CHAPTER FIVE

THE QUEBEC REGION, 1732—1835

1. The Seminary of Quebec

Chapter One detailed the role which the Abbot of Isle Dieu wanted the Spiritans to play with respect to the training of a native Canadian clergy in the Quebec Diocese. Political events, however, prevented the execution of the Abbot's plans, although, as he wrote in 1753, Holy Ghost Seminary had furnished "the majority of the staff in the Quebec Seminary."

Surviving documents give us but meager information about Spiritans assigned to the Quebec institution of ecclesiastical learning. The only priests that we can state with certainty came from Holy Ghost Seminary are Francis Frison de la Mothe, Simon Le Bansais, Francis Le Guerne and Columban Pressart.*

* Historical documents give us some information about four other Spiritans, destined for the Seminary of Quebec, who did not succeed in reaching their goal. The first one of these was Father Louis Devaux, who was assigned there in 1736. Bishop Dosquet of Quebec "refused to accept in his seminary a suitable priest, called Devaux, who had studied for five years at Holy Ghost Seminary." Despite his great esteem and love of the Spiritans, the bishop rejected this candidate, because the priest would have to pass through the Foreign Missions Society, with which the bishop was then in a serious conflict over the seminary. Father Devaux went to the Far East instead and became Coadjutor with right of succession of a bishop in Tonkin.

In 1784, three others failed to reach their destination. Yves Francis Duchêne, a nephew of John Briand, Bishop of Quebec, and two other Spiritans, Aubert and Gambieu, embarked in March 1784, to go to Quebec via London. All three were destined for the seminary, for the prelate no longer wanted non-Canadians for his parishes but "only professors of rhetoric, philosophy, and theology, who have no other aim in coming to Canada than to dedicate themselves to education, pious, learned and fervent men, who desire to lead a secluded life in community for the purpose of training future priests in piety and imparting to them the spirit of the state which they want to embrace." Despite the optimism of "the superintendent of the Romish Church" that is, the bishop, who said that "he had every reason to...

1 L'Abbé de l'Isle Dieu: Tableau de l'état des missions... 1753: C.F.D.I., 3, p. 189.
2 David, Les missionnaires..., p. 16.
3 *MS Briand.
The first to arrive was Francis de la Mothe (in 1732). Like many other Spiritan missionaries, he received his appointment before becoming a priest and was ordained in Quebec. Originally destined for Cape Breton Island, he never reached this post. Soon after his arrival in Quebec, he became dean of discipline and professor of philosophy at the junior seminary. Strict disciplinarian that he was, the students did not particularly like him. In 1735, he became director of the seminary, but two years later he returned to Paris, much to the dissatisfaction of the Foreign Missions Society. In 1739, he was stationed at Verdun where the Holy Ghost Fathers had shortly before consented to staff the diocesan seminary in an effort to purify it from the Jansenistic influences which had become firmly entrenched in this diocese.

Ten years later, Father Simon Le Bansais arrived in Quebec. Ordained in 1743, he had joined the staff of the seminary of Meaux, entrusted to the Congregation since 1736. Four years later he departed for Canada. On his arrival he learned that Bishop Pontbriand wanted to make full use of his intellectual and oratorical talents; expect a friendly reception" in London, all three were refused permission to continue their journey to Canada and returned to Holy Ghost Seminary. Yves Duchêne tried again the next year but was forced to remain in France. "In July 1791 this Spiritan priest was imprisoned in Brest... for refusing to take the [schismatic] oath imposed" by the revolutionary government. He obtained his release in 1794. Elected Superior General of the "Missionaries of the Holy Ghost," (the Montfortists) in 1810, he died ten years later.
he was named Director of the junior seminary and Professor of theology, in addition to taking care of parochial functions and other spiritual duties.  

The atmosphere of the seminary was not very congenial. The reader will recall that the bishop and the Foreign Missions Society were at odds at the time over the staffing and control of this institution. The affair came to a climax around the time of Father Le Bansais’ arrival, when the hard-pressed society appointed Father Joseph Jacrau superior of the seminary. Although he had done excellent work before, as a missionary, he lacked flexibility and the necessary talents for his new post. This deficiency revealed itself so patently that an uncharitable Canon wrote disdainfully: “For goodness’ sake, send Father Jacrau back to the kitchen. He is not the man to speak about important matters.” The priest insisted so strongly on his rights that the bishop finally made an effort to personally organize the seminary and to distribute its various functions over the available personnel.

Evidently, the constant bickering and resulting disorganization impressed Father Le Bansais with the unpleasantness of his new position. Although the situation was partially rectified in 1748, it may have contributed to his apparently sudden decision to leave the seminary and to enter the Jesuit order in Quebec. After pronouncing his vows, he taught at the local college of the Society and then, from 1750 on, served as professor of theology at their Quebec scholasticate.  

Disturbed by the acrimonious situation of the seminary, the Foreign Missions Society of Paris, in the  

2* He returned to France in 1760 and was exiled during the French Revolution.  
17 Gosselin III, p. 148.  
18 Cf. pp. 12 ff.  
Knaves or Knights?

spring of 1748, sent Father de la Lane to restore peace. He was accompanied by Father Columban Pressart, a newly ordained priest, who had just finished his studies at Holy Ghost Seminary. This young man was destined to remain at the seminary in various functions for thirty years, until his death in 1777. Intellectually gifted and well-trained, he soon became the arbiter for questions addressed to him from all over the extended Diocese of Quebec, since “he possessed knowledge about all kinds of things not only in matters in which it was to be expected of a distinguished priest but also in many others.” Governor Murray of Canada had recourse to his legal skills for the compilation of French laws which were in force in the country. He died in 1777 at the age of fifty-four, after having received the last sacraments in church in the presence of the clergy and the religious of the diocese.

2. Father René John Allenou de la Ville-Angevin

A Contemporary of Father Poullart des Places, Founder of the Congregation of the Holy Ghost

One of the most interesting Spiritans who served in the Quebec region undoubtedly was Father Allenou. (His unwieldy name is hereafter abbreviated in this fashion.) Born in 1686, he was a contemporary of the Spiritans’ Founder, Claude Francis Poullart des Places, and entered Holy Ghost Seminary in 1703. While still pursuing his own studies at the Jesuit College of Saint-Louis-le-Grand, his intellectual abilities made Father des Places appoint him “repetitor” of philosophy and later

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25 Ibid.
26 B.R.H. 1897, p. 78.
27 See footnote 24.
28 David, art. cit., p. 315.
29 Poullart des Places, Spiritual Writings, p. 175.

130
of theology.40 Ordained in 1712,4* he remained in Brit-
tany to replace his deceased uncle, Father Yves Allenou, at Plérin, where he founded the religious Congregation5* of the Daughters of the Holy Ghost.31

Until his departure for Canada in 1741, the priest remained in the little village of Plérin, busy with his parish and the nascent congregation of Sisters. Recogniz-
ing the spiritual value of the rules formulated by Father Poullart des Places, which he himself had observed during his seminary days, Allenou "formulated a rule modelled on that of Holy Ghost Seminary in Paris, save for some items which because of the different situation he enlarged or changed in accord with the end he had in view."32

Father Allenou was already advanced in years (fifty-
five) when he decided to abandon the flourishing work he had directed for so many years in order to dedicate the rest of his life to the service of the Church in distant Canada.33 He talked about his plan with his assistant, Father John Briand. This young man listened with grow-
ing enthusiasm to the apostolic plans of his pastor and finally decided to join him. He was destined to later become Bishop of Quebec.

To forestall the emotional remonstrations of their parishioners, both priests simply "went for a walk" after

4* His biographers usually indicate the year 1711. However, in the Régistre d'État civil of Pordic he signed on January 3, 1712, the burial certificate of his cousin as deacon, and a baptismal certificate on March 19, 1712 as priest. (I owe this information to Father Joseph Michel, C.S.Sp.)
5* This congregation now operates numerous institutions in the eastern part of the United States and a few others in California, Alabama, and Canada.
6* Both rules make the Holy Ghost and the Immaculate Conception the principal titles of the institutes; both stress devotion to the Most Holy Trinity, prescribe similar observances for Pentecost and the eighth of December, and consecrate their services by preference to the poor and the abandoned.
30 Mémoire de M. Allenou... à Mgr de Pontbriand, B.R.H. 1908, p. 265.
31 See footnote 10.
32 André du Bois de la Villerabel, Dom Jean Leudeger, St.-Brieuc, 1924, p. 242.
33 Ibid., p. 278.
Sunday Vespers and, in a neighboring village, took the stage-coach to La Rochelle, their port of embarkation. In the company of Henri de Pontbriand, the newly appointed Bishop of Quebec, they sailed to the New World. Before his departure, a royal decree raised Father Allenou to the rank of a Canon. Bishop de Pontbriand had great confidence in his friend. He successively entrusted several important functions, including that of Vicar General, to Father Allenou and invited him to live with him in his palace.

For several years Father Allenou remained congenial with his episcopal superior and old friend. There were years of regular ecclesiastical work in which hardly anything occurred that is worthy of record or that deviated from the well-worn routine surrounding the daily task of nearly all priests. But one incident seems deserving of mention, because it shows how little things can sometimes become ridiculously "important" matters.

On the occasion of the anniversary of his consecration, the bishop gave a holiday to the junior seminary whose students at that time still attended the Jesuit College for their daily classes. Unfortunately, no one had thought of notifying the Jesuits beforehand until the very morning of the holiday. Discontented by this oversight, one teacher demanded an apology of the junior seminary and others imposed heavy penalties on the boys for "unauthorized" absence. Understandably one of the students refused to fulfill the penance. After all, did not the Bishop himself give them the holiday? Threatened to be whipped, he revolted and walked out, followed by all the other seminarians, booing loudly. They claimed that Father Petit (a priest of the seminary) had advised them to walk out rather than take punishment. Feeling that the authority of his staff was compromised, the Superior of the College rejected the excuses made by Father Jacrau and demanded that Father Petit come

35 Gosselin III, pp. 25, 286.
36 Ibid., p. 426.
The Quebec Region

together with the boys to make his apologies. When the Bishop wrote him a personal letter of explanation, he remained inexorable and did not even deign to reply. It was then that the Bishop went in person, accompanied by Father Allenou, his Vicar General, and several other prominent priests, together with the students to intercede for them with their teacher. The solemn procession entered the classroom and the Bishop in person asked that the students be permitted to resume their accustomed places. Although he requested it several times, the teacher adamantly refused to comply.

Very much amazed by this stubborn refusal, the following day the Bishop wrote a strong letter to the Jesuit Superior and emphasized that he and his teachers were far more to blame than Father Petit. How could he claim, said the bishop, that his authority would be jeopardized by re-admitting without punishment, at the request of the Bishop, students who were not guilty? Realizing that they really had gone too far, the Jesuits finally gave in and re-admitted the junior seminarians to their classes.

This "tempest in a teapot" illustrates how rigorously ecclesiastics of the time sometimes held to their real or proclaimed rights. It thus may serve as a suitable introduction to the conflict which soon arose between the Bishop and his Vicar General, two hard-headed Bretons, about the rights of the Canons versus those of the Seminary regarding the control of the parish church of Quebec.

Conflict Between Bishop de Pontbriand and Father Allenou

The parish church of Quebec was in an exceedingly complex situation. It not only served the parish, but was also the Bishop's cathedral, as well as the place where the Quebec Chapter of Canons recited their office in common. This alone would have sufficed to give rise to constant difficulties, because of conflicting schedules between burials, weddings, and the Canons' recitation of

37 Ibid., p. 427.
38 Ibid., p. 428.
Knaves or Knights?

the Office. Added to this was the fact that the parish churchwardens did not consider themselves obliged or entitled to let the Canons make use of the vestments, candlesticks, or even the parish sacristy. 39

To complicate matters further, the parish, which was originally assigned to the Chapter of Canons, in 1684 was transferred to the control of the Seminary, whose personnel at that time consisted of Canons. This seminary, as the reader will recall, was controlled by the Foreign Mission Society of Paris, so that this society also appeared entitled to have a voice in the appointment of the pastor. In other words, whenever a new pastor had to be nominated, the Seminary of Quebec, the Foreign Missions Society, the Chapter and, of course, the Bishop himself became involved in all kinds of maneuvers to safeguard their rights. Usually, things did not go beyond a few carefully-worded memoranda in which every party sedulously reserved all its rights and privileges and then simply submitted to whatever decision the Bishop took in the matter. 40

The situation, however, was different in 1749, when the Bishop appointed Father Récher as pastor of Quebec. In assigning him to this post, Bishop de Pontbriand pointed out that he did not want to take into consideration the nomination made by the Seminary, because he doubted the validity of the act of 1684 by which the Canons had relinquished their rights as Canons to resume them as Directors of the Seminary. 41

The Canons gave startled attention to this episcopal statement. If the act of 1684 was not valid, then the control over the parish still belonged to the Chapter which, therefore, could nominate one of its members as pastor or have the Canons in their turn fulfill its pastoral duties, and enjoy the income of the parish as well as the right to distribute alms. They suddenly felt the need to examine carefully the old documents regarding the foundation of the diocese and the rights of the Chapter, an

39 Ibid., II, pp. 185 ff.
40 Ibid., III, p. 264.
41 Ibid., pp. 278 f.; Henri Tétu, "Le chapitre de la cathédrale de Québec . . .," B.R.H. 1908, pp. 257 f.

134
The Quebec Region

examination which the bishop in person had begged them to perform when they had refused to make Father Rècher an honorary Canon.42

When a locksmith finally succeeded in opening the old box containing the Chapter's archives, the Canons discovered the bull of Pope Clement X, which, in 1674, created the Diocese and the Chapter of Quebec, suppressed the existing parish, elevated the parish church to the Cathedral of Quebec, and assigned to the Canons the service of the cathedral as well as broad rights in its temporal affairs.43 The discovery moved them considerably; they accused themselves of gross indifference and shameful ignorance by recognizing an outsider as pastor and determined to recover their rights and duties.44 Moreover, just then, the churchwardens were planning to build a rectory for the pastor on the very ground entrusted to the Canons without their permission.45

Father Allenou and the other Canons "unanimously" decided to bring suit to obtain a redress of the wrongs done to the Chapter by the Seminary of Quebec.46 Although the Bishop tried to have the affair regulated in amicable fashion, Father Allenou, supported by his colleagues, refused any settlement. In some strange fashion the reading of the archives made this holy and highly respected priest cling tenaciously to the rights assigned to the Chapter at its foundation, but abandoned fifty years before his arrival in Canada.47

Even his good friend the Bishop should not stand in the way of these rights. "He claims to control everything," the old man grumbled, "he wants to humiliate the Chapter again... If he wants to embarrass us still more, it would be good for us to cause some embarrassment to him and his churchwardens."48 Of course, the

42 Têtu, art. cit., p. 258.
44 *Taschereau, op. cit., p. 850.
45 Le chapitre... de Québec à M. de l'Orme, 5 sept. 1750: B.R.H. 1908, p. 269.
46 Gosselin III, pp. 280 f.
47 M. Allenou... à Mgr de Pontbrand, 5 juin 1750: B.R.H. 1908, p. 267.
48 Mémoire de M. Allenou... , B.R.H. 1908, pp. 362 ff.
bishop was anxious to avoid the unedifying spectacle of priests suing one another in a civil court, instead of bringing the matter before an ecclesiastical tribunal. Strange as it may seem, none of the litigants appears to have thought of submitting to the Holy See the question of the interpretation of the papal bull.49

When the Canons remained obdurate in their intention of introducing the law suit, the Bishop became exasperated. He decided to demonstrate his displeasure in a very striking way without having recourse to ecclesiastical sanctions. Hitting hard at Father Allenou, whom he considered the leader of the recalcitrant Canons, he exiled him from his episcopal palace, where the priest had been living with the Bishop for the past six years. The news spread rapidly through the city; the bishop had chased

his Vicar General and old friend ignominiously from the palace.50

It was a harsh step. especially because the prelate apparently did not want anyone else to receive the old man. When Father Allenou wanted to take refuge at the Jesuits' house, the bishop told them that he opposed it. Public sympathy, however, ran in favor of the old Canon. As the Jesuit Journal relates, "all our priests insist that he be admitted and threaten to write to Paris and Rome if the request is turned down. So we have admitted him, but the bishop is angry with us" for having done so.51

Writing to the prelate from the Jesuits' house, Father Allenou asked the bishop to have his personal belongings sent to him. He added "I did not expect to be treated like this. The mere thought of it moves me to tears... Nevertheless I consider myself obliged to attend the Chapter and to work for the preservation of its rights as long as I am a Canon... I owe an inviolable trust to the purpose of the oath which I have sworn in the hands of Your Excellency..., no matter what other punishments you may want to add to the one you have already inflicted upon me."

The remainder of the letter, as well as these words, show that the Canon undoubtedly acted from a sincere conviction that his action did not go beyond the bounds of propriety and that he was obliged in conscience to proceed as he did.53

On his crutches, for he had become crippled, he continued to attend the Chapter meetings and office of the Canons, more determined than ever to preserve its proclaimed rights.54 Meanwhile the lawsuit dragged its interminable way through court. It was not yet settled when death took Father Allenou in November 1753 at

50 Tétu, art. cit., p. 263; Gosselin III, p. 286.
51 Gosselin III, p. 286.
52 See footnote 47 (pages 266 f.).
53 M. Allenou... à Mgr de Pontbriand, 29 août 1773: B.R.H. 1909, p. 72.
54 Gosselin III, p. 287.
the age of sixty-seven. 55 Although the Bishop did not want to officiate at the funeral of his old friend, 56 he appended his signature to the burial act stating that Father Allenou "not only edified us by his conduct and high virtue but also was a credit to the clergy because of his apostolic zeal, his patience, humility, justice, knowledge, and fruitful preaching." 57

The lawsuit had not yet reached its conclusion when the conquest of Canada, in 1760, put an unexpected end to the whole affair. Soon after, the Seminary renounced its claim to the parish and the Chapter of Canons gradually disappeared when its members died without being replaced. 58

3. Other Spiritans in the Quebec Region

Apart from Father Bourg at St. Laurent and Father Le Jamtel at Bécancour, 59 four other Spiritans are known to have worked in parishes of the Quebec region. They are Philip Vizien, Francis Le Guerne, John Brault, and Giles Eudo.

Father Vizien. The first of these priests, Father Vizien, had been military chaplain of Fort Beauséjour until this stronghold fell into the hands of Colonel Monckton. 60 Deported with the vanquished French troops to Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island, he managed to make his way to Quebec. According to Tanquay, he was pastor of Sainte Anne de Beaupré in 1757. 61 During the siege of Quebec in 1759, he resumed his work as a military chaplain among the sick and dying soldiers of the general hospital of Quebec. 62 When the city surrendered to the British, he was expelled at once. In January 1760, he was back in Paris. From there he

55 Acte de sépulture de M. Allenou ..., B.R.H. 1909, pp. 75 f.
56 Gosselin III, p. 293.
57 See footnote 55.
60 Cf. p. 61.
61 Ciprian Tanquay, Répertoire général du clergé canadien, Quebec, 1868, s.v. Vizien.
made his way to Morlaix in Brittany where numerous Acadian refugees and deportees had found a temporary shelter.63

Father Eudo. Father Giles Eudo, "a very good priest, of great piety and zeal," as the Abbot of Isle Dieu reports,64 arrived in Louisbourg in 1755 and went from there to Quebec. Appointed pastor of the Holy Family parish on the Island of Orleans near Quebec, he spent the twenty-two years of his priestly life entirely in this parish until his death in 1779, at the age of fifty-five.65 Only twice did he leave the island. The year after his arrival he left to assist the sick and the dying during the epidemic which afflicted Quebec in 1756, and again in 1759, during the siege of the city, when the war forced him and his parishioners to flee to Charlesbourg. On his return he had to rebuild the church and rectory destroyed by the fury of the war.66

Father Brault. Father John Brault (sometimes spelled Bro) was one of the Acadian deportees who entered Holy Ghost Seminary and subsequently, in 1772, returned to Canada with Joseph Bourg.67 Two years later, the bishop appointed him pastor of Saint James of Achigan, a place where so many Acadians had settled that it became known as New Acadia. He remained their pastor for forty years.68

The last decade of his pastorate was troubled by one of those interminable ecclesiastical lawsuits which abound in the history of Canada.69 As usual, it was a conflict between some parishioners and the churchwardens about the place on which the new church should be erected. Although the lawsuit ended in 1812, discord continued in the parish to such an extent that, in the following year, the bishop was forced to interdict the chapel that had

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64 L’Abbé de l’Isle Dieu à Mgr de Pontbriand, 19 avril 1755 and 28 mars 1756: Arch. Qu. 1936-37, pp. 411 and 434.
65 See footnote 63.
67 Cf. p. 111.
69 Ibid., p. 68.
been used for religious worship. Caught between the opposing factions, poor Father Brault was heart-broken and successfully begged the bishop to lift the interdict. Soon after, the priest resigned his parish because of his advanced age.\textsuperscript{70}

He was a man of unusual physical vigor and strength, even in his old age, when his mind began to fail. At the age of seventy-five he still could outrun any young man and took pleasure in betting on this athletic ability.\textsuperscript{71}

The poignant scenes of the Grand Dérangement of which he had been a victim remained forever engraved upon his mind. Thus it is not surprising that throughout his life he remained thoroughly anti-British. Despite this antipathy, his attitude toward the conquerors of Canada remained scrupulously correct and wholly loyal because he realized that conscience did not allow him to take any other standpoint.\textsuperscript{72}

After living in retirement for ten years, he died at Montreal in 1824, at the age of eighty. His priestly life in the rural parish of Achigan had been as quiet and peaceful as his early youth during the Acadian disaster had been turbulent. Father Brault was a typical example of those agriculturally-minded pastors who did so much to colonize large areas of French Canada.\textsuperscript{73}

\textit{Father Le Guerne.} The exciting earlier ministry of Father Francis Le Guerne has been detailed in a previous chapter under the title, \textit{The Chaplain of Hunted Men}.\textsuperscript{74} After his withdrawal to Quebec, Father Le Guerne in 1758 was appointed pastor of St. Francis’ Church on the Island of Orleans, near Quebec. Many Acadian refugees had settled there and it was among these unfortunate people that the priest began to work with so much zeal that the bishop warned him to relax and not to try to accomplish everything in a single day.\textsuperscript{75}

\textsuperscript{70} Ibid., p. 71.
\textsuperscript{71} Ibid., pp. 74 ff.
\textsuperscript{72} Ibid., p. 75.
\textsuperscript{74} Cf. pp. 61 ff.
\textsuperscript{75} Mgr de Pontbriand à M. Le Guerne, 2 mai 1758: *Arch. Archd. Qu., Reg. d. L., 1, 113.
From 1767 to 1769 he taught rhetoric at the junior seminary of Quebec, earning the reputation of being "a poet and philosopher." He then returned again to his little parish, where he devoted his last twenty years to the spiritual care of his beloved Acadians.\(^76\)

Sadly, in the last year of his life (1789), he became a horrible example of a cranky, old, unreasonable pastor. He began to treat his parishioners harshly, became avaricious and demanding, and refused his ministry to anyone whom he did not like, a group which numbered many in its complement.\(^77\) Despite the prodding of his bishop, he did not want to accept an assistant, saying that he did not need any "master."\(^78\) Still less was he inclined to resign.\(^79\) The situation became so unbearable that the more exasperated parishioners threatened to throw him and his furniture out of the rectory.\(^80\) In November of the same year the old man became gravely ill, making it possible for the bishop to send two other priests to take care of the parish.\(^81\) Father Le Guerne died soon after, before the end of the same year, leaving all his possessions to the poor.\(^82\)

Undoubtedly, much of the sad degeneration which took place during the last year of his life was due to his bodily infirmities. We should not forget his thirty years of zealous and unselfish apostolic labors that preceded his decline nor the heroic conduct of this valiant priest during the troubled years of the Grand Dérrangement.


\(^{78}\) Du même au même, 13 août 1789: *ibid.,* 1, 48.

\(^{79}\) See footnote 77.


\(^{81}\) Mgr Hubert au même, 7 nov. 1789: *ibid.,* 1, 95.

\(^{82}\) Le Guerne, p. 26.