them in a more honoured place inside the convent itself. The solemn ceremony took place on 23 December 1849. A few days previously two priests of the Séminaire de St. Sulpice, M. Faillon who was then hard at work on a biography of Mme d'Youville, and M. Bonissant, had entered the crypt and found the body of the foundress “dans l'endroit que la tradition écrite et orale de la communauté désignait comme étant le lieu de la sépulture de la Rev. Mère Youville.”⁶³ They opened the coffin and examined the remains before issuing a report to the bishop confirming the remains were, indeed, those of the Marguerite d'Youville. Their conclusions were based on the position of the body that seemed to indicate the individual had been paralysed in the left side when she died as eye witness reports from 1771 confirmed. As a result of this evidence, Bourget gave permission to translate the remains.

Marie-Marguerite Lejemmerais Dufrost was born in 1701 in Varennes, Canada. She belonged to a very prominent, but not overly wealthy, noble family. In 1721 she married François d'Youville who was a fur trader at Montreal and the couple had four children very quickly, all but one of whom died in infancy. In 1729 she had another child and the following year her husband, who was very much in debt, died. She renounced his estate and took up a life of charity towards the poor of Montreal. In 1737 she was joined by two other women who pledged to devote themselves to religious service. The foundation of the grey nuns is dated to this year. In 1747 she took charge of the Hôpital Général in Montreal, and from then until her death in 1771, she worked to establish her community and give aid to the poor of the city by taking in the destitute, single women, and abandoned children. Based on hard

⁶³ “Exhumation,” *Mélanges Religieux*, 23 December 1849. This newspaper, founded by Mgr Bourget in 1840, was the diocesan mouthpiece until it ceased publication in 1852.

work and service to the poor, her religious vocation demonstrates marked differences from those of her seventeenth-century predecessors who tended more towards vocations characterized by mysticism and asceticism. Her death was accompanied by a number of marvels that enhanced her reputation for sanctity.⁶⁴

The ceremonial procession and liturgy that accompanied the translation of her remains in 1849 must have made for an impressive public spectacle. According to a detailed report in the religious newspaper, *Mélanges Religieux*, on the morning of the 23rd of December, Marguerite d'Youville's remains were transported into the community's chapel with all the prayers and ceremonies reserved for such events.⁶⁵ The coffin was placed on a bed decorated with draperies and flowers and inscribed with passages from scripture. Around it burned sixteen candles, one for each of the professed sisters who had carried on the work of Mme d'Youville at the Hôpital Général after her death. Incense burned and a constant vigil was kept by members of the community and the poor who had found refuge with the Sisters of Charity.

Around 9 AM on the 23rd, Mgr Bourget arrived and performed a requiem mass assisted by the superior of the Séminaire de St. Sulpice. Following the mass and a sermon on the exemplary virtues of Mme d'Youville, the body was processed around the city. The *Mélanges Religieux* provided a detailed report on the procession. The cross led the way, followed by 70 orphans of the Hôpital Général. They were followed by the 17 novices and 41 professed sisters (three were absent) who were then members of the Order. The body itself followed, carried by seven of the most senior sisters who had known the companions of Mme d'Youville. The Superior of

⁶⁴ Lacelle, Claudette, "Dufrost de Lajemmerais, Marie-Marguerite (Youville)," *DCB*.

⁶⁵ "Exhumation," *Mélanges Religieux*, 23 December 1849.

the Grey Nuns of Montreal, and the Superior of the recently established sister house of the community at Red River in Manitoba came next. They were followed by the residents of the Hôpital Général (59 vieillards, 57 femmes infirmes et 60 enfants trouvés). Finally came the clergy and the Bishop.

Such ceremonies were designed not only to commemorate the life of the foundress, but also to rejuvenate her memory in the present and forward her candidacy for sainthood by sparking a community of devotion. The procession terminated in the community hall of the Sisters of Charity motherhouse at Pointe-à-Callière in the old city where the body was interred in a nook in the wall that separated the hall from the Superior's quarters, where the sisters would pass her everyday.⁶⁶ As noted in *Mélanges Religieux*, the sisters would be constantly under the eye of Mme d'Youville, but so also would the foundress's resting place be constantly under the surveillance of the sisters and accessible to those who might come to ask for favours or to pray.

Canonization was very much on the minds of church officials at the time who wished to see the heroes of New France, and hence the church of Canada, recognized by the Vatican. In the mid 1890s, Auguste Gosselin, a priest and the author of *Vie de Mgr de Laval: premier évêque de Québec et apôtre du Canada*, composed a brief overview of the state of the Catholic church in Canada for the French periodical, *Revue du clergé français*. In it he recounted the fortunes of the faith in the northwest, in Manitoba, on the west coast, in the Maritime Provinces and Ontario, and finally in Quebec for a French clerical audience likely unfamiliar with the church

⁶⁶ When the motherhouse moved from Pointe-à-Callière to the corner of Dorchester and Guy streets in 1871, the nuns took the body of their foundress with them. She was reburied in the crypt under the chapel.

in Canada. The story he had to tell was one of great struggles, but of greater advances, and triumphs led by the mother of the entire Canadian church, the church of Quebec. In fact, the Quebec church, according to Gosselin, had become so successful religiously and socially that

Il ne reste plus à l'Église du Canada qu'une gloire à envier et à espérer, mais celle-là la plus noble de toutes: celle de voir quelques-uns de ses enfants élevés aux honneurs des autels. Cette gloire, nous avons lieu de le croire, ne lui sera pas refusée. [...] Espérons que Dieu glorifiera ses serviteurs en opérant par leur intercession quelques-uns de ces miracles qui enlèvent les suffrages de l'Église, et qu'il nous sera donné de pouvoir les invoquer publiquement comme les protecteurs de notre pays.⁶⁷

Canonization was a long, complicated, and expensive procedure.⁶⁸ Essentially it was a legal affair. Anyone having died with a reputation for sanctity, and that reputation having been sustained over a certain amount of time, could be brought before the court of Rome and have their case judged by the Congregation of Rites (the Congregation for the Causes of Saints after 1983) according to the standards of sanctity set out in canon law. Beginning with the case (or cause, as it is known), of Marie de l'Incarnation in 1877, the church of Quebec and its various religious orders brought numerous candidates forward. At first, candidates were the heroes of the church of New France, but as time passed and the ultramontane church began to

⁶⁷ Auguste Gosselin, *L'Église du Canada extrait de la Revue du clergé français* (Paris: Letourzey et Ané, 1895), 41. Given his interest in the canonization of Canadian holy figures, it is worth noting that Gosselin served as notary apostolic for the cause of Marie de l'Incarnation in 1867.

⁶⁸ In 1910 Thomas Macken estimated that a canonization procedure could cost as much as £10,000, equivalent, in Ronald Rudin's estimate, to over one million Canadian dollars in 2000. Thomas Macken, *The Canonization of Saints* (Dublin, 1910), 287-291. Ronald Rudin, *Founding Fathers*, 253, n. 3. The causes of candidates such as Jeanne Le Ber, who did not have solid backing from a religious order, generally did not proceed very far.

witness new holy performances, candidates from the more recent past were also presented for consideration.

These processes were a long time coming. The Ursulines, for example, had been preparing to take Marie de l'Incarnation's cause to Rome when the British conquest derailed the effort. The conquest significantly altered the position of the church in the colony and its relationship with political power. Generally, the hierarchy wished to ingratiate itself with British imperial authority and as a result did not wish to take any provocative measures that could be deemed as disloyal, such as promoting the causes of French colonial heroes. Canonization causes are, by their nature, highly public and political affairs. It was widely understood that the conquest had been bad for the formal causes of saints. The doctor, writer and historian, Narcisse-Europe Dionne, stated in his testimony in support of the cause of Mgr Laval in 1890 that although the Bishop's reputation for sanctity had grown consistently over the generations, it had done so with difficulty due to "des circonstances difficiles par où la colonie a du passer depuis le milieu du siècle dernier jusqu'à ces dernier temps." Such sentiments were not uncommon.⁶⁹ Postulators of various causes, as well as historians of the church, blamed the lack of progress to date on the unwillingness of the institutional church to provoke political authorities during a period of fragile truce between church and state, and not on a lack of belief on the part of the faith community. More than one hundred years passed before conditions were again deemed favourable for the cause of Marie de l'Incarnation.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Laval 1890, 42. Henri-Raymond Casgrain agreed in his testimony, Laval 1890, 45.

⁷⁰ Marie-Emmanuel Chabot, o.s.u., "Guyart, Marie," *DCB*. Proceedings started in 1867 at the request of the Bishop of Quebec, Charles-François Baillargeon.

Processes advanced through a number of careful steps. At the local level, a postulator oversaw the investigation, collected material evidence, and conducted interviews (known as the Ordinary Process or *procès-verbal*) in order to establish the holy reputation of a candidate. The postulator then presented the cause to Rome and worked with officials to create the *positio*; a printed volume that contained an exposition on the life, witness testimony, and various relevant documents. All of the candidate's writings had to be submitted for examination in case of any irregularities or heretical opinions. Finally miracles had to be substantiated and proven in order for a cause to progress to beatification and ultimately to canonization.

By the late nineteenth century, the church stressed heroic virtue over miracle working in the causes of saints in an attempt to emphasize the rational qualities of the Christian faith over the mystical and metaphysical. Heroic virtue consisted in the demonstration of an extraordinary commitment to the three theological virtues of faith, hope and charity and the four cardinal virtues of prudence, temperance, justice and fortitude.⁷¹ Clear evidence had to be provided by the committee of investigation that the Servant of God exhibited these qualities and persevered in the Christian faith beyond normal expectations for the ordinary faithful. A canon lawyer, the “devil’s advocate,” was appointed to challenge every point of a candidate’s cause. Once the process was complete, the findings of the committee were forwarded to the cardinals of the Congregation of Rites who then made a recommendation to the pope. The final decision, however, always remained with the pope. Although Marie de l’Incarnation’s cause was begun in 1867 it was not officially introduced to the Vatican until ten years later and the investigatory process did not conclude until

⁷¹ Donald Weinstein and Rudolph Bell, *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom, 1000-1700* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 141.

1911. Marie de l'Incarnation was only beatified in 1980, well over one hundred years after her cause began and two hundred years after she died. She requires a second proven miracle to be canonized.

Processes were conducted in great secrecy. Portions of witness testimony could only be published when a cause was successfully introduced to the Vatican and the Servant of God was declared Venerable. The full *positio* was only released when the candidate was beatified. It is for this reason that we do not have full access to the documentation of causes and access only to witness testimonies that have been made available to the public. A typed document entitled, "Instruction aux témoins tirées du Codex des Postulateurs," dated 1895, and found in the archives of the Séminaire de Québec outlines the responsibilities of witnesses and gives a good indication of the secrecy that surrounded these procedures. Witnesses were under oath on pain of charges of perjury that carried a punishment of excommunication not to reveal the testimony they gave, nor even the questions they were asked. A witness was required to tell all they knew or believed in favour or against the candidate and to turn over any documentation that might aid the commission. Witnesses also had to provide sources for their knowledge and belief. Testimony on this point often provides a good indication of the books people were reading about the saints and information that was circulating orally. Testimony could be rendered in writing or orally, but all written records kept by the witness had to be handed over and destroyed when the process was finished.⁷² Although sparse in details, this document provides some of the best indications of the requirements of the Ordinary Process and what was expected of witnesses.

⁷² "Instructions aux témoins," Musée de la civilisation, fonds d'archives du Séminaire de Québec, Fonds Viger-Verreau, P32/35/152.

It is in the testimony of witnesses that we begin to see how sanctity was perceived not just by the clerical elite in their books, but also by other members of the church, nuns and priests, and sometimes even members of the laity. Their testimony can tell us a great deal about how people regarded local holy persons, knew about them, venerated them, and about any contrasting points of view or modes of veneration.

The cause of Marguerite d'Youville began in Montreal in the early 1880s and was formally introduced to the Vatican on 28 April 1890. The cause was accepted and she was declared venerable, following which excerpts of the witness testimony gathered in support of her cause were published in 1894.⁷³ The testimony focused on her reputation for holiness, on the circumstances of the translation of her mortal remains in 1849, and the veneration of her memory that followed. The testimony of nine witnesses was published; five men and four women. Of the men, three were priests and two were laymen (one lawyer, one judge). Of the women, three were members of the Sisters of Charity and one, Josepha Laflamme was identified simply as a wife (*uxor*). The average age of the nine witnesses was 59.2 years. Although the questions posed to them are not included, it is clear from the answers given that each was asked how they knew about Mme d'Youville, if they were aware of a reputation for sanctity, and what they knew about her. None of them, of course, had witnessed the original performance and so they provided evidence primarily of an enduring holy reputation, faith community, and their own devotion to her. Consequently, much of the testimony consists of very similar biographical sketches, especially those

⁷³ Youville, 1894.

offered by members of the Sisters of Charity who seem to recount standard community knowledge about their foundress.

All the witnesses professed a familiarity with Faillon's 1852 Life and several also claimed to know Antoine Sattin's 1828 account, as well as that composed by Mme d'Youville's son, Charles-Marie Magdeleine d'Youville (1771), shortly after her death. The two laymen, Raphael Bellemare and Simeon Pagnuelo, relied most heavily on written accounts for their knowledge rather than personal experience. Bellemare admitted to have heard people speaking about her for forty years and confessed that he had himself invoked her many times.⁷⁴ Pagnuelo was rather more coolly disposed towards her reputation admitting that he had only read Faillon in college, and that he had also seen the *procès-verbal* of the exhumation of her remains in 1849.⁷⁵

The priests who were interviewed, two Sulpicians and the Canon of the Cathedral of Montreal, all appear more knowledgeable and more enthusiastic than the laymen, a fact which may reflect Christine Hudon's argument that demonstrative forms of piety came to dominant clerical discourse in the second half of the century and combined with exterior actions to create the dynamic ultramontane church.⁷⁶

Alfred Thomas Tranchemontagne told the commission that,

J'ai de la dévotion pour la Vénérable Servante de Dieu, à raison des grandes vertus qu'elle a pratiquées si constamment et de certains faits relatés dans sa vie qui semblent tenir du miracle, et aussi à cause de ce sentiment général de dévotion envers elle, qui existe dans le clergé et nos communautés religieuses du pays... Je désire beaucoup sa béatification, pour le bien de sa communauté et de l'Église du Canada et la glorification de la Vénérable.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 80-82.

⁷⁶ Christine Hudon, *Prêtres et fidèles*, 423.

But by far, evidence of the most active forms of veneration is found in the testimonies of the female witnesses, both the members of the Sisters of Charity and the one lay woman represented. For Julia Virginia Casgram-Baby, Sister of Charity, aged 55, personal experience of the intercession of Mme d'Youville trumped reading knowledge. She stated that as a girl in 1854 she went to visit the tomb of Marguerite d'Youville, and while in prayer before it she experienced her first call to the religious life. It was only after she joined the Grey Nuns that she began to read about the foundress in the archives of the order and to hear more about her from the older sisters.⁷⁷ She testified that Marguerite d'Youville's reputation increased significantly amongst the wider community after the translation of her remains in 1849, and continued to grow still. She even offered evidence of recent miraculous cures obtained through the application of pieces of the exhumed coffin.⁷⁸

Maria Eulalia Perrin, Sister of Charity, age 61, testified that her knowledge of Marguerite d'Youville came from works she had read by Sattin and Faillon, a number of letters from 'distinguished persons' praising the Servant of God, and the traditions of the community. But her devotion also had another source.

J'ai une dévotion particulière à Notre Vénérable Mère parce qu'elle est ma Mère; Je crois à ses vertus, et j'ai foi à son pouvoir; je l'invoque intérieurement tous les jours, j'ai souvent fait des neuvaines en son honneur; j'ai prié souvent à son tombeau, j'ai beaucoup parlé d'elle et j'ai souvent engagé les autres à l'invoquer dans leurs besoins. Je désire beaucoup sa béatification pour la gloire de Dieu et de notre Sainte Religion, de Notre Institut et de notre pays tout entier.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Youville, 1894, 52.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 63-65.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 66.

As much as the holy reputation of Marguerite d'Youville had entered into the wider lay community following 1849, the sisters of her order, nevertheless, claimed a special relationship with their foundress. Sister Perrin evidently engaged in her own private devotions towards the candidate and urged others to do so too. But public veneration of someone not formally recognized as a saint could be problematic. It was banned by the Vatican for fear of skewing the canonization process by manufacturing a faith community rather than allowing devotion to develop organically.⁸⁰ The celebrations held in 1849 for Marguerite d'Youville's translation appeared a lot like an occasion of public and manufactured veneration. The line between public cult and private faith was very fine indeed. All the witnesses assured the commission that there was no public cult and nothing resembling a public cult during these events or at any other time. Raphael Bellemare, the lawyer, testified that Bourget had performed a requiem mass and not a mass for the saint, a fact supported by reports from the time. Bourget specifically told him in 1849 that,

...cette cause serait portée devant le Saint Siège avant longtemps, et après cela seulement après un jugement favorable, nous pourrions avoir le bonheur de vénérer ses reliques sur les autels et l'invoquer publiquement. Monseigneur ajouta, cependant que ces règles ne privaient pas les personnes qui avaient confiance dans les mérites de la Servante de Dieu, qui ne doutaient pas qu'elle avait reçu dans le Ciel la récompense de ses vertus, du droit de l'invoquer privément.⁸¹

Marguerite d'Youville could not be mentioned in divine office. No relic or image could be placed upon the altar or displayed publicly for veneration by the faithful in any fashion. Images were allowed as long as they included no marks of holiness such as halos, rays of light, or inscriptions. Candles and incense were not to

⁸⁰ Rudin, *Founding Fathers*, 106.

⁸¹ Youville, 1894, 90.

be burned next to her tomb and certainly no public oratories or altars were to be dedicated to her. Nevertheless, it was acceptable for people to invoke her privately and pray for her intercession alone. The Sulpician priest Alfred Tranchemantagne admitted "...qu'on a donné fréquemment à la Servante de Dieu le nom de sainte fondatrice, mais sans attacher à ce titre la sainteté proclamée par l'Église."⁸²

And what of the crowds that reportedly came to pay their respects to Mère d'Youville at her new tomb in the convent hall? Were they not evidence of a public veneration? Julia Casgram-Baby testified that,

Monseigneur l'Évêque ayant permis que pendant huit jours les fidèles du dehors eussent la liberté [sic] de visiter ce corps vénérable, il y eut durant ce temps un concours considérable de personnes de tout âge et de toute condition qui l'empressèrent de donner aux restes précieux de la Servante de Dieu des marques de la vénération la plus religieuse et qui furent éclater leur confiance en son crédit [sic] auprès de Dieu. Un grand nombre voulait avoir quelque chose qui lui eut appartenu pour le garder comme objet digne de leur vénération. Monseigneur permit de distribuer en parcelle, du bois du son cercueil, et c'est avec cette précieuse relique qu'il s'est opéré des guérisons merveilleuses.⁸³

According to the witnesses, the crowds came as individuals, privately to ask for private favours. Rather than throw into doubt the authenticity of the cult of devotion to Mère d'Youville, these crowds proved her great and widespread appeal. This testimony, however, still comes primarily from members of the church and members of elite lay society who were guided by a particular aim and specific rules of engagement. It would be interesting to know how the public who came, apparently in significant numbers, to the tomb of Marguerite d'Youville in December of 1849 and after, regarded their own actions. Certainly the few lay people who did testify

⁸² *Ibid.*, 98.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 102-103.

avowed that there was no public cult, but they are hardly a representative sample. It was in the interest of these witnesses to testify that there was no public cult. Yet their testimony also shows how they could work within the prescriptions of Catholic doctrine to engage in their own devotional practices. From any perspective, the line between public and private in the devotional practices outlined here was a thin one, and yet the faithful managed to accommodate both ideology and practice within their devotional field.

The prevalence of references to hagiographic works, especially the contemporary account by Faillon, bears witness to the influence such texts had amongst a certain group of spiritual and lay elites in ultramontane Quebec. It also indicates that a textual community had begun to form around authoritative texts and the oral versions of them that spread the reputation of the would-be saint through society. Witnesses were well versed in the ‘official’ version of the life of the saint, and their willingness to invoke “la tradition populaire” indicates that what people were saying in the streets of Montreal about the Servant of God may not have been terribly out of line with official interpretations.⁸⁴ Virtually all the witnesses testified that widespread devotion to Marguerite d’Youville increased exponentially following the translation of her remains in 1849 – an event that had a distinctly public character. The ceremonies had achieved their purpose, but the public devotion that resulted did not go unchallenged. In a church that advocated active participation of the laity in religion and demonstrative forms of piety, it would not be surprising if control over practices sometimes escaped the hierarchy. The re-inscription of those practices back into the bounds of official doctrine was the job of witnesses and the

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 82. This reference to popular tradition comes from no less an ecclesiastical authority than Jean-Baptiste Proulx, Canon of the Cathedral of Montreal.

ecclesiastical literature of the period. In his testimony to the commission investigating the life and virtues of Mgr Laval, Narcisse Dionne reported that the clergy were very supportive of “la dévotion populaire au Ven. Serviteur de Dieu.”⁸⁵

Witness testimony from other processes supports these observations. During the Ordinary Process conducted for the cause of Catherine de Saint-Augustin between 1923 and 1926, Adrien Valiquet, an Oblate Priest, testified that it was primarily in the religious communities and upper classes that Catherine enjoyed a reputation for sanctity,

Mais on peut ajouter que ces livres nombreux, brochures, périodiques pénétrèrent aussi dans un grand nombre de familles où se fait la lecture en commun des livres édifiants, de même que dans les maison d’éducation où ces sortes de lectures se font soit durant les repas, soit à la salle d’étude, ou à la lecture spirituelle.”⁸⁶

Another witness added that although Catherine de Saint-Augustin’s reputation was always maintained amongst the religious communities and educated peoples, it had been greatly augmented amongst other social ranks by the publication of Casgrain’s *Histoire de l’Hôtel Dieu*, and Hudon’s *Life*.⁸⁷ By the early twentieth century, hagiographies were penetrating society like never before, spurred on by the ultramontane devotional revolution, canonization procedures, and the strength of the church in all facets of daily life. Schools played a significant role in the distribution of saints’ lives as prizes and spiritual reading, and also made use of the ultramontane histories of Canada being composed at the time in their classes. The

⁸⁵ Laval, 1890, 42.

⁸⁶ *Sacra Congregatio pro Causis Sanctorum Officium Historicum, Quebecen. Beatificationis et Canonizationis Servae Dei Mariae Catherinae a Sancto Augustino, Positio Super Intructione Causae et Virtutibus ex Officio Concinnata* (Rome, 1978), 439 (Hereafter, Catherine de Saint-Augustin, 1978).

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 445.

government of Quebec ordered about one hundred copies of Hudon's book in the summer of 1908 to use as year-end prizes for school children. Les Soeurs de Sainte-Croix, a community of teachers, ordered six dozen copies for their schools. In total, Hudon reported that more than 4000 copies of the first edition were printed.⁸⁸ Children became a captive audience for the devotional histories of the day.

Even as textual communities grew around the reputations and memory of the holy persons of New France, new holy performances gave the faithful new local holy persons with whom to engage. In 1930 an Ordinary Process was held in Edmonton to investigate the reputation of sanctity of Mgr Vital Grandin, the former bishop of the Diocese of St. Albert. During this process Sarah Rondeau, who described herself as a midwife and one of the first Catholic colonist brought by Grandin to St. Albert from Quebec, offered testimony that illustrates the sort of relationship that a faith community might have with a local holy person at the end of the nineteenth century. "Pour mieux montrer notre pensée de grande vénération," she told the commission, "nous disions quelquefois: 'Après le Bon Dieu c'est Mgr. Grandin!' Nous savions que cela n'est pas vrai, mais parmi le peuple, c'est comme cela qu'on croit devoir s'expliquer pour être compris."⁸⁹ The laity did not always follow all the rules when they engaged with local holy persons, not necessarily out of ignorance, but rather because they could lay claim to their saint and defined him as they saw fit. The faith community interacted with Grandin in day-to-day life and might foist upon him the role they believed the saint should take. Sarah Rondeau

⁸⁸ Gagnon, *Le Québec et ses historiens*, 112.

⁸⁹ Archives Deschatellets, Oblats de Marie-Imaculée, Université Saint-Paul, Ottawa. *Beatificationis et Canonizationis servi Dei Vitalis Justini Grandin Epi Sancti Alberti e congregatione oblatorum M. Immaculatae, Positio Super Introductione Causae* (Rome: 1936), 370. (Hereafter, Grandin 1936).

told the commission how Mgr Grandin had cured her daughter, Marie-Mechtilda. At the age of six months, the infant had contracted an illness that had left her feet crippled so that she could not walk. When she was three, Mgr Grandin came to their village and Sarah Rondeau, believing in his sanctity, took Marie-Mechtilda to see him and ask for a cure. “Je lui dis donc, en lui présentant la pauvre fille estropiée: ‘voilà, Monseigneur, je viens vous demander un miracle pour guérir notre enfant!’” He replied, presumably with tongue slightly in cheek, that he never learned to do miracles, to which Sarah Rondeau replied, “Eh! Bien, lui dis-je, vous allez apprendre aujourd’hui!” The besieged bishop told her that if she believed in the good Lord then the Lord would be good, and he promised to pray for her and bless her child. And then, addressing Marie-Mechtilda, he said “ma petite, eh bien, c’est demain matin que tu marcheras!” The following morning Sarah Rondeau awoke to find that Marie’s feet had taken an entirely natural position and that she could walk. Grandin claimed that it was Sarah Rondeau’s faith that had cured her daughter, but Sarah believed it was the bishop who had worked a miracle. She reported to the commissioners that she knew of others who had also witnessed the bishop’s skill in the field of miracle-working.⁹⁰

Miracles were not supposed to be performed by living people, even holy people. It is intercession with God in heaven that is the effective means. This episode shows the ability of the believer to negotiate with the holy man, to impose upon him expectations of what a saint should be and interpret any results accordingly. In the end, Bishop Grandin did what was expected of him from the point of view of the faithful. From the perspective of the church, he encouraged a

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 424-428.

laywoman to put her faith in God. This may be an exceptional example, but numerous other witnesses testified during the Ordinary Process that they too often invoked Grandin like a saint, prayed before his tomb for intercessions, and hope that he might be recognized by the Vatican so that a truly public cult could be initiated.⁹¹

Sophia Rowland, a lay woman of 93 years, testified,

Sur les différentes vertus, nous autres qui n'avons pas fait beaucoup d'études dans les livres, nous ne savons pas parler de ces choses-là. Mais il n'était pas difficile de se rendre compte que notre évêque était meilleur que beaucoup d'autres sous beaucoup de rapports, chaque fois qu'on le voyait ou l'entendait, soit qu'il vint nous visiter à la maison, soit à l'évêché, ou à l'église. Nous admirions surtout son extraordinaire piété, sa grand bonté et sa profonde humilité et simplicité.⁹²

Vital Grandin was declared Venerable in 1966.

In books and in devotions, the saints of New France acquired reputations and audiences in the nineteenth century that they never could have achieved in their own day. When asked why he thought there had not been a canonization process earlier for Catherine de Saint-Augustin, Amédée Gosselin, priest and former archivist at the Séminaire de Québec, blamed it on the fact that in the eighteenth century the educated classes in New France all came from France and were not interested in the history of the colonies. More to the point, "il n'y a eut pas même d'imprimerie au Canada sous le régime français. Les livres qu'on y trouvait venaient de France. On ne pouvait donc être renseigné que par la tradition, ou par des livres comme celui du P. Ragueneau." While such a response might reflect the particular view of a librarian, it also shows how any effort to build a textual community in New France was doomed

⁹¹ The case of Frère André, founder of St. Joseph's Oratory in Montreal, shows a similar reluctance, but also efficacy, in achieving cures that were regarded as miraculous by the faithful.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 106.

to failure. Those who did know about her life, he continues, were generally engaged in more pressing matters such as war and did not have time to give testimony even when they were convinced of her holiness either by tradition or through her writings. Finally, the poor state of the church under the English prevented advancing any canonization cause for many years after the conquest.⁹³

As Auguste Gosselin pointed out, however, the church in Quebec, by the end of the nineteenth century, lacked nothing but a canonized saint. The works of the clerical elite, histories of the heroes of the past, penetrated society through reading, orally, and through the performances of rituals designed to augment private devotions. These, in turn, bolstered the canonization procedures that, if successful, would allow the introduction of a public cult of veneration towards a local religious hero. Through the testimony of witnesses at various canonization processes we are able to get a sense of how a cult spread in this period and how people at a variety of social levels, created and responded to forms of devotion.

The Religious Press

Following 1840, a religious press developed in many of the new dioceses created in Quebec, especially Montreal and Quebec City, that played an important role in the promotion and dissemination of the cults of local holy people. A popular press had developed slowly in French Canada. There was no printing press in New France at all and consequently all works distributed in the colony had to be imported from France. The earliest Quebec and Montreal printers were Americans who settled in the colony after the conquest. After 1800 there was an explosion in the political

⁹³ Catherine de Saint-Augustin, 1978, 451.

press leading up to the Rebellions in 1837-38. Papers were expensive luxury items, however, and subscriptions were consequently low.⁹⁴ Chief amongst these was George-Étienne Cartier's *La Minerve*, which was published from 1826 until 1899. The political press tended to be secular and liberal and was often associated with specific parties. *La Minerve* was the organ of the Conservative Party, while *l'Avenir*, which began publication in 1847, was produced by the liberal Institut Canadien.

In Montreal the religious press began as a way of countering the secular press and presenting an ultramontane perspective to middle class readers. In 1840, Mgr Bourget founded *Les Mélanges Religieux*, a weekly that was the mouthpiece of his diocese. It ran until 1852. In Quebec Joseph-Charles Taché started the *Courrier du Canada* in 1857, a paper that was “par-dessus tout et avant tout Catholique.”⁹⁵ Papers such as these and their successors were used to disseminate the ultramontane message and challenge the liberalism of *l'Avenir*. Moreover, as religious orders establish themselves in Quebec, they too began publishing monthly magazines for the faithful (*Relations* of the Jesuits and *Revue du Tiers-Ordre de la Terre-Sainte* of the Franciscans for example). There was also a children's press represented by publications such as *L'Abeille* that began publication in 1925 offering Catholic and national-themed adventure stories to young readers.

⁹⁴ Gérard Laurence, “The Newspaper Press in Quebec and Lower Canada,” in *History of the Book in Canada* vol. 1, eds. Patricia Lockhart Fleming, Gilles Gallichan, and Yvan Lamonde, 237. On printing and publishing in Quebec see the collection of essays *L'imprimé au Québec: Aspects historiques, 18^e-20^e siècles*, ed., Yvon Lamonde (Montréal: Institut Québécois de Recherche sur la Culture, 1983).

⁹⁵ Taché, quoted in Lucien Lemieux, *Histoire du catholicisme Québécois: Réveil et consolidation 1840-1898*. ed. Nive Voisine (Québec: Boréal, 1991), 139. Jean-Guy Nadeau, “Taché, Joseph-Charles,” *DCB*.

Publications such as these promoted the cult and veneration of the saints. On 27 March 1865, Henri-Raymond Casgrain and Alexis Pelletier began a series in the *Courrier du Canada* entitled, “La Beauté de la vie des saints” which promoted the reading of saints lives and offered summaries of the lives of the most famous saints of the church. The following week, Casgrain offered his image of the ideal family reading edifying literature together at the end of a long day, and rooted it in a distant and unspecified past.

La vie des saints! Tel était autrefois le livre favori des familles canadiennes. Quand les rudes travaux de la journée étaient terminés, que le chef de la maison, suivi des aînés de ses enfants, rentrait sous son toit, tout harassé de fatigue, on se réunissait autour de foyer après quelques instant de repos qui suivaient le souper, et on lisait en famille la vie du saint du jour; c'était là le plus beau délassement de la journée.⁹⁶

The *Courrier du Canada* also offered its readers periodic updates on the progress made by various canonization procedures. In the 8 June 1883 edition, editor Narcisse-Europe Dionne reported that the preliminary work on Laval's process was complete and it was ready to be sent to the Congrégation des Rites. He also reported on two authenticated miracles credited to Laval that were to be included in the final report.⁹⁷ Over the course of its print run, *l'Abeille* presented numerous accounts of the religious heroes of New France and their adventures including an article in the January 1926 issue entitled, “Les saints de chez nous,” and profiles of Marie de l'Incarnation (February 1927), the Jesuit martyrs (March 1927), and Jeanne Le Ber (February 1928). The writers of these articles, features, and reports were very often

⁹⁶ *Courrier du Canada*, 31 mars 1865.

⁹⁷ “Mgr Laval,” *Courrier du Canada*, 8 juin 1883.

the same men who composed the detailed histories of local holy persons that were characteristic of the second half of the nineteenth century.

The press provided a secondary means of promoting the cause of a saint. The revival of the cult of Frère Didace Pelletier at the end of the nineteenth century illustrates how a religious journal could be used to disseminate a cult and promote a canonization cause. After 1720, as we have seen, the cult and cause of Frère Didace floundered. Following the conquest, the Récollet Order, like the Jesuits, was prevented by British regulations from recruiting new members and fell into a slow, but inevitable decline leading to extinction when the last Récollet brother died in 1849. The Récollet Order in France was suppressed during the Revolution and so was effectively extinct by the middle of the nineteenth century.

When Franciscans returned to Canada in 1890 they cultivated a strong interest in the history of their Récollet predecessors and in Frère Didace in particular. Joseph Denis's collection of materials in support of Frère Didace's holiness dating from the early eighteenth century was rediscovered in 1858 when it passed into the hands of Abbé Hospice-Anthelme Verreau (1828-1901), principal of the École Normale Jacques-Cartier in Montreal from 1856 to 1902.⁹⁸ It was found in a collection of historical documents gathered together originally by Jacques Viger (1787-1858) who, amongst other things, had been the first mayor of Montreal from 1833 to 1836, and had helped found the Société historique de Montréal. He was

⁹⁸ Thérèse Hamel, "Verreau, Hospice-Anthelme-Jean-Baptiste," *DCB*. More a liberal than an ultramontane, Verreau was an active collector, historian and archivist. In 1873-4 he was sent by the government of the Dominion of Canada on a tour of European archives searching for documents related to Canada especially in Paris, London, and Rome. For this reason he is considered one of the fathers of the National Archives of Canada. He bequeathed his collections to the Séminaire de Québec.

serving as the Société's first president when he died in 1858 and his collections passed on to his successor, Verreau.⁹⁹

Within in a year of coming into possession of the collection, Verreau wrote a letter to the Ursulines of Trois-Rivières asking to know more about Didace Pelletier. Perhaps Verreau's inquiries sparked the interest of the Ursuline sisters because their 1888 *Histoire des Ursulines des Trois-Rivières* includes several pages dedicated to the memory of Frère Didace.¹⁰⁰ Verreau made a copy of the manuscript which he published along with annotations in the Journal, *Canada Français* in 1891.¹⁰¹ The publication of the "Actes du Frère Didace," combined with the return of the Franciscans to Montreal the year before renewed interest in a cult that had all but died out. His cause was taken up particularly by the Franciscan Odoric Jouve who began researching and writing extensively about Frère Didace in the 1890s and published a complete history in 1910, by which time the Franciscans had been actively encouraging a cult of devotion through the pages of their monthly journal, the *Revue du Tiers-Ordre de la Terre sainte* (1891-1916), for twenty years.

The *Revue* began publication in January of 1891 and in May of that year the first article dedicated to Frère Didace appeared. It was inspired by another that had

⁹⁹ Jean-Claude Robert, "Viger, Jacques," *DCB*. On Viger's collecting habits see Nathalie Hamel, "Collectionner les « monuments » du passé: La pratique antiquaire de Jacques Viger," *RHAF* vol. 59, nos. 1-2 (été-automne 2005): 73-94. Hamel argues that Viger was primarily concerned with erecting different types of *monuments* to the past (objects, manuscripts, and images) through his collecting, copying and correspondence with other savants (82-86, 93).

¹⁰⁰ *Les Ursulines des Trois-Rivières; Depuis leur établissement jusqu'à nos jours*, tome premier (Québec: P.V. Ayotte, 1888), 208-217. Verreau's letter was dated 24 February 1859. It is found in Archives des Franciscains de Montréal (AFM), Fonds Odoric Jouve, Dossier Didace Pelletier B 261-2, pièce 586. See René Bacon, "Le Récollet Didace Pelletier est-il canonisable? Regards sur les données historiques," *SCHEC Études d'histoire religieuse*, 57 (1990), 85.

¹⁰¹ Odoric Jouve, "Les actes du Frère Didace Pelletier, Récollet," *Canada Français*, IV (1891): 253-282.

appeared the previous March in the Quebec weekly, *La Semaine religieuse de Québec*.

The article, which continued over the next several issues, was written by the priest Charles Trudelle and called specifically for a canonization procedure for Frère Didace.

Il est cependant un nom que le temps, ce grand destructeur des souvenirs, a jeté depuis longtemps dans le souffre de l'oubli, mais qui mérite particulièrement d'être connu; c'est celui du bon Frère Didace (Pelletier), Récollet, mort aux Trois-Rivières en odeur de sainteté le 21 Février 1699. Il me semble que, dans un temps où l'Église semble vouloir placer sur les autels tous des principaux personnages de notre histoire qu'elle vient de déclarer Vénérables, il est bien à propos de chercher les moyens de faire revivre la mémoire de ce bon religieux.¹⁰²

But for any procedure to be successful miracles were needed. "Pour le succès de la canonisation d'un saint, il faut des miracles qui viennent confirmer le titre qu'il peut avoir à cette gloire... Pour prier et invoquer ceux qui, à juste titre, sont regardés comme des saints, il faut les connaître quelque peu." Over the next several issues, from May to November, Trudelle set out to make Frère Didace known to his reading audience in the hope that knowledge might promote devotions which, in turn, would result in a belief community and miracles. The July edition of the *Revue du Tiers-Ordre* reproduced exactly Joseph Denis's introductory letter and brief biographical sketch, plus the letter of support from M. du Belloy, and Mgr de Saint-Vallier's testimony regarding his cure at the tomb of Frère Didace in Trois-Rivières in 1716. The September and October issues summarized several of the procès-verbaux conducted into Didace's alleged miracles and lamented the fact that people in the present day had ceased to invoke him.

Qui sait si, la confiance en ce grand serviteur de Dieu renaissant aujourd'hui, de nouvelles faveurs extraordinaires ne seraient pas

¹⁰² *Revue du Tiers-Ordre de la Terre-sainte* (mai 1891), 145.

obtenues par son intercession? Alors on pourrait espérer de voir un jour son nom inscrit au catalogue des Saints que l'église honore d'un culte public. Quelle gloire alors pour nous, Canadien Français!¹⁰³

Trudelle's recounting of the miracles of Frère Didace and his musings over whether or not similar favours might be expected in the present day set up the final denouement in the November issue; a call for evidence that Frère Didace continued to favour the faithful.

Nous serions bien reconnaissants aux personnes qui, après avoir invoqué le frère Didace, en auraient obtenu un secours évident, de nous le faire savoir, afin que nous puissions, à la gloire de Dieu et de ce bon religieux, insérer dans la *Revue* le catalogue de ces bienfaits. Un jour, ils pourraient servir à introduire la cause de ce religieux franciscain et canadien.¹⁰⁴

The response was immediate, sustained, and overwhelming. The first testaments to his intercession were published in the January 1892 edition of the *Revue* under the title "Reconnaissance pour Faveurs obtenues." Over the next twenty-five to thirty years, the *Revue* published hundreds of accounts of successful appeals to Frère Didace's intercession from Quebec, Canada, and the United States. Whether the Franciscans' call tapped into an already existing popular faith in the Récollet brother, or prompted people to have recourse to him by making him better known is not clear. However, the almost complete lack of a public record concerning Frère Didace between 1720 and 1890, coupled with the lamentations of authorities such as Trudelle that he had been forgotten by the public, argues for the latter. The spread of devotion to him after the appearance of this article indicates that this was a cult reborn. Accounts of the intercessions were published with a persistent regularity through the end of the second decade of the twentieth century.

¹⁰³ *Revue du Tiers-Ordre* (septembre 1891), 282.

¹⁰⁴ *Revue du Tiers-Ordre* (novembre 1891), 333.

In February of 1892, Father Désiré, curé of La Petite Rivière St-François near Baie St-Paul in the Charlevoix region of Quebec, wrote to the *Revue* to inform the editors and readers how he had begun to encourage many people to have recourse in their needs to Frère Didace. As a result, he wrote, he had seen many miraculous cures attributable to Frère Didace. He related four in his letter. A young father was cured overnight of inflammatory rheumatism that had afflicted his entire body. In Baie St-Paul, a mother who had been bedridden for eight years due to a weakness in her legs was cured on the second day of her novena. Finding herself cured, wrote Father Désiré, she immediately got out of bed and returned to the housework and, as a result, she suffered a relapse about a month later. Again at Baie St-Paul, an old woman scheduled to have surgery in Quebec to remove a cancer went to Father Désiré to ask him if there was another way to obtain a cure. He told her that if she had confidence in God she might avoid the surgeon's knife, and that she ought to offer a novena to Frère Didace. He assured her the cancer would not get worse while she did so. Each day of her novena saw a reduction in the size of the tumor. After two more novenas it was completely gone. Finally, a blind girl who offered a novena to Jesus and Frère Didace partially recovered her sight.¹⁰⁵

The prominent role played by the local priest in these cures is striking. Not only does he encourage the faithful to have recourse to miraculous interventions in their needs, but he suggests they appeal to a relatively unknown and untried local holy person. In addition to dispensing spiritual solutions, he also offered medical advice to the faithful, assuring a woman with cancer that she would not suffer if she delayed her treatment over the course of at least the three novenas it took for the

¹⁰⁵ *Revue du Tiers-Ordre* (mai 1892), 155-156.

tumor to apparently disappear. This was not a priest afraid to innovate or prescribe. He saw an opportunity to advance the faith of his parishioners and the cause of a local saint at the same time and he took it. Frère Didace may have been a religious figure from the past, but in effect his cult was new, reborn, and very active.

In July of 1892, the *Revue* published a copy of an engraving of Frère Didace that had been discovered by Henri-Raymond Casgrain as he was conducting research at the Bibliothèque nationale de Paris in 1887. The engraving had been made in Paris by Jean-Baptiste Scotin from an original likeness made in Canada around 1690 which Joseph Denis took to France in 1719.¹⁰⁶ It depicts Frère Didace dressed in the Franciscan habit standing before a crucifix and holding a skull in his right hand, upon which he is gazing with some affection.



Figure 3. Frère Didace Pelletier

¹⁰⁶ Odoric-M. Jouve, o.f.m., *Le Frère Didace Pelletier, Récollet* (Québec: Couvent des SS. Stigmates, 1910), 247-248. Joseph Denis mentions an image in his letter to the Récollet Procurator at Rome. See “Actes du très devot frère Didace, Récollet, mort en odeur du sainteté en 1699,” Musée de la civilisation, fonds d'archives du Séminaire de Québec, fonds Viger-Verreault, P32/O-73.

As a result of its publication, this image entered into the spiritual stores of the faithful, and subsequent accounts of favours and intercessions published in the *Revue* consistently mention its use in various ways.¹⁰⁷ For example, in June of 1893, Arthémise Bédard reported to the *Revue* that he had been cured of an inflammation as a result of a novena and the application of Frère Didace's image to the unspecified region.¹⁰⁸ Another correspondent, who gave her name only as Dame P.J.C., suffered from a persistent abscess on her leg. She wrote to the *Revue* in April of 1910,

Un jour un ami de mon mari lui donna une image du Bon Frère Didace, que je mis dans une bouteille d'eau; je me lavais la jambe avec cette eau et j'en buvais souvent; tout de suite je me suis sentie mieux et dans l'espace d'un mois à peu près, ma jambe était complètement guérie.

Several correspondents related miracles that included variations on this practice of dissolving his image in water and drinking it.¹⁰⁹

Copies of his image were also handed out personally by Franciscan fathers and lay members of the order. In this way, Frère Didace's reputation spread even further beyond the readers of the *Revue* and their friends and family. The more successful his intercessions appeared the more he was resorted to by those in need. A textual community of the faithful began to form around the accounts of miracles attributed to the intercession of Frère Didace published in the *Revue*. In the April 1910 issue a letter appeared from Dame J.A.D., "Après avoir lu les nombreux

¹⁰⁷ René Bacon estimates that between 1891 and 1911 more than 200 000 copies of this portrait were distributed throughout French Canada and amongst French Canadians in New England. *Dictionnaire biographique des Récollets missionnaires en Nouvelle-France, 1615-1645, 1670-1849*, Odoric Jouve; avec la collaboration d'Archange Godbout, Hervé Blais et René Bacon (Saint-Laurent: Bellarmin, 1996), 773, n. 210.

¹⁰⁸ *Revue du Tiers-Ordre* (juin 1893), 270.

¹⁰⁹ *Revue du Tiers-Ordre* (avril, 1910) 196; also, for example, avril 1910, 198; and avril 1911, 185.

témoignages de guérisons obtenues par l'intercession du Bon Frère Didace, je résolu de l'invoquer moi aussi et de faire publier la guérison pour donner à autres la même confiance.”¹¹⁰

In fact, with the possible exception of the novena, by far the most common method of achieving the favour of Frère Didace was through a promise to publish an account of the cure or favour in the *Revue*. For example, in 1893, F. Cuthbert was cured of a toothache which she had suffered for six months when she made a promise to Frère Didace “de le faire publier dans la Revue et de ne pas discontinuer son abonnement comme elle l'avait résolu.”¹¹¹ In February of 1894, J.N.L. of Rue Montcalm in Montreal reported two graces he or she had received after performing a novena in honour of Frère Didace and making a promise to “publier le résultat dans la *Revue*.”¹¹² In cases where the recipient of the miraculous intervention was illiterate, the local parish priest might report to the *Revue* what transpired. There are numerous examples of curés relating the cures of their parishioners. These accounts provide evidence that the cult of devotion spread beyond the reading public and beyond lay members of the Franciscans and subscribers to their journal, extending the textual community well beyond the limits of the text.

As in the early eighteenth century, miracles in the late nineteenth continued to perform a strong social function as evidenced by the need of the *miraculé(e)s* to make public what had happened to them. Certainly publication of miracle accounts in the *Revue* or any other journal was intended to render credit where credit was due

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 197.

¹¹¹ *Revue du Tiers-Ordre* (fevrier 1893), 79.

¹¹² *Revue du Tiers-Ordre* (fevrier 1894), 70.

and publicize the effectiveness of Frère Didace's intercession so that others might benefit and also have recourse to him in their needs. Publication also advertised the fact that a given person had been favoured by God. To be cured not only demonstrated the effectiveness of the holy person and his or her sanctity, but also the devotion and piety of the person cured. Having been rescued from the margins of society where the ill reside, the *miraculé* was inserted into the heart of the faith community.

For close to three decades the *Revue du Tiers-Ordre* was filled with the miraculous intercessions of Frère Didace, but the momentum of a cult is difficult to sustain. Despite the publication of Odoric Jouve's authoritative biography in 1910, popular devotions and testaments to Didace's miraculous interventions began to dwindle by the middle of that decade. The canonization cause had not advanced very far. In 1920, the postulator of the cause, Germain-M. Desnoyers, issued a call in the *Revue* to "recueillir tous les documents concernant la vie de ce Serviteur de Dieu, et aussi les Témoignages certains relatifs aux guérisons réputées miraculeuses attribuées à la intercession du Frère Didace," but the cause was already stalling.¹¹³ The Vatican informed the postulator that the cause could not be formally introduced before the Life that Joseph Denis had claimed he wrote back in the early eighteenth century was found.¹¹⁴ Even the existence of a fairly prominent faith community was not enough to push forward a cause when the legalistic demands of canonical proof could not be met. Moreover, by 1916, the *Revue* had another cause to push forward. On the 4th of August of that year, Frédéric Jansoone died with a reputation for holiness. Janssoone

¹¹³ *Revue du Tiers-Ordres* (decembre 1920), 596-598.

¹¹⁴ René Bacon, "Le Récollet Didace Pelletier, est-il canonisable?" 87.

was a Franciscan of Flemish decent who had been a missionary in the Franciscan community in Jerusalem before he arrived in Canada in 1888. In Quebec, he constructed a mission at Trois-Rivières, the first since the days of the Récollets, and paved the way for the return of the Franciscans to Canada. He is probably best known, however, for constructing the shrine to the Virgin Mary at Cap-de-la-Madeleine and initiating a yearly pilgrimage there. The *Revue* published his obituary in the September issue.¹¹⁵ By November it was publishing acknowledgements of his intercession.¹¹⁶ The canonization cause of Frédéric Janssoone proceeded with greater success than that of Frère Didace and he was beatified in 1987.

The Franciscan Order, of course, was not the only one to use the print medium to advance the reputation and cause of a favoured predecessor. The Congrégation de Notre-Dame, for example, encouraged friends, relatives and students to pray to their foundress, Marguerite Bourgeoys and then recorded any positive results. In 1925 the sisters published a book of these results. Entitled, *Guérisons et faveurs attribuées à l'intervention de la vénérable Mère Marguerite Bourgeoys*, it contained accounts of seventy-four miracles credited to the intervention of the foundress from correspondents in Quebec, Canada, and the United States, that took place between 3 January 1870 and 19 September 1925.¹¹⁷ This book was published to help advance her cause for beatification.

Print media were an effective means for spreading the cult of a local holy person that simply were not available to promote causes in earlier eras. At the end of

¹¹⁵ *Revue du Tiers-Ordre* (septembre 1916), 448-455.

¹¹⁶ *Revue du Tiers-Ordre* (novembre 1916), 572.

¹¹⁷ S. Ste-Alexine, *Guérisons et faveurs attribuées à l'intervention de la vénérable Mère Marguerite Bourgeoys*, Montréal: Congrégation de Notre-Dame, 1925.

the nineteenth century, textual communities of belief were finally realized around the cults of the heroes of New France as the ecclesiastical hierarchy sought the canonization of the saints of the past for the benefit of the present and future. Textual communities, as defined by Brian Stock, involve the creators, interpreters, disseminators, and receivers of texts in the formulation of collective consciousness around a common interpretation of a text.¹¹⁸ This is not to say that everyone within a textual community was equal in power. Far from it. The clergy clearly took the lead in disseminating cults and determining their proper meaning and the correct way of using them for the faithful. They interpreted the texts and devised proper procedural knowledge that they passed on to the faithful. But neither devotions, nor even canonization processes, were driven by the clerical elite alone. Rather, the process of reviving or creating a cult at the end of the nineteenth century was one that necessarily involved both prescription and practice. The laity was essential to these causes. Faith communities were rooted in both texts and practices as is illustrated by witness testimony before canonization processes that reshaped lay devotional practices to meet behavioural expectations, and the religious press that called for, and then recorded, examples of popular devotion, re-inscribing it within the bounds of the approved cult.

Conclusion

By the end of the nineteenth century, the saints of New France had entered into the culture of French Canada and become a part of the useable past. People knew the names of the holy and likely the rough outlines of their life stories. They

¹¹⁸ Brian Stock, *Listening for the Text: On the Uses of the Past* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 12-24.

could be put to all kinds of uses. They could, as Serge Gagnon suggested, be used to support ultramontane ideologies, frame visions of an idyllic past, and lend legitimacy to the construction of a powerful church. They could also become the emblems of a disembodied nation and an embattled nationalism by serving as the stalwarts of a mythological past that supported the present and guaranteed the future survival of faith and language. More mundanely, they could cure one's rheumatism, provide assurances in times of difficulty, or protect a religious order against fire as the Grey Nuns believed Marguerite d'Youville did for them. The saints of the past belonged to the whole culture, but also to individuals, villages, and religious communities.

The holy of New France were taken up into the culture of late nineteenth-century Quebec in numerous ways. In addition to histories, processes and print media, the saints also appeared in popular fiction, which was just beginning to emerge on the Canadian literary scene. In 1882, Laure Conan (1845-1924) published the first French-Canadian novel by a woman, *Angéline de Montbrun*. It appeared as a serial between June 1881 and August 1882 in *La Revue Canadienne* and was published as a book in 1884. It tells the story of Angéline who renounced the world after her father, whom she had idolized, died. The work is replete with religious imagery and themes. Angéline herself is a metaphor of the Virgin Mary and throughout Laure Conan, who was a student of the Ursulines, renders homage to the holy women of New France, and to Marie de l'Incarnation especially.¹¹⁹ In the early 1880s, Henri Raymond Casgrain became her patron. She began writing historical novels including one about the Jesuit martyr, Charles Garnier entitled, *À l'œuvre et à l'épreuve* (1891),

¹¹⁹ Laure Conan, *Angéline de Montbrun* (Québec: L. Brousseau, 1884). See Chantal Théry, *De Plume et d'audace: femmes de la Nouvelle-France, essai* (Montréal: Triptyque, Paris: Cerf, 2006), 130-131.

and as editor of the Journal of the Congrégation des Religieuses Adoratrices du Précieux Sang of St-Hyacinthe entitled, *Voix du Précieux Sang*, from 1894-1898, she wrote many religious biographies including those of local figures such as Jeanne Mance.¹²⁰

It was not only in French literature that the religious history of Quebec and Canada played a role. The first novel written by a native-born Canadian and published in what is now Canada, *St. Ursula's Convent, or the Nun of Canada* (1824) by Julia Beckwith Hart, was a morality tale set in the Ursuline convent of Quebec, but rooted in the history and romance of New France. Beckwith Hart was French Canadian on her mother's side and a cousin of the historian J.-A.-B. Ferland, who was so instrumental in developing the ultramontane history of Quebec. When Ferland was a student at the Collège de Nicolet the two corresponded extensively.¹²¹

The heroes of New France also entered into the culture of ultramontane Quebec through school books. In the introduction to the textbook entitled, *Extrait du cours d'histoire sainte, d'histoire du Canada et des autres provinces de l'Amérique Britannique*, published by the Christian Brothers for use in their schools in 1872, the authors explained that the purpose of history was to “inspirer à la jeunesse, avec l'amour de Dieu et de son Église, un patriotisme intelligent et élevé.”¹²² Lessons took the

¹²⁰ These biographies plus others she wrote later, including one of Louis Hébert, touted as the first settler in Canada, were collected and published under the title, *Silhouettes canadiennes* (Québec: Action Sociale, 1917). Manon Brunet, “Angers, Félicité, known as Laure Conan,” *DCB*.

¹²¹ Julia Catherine Beckwith Hart, *St. Ursula's Convent or The Nun of Canada, Containing Scenes from Real Life*, ed. Douglas G. Lochhead (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1991). Alfred G. Bailey, “Beckwith, Julia Catherine (Hart),” *DCB*.

¹²² Frères des écoles Chrétiennes, *Extrait du cours d'histoire sainte, d'histoire du Canada et des autres provinces de l'Amérique Britannique* (Québec: E. Vincent, 1872).

question and answer form of the catechism to encourage memorization, and began in the beginning, as it were, with the creation of the earth by God. The history of Canada appears as a continuation of sacred history.

This was a textbook destined for a religious school, but those destined for publicly funded schools, which were no less confessional, also carried a decidedly ultramontane theme. For example, in F.-X. Toussaint's, *Abrégé d'histoire du Canada: à l'usage des jeune étudiants de la province de Québec*, published in 1882 and approved for use in schools by the Conseil de l'instruction publique, the author described the deaths of Brébeuf, Lalemant, Daniel, and Garnier in terms reminiscent of hagiographic literature. They died with the "saint nom de Jésus" on their tongues and received the "couronne du martyr." His description of the earthquake of 1663 focused on the many conversions that resulted and explained it as God's will to correct the behaviour of the colonists. In conclusion to the history of the French régime, Toussaint explained that although the colony was lost to the French in 1763 it was saved for Providence. It had not lost its clergy, its religious communities, or its Christianity.¹²³ Children in the Catholic schools of Quebec learned religion, history, and the lives of the saints of New France all at the same time.

The saints of New France became a part of the culture of ultramontane Quebec and, indeed, slowly penetrated the lore of English Canada and the Anglophone Catholic church in numerous and varied ways. Literature, history, the press, public performances, liturgies and processions all contributed to the formation of a useable past that centred on religious heroes who were more than distant intercessors. Indeed, they were ancestors. It is unnecessary and ultimately

¹²³ F.-X. Toussaint, *Abrégé d'histoire du Canada: à l'usage des jeunes étudiants de la province de Québec* (Québec: 1882), 25, 31, 64-65.

anachronistic to draw a distinction between history and hagiography as genres of literature. The methods of history were used to enhance the truth-value of the claims made by authors of sacred biographies, not just about the holy, but also about the providential history of French Canada. At the same time, however, all devotional writings about saints are a form of hagiographic discourse. It is a matter of determining how they were framed and used in a given era. In ultramontane Quebec, a clerical elite sought to shape practices and perceptions through writing while an active church offered local holy figures to the faithful as examples of how to live in the present, and cope with the challenges of modernization through a demonstrative piety. The faithful took up these models and put them to work in all sorts of ways that both conformed to clerical guidance and at times had to be reshaped to meet the strictures of doctrine and canon law.

Conclusion

On Sunday, 24 April 2005, the remains of Saint Marguerite Bourgeoys were translated to their current resting place in the chapel of Notre-Dame de Bonsecours in Montreal's old city.¹ This was the church that Marguerite herself had helped to build in Ville Marie beginning in 1655 so her translation there was something of a home-coming. More than a thousand were on hand to witness the solemn procession and escort her coffin through the streets of the old city from Notre-Dame Basilica to her new resting place – a walk of less than ten minutes. This was at least the fifth time that her body had been moved over the centuries following the nuns from motherhouse to motherhouse throughout the city as the Congrégation first grew and then, in more recent years, began to contract. While the translation was still in the planning stages, historian Sister Patricia Simpson, the curator of the Musée Marguerite Bourgeoys and author of two books about the Congrégation de Notre-Dame and its foundress, was interviewed by Mary-Lou Findley on the CBC radio programme “As it Happens” (February 11, 2005).² The conversation ranged from the plans to celebrate the translation, to the history of the Congrégation and the details of Marguerite Bourgeoys's life. At the conclusion of the interview, Mary Lou Findley summed up her impressions of the life of Marguerite

¹ She was canonized in 1982 by Pope John Paul II.

² Patricia Simpson, *Marguerite Bourgeoys and Montreal, 1640-1665* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997); and *Notre-Dame-de-Bon-Secours: A Chapel and its Neighbourhood* (Saint-Laurent, Quebec: Fides, 2001).

Bourgeoys; “She must have been a little dynamo...” Patricia Simpson responded, “Oh yes, she was!”³

Contained within this exchange, and the events surrounding the most recent translation of Marguerite Bourgeoys’s remains, was a potent mixture of history/memory, faith and media representations of a life long past. Almost in the same breath, Patricia Simpson described the solemn mass and procession planned to honour Marguerite Bourgeoys as a saint, and the desirability of placing her remains in Notre-Dame de Bonsecours because of its popularity as a tourist destination. Marguerite, in her new resting place, would be more accessible not only to the faithful, but also to curiosity seekers and souvenir hunters. The museum attached to the chapel would tell the story of Marguerite’s Montreal while the modern (Anglophone) media told the story of “Canada’s first saint” (which, incidentally, she was not).⁴

It is difficult to know how the audience present at this translation regarded Marguerite Bourgeoys; as a saint? a curiosity? a tourist attraction? The thousand or so

³ “As it Happens,” CBC Radio One, originally broadcast February 11, 2005. Available online at http://www.cbc.ca/insite/AS_IT_HAPPENS_TORONTO/2005/2/11.html. This is not the only interest the contemporary, English language media has shown in holy persons from Canada’s past. I cited a few examples in the introduction. In 1982 the CBC ran a news story on the beatification of Frère André, a lay brother from Montreal and founder of St. Joseph’s Oratory, in which he was termed a “distinctly Canadian” saint. “The Beatification of Brother André,” CBC TV, May 23, 1982, http://archives.cbc.ca/IDC-1-69-1437-9369/life_society/oratory/clip7. On September 12, 1978 the CBC TV programme *The Fifth Estate* profiled Father Angelo Mitri, postulator of Frère André’s cause, and the process of validating a miracle credited to Frère André’s intervention. “The Case for Sainthood,” *The Fifth Estate*, CBC TV, September 12, 1978. http://archives.cbc.ca/IDC-1-69-1437-9368/life_society/oratory/clip6. The Société Radio Canada, the French language service of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation also displayed interest in Frère André’s beatification. See the SRC online archives at http://archives.radio-canada.ca/IDD-0-101431/vie_societe/frere_andre_oratoire/.

⁴ *Ibid.* See programme description at http://www.cbc.ca/insite/AS_IT_HAPPENS_TORONTO/2005/2/11.html

persons who took part were only the most recent manifestation of Marguerite's audience, and the translation the most recent element in her on-going evocation of the traditions and rituals of holiness. History, faith and media have combined time and again from the beginning of Catholic settlement in Canada to tell the stories of the holy persons and religious heroes who have shaped faith communities and personified the divine for the faithful.

Yet, in this dissertation, I have tried as far as possible to return to the original performances of holiness in order to understand how selected individuals from Canada's past became holy and how the performances, texts and audiences that made them holy changed over time. Whether the holy person in question was regarded as a "little dynamo" or "une de nos plus cheres protectrices,"⁵ the essential meaning is the same; local holy persons were, and in some cases and contexts still are, important figures who speak to the social and cultural functions played by local forms of Christianity in the past. What lies at the heart of history (memory), faith (audience), and media (representation) is the performance where holiness first took place. Audiences not only watched, but also participated in performances by defining expectations, making demands on holy persons, and ultimately, by writing the life that would become the authoritative proof that a holy person had lived, died, and gone to heaven.

The narratives of holiness from early Canada drew on the tradition of sanctity present in European Catholicism, but were also shaped by the colonial encounter. The tradition of martyrdom provided a scenario within which the Jesuits of Canada could make sense of their mission, their suffering, and their fate. Unlike

⁵ *AHDQ*, 158.

other colonial narratives, however, Jesuit accounts of the martyrs did not simply overwrite native histories and native perspectives through the imposition of European paradigms. Rather, they transformed these into elements of a Christian tradition in counterscripts that disguised and often inverted the roles of victims and oppressors. In this way, hagiographic texts are colonial texts wherein the native presence endures but is radically re-written. Meanwhile the ambiguities involved in the performances of martyrdom by native converts resulted in their exclusion from these same Christian paradigms.

Even in the colonial community itself, the new world context shaped performances, expectations, and understandings of holy persons and even miracles. Miracles worked by local holy persons demonstrated for people at the time that the colony had advocates in heaven and that God was interested and concerned with the fate of the French settlements in Canada. Catherine de Saint-Augustin, through her asceticism, demonstrated the kind of life that was necessary to achieve what God had planned for 'new' France. Place was essential to such performances of holiness. Canada itself defined the actions of saints and expectations of audiences, but asceticism also aimed to shape the new world French community according to a reformed and expressive Christianity.

Miracles performed by local intercessors shaped the faith community by creating a means through which outcasts and the sick could be reintegrated into society. Private miracles such as cures and rescues, achieved through private devotions such as novenas to local holy persons, nevertheless, were never entirely private. They concerned religious communities, the secular community, neighbours, families, and church and secular authorities. Miracles often involved more than just

the *miraculé*, but others too, who suggested recourse to a local saint, provided relics or, in the case of the local parish priests, recorded the miracle, validated it, and advanced it to the proper ecclesiastical officials.

Diffuse power runs throughout the examples and cases I have explored. Preconceptions of gender defined the possible roles local holy persons could play and within which their performances might be successfully accepted and inscribed into text by local religious authorities. Politics, too, were never far away. It seems political questions at the highest levels of the French church may have had a hand in the disappearance of Frère Didace and his faith community from official documents after 1720, and after 1840 local holy persons from New France were employed to advance the ideologies and new demonstrative faith of the ultramontane church.

The holy of early Canada performed their holiness first and foremost for local communities. The cases of Frère Didace and Mgr de Laurberivière demonstrate the importance of family, friends, neighbours, and the local clergy in advancing a cause. On the whole, textual communities did not obviously form in New France where the printing infrastructure did not exist to make books culturally significant outside of the religious hierarchy. Stories about local holy persons spread by word of mouth and accounts of successful invocations. Only after 1840 did texts come to play a significant role in the advancement of causes due to a combination of increased literacy and the vibrant book and newspaper culture that served the ultramontane church. Nevertheless, we should not discount the importance of hagiographic texts in New France altogether. Textual communities could form even where there was only one reader/authority who explained the importance of the text to others. Only in France is there any evidence of hostility towards texts such as

Ragueneau's *Vie de Catherine de Saint-Augustin*. In Canada, interpretation of texts, if it existed at all, appears uniform and uncontroversial.

The making of a holy person in Canada was a multifaceted process that involved the broad theological and cultural traditions of Catholic Europe, the social, environmental and cultural conditions of colonial Canada, the personalities of the individuals involved, local audiences (lay and religious), and the ways that all of these factors changed over time. A person became holy in processes that played out over time, in rituals, in performances before audiences, and eventually in text.

Abbreviations

ASJCF	Archives de la Société de Jésus de la province de Canada français, St.-Jérôme, Québec
CCHA	Canadian Catholic Historical Association
DCB	<i>Dictionary of Canadian Biography</i> , http://www.biographi.ca/index2.html . All references accessed 3 October 2007.
JR	Thwaites, Rueban Gold. <i>The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents</i> . Cleveland: Burrows Bros. 1896-1901.
MI <i>Corr</i>	Marie de l'Incarnation, Ursuline (1599-1672). <i>Correspondance</i> , edited by Guy-Marie Oury. Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1971.
MEQ	<i>Mandements, lettres pastorales et circulaires des Évêques de Québec</i> . Edited by H. Tètù and C.-O. Gagnon. Québec: A. Coté, 1888-.
MNF	Campeau, Lucien. <i>Monumenta Novae Franciae</i> , Rome-Quebec: Institutum Historicum Soc. Iesu; Quebec: Presses de l'Université Laval; Montreal: Bellarmin, 1967- .
RHAF	<i>Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française</i>
SCHEC	Société canadienne d'histoire de l'église catholique
SME	Musée de la civilisation, fonds d'archives du Séminaire de Québec

Bibliography

Manuscript Hagiographic Texts

- Chauchetière, Claude. "La vie de la B. Catherine Tegakouita, dite à présent La Sainte Sauvagesse," Archives de la Société de Jésus de la province de Québec, no. 343. St.-Jérôme, Québec.
- Denis, Joseph, ed. "Actes du très devot frère Didace, Récollet, mort en odeur du sainteté en 1699." Musée de la civilisation, fonds d'archives du Séminaire de Québec, fonds Viger-Verreau, P32/O-73.
- Glandelet, Charles de. "Recueil touchant la S[œur Marie Barbier], fille séculière de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame," Musée de la civilisation, fonds d'archives du Séminaire de Québec, ms. 198.
- Houssart, Hubert. "Copie de la lettre que jay ecrite a Monsieur Tremblay, directeur du Séminaire des Mission Étrangères de Paris et procureur du Séminaire de Québec au sujet de la mort de Monseigneur de Laval, premier Evêque de Québec en date du premier septembre 1708," Musée de la civilisation, fonds d'archives du Séminaire de Québec, lettre P, 102.
- "Mémoires touchant la mort et les vertus (des Pères Jésuites) (1652)," Archives de la Société de Jésus de la province de Québec, CSM no. 210. St.-Jérôme, Québec.
- "Procès-verbal, 1699, Frère Didace Pelletier." Musée de la civilisation, fonds d'archives du Séminaire de Québec, Polygraphie 3, no. 30.
- "Procès-verbal, 1717, Frère Didace Pelletier." Musée de la civilisation, fonds d'archives du Séminaire de Québec, SME 12.2.1/1/67

Printed Hagiographic Texts

- Auclair, Elie-Joseph. *Vie de Mère Caron: l'une des sept fondatrices et la deuxième supérieure des Sœurs de la charité de la Providence, 1808-1888*. Montréal: Communauté des Sœurs de charité de la Providence, 1908.
- . *Histoire de Mère Catherine-Aurélie-du-Précieux-Sang, née Aurélie Caouette, fondatrice de l'Institut du Précieux-Sang au Canada, 1833-1905*. Saint-Hyacinthe: Monastère du Précieux-Sang, 1923.
- . *Vie de Mgr John Forbes: Le premier Père Blanc canadien, évêque de Vaga et coadjuteur de l'Ouganda, 1864-1926*. Québec: Imprimeur E. Tremblay, 1929.

- Bacon, Charles. *Éloge de messire C.F. Painchaud, fondateur du Collège de Ste. Anne*. Ste. Anne de la Pocatière: F.H. Proulx, 1863.
- Bala, Joseph. *Pershyi ukrains'kyi epyskop Kanady Kyr Nykyta Budka*. Winnipeg: T'Sentralia ukrainsiv katolykiv Manitoby (Ukrainian Catholic Council of Canada), 1952.
- Belmont, François Vachon de, "Éloges de quelques personnes mortes en odeur de sainteté a Montréal, en Canada, divisés en trois parties (c. 1722)." In *Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec* (1929-30): 141-189.
- Benoît. P. *Vie de Mgr. Taché*. Montréal: Beauchemin, 1904.
- Bois, Louis-Eduard (Vapeaume). *Esquisse de la vie et des travaux apostoliques de sa Grandeur Mgr. Fr. Xavier de Laval-Montmorency*. Québec: A. Côté, 1845.
- Bouillat, J.-M.-J. *Mgr. Taché, archevêque de Saint-Boniface (Canada), 1823-1894*. Paris: E. Petithenry, 1907.
- Breton, Paul-Émile. *Forgeron de Dieu*. Edmonton: Éditions de l'Ermitage, 1953.
- *Vital Grandin, o.m.i.: La merveilleuse aventure de "l'Évêque sauvage" des prairies et du grand nord*. Paris et Montréal, 1960.
- Brière, Emile. *Katia; A Personal Vision of Catherine de Hueck Doherty*. Sherbrooke, Quebec: Éditions Paulines, 1988.
- ed. *L'Expérience de Dieu avec Catherine de Hueck Doherty*. Montréal: Fides, 2001.
- Canot, P. "Relation du voyage de Feu Mgr François-Louis de Pourroy de Lauberivière, Évêque de Québec, et de sa mort, par une lettre Écrite de Québec le 20 Août 1740." In *Monseigneur de Lauberivière, cinquième évêque de Québec, 1739-1740: Documents annotés*, edited by Cyprien Tanguay, 53-56. Montréal: E. Senécal, 1885.
- Casgrain, Henri-Raymond. *Histoire de la Mère Marie de l'Incarnation: première supérieure des Ursulines de la Nouvelle-France*. Québec: G.E. Desbarats, 1864.
- *Histoire de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec*. Quebec: L. Brousseau, 1878.
- Champagne, Gérard. *Nos Gloires de l'Église du Canada*. Les Frères des Écoles Chrésiennes, 1984.
- Charlevoix, P.F.X. *La vie de la mère Marie de l'Incarnation: Institutrice et première supérieure des Ursulines de la Nouvelle-France*. Paris: Ant. Claude Briasson, 1724.
- Chasse, Pierre de la. "Lettre du Pere de la Chasse, Supérieur Général des Missions de la Nouvelle France, au Pere *** de la même Compagnie, a Québec, le 29

- Octobre 1724.” In *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, écrites des missions étrangères, mémoires d’Amérique* tome VI, 226-238. Paris: J.G. Merigot le Jeune, 1781.
- . “Une relation inédite de la mort du P. Sébastien Racle, 1724.” In *Nova Francia* vol. 4 no. 6 (novembre-décembre 1929): 342-350.
- Chauchetière, Claude. *La vie de la B. Catherine Tegakouita, dite à présent la Sainte Sauvagesse*. Manate: Presse Cramoisy, 1887.
- Cholenec, P. “Extraict d’une autre lettre du pere Chonelec [sic] sur le mesme suiet et la mort d’une Ste fille (du Canada), escrite le premier Jour de may 1680,” in *L’Héroïque indienne Kateri Tekakwitha*, edited by Henri Béchar, s.j., 189-194. Montréal: Fides, 1967.
- . “La vie de Catherine Tegakouita, première vierge Iroquoise,” in *The Positio of the Historical Section of the Sacred Congregation of Rites on the Introduction of the Cause for Beatification and Canonization and the Virtues of the Servant of God, Katherine Tekakwitha, the Lily of the Mohawks*, 241-335. New York: Fordham University Press, 1940.
- . “Lettre du Pere Cholenec, missionnaire de la Compagnie de Jésus, au Pere Augustin le Blanc, de la même Compagnie, Procureur des Missions du Canada, au Sault de S. Louis, le 27 Août 1715.” In *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, écrites des missions étrangères, mémoires d’Amérique* tome VI 40-100. Paris: J.G. Merigot le Jeune, 1781.
- . “Lettre du P. Cholenec, missionnaire de la Compagnie de Jésus, au P. Augustin Le Blanc, de la même Compagnie, Procureur des Missions du Canada,” in *Peaux-Rouges et Robes noires: Lettres édifiantes et curieuses des jésuites Français en Amérique au XVIII^e siècle*, edited by Isabelle et Jean-Louis Vissière, 41-67. Paris: Collection Outre-Mers, 1993.
- Dionne, N.-E. *Vie de C.-F. Painchaud, prêtre, curé, fondateur de Collège Sainte-Anne de la Pocatière*. Quebec: Léger Brousseau, 1894.
- . *Serviteurs et servantes de Dieu en Canada: quarante biographies*. Québec, 1904.
- Faillon, Etienne-Michel. *Vie de M. Olier, fondateur du Séminaire de S. Sulpice*. Paris: Poussielgue-Rusand, 1841.
- . *Mémoire Particulière pour servir à l’histoire de l’Église de l’Amérique du Nord*. Paris: Poussielgue-Rusand, 1853.
- . *L’héroïne chrétienne du Canada ou Vie de Mlle Le Ber*. Montréal: Congrégation de Notre-Dame, 1860.
- . *The Christian heroine of Canada, or, Life of Miss Le Ber*. Montreal: J. Lovell, 1861.

- Fournet, P.-A. *Marie de la Nativité et les origines des Sœurs de Miséricorde, 1848–1898*. Montréal: Institution des Sourds-Muets, 1898.
- Glandelet, Charles de. *The True Spirit of the Institute of the Secular Sisters of the Congregation de Notre-Dame*. Translated by Frances McCann. Montreal: Congrégation de Notre-Dame, 1977.
- , *Life of Marguerite Bourgeoys (1715)*. Montreal: Congrégation de Notre Dame, 1994.
- Gosselin, A., *Le vénérable François de Montmorency-Laval, Premier Évêque de Québec*. Québec: Dussault et Proulx, 1901.
- Hudon, Léonidas. *Une fleur mystique de la Nouvelle-France: Vie de la Mère Marie-Catherine de Saint-Augustin, religieuse de l'Hôtel Dieu du Précieux-sang de Québec, 1632-1668*. Montréal: Bureaux du Messenger Canadien, 1907.
- Hermant, Léon. *Thy Cross my Stay: The Life of the Servant of God, Vital Justin Grandin, Oblate of Mary Immaculate and first Bishop of St. Albert, Canada*. Toronto: Mission Press, 1948.
- Jetté, Berthe. *Vie de la vénérable mère d'Youville; fondatrice des Sœurs de la charité de Montréal, suivie d'un historique de son institut*. Montréal: Cadieux & Derome, 1900.
- Jonquet, Emile. *Mgr Grandin, Oblat de Marie-Immaculée, premier évêque de Saint-Albert*. Montreal: Beauchemin, 1903.
- Marguerite-Marie (Sœur), O.S.U. *Vie de l'abbé de Calonne mort en odeur de sainteté aux Trois-Rivières (octobre 1822)*. Trois-Rivières: P.V. Ayotte, libraire-éditeur, 1892.
- Martin, Claude. *La vie de la vénérable Mère Marie de l'Incarnation: première supérieure des Ursulines de la Nouvelle-France. Tirée de ses lettres et de ses écrits*. Paris: Louis Billaine, 1677.
- Melanson, Arthur. *Vie de l'abbé Bourg, premier prêtre Acadien, missionnaire et grand vicaire pour l'Acadie et la Baie-des-Caleurs, 1744-1797*. Rimouski: Chez-nous, 1921.
- “Mémoires touchant la mort et les vertus (des Pères Jésuites) (1652).” In *Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec (1924-1925)*: 1-92.
- Merlaud, André. *L'Épopée fantastique d'une jeune Normande: Catherine de Longpré*. Paris: Édition S.O.S., 1981.
- Morisseau, Henri. *Un Apôtre Canadien: Le Père Arthur Guertin missionnaire oblat de Marie Immaculée 1868-1932*. Ottawa: Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1942.
- Nadeau, Eugène. *Thérèse Gélinas*. Montréal: Beauchemin, 1936.

- . *Mère Léonie, fondatrice des Petites soeurs de la Sainte-Famille, 1840-1912*. Montréal: Fides, 1950.
- . *Sapier, prêtre de misère; le Père François Xavier Fafard, o.m.i. (1856-1946)*. Montréal: Éditions Oblates, 1954.
- . *Martyre du silence: Mère Marie-Anne, fondatrice des sœurs de Sainte-Anne (1809-1890)*. Lachine: Éditions Sainte-Anne, 1956.
- . *Victor Lelièvre, Oblat de Marie Immaculée: Pêcheur d'hommes*. Cap-de-la-Madeleine, Québec: Éditions Notre-Dame-du-Cap, 1964.
- Nercam, André. *Vie d'Adèle Coulombe, Religieuse Hospitalière de l'Hôtel Dieu de Montréal en Canada*. Montréal: Les Sœurs de l'Hôtel Dieu, 1863.
- O'Brien, Cornelius. *Memoirs of Rt. Rev. Edmund Burke, Bishop of Zion and First Vicar Apostolic of the Archdiocese of Halifax*. Ottawa: Thoburn, 1894.
- Ponet, Marthe Bordeaux. *Catherine de Longpré, Mère Catherine de Saint-Augustin, au Canada avec une héroïque missionnaire de seize ans 1632-1668*. Paris: B. Grasser, 1957.
- "The Passion of SS. Perpetua and Felicitas." In *Medieval Saints: A Reader*, edited by Mary-Ann Stouck, 21-32. Peterborough: Broadview, 1999.
- Ragueneau, Paul. *La vie de la Mère Catherine de Saint-Augustin, religieuse hospitalière de la miséricorde de Québec en la Nouvelle-France*. Paris: Florentin Lambert, 1671.
- Ransonet, Michel-François. *La vie de la sœur Marguerite Bourgeois: Institutrice, fondatrice et première supérieure d'une communauté de filles séculières établie en Canada sous le nom de congrégation de Notre Dame*. Liège: Barnabé, 1728.
- "Relation d'une guérison obtenue pour un enfant de trios ans." In *Monseigneur de Lauberivière, cinquième évêque de Québec, 1739-1740: Documents annotés*, edited by Cyprien Tanguay, 115-124. Montréal: E. Senécal, 1885.
- Richaudeau, P.-F. *Vie de la Révérende Mère Marie de l'Incarnation, Ursuline, née Marie Guyard, première supérieure du monastère des Ursulines de Québec*, Deuxième édition. Tounai: Vve H. Casterman, 1874.
- Sattin, Antoine. *Vie de Madame d'Youville (c. 1828)*. Québec, 1930.
- . *Life of Mother d'Youville: Foundress and First Superior of the Sisters of Charity or Grey Nuns (c. 1828)*. Translated by Georgianna Michaud. Montreal: Éditions du Méridien, 1999.
- Têtu, Henri. *Monseigneur de Laval, premier évêque de Québec: Esquisse biographique*. Québec: P.G. Delisle, 1887.

-----, *Les évêques de Québec*. Québec: Hardy, 1889.

Theresa of Avila. *The Life of Theresa of Jesus by Herself*. Translated by David Lewis. London: Thomas Baker, 1904.

Youville, Charles-Marie-Madeleine (Dufrost) d'. "La Vie de Madame Youville, fondatrice des Sœurs de la Charité à Montréal (1771)." In *Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec* (1924-25): 361-376.

Vanier, Jean. *Ma faiblesse, c'est ma force: Un aperçu de la vie intérieure du Général Georges P. Vanier gouverneur général du Canada de 1960 à 1967*. Montréal, Bellarmin, 1972.

Other Manuscript Sources

"Documents relatant des miracles." Musée de la civilisation, fonds d'archives du Séminaire de Québec, SME 12.2.1/1/71.

"Instructions aux témoins." Musée de la civilisation, fonds d'archives du Séminaire de Québec, Fonds Viger-Verreault, P32/35/152.

Journal de Séminaire, vol XI, 1925. Musée de la civilisation, fonds d'archives du Séminaire de Québec.

"Lettre de Abbé Geinoz à Malesherbes, Paris, 20 August 1751." Library and Archives Canada, microfilm reel C-9193, vol. 22137.

Morel, Thomas. "Recit des merueilles arrives en l'eglise de Sainte Anne du Petit Cap, Coste de Beaupray, en la Nouvelle France." Musée de la civilisation, fonds d'archives du Séminaire de Québec, SME 12.2.1/1/84.

Poulet, Georges. "Récit simple de ce qu'un Religieux Benedictin a souffert en Canada, au sujet de la Bulle Unigenitus." Library and Archives Canada, reel C-9193, vol. 20973.

"Récit di soulagement d'une possédée par l'entremise des reliques du R.P. Jean de Brébeuf." Archives de la Société de Jésus de la province de Québec. CSM no. 247. St.-Jérôme, Québec.

Other Printed Sources

Apothéose des bienheureux Martyrs Canadiens de la Compagnie de Jésus: Translation des reliques et triduum (12-15 novembre, 1925). Québec: L'action sociale, 1926.

- Athanasius of Alexandria, *The Life of Saint Anthony*. Translated and annotated by Robert T. Meyer. New York: Newman Press, 1978.
- Auclair, Elie-Joseph. *Histoire des Sœurs de miséricorde de Montréal: Les premiers soixante-quinze ans de 1848 à 1923*. Montréal: Imprimerie et reliure des sourds-muets, 1928.
- Augustine of Hippo. "Augustine Preaches on the Feasts of SS. Perpetua and Felicitas." In *Medieval Saints: A Reader*, edited by Mary Ann Stouck, 39-42. Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1999.
- Augustine of Hippo, *Confessions*. Translated F.J. Sheed. Cambridge: Hackett, 1993.
- Beatificationis et canonizationis servae dei Mariae Catharinae a Sancto Augustino (in saec. Catharinae Symon de Longprey) monialis professae Sonorum Hospitalarium a Misericordia O.S. Augustini (1668): Positio super introductione causae et virtutibus ex officio concinnata*. Rome, Sacra Congregatio Pro Causis Sanctorum Officium Historicum, 1974.
- Beatificationis et canonizationis V.S.D. Mariae Margaritae Dufrost de Lajemmerais viduae d'Youville Institutricis et Primae Antistitae Sororum Charitatis, Marianopolitana*. Rome: Typis Guerra et Mirri, 1894.
- Beatificationis et Canonizationis Servi Dei Ovidii Charlebois, Episcopi Tit. Berebicen, Vicarii Apostolici de Keewatin e Cong. Miss. Oblatorum Mariae Imm. Positio super virtutibus et Fama Sanctitatis*, Rome, 2001.
- Beatificationis et Canonizationis servi Dei Vitalis Justini Grandin E.pi Sancti Alberti e congregatione oblatorum M. Immaculatae, Positio Super Introductione Causae*. Rome: 1936.
- Béchar, Henri, ed. *L'Héroïque indienne Kateri Tekakwitha*. Montréal: Fides, 1967.
- Bergeron, H.-E. *Notre légende dorée*. Montréal: l'Action nationale, 1926.
- Boucher, Pierre. *Histoire véritable et naturelle des moeurs et productions du pays de la Nouvelle-France vulgairement dite le Canada*. Paris: Florentin-Lambert, 1664.
- Bourgeois, Marguerite. *Les écrits de mère Marguerite Bourgeois: Autobiographie et testament spirituel*. Montréal: Congrégation de Notre Dame, 1964.
- , *The Writings of Marguerite Bourgeois*. Translated by Mary Virginia Cotter, CND. Montreal: Congregation de Notre-Dame, 1976.
- Brother Alfred, *Catholic Pioneers of Upper Canada*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1947.
- Campeau, Lucien. *Monumenta Novae Franciae*, Rome-Quebec: Institutum Historicum Soc. Iesu; Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval; Montréal: Bellarmin, 1967-.

Canonisation de la servante de Dieu Marie-Esther Sureau dit Blondin (en religion Mère Marie-Anne), fondatrice de la Congrégation des Sœurs de Sainte-Anne (1809-1890): Dossier sur la vie et les vertus. Rome: Congrégation pour les causes des saints, 1985.

Charlevoix, P.F.X. *Histoire et description générale de la Nouvelle-France.* Paris: Rollin fils, 1744.

-----, *History and General Description of New France.* Translated by John Gilmary Shea. Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1962.

Chaumonot, Pierre, "Autobiographie de P. Pierre Chaumonot," in *Le Père Pierre Chaumonot de la Compagnie de Jésus; Autobiographie et pièces inédites.* Edited by Auguste Carayon, 1-82. Poitiers: Henri Oudin, 1869.

Conan, Laure (Félicité Angers). *Angéline de Montbrun.* Québec: L. Brousseau, 1884.

-----, *Silhouettes canadiennes.* Québec: Action Sociale, 1917.

Decretum Quebecen beatificationis et canonizationis servae du Sororis Mariae ab Incarnatione, fundatricis Monasterii Ustrularum in civitate Quebecens. Rome: Extypographia de Propaganda fide, 1877.

Decretum Quebecen. beatificationis et canonizationis ven. servi dei Francisci de Montmorency Laval primi episcopi Quebecen. Rome: Typis Vaticanis, 1890.

Dollier de Casson, François. *Histoire de Montréal, 1640-1672.* Montréal: Société littéraire et historique de Québec, 1871.

Du Creux, François. *Historia Canadensis sev Novae Franciae.* Paris: Sébastien Cramoisy, 1664.

-----, *The History of Canada or New France.* Translated by Percy J. Robinson, edited by James B. Conacher. Toronto: Champlain Society, 1951.

Duplessis, Mère Marie-Andrée (de Sainte-Hélène). "Lettres de Mère Marie-Andrée Duplessis de Sainte-Hélène; Supérieure des Hospitalières de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec." In *Nova Francia* vols. 3-5 (1927-1930).

Faillon, Etienne-Michel. *Histoire de la colonie française en Canada.* Ville Marie (Montréal): Bibliothèque Paroissiale, 1865-66.

Ferland, J.-B.-A. *Cours d'histoire du Canada.* Québec: Augustin Côté, 1861-1865.

Frères des Écoles Chrétiens. *Extrait du cours d'histoire sainte, d'histoire du Canada et des autres provinces de l'Amérique Britannique.* Québec: E. Vincent, 1872.

- Garneau, F.-X. *Histoire du Canada depuis sa découverte jusqu'à nos jours*. Québec: Aubin, 1845-1848.
- Gosselin, Auguste. *L'Église du Canada, extrait de la Revue du clergé français*. Paris: Letourzey et Ané, 1895.
- Gregory of Tours. *Life of the Fathers*. Translated by Edward James. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1991.
- Groulx, Lionel. *La naissance d'une race: Conférence prononcés à l'Université Laval, Montréal 1918-1919*. Montréal: Bibliothèque de l'Action française, 1919.
- Hart, Julia Catherine Beckwith. *St. Ursula's Convent or The Nun of Canada, Containing Scenes from Real Life*. Edited by Douglas G. Lochhead. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1991.
- Jouve, Odoric. "Le Frère Didace: documents dieppois," *Nova Francia* 4, 4 (1929): 195-215.
- Juchereau, Jeanne-Françoise (de St-Ignace), and Duplessis, Marie André (de Ste Hélène). *Histoire de l'Hôtel Dieu de Québec*. Montauban: Chez Jérosme Légier, 1751.
- . *Les annales de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec, 1636-1716*. Edited by Albert Jamet. Montréal: Des Presses de Garden City, 1939.
- Kempis, Thomas. *The Imitation of Christ*. New York: Anson D.F. Randolph, 1889.
- Lallemant, Louis. *The Spiritual Doctrine of Father Louis Lallemant of the Society of Jesus*. Translated by Frederick William Faber. New York: D. and J. Sadlier and Co., 1884.
- LeClercq, Chrestien. *Premier établissement de la foy dans la Nouvelle-France*. Paris: Amable Auroy, 1691.
- . *The First establishment of the Faith in New France*. Translated by John Gilmary Shea. New York: John Shea, 1881.
- Les Ursulines des Trois-Rivières depuis leur établissement jusqu'à nos jours*. Trois Rivières: P.V. Ayotte, 1888.
- MacDonnell, Blanche Lucille. *Diane of Ville Marie: A Romance of French Canada*. Toronto: William Briggs, 1898.
- Marie de l'Incarnation (Guyart). *Word from New France: The Selected Letters of Marie de l'Incarnation*. Edited by Joyce Marshall. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1967.

- *Correspondance*. Edited by Dom. Guy-Marie Oury. Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1971.
- *Écrits spirituels et historiques*. Edited by Dom. Albert Jamet. Paris: Desclée-De Brouwer, 1929-39; Québec: Les Ursulines de Québec, 1985.
- Martin, Claude, ed. *Lettres de la vénérable Mère Marie de l'Incarnation, première supérieure des Ursulines de la Nouvelle-France*. Paris: Louis Billaine, 1681.
- Morin, Marie. *Histoire simple et véritable: Les annales de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Montréal, 1659-1725*. Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1979.
- Philip Melanchthon, "Of the Worship of Saints in the Augsburg Confession of Faith, 1530." In *Triglot Concordia: The Symbolical Books of the Ev. Lutheran Church*, edited and translated by F. Bente and W.H.T. Dau. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing, 1921.
- Positio of the Historical Section of the Sacred Congregation of Rites on the Introduction of the Cause for Beatification and Canonization and the Virtues of the Servant of God, Katherine Tekakwitha, the Lily of the Mohawks*. New York: Fordham University Press, 1940.
- Quebecen. Beatificationis et canonizationis ven. servi dei Francisci de Montmorency-Laval, Episcopi Quebecensis (1708) Altera nova positio super virtutibus ex officio critice disposita*. Rome: Typis polyglottis Vaticanis, 1956.
- Quebecen. beatificationis et canonizationis servae Dei sororis Mariae Ab Incarnatione: fundatricis monasterii Ursularum in civitate Quebecensi: positio super duduo [i.e. dubio] an sit signanda commissio introductionis causae*. Rome: Typis S.C. de Propaganda Fide, 1877.
- Ridge, Alan D., ed. trans. *The Diaries of Bishop Vital Grandin*. Edmonton: The Historical Society of Alberta, 1989.
- Sacra Congregatio pro Causis Sanctorum Officium Historicum, Quebecen. Beatificationis et Canonizationis Servae Dei Mariae Catherinae a Sancto Augustino, Positio Super Intructione Causae et Virtutibus ex Officio Concinnata*. Rome, 1978.
- Sacra Rituum Congregatione emmo ac rmo domino cardinale Antonio Vico pro-praefecto et relatore Quebecen. Beatificationis seu declarationis martyrii servorum Dei Joannis de Brébeuf, Gabrielis Lalemant, Antonii Daniel, Caroli Garnier, Natalis Chabanel, Isaaci Jogues, Renati Goupil et Joannis de La Lande e Societate Jesu. Positio super introductione causae*. Romae: Guerra et Mirri, 1916.
- Sacra rituum congregatione emmo et rmo. domino card Dominico Bartolini prefecto et relatore. Quebecen. Beatificationis et canonizationis ven. servae Dei Soror. Mariae ab Incarnatione fundatricis monasterii Ursularum in civitate Quebecensi Positio super von cultu*. Rome: Typis Vaticanis, 1882.

Sacra Rituum Congregatione illmo ac rmo Domino Cardinali Bianchi relatore Quebecen. Beatificationis et canonizationis ven. servae Dei Sor. Mariae ab Incarnatione, fundatricis monasterii Ursularum in civitate Quebecensi. Positio super fama in genere. Rome: I.B. Fioravanti, 1891.

Sacra Rituum Congregatione, Quebecen. Beatificationis et Canonizationis servi dei Francisci de Montmorency-Laval. Primi Quebecensis Episcopi; Positio Super Introductione Causae, Rome: 1890.

Sacra Rituum Congregatione emo ac rmo domino card. Lucido Maria Parocchi relatore Quebecen. Beatificationis et canonizationis ven. servi Dei Francisci de Montmorency Laval, primi episcopi Quebecensis. Positio super non-cultu. Romae: Guerra et Mirri, 1892.

Sainte-Alexine (Sœur). *Guérisons et faveurs attribuées à l'intervention de la vénérable Mère Marguerite Bourgeoys.* Montréal: Congrégation de Notre-Dame, 1925.

Sainte-Henriette (Sœur). *Histoire de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame.* Montréal: Congrégation de Notre Dame, 1947-1974.

Saint-Vallier, Jean Baptiste de la Croix de Chevrères de. *Catéchisme du diocèse du Québec.* Paris: Urban Coustelier, 1702.

----- *Rituel du Diocèse de Québec.* Paris: Simon Langlois, 1703.

----- *Estat presente de l'église de la colonie français dans la Nouvelle-France (1688).* Québec: Augustin Côté, 1856.

Tanguay, Cyprien, ed. *Monseigneur de Lauberivière, cinquième évêque de Québec, 1739-1740: Documents annotés.* Montréal: E. Senécal, 1885.

Tètù H., and Gagnon, C.-O. eds. *Mandements, lettres pastorales et circulaires des Évêques de Québec.* Québec: A. Côté, 1888-.

Thwaites, Rueben Gold. *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents.* Cleveland: Burrows Bros. 1896-1901.

Toussaint, F.-X. *Abrégé d'histoire du Canada: à l'usage des jeune étudiants de la province de Québec.* Québec: 1882.

Newspapers and Journals (Historical)

L'Abeille. Les Frère de l'instruction chrétienne, 1925-1947.

Casgrain, Henri-Raymond, and Pelletier, Alexis. "La Beauté de la vie des saints." *Courrier du Canada*, 31 mars 1865.

Dionne, Narcisse-Europe. "Mgr Laval," *Courrier du Canada*, 8 juin 1883.

"Exhumation," *Mélanges Religieux*, 23 decembre 1849.

Revue du Tiers-Ordre de la Terre sainte. Montréal: R.R.P.P. Franciscains de l'Observance de Montréal, 1891-1916.

Media

"As it Happens," CBC Radio One, originally broadcast February 11, 2005.
http://www.cbc.ca/insite/AS_IT_HAPPENS_TORONTO/2005/2/11.html (accessed November 12, 2007).

Badger, Caitlin. "Sainthood cause started for Canadian nun 'on the cross with a smile,'" *The Catholic Register*, July 20, 2007.

Gandia, Renato. "Bishop Grandin Honoured 100 Years After his Death," *Western Catholic Reporter*, June 10, 2002.

Lemieux, Louis-Guy. "Marie Guyard de l'Incarnation, le grand homme de la Nouvelle-France est une femme," *Le Soleil de Québec*, 16 mars, 1997.

Marchand, Philip. "Honouring Greats: Is it Uncanadian?" *Toronto Star*, Oct. 23, 2004.

Scrivener, Leslie. "Our First Toronto Saint?" *The Toronto Star*, August 12, 2007.

"The Beatification of Brother Andre," CBC TV, May 23, 1982,
http://archives.cbc.ca/IDC-1-69-1437-9369/life_society/oratory/clip7 (accessed November 12, 2007).

"The Case for Sainthood," *The Fifth Estate*, CBC TV, September 12, 1978.
http://archives.cbc.ca/IDC-1-69-1437-9368/life_society/oratory/clip6 (accessed November 12, 2007).

References

Catalogue of the Rodolphe Joubert Collection on French Canada in the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections. Montreal: McGill University Libraries, 1984.

Catholic Encyclopedia. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912.
<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/index.html> (accessed October 4, 2007).

- Tanner, Norman P. ed. *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, volume II, *Council of Trent, Session 25, 3-4 December 1563*. London: Sheed & Ward; Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1990.
- Jouve, Odoric, Godbout, Archange, Blais, Hervé, and Bacon, René, eds. *Dictionnaire biographique des Récollets missionnaires en Nouvelle-France, 1615-1645, 1670-1849*. Saint-Laurent, Québec: Bellarmin: 1996.
- Dictionnaire des œuvres littéraires du Québec*. Montréal: Fides, 1978.
- Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1951-.
- Eliade, Mircea, ed. *Encyclopedia of Religion*. New York: MacMillan, 1987.
- Lande, Lawrence, ed. *The Lawrence Lande Collection of Canadiana in the Redpath Library of McGill University: A Bibliography*. Montreal: The Lawrence Lande Foundation for Canadian Historical Research, 1965.
- New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd Edition. Detroit: Gale, 2003.
- Stouck, Mary-Ann, ed. *Medieval Saints: A Reader*. Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1999.

Secondary Sources

- Ahern, Maureen. "Visual and Verbal Sites: The Construction of Jesuit Martyrdom in Northwest New Spain in Andrés Pérez Ribas' *Historia de los Triunfos de nuestra Santa Fee* (1645)." *Colonial Latin America Review* vol. 8, 1 (1999): 10-26.
- Arnold, John H. *Belief and Unbelief in Medieval Europe*. London: Hodder-Arnold, 2005.
- Ashton, Gail. *The Generation of Identity in Late Medieval Hagiography: Speaking the Saint*. New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Aubert, Guillaume. "'The Blood of France': Race and Purity of Blood in the French Atlantic World." *The William and Mary Quarterly* vol. 61, 3 (July 2004): 439-478.
- Bacon, René. "Le Récollet Didace Pelletier est-il canonisable? Regards sur les données historique." *SCHEC Études d'histoire religieuse* 57 (1990): 69-88.
- Beasley, Faith E. *Women's Fiction and Memoirs in Seventeenth-Century France*. New Brunswick, NJ. and London: Rutgers University Press, 1990.
- Beheils, Michael. "French-Canadian Catholicism: Bulwark Against or Purveyor of Modernism." *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 78 (Nov. 2006): 497-503.

- Bell, Catherine. *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Bell, David A. *The Cult of the Nation: Inventing Nationalism, 1680-1800*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2001.
- Belmessous, Saliha. "Être français en Nouvelle-France: Identité française et identité coloniale aux dix-septième et dix-huitième siècles." *French Historical Studies* 27, 3 (Summer 2004): 507-540.
- Berry, Lynn. "'Le Ciel et la Terre nous ont parlé': Comment les missionnaires du Canada français de l'époque coloniale interprétèrent le tremblement de terre de 1663." *RHAF* 60, 1-2 (été-automne, 2006): 11-35.
- Berthiaume, Pierre. *L'aventure américaine au XVIII^e siècle: Du voyage à l'écriture*. Ottawa: les Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1990.
- Bilinkoff, Jodi. "Confessors, Penitents, and the Construction of Identities in Early Modern Avila." *Culture and Identity in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800: Essays in Honor of Natalie Zemon Davis*, edited by Barbara B. Diefendorf and Carla Hesse, 83-100. Ann Arbor, Mi.: University of Michigan Press, 1993.
- , *Related Lives: Confessors and their Female Penitents, 1450-1750*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005.
- Blackburn, Carol. *Harvest of Souls: The Jesuit Mission and Colonialism in North America, 1632-1650*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000.
- Boglioni, Pierre, and Lacroix, Benoît, eds. *Les pèlerinage au Québec*. Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1981.
- Bonville, Jean de. "La presse dans le discours des évêques québécois de 1764 à 1914." *RHAF* 49, 2 (automne 1995): 195-221.
- Boss, Julia. "Writing a Relic: The Uses of Hagiography in New France." In *Colonial Saints: Discovering the Holy in the Americas*, edited by Allan Greer and Jodi Bilinkoff, 211-234. New York: Routledge, 2003.
- Bossy, John. "The Mass as Social Institution, 1200-1700." *Past and Present* 100 (1983): 29-61.
- Boucher, Ghislaine. *Dieu et Satan dans la vie de Catherine de Saint-Augustin, 1632-1668*. Montréal: Bellarmin, 1978.
- Bremond, Henri. *Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux en France depuis la fin des guerres de religion jusqu'à nos jours*. Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1929-1933.

- Briggs, Robin. *Communities of Belief: Cultural and Social Tensions in Early Modern France*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.
- Brown, Peter. "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity." *Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971): 80-101.
- , *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.
- , "The Saint as Exemplar in Late Antiquity." *Representations* no. 2 (Spring 1983): 1-25.
- , *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity: Towards a Christian Empire*. Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992.
- , "Arbiters of the Holy: The Christian Holy Man in Late Antiquity." In *Authority and the Sacred: Aspects of the Christianization of the Roman World*, 57-78. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Bruneau, Marie-Florine. *Women Mystics Confront the Modern World: Marie de l'Incarnation (1599-1672) and Madame Guyon (1648-1717)*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998.
- Buc, Philippe. *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001.
- Burke, Peter. *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*. London: Harper Touchbooks, 1978.
- , "How to be a Counter-Reformation Saint." In *Religion and Society in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800*, edited by Kaspar von Greyerz, 45-55. London: 1984.
- Bynum, Caroline Walker. *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.
- Caciola, Nancy. "Through a Glass, Darkly: Recent Work on Sanctity and Society. A Review Article," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 38, 2 (April 1996): 301-309.
- , *Discerning Spirits: Divine and Demonic Possession in the Middle Ages*. Ithaca, N.Y.; London: Cornell University Press, 2003.
- Cañizares-Esguerra, Jorge, and Seeman, Erik R., eds. *The Atlantic in Global History, 1500-2000*. New Jersey: Pearson/Prentice Hall, 2007.
- Castelli, Elizabeth. *Martyrdom and Memory: Early Christian Culture Making*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.

- Catholic Doors Ministry, "The Saints of Canada,"
<http://www.catholicdoors.com/misc/canada.htm> (accessed October 4, 2007).
- Caulier, Brigitte. "Bâtir l'Amérique des Dévôts: Les confréries de dévotion montréalaises depuis le Régime français." *RHAF* 46, 1 (été 1992): 45-66.
- Certeau, Michel de., *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Translated by Steven Rendall. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.
- , *Heterologies: Discourse of the Other*. Translated by Brian Massumi. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986.
- , *The Writing of History*. Translated by Tom Conley. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988.
- , *The Mystic Fable*. Translated by Michael B. Smith. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Chaplin, Joyce. *Subject Matter: Technology, the Body, and Science on the Anglo-American Frontier, 1500-1676*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2001.
- Chartier, Roger. *Cultural History: Between Practices and Representations*. Translated by Lydia G. Cochrane. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988.
- Cooper, Frederick. *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.
- Choquette, Leslie. "'Ces Amazones du Grand Dieu': Women and Mission in Seventeenth-Century Canada." *French Historical Studies* 17, 3 (Spring 1992): 627-655.
- Choquette, Robert. *The Oblate Assault on Canada's Northwest*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1995.
- Christie, Nancy, ed. *Households of Faith: Family, Gender and Community in Canada, 1760-1969*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002.
- , and Gauvreau, Michael "Modalities of Social Authority: Suggesting an Interface for Religious and Social History." *Histoire Sociale/Social History* vol 36, no. 71 (May 2003): 1-30.
- Clark, Elizabeth. "Foucault, the Fathers and Sex." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 56, 4 (1988): 619-641.
- , "Holy Women, Holy Words: Early Christian Women, Social History and the Linguistic Turn." *Journal of Early Christian Studies* vol. 6, no. 3 (Fall 1998): 413-430.

- , *Reading Renunciation: Asceticism and Scripture in Early Christianity*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999.
- Clark, Emily. *Masterless Mistresses: The New Orleans Ursulines and the Development of a New World Society, 1727-1834*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007.
- Cliche, Marie-Aimée. *Les pratiques de dévotion en Nouvelle-France: Comportements populaires et encadrement ecclésial dans le gouvernement de Québec*. Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1988.
- Codignola, Luca. "Competing Networks: Roman Catholic Ecclesiastics in French North America, 1610-58." *Canadian Historical Review* 80, 4 (December, 1999): 539-584.
- Comerford, Kathleen M., and Pabel, Hilmar M. *Early Modern Catholicism; Essays in Honour of John W. O'Malley, s.j.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001.
- Crook, David. "'A Certain Indulgence': Music at the Jesuit College in Paris, 1575-1590." In *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences and the Arts, 1540-1773*, edited John W. O'Malley, 454-478. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006.
- Cubitt, Geoffrey, and Warren, Allen. eds. *Heroic Reputations and Exemplary Lives*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000.
- Davies, Douglas J. "The Sociology of Holiness: The Power of Being Good." In *Holiness: Past and Present*, edited by Stephen C. Benton, 48-67. London; New York: T & T Clark, 2003.
- Davis, Natalie Zemon. *Women on the Margins: Three Seventeenth-Century Lives*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1995.
- , *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-Century Muslim Between Worlds*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2006.
- Dechêne, Louise. *Habitants et marchands de Montréal au XVII^e siècle*, Paris: Plon, 1974.
- , *Habitants and Merchants in Seventeenth-Century Montreal*. Translated by Liana Vardi. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992.
- , *Le partage des subsistances au Canada sous le régime français*. Montreal: Boréal, 1994.
- Delâge, Denys. *Bitter Feast: Amerindians and Europeans in the American Northeast, 1600-64*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1993.
- Delehaye, Hippolyte. *Les Légendes hagiographiques*. Brüssel, 1905.

- , *The legends of the Saints*. Translated by Donald Attwater. New York: Fordham University Press, 1962.
- Delooz, Pierre. "Towards a Sociological Study of Canonized Sainthood in the Catholic Church." In *Saints and Their Cults*, edited by Stephen Wilson, 189-216. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Delumeau, Jean. *Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire: A New View of the Counter-Reformation*. London: Burns and Oates, 1977.
- Dening, Greg. *Mr. Bligh's Bad Language: Passion, Power and Theatre on the Bounty*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Desbarats, Catherine. "Following the Middle Ground," *William and Mary Quarterly* vol. 63, no. 1 (January 2006): 81-96.
- , ed. *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites par des missionnaires de la compagnie de Jésus*. Montréal: Boréal, 2006.
- Deslandres, Dominique. "Femmes missionnaires en Nouvelle-France: Les débuts des Ursulines et des Hospitalières à Québec." In *La religion de ma mère: Les femmes et la transmission de la foi*, edited by Jean Delumeau, 209-224. Paris: Cerf, 1992.
- , "Signes de Dieu et légitimation de la présence Française au Canada: Le « trafic » des reliques ou la construction d'une histoire." In *Les Signes de Dieu aux XVII^e et XVIII^e Siècles, Actes*, edited by Genevieve Demerson and Bernard Dompnier, 145-160. Clermont-Ferrand (France): Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines de l'Université Blaise Pascal, 1993.
- , "Note critique: A quand une ethnohistoire des missionnaires?" *SCHEC: Études d'histoire religieuse* vol. 61 (1995): 115-124.
- , "La mission chrétienne: Français, Anglais et Amérindiens au XVII^e siècle." In *Transferts culturels et métissage Amérique/Europe, XVI^e – XX^e siècle*, edited by Laurier Turgeon, Denys Delâge et Réal Ouellet, 513-526. Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1996.
- , "Exemplo aequo ut verbo: The French Jesuits' Missionary World," in *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773*. Edited by John O'Malley, Gauvin Alexander Bailey, Steven J. Harris, and T. Frank Kennedy, 258-273. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.
- , *Croire et faire croire: Les missions françaises au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris: Fayard, 2003.
- , "In the Shadow of the Cloister: Representations of Female Holiness in New France." In *Colonial Saints: Discovering the Holy in the Americas*, edited by Allan Greer and Jodi Bilinkoff, 129-153. New York: Routledge, 2003.

- , Dickinson, John A., and Hubert, Ollivier, eds. *Les Sulpiciens de Montréal: Une histoire de pouvoir et discrétion, 1657-2007*. Montréal: Fides, 2007.
- Ditchfield, Simon. *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Du Berger, Jean. "Les rites de passage: Pour une nouvelle lecture." In *Religion populaire, religion de clercs?*, edited by Benoît Lacroix et Jean Simard, 317-324. Québec: Institut Québécois de Recherche sur la Culture, 1984.
- Duffy, Eamon. *Saints and Sinners: A History of the Popes*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.
- Dufresne, Pierre. "Les saints de chez nous." *Prions en Église* 36, 11 (novembre, 2001): 176-179.
- Dunn-Lardeau, Brenda. "The Shaping of National Identity Through History and Hagiography in *Notre Légende Dorée* (Montreal, 1923)." *Poetics Today* 13: 1 (Spring 1992): 63-84.
- Edwards, Gail. "Creating Textual Communities: Anglican and Methodist Missionaries and Print Culture in British Columbia, 1858-1914." PhD dissertation University of British Columbia, 2001.
- Elliott, Alison Goddard. "The Power of Discourse." *Medievalia et Humanistica* ns, 11 (1982): 39-60.
- Elm, Susanna. "Introduction," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 6, 3 (1998): 343-351.
- Emery, Elizabeth, and Postlewaite, Laurie, eds. *Medieval Saints in Late Nineteenth Century French Culture*. Jefferson, NC; London: McFarland, 2004.
- Ferretti, Lucia. *Entre Voisins: La Société paroissiale en milieu urbain Saint-Pierre-Apôtre de Montréal, 1848-1930*. Québec: Boréal, 1992.
- Fleming, Patricia Lockhart, and Lamonde, Yvan, eds. *History of the Book in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004-2007.
- Flood, Gavin. *The Ascetic Self: Subjectivity, Memory and Tradition*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Foley, Mary-Ann. "La vie voyageuse for Women: Moving Beyond the Cloister in Seventeenth-Century New France." *CCHA Historical Studies* (1997): 15-28.
- Foucault, Michel. *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michel Foucault*. Edited by Luther H. Martin et al. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988.

- Gagnon, Claude-Marie. *La Littérature populaire religieuse au Québec: Sa diffusion, ses modèles et ses héros*. Laval: Cahiers de recherches en sciences de la religion, 1986.
- Gagnon, Serge. "Histoire de la mère Marie de l'Incarnation, de l'abbé Henri-Raymond Casgrain," *Dictionnaire des œuvres littéraires du Québec*. vol. 1. Montréal: Fides (1978): 318-322.
- , *Québec et ses historiens de 1840 à 1920: La Nouvelle-France de Garneau à Groulx*. Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1978.
- , *Quebec and its Historians: The Twentieth Century*. Translated by Jane Brierly. Montreal: Harvest House, 1985.
- Gauchet, Marcel. *The Disenchantment of the World: A Political History of Religion*. Translated by Oscar Burge. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- Gauvreau, Michael. *The Catholic Origins of Quebec's Quiet Revolution, 1930-1970*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005.
- Germain, Thérèse. *Autrefois, Les Ursulines de Trois-Rivières: Un école, un hôpital, un cloître*. Sillery: Anne Sigier, 1997.
- Giard, Luce. "Michel de Certeau's Heterology and the New World." *Representations* no. 33 (Winter 1991): 212-221.
- Giguère, Guy. *La scandaleuse Nouvelle France: Histoires scabreuses et peu édifiantes de nos ancêtres*. Montréal: Stanké, 2002.
- Goddard, Peter. "The Devil in New France: Jesuit Demonology, 1611-1650." *Canadian Historical Review* 78, 1 (March 1997): 40-61.
- , "Augustine and the Amerindian in Seventeenth-Century New France." *Church History* 67, 4 (1998): 662-681.
- , "Canada in Seventeenth-Century Jesuit Thought: Backwater or Opportunity." In *Decentring the Renaissance: Canada and Europe in Multidisciplinary Perspective, 1500-1700*, edited by Germaine Warkentin and Carolyn Podruchny, 186-199. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001.
- Goldsmith, Elizabeth C. *Publishing Women's Life Stories in France, 1647-1720*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001.
- Goodich, Michael. *Vita Perfecta: The Ideal of Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century*. Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1982.
- Gordon, Allan. *Making Public Pasts: The Contested Terrain of Montreal's Public Memories, 1891-1930*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001.

- Gray, Colleen. "A Fragile Authority: Power and the Religious Life in the Congrégation de Notre-Dame of Montreal, 1693-1796." PhD dissertation, McGill University, 2004.
- Greer, Allan. *Peasant, Lord and Merchant: Rural Society in Three Quebec Parishes, 1740-1840*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985.
- , *The Patriots and the People: The Rebellion of 1837 in Rural Lower Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993.
- , *The People of New France*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.
- , "Savage/Saint: The Lives of Kateri Tekakwitha." In *Vingt ans après Habitants et marchands: Lectures de l'histoire des XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles canadiens*, edited by Sylvie Dépatie, Catherine Desbarats, Danielle Gauvreau, Mario Lalancette, and Thomas Wien, 138-159. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998.
- , "Colonial Saints: Gender, Race, and Hagiography in New France," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, vol. LVII, no. 2 (April 2000): 323-348.
- , ed., *The Jesuit Relations: Natives and Missionaries in Seventeenth-Century North America*. Boston and New York: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2000.
- , and Bilinkoff, Jodi, eds. *Colonial Saints: Discovering the Holy in the Americas*. New York: Routledge, 2003.
- , "Conversion and Identity: Iroquois Christianity in Seventeenth-Century New France." In *Conversion: Old Worlds and New*, edited by Kenneth Mills and Anthony Grafton, 175-198. Rochester, 2003.
- , "Iroquois Virgin: The Story of Catherine Tekakwitha in New France and New Spain." In *Colonial Saints: Discovering the Holy in the Americas*, edited by Allan Greer and Jodi Bilinkoff, 235-250. New York: Routledge, 2003.
- , *Mohawk Saint: Catherine Tekawitha and the Jesuits*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- , and Mills, Kenneth. "A Catholic Atlantic." In *The Atlantic in Global History, 1500-2000*, edited by Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra and Erik R. Seeman, 3-20. New Jersey: Pearson/Prentice Hall, 2007.
- Gregory, Brad. *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999.
- Groulx, Patrice. *Pièges de la mémoire: Dollard des Ormeaux, les amérindiens et nous*. Hull, Québec: Vents d'Ouest, 1998.

- Gunnarsdóttir, Ellen. *Mexican Karismata: The Baroque Vocation of Francisca de los Angeles, 1674-1744*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004.
- Hamel, Nathalie. "Collectionner les « monuments » du passé: La pratique antiquaire de Jacques Viger," *RHAF* vol. 59, nos. 1-2 (été-automne 2005): 73-94.
- Hamilton, Raphael, N. "Who wrote Premier Établissement de la Foy dans la Nouvelle France?" *Canadian Historical Review* vol. LVII, no. 3 (1976): 265-288.
- Haran, Alexandre Y. *Le Lys et le Globe: Messianisme dynastique et rêve impérial en France aux XVI^e et XVII^e Siècles*. Seyssel: Camp Vallon, 2000.
- Hardy, René. "À propos du réveil religieux dans le Québec du XIX^e siècle: Le recours aux tribunaux dans les rapports entre le clergé et les fidèles (Trois Rivières)." *RHAF* 48,2 (automne, 1994): 187-212.
- , *Contrôle sociale et mutation de la culture religieuse au Québec, 1830-1930*. Montréal: Boréal, 1999.
- , and Roy, Jean. "Mutation de la culture religieuse en Mauricie, 1850-1900." In *Évolution et éclatement du monde rural, France et Québec, XVII^e-XIX^e siècles*, edited by J. Goy and J.-P. Wallot, 397-414. Paris et Montréal: EHESS/Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1986.
- Harris, Ruth. *Lourdes: Body and Spirit in the Secular Age*. London: Allen Lane, 1999.
- Harpham, Geoffrey. *The Ascetic Imperative in Culture and Criticism*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.
- Heffernan, Thomas. *Sacred Biography: Saints and their Biographers in the Middle Ages*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. "Introduction: Inventing Traditions." In *The Invention of Tradition*, 2nd Edition, edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, 1-10. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- , and Ranger, Terence, eds. *The Invention of Tradition*. 2nd Edition. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press 2003.
- Hubert, Ollivier. *Sur la terre comme au ciel: La gestion des rites par l'Église catholique du Québec (fin XVII^e – mi-XIX^e siècle)*. Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2000.
- , "Construire le rite comme un objet historique: Pour un usage pragmatique de l'anthropologie en histoire religieuse du Québec." *SCHEC, Études d'histoire religieuse* 67 (2001): 81-91.

- , "Ritual Performance and Parish Sociability: French-Canadian Catholic Families at Mass from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century." In *Households of Faith: Family, Gender and Community in Canada, 1760-1969*, edited by Nancy Christie, 37-76. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002.
- Hudon, Christine. *Prêtres et fidèles dans le diocèse de Saint-Hyacinthe, 1820-1875*. Sillery: Le Septentrion, 1996.
- , "Beaucoup de bruits pour rien? Rumeurs, plaintes et scandales autour du clergé dans les paroisses gaspésiennes, 1766-1900." *RHAF* vol. 55, no. 2 (Fall, 2001): 217-240.
- Hsia, R. Po-chia. *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540-1770*, Second edition. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Jaenen, Cornelius. "The Frenchification and Evangelization of the Amerindians in Seventeenth-Century New France." *CCHA Study Sessions* 35 (1968): 57-71.
- Jantzen, Grace. *Power, Gender, and Christian Mysticism*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Jetten, Marc. *Enclaves amérindiennes: Les réductions du Canada 1637-1701*. Sillery, Québec: Septentrion, 1994.
- Jouve, Odoric-M. *Le Frère Didace Pelletier, Récollet*. Québec: Couvent des SS. Stigmates, 1910.
- , "Etude historique et critique sur Les Actes du Frère Didace Pelletier, Récollet." *Recherche historique: Bulletin d'archéologie, d'histoire, de biographie, de bibliographie, de numismatique, etc. etc.* vol. 17 (1911): 54-95; 119-128; 140-152; 170-178; 203-209.
- Kitchen John. *Saints' Lives and the Rhetoric of Gender: Male and Female in Merovingian Hagiography*. New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Kselman, Thomas. *Miracles and Prophecies in Nineteenth-Century France*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1984.
- Koppedray, K.I. "The Making of the First Iroquois Virgin: Early Jesuit Biographies of the Blessed Kateri Tekakwitha." *Ethnohistory* 40 (1993): 277-309.
- Lachance, André. *Vivre, aimer et mourir en Nouvelle-France: La vie quotidienne aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*. Montréal: Libre Expression, 2000.
- Lacroix, Benôit, and Simard, Jean, eds. *Religion populaire, religion de clercs?* Québec: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1984.
- Laflèche, Guy. *Les saints martyrs Canadiens*. Laval: Singulier, 1988.

Lafontaine, André. *Recensements annotés de la Nouvelle-France, 1666 et 1667*. Sherbrooke: 1985.

Lamonde, Yvon, ed. *L'imprimé au Québec: Aspects historiques, 18^e-20^e siècles*. Montréal: Institut Québécois de Recherche sur la Culture, 1983.

Larson, Wendy R. "The Role of Patronage and Audience in the Cults of Sts. Margaret and Marina of Antioch." In *Gender and Holiness: Men, Women and Saints in late Medieval Europe*, edited by Samantha J.E. Riches and Sarah Salih, 23-36. London: Routledge, 2002.

Latourelle, René. *François-Joseph Bressani: Missionnaire et humaniste*. Saint-Laurent, Québec: Bellarmin, 1999.

----- *Jean de Brébeuf*. Saint-Laurent, Québec: Bellarmin, 1993.

----- *Pierre-Joseph-Marie Chaumonot: Compagnon des martyrs canadiens*. Saint-Laurent, Québec: Bellarmin, 1998.

Laurence, Gérard "The Newspaper Press in Quebec and Lower Canada." In *History of the Book in Canada*, vol. 1, edited by Patricia Lockhart Fleming, Gilles Gallichan, and Yvan Lamonde, 233-237. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004-2007.

La Verdure, Paul. "Sunday in Quebec, 1907-1937." *CCHA Historical Studies* (1996): 47-61.

Lifshitz, Felice. "Beyond Positivism and Genre: Hagiographical Texts as Historical Narrative." *Viator* 25 (1994): 95-114.

Lukes, Steven. *The Rules of Sociological Method*. Edited and translated by W.D. Halls. New York: Free Press, 1982.

Luria, Keith P. "'Popular Catholicism' and the Catholic Reformation." In *Early Modern Catholicism: Essays in Honour of John W. O'Malley, s.j.*, edited by Kathleen M. Comerford and Hilmar M. Pabel, 114-130. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001.

Lux-Sterritt, Laurence. *Redefining Female Religious Life: French Ursulines and English Ladies in Seventeenth-Century Catholicism*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2005.

Kleinberg, Aviad. *Prophets in their own Country: Living Saints and the Making of Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Macken, Thomas. *The Canonization of Saints*. Dublin: M.H. Gill, 1910.

- Mailhot, Laurent. "Entre l'histoire et la critique: la biographie québécoise." In *100 Years of Critical Solitudes: Canadian and Québécois Criticism from the 1880s to the 1980s*, edited by Caroline Bayard, 61-97. Toronto: ECW Press, 1992.
- Mali, Anya. "Strange Encounters: Missionary Activity and Mystical Thought in Seventeenth-Century New France." *History of European Ideas* 22, 2 (1996): 67-92.
- Martin, A. Lynn. *The Jesuit Mind: The Mentality of an Elite in Early Modern France*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1988.
- Melançon, François. "The Book in New France." In *History of the Book in Canada*, edited by Patricia Lockhart Fleming and Yvan Lamonde, 45-54. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004-2007.
- Mills, Kenneth. *Idolatry and its Enemies: Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation, 1640-1750*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- Mills, Robert. "Can the Virgin Martyr Speak?" In *Medieval Virginites*, edited by Anke Berneau, Ruth Evans and Sarah Salih, 187-213. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003.
- Miquelon, Dale. *New France, 1701-1744: A Supplement to Europe*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987.
- , *The First Canada: To 1791*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1994.
- Moogk, Peter N. *La Nouvelle-France: The Making of French Canada – A Cultural History*. East Lansing, Mi: Michigan State University Press, 2000.
- Mooney, Catherine M. *Gendered Voices: Medieval Saints and their Interpreters*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999.
- Morgan, Ronald J. *Spanish American Saints and the Rhetoric of Gender*. Tuscon: University of Arizona Press, 2002.
- Morineau, Michel. "Les Jésuites parmi les hommes: La soif du martyre." In *Les Jésuites parmi les hommes aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles*, edited by G. Demerson, B. Dompnier and A. Regond, 47-57. Clermont-Ferrand, France: Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de l'Université de Clermont-Ferrand II, 1987.
- Morrison, Kenneth. "Baptism and Alliance: The Symbolic Mediations of Religious Syncretism." *Ethnohistory* 37:4 (1990): 416-437.
- , *The Solidarity of Kin: Ethnohistory, Religious Studies, and the Algonkian-French Religious Encounter*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002;
- Mulder-Bakker, Anneke B., ed. *The Invention of Saintliness*. London: Routledge, 2002.

- , "The Invention of Saintliness: Texts and Contexts." In *The Invention of Saintliness*, edited by Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker, 3-23. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Murray, David. "Spreading the Word: Missionaries, Conversion and Circulation in the Northeast." In *Spiritual Encounters: Interactions between Christianity and Native Religions in Colonial America*, edited by Nicholas Griffiths and Fernando Cervantes, 43-64. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999.
- Myers, Kathleen. *Neither Saints nor Sinners: Writing the Lives of Women in Spanish America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- , ed. *Word from New Spain: The Spiritual Autobiography of Madre María de San José (1656-1719)*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1993.
- Nelles, H.V. *The Art of Nation Building: Pageantry and Spectacle at Quebec's Tercentenary*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.
- Ouellet, Réal. "French and European Writings about the New World." In *History of the Book in Canada*, edited by Patricia Lockhart Fleming and Yvan Lamonde, 23-30. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004-2007.
- , Alain Beaulieu, et al. eds., *Rhétorique et conquête missionnaire: Le jésuite Paul Lejeune*. Sillery, Québec: Septentrion, 1993.
- O'Malley, John W., ed. *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences and the Arts, 1540-1773*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006.
- Oury, Guy-Marie. *Les Ursulines de Québec, 1639-1953*. Sillery: Septentrion, 1999.
- , *l'itinéraire mystique de Catherine de Saint-Augustin*. Chambray-lès-Tours: C.L.D., 1985.
- Pelletier, Louis. *Le clergé en Nouvelle-France: Étude démographique et répertoire biographique*. Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1993.
- Perin, Roberto. "Elaborating a Public Culture: The Catholic Church in Nineteenth-Century Quebec." In *Religion and Public Life in Canada: Historical and Comparative Perspectives*, edited by Marguerite Van Die, 87-105. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001.
- Perron, Paul. "Isaac Jogues: From Martyrdom to Sainthood." In *Colonial Saints: Discovering the Holy in the Americas*, edited by Allan Greer and Jodi Bilinkoff, 153-168. New York; London: Routledge, 2003.
- Pioffet, Marie-Christine. *La tentation de l'épopée dans les Relations des Jésuites*. Québec: Septentrion, 1997.

- Plante, Guy. *Le rigorisme au XVIII^e siècle: Mgr de Saint-Vallier et le sacrement de pénitence*. Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1971.
- Plante, Hermann. *L'Église catholique au Canada, 1604-1886*. Trois-Rivières: Édition du bien publique, 1970.
- Poulter, Gillian. The Image of 'the Native' and '*the habitant*' in the Formation of Colonial Identities in Early Nineteenth-Century Lower Canada." *The Journal of Canadian Art History/Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien* vol. XVI, 1 (1994): 11-25.
- Ramsey, Ann W. "Flagellation and the French Counter-Reformation: Asceticism, Social Discipline, and the Evolution of a Penitential Culture." In *Asceticism*, edited by Vincent L. Wimbush and Richard Valantasis, 576-587. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Rapley, Elizabeth. *The Dévotes: Women and the Church in the Seventeenth Century*. Montreal, Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990.
- , "Women and the Religious Vocation in Seventeenth-Century France." *French Historical Studies* vol. 8, no. 3 (Spring 1994): 613-631.
- Rappaport, Roy A. *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Riches, Samantha J.E., and Salih, Sarah, eds. *Gender and Holiness: Men, Women and Saints in late Medieval Europe*. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Richter, Daniel K. *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992.
- Roach, Joseph. *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.
- Robert, Lucie. "À la recherche de « l'Église des premiers temps »: formes médiévales, classiques et romantiques dans les « Vies » au Québec au milieu du XIX^e siècle." In *Entre la lumière et les Ténèbres: Aspects du moyen âge et de la renaissance dans la culture des XIX^e et XX^e siècles: Actes du congrès de Montréal des 30 Mai et 1^{er} Juin, 1995*, edited by Brenda Dunn-Lardeau, 209-227. Paris: Honoré Champion, 1999.
- , "Quand la vie est littérature: Parcours de la biographie depuis 1840." In *Archives des lettres canadiennes*, tome XII, *Approches de la biographie au Québec*, edited by Dominique Lafon, Rainier Grutman, Marcel Olscamp and Robert Vineault, 15-37. Montréal: Fides, 2004.

- , "Sa vie n'est pas son œuvre: Figures féminines dans les Vies Québécoises." *Recherches sociographiques* XLIV, 3 (2003): 433-453.
- Rousseau, Louis. "À propos du 'réveil religieux' dans le Québec du XIX^e siècle: Où se loge le vrai débat?" *RHAF* 49.2 (automne, 1995): 223-245.
- , and Remiggi, Frank W., eds. *Atlas Historique des Pratiques Religieuses: Le Sud Ouest du Québec au XIX^e siècle*. Ottawa: Les Presses de L'Université d'Ottawa, 1998.
- , "Le renouveau religieux montréalais au XIX^e siècle: Une analyse spatio-temporelle de la pratique pascalle." *Studies in Religion/ Science Religieuses* 21,4 (1992): 431-454.
- Roy, Pierre-Georges. *La Famille Godefroy de Tonnancour*. Levis, 1904.
- Rudin, Ronald. *Founding Fathers: The Celebration of Champlain and Laval in the Streets of Quebec, 1878-1908*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003.
- , *Making History in Twentieth-Century Quebec*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.
- Schechner, Richard. *Performance Studies: An Introduction*. New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Schulenburg, Jane Tibbetts. *Forgetful of their Sex: Female Sanctity and Society ca. 500-1100*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.
- Seed, Patricia. *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Seeman, Eric R. "Reading Indians' Deathbed Scenes: Ethnohistorical and Representational Approaches." *The Journal of American History* vol. 88, no. 1 (June 2001): 17-47.
- Séguin, Robert-Lionel. *La vie libertine en Nouvelle France*. Ottawa: Lemeac, 1972.
- Seljak, David. "Why the Quiet Revolution was 'Quiet': The Catholic Church's Reaction to the Secularization of Nationalism in Quebec after 1960." *CCHA Historical Studies* vol. 62 (1996): 109-124.
- Simard, Jean. *Un patrimoine méprisé: La religion populaire des Québécois*. Montréal: Hurtubise, 1979.
- Simpson, Patricia. *Marguerite Bourgeoys and Montreal, 1640-1665*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997.
- , *Notre-Dame-de-Bon-Secours: A Chapel and its Neighbourhood* (Saint-Laurent, Quebec: Fides, 2001).

- Snow, Dean. *The Iroquois*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1994.
- Spiegel, Gabrielle. *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.
- , "History, Historicism and the Social Logic of the Text." In *The Past as Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography*, 3-28. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997.
- , "Memory and History: Liturgical Time and Historical Time." *History and Theory* 41 (May, 2002): 149-162.
- Stock, Brian. *Listening for the Text: On the Uses of the Past*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990.
- Suire, Éric. *La sainteté française de la réforme catholique (XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles): D'après les textes hagiographiques et les procès de canonisation*. Bordeaux: Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux, 2001.
- Sylvain, Philippe. *Histoire du catholicisme québécoise, tome 2, 1840-1898*. Edited by Nive Voisine. Montréal: Boréal, 1991.
- Tallon, Alain. *La Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement (1629-1667): Spiritualité et société*. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1990.
- , *Conscience nationale et sentiment religieux en France au XVI^e siècle*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2002.
- Taylor, Diana. *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas*. Durham, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.
- Taylor, William B. *Magistrates of the Sacred: Priests and Parishioners in Eighteenth-Century Mexico*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996.
- Tétreault, Martin. Review of *Les saints martyrs canadiens*, by Guy Laflèche. *Archivaria* 30, (1990): 146.
- Thériault, Michel "Le Livre religieux au Québec depuis les débuts de l'imprimerie jusqu'à la Confédération (1764-1867): relevé statistique et essai d'interprétation." Montreal: Graduate School of Library Science, McGill University, 1977.
- Théry, Chantal. "Femmes missionnaires en Nouvelle-France: Dans la balançoire de la rhétorique jésuite." In *Rhétorique et conquête missionnaire: Le jésuite Paul Lejeune*, edited by Réal Ouellet and Alain Beaulieu, 89-99. Québec: Septentrion, 1993.
- Théry, Chantal. *De plume et d'audace: Femmes de la Nouvelle-France, essai*. Montréal: Triptyque; Paris: Cerf, 2006.

- Trigger, Bruce. *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1680*, 2nd edition. Kingston; Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987.
- Trudel, Marcel. *La population du Canada en 1666: Recensement reconstitué*. Sillery: Québec: Septentrion, 1995.
- . *Les écolières des Ursulines de Québec, 1639-1686*. Montréal: Hurtubise, 1999.
- Turner, Victor. *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1969.
- . *Dramas, Fields and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974.
- Valantasis, Richard. "A Theory of the Social Function of Asceticism." In *Asceticism*, edited by Vincent L. Wimbush and Richard Valantasis, 544-552. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- . "Constructions of Power in Asceticism," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* (1995): 775-821.
- Van Engen, John "The Christian Middle Ages as an Historiographical Problem." *American Historical Review* 91 (1986): 519-552.
- Van Eyck, Masarah. "'We Shall be One People': Early Modern French Perceptions of the Amerindian Body," PhD dissertation, McGill University, 2001.
- Van Kley, Dale *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution: From Calvin to the Civil Constitution, 1560-1791*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996.
- Vauchez, André. *La sainteté en occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge d'après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques*. Paris; Rome: École française de Rome, 1981.
- Viau, Roland. *Enfants du néant et mangeurs d'âmes: Guerre, culture et société en Iroquoisie ancienne*. Montréal: Boréal, 1997.
- Vissière, Isabelle et Jean-Louis, eds. *Peaux-rouges et robes noires: Lettres édifiantes et curieuses des jésuites Français en Amérique au XVIII^e siècle*. Paris: Collection Outre-Mers, 1993.
- Warkentin, Germaine, and Podruchny, Carolyn, eds. *Decentring the Renaissance: Canada and Europe in Multidisciplinary Perspective, 1500-1700*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001.
- Warrick, Gary. "A Population History of the Huron-Petun, AD 900-1650." PhD dissertation, McGill University, 1990.

-----, Review of *Les saints martyrs canadiens*, by Guy Laflèche. *Canadian Historical Review* LXX no. 3 (September 1989): 417-18.

Weinstein, Donald, and Bell, Rudolph. *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom, 1000-1700*. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1982.

White, Richard. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Woodward, Kenneth. *Making Saints: How the Catholic Church Determines Who Becomes a Saint, Who Doesn't, and Why*. New York: Simon and Shuster, 1990.

Zecher, Carla. "Life on the French-Canadian Hyphen: Nation and Narration in the Correspondence of Marie de l'Incarnation." *Quebec Studies* 26 (Fall 1998/Winter 1999): 38-51.

Appendix I

Vatican-recognized Saints and Holy Persons of Canada

Saints:	Saint's Day	Date
René Goupil (1608-1642)	Sept. 26	June 29, 1930
Jean de la Lande (160?-1646)	Sept. 26	June 29, 1930
Antoine Daniel (1600-1648)	Sept. 26	June 29, 1930
Isaac Jogues (1608-1646)	Sept. 26	June 29, 1930
Jean de Brébeuf (1593-1649)	Sept. 26	June 29, 1930
Charles Garnier (1606-1649)	Sept. 26	June 29, 1930
Gabriel Lalemant (1610-1649)	Sept. 26	June 29, 1930
Noël Chabanel (1613-1649)	Sept. 26	June 29, 1930
Marguerite Bourgeoys (1620-1700)	Jan. 12	Oct.. 31, 1982
Marguerite d'Youville (1701-1771)	Oct. 16	Dec. 9, 1990

Blessed:

Catherine de St-Augustin (1632-1668)	May 8	Apr. 23, 1989
Marie de l'Incarnation (1599-1672)	Apr. 30	June 22, 1980
Kateri Tekakwitha (1656-1680)	Apr. 17	June 22, 1980
François de Laval (1623-1708)	May 6	June 22, 1980
André Gasset (1758-1792)	Sept. 2	Oct. 17, 1926
Marie-Rose Durocher (1811-1849)	Oct. 6	May 23, 1982
Émilie Gamelin (1800-1851)	Sept. 23	Oct. 7, 2001
Marie-Anne Blondin (1809-1890)	Apr. 18	Apr. 29, 2001
Louis Zéphirin Morreau (1824-1901)	May 24	May 10, 1987
Marie-Léonie Paradis (1840-1912)	May 4	Sept. 11, 1984
Frédéric Janssoone (1838-1916)	Aug. 5	Sept. 25, 1988
Dina Bélanger (1897-1929)	Sept. 4	Mar. 20, 1993
Alfred Besette (1845-1937)	Jan. 6	May 23, 1982
Nakita Budkam (1877-1949)		June 27, 2001
Basil Velichkovsky (1903-1973)		June 27, 2001

Venerable:

Alfred Pampalon (1867-1896)	May 14, 1991
Vital Grandin (1829-1902)	Dec. 15, 1966
Élisabeth Bergeron (1851-1936)	Jan. 12, 1996
Délia Tétreault (1865-1941)	Dec. 18, 1997

Servants of God:

Jerome le Royer de la Dauversière (1597-1659)
Jeanne Mance (1606-1673)
Pierre-Joseph-Marie Chaumonot (1611-1693)
Didace Pelletier (1657-1699)
Jeanne le Ber (1662-1714)

Rosale Cadron-Jetté (1794-1864)
Marcelle Mallet (1805-1871)
Élisabeth Bruyère (1818-1876)
Élisabeth Turgeon (1840-1881)
Marie Fitzbach (1806-1885)
Éléonore Potvin (1865-1903)
Catherine-Aurélié Caouette (1833-1905)
Théophanius-Léo (Adolphe Chatillon) (1871-1929)
Gérard Raymond (1912-1932)
Ovide Charlebois (1862-1933)
Marie-Clément Staub (1876-1936)
Eugène Prévost (1860-1946)
Antoine Kowalczyk (1866-1947)
Louis Émond (1876-1949)
Rose Prince (1915-1949)
Victor Lelièvre (1876-1956)
Ubaldo Ferland (Furlan) (1922-1963)
Georges Vanier (1888-1967)
Brother William, O.H. Guillaume Gagnon (1905-1972)
Catherine de Hueck Doherty (1896-1985)
Pauline Archer-Vanier (1898-1991)

Appendix II

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date	
Ailleboust	Barbe de Boulogne d'		F	1618	
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death	
1685	c. 1717	AHDQ	France	New France	
Field of Action					
New France					
Type					
recluse, celibate secular					
Canonical Status	Social Background				
	upper/noble				

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date	
Andehoua		Armand Jean	M	1618	
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death	
1654	1654	Jesuit Relations	Huronie	?	
Field of Action					
Canada					
Type					
convert					
Canonical Status	Social Background				
	n/a				

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date	
Archambeault	Joseph-Alfred		M	1859	
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death	
1913	1913	annon.	Assomption, Qc.	Joliette, Qc.	
Field of Action					
Quebec, Joliette					
Type					
priest, bishop					
Canonical Status	Social Background				
	professional				

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date	
Archambeault	Marie-Monique	Mère Marie-Olivier	F	1829	
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death	
1904	1922	Éulalie-de-Mérida	Richelieu, Qc.	Montreal	
Field of Action					
Montreal					
Type					
religious, superior					
Canonical Status	Social Background				
	Lower				

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date	
Archer-Vanier	Pauline		F	1898	

Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1991	1994	Cowley, D.	Montreal	France
Field of Action				
Canada/France				
Type				
devout, charity worker				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
servant of God	upper			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Aubrey	Joseph		M	1793
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1873	1875	Chaudonnet, T.-A.	Montreal	Montreal
Field of Action				
various				
Type				
priest, missionary				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
	lower			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Barbier	Marie		F	1663
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1739	1743	Glandelet, Charles	Montreal	Montreal
Field of Action				
New France (Montreal)				
Type				
religious, superior				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
	Professional			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Bassette	Alfred (Br. André)	Brother André	M	1845
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1937	1937	Drouin, J.-O.	Quebec	Montreal
Field of Action				
Montreal				
Type				
lay brother, charity				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
Blessed	lower			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Bélanger	Dina	Marie Sainte Cecile de Rome	F	1897
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1929	1989	Guidon, H.-M.	Quebec	Quebec
Field of Action				
Quebec				

Type

religious

Canonical Status

Blessed

Social Background

middle

Last Name

Bellecourt

First Name

George-Antoine

Nicknames**Sex**

M

Birth Date

1803

Death Date

1874

1st Bio

1955

Author

Reardon, J.M.

Place of Birth

Quebec

Place of Death

New Brunswick

Field of Action

Northwest

Type

missionary

Canonical Status**Social Background**

lower, farming

Last Name

Bergeron

First Name

Elisabeth

Nicknames**Sex**

F

Birth Date

1851

Death Date

1936

1st Bio

1998

Author

Langlois, Yvon

Place of Birth

St-Hyacinthe, Qc.

Place of Death

St- Hyacinthe, Qc.

Field of Action

Quebec (St-Hyacinthe)

Type

foundress

Canonical Status

Venerable

Social Background

lower

Last Name

Bernard

First Name

Annette

Nicknames**Sex**

F

Birth Date

1912

Death Date

1932

1st Bio

1937

Author

Her Mother

Place of Birth

St-Hyacinthe, Qc.

Place of Death

Quebec

Field of Action

Quebec

Type

pious youth

Canonical Status**Social Background**

middle

Last Name

Bernèche

First Name

Henri

Nicknames

Frère Macaire-Alexis

Sex

M

Birth Date

1897

Death Date

1919

1st Bio

1920

Author

annon.

Place of Birth

New Hampshire

Place of Death

Montreal

Field of Action

Montreal

Type

monk

Canonical Status**Social Background**

Professional

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Bernières	Henri		M	1635
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1700	1902	Gosselin, Auguste	France	Quebec City
Field of Action				
Quebec				
Type				
priest				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
	Upper			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Bertille	Marie	d'Eucharistie	F	1877
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1902	1953	Daveluy, M.-C.	Quebec	Italy (Assisi)
Field of Action				
Quebec/Italy				
Type				
missionary				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
	middle, artisan			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Billaudèle	Pierre-Louis		M	1796
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1869	1885	annon.	France (Ardennes)	Montreal
Field of Action				
Montreal				
Type				
priest, superior				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
	lower-middle			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Blanchard	Julie	Mary Antoinette	F	1854
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1939	1942	Mother St. Benedict	Quebec	Montreal
Field of Action				
Northwest				
Type				
missionary, nun				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
	lower, artisan			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Blanche	Gustave		M	1848

Death Date 1916	1st Bio 1923	Author Georges, Émile	Place of Birth France	Place of Death France (Paris)
Field of Action Labrador				
Type priest, Bishop				
Canonical Status	Social Background lower middle			

Last Name Blanchet	First Name Francis Norbert	Nicknames	Sex M	Birth Date 1795
Death Date 1883	1st Bio 1883	Author Seghers, Charles	Place of Birth Quebec	Place of Death Oregon (Portland)
Field of Action Northwest				
Type missionary				
Canonical Status	Social Background ?			

Last Name Blondin	First Name Esther	Nicknames Sister Mary Ann	Sex F	Birth Date 1809
Death Date 1890	1st Bio 1937	Author Langevin, Frédéric	Place of Birth Quebec	Place of Death Montreal
Field of Action Montreal				
Type foundress				
Canonical Status blessed	Social Background lower			

Last Name Bourg	First Name Joseph Mathurin	Nicknames Abbé	Sex M	Birth Date 1744
Death Date 1779	1st Bio 1921	Author Melanson, Arthur	Place of Birth France	Place of Death New Brunswick
Field of Action Acadia, Priest				
Type priest missionary				
Canonical Status	Social Background lower, farmers			

Last Name Bourgeois	First Name Marguerite	Nicknames	Sex F	Birth Date 1620
Death Date 1700	1st Bio 1701	Author Glandelet, Charles	Place of Birth France	Place of Death Montreal
Field of Action New France (Montreal)				

Type

foundress, missionary

Canonical Status

Saint

Social Background

upper

Last Name

Bourget

First Name

Ignace

Nicknames**Sex**

M

Birth Date

1799

Death Date

1885

1st Bio Author

1885 Leblond de Brumath

Place of Birth

Lower Canada

Place of Death

Montreal

Field of Action

Montreal

Type

priest, bishop

Canonical Status**Social Background**

lower, farmer

Last Name

Brasseur

First Name

Virginie

Nicknames

Sœur Marie-Luména

Sex

F

Birth Date

1833

Death Date

1912

1st Bio

1949

Author

annon.

Place of Birth

Quebec (Veaudreuil)

Place of Death

Victoria, B.C.

Field of Action

Victoria

Type

missionary

Canonical Status**Social Background**

lower, farmers

Last Name

Brébeuf

First Name

Jean de

Nicknames

Echon

Sex

M

Birth Date

1593

Death Date

1649

1st Bio

1649

Author

Jesuit Relations

Place of Birth

France

Place of Death

Huron

Field of Action

New France, Huronia

Type

martyr, missionary

Canonical Status

Saint

Social Background

upper

Last Name

Brousseau

First Name

Joseph Onésime

Nicknames**Sex**

M

Birth Date

1853

Death Date

1920

1st Bio

1930

Author

annon.

Place of Birth

Lower Canada

Place of Death

Quebec

Field of Action

Quebec

Type

priest, founder

Canonical Status**Social Background**

lower, farmer

Last Name Bruyère (Bruguier)	First Name Élisabeth	Nicknames	Sex F	Birth Date 1818
Death Date 1876	1st Bio 1945	Author Guay, Louise	Place of Birth Lower Canada	Place of Death Ottawa
Field of Action Ottawa				
Type foundress				
Canonical Status servant of God	Social Background professional			

Last Name Budka	First Name Nikita	Nicknames Budkam	Sex M	Birth Date 1877
Death Date 1949	1st Bio 1952	Author Bala, Joseph	Place of Birth Ukraine	Place of Death USSR
Field of Action Winnipeg				
Type bishop, martyr				
Canonical Status Blessed	Social Background ?			

Last Name Buisson	First Name Hedwige	Nicknames Mère Saint Joseph	Sex F	Birth Date 1837
Death Date 1902	1st Bio 1984	Author Champagne, Gérard	Place of Birth Trois-Rivières, Qc.	Place of Death Trois-Rivières
Field of Action Quebec (Trois-Rivières)				
Type foundress				
Canonical Status process pending	Social Background lower, farmer			

Last Name Burke	First Name Edmond	Nicknames	Sex M	Birth Date 1753
Death Date 1820	1st Bio 1894	Author O'Brien, Cornelius	Place of Birth Ireland	Place of Death Halifax, NS.
Field of Action Halifax				
Type priest-bishop				
Canonical Status	Social Background Upper			

Last Name Cadron-Jetté	First Name Rosalie	Nicknames Mère de la Nativité	Sex F	Birth Date 1794
Death Date 1864	1st Bio 1898	Author Fournet, P.-A.	Place of Birth Quebec	Place of Death Montreal

Field of Action

Montreal

Type

foundress

Canonical Status

servant of God

Social Background

lower

Last Name

Calonne

First Name

Jacques-Ladislas-Joseph de

Nicknames**Sex**

M

Birth Date

1743

Death Date

1822

1st Bio

1892

Author

Melanson, Arthur

Place of Birth

France

Place of Death

Trois Rivières, Qc.

Field of Action

Acadia/Quebec

Type

priest

Canonical Status**Social Background**

Upper

Last Name

Caouette

First Name

Catherine-Aurélie

Nicknames**Sex**

F

Birth Date

1833

Death Date

1905

1st Bio

1923

Author

Auclair, É.-J.

Place of Birth

St-Hyacinthe, Qc.

Place of Death

St-Hyacinthe, Qc.

Field of Action

Quebec (St-Hyacinthe)

Type

foundress, mystic

Canonical Status

servant of God

Social Background

lower, blacksmith

Last Name

Caron

First Name

Elisabeth

Nicknames

Sister Thomas

Sex

F

Birth Date

1808

Death Date

1888

1st Bio

1890

Author

Mayeur, L.

Place of Birth

Quebec

Place of Death

Quebec

Field of Action

Quebec

Type

foundress

Canonical Status**Social Background**

lower, farmers

Last Name

Chalifoux

First Name

Cécile

Nicknames**Sex**

F

Birth Date

1910

Death Date

1944

1st Bio

1950

Author

Lesage, Aline

Place of Birth

Montreal

Place of Death

Montreal

Field of Action

Montreal

Type

charity

Canonical Status	Social Background
	Lower

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Chandonnet	T.-A.		M	1834
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1881	1950	Lavinge, Marie-Anne	Lower Canada	Montreal
Field of Action				
Quebec				
Type				
doctor				

Canonical Status	Social Background
	lower, farmer

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Chapagneau	Etienne		M	1808
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1882	1944	Benard, Antoine	France (Midi)	France
Field of Action				
Canada				
Type				
founder				

Canonical Status	Social Background
	?

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Charbonnel	Noël		M	1613
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1649	1649	Jesuit Relations	France	Huron
Field of Action				
New France, Huron				
Type				
martyr				

Canonical Status	Social Background
saint	upper

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Charlebois	Ovide		M	1862
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1933	1937	Pénard, Jean-Marie	Quebec (Oka)	Northwest
Field of Action				
Northwest				
Type				
missionary				

Canonical Status	Social Background
servant of God	lower

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Chatillon	Adolphe	Théophanis-Leo	M	1871
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1929	1942	Fr. Meldas-Cyrille	Quebec	Quebec
Field of Action				
Montreal				
Type				
monk, teacher				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
servant of God	professional			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Chaumonot	Pierre-Joseph-Marie		M	1611
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1693	c. 1700	Rasle, Sebastien	France	New France
Field of Action				
New France				
Type				
missionary				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
servant of God	upper			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Chauvigny	Marie-Madeleine de la Peltrie		F	1603
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1671	1672	Jesuit Relations	France	New France
Field of Action				
New France (Quebec)				
Type				
foundress, secular				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
	Noble			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Cooke	Thomas		M	1792
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1870	1898	Sœur de Saint Casimir	Pointe du Lac, Qc.	Trois-Rivières
Field of Action				
Quebec (Trois-Rivières)				
Type				
priest, Bishop				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
	lower-middle			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Coulombe	Adèle		F	1835
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1852	1863	annon.	Riviere de Loup, Qc.	Montreal

Field of Action

Montreal

Type

religious, hospitalière

Canonical Status**Social Background**

middle-upper

Last Name

Courtu

First Name

Joseph Eduard

Nicknames

Macaire-Alexis

Sex

M

Birth Date

1897

Death Date

1919

1st Bio

1920

Author

annon.

Place of Birth

New Hampshire

Place of Death

Montreal

Field of Action

Montreal

Type

Christian brother

Canonical Status**Social Background**

Middle

Last Name

Daniel

First Name

Antoine

Nicknames**Sex**

M

Birth Date

1601

Death Date

1648

1st Bio

1648

Author

Ragueneau, Paul

Place of Birth

France

Place of Death

Huron

Field of Action

New France, Huron

Type

martyr, missionary

Canonical Status

Saint,

Social Background

upper

Last Name

Dauth

First Name

Rose-de-Lima

Nicknames

Julie

Sex

F

Birth Date

1825

Death Date

1884

1st Bio

1983

Author

Cimichella, André

Place of Birth

Quebec (Rigaud)

Place of Death

Montreal

Field of Action

Montreal

Type

foundress

Canonical Status

process pending

Social Background

lower, orphan

Last Name

Dauversière

First Name

Jérôme le-Royer-de-la

Nicknames**Sex**

M

Birth Date

1597

Death Date

1659

1st Bio

1947

Author

Bertrand, Camille

Place of Birth

France

Place of Death

France

Field of Action

France

Type

founder

Canonical Status

servant of God

Social Background

upper

Last Name

Davignon

First Name

Hedwidge

Nicknames

Mère Véronique de Crucifix

Sex Birth Date

F 1820

Death Date

1903

1st Bio

1930

Author

annon.

Place of Birth

Quebec

Place of Death

Quebec

Field of Action

Quebec, Oregon

Type

foundress

Canonical Status**Social Background**

lower, farmers

Last Name

Delorme

First Name

Lucien

Nicknames**Sex**

M

Birth Date

1905

Death Date

1926

1st Bio

1928

Author

Dragon, Antonio

Place of Birth

Quebec

Place of Death

Quebec

Field of Action

Quebec

Type

pious child

Canonical Status**Social Background**

lower, farmers

Last Name

Demers

First Name

Godefroy

Nicknames

Frere Bruno

Sex

M

Birth Date

1848

Death Date

1942

1st Bio

1949

Author

Mani, Paul

Place of Birth

Quebec

Place of Death

Quebec (Oka)

Field of Action

Quebec, Italy

Type

monk, zouave

Canonical Status**Social Background**

lower, artisan, baker

Last Name

Denis

First Name

Joseph

Nicknames**Sex**

M

Birth Date

1657

Death Date

1736

1st Bio

1926

Author

Hugolin, R.-P.

Place of Birth

France

Place of Death

New France

Field of Action

New France

Type

priest, missionary

Canonical Status**Social Background**

Upper

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Derome	Louis-Joseph-Amedée		M	1841
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1922	1922	Auclair, É.-J.	Quebec	Quebec
Field of Action				
Quebec				
Type				
founder				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
	Upper			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Dinan	Ellen	Sister Mary Bernard	F	1829
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1901	1986	Young, Mary Bernita	Ireland	Toronto, On.
Field of Action				
Toronto				
Type				
foundress				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
	lower?			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Donnelly	Catherine		F	1884
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1983	1997	Beck, Jeanne	United States	Ontario (Alliston)
Field of Action				
Ontario				
Type				
foundress				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
	?			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Dormer	Henry Edward		M	1844
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1866	1867	Drane, Francis R.	England	Ontario (London)
Field of Action				
UK, Ontario				
Type				
soldier				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
	upper/noble			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Duchaine	Joseph-Louis-François-Ernest		M	1890
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1923	1930	Sœur Jean-Baptiste	Trois-Rivières' Qc.	Frenchville, Sk.

Field of Action

Saskatchewan

Type

priest

Canonical Status**Social Background**

Lower

Last Name

Dugas

First Name

Jacques

Nicknames**Sex**

M

Birth Date

1866

Death Date

1929

1st Bio

1930

Author

Langevin, Frédéric

Place of Birth

Quebec (Laurentides)

Place of Death

Montreal

Field of Action

Quebec/Canada

Type

priest

Canonical Status**Social Background**

middle, notary

Last Name

Durocher

First Name

Eulalie

Nicknames

Mère Marie-Rose

Sex

F

Birth Date

1811

Death Date

1849

1st Bio

1895

Author

Prétot, J.-H.

Place of Birth

Quebec

Place of Death

Quebec

Field of Action

Quebec

Type

foundress

Canonical Status

Blessed

Social Background

middle, wealthy farmer

Last Name

Durocher

First Name

Flavien

Nicknames**Sex**

M

Birth Date

1800

Death Date

1876

1st Bio

1911

Author

Valiquet, A.-M.

Place of Birth

St-Hyacinthe, Qc.

Place of Death

St-Sauveur, Qc.

Field of Action

Quebec (St-Sauveur)

Type

priest

Canonical Status**Social Background**

middle

Last Name

Émond

First Name

Louis

Nicknames**Sex**

M

Birth Date

1876

Death Date

1949

1st Bio

1952

Author

Nadeau, Eugène

Place of Birth

Ile de Orléans, Qc.

Place of Death

Quebec City

Field of Action

Quebec

Type

founder

Canonical Status	Social Background
servant of God	lower, farmers

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Fafard	François-Xavier		M	1856
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1946	1954	Nadeau, Eugène	Trois-Rivières, Qc.	St-Hyacinthe
Field of Action				
Quebec (James Bay)				
Type				
priest, missionary				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
	lower, farmers			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Fisbach	Marie	De Sacré Cœur	F	1806
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1885	1896	Casgrain, H.-R.	Quebec	Quebec
Field of Action				
Quebec City				
Type				
foundress				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
servant of God	lower			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Fontbonne	Delphine		F	1813
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1856	1983	Young, Mary Bernita	France	Toronto, On.
Field of Action				
Toronto, St. Louis				
Type				
foundress				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
	middle?			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Forbes	John	Jean-Paul-Antoine	M	1864
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1926	1928	Aucalir, É.-J.	Canada (?)	France
Field of Action				
Uganda				
Type				
missionary, bishop				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
	lower, farmers			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Forbin-Janson	Charles-Auguste-Marie-Joseph-de		M	1785
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1844	1895	Dionne, N.-E.	France	France
Field of Action				
France/Quebec/U.S.				
Type				
priest, bishop				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
	Upper			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Fournier	Virginie	Mere Saint-Bernard	F	1848
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1918	1984	Champagne, Gérard	Quebec (Lévis)	Quebec
Field of Action				
Quebec				
Type				
religious, foundress				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
	Lower			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Frémont	Marie-Louise-Hermine	Sœur Thérèse de Jésus	F	1851
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1873	1881	Braun, Antoine	Quebec (Quebec)	Montreal
Field of Action				
Montreal				
Type				
religious				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
	professional, doctor			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Furlan	Ubaldo	Aldo	M	1922
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1963	1984	Cimichella, André	Manitoba	Ottawa
Field of Action				
Winnipeg/Ottawa.				
Type				
priest, missionary				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
Servant of God	lower			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Gagné	M. Louis		M	1788
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1867	1868	J.C.	Quebec (Quebec)	Montreal

Field of Action

Montreal

Type

priest

Canonical Status**Social Background**

?

Last Name

Gagnon

First Name

Guillaume

Nicknames

Br. William

Sex

M

Birth Date

1905

Death Date

1972

1st Bio**Author**

?

Place of Birth

Montreal

Place of Death**Field of Action**

Vietnam

Type

lay brother

Canonical Status**Social Background**

Servant of God?

Last Name

Gannant

First Name

?

Nicknames

Marie-Thérèse

Sex

F

Birth Date

?

Death Date

169?

1st Bio

1722

Author

Belmont, François de

Place of Birth

?

Place of Death

Sillery

Field of Action

New France

Type

convert

Canonical Status**Social Background**

n/a

Last Name

Gannendaris

First Name

?

Nicknames

Cécile

Sex

F

Birth Date

?

Death Date

1668

1st Bio

1669

Author

Jesuit Relations

Place of Birth

?

Place of Death

Sillery

Field of Action

New France

Type

convert

Canonical Status**Social Background**

n/a

Last Name

Garaconthié

First Name

?

Nicknames

?

Sex

M

Birth Date

?

Death Date

1677

1st Bio

1677

Author

Jesuit Relations

Place of Birth

?

Place of Death

Iroquoia

Field of Action

Canada

Type

convert

Canonical Status	Social Background
	n/a

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Garnier	Charles		M	1606
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1649	1649	Ragueneau, Paul	France	Huron
Field of Action				
Canada				
Type				
martyr, missionary				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
Saint	upper			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Gaudiakteua		Catherine	F	?
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
16??		Jesuit Relations	?	New France
Field of Action				
Canada				
Type				
convert				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
	n/a			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Gélinas	Thérèse		F	1925
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1934	1936	Nadeau, Eugène	Trois-Rivières, Qc.	Trois-Rivières, Qc.
Field of Action				
Quebec (Trois-Rivières)				
Type				
pious youth				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
	Middle			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Giroux	Constant-Alexis		M	1862
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1941	1942	Nadeau, Eugène	Iberville, Qc.	Trois-Rivières, Qc.
Field of Action				
NWT/Quebec				
Type				
priest, missionary				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
	Lower, farmers			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Goupil	Réné		M	1608
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1642	1642	Jesuit Relation	France	Iroquoia
Field of Action				
Canada/Iroquoia				
Type				
martyr				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
saint	professional, surgeon			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Grandin	Vital		M	1829
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1902	1903	Jonquet, Émile	France	St. Albert, Ab.
Field of Action				
Northwest				
Type				
missionary				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
venerable	lower, hotel keepers			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Granet	Dominique		M	1810
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1866	1885	Rousseau, Pierre	France	Montreal
Field of Action				
Montreal				
Type				
priest				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
	lower middle			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Grasset	André		M	1758
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1792	1927	Maurault, Olivier	Montreal	Paris
Field of Action				
France				
Type				
priest, martyr				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
blessed	upper			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Grenier	F.-A.		M	1827
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1903	1910	Valiquet, A.-N.	France (Brittany)	Quebec

Field of Action

Quebec (St. Sauveur)

Type

priest

Canonical Status**Social Background**

Professional

Last Name

Grollier

First Name

Pierre-Henri

Nicknames**Sex**

M

Birth Date

1826

Death Date

1864

1st Bio

1929

Author

Prud'homme, A. France

Place of Birth**Place of Death**

Fort Good Hope, NWT

Field of Action

NWT (Fort Good Hope)

Type

missionary

Canonical Status**Social Background**

lower, baker

Last Name

Guertin

First Name

Arthur

Nicknames**Sex**

M

Birth Date

1868

Death Date

1932

1st Bio

1942

Author

Morriseau, Henri

Place of Birth

Quebec

Place of Death

Ottawa

Field of Action

Ottawa

Type

priest, professor

Canonical Status**Social Background**

lower, farmers

Last Name

Guilbault

First Name

Jules-Marie

Nicknames**Sex**

M

Birth Date

1898

Death Date

1958

1st Bio

1959

Author

Légaré, Romain

Place of Birth

Quebec (Nicolet)

Place of Death

Quebec

Field of Action

Quebec

Type

priest

Canonical Status**Social Background**

Lower

Last Name

Guyart

First Name

Marie

Nicknames

de l'Incarnation

Sex

F

Birth Date

1599

Death Date

1672

1st Bio

1677

Author

Martin, Claude

Place of Birth

France

Place of Death

New France

Field of Action

New France (Quebec)

Type

religious, missionary

Canonical Status	Social Background
blessed	middle

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Hogonnard	Joseph		M	1848
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1917	1966	Carrière, Gaston	France (Colombe)	Qu'Appelle, Sk.
Field of Action				
Northwest				
Type				
missionary, educator				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
	lower, farmer			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Hueck	Catherine de		F	1896
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1988	1995	Brière, Émile	Russia	Combermere, On.
Field of Action				
Ontario				
Type				
foundress				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
servant of God	upper/noble			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Huot	Catherine	Sœur de la Madeleine	F	1791
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1869	1876	annon.	Quebec	Montreal, Qc.
Field of Action				
Montreal				
Type				
religious, superior				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
	lower, farmer			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Hurtubise	Marie Clarina	Claire du Canada	F	1873
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1956	1958	Théoret, Pierre	Montreal	Valleyfield, Qc.
Field of Action				
Quebec/France				
Type				
foundress				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
	?			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Janssoone	Frédéric	de Ghyvelde	M	1838
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1916	1947	Trudel, P.-E.	France	Montreal
Field of Action	Quebec/Jerusalem			
Type	priest			
Canonical Status	Social Background			
blessed	lower, farmer			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Jogues	Isaac		M	1607
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1646	1646	Jesuit Relations	France	Iroquoia
Field of Action	Canada/Iroquoia			
Type	martyr			
Canonical Status	Social Background			
saint	upper/noble			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Kearney	J.M. Patrick		M	1834
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1918	1962	Bréton, Paul Émile	Ireland	NWT (Mackenzie)
Field of Action	NWT (Arctic)			
Type	missionary			
Canonical Status	Social Background			
	?			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Kowakczyk	Antoine		M	1866
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1947	1953	Bréton, Paul Émile	Poland	Edmonton, Ab.
Field of Action	Edmonton			
Type	missionary			
Canonical Status	Social Background			
servant of God	lower, farmer			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Lacombe	Albert		M	1827
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1916	1911	Hughes, Kathleen	France	Northwest

Field of Action

Northwest

Type

missionary

Canonical Status**Social Background**

lower, farmers

Last Name

LaFrance

First Name

François-Xavier

Nicknames**Sex**

M

Birth Date

1814

Death Date

1867

1st Bio

1913

Author

Bourgeois, Ph.-F

Place of Birth

Quebec

Place of Death

New Brunswick

Field of Action

New Brunswick

Type

priest

Canonical Status**Social Background**

Professional

Last Name

Lalande

First Name

Jean de

Nicknames**Sex**

M

Birth Date

160?

Death Date

1646

1st Bio

1646

Author

Jesuit Relations

Place of Birth

France

Place of Death

Iroquoia

Field of Action

Canada/Iroquoia

Type

martyr

Canonical Status

saint

Social Background

upper

Last Name

Lalemant

First Name

Gabriel

Nicknames**Sex**

M

Birth Date

1610

Death Date

1649

1st Bio

1649

Author

Ragueneau, Paul

Place of Birth

France

Place of Death

Huronion

Field of Action

Canada/Huronion

Type

martyr

Canonical Status

Saint

Social Background

upper

Last Name

Langevin

First Name

Adelard

Nicknames**Sex**

M

Birth Date

1855

Death Date

1915

1st Bio

1916

Author

Morice, A.-G.

Place of Birth

Lower Canada

Place of Death

St-Boniface, Mb.

Field of Action

Northwest (St-Boniface)

Type

bishop-missionary

Canonical Status	Social Background professional, notary
-------------------------	--

Last Name LaRivière	First Name Adélaïde-Philomène	Nicknames Mère Marie de Saint Hélène	Sex F	Birth Date 1838
Death Date 1915	1st Bio 1916	Author annon.	Place of Birth Montreal	Place of Death Montreal
Field of Action Montreal				
Type religious, foundress				
Canonical Status	Social Background ?			

Last Name Lauberivière	First Name François-Louis Pourroy de	Nicknames	Sex M	Birth Date 1711
Death Date 1740	1st Bio 1743	Author multiple	Place of Birth France	Place of Death New France
Field of Action New France (Quebec)				
Type priest, bishop				
Canonical Status	Social Background upper/noble			

Last Name Lavagna	First Name Luigi	Nicknames	Sex M	Birth Date 1801
Death Date 1857	1st Bio 1990	Author Pautasso, Luigi	Place of Birth Italy (Genoa)	Place of Death Ontario
Field of Action Canada				
Type missionary				
Canonical Status	Social Background ?			

Last Name Laval	First Name François Montmorency de	Nicknames	Sex M	Birth Date 1623
Death Date 1708	1st Bio 1708	Author Houssart, Louis	Place of Birth France	Place of Death New France
Field of Action New France (Quebec)				
Type priest, bishop				
Canonical Status blessed	Social Background upper/noble			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Lavallée	Phillippe	Auguste	M	1906
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1928	1933	Simard, O.-D.	Roberval, Qc.	Chicoutimi, Qc.
Field of Action				
Quebec (Chicoutimi)				
Type				
pious youth				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
	lower-middle			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Lavallée	Paul-Émile		M	1899
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1922	1927	Villeneuve, J.-M.	Quebec	Quebec
Field of Action				
Quebec				
Type				
student				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
	lower, farmer			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Le Ber	Jeanne		F	1662
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1714	1722	Belmont, François de	France	Montreal
Field of Action				
New France (Montreal)				
Type				
hermit				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
servant of God	upper, Montreal			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Lebastard	Prosper		M	1865
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1920	1921	Georges, Émile	France	France
Field of Action				
New Brunswick				
Type				
priest				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
	lower, orphan			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Lelièvre	Victor	Père de Sacré Cœur	M	1876
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1956	1956	Ubalde, Villeneuve	France	Quebec

Field of Action

Quebec

Type

priest, missionary

Canonical Status

Servant of God

Social Background

lower

Last Name

Lesage

First Name

Charles-Médéric

Nicknames

Mgr.

Sex

M

Birth Date

1848

Death Date

1891(?)

1st Bio

1932

Author

Maurice, J.-O.

Place of Birth

Quebec

Place of Death

Quebec

Field of Action

Montreal

Type

priest, bishop

Canonical Status**Social Background**

?

Last Name

Lucas

First Name

Marie-Adéline

Nicknames

Mère Séraphine de Divin Cœur

Sex

F

Birth Date

1816

Death Date

1888

1st Bio

1944

Author

annon.

Place of Birth

France (Reims)

Place of Death

Montreal

Field of Action

Montreal

Type

foundress

Canonical Status**Social Background**

upper, industrialist

Last Name

Mallet

First Name

Marcelle

Nicknames

Marie-Anne-Marcelle

Sex

F

Birth Date

1805

Death Date

1871

1st Bio

1939

Author

annon.

Place of Birth

Montreal

Place of Death

Quebec

Field of Action

Quebec

Type

foundress

Canonical Status

servant of God

Social Background

lower, farmer

Last Name

Mance

First Name

Jeanne

Nicknames**Sex**

F

Birth Date

1606

Death Date

1673

1st Bio

1743

Author

Morin, Marie

Place of Birth

France

Place of Death

New France

Field of Action

New France (Montreal)

Type

foundress, nurse

Canonical Status	Social Background
Servant of God	professional

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Mangin	Alexis-Louis		M	1856
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1920	1954	Legros, Hector	Belgium	Quebec
Field of Action				
Quebec				
Type				
priest, founder				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
servant of God	noble			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Marquette	Jacques		M	1637
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1675	1676	Jesuit Relations	France	New France
Field of Action				
Canada				
Type				
missionary				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
	upper, seigneur			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Martineau	Flavien		M	1830
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1887	1887	Desmazures, A.-C.	France	Montreal
Field of Action				
Quebec/Montreal				
Type				
priest				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
	?			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Membertou		Henri	M	?
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1611	1611	Jesuit Relations	Acadia	Acadia
Field of Action				
Acadia				
Type				
convert				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
	n/a			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Moreau	Louis-Zépherin		M	1824
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1901	1937	Langevin, Frédéric	Quebec	Quebec
Field of Action				
Quebec (St-Hyacinthe)				
Type				
priest, bishop				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
blessed	lower, farmer			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Morin	Marie		F	1649
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1730	1854	Faillon, Etienne	Quebec	Montreal
Field of Action				
New France (Montreal)				
Type				
Religious, author, historian				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
	upper, seigneur			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Negamat		Noél/Trégatin	M	?
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1666	1904	Dionne, N.-E.	?	Sillery, New France
Field of Action				
New France (Sillery)				
Type				
convert				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
	n/a			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Nenascoumat		François Xavier	M	?
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1639	1640	Jesuit Relations	?	Sillery, New France
Field of Action				
New France (Sillery)				
Type				
convert				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
	n/a			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Olier	Jean-Jacques		M	1608
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1657	1873	Faillon, Etienne	France	France

Field of Action

France

Type

founder

Canonical Status**Social Background**

Upper

Last Name

Onaharé

First Name**Nicknames**

Joseph

Sex

M

Birth Date

?

Death Date

1650

1st Bio

1651

Author

Jesuit Relations

Place of Birth

?

Place of Death

Mohawk Country

Field of Action

Canada/Iroquoia

Type

martyr

Canonical Status**Social Background**

?

Last Name

Ouendraka

First Name**Nicknames**

Marie

Sex

F

Birth Date

1625

Death Date

1648

1st Bio

1648

Author

Jesuit Relations

Place of Birth

Huronie

Place of Death

Huronie

Field of Action

Huronie

Type

convert

Canonical Status**Social Background**

n/a

Last Name

Painchaud

First Name

C.-F.

Nicknames**Sex**

M

Birth Date

1782

Death Date

1838

1st Bio

1863

Author

Bacon, Charles

Place of Birth

Quebec

Place of Death

Quebec

Field of Action

Quebec (Gaspé)

Type

founder

Canonical Status**Social Background**

lower, seaman

Last Name

Pampalon

First Name

Alfred

Nicknames**Sex**

M

Birth Date

1867

Death Date

1896

1st Bio

1902

Author

Pampalon, Pierre

Place of Birth

Quebec (Levis)

Place of Death

Quebec

Field of Action

Quebec (St-Anne-de-Beaupré)

Type

priest

Canonical Status	Social Background
venerable	lower

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Paradis	Élodie	Mère Marie-Léonie	F	1840
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1912	1926	Goyette, Arsène	Lower Canada	Sherbrooke, Qc.

Field of Action
Quebec/New Brunswick

Type
foundress

Canonical Status	Social Background
blessed	lower, miller

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Paré	Jean Romuald		M	1779
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1859	1872	Chagnon, F.-X.	Quebec	Montreal

Field of Action
Montreal

Type
priest

Canonical Status	Social Background
	Lower

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Pelletier	Claude	Frère Didace	M	1657
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1699	c. 1719	Denis, Joseph	Canada	Trois-Rivières, Qc.

Field of Action
New France

Type
missionary

Canonical Status	Social Background
servant of God	lower, farmers

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Picard	Eustache		M	1817
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1886	1886	Desmazures, A.-C.	Montreal	Montreal

Field of Action
Montreal

Type
priest

Canonical Status	Social Background
	?

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Potvin	Eléonore	Mère Marie-Zita de Jésus	F	1865
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1903	1945	Barabé, P.-H.	Quebec	Ontario
Field of Action				
Quebec (Hull)/Ontario (Ottawa)				
Type				
foundress				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
servant of God	lower, farmers			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Prévost	Eugene	Marie-Eugene de la Croix	M	1860
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1946	1951	Lapointe, Georges	Quebec	Montreal
Field of Action				
Canada/France/Italy				
Type				
founder, priest				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
servant of God	professional			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Prince	Rose		F	1915
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1949	19??	Frith, Ken	British Columbia	British Columbia
Field of Action				
British Columbia				
Type				
pious lay woman, pious child, native				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
	n/a			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Racine	Antoine		M	1822
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1893	1894	Lefebvre, P.-J.-Am.	St. Ambroise, Qc.	Sherbrooke, Qc.
Field of Action				
Quebec (Sherbrooke)				
Type				
priest, bishop				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
	Lower			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Racine	Dominique		M	1828
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1888	1888	Langlais, J.-A.	St. Ambroise, Qc.	Chicoutimi, Qc.

Field of Action

Quebec (Chicoutimi)

Type

priest, bishop

Canonical Status**Social Background**

lower, blacksmith

Last Name

Ragueneau

First Name

Paul

Nicknames**Sex**

M

Birth Date

1608

Death Date

1680

1st Bio

c. 1711

Author

Bigot, Jacques

Place of Birth

France

Place of Death

France

Field of Action

New France/France

Type

missionary

Canonical Status**Social Background**

Upper

Last Name

Rasles

First Name

Sébastien

Nicknames**Sex**

M

Birth Date

1657

Death Date

1724

1st Bio

1724

Author

Lettres édifiantes

Place of Birth

France

Place of Death

Maine (Acadia)

Field of Action

Acadia/New France

Type

missionary, martyr

Canonical Status**Social Background**

?

Last Name

Raymond

First Name

Gérard

Nicknames**Sex**

M

Birth Date

1912

Death Date

1932

1st Bio

1932

Author

annon.

Place of Birth

Quebec

Place of Death

Quebec

Field of Action

Quebec

Type

pious child

Canonical Status

servant of God

Social Background

lower

Last Name

Richard

First Name

Marie-Louise

Nicknames

Madame Brault

Sex

F

Birth Date

1856

Death Date

1910

1st Bio

1941

Author

Bouthier, Louis

Place of Birth

Montreal

Place of Death

Montreal

Field of Action

Quebec

Type

Mystic

Canonical Status **Social Background**
Middle

Last Name **First Name** **Nicknames** **Sex** **Birth Date**
Saché Louis M 1813
Death Date **1st Bio** **Author** **Place of Birth** **Place of Death**
1889 1890 Duguay, P.-H.-E. France Quebec
Field of Action
Quebec
Type
priest

Canonical Status **Social Background**
Middle

Last Name **First Name** **Nicknames** **Sex** **Birth Date**
Savonnières de Troche Marie de Saint Joseph F 1616
Death Date **1st Bio** **Author** **Place of Birth** **Place of Death**
1652 1652 Marie de l'Incarnation France New France
Field of Action
New France (Quebec)
Type
religious

Canonical Status **Social Background**
Noble

Last Name **First Name** **Nicknames** **Sex** **Birth Date**
Seghers Charles John Charles Jean M 1839
Death Date **1st Bio** **Author** **Place of Birth** **Place of Death**
1886 1887 anon. Belgium Alaska
Field of Action
Vancouver Island, Alaska
Type
missionary, bishop

Canonical Status **Social Background**
Middle

Last Name **First Name** **Nicknames** **Sex** **Birth Date**
Simard Françoise Mère Marie de Bon Conseil F 1851
Death Date **1st Bio** **Author** **Place of Birth** **Place of Death**
1937 1957 anon. Quebec Quebec
Field of Action
Quebec (Chicoutimi)
Type
foundress

Canonical Status **Social Background**
?

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Simon de Longpré	Catherine	de Saint Augustin	F	1632
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1668	1668	Mother St. Bonaventure	France	New France
Field of Action				
New France (Quebec)				
Type				
religious, missionary, mystic				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
Blessed	upper			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Staub	Joseph	Frère Marie Clément	M	1876
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1936	1967	Floch, P. Yvon le	France	Quebec (Sillery)
Field of Action				
Worcester, Mass.				
Type				
founder				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
servant of God?				

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Taché	Alexandre-A.		M	1823
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1894	1899	Prud'homme, L.-A.	Lower Canada	St-Boniface, Mb.
Field of Action				
Northwest				
Type				
missionary, bishop				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
	Professional			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Tarantino	Carmelina		F	1937
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1992	2006	Cinglolani, Gabriele	Italy	Toronto
Field of Action				
Toronto				
Type				
nun, charity, suffering				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
servant of God	lower			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Taschereau	Elzéar-Alexandre		M	1820
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1898	1891	Têtu, Henri	Quebec (Beauce)	Quebec

Field of Action

Quebec City

Type

priest, bishop, cardinal

Canonical Status**Social Background**

middle (upper)

Last Name

Tavernier

First Name

Émilie

Nicknames

Gamelin

Sex

F

Birth Date

1800

Death Date

1851

1st Bio

1885

Author

Giroux, Henri

Place of Birth

Quebec

Place of Death

Quebec

Field of Action

Quebec

Type

foundress

Canonical Status

Blessed

Social Background

lower

Last Name

Tekakwitha

First Name**Nicknames**

Catherine (Kateri)

Sex

F

Birth Date

1656

Death Date

1680

1st Bio

1682

Author

Chauchetière, Claude

Place of Birth

Iroquoia

Place of Death

Kahnawake

Field of Action

Canada/Kahnawake

Type

Pious lay woman, convert

Canonical Status

blessed

Social Background

n/a

Last Name

Teotonharason

First Name**Nicknames**

Madeleine

Sex

F

Birth Date

?

Death Date

1657

1st Bio

1657

Author

Jesuit Relations

Place of Birth

Iroquoia

Place of Death

Onondaga

Field of Action

Onondaga

Type

convert

Canonical Status**Social Background**

n/a

Last Name

Tetreault

First Name

Délia

Nicknames

Mère de Saint Esprit

Sex

F

Birth Date

1865

Death Date

1941

1st Bio

1983

Author

annon.

Place of Birth

Quebec

Place of Death

Montreal

Field of Action

Montreal

Type

Foundress

Canonical Status	Social Background
venerable	lower, farmers

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Tremblay	Rose-Yvonne	Sœur Sainte-Agnès-de-Jésus	F	1916
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1951	1989	Tremblay, Fleuret	Lac St-Jean, Qc.	Chicoutimi, Qc.

Field of Action
Quebec (Lac Saint Jean)

Type
religious, hospitaller

Canonical Status	Social Background
	lower, foresters

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Turgeon	Élisabeth		F	1840
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1881	1991	Hout, Gizelle	Beaumont, Qc.	Rimouski, Qc.

Field of Action
Quebec (Rimouski)

Type
foundress

Canonical Status	Social Background
servant of God	lower, farmer

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Vanier	Georges		M	1888
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1967	1972	Vanier, Jean	Montreal	Ottawa

Field of Action
Canada

Type
pious secular, soldier

Canonical Status	Social Background
servant of God	upper

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Velichkovsky	Basil		M	1903
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1973	19??	?	Ukraine	Winnipeg, MB.

Field of Action
Manitoba/USSR

Type
martyr

Canonical Status	Social Background
blessed	upper

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Verrem	Zéphérin	Zéphir	M	1871
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1891	1894	annon.	Rimouski, Qc.	Rimouski, Qc.
Field of Action				
Quebec (Rimouski)				
Type				
pious child				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
	lower, cobbler			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Viel	Nicholas		M	?
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1625	1634	Jesuit Relations	France	New France
Field of Action				
New France				
Type				
missionary, martyr				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
	upper?			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Watier	Henri		M	1897
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1968	1983	Cimichella, André	Montreal	Quebec (Gaspé)
Field of Action				
Quebec (Gaspé)				
Type				
priest				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
	?			

Last Name	First Name	Nicknames	Sex	Birth Date
Youville	Marguerite d'		F	1701
Death Date	1st Bio	Author	Place of Birth	Place of Death
1771	1771	Dufrost d'Youville, Charles	Montreal	Montreal
Field of Action				
New France, Canada, Montreal				
Type				
foundress, religious				
Canonical Status	Social Background			
saint	upper			

Appendix III

Miracles attributed to the intercession of Frère Didace Pelletier, Récollet.

From “Actes du très devot frère Didace, Récollet, mort en odeur du sainteté en 1699.” Musée de la civilisation, fonds d'archives du Séminaire de Québec, fonds Viger-Verreau, P32/O-73.

First Inquiry, Ursulines de Québec, 1699-1700,

1. Rose de Lanaudière de Sainte-Catherine, Ursuline, aged 25. Cured of a damaged arm after praying to Frère Didace in the winter of 1698.
2. Angelique Robineau, pensionnaire, Ursulines de Quebec. Cured of an inflamed knee after a novena.

Second Inquiry, Trois-Rivières, 1703

3. Michelle de Linctot, Trois-Rivières. Daughter of Sr. Michel de Godefroy de Linctot, major and commander of the town of Trois-Rivières and Perriné Picotté de Belestre 1664. Cured of a disease after three days of a novena.
4. Catherine le Pelé, cured of a leg malady after two years of suffering
5. Magdelaine Baudoin, Trois-Rivières. Cured of a chest ailment after a novena.
6. Marthe Frichet, Trois-Rivières. Cured of a breast ailment that prevented her from nursing her son. Novena.
7. Pierre Loiseau, aged 19, l'isle du Pas, region of Trois-Rivières, aged 19. Cured of gout on his thigh after a novena.
8. Jean Fafart, Sieur de la Framboise, Trois Rivières. Merchant cured of chest pain. His wife had an ex-voto made to commemorate his cure.

Third Inquiry, Trois-Rivières, August, 1704

9. Antoine Bruslé dit Francourt, habitant of Beçancourt. Cured of an excessive pain in his knee when he placed a piece of Frère Didace's robe on the affected area.
10. Dame Perriné Picotté de Bellestre, 59, Trois-Rivières, aged 59. Wife of Sr. Michel de Godefroy de Linctot, mother of the *miraculée* Michelle Linctot (above). Cured of a dangerous malady “dans un endroit que la bienséance ne veut point que l'on nommé.”

Procès-verbal, Ursuline Convent, Quebec, 20 January 1709

11. François Lefebvre dit Angers, Neuville, Québec, 1709. Manual worker. After invoking without success an unnamed person who died with a reputation for holiness in Quebec, he turned to Frère Didace and, after a novena, found himself completely cured of a hemorrhage.

Fourth Inquiry, Trois-Rivières, 25 May 1717.

12. Frère Louis Hyacinthe Dumesnil, Récollet novice, Trois-Rivières. Cured of a pain in his knee and a fever when a piece of Frère Didace's robe was applied to it.

13. Marie Boubert, Trois-Rivières, 1704. Wife of Jean Baptiste Poitiers, notary (d. 1711). Letter composed by Poitiers attests to cure of his wife in 1704. Official testimony given by Boubert before the commission in 1717.
14. Daughter of Marie Boubert and Jean Baptiste Poitier, Trois-Rivières, aged 15. Cured in 1713. Attested by Marie Boubert before Glandelet's commission in 1717.
15. Pierre le Maistre, Berger of Trois-Rivières. Saved in a storm after he made a vow to Frère Didace. Reported by Joseph Denis in a procès-verbal at Quebec, 1704.
16. Jean le Clerc, habitant des Trois-Rivières, aged 54. Cured of an inflammation of the knee that he had suffered for two years when he prayed at the tomb of Frère Didace.
17. Marguerite Aubichon, Bécancourt. Widow of Pierre Desrosiers, habitant. Cured after a pilgrimage to Didace's grave site in Trois-Rivières.
18. Charles Antoine de Tonnancourt, son of Marguerite Hameau (Ameau) and René Godefroy de Tonnancourt, Lieut. Gén. Des Trois-Rivières and syndic of the Récollets of the town. Suffered from a fleshy growth in his throat the size of a pigeon egg that threatened to suffocate him. Cured when a piece of Frère Didace's robe was applied to his throat and he was taken for nine days straight to the church where Frère Didace was buried.
19. Julien Constantinau, St. Francois de Sales de Neuville, habitant. Cured of a slow fever that had plagued him for five weeks. His mother and father were inspired to pray to Frère Didace and place a piece of his robe on their son. They subsequently reported the miracle to the local curé, who in turn wrote to Joseph Denis on 1 November 1704.
20. Mgr Jean-Baptiste de Saint-Vallier, Bishop of Quebec. Cured of a persistent illness after he made a pilgrimage in Frère Didace's tomb in Trois-Rivières, 1716. Attested to the cure in a circular letter of 9 June 1716.
21. M.E. (François) Chése, Sulpician of Montreal. Cured after he made a vow of pilgrimage. Fulfilled vow by saying mass on Frère Didace's tomb. Reported in a letter to Joseph Denis, dated 31 August 1720.
22. Adrienne Barbier. Cured of a stomach ailment that she suffered for five years after praying to Frère Didace for fifteen days. Certificate of attestation.