



National Library
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file *Votre référence*

Our file *Notre référence*

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

Canada

**Acadian Nationalism and the
Episcopacy of Msgr. Edouard-Alfred LeBlanc,
Bishop of Saint John, New Brunswick (1912-1935):
A Maritime Chapter of Canadian Ethno-Religious History.**

by

Neil J. Boucher

**Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (History)**

at

**Dalhousie University
Halifax, Nova Scotia
1992**

© Copyright by Neil J. Boucher, 1992



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file *Votre référence*

Our file *Notre référence*

The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

ISBN 0-315-80223-5

Canada

Name NEIL BEUCHER

Dissertation Abstracts International is arranged by broad, general subject categories. Please select the one subject which most nearly describes the content of your dissertation. Enter the corresponding four-digit code in the spaces provided.

HISTORY

SUBJECT TERM

0334

U-M-I

SUBJECT CODE

Subject Categories

THE HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

COMMUNICATIONS AND THE ARTS

Architecture 0729
 Art History 0377
 Cinema 0900
 Dance 0378
 Fine Arts 0357
 Information Science 0723
 Journalism 0391
 Library Science 0399
 Mass Communications 0708
 Music 0413
 Speech Communication 0459
 Theater 0465

EDUCATION

General 0515
 Administration 0514
 Adult and Continuing 0516
 Agricultural 0517
 Art 0273
 Bilingual and Multicultural 0282
 Business 0688
 Community College 0275
 Curriculum and Instruction 0727
 Early Childhood 0518
 Elementary 0524
 Finance 0277
 Guidance and Counseling 0519
 Health 0680
 Higher 0745
 History of 0520
 Home Economics 0278
 Industrial 0521
 Language and Literature 0279
 Mathematics 0280
 Music 0522
 Philosophy of 0998
 Physical 0523

Psychology 0525
 Reading 0535
 Religious 0527
 Sciences 0714
 Secondary 0533
 Social Sciences 0534
 Sociology of 0340
 Special 0529
 Teacher Training 0530
 Technology 0710
 Tests and Measurements 0283
 Vocational 0747

LANGUAGE, LITERATURE AND LINGUISTICS

Language
 General 0679
 Ancient 0289
 Linguistics 0290
 Modern 0291

Literature
 General 0401
 Classical 0294
 Comparative 0295
 Medieval 0297
 Modern 0298
 African 0316
 American 0591
 Asian 0305
 Canadian (English) 0352
 Canadian (French) 0355
 English 0593
 Germanic 0311
 Latin American 0312
 Middle Eastern 0315
 Romance 0313
 Slavic and East European 0314

PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION AND THEOLOGY

Philosophy 0422
 Religion
 General 0318
 Biblical Studies 0321
 Clergy 0319
 History of 0320
 Philosophy of 0322
 Theology 0469

SOCIAL SCIENCES

American Studies 0323
 Anthropology
 Archaeology 0324
 Cultural 0326
 Physical 0327

Business Administration
 General 0310
 Accounting 0272
 Banking 0770
 Management 0454
 Marketing 0338

Canadian Studies 0385

Economics
 General 0501
 Agricultural 0503
 Commerce-Business 0505
 Finance 0508
 History 0509
 Labor 0510
 Theory 0511

Folklore 0358
 Geography 0366
 Gerontology 0351
 History
 General 0578

Ancient 0579
 Medieval 0581
 Modern 0582
 Black 0328
 African 0331
 Asia, Australia and Oceania 0332
 Canadian 0334
 European 0335
 Latin American 0336
 Middle Eastern 0333
 United States 0337
 History of Science 0585
 Law 0398
 Political Science
 General 0615
 International Law and Relations 0616
 Public Administration 0617
 Recreation 0814
 Social Work 0452

Sociology
 General 0626
 Criminology and Penology 0627
 Demography 0936
 Ethnic and Racial Studies 0631
 Individual and Family Studies 0628
 Industrial and Labor Relations 0629
 Public and Social Welfare 0630
 Social Structure and Development 0700
 Theory and Methods 0344
 Transportation 0709
 Urban and Regional Planning 0999
 Women's Studies 0453

THE SCIENCES AND ENGINEERING

BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES

Agriculture
 General 0473
 Agronomy 0285
 Animal Culture and Nutrition 0475
 Animal Pathology 0476
 Food Science and Technology 0359
 Forestry and Wildlife 0478
 Plant Culture 0479
 Plant Pathology 0480
 Plant Physiology 0817
 Range Management 0777
 Wood Technology 0746

Biology
 General 0306
 Anatomy 0287
 Biostatistics 0308
 Botany 0319
 Cell 0379
 Ecology 0329
 Entomology 0353
 Genetics 0369
 Limnology 0793
 Microbiology 0410
 Molecular 0307
 Neuroscience 0317
 Oceanography 0416
 Physiology 0433
 Radiation 0821
 Veterinary Science 0778
 Zoology 0472

Biophysics
 General 0786
 Medical 0760

EARTH SCIENCES
 Biogeochemistry 0425
 Geochemistry 0996

Geodesy 0370
 Geology 0372
 Geophysics 0373
 Hydrology 0388
 Mineralogy 0411
 Paleobotany 0345
 Paleocology 0426
 Paleontology 0418
 Paleozoology 0985
 Palynology 0427
 Physical Geography 0368
 Physical Oceanography 0415

HEALTH AND ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCES

Environmental Sciences 0768
 Health Sciences
 General 0566
 Audiology 0300
 Chemotherapy 0992
 Dentistry 0567
 Education 0350
 Hospital Management 0769
 Human Development 0758
 Immunology 0982
 Medicine and Surgery 0564
 Mental Health 0347
 Nursing 0569
 Nutrition 0570
 Obstetrics and Gynecology 0380
 Occupational Health and Therapy 0354
 Ophthalmology 0381
 Pathology 0571
 Pharmacology 0419
 Pharmacy 0572
 Physical Therapy 0382
 Public Health 0573
 Radiology 0574
 Recreation 0575

Speech Pathology 0460
 Toxicology 0383
 Home Economics 0386

PHYSICAL SCIENCES

Pure Sciences
 Chemistry
 General 0485
 Agricultural 0749
 Analytical 0486
 Biochemistry 0487
 Inorganic 0488
 Nuclear 0738
 Organic 0490
 Pharmaceutical 0491
 Physical 0494
 Polymer 0495
 Radiation 0754
 Mathematics 0405

Physics
 General 0605
 Acoustics 0986
 Astronomy and Astrophysics 0606
 Atmospheric Science 0608
 Atomic 0748
 Electronics and Electricity 0607
 Elementary Particles and High Energy 0798
 Fluid and Plasma 0759
 Molecular 0609
 Nuclear 0610
 Optics 0752
 Radiation 0756
 Solid State 0611
 Statistics 0463

Applied Sciences
 Applied Mechanics 0346
 Computer Science 0984

Engineering
 General 0537
 Aerospace 0538
 Agricultural 0539
 Automotive 0540
 Biomedical 0541
 Chemical 0542
 Civil 0543
 Electronics and Electrical 0544
 Heat and Thermodynamics 0348
 Hydraulic 0545
 Industrial 0546
 Marine 0547
 Materials Science 0794
 Mechanical 0548
 Metallurgy 0743
 Mining 0551
 Nuclear 0552
 Packaging 0549
 Petroleum 0765
 Sanitary and Municipal 0554
 System Science 0790
 Geotechnology 0428
 Operations Research 0796
 Plastics Technology 0795
 Textile Technology 0994

PSYCHOLOGY

General 0621
 Behavioral 0384
 Clinical 0622
 Developmental 0620
 Experimental 0623
 Industrial 0624
 Personality 0625
 Physiological 0989
 Psychobiology 0349
 Psychometrics 0632
 Social 0451



DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

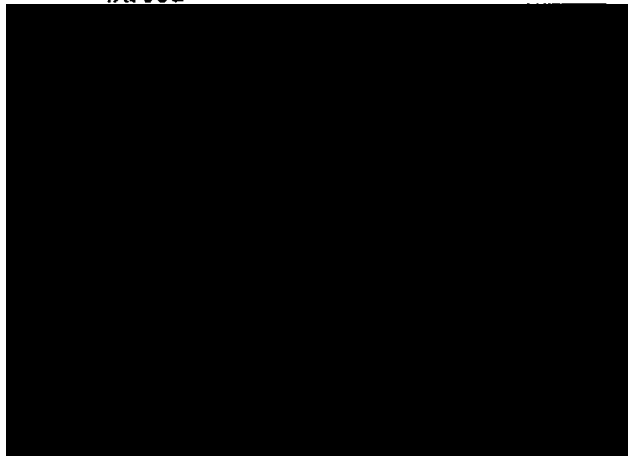
The undersigned hereby certify that they have read and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance a thesis entitled: "Acadian Nationalism and the Episcopacy of Msgr. Edouard-Alfred LeBlanc, Bishop of Saint John, New Brunswick (1912-1935): A Maritime Chapter of Canadian Ethno-Religious History"

by Neil J. Boucher

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Dated September 28, 1992

External Examiner
Research Supervisor
Examining Committee



DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY

DATE: October 30, 1992

AUTHOR: Neil J. Boucher

TITLE: Acadian Nationalism and the Episcopacy of Msgr. Edouard-Alfred LeBlanc,
Bishop of Saint John, New Brunswick (1912-1935): A Maritime Chapter of
Canadian Ethno-Religious History.


DEPARTMENT OR SCHOOL: History

DEGREE: Ph.D.

CONVOCATION: February

YEAR: 1993

Permission is herewith granted to Dalhousie University to circulate and to have copied for non-commercial purposes, at its discretion, the above title upon the request of individuals or institutions.


Signature of Author

THE AUTHOR RESERVES OTHER PUBLICATION RIGHTS, AND NEITHER THE THESIS NOR EXTENSIVE EXTRACTS FROM IT MAY BE PRINTED OR OTHERWISE REPRODUCES WITHOUT THE AUTHOR'S WRITTEN PERMISSION.

THE AUTHOR ATTESTS THAT PERMISSION HAS BEEN OBTAINED FOR THE USE OF ANY COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL APPEARING IN THIS THESIS (OTHER THAN BRIEF EXCERPTS REQUIRING ONLY PROPER ACKNOWLEDGMENT IN SCHOLARLY WRITING) AND THAT ALL SUCH USE IS CLEARLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

Je dédie cette oeuvre à mon père Jacques, que la mort a emporté
avant que je puisse la finir.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of contents	v
Illustrations and tables	vi
Abstract.....	viii
Abbreviations and Symbols used.....	ix
Acknowledgements	x
Introduction	1
Chapter 1: Acadians in the Maritime Provinces, 1880-1912: The Emergence of an Ethnic Group.	16
Chapter 2: Acadian Attempts at Self-assertiveness, 1881-1912: The Rise of National Consciousness.	69
Chapter 3: The Struggle for the Nomination of the First Acadian Bishop: "Il faut que l'Acadie nous soit rendue."	110
Chapter 4: Edouard-Alfred LeBlanc: From Saint-Bernard to Saint John.	159
Chapter 5: The New Bishop Confronts a Thorny Situation: the Case of Moncton	206
Chapter 6: The Teens and Twenties: A Period of Qualified Nationalism.....	250
Chapter 7: More National Institutions: A Second Acadian Bishop and a New Ecclesiastical Province.....	303
Conclusion	345
Bibliography	361

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS AND TABLES

Figure 1-1: -	Map of New Brunswick showing Acadian settlement in the 19th century.	30
Figure 1-2: -	Map of Nova Scotia showing Acadian settlement in the 19th century	33
Figure 1-3: -	Map of Prince Edward Island showing Acadian settlement in the 19th century.....	36
Figure 1-4: -	Increase and decrease of ethnic population in New Brunswick between 1871 and 1911.....	41
Figure 1-5: -	Increase and decrease of ethnic population in Nova Scotia between 1871 and 1911.....	42
Figure 1-6: -	Increase and decrease of ethnic population in Prince Edward Island between 1871 and 1911.....	42
Figure 1-7: -	Population concentration in New Brunswick, 1904.....	57
Figure 2-1: -	Collège Saint Joseph, Memramcook, New Brunswick, 1880-1890.....	80
Figure 2-2: -	Collège Sainte-Anne, Church Point, Nova Scotia, 1892-1907. ...	81
Figure 2-3: -	Fourth National Convention, Arichat, 1900, Participants of the first commission - Language and French Education.....	82
Figure 2-4: -	<u>Le Moniteur Acadien</u> , 1881.....	98
Figure 2-5: -	<u>Le Moniteur Acadien</u> , 1881.....	99
Figure 2-6: -	Major railroad lines in New Brunswick, end of the 19th century.	102
Figure 2-7: -	Major railroad lines in Nova Scotia, end of the 19th century.	103
Figure 2-8: -	Major railroad lines and ferry service, on Prince Edward Island, end of the 19th century.....	105
Figure 3-1: -	Maritime Bishops and Archbishops, 1818-1912.....	120
Figure 3-2: -	Percentage of priests with non-French names in Nova Scotian parishes to 1890.....	130
Figure 4-1: -	Map showing birthplace of Bishop LeBlanc.	158

Figure 4-2: -	Map showing Sissiboo River and Township line.....	159
Figure 4-3: -	Shipbuilding in Clare, 1876-1885.....	172
Figure 4-4: -	Father Edouard LeBlanc and parishioners, Saint-Bernard, circa 1910.....	200
Figure 4-5: -	Saint Bernard Church.	202
Figure 4-6: -	Msgr. LeBlanc's official photo, 1913.....	205
Figure 7-1: -	Father Marcel-François Richard's proposal for an Acadian diocese, 1900.	323
Figure 7-2: -	Hierarchy's proposal for an Acadian diocese, 1900.....	329
Figure 7-3: -	Father F.C. Ryan's proposal for an English Archdiocese, 1933.....	340

ABSTRACT

By the beginning of the nineteenth century the Acadian community in the Maritime Provinces had once again taken root in the area after its break-up and near destruction caused by the deportation of 1755. The nascent community struggled marginally during the first half of the century but by the end of the 1800s Acadians had become much more self-confident and self-assertive. With the ferment of Acadian national enthusiasms after 1880 there arose a movement to undermine what Acadians saw as Irish and Scottish hegemony within the regional Catholic Church. Those efforts culminated in 1912 with the naming of Edouard-Alfred LeBlanc as Acadian bishop, the first to occupy an episcopal see in Maritime Canada.

In their lobby for a bishop, Acadians had insisted that their status within regional society would be greatly enhanced by the presence of this figure who would afford much needed leadership. Bishop LeBlanc's twenty-three year career as prelate of the Saint John See resulted in an expansion of Acadian religious institutions within Roman Catholic society often causing bitter resentment among the English-speaking clergy and hierarchy. Yet at the same time LeBlanc's leadership, when called upon to act on broader issues confronting Maritime society as a whole, tended to lose its innovation and conform with popular opinion, even at the expense of Acadian ambitions. That cautious approach not to challenge the views of the majority nor those of its elected officials made LeBlanc a man motivated by the accepted conventions of his time.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AAH: - Archives of the Archdiocese of Halifax, Halifax, N.S.
- AAM: - Archives de l'Archevêché de Moncton, Dieppe, N.B.
- AAQ: - Archives de l'Archevêché de Québec, Québec.
- ACA: - Archives du Centre acadien, Université Sainte-Anne, Church Point, N.S.
- ACE: - Archives de la Congrégation eudiste, Charlesbourg, Québec.
- ADB: - Archives du Diocèse de Bathurst, Bathurst, N.B.
- ADSJ: - Archives of the Diocese of Saint John, Saint John, N.B.
- ARCNDSC: - Archives des Religieuses de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame-du-Sacré-Coeur, Moncton, N.B.
- ASCIC: - Archives of the Sisters of Charity of the Immaculate Conception, Saint John, N.B.
- ASQ: - Archives du Séminaire de Québec, Québec.
- CEA: - Centre d'études acadiennes, Université de Moncton, Moncton, N.B.
- CSHA: - Cahiers de la Société historique acadienne, Moncton, N.B.
- DCRO: - Digby County Record Office, Weymouth, N.S.
- NAC: - National Archives of Canada, Ottawa.
- PANB: - Public Archives of New Brunswick, Fredericton, N.B.
- PANS: - Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Halifax, N.S.
- SHND: - Société historique Nicolas Denys, Bertrand, N.B.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Although only one name appears on the title page, the completion of this thesis depended upon the support and collaboration of a host of people whose help was an integral part of seeing this project through.

First of all to my wife Doreen and to my two daughters, Lyette and Josiane, I say thank you very much for the constant encouragement and for the enduring fortitude as you followed me to the many archival centers of Maritime Canada. To my advisor, David Sutherland, whose deep concern and expert direction made for a stronger end product, I am greatly indebted. Doctor Sutherland's interest in exploring Maritime Acadians often afforded the stimulus needed to go back and look for yet even more information in the quest for better understanding.

To my colleague and former English professor, Doctor Jim Quinlan, I extend my sincere appreciation for reading the text and for suggesting valid alternatives in preparing final versions of the chapters. To my secretary and typist, Elaine Jeddry, whose expertise at the computer often amazes, I extend my gratitude and my apologies for the many rewrites.

We the writers of history would be at a loss were it not for those people who make it their vocation to be the keepers of the record. Many archivists have made this task so much easier that I feel they should be publicly acknowledged. Of particular help was the staff at the *Centre d'études acadiennes, Université de Moncton*, especially Muriel Roy, Ronnie-Gilles LeBlanc, Ronald LeBlanc and Carmella Bourgeois. Sister Francis Xavier at the Roman Catholic Archdiocesan Archives in Halifax was always

willing to accommodate and always with a friendly smile. Paul McKiel and his successor, Mary McDevitt, at the Diocesan Archives in Saint John were very helpful and willingly provided the primary documents central to the thesis. I am also grateful to the staff of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia (particularly John MacLeod) and to Allan Doiron at the Public Archives of New Brunswick for quick and efficient service everytime I rang.

Finally, *merci* to Université Sainte-Anne, especially to Doctor Gérald Boudreau, Vice-president academic, for the funds and the encouragement given to help me see this project completed.

INTRODUCTION: The Historiographical Argument

The purpose of this thesis is to explore the challenge Acadian nationalism presented to an entrenched Irish presence within the hierarchical structure of Maritime Catholicism at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. Besides its relevance to regionalism, this subject has links to various aspects of post-Confederation social history, including religious history, and ethnicity, themes so central to contemporary Canadian historiography as to justify the investigation proposed here. The survey which follows is designed to establish the intellectual context for this profile of one man and his times.

At the end of the 1960s Canada's prominent scholars were calling for a new direction in the writing of this country's history. Ramsay Cook suggested that the notion of Canadianism could best be found in "the regional ethnic and class identities" of the nation.¹ A few years later J. M. S. Careless also questioned the Creightonian approach and wrote that "the true theme of the country's history in the twentieth century [was] not nation building but region building."² To take up the new challenge, traditional

¹ G. Ramsay Cook, "Canadian Centennial Celebrations," International Journal, Vol. XXII, 1967, p. 663.

² J. M. S. Careless, "Limited Identities in Canada," Canadian Historical Review, Vol. L, No. 1, 1969, p. 9.

The Creighton perspective, also called the "Laurentian interpretation" emerged during the late 1930s and early 1940s with the publication of Creighton's Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence (1937) and his Dominion of the North in 1944. Shared by such notable scholars as Harold Innis and, to a certain extent, by W.L. Morton, the approach argued that central Canada was "the dynamic heart" of the nation and that Confederation had enabled it to spread its commercial hold to inferior hinterlands such as the Maritimes and the West. See Carl Berger, The Writing of Canadian History - Aspects of English - Canadian Historical Writing: 1900-1970 (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1976), p. 241.

politically-oriented studies would have to make way for research with broadened horizons.³

The two decades that followed these calls for action revealed that historians were indeed responding to the challenge. The 1970s and 1980s saw an expansion of interest in once neglected areas of ethnic history. Indeed by the end of the 1970s Cornelius J. Jaenen was sufficiently confident to state that "the study of minority groups, defined in linguistic, racial or religious terms [was] an important part of national history."⁴ Similarly by the mid 1980s the president of the Canadian Historical Association noted the strong leaning towards social history and confirmed that "close to half of all doctoral theses being prepared in Canada today are fundamentally concerned with relationships between social groups."⁵ With the new emphasis placed on ethnic history, it is not surprising to see that studies on religious history have made an appearance during the last two decades. There has been a slow but a definite "coming of age" in recent years, one which has not only seen the burgeoning of new literature within the religious field but also the integration of "specialized" or sub-field studies within the new religious historiography.⁶ One such sub-discipline of late involves analysis of ethnic-denominational interaction in the post-Confederation era. To write a thesis focusing on

³ In his article "A new Golden Age of Maritime Historiography?" George Rawlyk called for more Maritime theses "dealing with the broad spectrum of social history" See Queen's Quarterly, Vol. LXXVI, No. 1, 1969, p. 61.

⁴ Cornelius Jaenen, "Ethnic Studies: An Integral Part of Canadian Studies," in Wsevolod Isajiw (ed.) Identities: the Impact of Ethnicity on Canadian Society (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates Limited, 1977), pp. xi-xii.

⁵ William Acheson, "Doctoral Theses and the Discipline of History in Canada, 1967 and 1985," Historical Papers, 1986, p. 8.

⁶ For an overview of this see John S. Moir, "Coming of Age, but Slowly: aspects of Canadian religious historiography since Confederation," The Canadian Catholic Historical Association, I, 1983, p. 89.

the interaction between two ethnic groups in the Maritime region of Canada is certainly consistent with the contemporary trend.

In the attempt to evaluate ethnic interaction there has been a tendency to look at the debate from an exclusively religious point of view and thus dwell on the "Protestant versus Catholic" theme as it developed during the second half of the nineteenth and the initial years of the twentieth century. Because of their growing numbers after 1850, as well as because of the central role they have played in this country's religious mosaic, the Irish, especially in their associations with Protestant charter groups in Canada, have received considerable scrutiny. For example, Murray Nicholson's two studies focus on how the Irish Catholics resisted the pressures of conformity and integration in Toronto through their churches and their many church-sponsored organizations.⁷ Mark McGowan's more recent assessment is in sharp disagreement in its argument that the Irish voluntarily "de-greened" themselves, even to the point of marrying Protestant partners, so as to better integrate into mainstream Torontonians society.⁸ However, other ethnic groups among the Catholics and their confrontations with Protestant ideology were virtually ignored, as is indicated by the scarcity of such studies in comparison to more numerous Irish assessments. Inquiry into the attempt of Italians to "carve their own niche" in Toronto and the effort of German Catholics to establish their own

⁷ See Murray Nicholson, "Irish Tridentine Catholicism in Victorian Toronto: Vessel for Ethno-Religious Persistence," The Canadian Catholic Historical Association, II, 1983, pp. 415-436 and also his "Irish Catholic Education in Victorian Toronto: An Ethnic Response to Urban Conformity," Histoire sociale - Social History, Vol. XVII, No. 34, 1984, pp. 287-306.

⁸ Mark McGowan, "The De-Greening of the Irish: Toronto's Irish Catholic Press, Imperialism, and the Forging of the New Identity, 1887-1914," Historical Papers, 1989, pp. 118-145.

educational facilities despite opposition from the Anglo-Protestant community of Ontario⁹ are pioneering efforts to proceed beyond traditional boundaries.

Standing alongside this branch of Canadian historiography is a somewhat larger body of literature dedicated to exploration of the tension within the Roman Catholic community between its Irish Anglophone component and various groups of Francophones. These clashes developed principally in three areas of the country: southern Ontario, the West, and the Maritime Provinces.

In analyzing the ecclesiastical warfare between the Irish Catholics and the Franco-Ontarian Catholics, no author has been more assiduous than Robert Choquette. Professor of religious studies at the University of Ottawa, Choquette published on the subject in the early 1970s, but with the 1975 study Language and Religion: A history of English-French Conflict in Ontario he made his mark.¹⁰ Although some of the subject matter had been dealt with before, no one had used religious archival sources so extensively.¹¹ Choquette consulted material never before available to researchers, including the Fallon Papers of the Diocese of London and the papers of the *Association canadienne-française d'éducation de l'Ontario*. The book was considered of such

⁹ John Zucchi, "Church and Clergy, and the Religious Life of Toronto's Italian Immigrants, 1900-1940," The Canadian Catholic Historical Association, II, 1983, pp. 533-548. See also James Wahl, "Father Louis Funcken's Contribution to German Catholicism in Waterloo County, Ontario," The Canadian Catholic Historical Association, 11, 1983, pp. 513-531.

¹⁰ See for example, his, "Linguistic and Ethnic Factors in the French-Irish Catholic Relations in Ontario," The Canadian Catholic Historical Association, 1972, pp. 35-43. Here Choquette succinctly presents the debate that would later be detailed in his Language and Religion: A History of English-French Conflict in Ontario (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1975).

¹¹ See for example John K.A. Farrell, "Michael Francis Fallon, Bishop of London, Ontario, Canada (1909-1931): The Man and His Controversies," The Canadian Catholic Historical Association, 1968, pp. 73-90.

significance that it was translated into French and published two years later, again as part of the *Cahiers d'histoire* series of the University of Ottawa. Choquette's book takes the reader through the whirlwind created by "Canadian Irish Catholic totalitarianism collid[ing] head-on with French-Canadian militancy" and giving rise to potent "linguistic and cultural alignments, with Christian brotherhood becoming a secondary factor."¹² To illustrate the conflict Choquette isolates specific events in Ontario's history where the debate surfaced in venomous proportions. These include the founding of the University of Ottawa, the naming of Michael Fallon to the Diocese of London with its stormy aftermath, and the passing of Regulation 17, which was designed to curtail severely the use of French in Ontario schools, among other means, by downgrading it as a medium of instruction to the level of a foreign language.

In 1984 Choquette published *l'Église catholique dans l'Ontario français du dix-neuvième siècle*,¹³ a book that could be seen as a sequel to his earlier Language and Religion. The study was divided into two main sections, the first of which described the growth of the Catholic Church from the conquest era to the end of the nineteenth century. This Choquette believed to be a necessary preamble to understanding the crosscurrents at the beginning of the twentieth century for "la francophobie et l'anticatholicisme... ne sont pas tombés d'un ciel sans nuages."¹⁴ The second section, shorter than the first, analyzed *les grands débats* of ethno-religious origin in Ontario. Among these were the

¹² Robert Choquette, Language and Religion - a History of English-French Conflict in Ontario, pp. 251, 254.

¹³ Robert Choquette, l'Église catholique dans l'Ontario français du dix-neuvième siècle (Ottawa: Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1984).

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 17.

church sponsored colonization movement along the Ottawa River, the attempt to establish Francophone dioceses in southern Ontario, and the controversy over Regulation 17.

More recently, Choquette has continued his study of ethno-religious rivalry in Ontario with *La Foi - gardienne de la langue en Ontario, 1900-1950*.¹⁵ He follows the debate to mid-century, by which time a lay leadership was firmly entrenched and had replaced clerics as the main combatants in the ethnic wars. His book focuses on the question of language in the schools, and Choquette shows how both groups were so engulfed by their linguistic and cultural aspirations that everything else, including their faith, became subservient to those concerns.¹⁶

The same brand of Irish/French antipathy so prevalent in Ontario at the end of the nineteenth century also spread westward into the Prairie Provinces during those years and continued to flourish early into the twentieth century. Although exclusively religious conflicts (i.e. Protestants against Catholics) were very much part of the western fabric, the struggle for supremacy within the church between Irish- and French-speaking western clerics (especially the Oblates) infused much of the debate in that newly emerging section of Canada.¹⁷

¹⁵ Robert Choquette, *La Foi - gardienne de la langue en Ontario, 1900-1950* (Montréal: Éditions Bellarmin, 1987).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 267.

¹⁷ Studies on the subject done during the 1970s include Paul Crunican, *Priests and Politicians: Manitoba Schools and the Election of 1896* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), Manoly Lupul, *The Roman Catholic Church and the North-West School Question: A study in Church - State Relations in Western Canada, 1875-1905* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974) and Gilbert L. Comeault, "La question des écoles du Manitoba - Un nouvel éclairage," *Revue D'Histoire de L'Amérique Française*, Vol. 33, No. 1, 1979. For a more recent assessment see Jean-Marie Taillefer, "Les Franco-manitobains et l'éducation, 1870-1970." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1988.

The western hierarchy had traditionally been in French hands since the founding of the Diocese of Saint Boniface in 1847, and successive bishops were intent on keeping it that way. Through promotion of massive colonizing efforts, establishment of Francophone cultural organizations and the founding of French newspapers, the church's intention was to build a miniature Quebec on the Canadian Prairies.¹⁸ But the steady flow of new colonists coming from Ontario (especially the arrival of Irish Catholics) put an end to those dreams, realigning the cultural and linguistic map of the region. The presence of both ethnic groups in the West assured that a collision course similar to the one in Ontario had been set.

For analyzing ethno-religious developments in Western Canada, two individuals deserve recognition: Raymond Huel and, again, Robert Choquette. In 1975 Huel published an overview of episcopal development entitled "The Irish Conflict in Catholic Episcopal Nominations: The Western Sees and the Struggle for Domination Within the Church."¹⁹ In the article he surveyed the erection of the Regina and Calgary Dioceses as well as the creation of the Edmonton and Winnipeg Ecclesiastical Provinces.²⁰ Huel showed that everywhere the contest between Irish and French clerics for hierarchical recognition dominated the scene, often attaining proportions that did "not benefit the

¹⁸ André Lalonde, "l'Église catholique et les Francophones de l'Ouest, 1818-1930," La Société Canadienne d'Histoire de l'Église Catholique, II, 1983, pp. 493-497.

¹⁹ Raymond Huel, "The Irish Conflict in Catholic Episcopal Nominations: The Western Sees and the Struggle for Domination Within the Church," The Canadian Catholic Historical Association, 1975, pp. 51-70.

²⁰ The Concise Dictionary of the Christian Church [p. 420 of the Elizabeth Livingstone edition] defines an ecclesiastical province as "a group of dioceses, territorially contiguous forming an ecclesiastical unit, so called because such groups were originally coincident with the provinces of the Roman Empire."

dignity of [the] office."²¹ Huel has recently continued his analysis of the French impact on the Prairies with his "When a Minority Feels Threatened: The Impetus for French Catholic Organization in Saskatchewan."²² Although the article focuses principally on French efforts at cultural and linguistic survival, it does show that Irish Catholic hopes of "integrating it [Catholicism] within the mainstream of North American development" have created formidable barriers to French ambitions and have resulted in the creation of English-speaking dioceses in Alberta and Manitoba.²³

During the mid 1970s Robert Choquette, already well into his research on ethno-religious interaction in his home province Ontario, expanded his horizons to explore that same theme as it pertained to the evolution of the Prairies. The result was a pair of articles appearing a year apart, each concentrating on a particular Western See. The first of these analyzed the steadfastness of Archbishop Adélarde Langevin (brother to Sir Hector) after seeing his plans for the division of his Saint Boniface province fall through. Choquette shows that in the case of Winnipeg and the nomination of its first archbishop, Msgr. A.A. Sinnott, pro-English factions had actually been able to put pressure on Rome, through King George V, to assure the success of their enterprise.²⁴ In Choquette's second piece, he develops the same theme but concentrates on the Diocese of Calgary and its first Bishop, John Thomas McNally, future Archbishop of Halifax.

²¹ Raymond Huel, "The Irish French Conflict in Catholic Episcopal Nominations: The Western Sees and the Struggle for Domination Within the Church," p. 70.

²² Raymond Huel, "When a Minority Feels Threatened: The Impetus for French Catholic Organization in Saskatchewan," Canadian Ethnic Studies, Vol. XVIII, No. 3, 1986, pp. 1-16

²³ Ibid., p. 13.

²⁴ Robert Choquette, "Adélarde Langevin et l'érection de l'archidiocèse de Winnipeg," Revue D'Histoire de L'Amérique Française, Vol. 28, No. 2, 1974, p. 204.

In a forceful argument Choquette shows how such imperialist bishops as McNally in the West and Fallon in Ontario managed to convince Rome that the Canadian West was an English-speaking domain and that episcopal nominations should reflect that reality.²⁵

As the preceding paragraphs have shown, a thesis focusing on Acadians of the Maritimes and their interaction with the Irish within the structures of the Roman Catholic hierarchy is in line with the current trends of Canadian historiography. Clearly, the topics of ethnicity, socio-religious history and regionalism are all important in today's historical literature. This study will explore those themes as they pertain to nineteenth and twentieth century Acadians in the Maritime Provinces. The foregoing overview of ethno-religious dynamics in Ontario and in the Canadian West is designed to indicate that the Maritime situation had parallels elsewhere in the country. This analysis of Acadian nationalism in the Maritimes is a topic which fits readily into an emerging mainstream of revisionist historiography.

Acadian historiography has been anything but static during the past twenty years. The importance assigned to French minorities outside Quebec following the Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, the growth of Acadian historical societies, and the founding of the *Centre d'études acadiennes* at the *Université de Moncton* are all responsible in part for a proliferation of theses, books, articles and periodicals dealing

²⁵ Robert Choquette, "John Thomas McNally et l'érection du diocèse de Calgary," *Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa*, Vol. 45, 1975, p. 416.

with the Acadian experience.²⁶ A greater awareness of and pride in their ethnic roots among Acadians has encouraged authors, both professional and amateur, to study in greater detail the largest ethnic minority of Maritime Canada.

The rise in socio-religious history over the past two decades, as explained earlier, as well as sensitivity to the role that religion has played in the lives of Acadians who returned to the Maritimes after 1763, explains in part the emphasis placed on religious topics by those exploring the Acadian heritage. Although much remains to be done, many facets of Acadian religious history have already been examined.²⁷ General overviews have appeared as well as a host of biographies on prominent religious figures

²⁶ A recent bibliographical guide on the study of Acadians has listed over four thousand five hundred titles for the period 1976-1987 alone. Its supplement to 1989 added over a thousand more. See H el ene Harbec (ed.) Guide bibliographique de l'Acadie, 1976-1987 (Moncton: Centre d' tudes acadiennes, 1988), pp. 3-508, and Suppl ment, Norbert Robichaud (ed), 1991. Also, it has been calculated that twelve Ph.D. and thirty-three M.A. history theses on Acadian related topics have been written between 1970 and 1985. See Jacques Paul Couturier, "Tendances actuelles de l'historiographie acadienne (1970-1985)," Historical Papers, 1987, pp. 230-250. As to the recent periodicals these include La Revue de l'Universit  de Moncton, La Revue de l'Universit  Sainte-Anne, Les Cahiers de la Soci t  historique acadienne, Moncton, N.B., [hereafter CSHA], La Revue d'histoire de la Soci t  historique Nicolas Denys, Bertrand, N.B., [hereafter SHND], La Revue de la Soci t  Historique du Madawaska (Edmunston, N.B.), and Sur l'empremier - la gazette de la Soci t  historique de la mer rouge (Robichaud, N.B.).

²⁷ See Fernand Arsenault, "l' glise catholique en Acadie ( tat de recherche)," Revue de l'Universit  de Moncton, Vol. 15, No. 1, 1982, p. 105.

in Acadian history.²⁸ Avenues of inquiry have included the study of religious communities, and educational institutions and of the role played by religion in the dynamics of particular communities such as Chéticamp, Clare and Madawaska.²⁹ Most of these studies are the work of people who cannot afford to make history their life's

²⁸ See Terrence Murphy, "The Emergence of Maritime Catholicism," in P.A. Buckner and David Frank (eds.) The Acadiensis Reader Volume. I: Atlantic Canada before Confederation (Fredericton: The Acadiensis Press, 1985), Georges Arsenault, La Religion et les Acadiens à l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard (Summerside: La Société Saint-Thomas d'Aquin, 1983), Léon Theriault, "L'Église catholique en Acadie, 1604-1864" Revue de l'Université de Moncton, Vol. II, No. 1, 1978 and A.A. Johnson, A History of the Catholic Church in Eastern Nova Scotia, Vol. I (Antigonish: Saint Francis Xavier University Press, 1960). As to the religious biographies, see Gerald C. Boudreau, "l'Apostolat du missionnaire Jean-Mandé Sigogne et les Acadiens du sud-ouest de la Nouvelle-Écosse," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Université de Montréal, 1989, Fernand Arsenault and Edmour Babineau, Philippe Belliveau (Moncton: Éditions d'Acadie, 1988), as well as their François-Aimé Bourgeois published in 1985 also by the Éditions d'Acadie. Other studies include Bertha Plourde's Mgr L.-J.-Arthur Melanson 1879-1941 (Montréal: Éditions Bellarmin, 1985) and Basile Babin's Entre le marteau et l'enclume: Pierre-Marie Dagnaud à la Pointe-de-l'Église, Nouvelle-Écosse, 1899-1908 (Charlesbourg: Maison des Eudistes, 1982). Earlier biographies would encompass such works as Camille-Antonio Doucet's Une étoile s'est levée en Acadie (Charlesbourg: Les Éditions du Renouveau, 1973), and Ephrem Boudreau, "l'Abbé Maillard, apôtre des Micmacs," Cahiers de la Société historique acadienne, Vol. IV, No. 5, 1972, pp. 177-199.

²⁹ See Robert Pichette, Les Religieuses pionnières en Acadie, (Moncton: Michel Henry, 1990) and Sister Marie-Dorothée, Une pierre de la mosaïque acadienne (Ottawa: Éditions Leméac, 1984). On the work done by religious communities in the field of education see Sister Georgette Desjardins, "Le rôle des religieuses Hospitalières de Saint-Joseph dans l'éducation au Madawaska depuis 1873," and Alexandre-J. Savoie, "Les communautés religieuses et l'enseignement au Nouveau-Brunswick depuis 1872," both published in the 1981 study sessions of La Société Canadienne d'Histoire de l'Église Catholique. As to the history of religious institutions see René LeBlanc and Micheline Laliberté, Sainte-Anne: collège et université, 1890-1990 (Pointe-de-l'Église: Chaire d'étude en civilisation acadienne de la Nouvelle-Écosse, 1990). As to what pertains to community studies see Thomas Albert, Histoire du Madawaska: entre l'Acadie, le Québec et l'Amérique (Québec: Hurtubise HMH, 1982), Father Anselme Chiasson, Chéticamp - Histoire et Traditions acadiennes (Moncton: Éditions des Aboiteaux, 1972), and Alphonse Deveau, La Ville française (Québec: Les Éditions Ferland, 1968).

profession, but who find in history a very fulfilling avocation.³⁰ Thus these investigations are only quasi professional in terms of the depth of research and analysis they offer.

The study of ethno-linguistic conflict also began to emerge within the new Acadian historiography. The first signs that the Irish/Acadian debate was being examined appeared after 1965 with the publication of Albert Sormany's "La nomination des premiers évêques acadiens," and Pascal Poirier's *Mémoires*. In the former of these first-hand testimonies, Sormany was caught up in his own subjectivity.³¹ Being a central player in the debate for an Acadian bishop in Chatham, New Brunswick, it was nearly impossible for him to analyze the struggle with objectivity and the piece unfortunately became a mere partisan chronicle of events. A few years later the *Société historique acadienne* published Pascal Poirier's *Mémoires*, certain parts of which dealt directly with the Franco-Irish conflict over episcopal nominations.³² The *Mémoires*, in reality letters from Poirier to his nephew, were not written with the intention of being published, which probably accounts for their frank and forceful tone. Like Sormany, Poirier's version of events is too involved and brief to provide a fair assessment of the situation. Yet, it does signal the ambitions and frustrations of one militant Acadian, and it makes lively reading.

³⁰ For the contribution of amateur historians see David Sutherland, "Parish Perspectives: Recent Work in Community History Within Atlantic Canada," *Acadiensis*, Vol. XVII, No. 1, 1987, pp. 143-150.

³¹ Albert Sormany, "La nomination des premiers évêques acadiens," *CSHA*, Vol. 1, No. 8, 1965, pp. 6-15.

³² Pascal Poirier, "Mémoires," *CSHA*, Vol. IV, No. 3, 1971, pp. 120-135.

In 1975 the study of Acadian/Irish interrelations got its first academic scrutiny with the appearance of Martin Spigelman's thesis, "The Acadian Renaissance and the Development of Acadien-Canadien Relations, 1864-1912."³³ Since this was only one facet of his overall study of Acadian and French-Canadian relations, he could afford the Irish/Acadian debate but one chapter. Spigelman concentrated on developments leading to the nomination but stopped there, having neither the intention nor the space to carry his analysis past the moment of triumph in 1912. An offshoot of the thesis was an article published that same year in Revue D'Histoire de L'Amérique Française. In it Spigelman gave the pre-1880 background of Acadian national enthusiasms which by 1900 "était en pleine effervescence."³⁴ He elaborated the vision of Maritime Catholicism as projected by the Irish dominated hierarchy and detailed how it clashed with Acadian ambitions. Like the thesis, his article stopped in 1912 once the Acadian bishop had been named. He did mention that the nomination perpetuated more ethnic and linguistic conflict, but to elaborate on those assumptions was again beyond the scope of his intentions.

While the 1960s and 1970s produced only limited academic analysis of the Acadian/Irish confrontation in Maritime Canada, the 1980s brought little that was new.³⁵ One exception was Léon Theriault's critical overview of Roman Catholicism within

³³ Martin Spigelman, "The Acadian Renaissance and the Development of Acadien-Canadien Relations, 1864-1912." Unpublished Ph.D. thesis Dalhousie University, 1975. See chapter XII for subject matter in question.

³⁴ Martin Spigelman, "Race et religion - Les Acadiens et la hierarchie catholique irlandaise du Nouveau Brunswick," Revue D'Histoire de L'Amérique Française, Vol. 29, No. 1, 1975, p. 72.

³⁵ Two other non-academic studies published in the 1970s that dealt, at least scantily, with the subject include Alexandre J.- Savoie's Un Demi-Siècle d'Histoire Acadienne (Montréal: Imprimerie Gagné Ltée, 1976), pp. 83-98, and Anselme Chiasson, "Le Clergé et le Reveil acadien (1864-1960)," Revue de l'Université de Moncton, Vol. 11, No. 1, 1978, pp. 29-46.

Acadian society. Entitled "l'Acadianisation de l'Église catholique en Acadie, 1763-1953," this seventy-three page article was extensively researched and followed the evolution of the church from the seventeenth century to the time when it became fully "Acadianized" in the mid twentieth century.³⁶ Approximately half of the article was concerned with the subject matter to be discussed in this thesis. Thériault's piece was the most significant contribution to Acadian ethno-religious historiography to that time. Unlike any of his predecessors, Thériault carried the debate further than 1912 to include other areas of Acadian/Irish rivalry, such as the naming of an Acadian Bishop for Chatham and the creation of an Acadian ecclesiastical province.

With all its merits the Thériault analysis was nevertheless of limited importance because of its brevity. The author had to be succinct and could not explore all avenues to the reader's satisfaction. For example, the debate over an Acadian parish in Moncton, to which this present thesis will devote an entire chapter, was afforded only one paragraph. Indeed, one conclusion to draw from the article was that more analysis was needed before a clearer picture could emerge. Thériault did not attempt to study what leadership role the new Acadian bishop played outside the religious sphere or what was done on a socio-economic level, once that office had been won. He avoids examining the quality of leadership the Bishop afforded to Acadians as the larger Maritime society confronted major issues such as depopulation, conscription and prohibition. This lack of effort in terms of carrying Acadian ethno-religious history to its logical limit by fitting it into the wider Maritime context was a flaw not so much of Thériault's making, but of the then-prevailing historiography. Unfortunately the tendency to study Acadian life as a self-contained unit isolated from the larger Maritime situation has continued. An example of

³⁶ Léon Thériault, "L'Acadianisation de l'Église catholique en Acadie, 1763-1953" in Jean Daigle (ed.) *Les Acadiens des Maritimes* (Moncton: Centre d'études acadiennes, 1980), pp. 293-369.

this is provided by a recent biography of the first Acadian Bishop. In her Quand Tourne le vent, Sister Marie-Dorothée, though not an historian by training, gives much more than an antiquarian assessment of Bishop LeBlanc's career, but she does so without integrating it with the Maritime dynamics of the period and gives the impression that in addition to the Irish clergy and the ecclesiastical hierarchy, Acadians in the Maritimes confronted no other problems.³⁷

Acadian religious history, especially the study of ethno-religious tension, has been plagued with many problems since it began receiving attention in the 1960s. Its most serious short-coming was the lack of scientific assessment, which has produced an historiography characterized more by antiquarianism than by professionalism.³⁸ Those few academic studies of Acadian/Irish interaction have all been limited by their scope or by their status as articles and segments of larger studies and have not been able to provide the type of detailed inquiry proposed here. Also, because of a lack of space or a lack of analysis, none of the previous studies has attempted to follow the debate through and see how, on the Maritime scene as a whole, access to the hierarchy offered Acadians a meaningful leadership. This thesis proposes to overcome the aforementioned deficiencies to offer an analysis which will at least strive to add a new dimension to the historiography of both the Acadians and the region in which they live.

³⁷ Sister Marie-Dorothée, Quand tourne le vent - Mgr Édouard Alfred LeBlanc, premier évêque acadien, 1912-1935 (Moncton: Religieuses de Notre-Dame-du-Sacré-Coeur, 1991).

³⁸ This, Jacques Paul Couturier would argue, has been the case with Acadian historical writing in general and must be overcome if it is to take its rightful place in Maritime historiography. See his "Tendances actuelles de l'historiographie acadienne, 1970-1985," p. 250.

CHAPTER 1
ACADIANS IN THE MARITIME PROVINCES, 1800-1912:
THE EMERGENCE OF AN ETHNIC GROUP

When the important call came from Halifax on August 5, 1912, there were no telephones in the small village of Saint Bernard, Nova Scotia, to receive the news of the nomination. Instead the message from Dresden Row, Halifax, was relayed via Weymouth, a few miles to the north. Before long celebrations of various sorts began to take place as a means of honoring one of theirs who had been so fortunate as to be named to this prestigious position. It was Branch No. 29 [called "Poutrincourt"] of the *Société L'Assomption* of Belliveau's Cove which had the privilege of paying him tribute first and that they did with gifts and speeches full of congratulations, praise, and nationalist fervor.¹ This was fitting as he was a "local son," who for the past five years had been their leader and in certain ways, their servant as well.

A few days later a more grandiose commemoration was offered at his *alma mater*, the *Collège Sainte-Anne*. Le Moniteur Acadien described the pomp in the following manner:

le mercredi, 20 novembre, tout est prêt...près l'entrée du collège deux drapeaux claquent à la brise légère du matin, le tricolore Acadien [sic] déployant fièrement ses larges plis où luit l'étoile de la Victoire...Tout le monde s'empresse...Corridor et refectoire sont pavoisés aux couleurs Pontificales [sic], Acadiennes [sic] et Canadiennes [sic], les écussons succèdent aux écussons, partout des plantes vertes guirlandes...²

¹ Le Moniteur Acadien, December 5, 1912, p. 8.

² Ibid., November 28, 1912, p. 2.

On that same day a very nationalist poem was written to mark the occasion.³ The author, Fr. Alexandre Braud, noted that the event about to happen was of such importance that every Acadian would be there on the momentous day, if not in body, at least in spirit.

On December 3 he left Halifax on the "Ocean Limited" rail service whereupon he was greeted at Amherst by a host of dignitaries headed by His Honor, Judge Pierre-Amand Landry. This group acted as the official escort for the last leg of his journey to Saint John, New Brunswick. The delegation stopped briefly in Moncton where a multitude of speeches were again given in his favor, hailing him as the one chosen to accomplish great deeds.⁴ The group then proceeded to Saint John where the city prepared for the great day that was to be December 10, 1912. People poured into the town from all over Canada, some taking advantage of the reduced rates that the Intercolonial Railway offered for the occasion. As congratulations were sent in from all over the North American continent and as hotels were being filled to capacity, the Saint John Standard added to the anticipation by promising that the banquet alone would "be one of the most notable of the kind ever held in this city."⁵

When the day finally arrived the scene was so spectacular that certain contingents of the press exclaimed that the whole affair resembled something out of a fairy tale.⁶ The Standard for its part commented that:

³ L'Évangéline, December 4, 1912, p. 4.

⁴ Le Moniteur Acadien, November 28, 1912, p. 2.

⁵ Saint John Standard, December 10, 1912, p. 2.

⁶ L'Évangéline, December 11, 1912, p. 1.

when the ceremony began, the scene presented was a brilliant one. The elaborate decorations on the altars, the candles and candelabras and myriads of lights about the sanctuary together with the rich robes of the officiating ministers made up a spectacle not often witnessed.⁷

Édouard Alfred LeBlanc of Saint Bernard parish in Digby County, Nova Scotia, was about to be enthroned as the first Acadian bishop of the Maritime Provinces.

The year 1912 constituted a watershed in Acadian socio-religious history. The enthronement of Monsignor LeBlanc was regarded by many contemporaries as the zenith of the nationalist fervor prevalent in Acadian society during the previous three decades. Historians have also tended to portray this consecration as a point of culmination while the post-1912 years have been seen as a time of reduced, or at best, stabilized nationalist sentiment.⁸ Others suggest that the era after 1912 marks a period in time when the Acadian leadership appeared to break up and that nationalist enthusiasms ran out of breath.⁹ That a major victory had been won for the Acadian nationalist cause with the consecration of Father LeBlanc, few could dispute. However, was the event an end in itself or the beginning of a leadership that had been sought for so many years? If the struggle had been worth all the effort, if the absence of a bishop from within their ranks had been regarded by the Acadian leaders as a "humiliating ostracism," should not the victory be the starting point of benefits that could now be reaped from the possession of

⁷ Saint John Standard, December 11, 1912, p. 2.

⁸ See Deborah Robichaud, "Les Conventions nationales (1890-1913): la Société Nationale L'Assomption et son Discours" CSHA, Vol. 12, No. 1, 1981, p. 58.

⁹ Léon Thériault, "Synthèse historique, 1763-1978" in Jean Daigle (ed.) Les Acadiens des Maritimes, p. 83.

ecclesiastical authority?¹⁰ Martin Spigelman perceptively states that Father LeBlanc's elevation to the Apostolic See established a hierarchical presence which could be used "to perpetuate their (the Acadians') national existence."¹¹ But would the new Bishop confine his leadership to purely religious matters or would he also offer direction to Acadians confronted with the urgent social problems such as war, economic dislocation, and stagnating rural communities? The aim of this thesis is to examine the episcopacy of Édouard Alfred LeBlanc for the purpose of ascertaining the kind of leadership this first Acadian Bishop afforded his people as they struggled to come to terms with the challenges facing early twentieth century Atlantic Canada.

Before proceeding to a detailed study of developments after 1912, this inquiry will first offer an overview of the demographic, social and economic developments in the area as a whole at the end of the eighteenth century and during the nineteenth in order to outline the regional setting where Acadians re-established themselves after 1763. That done, this study will proceed to a more detailed analysis of the Acadian situation in the Maritimes during the nineteenth century, with the emphasis being placed on developments since 1850. Settlement patterns, demographic performance, and economic achievement will be analyzed to outline the mainstream of the Acadian experience and thereby orient the reader to the challenges facing Monsignor LeBlanc and other nationalists after 1912.

¹⁰ It was Le Moniteur Acadien that coined the phrase "humiliating ostracism". See the January 16, 1913, issue on p. 1.

¹¹ Martin Spigelman, "The Acadian Renaissance and the Development of Acadien-Canadien Relations 1864-1912," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Dalhousie University, 1975, p. 435.

The Maritime Provinces where Acadians took root and evolved at the end of the eighteenth and throughout the nineteenth century was a sparsely settled area. The arrival of some five thousand New England "Planters" between 1760 and 1763 had offset the earlier population loss resulting from the Acadian deportation, but still, by the outbreak of the American Revolution, Nova Scotia's population was estimated at only twenty thousand, while Prince Edward Island could show no better than one thousand three hundred souls.¹² By the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century the population of the three Maritime Provinces had reached one hundred sixty thousand.¹³ That accounted for about four persons per square mile. However, conditions in Europe prompted a heavy influx of Scottish, Irish, and English immigrants to the region after 1830 drastically altering the poor demographic performance to date. By mid-century the population of Nova Scotia had risen to two hundred seventy-six thousand eight hundred fifty-four, New Brunswick registered one hundred ninety-three thousand eight hundred and Prince Edward Island accounted for sixty-two thousand six hundred seventy-eight people.¹⁴ That made for a Maritime total of five hundred thirty-three thousand three

¹² The arrival of these planters is described in George Rawlyk, Nova Scotia's Massachusetts - A Study of Massachusetts - Nova Scotia Relations, 1630-1784 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1973), p. 221. For Nova Scotian population estimates see also Rawlyk, Revolution Rejected, 1775-1776 (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd, 1968), p. 18. Prince Edward Island statistics are outlined in Graeme Wynn, "Population Patterns in Pre-confederation New Brunswick," Acadiensis, Vol. X, No. 2, 1981, p. 126.

¹³ It was difficult to find statistics for the three Maritime Provinces that were taken the same year. The above-quoted figure was arrived at by adding New Brunswick's 1824 population and Nova Scotia's 1817 population with Prince Edward Island's 1827 figures. Those estimates total one hundred fifty-seven thousand eight hundred twenty-seven. See Graeme Wynn, "Population Patterns in Pre-confederation New Brunswick," p. 128, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, "Census of Nova Scotia (1817)" n.d., pamphlet cs -90, Louis R. Comeau Library, and Andrew Hill Clark, Three Centuries and the Island (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), p. 66.

¹⁴ Alan A. Brookes, "Out-Migration from the Maritime Provinces, 1860-1900: Some Preliminary Considerations," Acadiensis, Vol. V, No. 2, 1976, p. 30.

hundred thirty-two, or over ten persons per square mile. Indeed, the first part of the nineteenth century had been what one author called the "filling-up period."¹⁵

Unfortunately, the growth experienced in the first part of the century did not sustain itself. A levelling off and eventual decline began to shape the region's demographic pattern after 1860. Growth during the final decades of the nineteenth century stagnated between two and four percent with Prince Edward Island dropping to as low as minus five percent.¹⁶ Indeed, in the five decades between 1851 and 1901, the Maritime population grew by approximately forty percent. The resulting average of eight percent per decade fell short of the estimated fourteen percent minimal growth needed per decade to sustain natural increase. The poor internal showing reflected itself on the national level as well, with the Maritimes contributing under one fifth (sixteen percent) of the Dominion population at the beginning of the twentieth century.¹⁷

On a social level, the nineteenth-century Maritime Provinces were more the reflection of a cultural mosaic than the model of homogeneity. Besides the British being firmly entrenched in the colonial (and later provincial) capitals since the middle of the eighteenth century, the area was the adopted land of a variety of social groups emanating from both sides of the Atlantic. "Foreign Protestants" recruited from Germany during the the 1750s, land-seeking New Englanders arriving in the 1760s, Acadians returning after 1764, disenchanted Americans (some with slaves) loyal to Britain fleeing to these shores in the 1780s, and Irish and Scottish immigrants seeking refuge after 1815, all

¹⁵ Alan A. Brookes, "Out-Migration from the Maritime Provinces, 1860-1900: Some Preliminary Considerations," p. 28.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

¹⁷ Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Fourth Census of Canada, 1901, Vol. I (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, 1902), p. 2.

accounted for the area's ethnic pluralism.¹⁸ Each of these groups made its mark on Maritime society in some particular way during the nineteenth century. However, there can be little doubt that the American and the British influences were of paramount importance in shaping the mainstream character of the region as a whole.

"Planters," as the New England colonists arriving after 1760 were called, were responsible for the settling of most of Nova Scotia outside of Halifax. In communities which extended along the South Shore from Yarmouth to Liverpool, through the Annapolis Valley, and up the Isthmus of Chignectou to the Saint John River, these transplanted Anglo-Americans considered Nova Scotia a frontier extension of their former homeland. There was a conscious effort on the part of these people to maintain social, religious, and economic ties with New England. Even the New England township-style of municipal government would have been implemented had not the British authorities halted the process.¹⁹ Scholars have maintained that the American experience, as applied to Nova Scotia, was what gave rise to the Nova Scotian "type."

¹⁸ Literature on the various groups who settled the Maritimes would include: Winthrop Bell, The "Foreign Protestants" and the Settlement of Nova Scotia (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), Margaret Conrad (ed.) They Planted Well - New England Planters in Maritime Canada (Fredericton: The Acadiensis Press, 1988), Ann Gorman Condon, The Loyalist Dream for New Brunswick (Fredericton: New Ireland Press, 1984), James Walker, The Black Loyalists (Halifax: Dalhousie University Press, 1976), Naomi Griffiths, The Acadians: Creation of a People (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1973), D. Campbell and R.A. MacLean, Beyond the Atlantic Roar: A Study of the Nova Scotia Scots (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1974), and John J. Mannion, Irish Settlements in Eastern Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974).

¹⁹ See D. C. Harvey, "The Struggle for the New England Form of Township Government in Nova Scotia," The Canadian Historical Association Annual Report, 1933, pp. 15-22.

The classic example of this was the career of Henry Alline, Planter and revivalist whose Great Awakening "began to turn the Yankees into Nova Scotians."²⁰

The influence of New England continued throughout the nineteenth century and affected the Maritimes "in a thousand ways."²¹ The "Boston States," as New England was often referred to, moulded the attitudes of people, lured locals away from the region, and even determined much of the rural architecture of the area. In the words of one scholar, the Maritimes "remained New England's Outpost in the nineteenth century."²²

In a very different way, much of the region's political, educational, social and religious dynamics was closely tied to the British presence centered in Halifax, Fredericton, and Charlottetown. Halifax, because of its role as headquarters of the North Atlantic Squadron of the British fleet, was the seat of British officialdom in the region. Yet attempts to establish this hegemony were not restricted to colonial capitals, but extended to outlying areas as well. The setting up of an Anglican Episcopate in 1787 assured a wider range of influence and was an effective means of counterbalancing what was seen as the religious fanaticism of Allinites and others of "republican" origin.²³ Indeed, the strengthening of Anglicanism by the creation of a bishopric ushered in a

²⁰ See Jack Bumsted, Henry Alline, 1748-1784 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971). See also Gordon Stewart and George Rawlyk, A People Highly Favoured of God (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, 1972), p. 192.

²¹ Graeme Wynn, "New England's Outpost in the Nineteenth Century," in Stephen J. Hornsby, et. al. (eds) The Northeastern Borderlands: Four Centuries of Interactions (Fredericton: The Acadiensis Press, 1989), p. 87.

²² Ibid. p. 90.

²³ See Judith Fingard, The Anglican Design in Loyalist Nova Scotia, 1783-1816 (London: Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 1972). For a more recent assessment see Brian Cuthbertson, The First Bishop: A Biography of Charles Inglis (Halifax: Waegwoltic Press, 1987).

period of friction between Anglicans and the non-conforming groups. Refusing to fund non-Anglican educational institutions, denying Roman Catholics access to the House of Assembly, and restricting marriage licenses to Anglicans were but a few of the tactics used to discriminate against dissenting groups.

By mid-century such manipulative practices were gone, but not the overall influences they had generated. Even with the rise of reform enthusiasms and the end of the old colonial order, the new model aimed for was still very much British. Staunch reformers such as Joseph Howe wanted no more and no different than what the Britons had at home.²⁴ That politician, and many others like him, were potent forces in trying to prevent the birth of the Canadian nation, fearing that such a move would cut all links with the country that had been so much part of the Maritime experience.

One area of nineteenth century development where the American and British influences were especially strong was in the realm of economic development. During the early part of the century those two countries acted as suppliers of manufactured goods to the Maritimes and also functioned as welcomed markets for the region's staple exports. Fish from Nova Scotia found its way primarily to the West Indies, but the United States followed a close second.²⁵ The region's other important staple, wood, was shipped in ever-increasing volume from New Brunswick to the United Kingdom and to a lesser

²⁴ See J. Murray Beck, Joseph Howe, Volume I and II (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1982).

²⁵ S.A. Saunders, The Economic History of the Maritime Provinces (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1984), p. 19.

degree to the United States.²⁶

By mid-century the steady growth of commerce between the Maritimes and ports in North America and Europe gave rise to an unparalleled shipbuilding industry in the area. Saint John, the Miramichi, and Southwestern Nova Scotia were but three examples of areas bustling with activity. Small towns such as Yarmouth in Nova Scotia, grew from obscure hamlets to centers whose volume of registered tonnage rivalled leading world ports.²⁷ It was indeed the age of wind, wood, and sail.

But during the second half of the nineteenth century the old colonial system, once so profitable to the commercial life of the area, had virtually come to an end. The new political order in Canada offered an alternative to the Maritime economy, for, with the advent of Confederation a "continentalist," rather than a sea-oriented vision of economic development, emerged. The Maritimes, it was believed, were ripe for industrialization. Coal was abundant, a railroad was promised, and the protective tariffs in Macdonald's National Policy assured Maritimers that their manufactured goods would find markets in Central Canada. As a result, the scions of the old mercantile families and newly emerging entrepreneurs succeeded in establishing an industrial framework never before seen in the area. In the opinion of one author it was assumed that the industrial center of

²⁶ In the first decade of the nineteenth century it has been estimated that British imports of North American timber went from nine thousand loads to ninety thousand loads per annum. Much of this volume came from New Brunswick. See Graeme Wynn, Timber Colony: A Historical Geography of Early Nineteenth Century New Brunswick (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), p. 29.

²⁷ See David Alexander and Gerry Panting, "The Mercantile Fleet and its Owners: Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, 1840-1889," in P. A. Buckner and David Frank (eds.), The Acadiensis Reader: Volume I - Atlantic Canada Before Confederation (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1985), pp. 309-334.

Canada would be the Maritime Provinces, with Nova Scotia leading the way.²⁸

Although the initial decades of industrialization were promising, the Maritimes were never able to integrate fully into the mainstream of North American progress. Liabilities, some imported, some innate, burdened the area and favored underdevelopment, at least in comparison to Central Canada and the American seaboard. Foreign monopolistic control of such key areas as the early coal and steel industries, and unusually high railroad freight rates brought on by the policies of the Board of Railway Commissioners which favored the West, crippled sustained development.²⁹ By the beginning of the twentieth century consolidation in Central Canada of both the industrial and financial sectors had become a discouraging reality. By World War I the Maritimes were more a dependent, branch-plant entity than a vibrant, self-sustaining economic force.³⁰ The resulting de-industrialization was for many the push factor that motivated their departure from the region for the more lucrative towns of Central Canada and New England.

²⁸ T.W. Acheson, "The National Policy and the Industrialization of the Maritimes, 1880-1910," in P. A. Buckner and David Frank (eds.), The Acadiensis Reader: Volume II - Atlantic Canada After Confederation (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1985), p. 179.

²⁹ See Ian McKay "The crisis of dependent development: class conflict in the Nova Scotia coalfield, 1872-1876," Canadian Journal of Sociology, Vol. 13, Nos. 1-2, 1988, pp. 9-49 and also David Frank, "The Cape Breton Coal Industry and the Rise and Fall of the British Empire Steel Corporation," in P. A. Buckner and David Frank (eds.), The Acadiensis Reader: Volume II - Atlantic Canada After Confederation, pp. 299-330.

For an insight into how railway policies were detrimental to Maritime economic development see Ernie Forbes, The Maritime Rights Movement 1919-1925 - A Study in Canadian Regionalism. (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press 1979), pp. 67-71.

³⁰ T. W. Acheson, "The Maritimes and 'Empire Canada'," in David Bercuson (ed.), Canada and the Burden of Unity (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1977), p. 95.

At the opening of the nineteenth century the population of the Maritime Provinces that called itself Acadian was almost exclusively descendant from the Catholic "neutrals" who had been evacuated from the province during Charles Lawrence's term as governor of Nova Scotia.³¹ Soon after the Peace of Paris in 1763 a number of Acadians returned to the area from the Atlantic Seaboard where they had been exiled, while others simply emerged from the Maritime wilderness which had been their refuge during the Seven Years' War. A complete study of this Acadian resettlement is a task beyond the scope of this dissertation. However, some demographic considerations and settlement patterns should be presented to establish an overview of the Acadian presence in nineteenth century Maritime Canada.

Overall, it could be argued that by the beginning of the twentieth century, Acadians had emerged as a marginal but also volatile minority group in the Maritime Provinces. As early as 1800 they had become established as a durable presence in various "pockets" of the region and were coming to terms with the devastating blow of 1755. The nineteenth century began as a struggle for survival on the margins of regional society. Over time, Acadians became better organized, thanks largely to the emergence of an internal elite. They also became ever more self-assertive demanding access to the mainstream of regional affairs. That demand often provoked resistance, which in turn became a catalyst for further militancy on the part of this Acadian minority. On the economic level, "progression and integration" seem to be the key words of the period, although a certain amount of caution should be exercised when assessing this theme. The sense of powerlessness and poverty was still very real among Acadians at this

³¹ For a succinct but very well written account of Acadian life and the events leading up to the expulsion of 1755 see Barry Moody, The Acadians (Toronto: Grolier Limited, 1981). See also Naomi Griffiths, The Acadians: Creation of A People.

period and it would not be easy to overcome those barriers that relegated them to the rank of second class citizens.

In detailing the resettlement process it should be kept in mind that specific events, powerful individuals, and government policy often dictated where Acadians lived. Acadians themselves often had little say in deciding where they would once again take root. The presence of New Englanders on the vacated Acadian lands after 1760 discouraged the returning deportees from reestablishing on their former homesteads along the Annapolis Valley and through the Isthmus of Chignectou. The government's desire to see Acadians readmitted "under proper restrictions," one of which was colonization in small groups, laid the basis for dispersed Acadian settlement in Nova Scotia.³² Other groups of Acadians, once established in the region, were relocated by groups or individuals who commanded more the favor of government. Such was the case with Acadians along the lower Saint John River Valley who were dislodged to make room for the incoming Loyalists.³³ Elsewhere, Acadians in Minoudie, Nova Scotia, discovered they had been granted lands belonging to Lieutenant-Governor Joseph Walle DesBarres. Some, unwilling to do battle with DesBarres over the question of rent, moved to southern New Brunswick. On Prince Edward Island a similar situation arose when Acadians were forced to abandon their lands in Malpègue and move to Mont

³² "Sir Montague Wilmot to Lords of Trade, July 13, 1764," RG 1, Vol. 31, No. 34, PANS. The intention to have Acadians settle in small groups is evident in "W. Blair à Sa Très-Excellente Majesté Le Roi en Son Conseil, 11 juillet 1764." This letter may be found in Rapport concernant les Archives canadiennes pour l'année 1905, Volume II (Ottawa: C.H. Parmelee, 1909), p. 272.

³³ Muriel K. Roy, "Peuplement et croissance démographique," in Jean Daigle (ed.) Les Acadiens des Maritimes, p. 174.

Carmel because government ineptitude had placed them on land belonging to Colonel Harry Compton.³⁴

Of the three Maritime Provinces it was in New Brunswick where the major concentration of Acadians emerged during the nineteenth century (see Fig. 1-1). Francophone communities were found along the eastern and northern coast of the province. Although quite numerous they did not form a continuous block of settlement. In Westmorland County for example both New England Planters and Yorkshiremen prevailed in such places as Sackville, Dorchester, Hopewell and Hillsborough.³⁵ The Loyalists also contributed to the break up of Acadian settlements on the eastern shore by locating in Newcastle, Chatham and along the branches of the Miramichi.³⁶ In addition post-deportation settlement by Scottish and Irish elements in Gloucester and Restigouche counties accounted for more fragmentation and prevented an Acadian hegemony from being established on the north shore of the Province.

On the Fundy coast, near the Nova Scotian border, Acadians clustered around the village of Memramcook. Acadian settlers were "assessed" in this area as early as 1787 but by the turn of the century many of the members of the founding families had

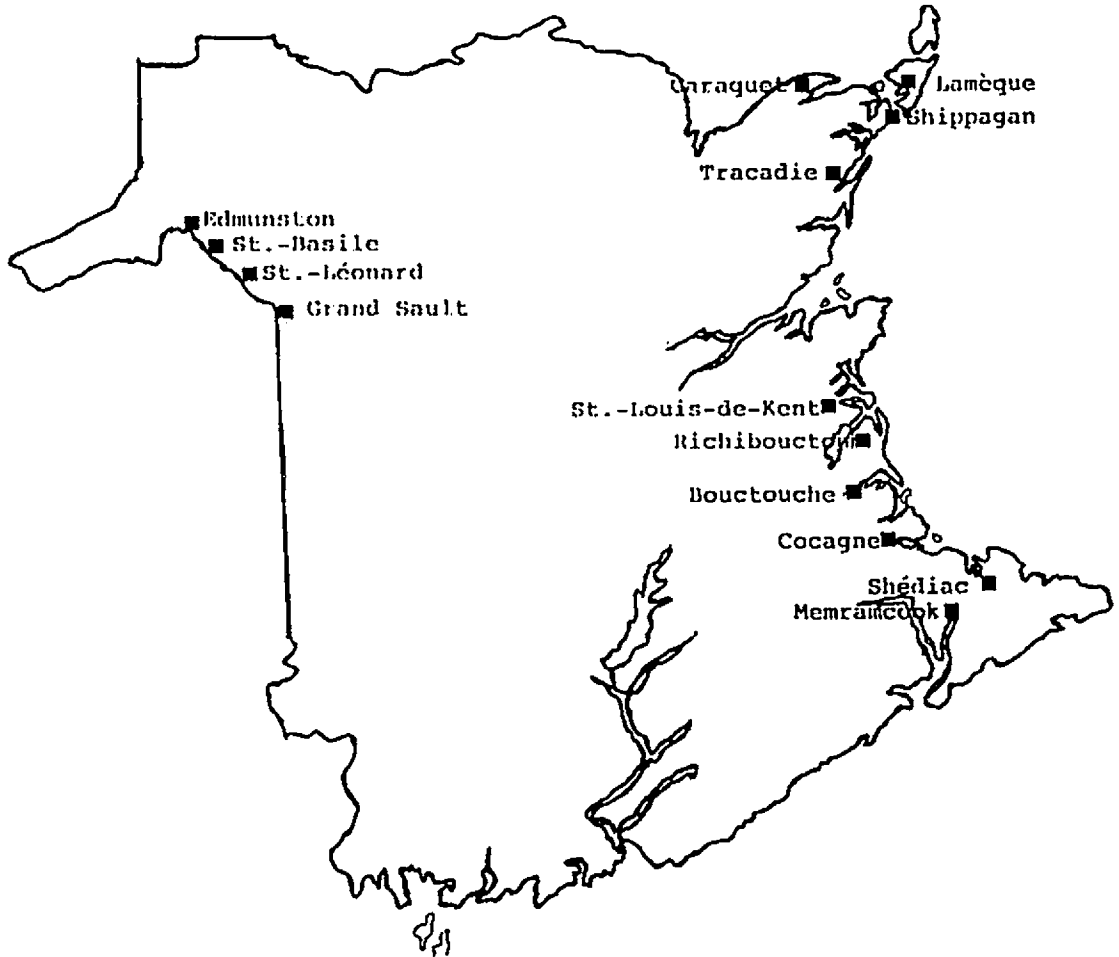
³⁴ Georges Arsenault, "Le système des propriétaires fonciers absents de l'Ile-du-Prince-Édouard et son effet sur les Acadiens," La Revue de l'Université de Moncton, Vol. 9, nos. 1,2,3, 1976, pp. 73-77.

³⁵ William F. Ganong, "A Monograph of the Origins of Settlements in the Province of New Brunswick" in Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Section II, 1904. p. 49. Although Ganong's demographic study dates back to the beginning of the twentieth century, it is still held in high esteem by such contemporary demographers as Muriel K. Roy.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 58.

Figure 1 - 1

Map of New Brunswick
showing Acadian settlement in the 19th century



Courtesy CPRP
Université Sainte-Anne

left the village and ventured to the north, locating closer to the sea in search of salt marshes, thus accounting for the villages of Barachois, Grande-Digue and Cocagne on the Northumberland Strait.³⁷ From this group additional settlements, such as Bouctouche, Richibouctou and Saint-Louis would emerge as Acadian areas by 1800.³⁸

Other settlements more to the north date from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. At Tracadie, for example, twenty different Acadian family names could be counted as settled residents by 1825, and Shippagan acquired its first Acadian family (Robichaud) around 1790.³⁹ East of Shippagan is the Island of Lamèque, where some of the original settlers are said to have come over from Europe as employees of the Robin family, an entrepreneurial group from the Island of Jersey in the English Channel.⁴⁰ To the west a mixed group of thirty-four families of Norman, French Canadian, and predominantly Acadian extraction, laid the foundations of Upper and Lower Caraquet after 1784. By the middle of the nineteenth century their numbers had grown to such a degree that people began leaving the nucleus of the village to colonize outlying areas such as Grande-Anse and Pokesuedie.⁴¹

³⁷ Régis Brun, "Quelques Documents du Musée du Fort Beauséjour," in CSHA, Vol. II, No. 7, 1967, p. 277.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ See Maurice Basque (et. al.) Deux siècle de particularisme - Une histoire de Tracadie (Shédiac: Imprimerie Chedick Ltée., 1984), pp. 15-21 and Donat Robichaud, Le Grand Chipagan - Histoire de Shipagan (Montréal: Imprimerie Gagné Ltée, 1976), pp. 38-39.

⁴⁰ Roy Bourgeois and Maurice Basque, Une histoire de Lamèque - Des origines à nos jours (Moncton: Éditions d'Acadie, 1984), p. 22.

⁴¹ William F. Ganong, The History of Caraquet and Pokemouche (Saint John: The New Brunswick Museum, 1948), pp. 31-35.

Still more to the west and beyond what is today considered the Acadian Peninsula, the Madawaskan region began in the 1780s as Acadians left the Fredericton area in the face of the Loyalist influx.⁴² From a few settlers in 1787, sixty-nine families could be accounted for in Madawaska by 1800.⁴³ By 1850 nearly three thousand five hundred inhabitants of both Acadian and French Canadian extraction lived there.⁴⁴ The close proximity to Quebec made the Madawaskan region an area where, more than any other, the Acadian and French Canadian population readily mixed. It did not seem to bother either group that at different intervals both Quebec and New Brunswick claimed jurisdiction over the area until 1851 when a final boundary settlement was decided in favor of the latter. Indeed, as people of both European and American extraction moved into New Brunswick through this first half of the nineteenth century, the colony acquired a pattern of multiple limited identities, which had the effect of preventing the emergence of an extended and unbroken bloc of Acadian settlement anywhere in New Brunswick.

In what is present-day Nova Scotia no fewer than six "pockets" of Acadian settlement could be identified by 1850 (see Fig.1-2). The county of Yarmouth had begun to show signs of an emerging French Catholic population as early as 1767, with the arrival of Acadians exiled to Massachusetts. Late in the eighteenth century, Pubnico, Wedgeport, and Sainte-Anne-du-Ruisseau emerged as the foundations of Acadian population in southwestern Nova Scotia. Simultaneously, along the Fundy coast, Saint

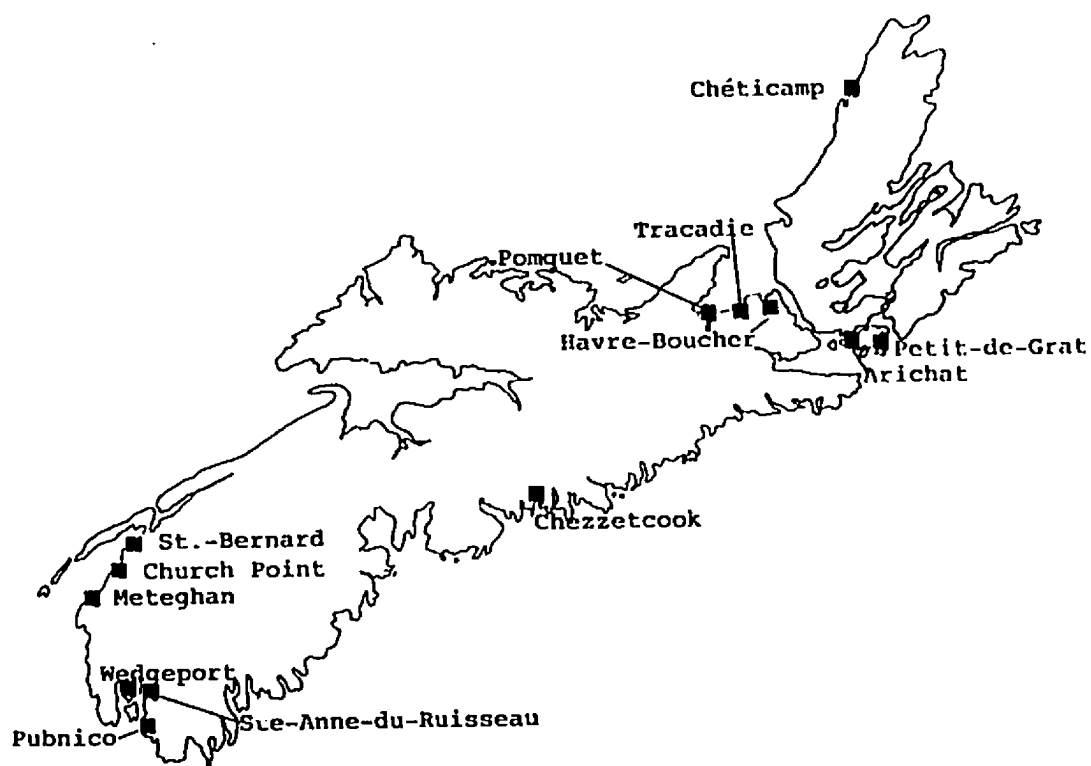
⁴² William F. Ganong, "A Monograph of the Origins of Settlements in the Province of New Brunswick," p. 63.

⁴³ For an excellent insight on these sixty-nine Acadian charter families and their interaction with each other and with later arrivals to the community, see Beatrice Craig, "Immigrants in a Frontier Community: Madawaska 1785-1850," Histoire Sociale - Social History, Vol. XIX, No. 38, 1986, pp. 277-297.

⁴⁴ Thomas Albert, Histoire du Madawaska - entre l'Acadie, le Québec, et l'Amérique, pp. 552-557.

Figure 1 - 2

Map of Nova Scotia
showing Acadian settlement in the 19th century



Courtesy CPRP
Université Sainte-Anne

Mary's Bay was being colonized by Acadians coming to this territory designated for them by warrant of survey dated July 31, 1768.⁴⁵ In 1771 and later in 1785, land grants made to the Acadians began to organize the territory along the bay running up from the Sissiboo River. By the turn of the century the villages of Saint Bernard, Church Point, Meteghan, and Salmon River were firmly established, and that part of Nova Scotia called "the French Shore" began to take shape.⁴⁶

A third group of Acadians could be found in the Chezzetcook area of Halifax County. Many of these were Acadians who had been detained in Halifax during the Seven Years' War and had decided not to venture far from the capital once they were freed at the termination of hostilities. This settlement, one of the oldest post-1763 Acadian communities, never grew to become a focus for Acadian development. Small numbers and the proximity of Halifax translated into a pattern of assimilation.

A fourth area of Acadian settlement existed around the Strait of Canso, on the Nova Scotia mainland side. This included the communities of Havre Boucher, Pomquet and Tracadie. These settlements began in the 1760s and 1770s.⁴⁷ Unlike other pockets

⁴⁵ A copy of this warrant of survey signed by Michael Francklin can be found in the *Archives du Centre Acadien, Université Sainte-Anne* [hereafter ACA], while the land grants mentioned above are also located there, but in their original form.

⁴⁶ Recently, a series of monographs of Acadian villages and districts of southwestern Nova Scotia have added to the secondary literature pertaining to the area. For Yarmouth County Acadians see Fr. Clarence d'Entremont's Histoire de Quinan, Nouvelle-Écosse (Yarmouth: Lescarbot, 1984) as well as Joan Bourque-Campbell's L'Histoire de la Paroisse de Sainte-Anne-du-Ruisseau (Yarmouth: Lescarbot, 1985). For the Saint Mary's Bay area of Digby County, see Lucille Comeau's Sont les gens de Saulnierville: monographie paroissiale (Yarmouth: Lescarbot 1980) or a more recent effort under the direction of J.-Alphonse Deveau entitled Clare, la Ville française: Tome II - Les derniers cent ans (Yarmouth: Lescarbot, 1985).

⁴⁷ A.A. Johnston, A History of the Catholic Church in Eastern Nova Scotia: Volume I - 1611-1827 (Antigonish: Saint Francis Xavier University Press, 1960), pp. 124-125.

of French settlement, many of the inhabitants of the Canso region may have been largely of French-Canadian extraction. Although Bishop Plessis of Quebec made a note of this in his first pastoral visit in 1812, he offered no comments in his diary that would explain this group's origins.⁴⁸

Cape Breton Island contained the remaining two clusters of Acadian settlement in Nova Scotia. One existed in Richmond County, principally around the villages of Petit-de-Grat, Arichat and l'Ardoise. Here an Acadian population existed as early as 1771.⁴⁹ On the other side of Cape Breton Island, Chéticamp formed another Acadian community. Settled first in the 1780s by migrants from Prince Edward Island and the Magdalen Islands, Chéticamp began as a place of refuge for those seeking an escape from the exploitation of Jersey Island entrepreneurs or the landlords of Prince Edward Island.

Although the Acadian population on Prince Edward Island never grew to proportions comparable to its two sister provinces, it nevertheless formed a concentration of Acadians too significant to be overlooked (see Fig. 1-3).⁵⁰ Indeed, Acadian leaders in 1884 recognized their *confrères* on the Island by holding the second Acadian national convention in their midst. By mid-nineteenth century the Acadian population had taken root primarily in three localities on the Island. In Prince County on the western

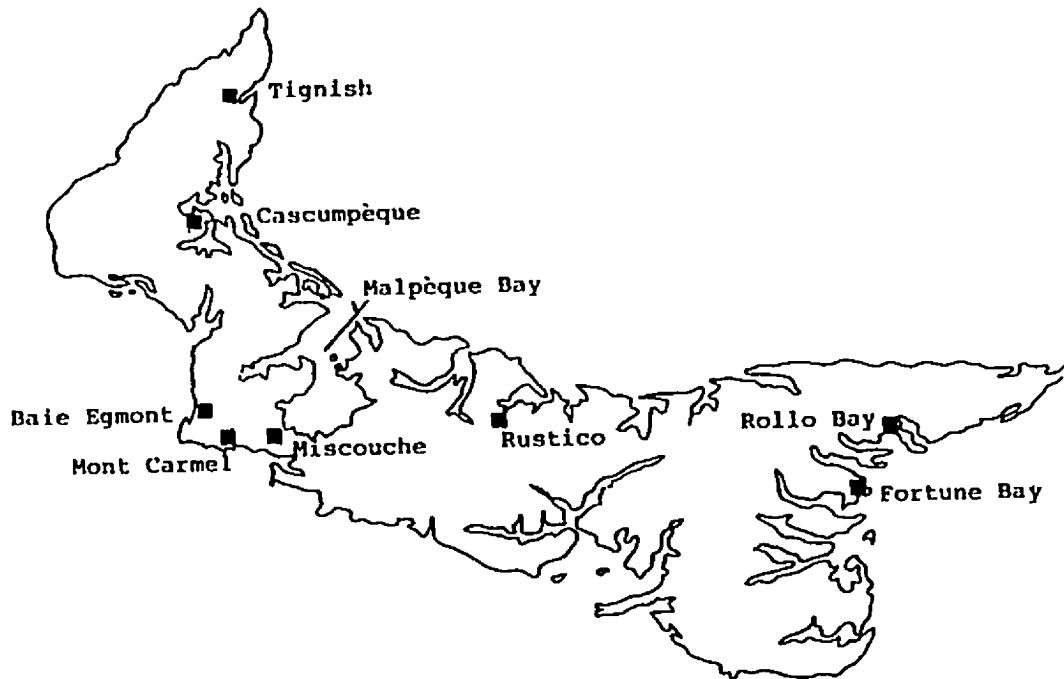
⁴⁸ At this time the Maritime Provinces came under the jurisdiction of the Diocese of Quebec thus accounting for the prelate's visit to the area. See Msgr. Joseph-Octave Plessis, "Le journal des visites pastorales en Acadie" in *CSHA*, Vol. 11, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 1980, p. 197.

⁴⁹ See Oscar Winzerling, *Acadian Odyssey* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1955), p. 52. At this point in his book the author reproduces the 1771 census of Acadians in Nova Scotia as found in the Brown Collection of the British Museum.

⁵⁰ It has been estimated that by mid-nineteenth century the Acadian population comprised about one-tenth of the entire Island population. See A.H. Clark, *Three Centuries and the Island* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), p. 91.

Figure 1 - 3

Map of Prince Edward Island
showing Acadian settlement in the 19th century



Courtesy CPRP
Université Sainte-Anne

extremity, Acadians settled on the Gulf shore in and around Malpèque Bay. The Rustico area of Queens County formed a second body of Acadian settlement which occupied lots number 23 and 24 as surveyed by Samuel Holland in 1765, while the third cluster of Acadians comprised the settlement of Fortune Bay nestled in Kings County on the eastern shore.⁵¹

The problems on Prince Edward Island caused by the system of landlord control of real estate had an impact on the Acadian population. Exploitation by proprietors or their agents and the desire to acquire free title to their lands forced Acadians to be quite mobile during the last decades of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth. Dissatisfaction prompted Acadians at Fortune Bay to move to Rollo Bay, while those at Malpèque opted to relocate at Miscouche, Mont-Carmel, Egmont Bay, Cascumpec and as far north as Tignish.⁵² Some left Prince Edward Island altogether to seek new areas of settlement. "Exhausted from the tribulations of which they were the object," they fled to the supposedly remote areas in the Gulf of Saint Lawrence where "outside" interference was unknown.⁵³

From the foregoing discussion it is clear that for Acadians returning from exile, the pre-1755 pattern of settlement had been destroyed. The old Acadian heartland stretching through the Annapolis Valley into the Isthmus of Chignectou was gone and would never again be reestablished along the Bay of Fundy nor elsewhere. With the

⁵¹ It has been estimated that by mid-nineteenth century the Acadian population comprised about one-tenth of the entire Island population. See A.H. Clark, Three Centuries and the Island (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), p. 83.

⁵² Georges Arsenault, L'Agriculture chez les Acadiens de l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard, 1720-1980 (Summerside: La Société Saint-Thomas d'Aquin, 1981), pp. 17-18.

⁵³ Fr. Anselme Chiasson, Chéticamp: History and Acadian Traditions (Saint John's: Breakwater Books Limited, 1986), p. 27.

former Acadian heartland and its accompanying "golden age" gone, nineteenth century settlement was the model of dispersal and isolation.⁵⁴ Acadian settlements were definitely rural and contrasted with the Anglophone urban clusters in the Maritimes during the nineteenth century.⁵⁵ As late as the turn of the twentieth century, only five of New Brunswick's one hundred fifty-nine census districts and sub-districts had an Acadian population of over three thousand.⁵⁶ That meant seventy-five percent of New Brunswick's Acadians lived in small clusters. In Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island the rural character of Acadian settlement was even more pronounced. In 1901 no Nova Scotia sub-district had an Acadian population of over one thousand five hundred; Prince Edward Island had two, and one sub-district with over two thousand.⁵⁷ As with the Blacks and Indians, this geographic fragmentation would foster a marginal status in the era leading up to and going beyond Confederation.

⁵⁴ Naomi Griffiths, "The Golden Age: Acadian Life, 1713-1748," Histoire Sociale - Social History, Vol. XVII, No. 33, 1984, pp. 21-34. New England at this time contrasted with the Maritime situation. Besides large cities such as Boston which had an estimated population of sixteen thousand, New England also had a series of secondary cities as early as the end of the eighteenth century. Populations in those urban centers ranged between four thousand and eight thousand. See John M. Blum (et. al.), The National Experience - A history of the United States to 1877, Part I (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Inc., 1973), p. 60.

⁵⁵ In contrast to Acadian rural population during the third quarter of the nineteenth century, Saint John and Halifax registered populations slightly under thirty thousand each. Centers such as Sussex and Amherst, although smaller, still had populations of five thousand six hundred and three thousand six hundred respectively. See Canada: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census of Canada 1870-71, Volume I (Ottawa: I.B. Taylor, 1873), pp. 316, 326, 328.

⁵⁶ These were: Shédiac (five thousand three hundred six-two), Dorchester (four thousand seventeen), Beresford (three thousand nine hundred ninety-eight), Caraquet (three thousand nine hundred twenty-seven), and Wellington (three thousand one hundred thirty-one). See Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Fourth Census of Canada, 1901, Volume I, pp. 290-296.

⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 296-310, 350-351.

The liabilities derived from fragmentation of settlement were, to some extent, offset by Acadian achievements in terms of population expansion. A notable feature of nineteenth century Acadian settlement was the high rate of demographic growth. In 1803 the Bishop of Quebec undertook the first pastoral visit to the returned Acadians of the Maritime Provinces and the census data he collected provided an insight into the size of the Acadian community. In Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, Msgr. Pierre Denaut identified approximately three thousand nine hundred thirty-seven Acadians. From the Memramcook area of New Brunswick up the coast to the Baie des Chaleurs, some three thousand two hundred twenty-eight Acadians were counted. When added to the three hundred fifty-three enumerated on Prince Edward Island, the total Acadian population of the Maritimes amounted to nearly eight thousand, or about eight percent of the overall regional population.⁵⁸ Thus, in the forty year period after the Treaty of Paris the Acadian population had risen to nearly exceed the total exiled from peninsular Nova Scotia in 1755.⁵⁹

Throughout the nineteenth century the Acadian population continued to grow at a high rate. The 1871 census revealed that sixteen percent of the total population of New Brunswick (forty-four thousand nine hundred seven) were Acadians. The Nova Scotia figures were eleven percent of the population, or thirty-two thousand eight hundred thirty-three Acadians.⁶⁰ Prince Edward Island is more difficult to analyze as no statistics

⁵⁸ Msgr. Pierre Denaut's census report is reprinted in Rameau de Saint Père Une Colonie Féodale en Amérique, l'Acadie [1604-1881] (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1889), pp. 255-256.

⁵⁹ Estimates of exiled Acadians from peninsular Nova Scotia range between six thousand and seven thousand. See Muriel Roy, "Peuplement et croissance démographique" in Jean Daigle (ed.) Les Acadiens des Maritimes, p.163.

⁶⁰ Maud Hody, "Étude démographique sur les Acadiens des Maritimes" in CSHA, Vol. III, No. 4, 1969, pp. 133-134.

were given in the 1871 census. In the 1881 census however, Prince Edward Island was shown to hold ten thousand seven hundred fifty-one inhabitants of French descent for nearly eleven percent of the total Island population.⁶¹ The Canadian Census Report for 1911 showed that the population of French origin in New Brunswick had grown to nearly thirty-nine percent of the total provincial population, and while Nova Scotia remained the same at nearly twelve percent, Prince Edward Island had risen to slightly over sixteen percent.⁶² Thus, by the time of Father LeBlanc's enthronement in 1912 the Acadian population had swelled to a total of one hundred sixty-three thousand four hundred seventy-four or over seventeen percent of the total Maritime population.

By the late nineteenth century, Acadian expansion coincided with decline or stagnation in the numbers of other ethnic elements in the region's population. For example, in the 1871-1911 period no other major ethnic group increased in numbers as rapidly as did the Acadian population; only the English sector in Nova Scotia showed growth comparable to the Acadian community of that province.⁶³ Indeed, while the Scottish and Irish populations were experiencing either minimal growth or severe downturns in this period, certain parts of the Maritimes were recording Acadian growth of close to one hundred and twenty percent (see Figs. 1-4, 1-5 and 1-6). Although Acadian migration from the area during the latter half of the nineteenth century did occur, it appears that Maritime Acadians were not succumbing as strongly to those factors that

⁶¹ Maud Hody, "Étude démographique sur les Acadiens des Maritimes" in CSHA, Vol. III, No. 4, 1969, p. 134.

⁶² Canada: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Fifth Census of Canada 1911, Volume II (Ottawa: C.H. Parmelee, 1913), pp. 178-204 and 254-256.

⁶³ The industrial expansion of this period might partly explain this parallel growth for between 1871 and 1911 the English population in Cape Breton County doubled while that in Pictou County nearly quadrupled.

were modifying both the economic and the demographic picture of the region in this time period. For example, the second half of the nineteenth century saw an active campaign under the aegis of the Roman Catholic Church to prevent Acadians in search of employment from moving to industrialized centers. The aim was to keep Acadians at home and to encourage them to follow agricultural pursuits in the underdeveloped lands adjacent to Acadian settlements.⁶⁴ To some extent this did work and the result was a relatively lower degree of Acadian migrations to Canadian and American heartlands as compared to the rate of departure by other groups such as the Scots and Irish, who did emigrate in large numbers. Further to this "stay home" fact as a means of explaining the

Figure 1 - 4

**Increase and decrease of ethnic population in
New Brunswick Between 1871-1911⁶⁵**

	Population 1871	Population 1911	% Increase or decrease
English	83, 598	106,017	+26.8%
Scottish	40,858	47, 949	+17.3%
Irish	100,643	74,570	-25.9%
Acadian	44,907	98,611	+119.%

⁶⁴ For an excellent insight into these colonizing efforts see the public speeches of Acadian nationalists as published in Ferdinand Robidoux (ed.) Les Conventions Nationales des Acadiens, Vol. I (Shédiac: Imprimerie Le Moniteur Acadien, 1907).

⁶⁵ Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics: Census of Canada 1870-71, Volume I, (Ottawa: IB. Taylor, 1873) pp. 322-23, and Fifth Census of Canada, 1911, Volume II, p. 178.

Figure 1 - 5

**Increase and decrease of ethnic population in
Nova Scotia between 1871 and 1911⁶⁶**

	Population 1871	Population 1911	% Increase or decrease
English	113,520	177,701	+56.5%
Scottish	130,741	145,535	+11.3%
Irish	62,851	54,244	-13.6%
Acadian	32,833	51,746	+57.6%

Figure 1 - 6

**Increase and decrease of ethnic population in
Prince Edward Island between 1871 and 1911⁶⁷**

	Population 1881*	Population 1911	% Increase or decrease
English	21,404	22,176	+ 3.6%
Scottish	48,933	36,772	-24.8%
Irish	25,415	19,900	-21.6%
Acadian	10,751	13,117	+22 %

⁶⁶ Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics: Census of Canada 1870-71, Volume I, (Ottawa: IB. Taylor, 1873) pp. 322-23, and Fifth Census of Canada, 1911, Volume II, pp. 332-333, and Ibid., p. 186.

⁶⁷ Canada Dominion Bureau of Statistics: Census of Canada, 1880-1881, Volume IV (Ottawa: Maclean, Roger & Co., 1885), pp. 10-11, and Ibid., Fifth Census of Canada, 1911, Volume II, p. 254

* Since Prince Edward Island only entered Confederation in 1873, no population data is available from the Dominion Bureau of Statistics before the second federal census in 1881.

shift in the ethnic composition of the Maritimes is what Roy has identified as *la surfécondité*, or an above normal rate of fecundity.⁶⁸ To illustrate this point Roy shows how New Brunswick Acadians swelled their numbers five times in the century between 1871 and 1971.⁶⁹ It should be noted that during the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth, Acadian growth in absolute numbers was also evident in some Maritime counties where English-speaking people were the majority.⁷⁰ Northumberland and Saint John Counties in New Brunswick fitted this pattern, as well as did Halifax, Colchester and Cumberland Counties in Nova Scotia. As for Prince Edward Island, all three counties showed increases in their Acadian population. For New Brunswick, the statistics show that this phenomenon persisted until the middle of the present century.⁷¹

It was impossible, in spite of the enormous population growth, to knit together the fragmented Acadian settlements, even those within the same province. How, for example, could Acadians in Yarmouth County become integrated with those on Cape Breton Island? But in certain areas of the region village clusters did emerge during the second half of the century. In fact the natural increase of the Acadian population in the Maritimes did have an effect on the "filling up" of the land. Despite the rural pattern of

⁶⁸ Muriel K. Roy, "Peuplement et croissance démographique" in Jean Daigle (ed.) Les Acadiens des Maritimes, p. 182.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 177.

⁷⁰ See Samuel P. Arsenault, et al., Atlas de L'Acadie - Petit Atlas des Francophones des Maritimes (Moncton: Éditions d'Acadie, 1976), p. 3.

⁷¹ Hugh Thorburn, The Politics of New Brunswick (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), p. 43.

settlement, new parishes were being created in many localities during this period as a means of coping with the demands of growth. It was in these Acadian "zones" such as the Caraquet and Memramcook Valley areas of New Brunswick and the "French shore" of Nova Scotia, that nationalism would erupt most vigorously during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

To provide an overview of Acadian economic development from the time of resettlement to Confederation is challenging. The more recent literature on Maritime economic development in general during this period paints a picture best described as one of marginalization. For a few individuals, the region offered access to relative wealth and luxury, but for the majority of the people this region of "limited opportunity" was scarcely better than the "unpromising or difficult circumstances" they had left behind whence they came.⁷² These themes of underdevelopment and stratification have recently been developed as they pertain to two rural settlements in Nova Scotia's eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Debra McNabb's article on Horton Planters characterizes these people as living in a society built on "restricted opportunity, stratification and uncertainty" while Rusty Bittermann sees Middle River's Scottish population as experiencing an uneven distribution of wealth with the late arrivals, or "Backlanders," facing the "crises of life on the margin."⁷³ Indeed, these people were forced to seek

⁷² Graeme Wynn, "The Geography of the Maritime Colonies in 1800: Patterns and Questions" in Margaret Conrad (ed.) They Planted Well- New England Planters in Maritime Canada, p. 145.

⁷³ See Debra McNabb, "The Role of the Land in the Development of Horton Township, 1760-1775," Ibid., p. 160 and Rusty Bittermann, "The Hierarchy of the Soil: Land and Labour in a 19th Century Cape Breton Community," Acadiensis, Vol. XVIII, No. 1, 1988, p. 48.

wage work outside the farm as a means of emerging from subsistence.

Although few detailed studies of the calibre described above exist on select Acadian communities, it can be argued that Acadians in the area fared no better economically than mainstream regional society.⁷⁴ Acadians, already constrained by their fragmentation and their inferior social status, were in no better position than the Anglophone society to cope with the region's liabilities. The analysis that follows will focus on Acadian economic performance and will show, that aside from a select few and despite some progress over the course of the century, Acadians were faced with real problems of helplessness and poverty.

Because of the location of Acadian settlement along the shorelines of the three Maritime Provinces, fishing and sea-related activities were an important part of Acadian economic activity during the last years of the eighteenth and throughout the nineteenth century. However, not all regions experienced those activities in the same manner. The southwestern coast of Nova Scotia, Cape Breton and the north and eastern shores of New Brunswick were primarily sea-oriented in their economy. Acadian areas on Prince Edward Island did look to the ocean especially after the 1854 Reciprocity Treaty with the United States, but on the Island fishing remained subordinate to agriculture.⁷⁵ Cecile

⁷⁴ One exception to this lack of detailed studies is Beatrice Craig's work on Madawaska in the 1785-1850 period. Her conclusions parallel in many ways those advanced by McNabb and Bittermann in their studies of Nova Scotia's Planters and Scots. Craig also discovered a pattern of stratification with the charter families having better economic and social standing than the latter immigrants to the Madawaska region. However, it should be kept in mind that even among the "well off" charter group, nearly twenty-five percent of them were listed as destitute in 1833 and in need of immediate aid. See B. Craig "Immigrants in a Frontier Community: Madawaska 1785-1850," p. 287.

⁷⁵ In the Journals of the Prince Edward Island Legislative Assembly for 1872, "Appendix 0," the Lieutenant Governor of the colony had regretfully stated that "the habits and feelings of the inhabitants are so decidedly agricultural that the fisheries have not received from our own people the attention which they deserve."

Gallant and Georges Arsenault note:

quant aux habitants de Baie-Egmont, Mont-Carmel et Miscouche, l'agriculture fut d'abord leur occupation principale. De toute évidence, la pêche ne fut pas une activité importante pour ce segment de la population avant la deuxième moitié du XIX^e siècle.⁷⁶

Northern New Brunswick especially the Madawaskan region, because of its geographic setting was the Acadian "pocket" least affected by the sea in its economy. Here the people earned a living from farming and trapping, with the lumber camps offering wage labour during the winter months.

External domination of both the means of production and distribution in the fishing industry seems to have been commonplace in Acadian areas resulting in economic backwardness among the mass of fishermen.⁷⁷ One recent study shows that control of the fishing sector became the monopoly of Jersey Island (and to a lesser degree, American) entrepreneurs located at various points in the Baie des Chaleurs and the Gulf of Saint Lawrence. Gary Hughes argues that the Acadian fishermen of Miscou and Lamèque, having no money to buy fishing gear, rented the means of production from the Jersey Island Companies (be they Robin, LeBoutillier or Fruing) and in return had to sell their catch to the company in question.⁷⁸ Remuneration was not in the form of cash, but rather in vouchers handed out for the value of the fish caught; these could be

⁷⁶ Cécile Gallant and Georges Arsenault, Histoire de la pêche chez les Acadiens de L'île-du-Prince-Édouard (Summerside: La Société Saint-Thomas d'Aquin, 1980), p.20.

⁷⁷ Raymond Mailhot, "Quelques éléments d'histoire économique de la prise de conscience acadienne, 1850-1891" in CSHA, Vol. II, No. 2, 1976, p. 66.

⁷⁸ Gary Hughes, "Miscou and Lamèque: Two Islands and their State of Bondage, 1849-1861" in New Brunswick Museum Journal, 1978, pp. 17-23.

redeemed at the company-owned store.⁷⁹ The idea was to make the fisherman wholly dependent upon the company and keep cash out of his hands; ready money among the fishermen could nurture a competitive base adverse to monopoly control. In a similar manner, but in a less overbearing way, American interests were also in evidence in the Gulf of Saint Lawrence, especially on Prince Edward Island, where they set up businesses after the signing of the Reciprocity Treaty in 1854. American investment after that date accounted for the sharp increase in fishing companies on the Island. Where there had only been five in 1850, the numbers rose to thirty-seven in 1855 and reached a high of eighty-nine by 1861.⁸⁰

During the second half of the nineteenth century a select few within the Acadian fishing community began to participate at the managerial and ownership levels. In a speech delivered to the *Société Saint-Jean Baptiste* in 1880, Pascal Poirier talked of an "aristocracy of Acadian fishermen" in the areas of Arichat and Saint Mary's Bay and he noted how these people were living in financial ease if not in wealth.⁸¹ No doubt this was self-serving and exaggerated rhetoric used to impress his French-Canadian audience, but there is evidence which suggests that Acadians in the fishing sectors, albeit few in numbers, were participating more actively in the industry's total performance in

⁷⁹ Rosemary Ommer has shown that in the truck system of the Charles Robin Company in Gaspé payment on one's account could be made not only with the fish caught but also with such items as sugar, wood, potatoes, etc. which were sold back to the store. These were desperate tactics used to prevent a cut-off of credit by the company. See Ommer's "The Truck System in Gaspé, 1822-77," *Acadiensis*, Vol. XIX, No. 1, 1989, pp. 109-111.

⁸⁰ Marvin Moore, "The Island and the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854" in Harry Baglole (ed.) *Exploring Island History* (Belfast, Prince Edward Island: Ragweed Press, 1977), p. 159.

⁸¹ Pascal Poirier quoted by H.-J.-J.-B. Chouinard, in *Fête nationale des Canadiens-français célébrée à Québec en 1880* (Québec: Imprimerie A. Côté et Cie, 1881), p. 451.

the region. Even in the areas of heavy foreign control, such as in the Gulf of Saint Lawrence, Acadians involved in the fisheries appear to have been challenging the monopolistic tendencies of traditional merchant houses. As early as 1852 M.H. Perley, emigration officer for New Brunswick, reported that "some of the residents of Shippagan... are in more independent circumstances" and the fact that they cured their own fish, sold it only at the end of the season, and transacted their business "with the Jersey fisherman, or others as they see fit," he thought denoted some economic autonomy.⁸² Further to the south along the Northumberland Strait, a similar situation was in evidence towards the end of the century in the lobster fishery. Acadian entrepreneurs such as Dominique Léger, Anselme Petitpas, Siméon Hébert, François Doiron were all lobster factory owners in Westmorland and Kent Counties.⁸³

In southwestern Nova Scotia, where foreign domination (Jersey or other) in the fisheries seemingly did not prevail, a few Acadian families of this period demonstrated some initiative. G.D. d'Entremont of Pubnico, Yarmouth County was a case in point. For the fifteen year period between 1882 and 1897 he owned no fewer than six schooners ranging anywhere between thirty-eight and eighty tonnes and employed up to one hundred three men. Although not as active, members of the d'Eon and Amirault families of the same area also emerged as small-scaled entrepreneurs. In 1884 alone twenty vessels fished out of Pubnico and all except four were commanded by Acadian captains. Since the vessels were out of Pubnico and mastered by Acadians it is possible to speculate that the majority of the three hundred forty-one men employed on these

⁸² M.H. Perley, Reports of the Sea and River Fisheries of New Brunswick (Fredericton: J. Simpson, 1852), p. 32. The emphasis is mine.

⁸³ Régis Brun, "L'Industrie du homard dans le Sud-Est acadien du Nouveau-Brunswick, 1850-1900," Égalité, No. 16, Autumn 1985, p. 25.

crafts were Acadians.⁸⁴

In similar fashion the Acadians of Prince Edward Island played an active role in the fishing industry during the second half of the nineteenth century. Acadian entrepreneurs such as Francis Gallant, Jean Arsenault, and Jean Gallant were making a mark for themselves in the lobster canning industry as early as 1870.⁸⁵ Towards the end of the century the Egmont Bay - Mont Carmel area had at least ninety boats* and one hundred eighty-six men employed in the fisheries, while other Acadian areas such as Rustico had fifty boats and one hundred seventy men in the same employ.⁸⁶ Sometimes the total value of the fish caught in Acadian areas such as Tignish and Egmont Bay greatly surpassed the value reported in non-Acadian sectors of the county.⁸⁷

Despite these small inroads by Acadian fishing captains and merchants, none of them could hope to challenge the ascendancy of the foreign owners. It was the Jersey businessmen who made most of the profits in the industry. Their accumulated capital was not returned to the local economy, neither in the form of wages for the residents, nor in the form of internal improvements such as in building of roads and bridges. Profits were instead redirected to the Jersey Islands and other European destinations. Such practices have led to the conclusion that the economic structures of the nineteenth century

⁸⁴ Statistics compiled from the Le Moniteur Acadien, March 26, 1885, p. 3.

⁸⁵ Cécile Gallant and Georges Arsenault, Histoire de la pêche chez les Acadiens de l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard, pp. 24-25.

* "Boat" was the terminology used to denote something smaller than a vessel.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 27.

⁸⁷ Sessional Papers, No. 11A., 1899, pp. 138-39.

Jersey companies (the Charles Robin Company in particular) "contributed significantly to the economic retardation and underdevelopment of the region."⁸⁸

The last half of the nineteenth century saw Acadians reaping at least some of the profits to be made during the "golden age of sail" in the region. The Sessional Papers show that up to 1875 some eighty one vessels had been built in the Tracadie-Shippagan-Caraquet area.⁸⁹ Although many of the ships were built for Jersey interests and non-Acadian merchants of the Maritimes, a good number were built for the people of Acadian extraction, as is shown by the presence among owners of names such as Arsenault, Landry, Robichaud and Roy.⁹⁰ Southwestern Nova Scotia did as well as this New Brunswick group. Out of a total of two hundred and seventy five vessels built in Yarmouth and Digby Counties up to 1875, eighty, or twenty-nine percent, were constructed in Acadian villages.⁹¹ However, the great majority of the merchants for whom these vessels were built were non-Acadian. Certain Acadian areas along Saint Mary's Bay in Digby County were well regarded for their ship-building skills and many Anglophone merchants of the town of Yarmouth and elsewhere took advantage of this by offering contracts to Acadian builders.⁹² Alexander and Panting have noted how the Yarmouth merchant elite "relied heavily on the Digby County building centers of Beaver

⁸⁸ Rosemary Ommer, "The Truck System in Gaspé, 1822-77," p. 114. See also the book she edited entitled Merchant Credit and Labour Strategies in Historical Perspective (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1990).

⁸⁹ Sessional Papers, No. 1, 1878, pp. 4-380.

⁹⁰ Some of these non-Acadian merchants include Robert Young of Caraquet, J. Ferguson of Bathurst, and Hiram Hobbs of Charlottetown.

⁹¹ Sessional Paper, No. 1, 1878, pp. 4-380.

⁹² In 1883 at Meteghan River, Digby Co., a brigantine of eight hundred fifty tonnes was being constructed for entrepreneurs in New York and work on a second vessel of nine hundred tonnes was soon to be undertaken for the same interests. See Le Moniteur Acadien, December 6, 1883, p. 2.

River, Belliveau's Cove, Church Point, Clare and Salmon River, which were generally centers for building large vessels."⁹³ On Prince Edward Island Acadians shared in that province's shipbuilding industry during the nineteenth century. Francophone areas such as Rustico launched a total of forty-one vessels in the 1841-1850 period. Other areas with Acadian populations were also active. For example, Fortune Bay launched sixteen vessels and Rollo Bay eleven.⁹⁴ The Acadian village of Egmont Bay built six ships in the four year period between 1871 and 1875.⁹⁵

In agricultural pursuits the Acadians of the later nineteenth century followed a line of development paralleling what was happening in the fisheries sector. On Prince Edward Island, where more Acadians were employed at farming than in New Brunswick or Nova Scotia at this period, some progress among Acadian farmers can be discerned. As early as the 1860s the Acadians of Rustico had organized and incorporated the "Farmers' Bank of Rustico," while those of Egmont Bay had managed to set up a kind of "grain bank" to assure that they would always have seed grain for planting in the spring. One contemporary commented on how "the Acadian French inhabitants of Egmont Bay have set our small farmers an example of self-help and co-operative effort" and praised how the project " (did) infinite credit to the intelligence and independence of

⁹³ David Alexander and Gerry Panting, "The Mercantile Fleet and its Owners: Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, 1840-1889" in P.A. Buckner and David Frank (eds.) The Acadiensis Reader: Volume I, p. 328.

⁹⁴ Lorne C. Callbeck, "Economic and Social Developments Since Confederation" in Francis W.P. Bolger (ed.) Canada's Smallest Province (Charlottetown: The Prince Edward Island Centennial Commission, 1973), p. 335.

⁹⁵ Sessional Papers, No. 1, 1878, pp. 4-380.

the Acadians of Egmont Bay."⁹⁶ An Acadian visitor from New Brunswick described Island farm activity towards the end of the century in these terms:

Plusieurs paroisses de l'Île sont remarquablement prospères, et ce fait est dû à l'activité des habitants de la ferme. Nous espérons que cette noble activité de nos voisins de l'Île leur survivra dans leurs enfants: cette activité agricole dénote un grand fonds de patriotisme... Honneur à nos courageux voisins! Succès aux plus dignes des patriotes de l'Île! Longue vie à la banque acadienne de Rustico.⁹⁷

Although Acadians did strive for greater participation in the market place they never dominated it. On a provincial level studies have put them in second place behind Scottish and Irish settlers in terms of prominence within the farm industry.⁹⁸ Clark identified poor soil and smaller farm size as possible reasons why Acadians were not as prosperous as other ethnic groups on the Island.⁹⁹ The situation forced some Acadians to seek employment in the fisheries in order to pay the rent on their farms. That practice in turn entailed further neglect of already low-output land.

If Acadian economic performance in the fishing and agricultural sectors was wanting, their performance in the lumber industry does not appear to have been any better. Acadians did participate in the woods related industry but they rarely played a role that went beyond the "lumber" or "small gang" boss levels. Graeme Wynn's Timber Colony shows how forest exploitation progressed from an "amalgam of small enterprises" at the beginning of the nineteenth century to a structure where a few "well-

⁹⁶ The Examiner, April 13, 1863, p. 2.

⁹⁷ L'Évangéline, August 28, 1890, p. 2.

⁹⁸ Georges Arsenault, L'Agriculture chez les Acadiens de l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard, 1720-1980 (Summerside: La Société Saint-Thomas d'Aquin, 1981), pp. 38-40.

⁹⁹ Andrew Hill Clark, Three Centuries and the Island, pp. 91 and 114.

capitalized, well-connected, and fortunate" entrepreneurs prevailed.¹⁰⁰ In the vanguard of this emerging regime were the Cunard and the Gilmour, Rankin firms. Although these companies provided seasonal employment for Acadians, both Mailhot and Sirois note how this people's participation in the evolution of the lumber industry remained limited, never growing to the point of offering any competition to the "lumber lords."¹⁰¹ In his study of the forest industry of the Madawaskan region, Sirois offers conclusions which likely apply to most Acadian regions of the province:

Pris dans son ensemble, la coupe du bois est certainement un facteur important dans le développement économique du Madawaska au début du XIXe siècle. Cette région dépendait surtout du marché de Saint-Jean pour absorber la majorité des exportations de cette richesse naturelle. Mais la prospérité économique qu'elle apporte sera contrôlée par des anglophones. Cette conjoncture accélère donc les ambitions d'un petit groupe de favorisés au milieu d'une majorité acadienne dont la servitude sera l'unique récompense.¹⁰²

The impression emerging from all this research is that for Acadians the trends prevalent in the rural sector of the economy during the nineteenth century mainly involved underdevelopment and marginalization. Progress was discernable but few Acadians managed to participate prominently in the market place. Most, in order to survive, were forced to seek non-specialized wage labour. Acadian lumberman in Madawaska who trapped and Acadian farmers on Prince Edward Island who fished are but two examples of this pattern of occupational pluralism. Across the regional rural

¹⁰⁰ Graeme Wynn, Timber Colony - A historical geography of early nineteenth century New Brunswick (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), p. 136.

¹⁰¹ Raymond Mailhot, "Quelques éléments d'histoire économique de la prise de conscience acadienne, 1850-1891," pp. 49-74. See also Georges Sirois, "Les Acadiens et la Naissance du Commerce du Bois dans le Nord-Ouest du Nouveau-Brunswick, 1820-1840," CSHA, Vol. 7, No. 4, 1976, pp. 183-193.

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 193.

economy, whether in fishing, in lumbering or in agriculture, control and profit resided for the most part in the hands of outsiders or local non-Acadian groups.

A further obstacle facing the Acadians was the fact that they were a disadvantaged group living in a region which collectively suffered chronic structural weaknesses. One scholar has noted that in Nova Scotia during the first half of the nineteenth century, "even for those with capital, serious disincentives existed through inadequate financial institutions or restricted domestic markets."¹⁰³ Later, towards the end of the century, the boom enjoyed by the rest of Canada created but "a mild flutter" in the region.¹⁰⁴ For Acadians this problem of economic failure was compounded by ethno-cultural factors and by geographic fragmentation.¹⁰⁵ The French language, the Roman Catholic faith and isolation from the centers of urban/industrial economic activity were all factors impeding Acadian economic performance. The impressions of a Eudist priest visiting the Acadians of Clare at the end of the nineteenth century illustrate the problems associated with life on the fringes. The traveller noted that all along the main road there were no

¹⁰³ Julian Gwyn, "A Little Province Like This: The Economy of Nova Scotia under Stress, 1812-1853," in Donald H. Akenson (ed.) Canadian Papers in Rural History, Volume VI (Gananoque: Langdale Press, 1988), p. 194.

¹⁰⁴ David Alexander, "Economic Growth in the Atlantic Region, 1880 to 1940," Acadiensis, Vol. VIII, No. 1, 1978, p. 48.

¹⁰⁵ It would be an interesting exercise to research the extent to which cultural values accounted for the lack of entrepreneurship within the nineteenth century Acadian community. Recent studies in the United States have demonstrated that rural New England society at that time tended to see the world "through the prism of family values." This cultural vision, so the theory goes, fostered limits on various facets of rural life including "personal autonomy, entrepreneurial activity, religious membership and even political imagery." See James A. Henretta, "Families and Farms: *Mentalité* in Pre-Industrial America," William and Mary Quarterly, Vol. XXV, No. 1, 1978, p. 32.

shops to buy tools, clothing, meat, bread, nor food of any kind. He concluded that "on ne court pas aussi vite qu'ailleurs dans la voie des progrès matériels."¹⁰⁶

Although the occupational structure of nineteenth century Acadian society favored the primary sectors of fishing, farming and lumbering, the percentage of Acadians participating in that life style declined as the century progressed. A corollary of this was that the number of Acadians employed in manufacturing and service jobs grew. After studying Acadian occupations at the end of the nineteenth century, Camille Richard argues that "il semble également que le secondaire s'est accru, par exemple avec les ouvriers de métier tels que les menuisiers, les électriciens..."¹⁰⁷ This proliferation of Acadian tradesman was largely a response to the urbanization and industrialization taking place in the region during the final decades of the century.¹⁰⁸ The Acadians of this period were not completely immune to the migration away from rural places which became ever more pronounced after Confederation. The case of Moncton provides a good example of what was taking place. In the 1871-1881 period, the Acadian male population of Moncton rose by one hundred and thirty-two percent as urban opportunity expanded for the Francophones of neighboring Westmorland County.¹⁰⁹ Cyr has

¹⁰⁶ Father Ange LeDoré, letter in "Le Saint-Coeur de Marie," October 15, 1893, MG 1, Vol. I (f.3), ACA.

¹⁰⁷ Camille Richard, "Idéologie de la première convention nationale acadienne," unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of Sociology, Université Laval, p. 79.

¹⁰⁸ For an excellent insight into the region's attempts at industrialization at the end of the nineteenth century see T.W. Acheson, "The National Policy and the Industrialization of the Maritimes, 1880-1910," in P.A. Buckner and David Frank (eds.) The Acadiensis Reader: Volume II, pp. 176-201.

¹⁰⁹ Jean-Roch Cry, "Les Acadiens de Moncton: aspects d'histoire sociale, 1698-1881," unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of History, Université de Moncton, 1982, pp. 121 and 147.

demonstrated that these Acadians responded to industrialization in a manner similar to other groups in the region. He concludes:

Nous avons appris que malgré une histoire et une tradition complètement différentes et de beaucoup plus intenses que celles d'autres groupes, les Acadiens ont des comportements collectifs analogues à ceux des autres sociétés en face du phénomène de l'industrialisation urbaine. Leur temps de réaction est plus lent car ils ont été longtemps à l'écart de tout le processus menant au développement industriel. Il ne faut cependant pas minimiser leur potentiel d'adaptation aux changements...¹¹⁰

An examination of census reports shows that in the forty year period between 1871 and 1911, many of the towns and cities of the Maritimes saw their French populations swell by five or six times and in at least one case, that of Sydney, the growth was ten fold¹¹¹ (see Fig. 1-7). There, high growth rates exceeded natural increase, thus it would appear that Acadians were not totally committed to a rural way of life.

By 1900 Acadian society included urban entrepreneurs and professionals. A glance at any of the Francophone newspapers late in the nineteenth century shows a host of Acadian merchants from the three Maritime Provinces advertising their businesses be they shoe manufactures, tailor and fashion shops, general wares, even clock and jewelry stores.¹¹² Recent studies of specific Acadian areas in the Maritimes show that this group not only maintained itself but also became a steadily increasing component within the region's economy. The northeastern shore of New Brunswick, known today as the Acadian Peninsula, can serve as an example. Census reports, business directories and the Mercantile Agency Reference Books reveal that there was a proliferation of Acadian

¹¹⁰ Jean-Roch Cry, "Les Acadiens de Moncton: aspects d'histoire sociale, 1698-1881," p. 146.

¹¹¹ See the various Canadian censuses for 1871-1911 period.

¹¹² See for example L'Évangéline for the years 1870-72 and 1879-1884.

merchants in that area during the last half of the nineteenth century. Here in the 1866-1898 period, the Acadian presence in this realm of small and medium business jumped from zero to sixty-three percent.¹¹³

Figure 1-7¹¹⁴
Population concentration in New Brunswick, 1904

Town	French Population 1871	French Population 1911	% Increase
Saint John	188	530	181.9%
Bathurst	1807	3193	76.7%
Halifax	417	2105	404.7%
Sydney	108	1000	825.9%
Yarmouth	248	1587	539.9%
Charlottetown	215	604	180.9%
Summerside	208	706	209.4%

In the final analysis, however, any survey of Acadian economic performance during the nineteenth century must acknowledge that the themes of poverty and marginalization predominate. In response to this pattern of adversity Acadians began to look to areas outside the Maritimes for redress. The rural exodus that ensued became a

¹¹³ Nicholas Landry, "La petite et moyenne entreprise dans la Péninsule acadienne, 1864-1897" *SHND*, Vol. XIII, No. 2, June-September 1985, p. 27.

¹¹⁴ For Saint John, Bathurst, Halifax, Sydney, and Yarmouth see Canada: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Census of Canada, 1870-1871*, Volume I, pp. 316-333 and *Fifth Census of Canada, 1911*, Volume II, pp. 178-204, and 254-256. For the towns of Charlottetown and Summerside, see *Census of Canada, 1880-1881*, Volume I, p. 206 and *Fifth Census of Canada, 1911*, Volume II, pp. 254-256.

primary concern for many within the elite. This is clearly evident as early as 1881 when the Acadian leadership included "émigration et colonisation" as one of the principal workshops at the first national convention. The president of this workshop or "commission," Father Ouellet, lamented to the delegates:

Depuis quelques années nous avons, nous aussi, l'extrême douleur de voir un certain nombre de nos compatriotes désertier le sol que nos pères arrosèrent de leurs larmes, de leurs sueurs et même de leur sang... On laisse l'Acadie, et pourquoi? Est-ce parce que, étant remplie comme un oeuf, elle ne peut pas faire vivre plus d'habitants qu'elle n'en contient maintenant? Mais, nous n'avons guère plus que la moitié de nos bonnes terres de prises et d'habitées.¹¹⁵

One correspondent in L'Évangéline regretfully reported "the astonishingly large percentage of French names that figure upon the passenger lists of every steamer sailing out of Yarmouth and Digby during the spring and summer months."¹¹⁶ Every major Acadian newspaper in the Maritimes after 1880 carried articles which showed that out-migration from Maritime Canada was not a phenomenon reserved to the dominant majority, but that it had become part of the Acadian fabric as well. So damaging was emigration thought to be that by 1890 a *Société de Colonisation acadienne-française* presided over by the ardent nationalist Fr. Marcel-François Richard had been set up for the explicit purpose of halting Acadian migration and offering the colonizing of virgin lands as a suitable alternative.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ Fr. L. Joseph Ouellet quoted in Ferdinand Robidoux (ed.) Les Conventions Nationales des Acadiens, Volume I, p. 126.

¹¹⁶ L'Évangéline, April 10, 1889, p. 3.

¹¹⁷ See report of the third national convention in Ferdinand Robidoux (ed.) Les Conventions Nationales des Acadiens, Volume I, pp. 240-252.

The nineteenth century was a period when Acadians in the Maritimes were beginning to recover from the crisis that the Expulsion had caused and were emerging as an ever more numerous component of the Maritime population. This second effort at "taking root" however, contrasted sharply to the pre-1755 period for now Acadians could claim no better than minority status and that fact would shape the relationship they built with the Anglophone majority of the region. Just what happened as the Acadian "renaissance" took root and began to translate into demands on the mainstream community is still shrouded in certain degree of mystery.

Conventional wisdom suggests that fragmentation and isolation were long the prevailing trends. Pascal Poirier, the first Acadian senator and an ardent nationalist, summed up the nineteenth century views of returned Acadians when he wrote;

Satisfaits qu'on nous laissât vivre sans nous enlever le peu que nous possédions, nous ne demandions qu'à être ignorés, et qu'on nous laissât cueillir en paix les moissons que le bon Dieu nous donnait comme à nos voisins, et jouir de la lumière de son soleil qu'il ne nous refusait pas.¹¹⁸

Poirier's suggestion that the returned Acadians contented themselves with little and aspired for nothing better than to be left alone was still being echoed as recently as twenty years ago.¹¹⁹ Studies done in the 1970s suggested that barriers were being deliberately erected in the nineteenth century to prevent Acadian integration. The most

¹¹⁸ Pascal Poirier quoted in Ferdinand Robidoux (ed.), Les Conventions Nationales des Acadiens, Volume I, pp. 192-193.

¹¹⁹ Poirier reiterated these views quite strongly in Montreal in 1884 at a convention where he has been invited as guest speaker. See Ferdinand Robidoux (ed.), Les Conventions Nationales des Acadiens, Volume I, p. 192.

formidable of these was seen as being the attempt by Acadians themselves to "recreate the self-contained and independent life they had before 1755."¹²⁰

This interpretation, which puts emphasis on Acadian efforts to isolate themselves from the rest of society, has some legitimacy. The conditions these people encountered after their arrival gave rise to a policy of "quietism" in the initial years of the nineteenth century. The psychological effects of total uprootedness, the trauma of exile in alien and hostile territory, and the loss of family members, had fostered caution among these people. They had been shown what could happen should the might of hostile authority be brought to bear against them. Therefore, Acadians were not anxious to challenge those structures which had brought them such hardships, opting instead for a policy of limited involvement with both government and their non-Francophone neighbors.

The isolation of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was also fostered by a lack of institutional development within Acadian society. Acadians were long remote from most expressions of state and church organization in the region. For example, Acadians as Roman Catholics, were only enfranchised in Nova Scotia in 1789, those in New Brunswick in 1810, while those on Prince Edward Island had to wait until 1830 to be granted the same privilege. However, this new right did not clear the way for Acadian participation in the legislatures of these three colonies. A discriminatory law called the "Test Oath" proved to be the major obstacle inhibiting Acadians from seeking a seat in the Assembly. The act required all M.L.A.'s to swear an oath against transubstantiation, the core of Roman Catholic doctrine.¹²¹ It was only in the 1830s that

¹²⁰ Naomi Griffiths, The Acadians: Creation of a People, p. 75.

¹²¹ The doctrine of transubstantiation in Roman Catholic theology holds that the bread on the altar and the wine poured in the chalice at consecration truly become the body and blood of Christ.

these legal obstacles were removed giving Acadians access to public office. Yet, in at least two of the colonies, Acadian political infiltration was not immediate; Nova Scotia could count two Acadians in the legislature by 1837, and New Brunswick had to wait until 1846 to elect its first Acadian member. In Prince Edward Island, Acadian entry into the legislature was delayed until 1854.¹²²

Social institutions as well were long remote from Acadian grasp. Education provides a good example of this. Discrimination often took explicit form such as in 1766, when the government of Nova Scotia (which at that time had jurisdiction over what is today New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island) passed its "Act Concerning Schools and Schoolmasters" which stated that:

...If any popish recusant, papist or person professing the popish religion, shall be so presumptuous as to set up any school within the province... such offender shall, for every such offence, suffer three months imprisonment without bail or mainprize and shall pay a fine to the King of ten pounds...¹²³

This section of the Act was repealed in 1786 but it would be well into the nineteenth century before all discriminatory characteristics of the educational laws were removed. As late as 1818 Fr. Edmund Burke still had to contend with the ban on Catholic education when trying to establish Saint Mary's University.¹²⁴ Similarly, in

¹²² Philippe Doucet, "La Politique," in Jean Daigle (ed.), Les Acadiens des Maritimes, p. 248.

¹²³ Nova Scotia Statutes, Chapter VII, Section II, 1766.

¹²⁴ Gerald T. Rimmington, "The Founding of Universities in Nova Scotia," Dalhousie Review, Vol. 46, No. 3, 1966, p. 328.

New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, Acadians had to wait until the nineteenth century before they got access to funding for schools.¹²⁵

Acadian demands for educational reform were pioneered by their clergy.¹²⁶ By the beginning of the nineteenth century, priests such as the Abbé André Lagarde in New Brunswick, Sigogne in Nova Scotia and Beaulieu on Prince Edward Island, were adding educational work to their already abundant duties. More often than not, these clerics opened the doors to their glebe houses to a few *protégés*, and with the catechism serving as reader, grammar, and theology text, they proceeded to transmit to their select audience the basics of literacy.¹²⁷

Even in the religious sphere at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth Acadians could claim little in the way of formalized structures. Although the Maritimes formed part of the Diocese of Quebec, Acadians could not be assured of a supply of priests to serve their needs, especially not after 1763. The restrictions imposed on religious orders by the British authorities after the Conquest caused a rapid decline in the number of priests and Quebec Bishops were finding it difficult to meet the requirements in the heart of the diocese, let alone in its outlying

¹²⁵ See Omer LeGresley, L'Enseignement Du Français En Acadie (1604-1926) (Mamers, France: Gabriel Enault, 1926), pp. 104-116, and Georges Arsenault, L'Éducation chez les Acadiens de l'Île-du-Prince-Edward, 1720-1980 (Summerside: La Société Saint-Thomas d'Aquin, 1982), pp. 11-15.

¹²⁶ Besides the clerical intervention in education at this period, there were a few lay teachers in Acadian areas who, for room and board and a modest remuneration, did accept to teach children. Auguste Renaud in New Brunswick, Louis Bunel in Nova Scotia, and Joseph Arsenault of Prince Edward Island fall into this category of first generation lay teachers among the returned Acadians.

¹²⁷ For a good description of one such glebe-house school see Fr. Pierre-Marie Dagnaud, Les Français du Sud-Ouest de la Nouvelle-Écosse (Besançon: Librairie Centrale, 1905), pp. 177-193.

Maritime portion.¹²⁸ Accordingly, Acadians received the services of itinerant priests who on occasion made a "sweep" of the Maritime region, performing many of the rites of the faith and setting parish records in order. However, the interval between the visit of one priest and the arrival of a second could sometimes extend over a period of years. In the interim religious leadership was left to a village elder, who had been appointed by the departing priest to conduct religious exercises as far as the conventions of Rome could permit him to do so. In other words, no masses could be celebrated and some of the sacraments such as confession, could not be performed. Marriage and baptism would only be carried out on the condition they be solemnized by the next visiting priest.

Although the nineteenth century did show an improvement with priests taking up permanent residence in certain Acadian areas, the church could not yet be regarded as a truly Acadian social institution since the priests were mostly of French, French-Canadian, or Irish background. Some of these clerics arrived among the Acadians with an ideology alien to these returnees; some did not even speak their language.¹²⁹ The rise of a native clergy among Acadian ranks was slow in coming and in 1850 there were but two Acadian priests in the entire Maritime region.¹³⁰ It was only in the 1880s and 1890s, after the founding of institutions of higher learning for the Acadians in the Maritime Provinces, that the situation changed.

¹²⁸ Terrence Murphy, "The Emergence of Maritime Catholicism, 1767-1805" in P.A. Buckner and David Frank (eds.) The Acadiensis Reader: Volume I, (Fredericton: The Acadiensis Press, 1985), p. 71.

¹²⁹ Prominent among the non-Acadian priests in the Maritime region at this time were Fathers Sigogne and Leroux from France, Rioux and Gagnon from Quebec, and Jones and Macdonald of Irish extraction.

¹³⁰ Fr. Anselme Chiasson, "Le Clergé et le Réveil acadien (1864-1960)" in La Revue de l'Université de Moncton, Vol. 11, No. 1, 1978, p. 40.

The lack of formalized institutions within Acadian society helped to encourage a minimum of interaction between them and the other components of the Maritime community. Although the close proximity of Francophone to Anglophone settlements assured that some form of relationship would develop, interaction tended to assume deference and subordination by the Acadians. It was not their expectation that they could significantly change Anglophone hegemony.

In the second half of the nineteenth century however, Acadians become more and more insistent about improving their position in Maritime society. As the number of Acadians receiving an education grew, with improved facilities both at the school and college levels, and as Acadians began to establish themselves in law, medicine, journalism, theology, and politics, a new rhetoric emerged in the region. The quiescence prevalent through the first part of the century began to erode and be replaced by a growing assertiveness. Pursuit of a "new order" for Acadians generated conflict which occasionally turned violent.¹³¹

By the 1860s, Acadians in the Maritimes were beginning to take collective positions on critical issues and in the Confederation debate, their effort shaped decision making, at least in New Brunswick. Acadian opposition to union and their block voting in 1865 contributed to the defeat of the Tilley government. In the counties of Westmorland, Gloucester and Kent and in the northern counties of Victoria and Madawaska where the Acadian population predominated, the anti-confederate people "balayèrent la région grâce à la mobilisation générale des Acadiens et des Irlandais du

¹³¹ A clear example of this are the Caraquet riots over education which took place in 1875. For an account of this turmoil see George Stanley, "The Caraquet Riots of 1875," *Acadiensis*, Vol. II, No. 1, 1972, pp. 21-38.

Nord-Ouest."¹³² Some have attributed this to a lack of an Acadian leadership that could have educated the group on the Confederation debate and "sold" the project.¹³³ Others have indicated that Orange Order support led Acadians to vote for much more acceptable candidates such as John Costigan and Auguste Renaud.¹³⁴ W. S. MacNutt captured the significance of this Acadian stance when he commented:

At the opening of the second session of 1866, the members from Westmorland, Kent, and Gloucester were heralded as "the French brigade." They could do nothing to delay union, but the appellation, derisively given, was suggestive of a new awareness that something like a state within a state was coming into existence.¹³⁵

The press became the chief vehicle whereby the views of Acadians or at least the Acadian elite, became known. By the second half of the nineteenth century, both French and English newspapers of the region carried articles and editorials in which Acadians protested being subjected to "la merci des anglais."¹³⁶ As early as 1868 one writer from Shediac complained to Le Moniteur Acadien of Anglophone hegemony. He believed that appointment of an all English jury to try an Acadian was a serious defect of the judicial system, which must be remedied immediately.¹³⁷ The letter, signed "Fair Play" was

¹³² Georges Sirois, "Les Acadiens du nord-ouest du Nouveau-Brunswick à l'heure de la confédération (1861-1870)," CSHA, Vol. V, No. 1, 1973, p. 11.

¹³³ Philippe Doucet, "La politique," in Jean Daigle (ed.) Les Acadiens des Maritimes, p. 262.

¹³⁴ For Acadian reaction to the Confederation scheme in Northern New Brunswick see Georges Sirois, "Les Acadiens du nord-ouest du Nouveau-Brunswick à l'heure de la confédération (1861-1870)," CSHA, Vol. V, No. 1, 1973, pp. 9-20.

¹³⁵ W. S. MacNutt, New Brunswick, A History: 1784-1867 (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1963), p. 454.

¹³⁶ Le Moniteur Acadien, August 15, 1867, p. 2.

¹³⁷ Ibid., August 7, 1868, p. 3.

supported a week later by a certain "Almada" from Dorchester, New Brunswick, who asked how would an Anglophone react if the situation was reversed:

Que dirait un anglais si on lui demandait de laisser une telle cause à un jury entièrement français? Il s'y opposerait sans doute. Eh bien! pourquoi n'objecterions - nous pas nous aussi à ce que nos causes soient mises entre les mains d'un jury entièrement anglais.¹³⁸

In a similar gesture of dissatisfaction with the status quo, one Prince Edward Island Acadian expressed his frustration over how his ethnic group was used by politicians at election time, only to be later denied any access to public office:

Now sir, when the present Government [sic] was formed, I was under the impression that from the support it got from our Acadian Representative, [sic] that we would be recognized by appointing some of us to the Offices [sic] which became vacant, but we have been sadly disappointed. The fact is, when the Acadians are wanted at an Election [sic] they are brought on a par with their neighbours, but, as soon as they have voted manfully and help [sic] to a large extent to put a party in power, there is no more talk of them.¹³⁹

Of all the issues that commanded the Acadians' attention in this period, few were as persistent and as forcefully debated as the one concerning education. By the second half of the nineteenth century Acadians were beginning to argue that their marginalization largely derived from their illiteracy. One author lamented:

Scrutons toutes les classes de la société, et nous ne trouvons les Acadiens représentés que dans quelques-unes. Il n'y a pas un seul médecin acadien que nous connaissons, il n'y a pas un seul avocat; il n'y a que quelques marchands bien placés... nous ne trouvons que quelques-uns occupant des offices insignifiants tels que celui de juge de paix: et encore, combien en avons nous? Trente tout au plus. Toutes les affaires sont entre les mains des anglais [sic], parceque [sic], faute d'éducation, nous

¹³⁸ Le Moniteur Acadien, August 14, 1868, p. 2.

¹³⁹ The Examiner, March 6, 1871, p. 2.

n'avons eu personne pour représenter nos droits et occuper ces charges.¹⁴⁰

The growth of interest in education was demonstrated by publication of a series of articles on the subject in Le Moniteur Acadien from November 13 to December 25, 1868. The purpose of the series was to familiarize readers with the prevailing state of Acadian education, including the obstacles to its improvement. The author called for specific reforms which would promote more literacy in French.¹⁴¹ Central to the changes advocated was the demand for official recognition of French instruction by the New Brunswick Board of Examiners, creation of a "Training School" especially for Acadians and appointment of an inspector of schools from within Acadian ranks.¹⁴²

The extent to which education was becoming a priority for Acadians was demonstrated by the eruption of ethnic violence at Caraquet in the winter of 1875. Four years earlier the government of New Brunswick had passed a law establishing a system of non-sectarian and publicly funded schools. The 1871 Act also stipulated that only books prescribed by the Board could be used, if the school wished to be funded. No mention of either French books or French instruction was made in the act, thus the future of Acadian education in that province was dismal. Some Acadians protested by refusing to pay their school taxes. As a counter measure, the government threatened to seize the private property of recalcitrants. In the village of Caraquet, many of the nearly three thousand Acadians joined this tax revolt. When they met in January 1875 to nominate school officers, the Anglophone minority insisted that only tax payers should be allowed

¹⁴⁰ Le Moniteur Acadien, November 13, 1868, p. 2.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., p. 2.

¹⁴² Ibid., December 11, 18 and 25, 1868, p. 2.

to vote for officers.¹⁴³ They then proceeded to call a meeting of their own and drafted a document calling for the rejection of the Acadian nominees. They proposed their own choice of officials and forwarded the memorandum to the Gloucester County Sessions for ratification. All through January tensions grew until the episode came to a head on the 27th when the Acadian Louis Mailloux and the "volunteer" John Gifford lay dead. Acadian / Anglophone relations were at their lowest ebb. Relations would improve but "compromise [had] come only after force, and justice after bloodshed"¹⁴⁴

On a socio-economic plane the nineteenth century could be looked upon as a sort of "coming of age" for the Acadians, an evolution from a period of relative quiescence to one of more ethnic affirmation. Nowhere is that maturing more evident than in the final decades of the century when the group began to assert its distinctiveness in the form of a nationalist movement. The next chapter will expand upon that development within Acadian society.

¹⁴³ The 1871 census lists the population of Caraquet as being two thousand nine hundred fifty-five of French origin, fifty-four of English extraction and two hundred seventy-five of various ethnic background such as Irish, Scotch and Native.

¹⁴⁴ George Stanley, "The Caraquet Riots of 1875," p. 38.

CHAPTER 2
ACADIAN ATTEMPTS AT SELF-ASSERTIVENESS, 1881-1912:
THE RISE OF NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

"Change" has been identified in the proceeding chapter as the dominant characteristic of nineteenth-century Acadian society. Quiescence evidenced in the initial years after the return from exile was slowly eroding, and if the effects of total uprootedness had nurtured cautious and moderate attitudes among the Acadian, these were being replaced by a steadily growing desire to participate in the region's development. By the late 1800s the desire to participate had become coupled with a rejection of assimilation. This wish for ethnic self-affirmation gave rise to what has come to be known as the "Acadian renaissance," a process of nationalist mobilization. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the nationalist movement and those factors which fostered a consolidation of Acadian society, thus permitting the nationalist ideology to emerge.

It is difficult to isolate the origins of any nationalist sentiment and the Acadian situation at the end of the nineteenth century was no different. However, by mid-century at least two developments had taken place which fostered the beginnings of patriotic enthusiasms. One of these was the publication in 1847 of H.W. Longfellow's Evangeline which gave the Acadians a common rallying point - their first heroine. When the New England author decided to put in verse the story he had heard of the deportation of 1755, he wrote for an American audience. As it turned out, the most dramatic response occurred among the Acadians. The poem became "the most powerful cultural

tool available to those constructing an Acadian identity in the late nineteenth century."¹ A second literary endeavor occurred in 1859 which was also important. The French author, Edmé Rameau de Saint Père offered to the Acadians their first history. La France aux Colonies contained a message urging Acadians to use their past, sad as it may have been, as a tool for enlightening and fortifying the future. Rameau de Saint-Père went so far as to call for a "généreux reveil" that would "assurer à jamais la nationalité des Acadiens."²

If events during the 1840s and 1850s can be viewed as the conception of nationalist sentiment, by the mid-1860s developments of far greater consequence were taking place. Foremost was the founding of universities. Although most Acadians had received little or no formal schooling they were becoming more open to the merits of education largely because of the influence of French and French-Canadian priests who promoted the value of education. Many of these clerics had established the first schools in their respective parishes. In New Brunswick, Fr. Antoine Gagnon, parish priest of Grande-Digue, opened a school as early as 1833 with the hope that it would grow to become an institution of higher learning. Although his vision went unrealized, this French-Canadian priest succeeded in attracting both local students and some from outside his immediate area.³ In Nova Scotia the exiled French priest, Fr. Jean-Mandé Sigogne, set up permanent residence among the Acadians of Yarmouth and Digby Counties. Dissatisfied with the high rate of illiteracy among his flock, he began holding classes on

¹ Naomi Griffiths, "Longfellow's Evangeline: The Birth and Acceptance of a Legend," in P.A. Buckner and David Frank (eds.), The Acadiensis Reader: Volume II - Atlantic Canada after Confederation, p. 73.

² Edmé Rameau de Saint-Père, La France aux Colonies (Paris: A Jouby, 1859), p. 120.

³ Pascal Poirier, Le Père Lefebvre et L'Acadie, (Montréal: C.O. Beauchemin et fils, 1898), pp. 94-95.

Sunday in the church. Later he opened the doors to his glebe house to all those who wished to learn to read and write.⁴ Similarly, on Prince Edward Island clerics were beginning to lay the foundations of rudimentary education. As early as 1815 the enthusiastic French-Canadian priest at Rustico, Fr. Jean-Louis Beaubien, had decided to open a school for the Acadians "pour élever la jeunesse dans la piété."⁵ These first steps at educating Acadians were modest but Acadians who infiltrated the socio-political structures of the region by mid century often claimed to have been "educated" by the aforementioned priests. Amand Landry, first Acadian to sit in the New Brunswick Legislature, attended school in Memramcook and by 1835 had obtained his teaching certificate. Frederick Robichaud, student of Father Sigogne became Nova Scotia's first Acadian M.L.A. and François Buote, who worked in close collaboration with Father Beaubien, would become the first Acadian teacher on Prince Edward Island.

The opening years of the nineteenth century saw a few Acadians receive the basics of formal instruction and by the 1850s the beginning of a mass education system could be discerned. Statistics showed a rise in both the number of Acadian teachers and Acadian students. For the first time, a majority of the youth could be said to be literate. In her biography of Pierre-Amand Landry, Della M.M. Stanley notes that in the Memramcook area during the 1850s there were "several licensed Acadian teachers carrying third class certificates including Jude Bourque, Louis-O. Deligny, Henriette Doiron, Dominique LeBlanc, Hypolite Landry and Dominique Landry."⁶ As for student

⁴ Fr. Pierre-Marie Dagnaud, Les Français du Sud-Ouest de la Nouvelle-Écosse, pp. 191-193.

⁵ "Fr. Jean-Louis Beaubien to Msgr. Joseph-Octave Plessis, November 15, 1814," 310 CN I: 48, *Archives de l'Archidiocèse de Québec* [hereafter AAQ].

⁶ Della M.M. Stanley, "A Man for two Peoples - Pierre-Amand Landry, 1846-1916," M.A. thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1974, pp. 26-27.

enrollment, it has been demonstrated that in counties with high Acadian concentrations (Madawaska, Gloucester, Kent and Westmorland) the percentage of students attending school in the 1850s compared favorably with the provincial average of forty percent.⁷

Roy concludes:

Chose surprenante, dans les quatre comtés...que nous étudions le même pourcentage est obtenu. Ceci signifie donc qu'il n'y avait pas de distinction entre anglophones et francophones en ce qui concerne la fréquentation des écoles primaires.⁸

In Nova Scotia this trend toward greater participation in schooling also appeared. If we take the southwestern region (Yarmouth and Digby Counties) as an example, an improvement is clearly perceptible from the time of Sigogne's initial efforts at the beginning of the 1800s to his death at mid-century. As early as 1836, School district No. 8, or Sainte-Anne-du-Ruisseau, was established in Yarmouth County with Jean Bourque and Paul Surette being named the first trustees.⁹ Two years later, Paul Babin taught school in that same village to some forty-seven students. Coincidentally in Wedgeport, another Acadian village in Yarmouth County, Isidore Cottreau was teaching forty-one students.¹⁰ The "School Papers" for Digby County reveal that in 1845 seven teachers held classes for one hundred fifty students in the Clare district while the "Report

⁷ Thérèse B. Roy, "L'Évolution de L'Enseignement chez les Acadiens du Nouveau-Brunswick, 1755-1855," unpublished M.A. thesis, Université de Moncton, 1972, p. 74.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ "School Papers, Yarmouth County, 1811-1840," RG 14, Vol. 60, No. 17, Public Archives of Nova Scotia, (hereafter PANS).

¹⁰ Ibid., No. 75.

of the Schools of Nova Scotia" for 1851 lists four hundred seventy-nine students as being enrolled in the summer session in the Township of Clare.¹¹

On Prince Edward Island Acadian education evolved in a fashion similar to the two neighbouring colonies of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. While there had been only six "Acadian" schools on the Island in 1834, no fewer than nineteen existed by 1861 and nearly a quarter of the Acadian teachers possessed first class licences.¹² This rapid proliferation of Acadian schools (an average of nearly two per year) was due in part on the parents' desire to have the next generation educated uniquely in French. By mid-century the Inspector of Schools, John McNeill, discouragingly complained of what he believed to be the prejudice of Acadians against sending their children to English Schools.¹³

Thus when the Acadians decided to enter on the field of higher education, a certain amount of ground-work had already been done. Clerical efforts, coupled with a broader willingness by governments to finance education at this period, had managed to raise literacy levels amid the Acadian population and had fostered an atmosphere more conducive to accepting the need for higher education. Attitudes about Acadian potential in educational matters were also changing. Some now believed that all these people needed was the chance to prove their merit. In other words Acadian students were

¹¹ "School Papers, Digby County, 1814-1865," RG 14, Vol. 12, Nos. 144-160, PANS. For the 1851 statistics see "Report of the Schools of Nova Scotia for the year 1851" in Journal and Proceedings of the House of Assembly, 1851, p. 75.

¹² Georges Arsenault, L'Éducation chez les Acadiens de l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard, 1720-1980. (Summerside: La Société Saint-Thomas d'Aquin, 1982), pp. 12, 21. For the purposes of this study an Acadian school is defined as one having an Acadian instructor and where the majority of the student population is Acadian.

¹³ John McNeill, "Inspector's Report - Appendix H," Assembly Journals, Prince Edward Island. (Charlottetown: The Examiner, 1845), p. 48.

coming to be recognized as having "distinguished and superior talents."¹⁴ Before they had been dismissed as a constituency steeped in apathy. Also helpful in promoting education was the fact that Acadians, albeit only a few, had left the area during the first half of the nineteenth century to get schooling elsewhere. Principally these were young men intent on entering the priesthood. Ordained at the seminaries of Quebec these young men returned to take up the duties of parish priest amid their *confrères*. Among this were Frs. François-Xavier Babineau of Saint-Louis-de-Kent, New Brunswick, Hubert Girroir from Tracadie, Nova Scotia, Guillaume-Marin LeBlanc from Cape Breton, and Sylvain-Ephrem Poirier from Tignish, Prince Edward Island.¹⁵ All served as role models to promote the value of higher level education among their parishioners.

The village of Memramcook, New Brunswick became home to the first experiment at higher education among Acadians in the Maritimes. Many factors made the choice of Memramcook logical. Besides being one of the oldest Acadian parishes of the post 1755 era, by the 1860s it had grown to be the largest in population. The 1861 census for New Brunswick showed Memramcook with a population of three thousand two hundred eighty-two.¹⁶ Moreover its central location within the Maritime region made it attractive. Added to these considerations was the fact that a building and some three hundred acres of land, the results of an earlier failed attempt at higher education by

¹⁴ See an interesting letter on this topic from the parish priest of Rustico Prince Edward Island, Fr. Georges Belcourt, to the French author, Edmé Rameau de St. Père in 2.1-7, *Centre d'Études acadiennes, Université de Moncton* [hereafter CEA].

¹⁵ J.B.-A. Allaire, *Dictionnaire Biographique du Clergé Canadien-Français - Les Anciens*. (Montréal: Imprimerie de l'École Catholique des Sourds-Muets, 1910), pp. 21 246,320, 440.

¹⁶ "New Brunswick Census Returns 1861, No. 99 - Dorchester Parish," C-1005 National Archives of Canada [hereafter NAC].

Father Lafrance, were available for development.¹⁷ For some time Msgr. John Sweeney, Bishop of the Diocese of Saint John, had been searching for a religious order to assume control of New Brunswick's first Roman Catholic institution of higher education. The institution would cater to both French-speaking Acadian and English-speaking Irish and Scottish elements in the diocese. When Bishop Sweeney eventually succeeded in obtaining the Holy Cross Fathers from Montreal to open the institution, it was made clear that while the *Collège Saint-Joseph* was principally for Acadians, Catholics from other ethnic backgrounds in the diocese could not be excluded.¹⁸ Thus the Acadian students attending the institution were in a minority position. Between 1864 and 1889 only forty percent of enrolled students (eighty-two out of two hundred six) were of Acadian extraction. During that same period twenty Québécois and one hundred four English students attended the Memramcook institution.¹⁹ That is why faculty, at least throughout the nineteenth century, always included non-French appointments.

In October 1864 a staff of seven priests and brothers headed by Fr. Camille Lefebvre began offering classes to some thirty students;²⁰ by year's end, the number had climbed to forty-two.²¹ These were humble beginnings, but the institution would

¹⁷ The inability of Father Lafrance to find a suitable teaching order accounts for the failure of his venture.

¹⁸ See "Le Collège du Père Lefebvre" in *Album Souvenir (1864-1964) - Collège Saint-Joseph*, CEA, p. 7. See also "Correspondance Sweeney-Moreau-Lefebvre," 40.2-3, CEA.

¹⁹ See Martin Spigelman, "The Acadian Renaissance and the Development of Acadian-Canadian Relations 1864-1912," p. 223.

²⁰ Cannon Etienne Catta, *Le Révérend Père Camille Lefebvre (1831-1895) et la renaissance acadienne*, Volume 2 (Moncton: Université de Moncton, 1983), pp. 601-623.

²¹ Pascal Poirier, *Le Père Lefebvre et l'Acadie*, p. 115.

grow, and by the end of the 1880s enrollment had reached more than two hundred, involving Acadian students from all three Maritime Provinces.²²

Even though few could dispute the educational benefits offered Acadians by the founding of *Saint-Joseph*, not all were satisfied with the direction the college seemed to be following. Some, like Msgr. Marcel François Richard of Rogersville, were opposed to what was seen as the domination by Anglophones and the English language.²³ Catering to the dual ethnic make-up of the diocese, *Saint-Joseph* became an institution with a "bilingual" nature but that did not mean equal status for both languages. One French Canadian priest complained:

Aujourd'hui l'anglais a une telle supériorité sur le français à Memramcook, où tous les Acadiens parlent l'anglais, tandis qu'on ne peut trouver dix Irlandais sachant le français... on pourrait passer plusieurs journées au milieu des élèves sans entendre un seul mot de français.²⁴

Accordingly, ten years after the founding of *Saint-Joseph*, Monsignor Richard opened a second institution at *Saint-Louis*, some seventy miles north of Memramcook. Here French was the ordinary language of instruction.²⁵

The nineteenth century pursuit of higher education by Acadians was not confined to the province of New Brunswick. At Church Point in Nova Scotia the Eudist order

²² Calendar of Saint Joseph's College, Memramcook, N.B. (Saint John: J.A. McMillan, 1890), pp. 27-32.

²³ The title of "Monsignor" to Father Richard's name is an honorary one; it is the title of a domestic prelate, not of a bishop.

²⁴ "Father Biron to Rameau de Saint Père, April 8, 1880," 2.1-9, CEA.

²⁵ For an insight into this institution see Martin S. Spigelman, "Race et religion - Les Acadiens et la hiérarchie catholique irlandaise du Nouveau-Brunswick" in Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, Vol. 29, No. 1, 1975., pp. 77-78.

from France opened *le Collège Sainte-Anne* in 1890.²⁶ As at Memramcook, *Sainte-Anne* was seated in a relatively large Acadian center, but was also located in a diocese where a substantial part of the Catholic population was non-French.²⁷ Although the Archbishop of Halifax, Msgr. Cornelius O'Brien, fully endorsed the project of an institution of higher learning for the Acadians, he could not accept that this diocesan effort should exclude Anglophones. Consequently, *Sainte-Anne* was also bilingual. Its language policy was summarized in an article written by an incumbent rector in the 1950s:

Le personnel du collège est français; le français est la langue des rapports; l'enseignement se donne surtout en français. Cependant on a toujours reconnu la valeur culturelle et l'utilité pratique de l'anglais; c'est pourquoi une part très raisonnable lui est faite.²⁸

The founder and first rector, Father Gustave Blanche, described what he perceived to be the aims of *Sainte-Anne* in a speech delivered in 1890. He stated:

l'instruction des jeunes gens et les former à la vertu, leur rendre accessibles des places honorables dans le monde commercial, intellectuel, religieux, et politique, tel est le desir de tous; telles sont aussi nos espérances.²⁹

Father Blanche's hope was to recruit Acadians for entry into professional ranks. Although enrollment at *Sainte-Anne* never got to be as high as at *Saint-Joseph*, in the

²⁶ For an excellent insight into the history of this institution see René LeBlanc and Micheline Laliberté, *Sainte-Anne: collège et université, 1890-1990*.

²⁷ The 1891 federal census revealed that the Clare area of Digby County had a population of seven thousand six hundred sixty-two. See Canada, *Census of Canada, 1890-91*, Volume I (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, 1893), pp. 132-134.

²⁸ Léopold LaPlante, "Un collège acadien en Nouvelle-Écosse," in *Relations*, No. 140, 1952, p. 219.

²⁹ Msgr. Gustave Blanche, "Discours," MG 1, Vol. I, f(2), No. 2, p. 240, ACA.

first fifty years of its existence the *collège classique* at Church Point conferred one hundred fifty-two bachelor's degrees, twenty-three master's degrees and fifty-eight commercial diplomas.³⁰ This was remarkable since students in the main came from the Acadian population of the province, which by the turn of the century numbered only forty-five thousand.³¹

The need for a larger pool of talent from which to extract students caused the Eudist order to turn their eyes towards New Brunswick as a possible site for a second institution. There the Acadian population was nearly double that of Nova Scotia, and although the Holy Cross Fathers had a foothold in New Brunswick, their institution was in the southern extremity of the province, leaving the entire north shore distant from any center of higher education. When the forty thousand Acadians of the counties of Gloucester, Victoria and Restigouche were combined with the French-Canadian and Acadian population across the Baie des Chaleurs on the Gaspé Peninsula, chances existed for establishment of a viable college.³² Consequently, through the efforts of the parish priest, Fr. Théophile Allard, the Eudists established themselves at Caraquet by 1899 with Fr. Aimé Morin serving as first superior.³³ However, the *Collège du Sacré-Coeur* which emerged from this initiative had a relatively short life-span at Caraquet. It soon became apparent that Bathurst was more central to the Acadian population of the

³⁰ Saint Anne's College Calendar, 1940-1941 (Moncton: L'Évangéline Ltée, 1941), pp. 75-77. One of the graduates in the arts courses was Édouard LeBlanc (1895).

³¹ Canada: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Fourth Census of Canada, 1901, Volume I, (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, 1902), pp. 296-310.

³² The figure of forty thousand Acadians was arrived at by calculations taken in Ibid., pp. 32, 34, 36.

³³ See Marcel Tremblay, 50 Ans D'Éducation Catholique Et Française En Acadie: Caraquet 1899 - Bathurst 1949 (Bathurst: Université du Sacré Coeur, 1949).

north shore. A fire in 1915 which destroyed most of the structure at Caraquet provided the catalyst for relocating and by September of 1916 the doors of the new institution had opened at Bathurst.

When studying the founding of colleges from the perspective of the Acadian nationalist movement, two important factors must be considered. First, the founding of institutions of higher learning helped integrate the Acadian population. An examination of figure 2-1, which provides a geographic break-down of the student population at *Collège Saint-Joseph* for the 1880-1890 decade, illustrates the point. Acadians from northern New Brunswick (Madawaska, Restigouche and Gloucester Counties), Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island met *confrères* from southern New Brunswick (Kent and Westmorland Counties) and the college became a rallying point which helped to overcome the fragmented nature of the Acadian presence. Similarly, albeit on a reduced scale, *Collège Sainte-Anne* at Church Point played a comparable role at the end of the 1800s and the beginning of the twentieth century (see figure 2-2). Although the bulk of the Acadians attending were from Digby County, where the college was seated, students from Acadian centers across Yarmouth County, northern Nova Scotia (Antigonish County and Cape Breton Island), New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island were also enrolled.

At the leadership level, these institutions built a close *rapport* among the Acadian communities dispersed throughout the Maritimes. Many of the nationalists who were working to further Acadian interests during the late Victorian and Edwardian era met at these colleges and formed friendships which lasted much longer than their years of

Figure 2 - 1

Collège Saint-Joseph, Memramcook, New Brunswick

Year	Total Enrollment	Acadians: Southern N.B.	Acadians: Northern N.B.	Acadians: Nova Scotia	Acadians: P.E.I.	Quebec Students	Other*
1880-81	128	57	2	7	2	2	58
1881-82	136	51	1	10	2	3	69
1882-83	180	56	9	18	2	8	87
1883-84	194	61	10	18	3	13	89
1884-85	177	46	15	9	1	21	85
1885-86	175	48	15	14	1	31	66
1886-87	188	48	17	10	1	24	88
1887-88	207	56	13	10	1	28	99
1888-89	190	52	12	9	1	36	80
1889-90	211	69	12	9	0	39	82

study. When meetings or conventions were called during the renaissance period, the invited were often eager to assist for they knew that it was an occasion to renew acquaintances made during student years. The fourth Acadian national convention held at Arichat in 1900 substantiates this point.³⁴ Using the workshop or "commission," as they were called, on language and education at that convention it is possible to see the extent to which delegates could be traced to one of the Acadian colleges, either as alumni or as administrators. That commission brought together twenty-eight delegates from

* Although the "other" category in figure 2-1 includes students from the New England seaboard, the American mid-west, central Canada, and even Ireland, the bulk of those comprising this group were the Irish and Scottish elements of the Maritime Provinces.

³⁴ The national convention held in 1900 is used as an example because by that time all the institutions of higher learning mentioned above had been established.

various Acadian areas of the Maritime Provinces and out of that number at least twenty, or seventy-one percent, had some affiliation with the *Collège Saint-Joseph*, *Collège Sainte-Anne*, or *Collège Sacré-Coeur*.³⁵ More than half had been former students at *Saint-Joseph* during the first two decades of that institution's life. Therefore, it would be fair to conclude that because of these institutions of higher learning founded in the last half of the nineteenth century, nationalist gatherings often took on the atmosphere of a family reunion.

Figure 2 - 2

Collège Sainte-Anne, Church Point, Nova Scotia

Year	Total Enrollment	Acadians: Yarmouth County	Acadians: Digby County	Acadians: Northern N.S.	Acadians: N.B. and P.E.I.	Quebec Students	Other*
1892-93	71	4	40	1	0	3	23
1893-94	65	6	37	1	0	1	20
1896-97	76	6	44	6	0	1	19
1897-98	99	7	45	11	8	1	27
1906-07	114	3	41	5	8	0	57

³⁵ See Fig. 2-3 for the complete list of the delegates to the language and education commission of the fourth national convention as taken from *Le Moniteur Acadien*, August 23, 1900, p. 4.

* Like *Collège Saint-Joseph*, the "other" category in the chart reunited people from near and far but basically the Anglophone elements of the area accounted for the large majority of those included in this group.

Figure 2 - 3

Fourth National Convention Arichat, 1900
Participants to the first commission - Language and French Education

1. Allard, Fr. Joseph: student at *Saint-Joseph*, 1860s.
2. Arsenault, Joseph: student at *Saint-Joseph* late 1870s, probably also in the 1880s.
3. Belliveau, Professor Alphée: student at *Saint-Joseph*, 1860s and 1870s.
4. Belliveau, Édouard M: unable to determine.
5. Blanchard, E: unable to determine.
6. Bourque, Dr. Thomas J.: student at *Saint-Joseph* in the 1880s.
7. Buote, Gilbert: educated in Quebec.
8. Cormier, Fr. François X.: student at *Saint-Joseph* in the 1860s.
9. Dagnaud, Fr. Pierre-Marie: rector, *Collège Sainte-Anne*.
10. Doucet, Rev. S.: educated at Saint Thomas College, Chatham.
11. Gaudet, Dr. E.T.: student at *Saint-Joseph* in the 1870s.
12. Gaudet, De. F.: student at *Saint-Joseph* in the 1860s.
13. Gaudet, Placide: one of the original 23 students at *Saint-Joseph* in 1864.
14. Gay, Fr. Jean-Marie: instrumental in the founding of *Collège Sainte-Anne*.
15. Johnson, Basile J.: unable to determine.
16. Laforest, Fred: student at *Saint-Joseph* in the 1870s.
17. Landry, Dr. Alexandre: educated in Quebec.
18. Landry, Dr. David: student at *Saint-Joseph* in the 1870s and 1880s.
19. Landry, Dr. L.N.: student at *Saint-Joseph* in the early 1870s.
20. Landry, Pierre-Armand: student at *Saint-Joseph* in the late 1860s.
21. Landry, Valentin: student at *Saint-Joseph* in the late 1860s or early 1870s.
22. Lebastard, Fr. Prospère : rector, *Collège du Sacré Coeur*, Caraquet.
23. Michaud, Fr. François X.J.: educated in Quebec.
24. Monbourquette, Fr. A.E.: student at *Saint-Joseph* in the 1880s.
25. Poirier, Pascal: student at *Saint-Joseph* in the 1860s.
26. Richard, A.D.: student at *Saint-Joseph* in the 1870s.
27. Richard, Fr. Marcel-François: educated at Saint Dunstan's College, P.E.I.
28. Roy, Fr. Alfred: rector, *Saint-Joseph*.

The second important impact of the establishment of Acadian colleges in the Maritimes was that these institutions created the much needed professional middle class which assumed the leadership of the group and set the tone of the renaissance. In the first sixteen years of its existence, *Collège Saint-Joseph* had seen six hundred thirty students come through its doors and from that group came nineteen priests, four lawyers, five doctors, one school inspector, one professor of French at the Normal School in Fredericton, one member of parliament, one provincial minister, along with a host of teachers, civil servants, and businessmen.³⁶ *Collège Sainte-Anne* also contributed to Acadian bourgeois expansion: out of some three thousand students in sixty years, one hundred eighty-five had been ordained into the priesthood, seventy-six had become doctors, fifteen were lawyers, ten were agronomists, nine were engineers, and five had become school inspectors.³⁷ What was particularly impressive at *Sainte-Anne* was that six bishops and one archbishop had been associated with the college at some point either as faculty or as students.³⁸ Pascal Poirier identified the role played by Acadian colleges in creating a class of professionals when he paid homage to the work done by Father Lefebvre and the Holy Cross Fathers at Memramcook. In a speech delivered at Quebec in 1880 he stated:

Sans le Révd. Père Lefebvre, sans la Congrégation de Sainte-Croix, pas un de nous qui sommes prêtres, marchands, médecins, instituteurs, avocats, fonctionnaires, députés ou ministres, ne serions probablement ce que nous sommes. Condamnés à l'ignorance, il nous eût fallu cultiver la terre honnêtement comme le font nos pères, mais renoncer à aspirer

³⁶ See Pascal Poirier, "La situation particulière des Acadiens dans la Confédération canadienne" in H.J.J.-B. Chouinard (ed.) *Fête nationale des Canadiens-français* (Québec: L'Imprimerie A. Côte et Cie, 1881), p. 457.

³⁷ Father Léopold LaPlante, "Un collège acadien en Nouvelle-Écosse," p. 219.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

aux professions et aux positions sociales plus élevées, que plusieurs occupent.³⁹

By the end of the nineteenth century Acadian society in the Maritimes had acquired a new tool of survival; it possessed an élite. The role played by this new middle class, or intelligentsia, was of such importance that some consideration must be given here to its characteristics and to its main players.

The first comment to be made about this Acadian professional class was the fact that it blended both lay and clerical components. As for the first category, Pierre-Amand Landry stands out in terms of importance.⁴⁰ Born in Memramcook in 1846, he studied first in the local village school and later at *Collège Saint-Joseph*. After teaching for a brief period he decided to pursue a career in law. Admitted to the New Brunswick Bar in 1870 Landry became the first Acadian member of the legal profession. That same year he decided to follow in his father's political footsteps and ran in the provincial election, winning the contest. After a four year interruption (1874-78) Landry ran again, was re-elected and became minister of public works in the Fraser government, being the first Acadian to occupy a ministerial position. Under the D.L. Hanington administration he was given a new portfolio, that of provincial secretary, a post he held until 1883. From that year up to 1890 he served in the federal parliament as Conservative member for Kent, New Brunswick. Later the Macdonald government rewarded him for his services by naming him judge of the County Court for Westmorland and Kent. Landry would eventually make it to the bench of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick but his greatest moment came in 1914 when King George V made him a Knight of the Order of Saint

³⁹ Pascal Poirier quoted in Le Moniteur Acadien, July 15, 1880, p. 1.

⁴⁰ For an excellent biography of this Acadian nationalist see Della M. M. Stanley, Pierre-Amand Landry - Au service de deux peuples (Moncton: Éditions d'Acadie, 1977).

Michael and Saint George, the only Acadian ever to be so honored. "Sir Pierre-Amand" died in 1916.

While Pierre-Amand Landry can be credited with many "firsts" in the annals of Acadian history, the title of first senator belongs to his friend and fellow nationalist, Pascal Poirier. Born in Shediac in 1852, Poirier like Landry, was a student at *Collège Saint-Joseph* during that institution's initial years. He later studied law in Quebec where he was admitted to the bar in 1876; a few years later he gained entry to the New Brunswick bar. At the early age of twenty he became post-master for the House of Commons, a position he held until his nomination to the Upper House in 1885 as representative of New Brunswick's Acadians. An ardent nationalist, Poirier worked throughout his career to further the Acadian cause as senator, president and organizer of national conventions, and as an author.⁴¹

At the end of the nineteenth century newspaper editors featured within the lay nationalist leadership. French language newspapers such as Le Moniteur Acadien of New Brunswick, L'Évangéline of Nova Scotia, and L'Impartial from Prince Edward Island, all possessed owners and editors who could be described as committed nationalists. Foremost among these activists was Ferdinand Robidoux, who came from Quebec to Shediac in 1868 at the age of nineteen. From 1871 to 1918 he was publisher, editor and proprietor of Le Moniteur Acadien. For fifty years he strove to make his paper the chief vehicle by which Acadian aspirations could be expressed. His counterpart in Nova Scotia, Valentin Landry, had been founder of Le Courrier des Provinces Maritimes in Bathurst but left that paper to establish L'Évangéline in Digby in

⁴¹ Included in Poirier's literary efforts are Origine des Acadiens (1874), Le Père Lefebvre et l'Acadie (1898), Le Parler Franco-Acadien et ses Origines (1928) plus a host of articles and published speeches too numerous to be listed here.

1887. He continued to be its editor until 1910, by which time the paper had moved to Moncton. At Tignish on Prince Edward Island, Gilbert Buote founded L'Impartial in 1893. He made his paper the driving force behind the nationalist awakening on the Island and when he died in 1904 his son, François-Joseph, carried on the family tradition by maintaining the paper until 1915.⁴²

Placide Gaudet, the first Acadian genealogist, could also be ranked among the emerging nationalists of the period. Like many in the group, Gaudet had studied at *Collège Saint-Joseph* in preparation for a professional career. Although teaching and journalism were pursued after his studies, it was as archivist in Ottawa that both his talents and his contribution to Acadian society stood out. For twenty five years he laboured at the Public Archives as Acadian genealogist and his work during that period permitted the compilation of his "Généalogie des Familles acadiennes." Gaudet's numerous publications (books, articles and speeches) were at that time unsurpassed in both quality and quantity of research. The historical rhetoric, so evident at the national conventions, was in large measure inspired by the fruits of Gaudet's research. These are only a few of the laity who played a leading role in the mobilization of Acadian nationalism.

The nineteenth century Acadian renaissance was also sustained by a nationalist clergy that began emerging during the last decades of the 1800s. Maritime society at this time witnessed what has been called the "Acadianization" of the Catholic Church in the region.⁴³ While only two Acadian priests existed in the Maritimes in 1850, by century's

⁴² "J. Henri Blanchard to F.J. Robidoux Jr., December 3, 1951," 4. 1-9, CEA.

⁴³ See Léon Thériault, "l'Acadianisation de l'Église catholique en Acadie, 1763-1953" in Jean Daigle (ed.) Les Acadiens des Maritimes, pp. 293-369.

end that figure had climbed to nearly thirty.⁴⁴ With the opening of the Holy Heart Seminary in Halifax in 1895, candidates to the priesthood coming out of the Acadian colleges could now complete their theology "at home"; many did. By 1915 there were over one hundred secular Acadian priests in the Maritime Provinces.⁴⁵ They were distributed as follows: twelve in the Diocese of Halifax, eleven in the Diocese of Charlottetown, twelve in the Diocese of Antigonish, twenty-two in the Diocese of Saint John and approximately forty-five in the Diocese of Chatham.⁴⁶

The role of the Catholic clergy in the rise of national consciousness among the Acadians is one of near omnipresence. Indeed, a good portion of the Catholic Church in the Maritimes had given itself an "Acadian mission." Along with the expected spiritual direction there came from the clerical ranks a commitment to contribute "de façon décisive à la reconquête de l'identité personnelle et nationale des Acadiens."⁴⁷ It was through the parish priests that delegate selection to the national conventions was made; it was the religious communities, who on certain occasions lent their facilities for conventions. Clerics headed workshops or acted as secretaries during the conventions and very often they provided the strongest examples of fiery nationalist rhetoric. Any list of those delegates attending the national gatherings will show the prominence of the clergy in the nationalist awakening. For example, at the first Acadian congress in

⁴⁴ Father Anselme Chiasson, "Le Clergé et le Réveil acadien (1864-1960)," p.40. See also Le Canada Ecclésiastique - Almanac annuaire du clergé canadien (Montréal: Cadieux et Derome, 1899), pp. 113-126.

⁴⁵ A secular priest is one who does not belong to any religious order and his obedience is due to the diocesan bishop only. Such a priest is usually in charge of a parish and lives in a glebe house as opposed to living in community with other priests.

⁴⁶ Antoine Bernard, La Renaissance acadienne au XXe siècle (Québec: Université Laval, 1949), p. 13.

⁴⁷ Fernand Arsenault, "Le leadership de l'Église en Acadie (1864-1942)" in The Canadian Catholic Historical Association, Study Sessions, 1983, p. 460.

Memramcook in 1881, thirty priests celebrated mass conjointly, a spectacle never before witnessed in Acadian circles.

Religion and nationalism blended quite well in the renaissance period for they served each other's purposes. The Acadian renaissance had deep roots in past traditions and in ancestral values, and if one theme constantly emerged in the multitude of nationalist speech and writings at this period it was the claim about the Roman Catholic fervor of the fore-fathers. During the nineteenth century one could not be a nationalist without being a dedicated Catholic, at least in the mind of the activists. Thériault has made the point well when he states:

On peut même dire que les conventions nationales, malgré leur contenu profane, constituaient dans une certaine mesure une sorte d'exercice religieux qui se traduisait par des messes et sermons de circonstance, la présence de prêtres dans la plupart des commissions et même à la présidence de ces dernières, rappel constant, dans les discours, du caractère catholique des Acadiens, l'utilisation de ressources matérielles appartenant au clergé (églises, salles paroissiales, collèges), etc.⁴⁸

Evangelical fervour and ethnic pride combined to make the clergy the most zealous supporters of Acadian nationalism. Among these, perhaps the most prominent was Fr. Marcel-François Richard.⁴⁹ Throughout his forty-five years as a priest he relentlessly fought for what he saw as the moral, social, intellectual and material advancement of Acadians. Believing that *Collège Saint-Joseph* was catering above all to

⁴⁸ Léon Thériault, "L'Acadianisation de l'Église catholique en Acadie, 1863-1953" in Jean Daigle (ed.) *Les Acadiens des Maritimes*, pp. 327-28.

⁴⁹ For a biography of this nationalist cleric see Camille-Antonio Doucet, *Une étoile s'est levée en Acadie - Mgr. Marcel-François Richard* (Charlesbourg Est: Les Éditions du Nouveau, 1973). An earlier effort was that by Father M. Gildas, *Mgr. M.-F. Richard - Prélat Domestique: Sa Vie et ses Oeuvres* (Moncton: L'Imprimerie Nationale Limitée, 1940).

Anglophone students, Richard founded his own institution at *Saint-Louis* for the explicit aim of serving nationalist interests. The Bishop regarded his conduct as being disruptive of the promotion and advancement of Catholicism within his diocese and accordingly took measures to discipline this recalcitrant pastor. These included the closing of *Collège Saint-Louis*, and refusing Richard permission to attend nationalist gatherings. When Richard died in 1915 he could claim credit for the establishment of a college and convent, the construction of nine churches, the founding of two new settlements (Acadieville and Rogersville), and he could assume much of the responsibility for the nomination of the first Acadian Bishop.

Father Richard was not the only one among the Acadian clergy whose nationalist tendencies went too far, at least in the eyes of the bishops. For example Msgr. Stanislas Doucet from Grande-Digue, New Brunswick, and Fr. Hubert Girroir from Tracadie, Nova Scotia were among those reprimanded by their bishops either by being restricted in travel or by being transferred to small parishes where their influence would be minimal.⁵⁰

Besides the dual lay/clerical nature of its composition, the nascent nationalist leadership of the Acadian community was characterized by the ability of most of its

⁵⁰ For biographies on these two priests see Eloi DeGrâce, *Mgr. Stanislas Doucet* (Shippagan: Imprimerie Gagné Ltée., 1977), and Ephem Boudreau, "L'Abbé Hubert Girroir, 1825-1884" in *CSHA*, Vol. VI, No. 2, 1975, pp. 69-81. Bishop Rogers prevented Monsignor Doucet from attending the third national convention in Church Point in 1890 while Monsignor McKinnon and his successor Bishop John Cameron, Bishops of Antigonish, kept Father Girroir from being rooted in any one area as they constantly moved him from one parish to the next. Some of these were barely settled, curtailing most non-religious activities.

members to function well in both Francophone and Anglophone environments.⁵¹ Like all returned Acadians, these men had been born and raised in an ethnic *milieu* where their numbers relegated them to a minority status and where the Anglophone presence, and even domination of many facets of daily life, was very much a part of their upbringing. As college students they fraternized as much with non-French people as with their Acadian *confrères* (see 'others' category in figures 2-1 and 2-2). Later, as young professionals some pursued careers in close collaboration with English-speaking associates. For example, Pierre-Amand Landry did his clerkship with Albert Smith of Dorchester, while Pascal Poirier was in a law partnership in Shediac with M.F. McCully. A few, like Pierre-Amand Landry Valentin Landry, and Gilbert Girouard had taken Anglophone brides.⁵²

Thus in their upbringing, their education, their careers and even in their personal lives, the English dimension featured prominently. That is why the large majority of these nationalists could be categorized as being pro-Acadian without necessarily being anti-Anglophone. Their desire, as they saw it, was not to have Acadians make inroads at the expense of the English-speaking population of the Maritimes. Instead the nationalist

⁵¹ There were few exceptions to this rule. Although some members of the clergy like Marcel-François Richard tended to be more antagonistic than their lay counterparts, they were nevertheless publicly moderate in their nationalism. The authors of vindictive nationalism were often imports like Father Biron from France, a professor at *Collège Saint-Louis* whose inability to truly understand the Acadian situation in the Maritimes contributed little to its advancement.

⁵² Bridget McCarthy from Fredericton had become Pierre-Amand's wife in 1872 while Valentin Landry had married Mary Beckwith in 1913, the niece of his deceased wife, also née Beckwith. Gilbert Girouard, M.P. Kent, had taken Sophie Baker as his wife. According to Della Stanley, who authored *Au Service de deux peuples*, the Landry-McCarthy household was bilingual. The importance of French was instilled into the children, especially the male ones. It would appear that Mary, like her mother, was unilingual English-speaking in adulthood.

elite argued that they were simply seeking the same rights and opportunities as had already been won by other components of the region's society. Conscious of the need to appear moderate, nationalist leaders argued for "des Irlandais et des Anglais haut placés dans le commerce, l'industrie, les professions, la politique" to be invited to the first national convention at Memramcook.⁵³ Pierre-Amand Landry, president of that 1881 gathering, saw no *faux pas* in addressing that group in English at one of the sessions. In short, many nationalists were Acadian in the same sense that Sir Wilfrid Laurier was a Canadian. Like him they had experienced both sides of the bicultural make-up of society and believed that diversity need not breed disunity.⁵⁴ As practical men, the nationalist leaders also believed it foolhardy to try to make the Acadian situation in the Maritimes comparable to that of the French-Canadians in Quebec. That difference was made quite clear at Memramcook in 1881 when a motion to adopt the Saint Jean-Baptiste as the national feast-day was defeated in favor of one which would be uniquely Acadian.

A third characteristic of the leading Acadian nationalists of the renaissance period was their urban experience. Moving away from a rural situation usually brought them to English centers. This they accepted readily, as the price to be paid for career advancement. For example, although his original home was in Dorchester, New Brunswick, Pierre Amand Landry's political career kept him in Fredericton and Ottawa for nearly twenty years. As senator, Poirier's situation differed little from that of his colleague. He lived in the nation's capital for considerable periods of time, even though

⁵³ See Ferdinand Robidoux (ed.) Les Conventions Nationales des Acadiens, Volume I, p. 91.

⁵⁴ On a larger scale these patriots saw no dichotomy in being Acadian nationalists and supporters of the Empire. Pierre-Amand Landry spoke of the "unquestionable and unquestioned" merits of a united British Empire (see his speeches and addresses in 5.4-2, CEA) while Senator Poirier took a stand for Britain in the conscription crisis of 1917 (see L'Évangéline, September 26, 1917 p.2).

Madame Poirier lamented she missed him dearly every day.⁵⁵ His accounts of the social life in Ottawa with clubs, dancing, skiing and racquetting occupying most of the leisure time, leaves the impression of a young Acadian adapting quite well to urban life.⁵⁶ Placide Gaudet's work at the Public Archives meant a quarter century spent in the nation's capital. In similar fashion, nationalists such as Ferdinand Robidoux and Valentin Landry chose the budding urban centers⁵⁷ of the Maritimes to locate their newspapers. At the time of the Moniteur's founding in 1867, Shediac had a population of over six thousand people.⁵⁸ In Bathurst where Valentin Landry first worked on Le Courrier des Provinces Maritimes in the late 1880s the population had grown to four thousand eight hundred fifteen and when he moved his L'Évangéline to Moncton in 1905, that town had reached a population close to ten thousand.⁵⁹

Thus, the new leadership emerging was educated, professional, and functioned well within the Anglophone majority. This enabled activists to acquire a better insight into the majority group and how it could best be approached. It also gave nationalists a sense of what could be aimed for in their quest to become an equal partner within Maritime society.

⁵⁵ "Madame Poirier to Senator Poirier, October 23," [year not given], 6.1-11, CEA.

⁵⁶ See Pascal Poirier, "Mémoires," CSHA, Vol. IV, No. 3, pp. 105-06.

⁵⁷ For the purposes of this study centers of five thousand people or more in the Maritimes in the second half of the nineteenth century could be considered as urban.

⁵⁸ Canada: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census of Canada, 1870-1871, Volume I, p. 20. The census reported the population as being six thousand two hundred sixteen.

⁵⁹ Ibid., Census of Canada, 1890-1891, Volume I, (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, 1893), p. 16 and Ibid., Fourth Census of Canada, 1901, Volume I, p. 36. The census showed Moncton's population at that date to be nine thousand twenty-six.

Equally important in terms of counteracting Acadian dispersal in the Maritimes and fostering bourgeois expansion during the second half of the nineteenth century was the founding of an Acadian press. Between 1867 and 1893 no fewer than seven Acadian newspapers began publication in the Maritime Provinces. Some had only brief careers lasting perhaps for two editions, but others endured for nearly a century.⁶⁰ Without these vehicles of communication the Acadian renaissance would have materialized at a much later date, if at all. Therefore, it is important to examine these organs, at least the principal ones, in order to construct a more complete picture of the origins and content of Acadian national consciousness.

A week after Confederation the first French language newspaper appeared in Shediac, New Brunswick. Under the editorship of Israel Landry of Quebec, Le Moniteur Acadien outlined its aims in the first issue when it expressed its commitment to "venir en aide à notre pauvre peuple acadien en lui fournissant une feuille qui lui apprendra ce qu'il est, ce qu'il a été, et ce qu'il est appelé à devenir."⁶¹ Thus from the beginning this was a paper imbued with the aura of nationalism. Central to its purpose was "élever la nationalité acadienne au niveau de ses voisins."⁶² Appearing almost

⁶⁰ While L'Écho of Meteghan River, Nova Scotia, never got beyond Volume 1, No. 2, L'Évangéline ran from 1887 to 1982. For an overview of the Acadian press of the latter nineteenth century see Roger Lacerte, "État des recherches sur la presse française en Acadie" in CSHA, Vol. VI, No. 1, 1975, pp. 25-42.

⁶¹ Le Moniteur Acadien, July 8, 1867, p. 1. Landry was a Québécois of Acadian ancestry and he had been in the region since 1862. After five years of teaching, he decided to take up the challenge of publishing a weekly newspaper for Acadians. He financed the venture himself soon to discover that he could no longer shoulder the costs. Within a year Landry was gone and had been replaced by Norbert Lussier. However, it was with the Robidoux family who took control after 1871 that the paper became a success. See Father Clément Cormier, "Le Centenaire du Moniteur Acadien," CSHA, Vol. II, No. 6, 1967, pp. 225-232.

⁶² "Israel Landry to Rameau de St-Père, March 19, 1867," 2.1 - 8, CEA.

uninterruptedly until the end of World War I, sometimes against tremendous odds, the Moniteur became a "rallying point" central to nationalist enthusiasms.⁶³

Le Moniteur Acadien's monopoly of the Acadian press went unchallenged for nearly two decades. However, in 1885 a group of Acadian nationalists decided that a second organ would be of benefit to the population of French origin in the Maritime Provinces, and in that year Le Courrier des Provinces Maritimes rolled off the presses at Bathurst. Although its political leanings might have been different,⁶⁴ the Courrier's aims were quite similar to those of its rival in Shediac. With the motto "Religion, Education, Agriculture, Colonization, Sciences, Industries, Nouvelles," the paper promised to be a watchdog of all nationalist interests and stated that it viewed its mission as one which should guide Acadians on "le sentier de l'avancement et du progrès."⁶⁵ Success came quite rapidly to this new organ for in the two year period between 1885 and 1887 its subscriptions rose by some forty-seven percent from slightly over nine hundred to two thousand eight hundred.⁶⁶ This newspaper steadily gained ground as "l'instrument de diffusion et de pénétration d'un sentiment national."⁶⁷

⁶³ See Naomi Griffiths, "The Founding of Le Moniteur Acadien" in Acadiensis, Vol. II, No. 2, 1973, p. 80.

⁶⁴ The Courrier was more supportive of the Liberal party. With the growing importance of the Acadian vote, one does sense that inter-party rivalry was at play here.

⁶⁵ Le Courrier des Provinces Maritimes, September 3, 1885, p. 2.

⁶⁶ Phyllis LeBlanc, "Le Courrier des Provinces Maritimes et son influence sur la société acadienne, (1885-1903)," unpublished M.A. thesis, Université de Moncton, 1978, p.12.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 10.

Shortly after the founding of Le Courrier the president of the governing board, Valentin Landry, decided to remedy what he believed to be an imbalance in the Acadian press. While New Brunswick had two newspapers, Nova Scotia had none. By 1887 Landry was actively involved in his project and towards the end of that year the first issue of L'Évangéline appeared in Digby.⁶⁸ The cause it purported to espouse was nationalist in character. Pascal Poirier, noting the nationalist service that the paper could render, stated to Landry: "votre nom et celui de L'Évangéline seront intimement liés dans l'histoire, au réveil de la nationalité acadienne de la Nouvelle-Écosse."⁶⁹ This message was delivered with a slight twist in the first edition when an English version of Landry's editorial was published between the columns written in French. This gesture was designed to show the English population that the paper's aim was merely to help Acadians "to march along the road to progress" so that they may "take a worthy place among the nations of the earth."⁷⁰

Because of their small numbers, the Acadians of Prince Edward Island were the last of their group in the Maritimes to acquire the services of a Francophone press. However towards the end of the nineteenth century the presence of some eleven thousand Acadians on the Island warranted some kind of publication and accordingly, on June 22, 1893, L'Impartial appeared in Tignish, with Gilbert and François Joseph Buote forming a father and son co-editorship. The paper's purpose was stated in its first

⁶⁸ Within a decade Landry boasted having over two thousand five hundred subscribers. To what extent these numbers were real or exaggerated is difficult to say. Landry reported them in a letter to Laurier asking for Liberal financial support in the form of ads. See "Valentin Landry to Wilfrid Laurier, September 23, 1896," Laurier Paper, Reel C-743, nos. 7427-7431, NAC.

⁶⁹ "Pascal Poirier to Valentin Landry, March 3, 1888," 7.1 - 4, CEA.

⁷⁰ L'Évangéline, November 23, 1887, p. 2.

editorial, when the Buotes assured readers that "l'avancement de la cause acadienne dans l'ordre social, intellectuel, et moral" was the target aimed for.⁷¹ True to its name, the paper professed impartiality in politics. Parties of all stripes were to be given equal billing except when an Acadian ran for office. At such time the paper would wave the banner "du côté de la nationalité."⁷²

The first important result of the founding of newspapers was the inroads that these organs made in breaking down isolation within the Acadian community. The idea of linking the fragmented groups of Acadians in the Maritimes and "reaching out" to other groups of Acadians was the strategy designed to ensure the survival of these papers. This concept was very much in the mind of Israel Landry when he conceived his Moniteur. He drew the analogy between his paper and a fraternal chain that would link the scattered members of the Acadian family. In his *Prospectus* he stated:

Réunir cette grande et généreuse famille Acadienne [sic] par un même lien, et l'engager à conserver sa religion, sa langue et ses coutumes, est le but que nous proposons en établissant un journal parmi eux... Nous allons aussi prendre les moyens nécessaires pour nous procurer de bons correspondants dans les différentes localités où réside le peuple Acadien [sic], qui formeront, par leurs communications, comme une chaîne fraternelle unissant les membres épars de cette nombreuse famille.⁷³

Landry sought agents to sell and promote his paper outside the immediate sphere of Shediac. Within one month he had recruited four of these in northern New

⁷¹ L'Impartial, June 23, 1893, p. 1.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ This Prospectus is a one page document that outlines the aims of Le Moniteur as seen by its founder and first editor. It has been reproduced on microfilm immediately preceding the first issue of July 8, 1867. See microfilm 1072 at the CEA.

Brunswick, seven in Nova Scotia and five on Prince Edward Island.⁷⁴ He had also stated that page two of the Moniteur would include some "nouvelles diverses des différentes localités acadiennes" and true to his word, these began appearing in this paper.⁷⁵ Local events, strange happenings, visits, and interesting local anecdotes were all brought to light, thus permitting the readership to know what was happening in the various rural areas of Acadian society. By the time of the first national convention in 1881, local news items from outside the paper's home-base perimeter were a regular feature (see fig. 2-4). A geographic break-down of the subscribers of that year shows the extent to which the paper was reaching outside southern New Brunswick (see fig. 2-5; note the higher percentage during the summer months).

Valentin Landry's L'Évangéline and Buote's L'Impartial followed the example of their sister publication from Shediac. By the turn of the century, Landry's newspaper had recruited twenty-four agents in New Brunswick, twenty-one in Nova Scotia and nine on Prince Edward Island to promote L'Évangéline.⁷⁶ A regular network of correspondents provided coverage from Pubnico, Saint Mary's Bay, Shediac, Caraquet, Rogersville, Tignish, etc. in nearly every issue.⁷⁷ In a similar fashion, Buote published considerable "Acadian" information from outside the Island. For example in 1903 as many as ninety-seven local news events from the Acadian areas of New Brunswick alone

⁷⁴ See Le Moniteur Acadien for the month of August 1867.

⁷⁵ "Israel Landry to Rameau de St.-Père, May 20, 1867," 2.1 - 8, CEA.

⁷⁶ See L'Évangéline for the month of December 1902.

⁷⁷ A glance of any of the issues of L'Évangéline beginning in 1900 will substantiate the point.

were published in L'Impartial in one month.⁷⁸

The Acadian press was also crucial to the renaissance in that it worked for the new nationalist leadership by becoming its chief vehicle for speaking to rank and file Acadians. Nationalists such as Pierre-Amand Landry and Pascal Poirier used the Acadian press to propagate their views to a larger public. Valentin Landry, Narcisse Landry, and later Pierre Veniot also used the press to advance their political ambitions.

Figure 2 - 4

Le Moniteur Acadien - 1881

Number of Local News Items			
	Nova Scotia	Northern New Brunswick	Prince Edward Island
January 1881	1	0	0
February 1881	0	4	1
March 1881	0	2	1
April 1881	3	6	0
May 1881	1	7	2
June 1881	4	7	2
July 1881	1	2	1
August 1881	0	2	2
September 1881	2	4	0
October 1881	3	4	0
November 1881	4	3	3
December 1881	2	0	0

Although they did not use newspapers as often as did their lay counterparts, clerical nationalists saw the press as an indispensable tool for promoting both nationalists and a national awakening. Indeed, one editor remarked in the first issue of his paper that what particularly pleased him was the fact that the members of the clergy

⁷⁸ See L'Impartial for the month of January 1903.

he had consulted had all given him full endorsement of his journalistic venture.⁷⁹ On the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Moniteur's publication, Fr. Marcel-François Richard used these words to describe the clergy's view of that paper and the Acadian press in general:

Figure 2 - 5

Le Moniteur Acadien - 1881

Subscriptions			
	Nova Scotia	Northern New Brunswick	Prince Edward Island
January 1881	1	10	12
February 1881	2	7	0
March 1881	7	0	3
April 1881	1	3	3
May 1881	1	1	5
June 1881	5	1	6
July 1881	46	30	42
August 1881	16	16	21
September 1881	28	22	14
October 1881	3	7	3
November 1881	6	5	7
December 1881	0	10	13

Enfin une voix, une trompette se fait entendre qui crie: "Levez-vous, enfants de l'Acadie, l'heure de la résurrection est sonnée, venez prendre votre place au soleil des nations." C'était la trompette de la Batture [sic], c'était Le Moniteur Acadien qui avait la mission d'annoncer la bonne nouvelle. Depuis lors, les Acadiens éclairés et encouragés se sont mis à l'oeuvre, et le progrès opéré depuis un quart de siècle est simplement immense. L'Education, l'agriculture et la colonisation, ces trois artères qui soutiennent la vitalité dans le système national, ont pris un élan

⁷⁹ François Joseph Buote, L'Impartial, June 23, 1893, p. 1.

merveilleux, grâce aux organes qui permettent de communiquer à nos frères dispersés, les avantages et les bénéfices qu'ils peuvent en retirer.⁸⁰

In discussing those elements which helped bring together Maritime Acadians late in the nineteenth century, the improved means of communication and transportation which facilitated movement of people and ideas must be considered. Ameliorations to the road, water, and especially rail systems of the region since mid-century made meetings possible, and it allowed them to be held in different Acadian localities across the Maritime Provinces.

When the first national convention was called for Memramcook in 1881, the completed Intercolonial Railway was five years old. In 1876 the promise that had largely been responsible for pulling New Brunswick and Nova Scotia into the "Canadian scheme" had finally become a reality and the I.C.R. stretched for seven hundred miles from Rivière-du-Loup, Quebec, to Nova Scotia connecting such ports as Saint John, Pictou and Halifax. Leaving the Matapedia Valley of Quebec, the railway entered New Brunswick near Campbellton, followed the Baie des Chaleurs to Gloucester Junction where it then proceeded to cut across the heavily wooded areas of Northumberland County to Kent Junction. From there it continued to Moncton where the main line split with one branch going to Saint John and the other proceeding to Nova Scotia via Sackville. To this main line other railroads in New Brunswick were connected during the final decades of the century, many of them passing through Acadian areas. For example, the International Railway of New Brunswick brought Acadians of Madawaska County to the Intercolonial by running from St.-Léonard to Campbellton. The Caraquet and Gulf Shore Railway joined Caraquet, Shippagan, and Tracadie to the I.C.R. while

⁸⁰ Marcel-François Richard to Ferdinand Robidoux, April 9, 1892" reproduced in L'illustration du Journal Le Moniteur Acadien (Shediac: Le Moniteur Acadien, 1892), p. 7.

the Kent Northern Railway brought the Acadian areas of Richibuctou to the central line. The Buctouche and Moncton Railway linked that Acadian area to the Intercolonial by way of Moncton (see figure 2-6).

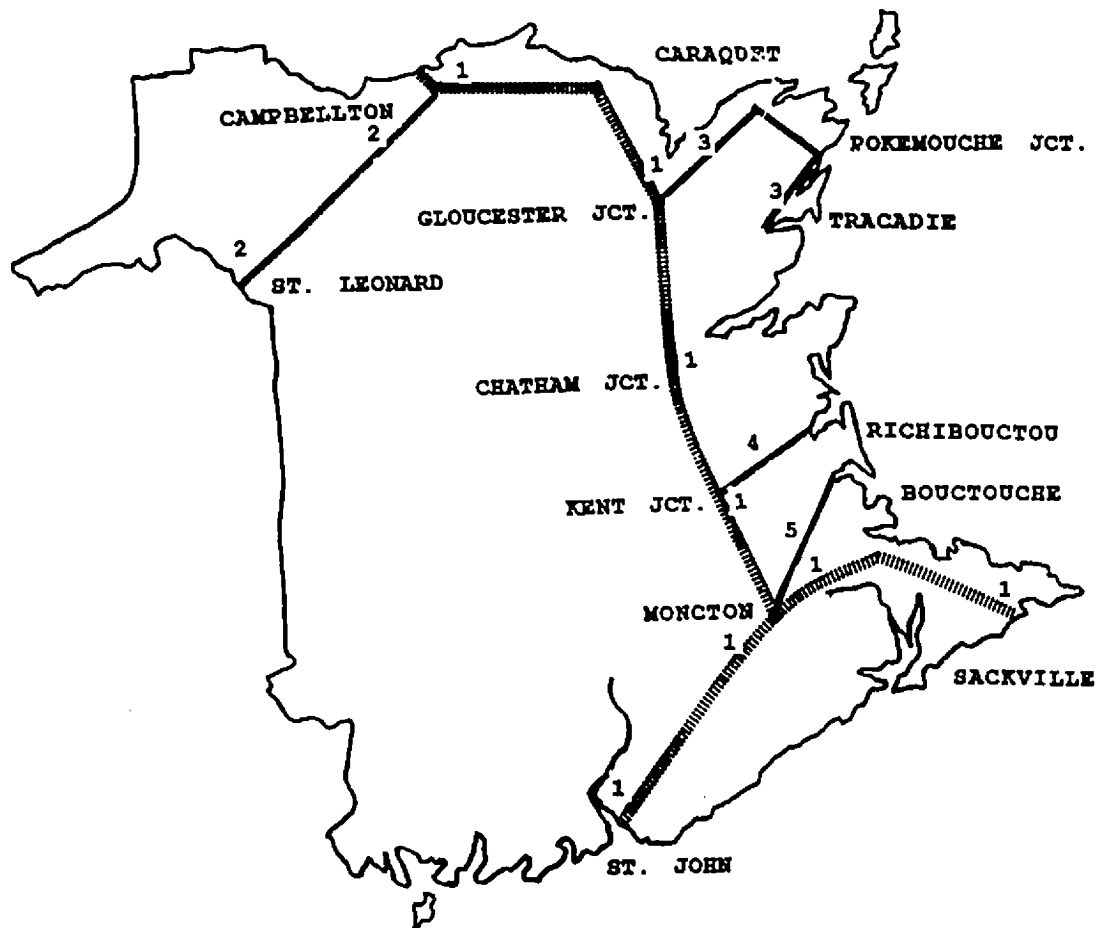
In Nova Scotia the Intercolonial followed the center of the Isthmus of Chignectou until it reached Truro. From there it darted northeasterly towards Pictou and southwesterly until it reached the port of Halifax; from the capital city it proceeded to Windsor. As in New Brunswick, various other railways passing through, or close to, Acadian areas joined this main line (see figure 2-7).⁸¹ Cape Breton Acadians could meet the Intercolonial by travelling on the Inverness Railway and Coal Company and the Cape Breton Railway Extension Company, both of which joined the Halifax and Cape Breton Railway at the Strait of Canso. This last line in turn connected with the I.C.R. at Stellarton. Acadians in Yarmouth County could travel the Halifax and Yarmouth Railway and the Halifax and South Western Railway to join the Intercolonial in the province's capital. As for the Acadians of Clare, they could use the Western Counties Railway which left Yarmouth and ran northerly towards Digby passing through Saint Mary's Bay. This route offered easy access to the steamers plying the waters between Digby and Saint John, a service that existed since the first half of the century.⁸² However, an inconvenience did present itself to those wishing to continue to Halifax. The "missing link" as it was called, joining the Western Counties and the Windsor and

⁸¹ Figure 2-7 is reproduced in part from the enlargement of a map found in G.R. Stevens, Canadian National Railways, Volume 2 (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Company Limited, 1962), p. 288.

⁸² See Isaiah W. Wilson, A Geography and History of the County of Digby, Nova Scotia (Belleville: Mika Studio, 1972), p. 161.

Figure 2 - 6

Major railroad lines in New Brunswick,
end of the 19th century

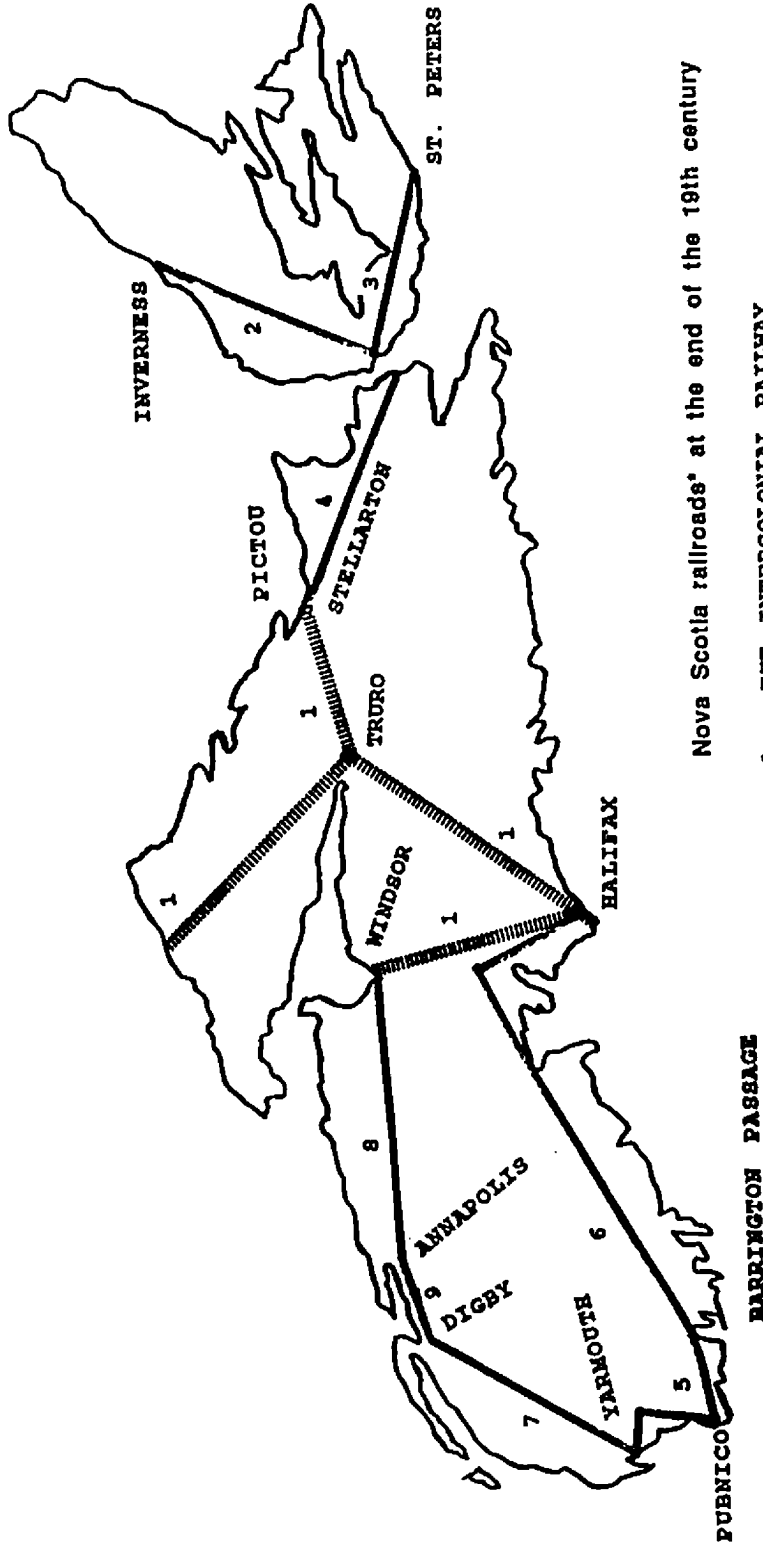


New Brunswick railroads* at the end of the 19th century

1. THE INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY
2. THE INTERNATIONAL RAILWAY OF NEW BRUNSWICK
3. THE CARAQUET AND GULF SHORE RAILWAY
4. THE KENT NORTHERN RAILWAY
5. THE BOUCTOUCHE AND MONCTON RAILWAY

* Does not show all rail lines in the province

Major railroad lines in Nova Scotia, end of the 19th century



Nova Scotia railroads* at the end of the 19th century

1. THE INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY
2. INVERNESS RAILWAY AND COAL COMPANY
3. CAPE BRETON RAILWAY EXTENSION COMPANY
4. HALIFAX AND CAPE BRETON RAILWAY
5. HALIFAX AND YARMOUTH RAILWAY
6. HALIFAX AND SOUTH WESTERN RAILWAY
7. WESTERN COUNTIES RAILWAY
8. WINDSOR AND ANNAPOLIS RAILWAY
9. MISSING LINK COMPLETED IN 1894

* Does not include all railway lines in the province

Annapolis Railway systems, was only completed in 1894. In that year the two lines were incorporated giving birth to the Dominion Atlantic Railway.

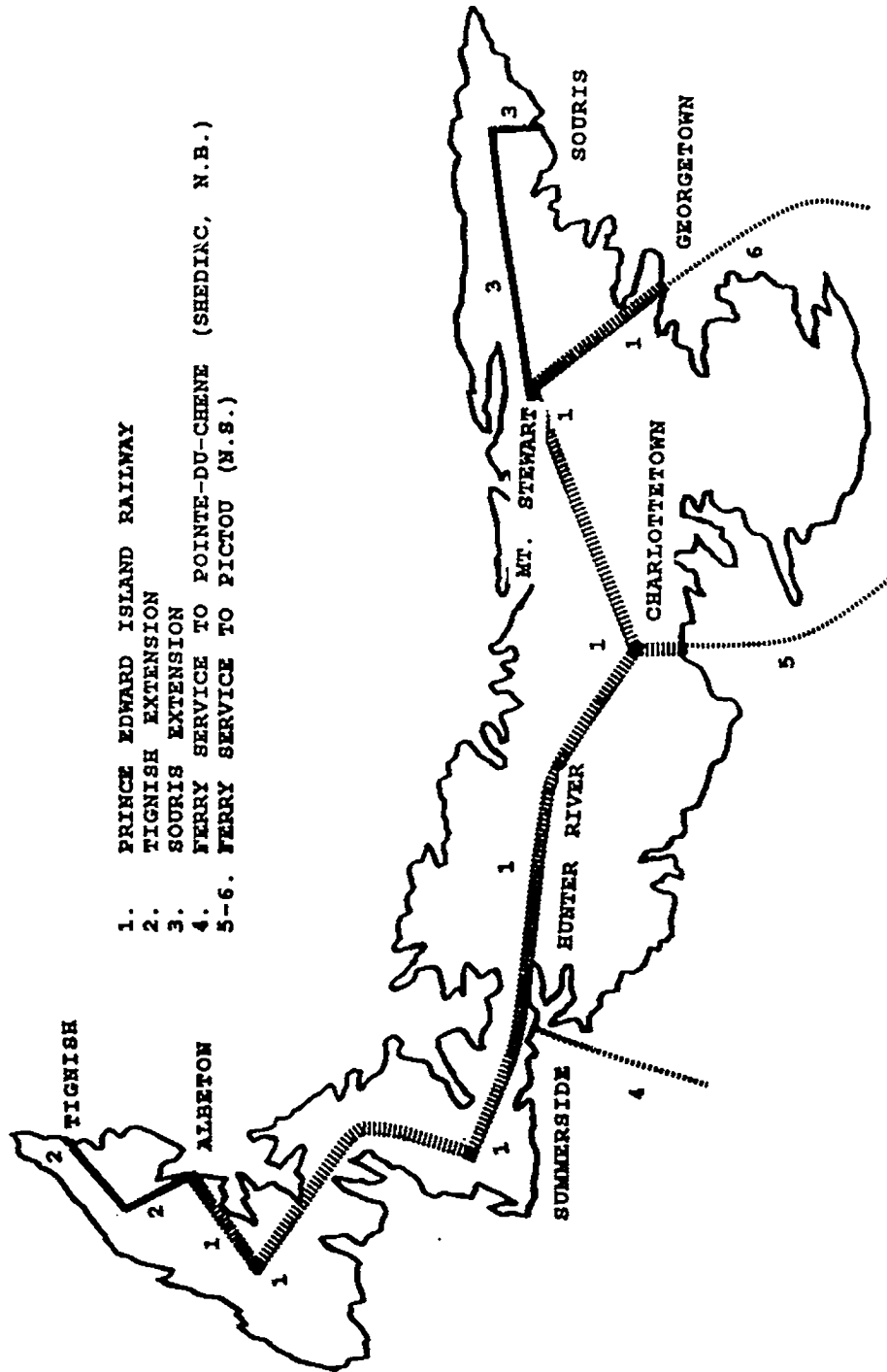
On Prince Edward Island railway building began in earnest in the early 1870s when the Pope government, acting on the "mild railway mania" of Islanders, passed railway legislation to build a line from Alberton on the western side of the Island to Georgetown on the east.⁸³ The Prince Edward Island Railway would leave Cascumpèque Bay at Alberton, pass through Summerside, Charlottetown, and on to Georgetown via Mount Stewart, a distance calling for nearly one hundred and fifty miles of track. Despite a change in government the project went along; in fact when the incumbent administration was replaced by the Robert Haythorne ministry in 1872, contracts were awarded to build extensions to Tignish and Souris, a move which brought Acadians in contact with the main line (see figure 2-8).⁸⁴ With the addition of federal government steamers such as the "Albert" in 1876, the "Northern Light" in 1878 and the "Stanley" in 1888, Prince Edward Island was "hooked up" to its sister provinces in the Maritime transportation network.⁸⁵ Le Moniteur Acadien commented on how easily the Island could be reached for the 1884 national convention to be held at Miscouche. Ferry service between Pointe-du-Chêne, New Brunswick, and Summerside, railway travel

⁸³ F.W.P. Bolger, "The Coy Maiden Resists, 1867-1872" in Francis Bolger (ed) Canada's Smallest Province (Charlottetown: The Centennial Commission, 1973), p. 200.

⁸⁴ Figure 2-8 is reproduced in part from a map in A.H. Clark, Three Centuries and the Island, pp. 4-5.

⁸⁵ Mary Cullen, "The Transportation Issue 1873-1973" in Canada's Smallest Province, pp. 234 and 243. Private ventures such as the A. Strange Company of Cape Tormentine also provided transportation services between the Island and the mainland. See L'Évangéline, July 3, 1884, p. 2.

Major railroad lines and ferry service, on Prince Edward Island, end of the 19th century



from that port to Miscouche, and reduced rates for participants eliminated any argument for not attending because of the insular nature of the host parish.⁸⁶

Thus by 1900, Acadians in the Maritime Provinces had been brought closer together than at any other time since their resettling of the area. The work of consolidation that had resulted from the founding of colleges and the establishing of an indigenous press had been complemented by improved means of transportation permitting easier travel and also providing the means of distributing the Acadian press so vital to the rise of national consciousness. With these factors in place the impact was an accumulation of militancy, highlighted by the institutionalization of mass gatherings by Acadian leaders.

The idea to hold "national" conventions began in 1880 in Quebec when the *Société Saint-Jean Baptiste* invited Francophones from all over the North American continent to attend their festivities. Accordingly, a "considerable number of Acadians from the Maritime Provinces answered the invitation" and it was there that the decision to convene "at home" was made.⁸⁷ The following year Memramcook played host to the first of a series of conventions which dominated the nationalist scene for the immediate future. At this initial gathering the foundations were laid for the *Société Nationale L'Assomption*, a standing committee whose executive became the mouthpiece of Acadian nationalists and whose duty it was to organize subsequent conventions for the next

⁸⁶ Le Moniteur Acadien, July 31, 1884, p. 2.

⁸⁷ Pascal Poirier, "Mémoires," CSHA, Vol. IV, No. 3, 1971.

quarter century.⁸⁸ Accordingly, between 1881 and 1913 seven of these assemblies were called in various localities throughout the Maritimes.⁸⁹ There a host of topics, which the lay and clerical leadership thought pertinent to Acadian cultural survival, were debated. These ranged from discussions on education, colonization, religion, agriculture, and emigration, to the acceptance of visible means of cultural identification such as the choice of a national feast-day, a flag and a national anthem.⁹⁰

The aim of these conventions was more or less outlined by the president of the first one, Pierre-Amand Landry, who by 1881 was New Brunswick's minister of Public Works. In the opening speech of the convention Landry stated:

Nous n'avons en vue qu'un seul but, qu'une seule idée à réaliser dans les procédés de ce jour; ce but, Messieurs, cette idée c'est le progrès des Acadiens-Français [sic] du Canada; c'est l'avancement de notre race... Nous voulons affirmer et faire mieux apprécier le beau caractère de la famille acadienne. C'est au moyen de conventions et de réunions fréquentes que nous pourrons, dispersés comme nous le sommes, nous mieux connaître et nous entrestimer de plus en plus... C'est par l'union que notre influence se fera sentir et que nous pourrons par des

⁸⁸ The *Société Nationale L'Assomption* should not be confused with the *Société L'Assomption*, a mutual society founded in Waltham Massachusetts in 1903 with the purpose of financially assisting Acadians in a variety of fields one of which was education. In order to distinguish the two bodies their names were often shortened to simply, *la Nationale*, or *la Mutuelle*.

⁸⁹ The choice of sites for the years pertinent to this chapter were as follows: Memramcook, N.B. (1881); Miscouche, P.E.I. (1884); Church Point, N.S. (1890); Arichat, N.S. (1900); Caraquet, N.B. (1905); Saint Basile, N.B. (1908); and Tignish, P.E.I. (1913). These national conventions did not end in 1913 but continued somewhat regularly until 1937 when difficulties with the society resulted in a twenty year period of near inactivity. The conventions reconvened in 1957 at Memramcook.

⁹⁰ The "national" day chosen at Memramcook in 1881 by the delegates to the convention was the feast of the Assumption of Mary (August 15). It was at Miscouche three years later that a flag (French tricolor with a star in the blue sector), and the hymn "Ave Maris Stella" were designated as the national flag and anthem. For a recent article on the Acadian flag see Perry Biddiscombe, "Le Tricolore et l'étoile: The Origin of the Acadian National Flag, 1867-1912," *Acadiensis*, Vol. XX, No. 1, 1990, pp. 121-147.

moyens légitimes faire grandir nos intérêts nationaux, industriels et sociaux.⁹¹

Within the framework of these general aims, the leadership concentrated on a two-fold way of viewing Acadians. One was a retrospective examination of the turbulent years of exile and the struggling years after the return. The other incorporated a forward-looking stance designed to assure that the next generation would benefit from the agitation for change.⁹² The new order so central to the leadership's philosophy, was to be sought within the existing structure of government and society, and accordingly Landry reiterated in 1881:

Nous voulons par cette convention supputer notre nombre, calculer nos ressources, constater que comme sujets loyaux d'une bonne et gracieuse Reine [sic], nous vivons dans un pays libre, privilégié où il est permis à tous d'aspirer aux plus hautes positions et d'atteindre le plus haut degré de l'échelle sociale et politique.⁹³

Thus, by the arrival of the twentieth century, the Acadians of the Maritimes could feel optimistic about the advances they had made within regional society. They had recovered from the events of 1755 and had progressed throughout the nineteenth century, especially since Confederation, to such a degree that they were a force to be reckoned with. Their colleges and press worked to curb fragmentation and a middle class had emerged to provide leadership for mass action. The national conventions provided the focus for carrying further the struggle for group recognition. These rallies,

⁹¹ Pierre-Amand Landry quoted in Ferdinand Robidoux (ed.) Les Conventions Nationales des Acadiens, Volume I, pp. 28 and 30.

⁹² For a good insight into the leadership's ideology, see Camille Richard's M.A. thesis, "L'Idéologie de la première convention nationale acadienne".

⁹³ Pierre-Amand Landry quoted in Ferdinand Robidoux (ed.) Les Conventions Nationales des Acadiens, Volume I, p. 30.

sometimes involving as many as five thousand people, could be emotionally-charged events, creating among leaders and followers major opportunities for self-congratulations and calls for new conquests.⁹⁴ Among these conquests none featured more prominently than the desire to see an Acadian presence established within the upper echelons of the Roman Catholic Church hierarchy. In other words the nationalist movement had matured to a level where militants were prepared to insist that an Acadian should become bishop. The next chapter will elaborate that point.

⁹⁴ Le Moniteur Acadien, July 28, 1881, p. 2. Although Le Moniteur of that day reported that "environ 5,000 étrangers ont visité Memramcook pendant ces deux jours," all the people counted in the 1881 convention did not participate in the deliberations. To arrive at the figure quoted above, counting was probably done at the socio-cultural events, i.e. picnic or open-air mass.

CHAPTER 3
THE STRUGGLE FOR THE NOMINATION OF THE FIRST ACADIAN
BISHOP:
"IL FAUT QUE L'ACADIE NOUS SOIT RENDUE"*

When the Acadians began resettling the Maritime Provinces after 1763, most of their institutional structures had been destroyed by the events of 1755. The deportation had in many instances dismembered the family unit, and the creation of social, political, and educational institutions was still a goal for future generations. Yet throughout the initial years of resettlement and later during the nineteenth century, one institution endured. Although the Roman Catholic Church of early Maritime Canada was at times maintained only by the conviction and zeal of its adherents, [and sometimes even that was lacking] it was to evolve as one of the main pillars of the "new" Acadia, so much so that a symbiotic relationship developed between Roman Catholicism and "Acadianism." Language and faith were closely meshed and eventually they came to be regarded by leading activists as a single composite thread innate to the Acadian identity.¹ The last decades of the nineteenth century and the initial years of the twentieth, during the sometimes bitter struggle to have an Acadian appointed bishop in one of the Maritime Sees, demonstrated to what extent Roman Catholicism was part of the Acadian fabric. In

* The thought that "Acadia" should be restored to Acadians was expressed in a letter from Pierre-Amand Landry to Pascal Poirier on March 14, 1909 (7.1-18, CEA). Landry drew the analogy that only the nomination of an Acadian bishop would make Acadians feel "at home" in religious matters.

¹ Sister K. Fay Trombley develops this theme for both Acadians and French Canadians in her Ph.D. dissertation "Thomas Louis Connolly (1815-1876): The man and his place in Secular and Ecclesiastical History," Faculty of Theology, Catholic University of Leuven, Belgium, 1983, p. 263.

a period of heightened nationalist fervor, Acadians could not accept attitudes that excluded them from the local religious hierarchy especially when they had already made so much progress in social, political, and civil areas. By the turn of the century fifteen individuals had been enthroned as bishops or archbishops of the Maritime dioceses and all had been of Irish or Scottish extraction. Acadian nationalists set out to change that situation.

In order to better understand the Acadian struggle for episcopal patronage in the Maritimes, it is necessary to recall important developments dating as far back as the British Conquest. The events of the 1763-1850 period, both in Quebec and in Nova Scotia, set the tone for what would transpire in the struggle to nominate the first Acadian bishop.

When a British victory in New France was formally recognized in the signing of articles of capitulation on September 8, 1760, the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec was at its lowest ebb since the early years of colonization. Not only were the new masters traditionally hostile to the teachings of Rome, but also the Bishop of Quebec had died three months earlier. Would the British Crown permit the consecration of his successor? It appeared unlikely for Jeffery Amherst had written "refused" alongside article 30 of the capitulation of Montreal, which required the Crown to name a bishop of the Catholic faith should the colony remain British after the peace treaty.² Lack of a bishop meant that no priests could be ordained, and the consequences of that for the Catholic Church were ominous.

The administration of the Catholic Church in Quebec was carried on during the 1760-66 period through a system of vicars. Before he died on June 8, 1760, the Bishop

² Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty (eds.), Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-1791, Volume I (Ottawa: Thomas Mulvey, 1921), p. 14.

of Quebec, Msgr. Henri-Marie de Pontbriand, had named Father Jean-Olivier Briand as Vicar General.³ Father Briand, who had won the esteem of the other vicars, quickly gained the confidence of Governor Murray. The Vicar understood well that opposition to the new order would only destroy all hopes of harmony between the Catholic Church and the British State. He therefore advocated reconciliation, continuously reminding his flock that if the British monarch was in fact the new sovereign of French- Canadian Catholics, then it was the duty of the Church and all its adherents to recognize him as such.⁴ Armed with letters of recommendation from Murray, Briand departed for London to lobby for the reinstatement of the Bishopric of Quebec. British officialdom consented, on the condition that Father Briand go to France and be consecrated without fanfare and that he accept the title of "Superintendent of the Catholic Church in Canada," rather than the title of bishop.⁵ This done, he returned to Quebec in June 1766 and, from the new governor, Sir Guy Carleton, obtained permission to name and consecrate an assistant bishop, or coadjutor bishop, with the right of succession.⁶ The Catholic Church's position in Quebec now rested on firmer footing.

³ A vicar is an official of the church who acts as a deputy to the bishop in the administration of a given diocese. A vicar general would be the first among vicars. In all, six vicars administered the Diocese of Quebec in the six years when no bishop occupied the See. Three vicars saw to the affairs of the church in "Canada" while three looked after the outposts of the diocese, i.e. Mississippi, Detroit and Acadia.

⁴ André Vachon, Mgr. Jean-Olivier Briand (1715-1794) (Québec: Les Éditions des Dix, 1979), p. 11-12.

⁵ Lucien Lemieux, L'Établissement de la première province ecclésiastique au Canada - 1783-1844 (Ottawa: Fides, 1968), p. 9.

⁶ A coadjutor is a bishop appointed by Rome to assist the bishop of a given see. The coadjutor is often granted the right of succession upon the death of the incumbent although this is not necessarily the case in all instances.

For the next half century, that is, from the reinstatement of the bishopric of Quebec in 1766 to the creation of a vicar apostolic in Nova Scotia in 1817, Acadians in the Maritimes fell under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Quebec.⁷ Unfortunately for these people, certain conditions and attitudes prevalent at the time made the future of Catholicism for the French-speaking Acadians of the diocese precarious. In the first place, Monsignor Briand had promised Acadians that they would have their priests, but with the supply of clerics cut off from France, upon the closing of the Jesuit College by the British authorities, and with only one hundred thirty-eight priests at his disposal in 1768, his intentions, good though they might have been, were certainly beyond realization.⁸ Accordingly, an itinerant ministry was organized with Father Charles-François Bailly de Messein being the first to visit the Maritimes in 1768. Not before the end of the century would priests take up permanent residence among the Acadians.

The attitudes of the first four post-conquest bishops towards Acadians of the diocese reveal how little the Quebec prelates understood the Acadian historical and cultural situation during the years of post-deportation resettlement. Monsignor Briand reminded Acadians that they must submit to the King in the same manner that they were submitted to God: "Nous vous exhortons donc... à vous conserver aussi

⁷ The Maritime Provinces separated from the religious jurisdiction of Quebec when the Vatican established the office of vicar apostolic in Nova Scotia. Although it does not carry the name of "diocese" its functions, including direct responsibility to Rome, are similar. The Diocese of Halifax would only be erected as such in 1842.

⁸ The promise that Acadians would have priests was made by Msgr. Jean-Olivier Briand in his "Pastoral Letter dated August 16, 1766". It was reproduced in Rapport de l'archiviste de la Province du Québec, 1929-1930 (Québec: Redempti Paradis, 1930), p. 66. The scarcity of priests in the Diocese of Quebec is evident in Mémoire sur les Missions de la Nouvelle-Écosse, du Cap Breton, et de L'Île-du-Prince-Édouard de 1760 à 1820 (Québec: C. Darveau, 1895), p. 10. This "mémoire" was written by the Quebec hierarchy to refute some of the statements made by Msgr. Cornelius O'Brien in his Memoirs of Rt. Rev. Edmund Burke.

scrupuleusement attachés et fidèles à notre roi qu'à Dieu, parce que vous ne pouvez plaire à Dieu qu'autant que vous serez soumis au roi."⁹ This would be a very difficult philosophy for Acadians to comprehend, given what had happened eleven years earlier. Referring to the events of 1755, Msgr. Jean-Olivier Briand admonished Acadians to forget their "ill-planned" past conduct and concentrate instead on their present status.¹⁰ Briand's successor, Msgr. Louis-Philippe d'Esglis, reiterated this theme by cautioning Acadians that "vous ne pouvez être bons chrétiens ni vrais catholiques, si vous n'êtes bons et loyaux sujets de Sa Majesté."¹¹

Advocating the doctrine of submission to authority was a well accepted strategy of the Catholic Church at this period. But what gave the Acadian situation its particular twist was that the hierarchy in Quebec apparently cared little whether religious authority in the Maritimes was exercised in English or in French. While French-Canadian bishops held steadfastly to the principal of French-speaking priests for Quebec, they identified not at all with the linguistic aspirations of Acadians. In 1787 Monsignor d'Esglis told Acadians in southwestern Nova Scotia not to be troubled if they were sent English missionaries, but rather to take care of them and hope that before long, "ils sauront assez le français pour confesser et instruire ceux d'entre vous qui n'entendez pas l'anglais."¹² When Father James Jones arrived in Nova Scotia from Cork, Ireland, Monsignor

⁹ Msgr. Jean-Olivier Briand, "Pastoral Letter, June 28, 1766" quoted in Mémoire sur les Missions de la Nouvelle-Écosse du Cap Breton et de l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard de 1760-1930, p. 13.

¹⁰ Msgr. Jean-Olivier Briand, "Pastoral Letter, August 16, 1766" quoted in Rapport de l'archiviste de la Province de Québec. 1929-1930, p. 66.

¹¹ Msgr. Louis-Philippe d'Esglis, "Pastoral Letter, October 19, 1787" in Msgr. H. Têtu and Abbé Gagnon (eds.) Mandements, Lettres Pastorales et Circulaires des Evêques du Québec, Volume 10 (Québec: Imprimerie générale A. Côté et Cie, 1888), p. 338.

¹² Ibid., pp. 337-338.

d'Esglis informed him "that henceforth English-speaking clergy would be the 'only reserve' for the territory entrusted to his care. Even Acadians would have to be content with them."¹³ And although the Acadians of Saint Mary's Bay petitioned the new bishop in 1790 for a priest who knew "a fonds [sic] la langue française et qu'il soit capable de nous expliquer en cette langue l'Evangile," Bishop Hubert wrote Lord Dorchester asking for English-speaking priests from the British Isles to serve Acadians who, he claimed, knew well the English language.¹⁴

This indifference to language discernible on the part of French-Canadian prelates after the Conquest probably stems from two principal sources. The status quo made for a peculiar state of affairs vis-à-vis the Catholic Church in Canada. As late as 1812, Msgr. Joseph-Octave Plessis of Quebec still complained of the possible dangers to the Catholic Church from "heretics" supported by a "Protestant Government." He also noted how "la Religion [sic] Catholique [sic] y semble exposée à de nouveaux dangers à chaque mutation d'évêque."¹⁵ Although the British authorities had permitted its continuation, the Church always desired to proceed with caution so as not to offend. For example, Bishop d'Esglis of Quebec had intended to send an Acadian priest, Father Bourg who was working in the Bay of Chaleur area, to take up duties in Halifax as vicar

¹³ Terrence Murphy, "The Emergence of Maritime Catholicism, 1781-1830" in P.A. Buckner and David Frank (eds.) The Acadiensis Reader: Volume I - Atlantic before Confederation, p. 73.

¹⁴ See "Mémoire des Habitants de la Baye [sic] Sainte-Marie, Septembre 15, 1790," 312 CN, Vol. I, AAQ and Msgr. Jean-François Hubert, "Memoir to Lord Dorchester" quoted in N.E. Dionne, Les Ecclésiastiques et les Royalistes Français Réfugiés au Canada (Québec: publisher not listed, 1905), p. 330.

¹⁵ Msgr. Joseph-Octave Plessis, "Le journal des visites pastorales en Acadie" in CSHA, Vol. 11, No. 1, 2 and 3, 1980, p. 55. Msgr. Plessis was named Bishop of Quebec in 1806 and 1819 Rome made him the first Archbishop of Quebec, a position he held until his death in 1825.

of the area. This would have proven beneficial to the Acadian Catholic population. Then the church trustees in Halifax decided that it was an English-speaking priest they wanted, and so they recruited on their own Father James Jones from Ireland.¹⁶ Catholic Haligonians had overruled the Quebec prelate's authority, and Bishop d'Esclis acquiesced. He may have reasoned that accommodation on the fringes served the Church's interests in the Saint Lawrence heartland.

Secondly, the episcopacy's tendency to be insensitive to Acadian views was the result of ignorance of the Acadian situation in the Maritimes. In 1784 the vicar of Quebec, Father Gravé, wrote Father Bourg asking him to discover how many Catholics there were in Nova Scotia, for the Bishop of Quebec had no idea.¹⁷ When Bishop Plessis of Quebec undertook a voyage to the Acadian portions of his diocese in 1812, he admitted his lack of knowledge of the area. He believed that the only way to get a clear picture of the Acadians and their needs was to undertake such a pastoral visit: "Il faut les [i.e. Acadien needs] connaître, et on ne connaît bien que par soi-même et par ses yeux."¹⁸ Because Acadians had been conquered by the British over half a century earlier, because they had suffered an expulsion, and because they had been permitted to return among an English-speaking majority, it was easy to lump them together with the dominant group. It was a short step to concluding that Acadians were "more British" than their cousins in Quebec, who only recently had come under British sovereignty. Monsignor Hubert's assumption that because they all understood the language well,

¹⁶ Terrence Murphy, "Priests, People and Polity: Trusteeism in the First Catholic Congregation at Halifax, 1785-1801" in Terrence Murphy and Cyril Byrne (eds.) Religion and Identity, p.69.

¹⁷ As quoted in Abbé Auguste Gosselin, L'Église du Canada Après la Conquête: Deuxième Partie, 1775-1789 (Québec: Imprimerie Laflamme, 1917), p. 160.

¹⁸ Msgr. Joseph-Octave Plessis, "Le journal des visites pastorales en Acadie," p. 55.

Acadians would not be troubled by English-speaking priests summed up the mentality of the church hierarchy in Quebec.

If Quebec bishops had been initially hesitant to heed Acadian linguistic preferences in religious matters, they found even more reasons to do so early in the nineteenth century. With the arrival of European immigrants to the Maritime region, Catholicism was no longer largely confined to the Acadians and Amerindians. More and more the Maritimes took on the character of ethnic pluralism. By the turn of the century, it has been estimated that between eight and ten thousand Scots were settled in Nova Scotia.¹⁹ A steady stream of Irish immigrants added to the nearly one thousand entrenched in the Halifax region, some going as far back as the founding of the town in 1749.²⁰ The influx would be even more pronounced after the Napoleonic Wars, when nearly forty thousand would arrive in Nova Scotia alone from the British Isles and Newfoundland. Of these "nearly 22,000 [were] thought to be Scots, 13,000 Irish and 2,000 English."²¹ Among the Celts, Roman Catholics were in the majority.

Maritime Catholicism soon began to reflect the characteristics of the incoming tide of immigrants. Encountering no opposition from Quebec prelates (as has been shown above), the new arrivals became especially eager to assert themselves. When the ambitious Father Edmund Burke succeeded in having Nova Scotia separated from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Quebec in 1817 and in having himself named as Vicar

¹⁹ D. Campbell and R.A. MacLean, Beyond the Atlantic Roar: A Study of Nova Scotia Scots (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1974), p. 20.

²⁰ Terrence M. Punch, "The Irish Catholic, Halifax's First Minority Group," Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly, Vol. 10, No.1, 1980, p. 29.

²¹ J. S. Martell, Immigration to and Emigration From Nova Scotia, 1815-1838 (Halifax: The Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1942), p. 13.

General of the province the following year, the non-French character of the regional hierarchy was assured.²² As Terrence Murphy has noted:

This ecclesiastical independence added greatly to the confidence and self-sufficiency of the immigrant Catholic community but did little to solve one of its most abiding problems, relations with the Acadians. The new bishoprics were placed exclusively in the hands of Irish and Scots, while French-speaking candidates were pointedly excluded.²³

Msgr. Edmund Burke died two years after the division of the diocese had taken place. In 1825, the title of Vicar Apostolic passed to the Scottish priest, William Fraser. In the meantime the rapidly increasing Catholic population of Prince Edward Island, again mainly as a result of transatlantic migrations, was used to justify the creation of a see in that portion of the Diocese of Quebec.²⁴ Rome consented and proceeded to establish the Diocese of Charlottetown in 1829 with the Scottish priest, Bernard Angus McEachern serving as its first bishop.

Msgr. William Fraser held the title of Vicar Apostolic of Nova Scotia until 1842. In that year the Diocese of Halifax was officially created and Monsignor Fraser became its titular

²² The Vatican agreed to detach Nova Scotia from the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Quebec in 1817 and have Burke named Vicar Apostolic in 1818. This however, could only be done upon the consent of Bishop Plessis of Quebec; after all it was his diocese that was being dismembered. Plessis wrote to Burke: "Dans tous les cas, et de n'importe quelle façon que la chose soit arrangée, je la trouve à mon avantage, c'est-à-dire, d'avoir une province de moins sur la conscience". See "Msgr. J.O. Plessis to Msgr. Edmund Burke, September 10, 1816 as quoted by Placide Gaudet in 1.58-8, CEA.

²³ Terrence Murphy, "Introduction" in Terrence Murphy and Cyril J. Byrne (eds.) Religion and Identity (Saint John's: Jesperson Press, 1987), p. iii. Two such possible candidates were Fathers Antoine Gagnon of Grande-Digue, New Brunswick, and Jean-Mandé Sigogne of Saint Mary's Bay.

²⁴ By the time of Msgr. McEachern's elevation to the Charlottetown See the Island population would have been close to thirty thousand. See Andrew Hill Clark, Three Centuries and the Island, p. 66.

bishop. He was given a coadjutor in the person of Msgr. William Walsh. When the Diocese of Arichat was created in 1844 to accommodate the largely Scottish Catholic population of northeastern Nova Scotia, Monsignor Fraser was appointed there, while Bishop Walsh replaced him in the Halifax See.²⁵ The number of Maritime Sees rose to four when a diocese in New Brunswick was established in 1843 with Msgr. William Dollard as its first prelate.²⁶ The year 1852 marked an important point in the history of Maritime Catholicism for in that year Rome decided to constitute the regional dioceses into an ecclesiastical province with the archbishop, or metropolitan, seated at Halifax. One more diocese was added to the new province in 1860 when Msgr. James Rogers was consecrated first bishop of the Diocese of Chatham, thus bringing the hierarchical structure of the Maritime to what it was at the time of Monsignor LeBlanc's consecration in 1912.²⁷

²⁵ In 1866 Bishop Cameron transferred the episcopal see from Arichat to Antigonish, as it remains to this day. For an insight into the career of this prelate see R.A. MacLean, Bishop John Cameron: Piety and Politics (Antigonish: The Casket Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd., 1991).

²⁶ Although the first bishop of the civil province of New Brunswick was seated at Fredericton, after Msgr. Dollard's death the see was moved to Saint John in 1852 with Msgr. Thomas Louis Connolly as bishop.

²⁷ For a complete list of the bishops and archbishops of the Maritime Sees in the 1818-1912 period see Fig. 3-1.

Figure 3 - 1

MARITIME BISHOPS AND ARCHBISHOPS, 1818-1912

DIOCESE OF HALIFAX:	1818: Msgr. Edmund Burke, vicar apostolic
	1825: Msgr. William Fraser, vicar apostolic
	1842: Msgr. William Fraser, first bishop
	1844: Msgr. William Walsh
	1852: Msgr. William Walsh, first archbishop
	1859: Msgr. Thomas L. Connolly
	1877: Msgr. Michael Hannan
	1883: Msgr. Cornelius O'Brien
	1906: Msgr. Edward McCarthy
	DIOCESE OF CHARLOTTETOWN:
1837: Msgr. Bernard-Donald McDonald	
1860: Msgr. Peter McIntyre	
1891: Msgr. James Charles McDonald	
DIOCESE OF SAINT JOHN:	1843: Msgr. William Dollard
	1852: Msgr. Thomas L. Connolly
	1860: Msgr. John Sweeney
	1901: Msgr. Timothy Casey
	1912: Msgr. Édouard A. LeBlanc
DIOCESE OF ANTIGONISH:	1844: Msgr. William Fraser
	1852: Msgr. Colin MacKinnon
	1877: Msgr. John Cameron
	1912: Msgr. James Morrison
DIOCESE OF CHATHAM:	1860: Msgr. James Rogers
	1902: Msgr. Thomas F. Barry

Within the overall struggle that had begun fermenting in the 1880s, the creation of an Acadian bishop ranked high among the priorities of nationalist agitators.²⁸ Given the progress realized in the civil sector (i.e. in the fields of law, politics, and education), it became ever more apparent that the church was failing to keep pace with change. There were Acadian priests in the area, but none of them occupied decision-making positions within the church structure. Although Acadian militants had no specific plan of action outlined for "their" bishop he would nevertheless be valuable as a mechanism to assure that their voice would be heard. It was a way to make Acadians feel *chez eux*, with regards to one of the main pillars of their society. So strong was this sentiment that it dwarfed purely linguistic considerations. The candidate for the episcopacy would have to be an Acadian, so reasoned the nationalists. A French-speaking bishop from another ethnic group would not suffice. Indeed, in 1900 the Acadian priests of the Diocese of Chatham preferred having another Irish prelate over a French Canadian one. For these priests, the naming of an Irish bishop was only another example of how Acadians were being dominated by the incumbent hierarchy. On the other hand, to accept a French Canadian as bishop would be an acknowledgement of Acadian inferiority within French-

²⁸ Although there was a movement in the last decades of the nineteenth century to have an Acadian consecrated bishop, it was not the first effort to have a Francophone nominated. On at least two occasions towards the middle of the century (i.e. on the death Msgr. McEachern of Charlottetown in 1835 and upon the creation of a New Brunswick See in 1842) a French Canadian priest, Antoine Gagnon, active in the area since 1809, had been proposed for the episcopacy. For more insight into the colorful career of Gagnon see Ronnie-Gilles LeBlanc, "Antoine Gagnon and the Mitre: A Model of Relations Between *Canadien*, Scottish and Irish Clergy in the Early Maritime Church" in Terrence Murphy and Cyril J. Byrne (eds.) *Religion and Identity*, pp. 98-113.

speaking groups; "it would be adding insult to injury."²⁹

Relations between Acadians and the Irish/Scot dominated clergy were becoming strained early in the second half of the nineteenth century, long before any lobbying for an Acadian bishop had been undertaken. One of the major points of contention revolved around the language issue. Although the prelates had managed to get some French priests from France and Quebec, the strong presence of English-speaking priests in Acadian parishes of the Maritimes caused some to question the bishops' motives.³⁰ Israel Landry, founder of Le Moniteur Acadien, believed that some of the ordinaries and their English-speaking priests were anti-French and were actively involved in a campaign to anglicize Acadians.³¹ Others viewed with suspicion the prelates' reactions when asked to seek French-speaking priests. One Acadian from Bouctouche described vividly

²⁹ "Father J.A. Babineau to Pierre-Amand Landry, February 3, 1900," 5.1-3, CEA. The emphasis is noted in the letter.

This was not the first time that activists had manifested a desire to have "things Acadian" instead of French Canadian. At the 1881 convention a faction within the assembly wanted the *Saint-Jean Baptiste* day (June 24) as the Acadian national holiday. This motion was defeated on the grounds that Acadians were not *Québécois* and should have their own feast day.

³⁰ French priests working in the Maritimes at the beginning of the nineteenth century were often here as a result of fleeing the French Revolution. Prominent among these were Father Sigogne at Saint Mary's Bay, Father Lajemtel at Arichat, Cape Breton, and Father Jacques-Ladislas-Joseph de Calonne on Prince Edward Island. Among the various French-Canadian priests working in the Maritimes during the nineteenth century we can identify Fathers Gagnon and Pâquet in New Brunswick, Berthe and Cruzier in Nova Scotia, and Beaubien and Belcourt on Prince Edward Island.

³¹ Israel Landry maintained that Father Cameron of Arichat was "un vrai anti-français" and he described Bishop McIntyre of Charlottetown as "cherchant à anglifier nos populations." (See Israel Landry to Rameau de St. Père, May 20, 1867" in 2.1-8, CEA). Georges Arsenault in his La Religion et les Acadiens de L'Île-du-Prince-Édouard, 1720-1980 (Summerside: La Société Saint-Thomas d'Aquin, 1983), pp. 50-51 prefers to describe Bishop McIntyre as one having an ambiguous personality for if he tried to anglicize Acadians he had changed his attitude by 1877 when he opposed the Schools Laws of that year and began a campaign for Acadian schools.

Bishop Sweeney's reaction to a request for French clerics:

Pour ce qui regarde les prêtres [français], je peux vous dire que nous n'en avons pas, et que le monde ici en a demandé à Monseigneur l'Evêque de St. Jean, et il ne nous en accorde pas. On s'est joint onze paroisses afin de supplier notre Evêque pour avoir des prêtres français. Huit ou dix jours après qu'il a eu reçu notre pétition j'ai eu occasion de le voir moi-même et on a parlé de la pétition, il était tout à fait fâché, et il nous a fait reproche que nous l'avions insulté lui et ses prêtres irlandais en lui ayant envoyé cette pétition. Comment voulez-vous que nous puissions avoir des prêtres français puisque on nous les refusent lorsque nous les demandons.³²

In Nova Scotia the situation differed little, with individuals complaining that "l'anglicanisation [sic] des Acadiens est le fait des prêtres irlandais."³³ Opposition by French-speaking priests may also be detected. One, Father Blanchet from Meteghan, wanted to leave the area over his dissatisfaction with Msgr. Thomas Connolly. He complained of how the Metropolitan "l'entoure des prêtres irlandais."³⁴

Discontentment with the prelates over their apparent disregard of Acadian wishes was carried beyond language issues in the individual parishes to encompass the much broader realm of nationalism in general. This episcopal opposition to things "national" became evident when Israel Landry attempted to establish Le Moniteur Acadien in 1867. The editor lamented: "Vous ne sauriez croire la peur que nos MM. Ecosais et Irlandais ont de voir réussir un journal acadien."³⁵ Getting more specific, Landry noted how Bishop McIntyre of Charlottetown discouraged his adventure because there were

³² "Léon Allain to U.J. Tessier, Septembre 25, 1865," 2.1-7, CEA.

³³ "Louis A. Surette to Rameau de St. Père, October 9, 1861," 2.1-3, CEA.

³⁴ "Louis A. Surette to Rameau de St. Père, April 1861," 2.1-3, CEA.

³⁵ "Israel Landry to Rameau de St. Père, May 20, 1867," 2.1-8, CEA.

sufficient English newspapers in the area without there being any need for a French one.³⁶

In a similar vein (although a bit later), Bishop Rogers' behavior towards *Collège Saint-Louis* further infuriated the Acadian leaders who saw that institution as a valuable tool for promoting national survival. The college had been founded by Msgr. Marcel-François Richard not only as a measure to counteract the education laws of 1871 but also as a means of undercutting what was perceived to be the Anglo-Irish domination of higher education in Memramcook. At the end of year ceremonies in 1882, Bishop Rogers dropped a bombshell by declaring that he was withdrawing his patronage, a move which in effect closed the institution. Why the Bishop acted the way he did has been a matter of controversy. The prelate and the nationalists offered divergent interpretations but the key point is that the Bishop's move was viewed as an attack on Acadian cultural advancement. National activists, such as Pierre-Amand Landry and Pascal Poirier, always maintained that the real motivation behind Bishop Rogers' decision was the "too frenchy" character of the institution.³⁷

Acadian criticism of the Anglo hierarchy during the last decades of the the nineteenth century was thus not without some foundation. This Victorian era had a fervent desire to make English institutions dominant in both the secular and religious

³⁶ "Israel Landry to Rameau de St. Père, May 20, 1867," 2.1-8, CEA.

³⁷ This was stated of Landry in a speech given in the House of Commons by Kennedy Burns, M.P. for Gloucester. See *Le Moniteur Acadien*, April 8, 1886, p. 2. See also Camille-Antonio Doucet, *Une étoile s'est levée en Acadie - Marcel-François Richard*, pp. 118-119.

spheres.³⁸ Bred with what D. C. Harvey termed a "vein of imperialism" and steeped in Loyalist traditions, the Maritime Provinces were a perfect haven for the ideology of English supremacy.³⁹ Carl Berger suggests that Nova Scotia, for example, not only had "the consciousness of belonging to an imperial partnership," but it also saw itself as "indispensable to the strength of the Empire in the North Atlantic."⁴⁰ Within this arena of English supremacy, the Maritime Catholic hierarchy attempted to find its own place. If it were to succeed, it could not be seen as also promoting French language and culture in the region. Although of Irish and Scottish ancestry, the local hierarchy had adopted "English ways" and thus saw no reason why their religion should not be "in English" as well. Since they had abandoned their native tongue and adopted the language of the majority, they were unable to understand why the French language should be a point of controversy in matters of religious devotion. Here ideologies began to clash. While Acadians held steadfastly to the notion that their French language and their Catholic faith were inseparable, the local hierarchy was convinced that Catholicism in the Maritimes should be in the English language. When Archbishop Connolly decided in the 1860s to have bilingual priests in his see, it was far from being an attempt to promote Acadian identity. Instead he simply intended it as a practical endeavor to ensure that every

³⁸ For example, on the question of public education in Nova Scotia, the acts of 1864 did not consider the Acadians in the province. On the contrary the Education Act "made even more difficult their [i.e. Acadian] feeble efforts to maintain their language, culture, and customs in the midst of an alien and sometimes hostile majority" See G.A. Rawlyk and Ruth Hafter, Acadian Education in Nova Scotia - An Historical Survey to 1965 (Ottawa: Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1970), p. 14.

³⁹ D.C. Harvey, "The Intellectual Awakening of Nova Scotia" in G. A. Rawlyk (ed.) Historical Essays on the Atlantic Provinces (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1967), p. 101.

⁴⁰ Carl Berger, The Sense of Power - Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), p. 23. Berger goes on to state that proportionate to the population, the Maritimes produced more imperialists than any other part of Canada.

member of his flock understood the message the Catholic Church wished to convey. Monsignor Connolly's view was that "in this happy country native French died out a century ago."⁴¹ His conclusions were that the teaching of French should be abolished because of the threat it posed to national unity.⁴² He offered little support to Acadian linguistic identity. In the same light, Msgr. Cornelius O'Brien's desire to have the Eudist Order from France come to Nova Scotia and establish *Collège Sainte-Anne* at Church Point need not necessarily be interpreted as the Archbishop's wish to see an extension of French language and culture within his diocese. This point is at least debatable in view of the way the Eudists themselves saw the situation. They had accepted the task, but the Eudists nevertheless remained suspicious of Monsignor O'Brien's motives and kept always on their guard, believing that "l'élément irlandais nous sera hostile."⁴³ It was with some consternation that the Eudists became aware of a letter that Archbishop O'Brien had written in 1890 to be read publicly at the third national convention at Church Point. In it he stressed the point that for any Acadian "un cours commercial anglais est de première nécessité." O'Brien implied that anyone who became "un obstacle à l'étude de la langue anglaise" was an enemy to Acadian progress.⁴⁴ In the light of such declarations, the Eudist Priests at Church Point felt they had to be alert

⁴¹ As quoted in Sister K. Fay Trombley, Thomas Louis Connolly (1815-1876): The man and his place in Secular and Ecclesiastical History, p. 280.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ "Father R.P. Cochet to Father J. Ory, February 20, 1895," AC - Lieux - Ch. P., *Archives de la Congrégation eudiste*, Charlesbourg, Québec [hereafter ACE].

⁴⁴ "Msgr. Cornelius O'Brien to Acadian delegates, August 1890," as quoted in Ferdinand Robidoux (ed.) Les Conventions Nationales des Acadiens, Volume I, p. 213.

to what they regarded as "subtle traps" set by the Archbishop.⁴⁵

At century's end prelatic attitudes towards Acadians and their status within Maritime society did not always convey a message apt to bring the two groups together. For example, Msgr. James Rogers believed that "the good moral and patriarchal virtues of the Acadians" had left them in a much better position during the period "of the isolation and separation" from the rest of Maritime society. He sentimentalized their seclusion as a "golden age," and he wished it could have continued.⁴⁶ No less condescending was Monsignor O'Brien's opinion, expressed a decade later that, "the sons of Erin... [had] made the Acadians what they [were]."⁴⁷ Such views indicate that Acadian suspicion and their resentment of the hierarchy in the latter half of the nineteenth century emerged not so much from paranoia as from explicit and hostile declarations by the Irish prelacy.

Despite these strong desires for an Acadian prelate, a demand building since the 1860s among Acadians, the struggle proceeded with extreme caution. During the 1880s

⁴⁵ This was especially true of Father Pierre-Marie Dagnaud, second rector at *Sainte-Anne*. See Father Basile Babin, Entre le marteau et l'enclume (Charlesbourg, Québec: les Pères Eudistes, 1981), p. 130.

⁴⁶ Msgr. James Rogers, "Reply to the Statement of Complaint of the Rev. M-F. Richard," c. 1885," 8.3-7, CEA.

⁴⁷ Msgr. Cornelius O'Brien, Memoirs of Rt. Rev. Edmund Burke: Bishop of Zion, First Vicar Apostolic of Nova Scotia (Ottawa: Thoburn and Company, 1894), p. 58. Valentin Landry maintained that this desire to consider oneself as superior came from the fact that in their homeland the Irish had been the dominated; it was now their turn to dominate. See his article "Voie d'Acadie" in Revue Franco-américaine, Vol. VII, No. 6, 1911, p. 437.

only two petitions had been sent to Rome seeking an Acadian bishop.⁴⁸ Neither was forceful nor was there a persistent follow-up. Public interest in this agitation was so poor that the second such petition had to be delayed because of an inability to recruit sufficient signatures.⁴⁹ Although nationalists were convinced that the appointment of one of theirs to a Maritime see was important, to challenge the direction of the Catholic Church was considered a very bold gesture by many within Acadian society.⁵⁰

The foundations of this attitude of submissiveness were twofold. Firstly, in 1755 Acadians had seen what could happen when authority was defied. Civil disobedience could result in catastrophe. What then could fate have in store once the church was attacked? Quoting what he had been told by his forefathers, Pascal Poirier stated the Acadian philosophy of non interference and obedience in church matters thusly: "N'ayez jamais de démêlé avec les prêtres et les évêques... souffrez, endurez tout plutôt." He concluded that: "Il me repugne d'accuser nos évêques catholiques à Rome, moi qui suis si peu de choses."⁵¹ Those priests adhering to the nationalist cause (a group forming a smaller constituency than the lay leadership) had to be especially

⁴⁸ The first recorded petition was sent to Rome circa 1885 and was signed by P.A. Landry, Stanislas Perry, Oliver LeBlanc, Pascal Poirier, Urbain Johnson and Ferdinand Robidoux. Using population statistics from the 1881 census, the petitioners built a case for having an Acadian named to the Chatham See when it became vacant so that "l'harmonie reprendrait petit à petit son cours". See "P. A. Landry et. al. to Msgr. Jacobini, 1885," 2.3-11, CEA.

⁴⁹ "Pascal Poirier to Rameau de Saint Père, July 10, 1890," 2.1-29, CEA.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ "Pascal Poirier to Rameau de Saint Père, November 5, 1889, 2.1-28, CEA..

diplomatic and initially preferred to remain in the background.⁵² For them the negative consequences of their challenging the hierarchy would be far more severe than for non clerics. Whereas a layman could be reprimanded for non obedience of religious authority, a priest could be stripped of his functions because he had broken the vow of obedience made at his ordination.

Secondly, Acadians worried about the consequences of an open challenge to the Catholic hierarchy since the prelates were in a position to retaliate. What would happen should they manifest their displeasure by placing even more Irish clergy in the Acadian parishes? Taking Nova Scotia as an example, the statistics in figure 3-2 show to what extent the problem existed in certain Acadian parishes during the second half of the nineteenth century.⁵³ Poirier revealed these worries when he wrote to l'Abbé Biron: "Ils [the Irish bishops] peuvent, voyez vous, planquer nos curés des paroisses

⁵² In his "Memoirs" Pascal Poirier noted the close collaboration that existed between the lay and clerical leadership. Although in a very delicate position, nationalist priests admired many in the lay ranks, such as Poirier and Landry who had taken on the Acadian cause. Of these priests Poirier commented: "nous marchions de concert, nos prêtres acadiens et nous, la main dans la main, avec une absolue confiance les uns dans les autres." See Poirier's "Mémoires," CSHA, Vol. IV, No. 3, 1971, p. 121.

⁵³ Nova Scotia was used as an example because it is from that socio-religious context that Msgr. LeBlanc emerged. However other Acadian areas in the Maritimes experienced a comparable situation. For example, Rustico on Prince Edward Island had a list of priests with forty-six percent of them being non-French for the same time frame, while Miscouche registered thirty-six percent. See J.-Henri Blanchard's two volumes, Rustico - une paroisse acadienne de L'Ile-du-Prince-Édouard (Rustico: Centennial Committee, 1938), pp. 45-50, and his Histoire des Acadiens de L'Ile-du-Prince-Édouard (Moncton: Imprimerie de L'Évangéline, 1927) pp. 103-106. In New Brunswick parishes such as Caraquet, Lamèque and Shemague (Cap-Pelé) seemed to fare better than Acadian parishes in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, but an 1865 list of the priests for the Dioceses of Saint John and Chatham reveals that eighty-eight percent of the clerical population of New Brunswick was non-French. Names such as Donnolly at Bouctouche, Mooney at Shippagan and Murray at Richibouctou indicate that the situation was not alien to New Brunswick. See l'Évangéline, July 21, 1915, p. 1.

Figure 3 - 2⁵⁴

**Percentage of priests with non-French names
in Nova Scotian parishes to 1890**

Parish	Number of Priests from Foundation of Parish to 1890	Total with Non- French Names	% with Non-French Names
Sainte-Anne du Ruisseau (Yarmouth Co.)	20	8	40%
Wedgeport (Yarmouth Co.)	12	8	66%
Pubnico (Yarmouth Co.)	5	3	60%
Church Point (Digby Co.)	11	8	72%
Meteghan (Digby Co.)	12	7	58%
Saint-Bernard* (Digby Co.)	8	4	87%
Arichat (Richmond Co.)	33	12	36%
Chéticamp (Inverness Co.)	10	4	40%

* Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc's native parish

⁵⁴ The information used in compiling the statistics in Figure 3-2 was obtained from the following sources:

A) *Centenaire de la mort du Père Jean-Mandé Sigogne* (Yarmouth: The Lawson Publishing Co. Ltd., 1944), pp. 28,35,36,40,42,43.

B) Father Anselme Chiasson, *Chéticamp: History and Acadian Traditions* (Saint-John's: Breakwater Books Ltd., 1986), pp. 118-130.

C) The Arichat statistics were obtained from a manuscript prepared by the *Société Historique Acadienne de l'Île Madame*, copy at ACA. The high number of priests is due to the fact that Arichat was an episcopal see and many individuals came as assistance only for short periods of time.

françaises dans des oubliettes et mettre à leur place des Irlandais dressées au manège de fouler et de mépriser les Acadiens."⁵⁵ He concluded, "déclarer la guerre et perdre contre eux [the Irish bishops] serait la ruine de l'Acadie française."⁵⁶ Therefore, Acadians wanted to take their case to Rome but at the end of the 1880s that approach had been very timid, "sans éclat ni scandale."⁵⁷ At least three circumstances in the 1890s would transform passivity to militancy.

The first, had to do with their feeling of betrayal by the Irish bishops in 1899-1900. As the 1890s waned, one thing was certain in the ecclesiastical province of Halifax: the bishops of the two New Brunswick Sees were getting on in years, at least sufficiently to warrant assistance in the form of coadjutors. In 1890 Bishop Sweeney of Saint John was sixty-nine; although Bishop Rogers of Chatham was five years younger, rumor spread throughout the Catholic community of the Maritimes early in the decade that a coadjutor *cum succesione* would be named for his diocese. Now the opportunity to implant the idea of an Acadian bishop, which had been fermenting for some time, became explicit. Nationalist leaders who embarked on the campaign were convinced that consideration must be given to the Acadians, especially since by 1893 their numbers were approximately thirty-nine thousand out of a total diocese population of fifty-five thousand.⁵⁸

Accordingly a lobby was set in motion, and in 1893 Pascal Poirier and P.A.

⁵⁵ "Pascal Poirier to Father Biron, August 28, 1884," 2.1-23, CEA.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, August 20, 1884.

⁵⁷ "Pierre-Amand Landry, et. al. to Msgr. Jacobini, circa 1885," 2.3-11, CEA.

⁵⁸ Pascal Poirier and Pierre-Amand Landry, "A sa Grâce Monseigneur C. O'Brien, Archevêque de Halifax," Appendix "A", n.d. 5.2-11, CEA.

Landry, respectively president and secretary of the *Société Nationale*, sent a circular letter to all the French-speaking priests of New Brunswick (with the intention of doing the same for Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island), asking them to "participer au présent mouvement de revendication."⁵⁹ In the letter it was argued that there was neither hostility nor lack of confidence in the Maritime ecclesiastical hierarchy, and that their petition was moderate and justifiable in pursuit of a cause they believed to be sacred. The petitioners expressed their confidence that the prelates would do the right thing when the opportunity presented itself: "ce serait faire injure à l'esprit de justice des autorités ecclésiastiques que de croire, ou même de supposer, qu'ils n'y feront pas droit *in tempore opportuno*, lorsque tous ces faits leur seront respectueusement exposés."⁶⁰ Whether this was rhetoric or conviction, Acadians would not see their ambitions realized in the nineteenth century.

It could be argued that Acadians were confident, at least to some degree, that Archbishop O'Brien and his suffragans would act in their favor for after meetings with him and Bishop Sweeney late in 1893, Poirier and Landry "concluded to withdraw the circulars and mailed withdrawals."⁶¹ Things remained quiet for the next six years; however, in the summer of 1899 Archbishop O'Brien assembled his bishops in Saint John for the purpose of naming successors to Bishops Rogers and Sweeney. Hearing of this through the papers, the nationalists renewed the activities within their ranks by

⁵⁹ Pascal Poirier and Pierre-Amand Landry, "A sa Grâce Monseigneur C. O'Brien, Archevêque de Halifax," Appendix "A", n.d. 5.2-11, CEA.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ "Pascal Poirier and Pierre-Amand Landry to Msgr. John Sweeney, October 23, 1893," 5.2-8, CEA. The actual text of the withdrawal read: "nous venons de consulter à ce sujet Nos Seigneurs l'archevêque de Halifax et l'évêque de Saint Jean, et leur réponse satisfaisante nous induit à vous demander de considérer cette circulaire comme non avenue, pour le présent au moins". See Appendix "B" in *Ibid.*

sending two petitions to high-ranking church officials. One such memorial was addressed to the Pope's representative in Canada, Msgr. Merry del Val, and in it were outlined "quelques unes des raisons qui semblent nous donner droit... à un évêque d'origine française pour quelques uns des sièges épiscopaux de nos provinces acadiennes."⁶² Going beyond generalities, the petition actually identified by name some of the Acadian priests who would be good candidates.⁶³ A second petition, this one from the *Société Nationale*, was forwarded to Cardinal Ledochowski, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda in Rome again asking for support of Acadian claims.⁶⁴

Contrary to expectation, by the end of that year it became known that both sees would be filled by non-Acadian candidates. Father Timothy Casey would be elevated to the Saint John See, and Father Thomas Barry to the one in Chatham, both to be

⁶² Msgr. Merry del Val had been sent to Canada by Pope Leo XIII as his representative charged with studying the state of the Canadian church in general and also to inquire into the schools situation stemming from the Manitoba controversy. As a result of this mission, the office of Apostolic Delegation was established in August of 1899. This meant that henceforth there would be a permanent Apostolic Delegate, or Pope's representative, in this country. As the highest ranking cleric in the land he had to oversee all the activities of the church. His role was to observe, to counsel, and to report all his findings to Rome and also to act as the intermediary between the faithful and the Vatican. The first to hold the office in Canada was Msgr. Diomède Falconio of the Franciscan Order. See "Petition to Msgr. Merry del Val, 1899," 5.2-10, CEA.

⁶³ Those suggested were Fathers A. Roy, Superior of *Collège Saint-Joseph*, Philippe Belliveau of Grande-Digue, Marcel-François Richard of St.-Louis, Stanislas Doucet of Grande-Anse, and J.A. Babineau of Tracadie.

⁶⁴ "Pascal Poirier and Pierre-Amand Landry to Cardinal Ledochowski, October 13, 1899," 5.2-9, CEA. The office of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda was created at the Vatican by Pope Gregory XV in the seventeenth century for the purpose of looking after the missionary activities of the church in areas of the world where there was no formal hierarchy. The individual holding this office has substantial influence within the church on an administrative level.

consecrated in February of the following year.⁶⁵ The Apostolic Delegate, Msgr. Diomède Falconio, informed the *Société Nationale* that its memorial had reached the Sacred Congregation in Rome, by October of 1899 but by then it was too late because the question of succession for the New Brunswick Sees had become a *fait accompli*.

Acadian reaction to the nominations involved the first mass action in the struggle for ecclesiastical recognition. With the exception of a few, some of whom had no choice in the matter, the Acadian community, both lay and clerical, boycotted the consecrations.⁶⁶ While the Saint John Globe explained the lack of diocesan clergy as "owing to the fact that the ceremony [took] place on Sunday," Le Moniteur Acadien reported that "parmi l'assistance à la cérémonie, on remarquait plusieurs personnages catholiques de différentes parties de la province. Mais il n'y avait pas d'Acadiens..."⁶⁷ The reason given by the paper for lack of participation on the part of Acadians was that they had "restés chez eux à pleurer toutes les larmes de leurs yeux."⁶⁸

Individual reaction to the nominations was anything but polite with the

⁶⁵ Bishop Casey officially took charge of the Diocese of Saint John in 1901 and Bishop Barry did the same for the Diocese of Chatham in 1902.

⁶⁶ Those who had no choice would include the Acadian clerics who were asked to perform a specific function during the ceremony.

Nationalists were also suspicious of the timing of the nominations for they were made in the interim period between Msgr. Merry del Val's departure from Canada and the setting up of the Apostolic Delegation office in July of 1899. In other words, Rome would have to rely solely on the advice of Msgr. O'Brien and his suffragans for the upcoming nominations, a fact which prompted nationalists to believe that in no way would Acadian interests be advanced.

⁶⁷ The Globe, February 6, 1900, p. 2 and Le Moniteur Acadien, February 15, 1900, p. 4.

⁶⁸ Le Moniteur Acadien, March 1, 1900, p. 5.

strongest rhetoric to date being used by nationalists. Pascal Poirier, who regarded the whole affair as a profoundly sad betrayal on the part of the New Brunswick episcopacy, went as far as publishing in La Presse a notice of the consecrations in obituary form.⁶⁹ He lamented; "Dimanche, le 11 de ce mois, avaient lieu, à Saint Jean, N.B., les obsèques des dernières espérances humaines de l'Acadie d'avoir un évêque de nationalité française."⁷⁰ For his part, Msgr. Marcel François Richard reacted in the same manner by also drawing the analogy of death. He opined that Acadia had been "enterrée avec pompe le 11 février."⁷¹ His consternation had abated little nearly two years later, when he wrote Pascal Poirier with poignant sarcasm; "demander une bénédiction [from the Papal Delegate] pour supporter les coups des bourreaux, en bons Catholiques [sic] Romains [sic], afin de ne pas être forcé de sortir l'épée du fourreau."⁷²

However, the most vociferous individual reaction came from Pierre Amand Landry. In a letter to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Landry showed to what extent the injury was profound for him and his compatriots. He actually compared the nominations to the events of 1755: "C'est la persécution de 1755 qui continue. Lawrence et les Anglais nous ont enlevé nos biens et notre patrie. Nos évêques Irlandais [sic] nous enlèvent, en autant qu'il dépend d'eux, l'honneur en dégradant notre clergé national."⁷³

⁶⁹ "Pascal Poirier to Valentin Landry, December 7, 1899," 7.1-11, CEA.

⁷⁰ Reprinted in the Le Moniteur Acadien, March 1, 1900, p. 5.

⁷¹ "Father Marcel-François Richard to Pascal Poirier, March 10, 1900," 6.1-5, CEA.

⁷² Ibid., December 28, 1901," 6.1-7, CEA.

⁷³ "Pierre Amand Landry to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, December 27, 1899," 5.1-2, CEA.

Landry also got involved in a heated correspondence with Archbishop O'Brien over the question of the nominations. Boldly he asked the prelate to explain how the candidates' names were chosen to be submitted to Rome. Msgr O'Brien answered:

In selecting a *terna** of names, priests of the diocese, if at all possible, are chosen. Then, as only three can be named, it often happens many very worthy names must be omitted. The nomination is in the nature of a reward not only for good conduct, but also for services rendered to the Bishop and the diocese. Many very excellent priests have not rendered any very conspicuous service to their Bishops not from lack of good will, but perhaps on account of lack of opportunity. Obviously the assembled bishops cannot decide on what might have been done, they must take what has been done and act on that. Moreover, a long list of questions regarding the mental, moral, administrative qualifications, the tact and strength of character and manner of dealing with people of the candidates have to be faithfully answered.⁷⁴

Archbishop O'Brien's aversion to the Acadian response came out in the closing remarks of that letter, when he warned Landry he was doing "a world of harm" to the Acadians by "fostering a spirit of isolation among [the] people" and "by seeking to be a race apart."⁷⁵ Landry's rebuttal was a veritable diatribe with no precedent in the annals of Acadian history for not only was it a refutation of the hierarchy's choices, but it also put into doubt the bishops' competence:

Reward to the nominee for services rendered his bishop, or individual, should not outweigh equal merits on the part of the "faithful" of the diocese. *Les fidèles* should be considered as well as the clergy--- their relative numbers, the *oubli* or recognition awarded them in the past, the services which they have rendered the "church" ...their moral qualifications, their deportment towards the pastors, their spirit of submission ...should, in my opinion, have more weight than the

* Meaning "three together".

⁷⁴ "Msgr. Cornelius O'Brien to P.A. Landry, March 6, 1900," 5.1-3, CEA. The emphasis is in the letter.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

consideration of what one individual priest may have done for an individual bishop.

...how profoundly your observations on the "spirit of isolation" of our people impress me! Why, it is against this very isolation which you deplore, that we are fighting, struggling. Try us! Try us! Take us in. Give us representation equally with you in the hierarchy; give us a seat among the elect; bring one of us nearer god by making him a bishop; surround one of us with the power, the pomp, prestige, dignity of the prelates of our Mother Church... Oh! no! my Lord! we seek not isolation; we deplore it. It is forced on us.⁷⁶

Landry carried his heated rhetoric to the pages of the public press, especially after The New Freeman, an Irish organ from Saint John under the editorial pen of Father W. C. Gaynor, asked if Acadians "could really produce a candidate fitted for the high and impartial duties of the episcopacy in an English speaking community?"⁷⁷ More insulting was the paper's answer to its own question; it stated there was a "lack of episcopal timber among our Acadian friends."⁷⁸ Outraged by such an attitude, Landry wrote a lengthy reply on the matter to the editor. In it he challenged Gaynor's supposed desire for closer harmony between French and English speaking Catholics by asking:

Is ostracism in ecclesiastical promotions a means of promoting concord? Is silent disdain of humble solicitations made in the interest of that true harmony that is so desirable? Is being told that we have no "episcopal timber" if we complain of what we consider unjust treatment the balm to apply to wounded feelings?⁷⁹

⁷⁶ "Pierre Amand Landry to Msgr. Cornelius O'Brien, March 9, 1900," 5.1-3, CEA.

⁷⁷ See Le Moniteur Acadien, January 23, 1902, p. 2. Le Moniteur Acadien did not translate this article which appeared in The New Freeman but printed excerpts verbatim.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ "Pierre Amand Landry to Father W.C. Gaynor, December 12, 1901," 5.1-4, CEA.

Besides the feeling of having been betrayed by the local hierarchy, a second factor fostering a more aggressive attitude among nationalists in their struggle for a bishop was the "outside" support Acadians began receiving at the turn of the century, principally from the provinces of Quebec and Ontario. In 1899, when it became evident that coadjutors would be named for Saint John and Chatham, Pascal Poirier and Pierre-Amand Landry travelled to Quebec in the hope of soliciting support from the French-Canadians and their episcopacy. Since the 1880s a *rapport* had been slowly building up between Acadian nationalists and French-Canadians in Quebec. Although the possible benefits to Acadians from these relations had not been fully exploited, certain events during the last two decades of the nineteenth century permitted recourse to *la belle province* at the turn of the century. Foremost was the invitation by the *Société St-Jean Baptiste* to Acadians asking them to attend their 1880 festivities. The favor was returned when Acadians invited French-Canadians to their conventions throughout the 1880s and 1890s. French-Canadians of prominence, such as J.P. Rhéaume, president of the *Société St-Jean Baptiste*, and Sir Hector Langevin, spoke of Acadians as brothers of the same race and called for a closer collaboration between the two groups. Even the Quebec press expressed its wish that Acadians and *Canadiens* "devraient prendre les moyens de se tenir en contact, de s'entraider, de se soutenir dans le but commun."⁸⁰ In a similar vein French-Canadian clerics were not alien to the Acadian nationalists; after all, many of these activists had received their training from the *Québécois* priests at *Collège Saint-Joseph*. Moreover the church in Quebec had taken an aggressive stance of late in an effort to curb Irish domination within the church. Acadian nationalists thus saw in the French-Canadian episcopacy a valuable ally whose power could help their cause. More confident in their nationalism than they had been in the early 1800s, and having

⁸⁰ See *La Patrie*, June 25, 1901, p. 4.

established a good liaison with the lay leadership in Quebec over the past years, Acadian activists were optimistic about the support they could muster amid their *Canadien* cousins.⁸¹

In fact, they did get some succor. Especially forceful in favor of Acadians was Msgr. Louis-Nazaire Bégin, the Archbishop of Quebec who was appalled at the domination by Irish prelates and their attempts to control sees outside Quebec where the majority of the people were French-speaking.⁸² Spigelman's contention that for all practical purposes, the ecclesiastical hierarchy in Quebec gave Acadians only moral support in their struggle for episcopal recognition, is misleading.⁸³ For example, Msgr. L.N. Bégin wrote P.A. Landry in 1899 giving helpful advice on how Acadian nationalists should proceed when forwarding their case to the papal authorities; he also drafted and forwarded a strong letter of approval to accompany the Landry and Poirier memoir sent to Rome in 1899.⁸⁴ Two years later Bégin was lobbying for Acadian interests at the Vatican where he met with Cardinal Ledochowski and exposed

⁸¹ Acadians were justified in this new confidence because by 1900 they had given a solid foundation to their nationalism. They had at least three institutions of higher learning in the Maritimes and had held four national conventions between 1881 and 1900. Besides carrying on formal discussions on pertinent topics (i.e. emigration, education, the press), Acadians at these meetings had endowed themselves with a national feast, a flag, national hymn and had managed to consolidate forces to a hitherto unprecedented level. (See chapter two).

⁸² To get a good summary of Msgr. Bégin's views on the situation as well as the one shared by other members of the Quebec hierarchy see Jean Hamelin and Nicole Gagnon, Histoire du catholicisme québécois - Le XXe siècle (Tome I, 1898-1940) (Montréal: Boréal Express), pp. 101-112.

⁸³ Martin Spigelman, "The Acadian Renaissance and the Development of Acadien-Canadien Relations 1864-1912," p. 437.

⁸⁴ See "Msgr. L.N. Bégin to Pierre-Amand Landry, October 12, 1899," 5.1-2. CEA, and "Msgr. Louis-Nazaire Bégin to Cardinal A. Ciasca, November 1, 1899," 31 CN, Provinces Maritimes, I: 86, AAQ.

"longuement votre [i.e. Acadian] situation et les voeux bien légitimes que vous formulez depuis un certain nombre d'années."⁸⁵

From the province of Ontario, more specifically from Ottawa, came more ecclesiastical support in the person of the Papal Delegate, Monsignor Falconio, whose well-wishing, and benedictions were bestowed upon militant nationalists like Landry and Poirier.⁸⁶ He once wrote to Father Marcel François Richard saying that the faith of Acadians and their devotion to the Holy See were too well known "pour que l'on ne cherche pas à être agréable à ce bon peuple autant que possible."⁸⁷ These good feelings were reciprocated with Acadians testifying to Monsignor Falconio's "grande bonté" and "paternelle sollicitude."⁸⁸ When it became known that he would be replaced, the executive of the *Société Nationale* forwarded a letter expressing "les regrets que lui cause, et cause à tous les Acadiens votre départ du Canada."⁸⁹ He in turn replied with gratitude for "vos sentiments de respect et de vénération envers moi."⁹⁰

This favorable attitude from outside the Maritime Provinces towards Acadian demands was not confined to clerical dignitaries. It also included civil authorities. The

⁸⁵ "Msgr. L.N. Bégin to Pierre-Amand Landry, March 27, 1902," 5.1-5, CEA.

⁸⁶ This is particularly evident in a letter to Landry and Poirier dated Ottawa December 6, 1899. See Appendix "D" in "Pierre-Amand Landry and Pascal Poirier "Memorial to Msgr. C. O'Brien" in 5.2-11, CEA.

⁸⁷ "Msgr. D. Falconio to Father Marcel-François Richard, January 15, 1900," 8.2-6, CEA.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ "Pascal Poirier, L.J. Belliveau, and Pierre-Amand Landry to Msgr. D. Falconio, late 1902" 6.1-7, CEA.

⁹⁰ "Msgr. D. Falconio to L.J. Belliveau, December 12, 1902," 6.1-7, CEA.

role played by Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier boosted Acadian self-confidence. Nationalists such as Pierre Amand Landry, Pascal Poirier and Msgr. M-F. Richard corresponded with the Prime Minister knowing he was "bien disposé vis-à-vis de nous et capable,... de nous aider."⁹¹ In replying to a letter from Mgr. Richard, Laurier was categorical as to where he stood on the question of an Acadian episcopal nomination: "Il nous faut réussir," he wrote, "et je serai heureux d'aider à l'obtention de notre succès dans toutes [sic] la mesure de mes forces."⁹² When Landry attempted to go to Rome in 1909 to further Acadian demands, Laurier provided a letter of introduction to the Cardinal Secretary of State, Msgr. Merry del Val.⁹³ It was not the first of such letters, for the Prime Minister had rendered the same favor two years earlier for Father Marcel-Francois Richard when that priest had undertaken a similar mission to Rome.

Laurier's acceptance of the invitation to attend the Acadian national convention at Arichat in 1900 was another example of the Prime Minister's willingness to be helpful, especially on the question of naming an Acadian bishop. In his presidential address to the delegates at the convention, Pascal Poirier thanked the Prime Minister, particularly for his attention on the pressing issue of the hour, namely selection of an Acadian prelate:

Nous, Acadiens des Provinces Maritimes [sic], devons à Sir Wilfrid Laurier des remerciements... pour son active sympathie, accompagnée d'actes formels, en notre faveur, dans une question d'ordre supérieur, qui nous absorbe dans le moment, et qui est l'une des causes principales pour lesquelles cette convention a été

⁹¹ P.A. Landry and Pascal Poirier to Wilfred Laurier, August 4, 1899, "Laurier Papers, Reel C-768, No. 36252, NAC.

⁹² "Wilfred Laurier to Msgr. Marcel-François Richard, August 24, 1899," Laurier Papers, Reel C-768, No. 36603, NAC.

⁹³ See "Sir Wilfrid Laurier to Msgr. Merry del Val, August 30, 1909," Laurier Papers, Reel C-880, No. 159242 NAC. Landry would later change his mind and cancel the voyage.

appelée; l'admission de l'un des nôtres parmi l'episcopat de nos trois provinces.⁹⁴

The positive attitudes manifested at the national level towards Acadians by both Francophone ecclesiastical and lay authority figures bolstered the morale of the nationalists. Submission to authority, especially the religious one, was an entrenched tradition and not abiding by it had been considered a moral wrong. But how could something be wrong if it received the blessing of the Papal Delegate, the Archbishop of Quebec and the Roman Catholic Prime Minister of Canada? Valentin Landry, commenting on the help received from the French episcopate of Canada, noted how this group "approuvaient nos combats, nous encourageaient à les continuer." If Acadians were not acting in a Christian fashion, "ces illustres personnages ne s'en rendaient-ils pas complices?"⁹⁵ As the nationalists saw it, for them to challenge the local Archbishop and his suffragans was at worst defying a secondary authority whose position had been called into question by higher powers. By the end of 1900, Acadians militants were ready to fight and now reasoned that the battle lay not between them and the Roman Catholic Church, but rather between themselves and a factional rival, namely the Anglophone hierarchy of the Maritime Roman Catholic church.

A third factor promoting Acadian forcefulness in petitioning for a bishop from within their ranks was the fourth national convention held in Arichat on August 15 and 16, 1900. For the first time the question of ecclesiastical appointments was brought before a national convention. The reunion afforded a high profile forum for debating the

⁹⁴ Pascal Poirier's speech was reproduced in its entirety in Le Moniteur Acadien, September 6, 1900, p.2.

⁹⁵ Valentin Landry, "Voix D'Acadie," La Revue Franco-Américaine, Vol. VI, No. 5, 1911, p. 361.

need for an Acadian bishop. It was no longer a regional issue, for the controversy had reached both the national and international level, as was symbolized by the presence of delegates from Ontario, Quebec and the Magdeleine Islands, Manitoba, and the United States.⁹⁶ This convention was seen as the place for all those who had "le soucie des intérêts religieux, politiques et moraux de notre race," or, as L'Évangéline noted, a place "où nous [i.e. Acadians] sommes allés rechauffer notre patriotisme, et cimenter les liens qui nous unient."⁹⁷

A series of resolutions dealing with religion and religious instructions in French were accepted by the convention. The one which drew the most reaction from the delegates was the motion soliciting the local hierarchy to give episcopal recognition to an Acadian, even if that meant the creation of a new diocese. It read:

Que cette convention plénière de toute l'Acadie demande très humblement et très respectueusement aux hautes autorités ecclésiastiques dans ce qu'elle croit l'intérêt de la religion et de la bonne harmonie parmi les catholiques des Provinces Maritimes [sic], de daigner favoriser l'élévation d'un prêtre acadien à la dignité épiscopale, fallut-il pour cela ériger un nouveau diocese en Acadie.⁹⁸

So ended the Arichat deliberations.

⁹⁶ One important delegate to the convention was Premier George Murray of Nova Scotia.

It is difficult to determine exactly how many people were delegates to the convention. Although the list published in Le Moniteur Acadien of August 23, 1900, p. 4 reveals one hundred twenty-five people, that figure is not precise for sometimes the list of delegates from one particular area ends with "etc" or with "and other important people."

⁹⁷ See Le Moniteur Acadien, August 9, 1900, p.4 and L'Évangéline, August 23, 1900, p. 2.

⁹⁸ L'Évangéline, August 23, 1900, p. 2.

The years between 1902 and 1904 saw a temporary slowing down of nationalist demands for an Acadian bishop not because enthusiasms had dwindled, but basically because most of the main characters in the church hierarchy had changed and Acadians heading the movement wanted to allow time for the incumbents to "settle down" in their new jobs. On the national scene, Msgr. Donatus Sbarretti had been appointed by Rome to replace Monsignor Falconio as Apostolic Delegate. Closer to home, Msgrs. Timothy Casey and Thomas Barry had officially taken on their episcopal duties as heads of the Diocese of Saint John and Chatham respectively. Contemporaries paused to see whether the debate shifted in favor of Acadians, or become an exercise in maintaining the status quo. As it turned out, continuity prevailed over change in terms of the mentality of the clerical establishment.

An incident which occurred during 1905 demonstrated the extent to which the Acadian debate had attained a high emotional level. In that year Monsignor Sbarretti was invited to tour the Acadian parishes of the Maritimes, and in the month of July he visited the French-speaking areas to get first hand knowledge of "la situation religieuse de ce pays fondé par les Acadiens."⁹⁹ Everywhere he went, from Rustico to Caraquet to Shediac and Saint Mary's Bay, the reception was enthusiastic.¹⁰⁰ Nationalists played an active role in the pastoral visit by joining his entourage both during his public appearances and in the course of his travel around the Maritimes. It permitted them to impress the Apostolic Delegate with what they perceived to be the legitimacy of their

⁹⁹ Le Moniteur Acadien, July 6, 1905, p. 2.

¹⁰⁰ See L'Évangéline and Le Moniteur Acadien for the month of July, 1905.

claims.¹⁰¹

During this visit to the Maritimes, while in the rectory at Shediac, Msgr. Sbarretti promised Pascal Poirier he would see to it that the consecration of an Acadian bishop would be forthcoming. What transpired in that glebe house was an indication of the intensity the debate had attained, for in the encounter the two men nearly got entangled in a fist fight. Of all nationalists, Senator Poirier was *persona non grata* in the eyes of the local hierarchy. According to Poirier, the Maritime Episcopacy attempted to portray him as an "ennemi de l'Église, un athée..."¹⁰² This treatment was in some measure due to the often candid rhetoric Poirier directed against the bishops, such as in 1905, when he drew the analogy between the anarchists devastating Europe at the time and the Maritime prelate devastating the just demands of Acadians for episcopal recognition.¹⁰³ In the senator's own words, his speech was "un défi d'une imprudence rare."¹⁰⁴

It was only a month after these strong words that Poirier had his heated encounter with the Apostolic Delegate. Father Antoine Ouellet was hosting a public meeting to greet the touring Monsignor Sbarretti attended by local parishioners, especially those holding office. Poirier was among the invited. Shortly after his [Poirier's] arrival the

¹⁰¹ Some, like Pierre-Amand Landry, went overboard in their demands, at least in the eyes of Monsignor Sbarretti. The prelate was alarmed at one of Landry's addresses and requested it never be published because of the harm it might do. See Pierre-Amand Landry "Address to Msgr. Sbarretti, September 1905," 5.5-9, CEA.

¹⁰² Pascal Poirier, Le Moniteur Acadien, July 21, 1904, p. 1. As a result of these insinuations, Poirier stepped down as president of *La Société Nationale* in 1904 "afin the laisser passer sur moi [Poirier] seul, et non la Société L'Assomption, le flot de calomnie qui, dans le moment, s'épanche à pleins bords." See Ibid.

¹⁰³ L'Évangéline, August 24, 1905, p. 3.

¹⁰⁴ Pascal Poirier, "Memoires" in CSHA, Vol. IV, No. 3, 1971, p. 123.

Papal Delegate asked Father Ouellet if he could speak alone with the senator. Given the crowd at the rectory, the priest's bedroom was offered as the only place of privacy. The conversation centered around Poirier's conduct in his lobby against ecclesiastical authority in the Maritimes. When Poirier blurted out that the bishops were more afraid of Anglophone opinion in the Maritimes than they were of the devil, Monsignor Sbarretti lost control. Poirier vividly describes the scene in his memoirs.

Perdant tout contrôle sur lui-même, il se lança sur moi, les poings levés.

Je parai l'attaque, assez gauchement ébauchée, en reculant. Je connais assez bien la boxe - mais je perdis à mon tour, tout contrôle sur moi-même. Je vis rouge et m'avançai les poings en arrêt, sur Son Excellence.¹⁰⁵

After tempers cooled and both men recovered their composure, Monsignor Sbarretti acknowledged the legitimacy of Acadian claims by promising to promote their demands before the Pope. Shortly after, they emerged from the bedroom to rejoin the crowd with the Papal Delegate "me [Poirier] tenant amicalement par le bras."¹⁰⁶

Such incidents infuriated the Maritime bishops and were used to justify their claim that Acadians were unworthy of an episcopal appointment. As they saw it the struggle for an Acadian bishop since its inception in the 1880s had been simply an agitation by "a few Acadian malcontents" overreacting to "trifling complaints."¹⁰⁷ It was extremely difficult, if not impossible, for the Maritime prelates to understand how ethnicity could be intertwined with religion. Echoing the outlook of their mid-Victorian predecessors, they failed to comprehend the Acadian belief that "la langue française est

¹⁰⁵ Pascal Poirier, "Memoires" in CSHA, Vol. IX No. 3, 1971, p. 125.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 126.

¹⁰⁷ "Msgr. Peter McIntyre to Charles Thibault, December 9, 1884," 8.1-13, CEA.

pour nous le plus sûr moyen de conserver notre foi."¹⁰⁸ The bishops' close-mindedness was reinforced by their vision of "Canada being an English possession... and ...an English speaking country."¹⁰⁹

The Maritime Catholic hierarchy also sought to justify its position by claiming that the Acadian movement might become a vehicle by which "liberal ideas" and the "spirit of independence of authority" then prevailing in France might enter the Maritimes via Quebec.¹¹⁰ As early as 1885 Archbishop O'Brien had written Msgr. Marcel-François Richard to say how he was "pained to see the attempt made to introduce into our hitherto peaceful Diocese the unhappy intrigues and dissensions of the Province of Quebec."¹¹¹ Liberal ideas and the questioning of existing authority, all supposedly fueled by nationalism, were in the eyes of the Maritime prelates devices to promote a schismatic church. They felt that by bringing "the Church into their narrow feeling of national bigotry," Acadian extremists risked alienating existing Catholics while at the same time antagonizing the Protestant element to such a degree that conversions became

¹⁰⁸ Pierre-Amand Landry echoed those words at the Arichat convention. He described the link he and other nationalists made between language and religion when he stated "il faudrait que les prêtres irlandais et écossais comprissent que plus nous sommes attachés à notre langue, plus nous sommes attachés à notre religion". See Le Moniteur Acadien, August 23, 1900, p. 5.

¹⁰⁹ "Msgr. Edward McCarthy and Suffragans to Msgr. Donato Sbarretti, January 14, 1908," 8.4-2, CEA.

¹¹⁰ "Archbishop Edward McCarthy and Suffragans to Msgr. Donato Sbarretti, January 17, 1908," McCarthy Papers, Vol. III, No. 287, Archives of the Archdiocese of Halifax [hereafter AAH].

¹¹¹ "Msgr. Cornelius O'Brien to Father Marcel-François Richard, January 18, 1885," 8.1-44, CEA.

impossible.¹¹² Thus, they argued that to consecrate an Acadian bishop or erect an Acadian diocese would only precipitate a descent into crisis.

The summer of 1907 saw an important development in the quest for an Acadian bishop take place; nationalists decided to carry their case to the highest possible authority when Msgr. M.-F. Richard travelled to Rome. Although he used the pretext of making the voyage for health reasons, Father Richard's mission to Rome was not merely an exercise in rest and recuperation.¹¹³ The nationalist priest came carrying a petition signed "le Clergé acadien." In it the hardships and the enduring faith of the forefathers were stressed as a prelude to complaining about the bad treatment Acadians had suffered at the hands of an episcopacy unsympathetic to their linguistic and cultural aspirations. In closing, the petition carried by Richard elaborated upon Acadian ostracism from the hierarchy in terms not at all flattering to the Maritime prelacy.¹¹⁴ The Pope granted three audiences to Father Richard between his arrival in the fall of 1907 and January 3, 1908. On these occasions all the topics outlined in the document were discussed. During the

¹¹² "Archbishop Edward McCarthy and Suffragans to Msgr. Donato Sbarretti, January 17, 1908," McCarthy Papers, Vol. III, No. 287, AAH.

¹¹³ See "Msgr. L.N. Bégin to Cardinal Gotti, July 11, 1907," 8.2-11, CEA. In Une étoile c'est levée en Acadie - Marcel-François Richard, pp. 204-06, Father C. Doucet shows the tact used by Father Richard when he approached Bishop Barry for permission to go to Rome. If Msgr. Barry had perceived that Father Richard's primary intention was to further boost Acadian interests, permission might have been withheld. Indeed, when he undertook a second voyage to Rome in 1910, he was nearly prevented from going by the Bishop of Chatham for that very reason.

¹¹⁴ See "Memorandum presented to Pope Pius X, 1907," 8.4-2, CEA.

final meeting of January 3, Pius X made a commitment in principle by commanding the words. "*mitra veniet, mitra veniet*," the mitre will come.¹¹⁵

The promise to Monsignor Richard fostered renewed activity among Acadian militants. The first opportunity for Acadians to reiterate their claims *en masse* came at the sixth national convention held in Saint Basile in August 1908. The outcome was another document forwarded to the Holy Father, summarizing the entire struggle for an Acadian bishop: "Nous aspirons à être dans l'Église sur le même pied que les catholiques d'autres nationalités et ne demandons pas autre chose."¹¹⁶ A year later, nationalists were organizing a second mission to Rome, this time hoping that Pierre-Amand Landry would accompany Father Richard. As it turned out Landry backed down, feeling that a layman would do more harm than good in the Roman Catholic capital. Father Richard eventually went in the spring of 1910, only after Msgr. Thomas Barry had hesitantly permitted his departure.¹¹⁷

The Pope's promise to Father Richard in 1908 caught the Maritime hierarchy off guard and added pressure to the situation. The impression given is that it acted more out of force than out of conviction. Spurred on by what Archbishop McCarthy called the Vatican's "vivid and ardent wish for representation in the Hierarchy of the Acadian

¹¹⁵ Father Marcel-François Richard, "Memorandum, January 3, 1908," 8.4-2, CEA. The mitre is the headdress worn by a bishop.

¹¹⁶ "Memorandum to Pope Pius X, August 20, 1908," 7.1-17, CEA.

¹¹⁷ Contrary to the 1907 voyage to Rome, Msgr. Richard made no attempt to conceal the *raison d'être* of this mission. He wrote Bishop Barry that his aim was to "mettre fin à l'agitation d'une question qui demande une solution finale à tous les points de vue". Given the episcopacy's unwillingness support Acadian demands at this point, it is understandable that Bishop Barry would hesitate in permitting Father Richard a second long-term absence in two years. See "Father Marcel-François Richard to Msgr. Thomas Barry, May 12, 1910," 8.2-14, CEA.

people," the prelates felt they had to submit a memorial to Msgr. Donatus Sbarretti. This they did and they proposed to create an Acadian diocese in northern New Brunswick (see Chapter 7).¹¹⁸ Still the bishops were not ready to admit that Acadian activists had triumphed. They then decided that it would be advantageous to have their own agent in Rome "to look after [their] various interests," and to counteract the Acadian lobby.¹¹⁹ Father Henry O'Leary, future Bishop of Charlottetown, was chosen. Unfortunately for the young priest, the task was a monumental one, for by the time he arrived in Rome, many influential people, including the Pope and prominent Cardinals, were convinced something had to be done for the Acadians.¹²⁰ The diplomatic maneuvering required of Father O'Leary was beyond his capacity, such that he lost the confidence of the Maritime bishops.¹²¹

Finally, in August 1912, Rome acted on the Acadian issue. By that time Rome had a very good grasp of the Maritime situation. A sizeable dossier had been accumulated since the beginning of the century on church affairs in the region. With the establishment of a Papal Delegation in Ottawa in 1899, the channels of communication between Rome and the Acadians had been greatly improved, thus leading to a better

¹¹⁸ "Archbishop Edward McCarthy and Suffragans to Msgr. Donato Sbarretti," September 15, 1908, McCarthy Papers, Vol. III, No. 291, AAH.

¹¹⁹ "Msgr. Thomas Barry to Msgr. Edward McCarthy, January 18, 1909," McCarthy Papers, Vol. III, No. 298, AAH.

¹²⁰ Among these were Cardinals Gotti and Merry del Val, former Apostolic Delegate to Canada. See "Father Henry O'Leary to Msgr. Edward McCarthy November 17, 1909," McCarthy Papers, Vol. III, No. 298(9), AAH.

¹²¹ "Father Henry O'Leary to Msgr. Edward McCarthy November 17, 1909," McCarthy Papers, Vol. III, No. 298(9), AAH. Father O'Leary wrote the Archbishop offering his "*mea culpa*" if his diplomacy had been "clumsy". However, he reminded Msgr. McCarthy of his many efforts which were meritorious such as working every day "to do some little thing for the English cause not only in [the] Maritime Provinces, but in all Canada."

understanding of what was going on. The efforts of Msgr. Louis-Nazaire Bégin at the beginning of the century and those of Msgr. Marcel-François Richard in 1907 and 1910 did much to enlighten Roman authorities. The Vatican's desire to understand the Acadian struggle was demonstrated in 1910 when it sent what Poirier calls a "secret agent" to the Maritimes to secure first hand knowledge on the matter.¹²² This agent formed part of the Roman delegation to the Eucharistic Congress held in Montreal in 1910. While those deliberations were going on, he slipped away unknown to everyone concerned, and travelled to Shediac to meet Poirier. According to the Senator, this Roman dignitary went home with an armful of information favorable to Acadian demands.¹²³

What enabled Rome to put its policy decision into effect in 1912 was the death of the Archbishop of Toronto, which in itself, set off major changes within the Canadian ecclesiastical structure. Msgr. Neil MacNeil, Archbishop of Vancouver, was transferred to the Toronto See, and his vacancy was filled when Rome elevated Msgr. Timothy Casey of Saint John to the title of Archbishop and named him to head the ecclesiastical province of Vancouver. Now that the Saint John See was vacant, it was possible for the Vatican to fulfill the promise made to Acadians. An Acadian bishop for the Saint John See would be an ideal compromise which could satisfy both interested parties. Acadians would have their bishop. Because of the then prevailing diocesan boundaries, the new bishop's jurisdiction would include the hotbed of Acadian nationalism, Westmorland County. The Maritime episcopacy would have succeeded in preventing the erection of a

¹²² Pascal Poirier, "Memoires," CSHA, Vol. IV, No. 3, 1971, pp. 129-131.

¹²³ Ibid.

purely Acadian diocese. The Pope's words that "the mitre would come" were being applied in a manner designed to please both groups.

The question remains, why did Rome chose Édouard Alfred LeBlanc and not some other Acadian priest to become the new bishop? When talk of creating an Acadian diocese in northern New Brunswick was rampant, some of the incumbent bishops had forwarded names to Rome as possible candidates for the See. Included on that list were Fathers Stanislas Doucet, Patrice Chiasson, and Édouard LeBlanc. Later, when the idea of an Acadian diocese was dropped, the authorities in Rome decided that Acadian wishes could best be satisfied if one of theirs was named as coadjutor to the Bishop of Charlottetown. The Apostolic Delegate forwarded this new plan to Archbishop McCarthy asking for his opinion on the three priests suggested for the earlier Bathurst proposal.¹²⁴ Would they make good candidates in Charlottetown? Archbishop McCarthy's reply was that while all three men were worthy of the appointment, it was LeBlanc's name that should head the list. He argued that Father LeBlanc was not a nationalist zealot. Contrary to Doucet and Chiasson, he had been pastor in English-speaking areas "where he not only won the hearts of his Irish and Scottish parishioners, but was himself loath to leave."¹²⁵ But the Roman hierarchy then changed its mind again. The Charlottetown alternative was now abandoned because the Vatican saw the possibility of naming an Acadian to the Saint John See. When that situation presented itself, the earlier list suggested by Monsignor McCarthy for Charlottetown, with LeBlanc's name at the top, was the one used.

¹²⁴ "Msgr. Peregrine Stagni to Msgr. Edward McCarthy, May 14, 1912," McCarthy Papers, Vol. I, No. 7, AAH.

¹²⁵ "Msgr. McCarthy to Msgr. Peregrine Stagni, May 17, 1912," McCarthy Papers, Vol. I, No. 9, AAH.

The "Acadian polemic" had been a long strenuous battle for both factions, involving a war of words which stretched back nearly a quarter century to the 1880s. The contest had taken new proportions after the nominations of 1900, yet it required another twelve years after that to attain the desired results. Even after the securing of a formal papal commitment, another four years elapsed before the official appointment was made. A legitimate question to ask is what prompted the Vatican to delay in dealing with the Acadian controversy.

Many documents point to the fact that the Holy See (via the Apostolic Delegate) was intent on satisfying Acadian wishes in the initial years of the present century. Once decided upon that course, the Vatican had two choices in the matter: either it had to wait for a vacancy to arise (as was the case), or it had to erect a new diocese which would be headed by an Acadian. If the Vatican had given its consent to the creation of the proposed Acadian diocese, it would have done so against the heartfelt views of the local hierarchy. The Vatican relied heavily on local leaders when making major decisions. To disregard the opinion of the local archbishop and his suffragans (especially when all were unanimous in their views as in this case) would have demonstrated a serious lack of confidence on the part of the Vatican towards its own structures and towards the men holding office within those structures. Archbishop McCarthy with Bishop Casey and Bishop Barry were very conscious of this fact and they did not fail to assert themselves. In one telling letter to the Apostolic Delegate they expressed fears that the creation of an Acadian diocese "would be considered a condemnation by Rome of the *modus agendi* of .. the Archbishop and Bishops, would be a source of ignoble triumph to the few agitators and of defeat to the present hierarchy."¹²⁶ Such arguments could not simply be

¹²⁶ "Archbishop E. McCarthy and Suffragans to Msgr. Donato Sbarretti, January 17, 1908," 8.4-2, CEA.

ignored, especially by a regime steeped in conservative values.

A second reason for the Holy See's tardiness can be traced to the Canadian political situation during the period in question. At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century Canada was a hotbed of bitter ethnic and sectarian strife which threatened the country's very existence. The hanging of Louis Riel in 1885 had set Ontario and Quebec on a collision course which threatened to destroy all hopes of peaceful coexistence between the English and French. A few years later the unrest burst out anew when premier Honoré Mercier of Quebec called on the Pope, not the Queen, to settle the land claims of the Jesuit Order. Quebec nationalism clashed with Ontario imperialism in debate over the Equal Rights Association and the Protestant Protective Association, both of which exhibited anti-Catholic sentiments. Conflict also spread westward over linguistic and religious rights of the French Métis in Manitoba, a struggle which in 1896 brought down the Conservative regime of eighteen years and saw Wilfrid Laurier, a Liberal French-Canadian Catholic, become Prime Minister. Unfortunately, Laurier's rise did not calm old animosities. Three years later antagonisms resurfaced over Canada's role in the Boer War. Many of these quarrels, carried forward into the twentieth century.¹²⁷

It was against this background that Rome had to decide on the Acadian question. What was transpiring on the Maritime level, pitting the Irish hierarchy against Acadian nationalists echoed developments at the national level. The erection of a French-speaking Acadian diocese by Rome could have been interpreted as exacerbating conflict already rampant within the country. The Vatican was well aware of the "tiraillements qui existent

¹²⁷ For an insight into ethnic and sectarian strife see Robert Brown and Ramsay Cook, Canada, 1896-1921 - A Nation Transformed (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd, 1974), A.I. Silver, The French-Canadian Idea of Confederation, 1864-1900 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982).

entre les différentes nationalités du Canada" and thus sought to "agir avec grande prudence."¹²⁸ Erecting the proposed diocese could easily have provoked antagonism in Anglophone Protestant Canada, something Rome was determined to avoid.

News of Monsignor LeBlanc's nomination as Bishop of Saint John spread quickly throughout the Catholic community of the Maritime Provinces. Reaction to the news ranged from utter jubilation to a feeling of deep despair born from the sentiment of loss. The fact that reaction was so polarized was an indication of how emotional the contest had been for both camps. Acadian nationalists were ecstatic. Pierre Amand Landry commented on a "joie inaccoutumée; une allégresse dont les délices sont autant plus doux que leur avait paru interminable l'oubli dans lequel ils [i.e. Acadians] semblaient vivre."¹²⁹ Msgr. Stanislas Doucet called it "l'époque du Grand [sic] Arrangement [sic]," playing on the idiom "grand dérangement" which was used by Acadians to refer to the deportation of 1755.¹³⁰ Le Moniteur Acadien noted how "toute la population française des provinces [sic] maritimes sera dans l'allégresse en apprenant la joyeuse nouvelle."¹³¹ L'Évangéline commented on the "vive réjouissance" that the news had brought.¹³² In Quebec the reaction was just as positive. The press there was even more flamboyant in hailing the nomination than had been the Maritime Francophone press. Le Devoir offered Acadians "l'hommage de notre inaltérable souvenir et de notre

¹²⁸ Father Augustin Marre to Father Marcel-François Richard, August 4, 1909," 8.2-13, CEA.

¹²⁹ "Pierre-Amand Landry to Msgr. Pellegrino Stagni, August 10, 1912," 5.1-9, CEA.

¹³⁰ "Richard F. Quigley to Father Stanislas Doucet, November 29, 1912," F 1451A, No. 971, CEA.

¹³¹ Le Moniteur Acadien, August 8, 1912, p. 2

¹³² L'Évangéline, August 14, 1912, p. 4.

profonde admiration," and insisted that the story of the Acadian renaissance was so praiseworthy it should be learned by heart by all children.¹³³ The comments in La Presse were just as laudable, and that paper considered the event sufficiently important to give it front page coverage with a huge photo of the nominee.¹³⁴ Similarly, Laval University offered the bishop elect an honorary doctorat of theology.¹³⁵

Among the Maritime hierarchy, things were quite different. The bishops found it very difficult to accept the Vatican's determination to place the mitre on the head of a French-speaking Acadian. The Irish who had arrived on the Canadian shores during the nineteenth century, themselves victims of persecution, had readily accepted the language and mannerisms of the dominant English group in order to better integrate with the majority. Having done that, they saw no need for another minority group to act differently than they had done. They held firm to their belief in Canada as an English-speaking country, "particularly so of the Maritime Provinces."¹³⁶ The local hierarchy stood steadfast in its view that "the Catholic Church in this country [was] not a French institution and this must contribute both to the defense and propagation of [the] holy faith."¹³⁷ Also, the Irish hierarchy in Canada reasoned that French Catholicism greatly reduced the chances for converting the large Protestant element. How could Anglo-

¹³³ Le Devoir, December 10, 1912, p. 1.

¹³⁴ La Presse, December 12, 1912, p. 8.

¹³⁵ "Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc to Father A.E. Gosselin, December 23, 1912," Université 177, No. 84, *Archives du Séminaire du Québec*, [hereafter ASQ].

¹³⁶ "Msgr. McCarthy and Suffragans to Msgr. Donato Sbarretti, January 17 1908, 8.4-2, CEA.

¹³⁷ "Msgr. Timothy Casey to Msgr. Edward McCarthy, April 13, 1909," McCarthy Papers, Vol. III, No. 11, AAH.

Protestants be lured to Catholicism if it meant association with what many saw as an alien tongue.

For the Irish prelates the future of Catholicism in Canada lay not in the hands of the French-speaking sector. That belief, coupled with "a haughty and superior attitude"¹³⁸ on the part of the Irish accounted for their opposition to any "special favors" vested by Rome in the French-speaking Acadians. Ever since the 1860s and 1870s, the Irish episcopacy of the Maritimes had been hostile to Acadian nationalist aspirations and they were especially adamant in opposing demands for an Acadian bishop, which they saw as involving a real transfer of power. The Irish dominated hierarchy perceived this struggle to be one in which they were victims of the "volleys of shot and shell by the French firing line, whenever there [was] a mitre waiting for a head to fit it."¹³⁹ Msgr. Edward McCarthy's only comfort was that Édouard Alfred LeBlanc was "the least impregnated with a spirit of nationalism."¹⁴⁰

Many of the attitudes expressed by the Catholic bishops over the nomination of LeBlanc were also found among the laity. While Irish Catholic organs in the area, such as the Saint John Monitor and the Catholic Register, endorsed the nomination, certain

¹³⁸ Sister K. Fay Tremblay, Thomas Louis Connolly (1815-1876) - The Man and his Place in Secular and Ecclesiastical History, p. 272.

¹³⁹ "Msgr. Edward McCarthy to Msgr. Fergus McEvay, February 7, 1908," McCarthy Papers, Vol. III, No. 298(7), AAH.

Archbishop McCarthy was so stunned at the nomination that he wrote "...I am afraid to leave home after what happened for fear I might return only to find that the Holy See has ordered me to China." He commented on how Msgr. Casey's transfer to the Vancouver See was not a promotion but "an act of cruelty." See "Msgr. Edward McCarthy to Msgr. Thomas Barry, August 4, 1912," Bishops' Correspondence, II-106, *Archives du Diocèse de Bathurst* [hereafter ADB].

¹⁴⁰ Msgr. Edward McCarthy to Msgr. Pellegrino Stagni, May 17, 1912," McCarthy Papers, Vol. I, No. 6, AAH.

Irish dominated organizations in Saint John were in an uproar over the event.¹⁴¹ The members of the "Ancient Order of Hibernians" for example denounced the impending consecration as "subversive of their ideal plans" and resolved to make their "strong, sincere and determined opposition" known to the Roman authorities.¹⁴² Another group, the "Irish Literary and Benevolent Society," requested the Apostolic Delegate and Archbishop McCarthy to "use their influence with ...the Pope, to appoint a bishop of Irish descent to the episcopal see of St. John."¹⁴³ To a certain degree Monsignor McCarthy's view that "he would not be in poor Father LeBlanc's shoes for all Saint John and Halifax are worth," denoted the atmosphere of the moment.¹⁴⁴ The job that lay ahead was going to be difficult with all eyes, both Acadian and Irish, trained on the new bishop.

¹⁴¹ See "La presse irlandaise et l'évêque de St. Jean" in Le Moniteur Acadien, September 15, 1912, p. 2.

¹⁴² See newspaper clipping "St. John Hibernians Oppose Appointment of Bishop," August 9, 1912, 24.28-7, CEA.

¹⁴³ Saint John Standard, August 19, 1912, p. 12.

¹⁴⁴ "Msgr. Edward McCarthy to Msgr. Thomas Barry, August 4, 1912," Archives des Pères Eudistes, Reel #F7663, Group II, Public Archives of New Brunswick, [hereafter PANB].

CHAPTER 4
ÉDOUARD ALFRED LEBLANC:
FROM SAINT BERNARD TO SAINT JOHN

On Wednesday October 19, 1870, a four day old infant was taken to the local church at Saint Bernard to be welcomed into the parish community by the rite of baptism. This was the fifth and last child of Luc LeBlanc and Julie Vitaline (née Belliveau), a brother for Marguerite (1857), Rosalie (1862) and Jean-Baptiste (1864); a sister Madeleine, born in 1859, had died young.¹ Saint Bernard had been organized as a parish since 1858 and although the priest was not a permanent resident his visits were now on a regular basis. Previously, a baptism would have meant a ten mile return trek to Church Point.

The parents had decided the boy would be named Édouard Alfred and as the rite of baptism was being performed no one could possibly foresee the irony at play just then, for the priest doing the christening was the Irishman, Fr. Richard Kearns.² At that innocent moment both priest and babe embodied the opposite poles of an internal conflict within Maritime Catholicism still some thirty years down the road.

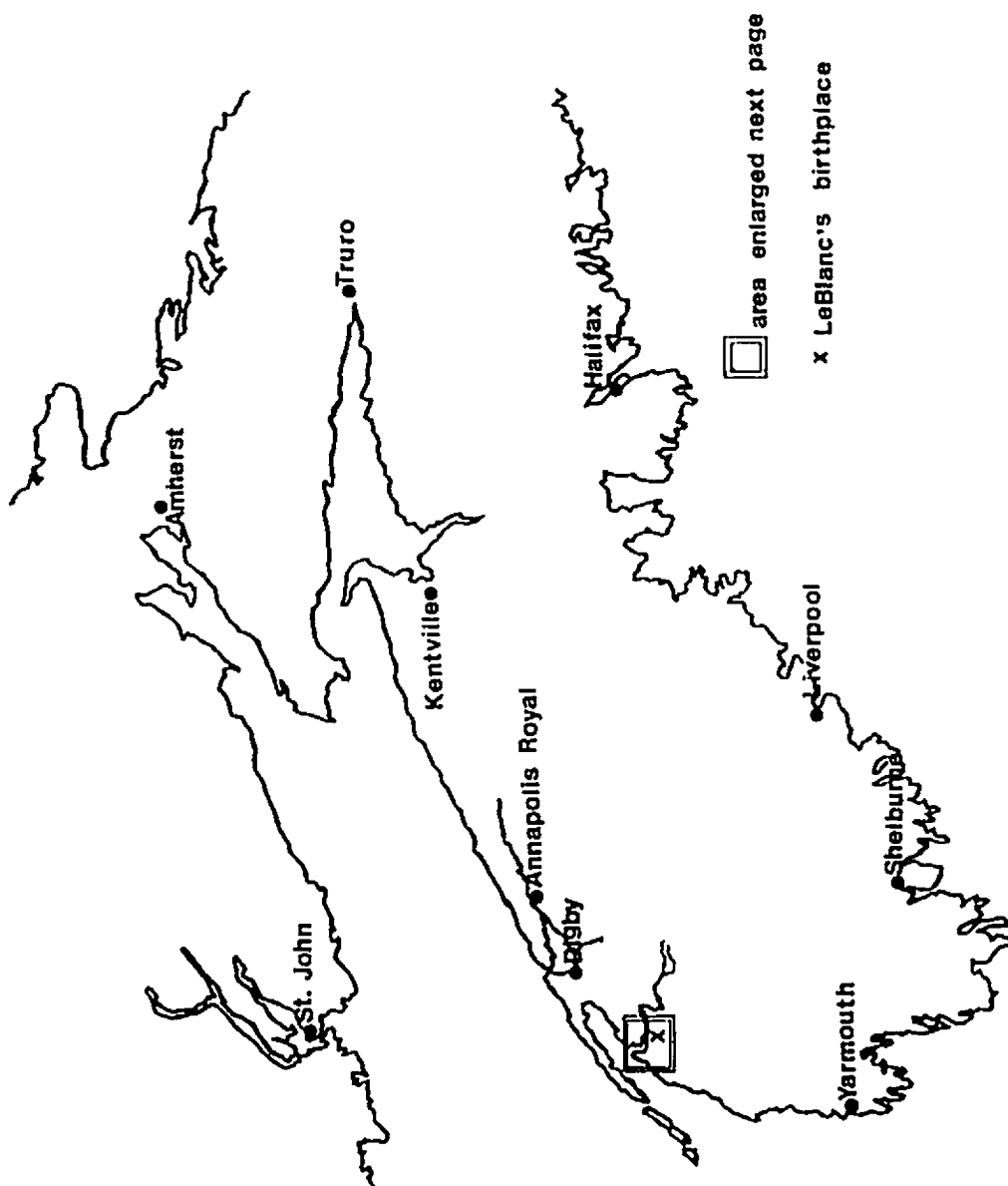
After the ceremony family and relatives took Édouard back to the homestead at Weaver Settlement, also called "Township Line," a village approximately two miles from the church heading inland from Saint Mary's Bay and forming the boundary line between Clare and Weymouth (see Figures 4-1 and 4-2). There the boy would grow

¹ See "Arbre généalogique de Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc, évêque de Saint-Jean, N.-B.," 1.58-13, CEA.

² "Registre des Baptêmes et Mariages 1868-1906," Archives de la paroisse Saint-Bernard, Saint Bernard, N.S.

Figure 4 - 1

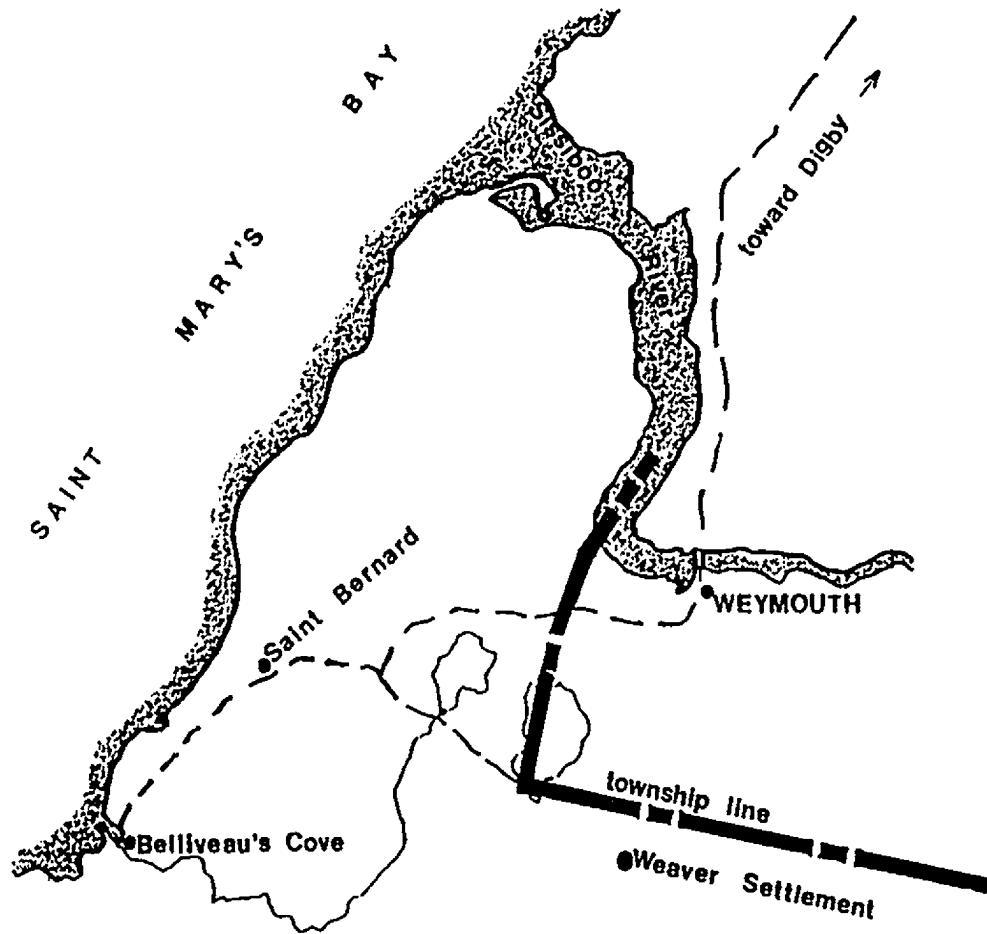
Map showing birthplace of Bishop LeBlanc



Map enlarged from Nova Scotia Resource Atlas, Department of Development, 1986.

Figure 4 - 2

Map showing Sissiboo River and Township line



Reproduced from "The Municipality of the District of Clare",
Nova Scotia Tourism Inventory

up in a manner similar to the way his siblings and relatives had matured in this Acadian area during the last third of the nineteenth century. There was no reason to suspect that he would be any different from them nor from any of the other fifty children baptized at Saint Bernard in that year of 1870.³ Yet the future did hold something different for him, a unique position, a special place at the core of the region's religious development at the beginning of the twentieth century. That was still some time away and some distance from Weaver Settlement, but although the events and the places of future happenings were removed from his immediate surroundings as a youth and as an adolescent, these could not be disassociated from them. The purpose of this chapter is to study the life of Édouard Alfred LeBlanc before he rose to the episcopacy in 1912. Without some background detail, neither the man nor his work can be evaluated to the fullest. It is the intention here to concentrate primarily on four facets that should provide an evaluation of his life. These are his familial ties, his Acadian environment, his Anglo-Protestant experience, and his education and early years in the priesthood.

The post-expulsion history of Édouard LeBlanc's family began in the 1760s when Charles LeBlanc, Sr., his great-great grandfather, settled in Annapolis Royal after the Peace of Paris ended the Seven Years' War. In the fall of 1769 the itinerant missionary, Father Bailly de Messein, married two of his children at that place.⁴ At the

³ "Registre des Baptêmes et Mariages 1868-1906," Archives de la paroisse Saint-Bernard, Saint Bernard, N.S.

⁴ See "Registre de l'Abbé Bailly de Messein, 1768-1773." Original preserved at the Diocesan Archives, Bathurst, N.B., copy at ACA. The children were Pierre, married to Marguerite Belliveau, and Madeleine married to Frédéric Belliveau.

same time, developments in Halifax were unfolding that would eventually result in the family's coming to Saint Mary's Bay.

As early as 1764 efforts were underway to permit Acadians to reestablish themselves within the colony that a few years prior had declared them to be outlaws. Although Lieutenant-Governor Wilmot felt "that this Province [would] feel a very salutary effect in being relieved from such a numerous body of people," he had to abide by "the Kings pleasure" in "permitting them to make a settlement in this country."⁵ By the early winter of 1767 a group of Acadians in Annapolis County and Windsor Township petitioned the Lieutenant-Governor regarding what "lands may be allotted them for a Settlement."⁶ The influx of New England Planters throughout the Annapolis Valley since the early 1760s had changed the character of the old Acadian homeland and it was not surprising that the returning Franco-Catholics would want to settle away from Anglo-Protestant influences. The following summer their aspirations became reality when Lieutenant-Governor Francklin issued his "Warrant of Survey" (in July) describing the new Acadian Township. The former exiles would have "lands laid out to them between Sissibou and Cape Saint Mary's" and Francklin ordered, "this township is to be called Clare."⁷ Accordingly, the Acadians who had made it back to the Annapolis Royal area began looking at this new location as a possible permanent settlement, the final halt in a trek that had been on-going for over a decade. The first one to brave the adventure was Joseph Dugas who, along with his wife and two children,

⁵ "Lieutenant-Governor Wilmot to Lord Halifax, November 9, 1764" CO. 217, Vol. 43, doc. 257, PANS.

⁶ "Acadian Petition, December 23, 1767," RG I, Vol. 212, pp. 84-85, PANS.

⁷ "Lieutenant-Governor Michael Francklin to John Morrison, July 1, 1768" RG I, Vol. 136, p. 115, PANS.

spent the winter of 1768-1769 alone at the site he had chosen near the present day village of Saint Bernard.⁸ During the years that followed more would come and join Dugas; included in this group was Charles LeBlanc, Sr., and his family who arrived in the early 1770s. He would give his name to an area close to Saint Bernard called l'Anse-des-LeBlanc.⁹

Although Acadians who were beginning to settle Clare Township were well within their rights, land occupation was by "permission" of government rather than by legal title. As a consequence Acadians in the area approached Joseph Winnett, Justice of the Peace for the County of Annapolis [Digby County did not exist at this time] to plead in their name before the authorities, "praying that grants may be pass'd them of the Lands [sic] they now occupy in the Township of Clare."¹⁰ Within a few months of that petition "it was ordered that the said persons should have land granted to them... in the Township of Clare."¹¹ In this 1775 concession, called the Bastarache Grant, Charles LeBlanc, Sr., got title to lot #7 and #25 for a total of four hundred eighty acres. People were beginning to take root.

Most of the lands granted in Clare during the eighteenth century were in long, narrow strips, running perpendicular to Saint Mary's Bay. Within two generations these original shore-front lots were being filled up thanks to a rapid increase in

⁸ See "Registre de l'Abbé Bailly de Messein, 1768-1773." Father Bailly states in his register that on September 8, 1769 he baptized fourteen children one of which was Joseph Dugas Jr., born at Saint Mary's Bay September 25, 1768.

⁹ This is often anglicized to "White's Cove," as "blanc" is given a literal translation to "white."

¹⁰ "Memorial of Joseph Winnett, February 2, 1775," RG I, Vol. 212, p. 235, PANS.

¹¹ "Bastarache Grant, May 18, 1775" in *ibid.*, p. 248.

population. Early in the nineteenth century Lieutenant Governor Wentworth, "in consideration of the great increase of their [Acadian] families... and their desire to make provision for themselves and their children," had seen to it that "land should be allotted them in the rear of their township."¹² By then Clare had grown to approximately one hundred twenty families and by 1827 the settlement held a population of two thousand thirty-eight.¹³ With this accelerated demographic growth, it is not surprising to find third generation colonists looking towards the interior, away from the initial grants, for land to settle and raise their families. Joseph LeBlanc, Édouard Alfred's grandfather, who moved to Weaver Settlement, was a case in point.¹⁴

Joseph LeBlanc, nicknamed "Morrison," born at l'Anse-des-LeBlanc in 1786, was the son of Charles LeBlanc Jr. and Anne Melanson. He married Rosalie Theriault in 1813 and from that union ten children would be born. Exactly when he left the shore for the inland location of Weaver's Settlement is a matter of conjecture but it is certain he did move, for an 1868 indenture between his sons and Stephen Payson conveyed part of "the homestead farm of the late Joseph LeBlanc" which was bordered "on the north by

¹² "Father Sigogne to Lieutenant-Governor Dalhousie, March 8, 1817," RG 2, Vol. IV, f(2), ACA.

¹³ "Father Sigogne to Monsignor Denaut, January 26, 1800," MG II, Vol. XII, f(4), ACA. For the 1827 population count see "A Statistical Return of the Township of Clare in the County of Annapolis, September 30, 1827" RG I, Vol. 446, No. 126-130, PANS.

¹⁴ Besides being called "Township Line" Weaver Settlement is also listed on maps as "Ohio." According to Bruce Fergusson the name was given by Loyalist settlers from Weymouth, "prompted by Ohio fever," who moved there late in the eighteenth century. See Place-Names and Places of Nova Scotia (Belleville: Mika Publishing Company, 1976), p. 714.

the Township line Road."¹⁵ The move probably came in the 1820s. Surviving records show that in 1827 LeBlanc bought one hundred sixty acres of land in the area from Samuel Doty, Jr. The description of the sale states that it was "bound on the East [sic] by Lands [sic] belonging to the Said [sic] Joseph White," which implies an even earlier purchase.¹⁶ This land bought from Doty would also be used by other family members wishing to go inland as is shown by an 1832 transaction which saw Joseph LeBlanc selling one-third of this parcel of land to his brothers, Pierre and Jean-Baptiste.¹⁷

The seventh child of Joseph LeBlanc and Rosalie Theriault was born November 9, 1825 and was given the name of Luc. At age twenty-nine he married Julie-Vitaline Belliveau, daughter of Joseph-Charles Belliveau and Marie-Marguerite Comeau. It was in this Weaver Settlement home that Édouard Alfred was born on October 15, 1870. The child did not enter a socially prominent setting. What emerges from family records and oral traditions is a picture of the ordinary rather than of elitism. Although Luc LeBlanc could read and write he did not use those talents beyond the family and work environment.¹⁸ For example, there is no evidence of his ever being elected to public office, although in 1867 the Court of General Sessions of the Peace did name him surveyor of cord wood and assessor of county rate for the district # 9, the Township

¹⁵ "Edward LeBlanc and others to Stephen Payson, March 18, 1868," Digby County Records Office, Weymouth, N.S., [hereafter DCRO] Book 35, p. 275.

¹⁶ "Indenture between Samuel Doty Jr. and Joseph White" DCRO, N.S. Book 9, p. 112. This is another example of "LeBlanc" being anglicized to "White."

¹⁷ "Joseph LeBlanc to Peter and Jean-Baptiste LeBlanc, February 18, 1832," DCRO, Book 11, p. 89.

¹⁸ "Census of 1871," Misc "C", Reel # 7, PANS.

Line Road.¹⁹ These tasks were but two of many functions assigned to a host of people in Clare by the Court and should not be viewed as appointments made on the basis of any social prominence. Essentially, they were responsibilities which the Court expected every landowner would eventually accept as part of his civic duties.

As a farmer, the same characteristics of "average" hold true. When the future bishop came into the world, his father's livelihood permitted a relatively comfortable existence, at least by nineteenth century standards. In all he owned and occupied one hundred acres of property, had twenty-five acres of land "improved" and possessed fifteen acres of pasture for his two horses, four cows and twenty-four sheep.²⁰ The one hundred pounds of butter and forty pounds of wool that could be produced on the farm in a given year were complemented by the annual return of barley, oats, beans, apples and potatoes from the fields, thus enabling the family to practice a fair degree of self-sufficiency.²¹ In relation to the other people around him those statistics did not make Luc LeBlanc a privileged landowner, but rather fitted him into the Acadian community as a commonplace farmer. According to the 1871 provincial census each Acadian landowner in Saint Mary's Bay "occupied" on average one hundred and four acres of

¹⁹ "Minute Book No. 1" Archives of the Municipality of Clare, Little Brook, N.S., pp. 13 and 18.

²⁰ "1871 Census of Nova Scotia, District 191, Reel # 7, C10545, PANS.

²¹ Ibid.

land.²² Recent studies have shown that other rural communities in Nova Scotia fared better in agricultural performance than these Acadians. For example, Scottish farmers in Cape Breton's Middle River had developed an agricultural trade "conducted on a considerable scale," exporting large quantities and farm produce by mid-nineteenth century.²³ Such output went beyond what was produced within the Acadian communities of Southwestern Nova Scotia. Here, agricultural pursuits were oriented more towards familial needs than towards commercial exploitation.²⁴

Although Luc LeBlanc's farm provided for a good portion of the family's well being, it did not account for all of it. He supplemented his farming with lumbering. The combination of lumbering with farming was not uncommon in Clare at this time. Indeed, towards the end of the century one writer commented that "saw mills here are many and shipments are made chiefly by way of Weymouth."²⁵ Although it was not possible to determine if LeBlanc actually owned a sawmill, in 1867 he contracted a deal with James Lankford, Sr., whereby he and two others obtained an acre of land on the

²² "1871 Census of Nova Scotia, District 191, Reel # 7, C10545, PANS. This census divided the Acadian areas of Saint Mary's Bay into four sections: A) Belliveau's Cove, B) Clare [undoubtedly refers to Church Point, Little Brook, Comeauville and Saulnierville], C) Meteghan, and D) Salmon River. The census also gave the number of landowners and the number of acres occupied in each section. Once the average acreage was calculated for each section [A = 107.9, B = 112.8, C = 109.4, D = 86.3] the grand average of 104.1 acres was easily tabulated.

²³ Rusty Bittermann, "The Hierarchy of Soil: Land and Labour in a 19th Century Cape Breton Community," p. 36.

²⁴ In the early 1960s a Laval University anthropologist noted how farms in the twentieth century along Saint Mary's Bay were still "sur une base domestique" as they had been in the nineteenth. This Professor Tremblay attributed to poor soil quality, lack of technical knowledge in agriculture on the part of farmers and the absence of adequate markets which could be better supplied from the Annapolis Valley. See Marc-Adelard Tremblay, "Les Acadiens de la Baie Française," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, Vol. XV, No. 4, 1962, pp. 536-37.

²⁵ A.W. Fullerton, "Where Lingers the Echo of History's Footsteps," MG I, Vol. 771, No. 12, PANS.

Silver River as well as "the privilege of mill dam and River... to raft timber or draw and pile lumber."²⁶ This was to be for a twenty-five year period.²⁷ In anticipation of his lumbering venture, Luc LeBlanc, along with his two brothers, had bought a parcel of land "situate in Weymouth... near the Bridge"²⁸ This undoubtedly was done so as to permit the piling of lumber within close proximity of the vessels coming into Weymouth to load this staple.

The LeBlanc family lumbering ventures persisted for some time. Using the nickname of "Morrison" given to the bishop's grandfather, Joseph LeBlanc, people of the area often referred to "le moulin des Morrison" even when they were talking about the business of later years when it was run by the bishop's father, and later by his brother, Jean-Baptiste. According to one family member, the cutting and sawing of logs by Jean-Baptiste was the way by which sufficient funds were raised to permit Édouard Alfred's education.²⁹

The Clare area where Édouard started life in 1870 was going through a period of socio-economic transition during the last decades of the nineteenth century. For one

²⁶ James Lankford Sr. to Luke LeBlanc and others November 11, 1867," DCRO, Book 35, p. 140.

²⁷ The 1827 provincial census credits LeBlanc with having felled one hundred twenty pine logs and one hundred twenty spruce and other logs."

²⁸ "Patrick Condon to Jovite, Luke and Edward LeBlanc, May 30, 1866," DCRO, Book 34, p. 257.

²⁹ On February 26, 1988 this author interviewed Mary LeBlanc wife of Harley LeBlanc, one of the bishop's nephews and this information was recorded at that time. Mary LeBlanc still lives in Bishop LeBlanc's paternal homestead.

thing, the population of the area had continued to expand and by 1871 a figure of four thousand eight hundred and eighty-two had been reached, an increase of nearly fifty-eight percent over the 1827 census.³⁰ This steady rise in population contributed to a heightened and diversified pattern of economic activity. At the time of Édouard Alfred's birth the number of people moving away from farming, fishing, and lumbering towards other jobs was increasing, as is shown by the growing presence of skilled craftsmen. Local employment directories reveal that people were beginning to earn their keep, if not in whole, at least in part as blacksmiths, shoemakers, tanners, masons, coopers and joiners.³¹ Other service industries included store and tavern keepers, along with hotel and way-office operations.³²

The 1860s and 1870s also saw an expansion in the wooden shipbuilding industry along Saint Mary's Bay. The inland portion of Clare provided the necessary timber, the many rivers permitted the movement of logs and the power to operate the saw mills, and the people of the area demonstrated a craftsmanship refined by generations of experience. A year after Édouard was born, no fewer than eleven shipbuilders were listed in the Acadian villages of Digby County.³³ The research of scholars such as Alexander and Panting shows that Clare contributed abundantly to Yarmouth's reputation as a leading

³⁰ Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census of Canada, 1870-71, p. 324.

³¹ See Acadian areas listed in John Lovell, Nova Scotia Directory (London, Ontario: Reprinted from the 1871 original by the Genealogical Research Library, 1984), p. 8-264.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

world port.³⁴ At certain times as much as forty-four percent of all vessel construction in Clare was for Yarmouth based entrepreneurs.³⁵ Some of the ships built in Clare for Yarmouth interests were of considerable tonnage being designed for trans-Atlantic and even world trade. For example, the "County of Yarmouth" built at Belliveau's Cove in 1884 by Hilaire Boudreau, measured two hundred and forty-three feet and had a capacity of two thousand one hundred and eighty-four tons; it travelled regularly between Rio de Janeiro and Canadian ports.³⁶

Although large vessels were being built in Clare, a majority of the crafts launched in these Acadian villages were designed for the coasting trade. In an 1888 list, the tonnage of twenty locally owned vessels ranged between twelve and one hundred and seventy-five, implying coastal, rather than high seas navigation.³⁷ Local staples such as fish, wood and eggs were exchanged in various ports of the Bay of Fundy and the Gulf of Maine. This coasting trade originating from Clare prompted one writer to label it as "a large item" and declared it to be "much of the life of the country."³⁸

On balance the mid-nineteenth century was a time of relative prosperity and achievement for the Acadians of Clare. They participated with considerable success in

³⁴ David Alexander and Gerry Panting, "The Mercantile Fleet and its Owners: Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, 1840-1889," in P.A. Buckner and David Frank (eds.) The Acadiensis Reader, Volume I, pp. 309-312.

³⁵ See "List of Vessels on the Registry Books of the Dominion of Canada the 31st day of December 1886," Sessional Papers, Vol. 14, No. 15, 1887, pp. 2-396..

³⁶ Charles Armour and Thomas Lackey, Sailing Ships of the Maritimes (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., 1975), pp. 172-173.

³⁷ Le Moniteur Acadien, January 17, 1888, p. 3.

³⁸ A.W. Fullerton, "Where Lingers the Echo of History's footsteps," MG 1, Vol. 771, No. 12, PANS.

the pre-industrial "wood, wind and water" economy of that era. Unfortunately that era was not destined to endure. By the mid-nineteenth century signs of economic and demographic crisis had begun to appear. Those signs were often denied by contemporary leaders. For example one local newspaper in 1886 remarked that in Clare "times were fairly prosperous" and that the houses had "an appearance of thrift and prosperity."³⁹ Another commentator, even more optimistic claimed that all citizens in Clare "seem fairly prosperous... many are rich."⁴⁰ Yet, a distinction should be made here between self-serving rhetoric and what was truly taking place in Clare on the economic plane during the last two decades of the century.

The shipbuilding industry was one major sector suffering economic downturn. Because of changes in international trading patterns and because Macdonald's National Policy gave economic strategy a continentalist rather than an Atlantic orientation, shipbuilding in the Maritimes declined rapidly after 1880.⁴¹ Towns such as Yarmouth which had earlier experienced a "golden age" turned stagnant, and in so doing brought adversity to areas of the hinterland dependent on their prosperity. Communities in Clare such as Salmon River, Meteghan, Church Point, and Belliveau's Cove which had been important suppliers of the registered tonnage at Yarmouth felt the bite of hard times. The ship registry for the Dominion lists but sixty-eight ships built in Clare during the ten

³⁹ Digby Weekly Courier, October 29, 1886, p. 2.

⁴⁰ A.W. Fullerton, "Where Lingers the Echo of History's Footsteps," MG 1, Vol. 771, No. 12, PANS.

⁴¹ Sager and Fischer summarize this change as the result of supply of shipping catching up with demand (which in itself caused a drop in freight rates) and the decline of traditional staples shipments overseas. See Eric W. Sager and Lewis R. Fischer, Shipping and Shipbuilding in Atlantic Canada, 1820-1914 (Ottawa: The Canadian Historical Association, 1986), p. 16.

years between 1876 and 1885.⁴² This construction was distributed among eleven centers accounting for slightly over half a vessel (0.6) per center per year. The graphic representation of the industry on the following page indicates that the end of the 1870s ushered in the beginning of the decline, and although there appeared to be an upsurge in 1884, it was short lived with only one ship being registered in 1885. The last half of the decade saw a continuation of this poor performance. The shipping registers for Yarmouth and Digby show only seventeen vessels having been built in the Clare area between 1885 and 1890.⁴³ It has also been shown elsewhere that in the 1880-1890 period, only three ships of the three and four masted class were built in the Acadian areas of Saint Mary's Bay.⁴⁴

Although the decline of shipbuilding ushered in a period of setbacks, other sources of economic dislocation were also evident at this period. Acadians in Clare had profited from the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 by exporting substantial quantities of fish and lumber to the United States.⁴⁵ Other foodstuffs such as butter, eggs and potatoes probably found their way to the United States after 1854 since these commodities had

⁴² See "List of Vessels on the Registry Books of the Dominion of Canada the 31st day of December 1886," Sessional Papers, Vol. 14, No. 15, 1887, pp. 2-396.

⁴³ "Shipping Registers, Yarmouth, N.S., 1877-81, 1881-84, 1884-91," Vols. 98,99 and 240, Reel C-2449, NAC and Ibid., "Digby N.S., 1880-1901," Vol. 263, Reel C-2433.

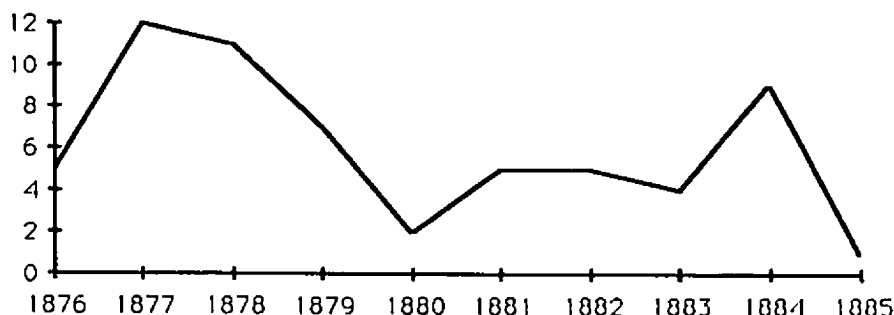
⁴⁴ See list at the end of John Parker's Sails of the Maritimes (North Sydney: the author, 1960), pp. 199-218. It is to be noted that a vessel of five hundred tons almost automatically implies that it would at least be three masted.

⁴⁵ Under the direction of J. Alphonse Deveau, Clare - La Ville Française, Tome II (Yarmouth: Imprimerie Lescarbot Limitée, 1985), p. 253.

been exported from Clare to various destinations since the beginning of the century.⁴⁶

Figure 4-3

Shipbuilding in Clare
1876 - 1885



Article III of the Reciprocity Treaty stipulated that all the above mentioned products could enter the United States market freely.⁴⁷ However with the abrogation of the treaty in 1866 and the subsequent loss of a healthy market, prices fell and the rural economy began slumping. The southwestern part of Nova Scotia was no exception. One local newspaper forecast economic suffering because of the loss of reciprocity and predicted that, were it not for the Canadians and their bad tactics in dealing with the Americans, Nova Scotians could easily negotiate another treaty "on mutually advantageous terms."⁴⁸

Another indicator of economic setback during Édouard's youth was provided by population trends in Clare during the 1880s. Acadian districts in Digby County

⁴⁶ J. Alphonse Deveau, ed., Diary of a Frenchman (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing Limited, 1990), p. 93.

⁴⁷ See Donald C. Masters, The Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1963), pp. 142-143.

⁴⁸ The Yarmouth Herald, January 25, 1866, p. 2.

enumerated for the 1881 census held seven thousand one hundred and thirty-four individuals;⁴⁹ in 1891 the total was seven thousand six hundred sixty-five which translated into a growth rate of under seven percent, involving five hundred and thirty-one persons.⁵⁰ Yet in one parish alone, that of Meteghan, no fewer than five hundred and one baptisms were registered for that same ten year period.⁵¹ With no evidence of huge epidemics nor natural disasters, it is safe to assume that Acadians in Clare had become caught up in the tide of rural depopulation rampant at this time. People were leaving as never before, thus crippling net population growth. It is no wonder then that an 1889 correspondent to L'Évangéline was appalled at the many Acadians leaving Nova Scotia, the "force of example [being] the chief motor at work."⁵²

It would be a mistake, however, to see those who persisted as a people demoralized by the onset of adversity. In the various reports written about Clare during Édouard's youth and early adulthood, the local Acadians are invariably presented as sharing one major characteristic, namely attachment to the past. Le Moniteur Acadien of

⁴⁹ "Census of 1881," Misc "C", Reel #8, PANS.

⁵⁰ "Census of 1891," Misc "C", Reel #5, PANS.

⁵¹ See "Baptismal Registers" for the 1881-1891 period in the Stella Maris Parish Archives, Meteghan, N.S. Because of the poor quality of the registers it was not always possible to accurately identify each entry. However, the five hundred one baptisms counted here were clearly entered as such, and that figure should be interpreted as a minimum number.

There were three other Acadian parishes in Saint Mary's Bay at this time; that is, Church Point, Saint Bernard and Salmon River. Also, Saulnierville had a church built in 1882 but by 1890 it had become a mission of Church Point, with both parishes coming under the jurisdiction of the Eudist Fathers.

⁵² L'Évangéline, April 10, 1889, p. 3.

1881 painted Acadians in Clare as "un peuple qui conserve, avec ses vieilles traditions, son culte pour la mémoire de ses ancêtres," while the French Eudist, Fr. Ange LeDoré, said of these people in the early 1890s: "le culte des traditions sauvegarde l'uniformité des existences."⁵³ For his part, A.W. Fullerton looked upon the area as "a place evidently with a history, a people with a record [where] there lingers about them sufficient of the charm of the past to raise them above the level of the commonplace..."⁵⁴ Past memories had been adhered to as one of the few foundations left upon which the people could build. The deportation, the ensuing hardships of exile or refugee life within Nova Scotia, and the tribulations of resettlement after 1763 demonstrated a fortitude of epic proportions from which those living late in the nineteenth century could take pride. Especially among the young these ancestral exploits fostered a certain "veneration of heroes."⁵⁵ In Édouard Alfred's case the deeds of his ancestors (both paternal and maternal) seem to have translated into patriotic pride which contributed to his emergence as an Acadian nationalist.

Charles LeBlanc, Sr., Édouard Alfred's great-great-grandfather mentioned earlier, had a wife and at least six children when he was confronted with the realities of dispersion in 1755.⁵⁶ According to the Acadian genealogist Placide Gaudet, Charles, Sr., and his family formed part of a caravan of some one hundred and twenty individuals

⁵³ Le Moniteur Acadien, April 14, 1881, p. 2. See also "Letter, Father Ange LeDoré," date and destination unknown, MGI, Vol. I (2), ACA.

⁵⁴ A.W. Fullerton, "Where Lingers the Echo of History's Footsteps," MGI, Vol. 771, #12, PANS.

⁵⁵ Louis Snyder, an authority on the subject, labelled the veneration of one's heroes as an essential part of the nationalist sentiment. See Boyd C. Shafer, Faces of Nationalism (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1972), p. 4.

⁵⁶ Placide Gaudet, "Généalogies des familles acadiennes," ARC-178, Roll 3, p. 2873-1-2, NAC.

who escaped deportation from Annapolis Royal by running over the North Mountain to the Bay of Fundy. Here they boarded small boats which had been hidden in anticipation of British designs.⁵⁷ Also among this group would also have been Édouard Alfred's maternal great-great-grandfather, Jean Belliveau. Again according to Gaudet, the caravan made it to French Cross (now Morden in King's County) but feeling insecure they left the area and sailed to what is today Belliveau's Cove in Saint Mary's Bay. There they wintered in 1755-1756, living with the barest of necessities. With the return of spring, they headed toward Saint John on their way to join Joseph Brossard [called Beausoleil] and his Acadian resistance operating in and around the present day Moncton. After much suffering and deprivation while living as "outlaws," the group surrendered to British authorities at Fort Cumberland in 1760, taking the oath of allegiance and heading back towards Port Royal, after the termination of hostilities in 1763.⁵⁸ So ended this story of plight, of endurance, and of resolve not to abandon one's homeland.

The extent to which Placide Gaudet relied on documents rather than family tradition to bring this heroic episode to life is a matter of conjecture, for unfortunately he does not indicate his sources.⁵⁹ The point to be stressed here is that the story had been

⁵⁷ This information on Bishop LeBlanc's ancestry was published by Gaudet in Le Moniteur Acadien December 12 and 19, 1912.

⁵⁸ Placide Gaudet in Le Moniteur Acadien December 12 and 19, 1912.

⁵⁹ It should be noted that sufficient documented information exists "around" the episode to make it credible, at least in certain areas. For example, it was estimated that some three hundred Acadians from Annapolis River escaped deportation by "running in the woods" [see "Captain Abraham Adams to Colonel John Winslow, December 8, 1755," Sessional Papers, No. 18, 5-6, Edward VII, Appendice A, 1906.] It is also a well known fact that an Acadian resistance under the command of Brossard existed north of the isthmus of Chignectou, and that a large group of Acadians, "between three and four hundred,... assembled at the Fort (Cumberland)" and "submitted themselves to be disposed of at the pleasure of the Government" in 1760. See "Council Minutes, August 5, 1760," RG 1, Vol. 211, PANS.

kept alive within the family, and was thus a cherished part of familial history to be told to the children. Gaudet himself was a great-great-grandson of one of the principal leaders of the caravan, Pierre "Piau" Belliveau and he had hoped to put the entire story in print toward the end of the nineteenth century by writing a history of Saint Mary's Bay while he was a professor at *Collège Sainte-Anne*.⁶⁰ Unfortunately the history never reached the public because the manuscript (and possibly even the printed book) were destroyed by fire.⁶¹

If Acadians in Clare during Édouard Alfred's time were described as being rooted in tradition, certainly one pillar of their the past was Roman Catholicism. During the deportation years that religion had often afforded the only comfort in a world that was otherwise falling apart. Throughout this period, as well as during the initial years of resettlement, Roman Catholicism was often kept alive only through the zeal of the faithful, for these Acadians seldom had the services of a priest. Itinerant missionaries from Quebec served the people as best they could, leaving that province early in the spring to make a "sweep" of the Acadian villages of the Maritimes and then heading back before the arrival of winter. Such was the case with Abbé Bailly who visited Clare in 1769 and Abbé Bourg who made a similar trek in 1774. Before leaving an area, the visiting priest would appoint an individual, usually an elder, to act in his stead, albeit

⁶⁰ It is interesting to note that exactly the same amount of generations had elapsed between Pierre Belliveau and his scion Placide Gaudet, as there were between Charles LeBlanc, Sr., and his descendant, the future Bishop LeBlanc.

⁶¹ In the Gaudet Papers at the CEA [1.23-15] there exists eighty-five "subscription vouchers" dated throughout 1893 in which the undersigned agree to buy Gaudet's book "Les Acadiens de la Baie Sainte-Marie" described as being "en voie de publication." The fire which destroyed the *Collège Sainte-Anne* library early in November 1893 is probably the chief reason why the book never became a reality. It can be assumed, however, that it was near completion because one chapter in printed form has survived and can be found in the archives cited above.

only as far as Roman Canon Law could permit. This individual directed prayers at church services, and performed certain rites such as baptism and marriage, provided that these were solemnized when the next priest came by.⁶²

From these shaky religious beginnings, by 1870 Clare had grown into an area where Catholicism, like the people, had become firmly rooted. With the growth in population it became evident that the wayfaring priests could no longer serve the needs of the people, and as early as 1790 the inhabitants began to petition the Bishop of Quebec for a resident priest.⁶³ In 1799, the Abbé Jean-Mandé Sigogne was recruited and upon his arrival that summer he laid the foundations of Saint Mary's parish at Church Point.⁶⁴ From this initial parish, which composed all of Clare (a distance of approximately twenty-five miles) the area had swelled to contain four separate parishes and one mission church by the time of Édouard LeBlanc's birth. This accelerated growth of Catholicism can be attributed to the Acadians' endogamous character. The consequent demographic growth necessarily meant Catholic expansion and entrenchment. The degree to which Catholicism was rooted is evidenced by the failure of attempts to introduce Protestant sects in the area. For example, Baptist missionary effort directed towards Clare had to be abandoned for a lack of converts. In 1864 Pastor Michael Normandy had opened the

⁶² These church services were called *messes blanches* to distinguish them from the mass per se. Transubstantiation, or the changing of the bread and wine to the body and blood of Christ, did not take place as that power was reserved exclusively to the ordained priest. As to the sacraments, marriages in the Saint Mary's Bay area had been performed quite regularly by the elder Amable Doucet in the 1790s and they were later solemnized, or *rehabilité* by Father Jean-Mandé Sigogne when he arrived in 1799. See Leonard Smith (ed.) Saint Mary's Bay 1774-1801: Early Parish Register (Clearwater, Florida: Owl Books 1983), pp. 13-20.

⁶³ "Mémoire des Habitants de la Baie Sainte-Marie, September 15, 1790," Série 312, CN, Vol. 1, AAQ.

⁶⁴ For a detailed study on the career of this individual see Gérald C. Boudreau, "L'Apostolat du missionnaire Jean Mandé Sigogne et les Acadiens du sud-ouest de la Nouvelle-Écosse," Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Université de Montréal, 1989.

Acadian French Mission Church at Saulnierville, but within the whole congregation "only ten were redeemed from Catholicism."⁶⁵

The role of the parish priest among the Acadians of Clare was central but not without some tensions. The conventional notion of Acadians being blindly subservient to their clergy does have flaws. For example, at the beginning of the nineteenth century Father Sigogne recorded a rather stubborn Acadian character during an early attempt to impose his authority. When the priest's choice of a church site did not please all members of his flock, some protested by not delivering promised firewood. Sigogne threatened to go to the United States and find another priest to replace him.⁶⁶ However, such difficulties were eventually settled. Despite some grumbling, in general Acadians did turn to their priest for guidance in legal, educational and other civic affairs thus extending the influence of Catholicism to nearly all facets of life. This was especially true of the early years when priests were obliged to act in capacities that would later be left to lawyers, educators, councillors and politicians. The career of Jean Mandé Sigogne among the Acadians of Southwestern Nova Scotia illustrates the point.⁶⁷ For his knowledge, his services, and for the Church he represented, the parish priest was highly respected, even venerated. To have a son ordained into the priesthood was the

⁶⁵ Isaiah Wilson, A Geography and History of the County of Digby Nova Scotia, p. 25.

⁶⁶ "Father Jean-Mandé Sigogne to Msgr. Denaut, September 26, 1801," MG 2, Vol. 12, f(9), ACA.

⁶⁷ Father Sigogne opened the first "school in Clare, he was named school Commissioner and Justice of the Peace, he worked closely with T.C. Haliburton to have the test oath abolished, he drew up petitions forwarded to the government for roads, wharves, and land, and on numerous occasions acted as notary to the last will and testament of the sick or dying. See P.-L. Dagnaud, Les Français du Sud-Ouest de la Nouvelle-Écosse, chapters 7, 8, and 9.

highest honor to befall one's household; Édouard Alfred's family would be the first one so honored in Clare.

In discussing the surroundings into which Édouard Alfred was born, the role played by the village of Weymouth in the future bishop's upbringing is of primary importance. Weaver Settlement bordered on Weymouth Township and that proximity meant that Weymouth was a place where Franco-Catholic settlements ended and where the Anglo-Protestant ones began. For Édouard Alfred life involved a close association with Weymouth because his father's business interests, especially those of lumber, brought him often to town. Moreover, his uncle Jovite operated a shingle mill there, and it was probably at Weymouth that he received much of his formal schooling.

When Édouard Alfred was born, Weymouth was the closest thing to a town in the area since it held a population of nearly seventeen hundred people.⁶⁸ It did "considerable shipbuilding" along with exporting to the United States and the West Indies.⁶⁹ Much of the town's economic activity in the last decades of the century revolved around wholesale merchants such as Charles Burrill and G.D. Campbell. Settled mostly by Loyalists fleeing the new republic, the area had grown to encompass over forty stores and offices by 1877 including retail outlets, hotels, a physician and a Western Union Office.⁷⁰ Many people from the Clare area, notably those nearby places like Weaver Settlement, did business in Weymouth. L'Évangéline noted how

⁶⁸ Canada: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census of Canada, 1871, pp. 324-25.

⁶⁹ John Lovell, Nova Scotia Directory for 1871, p. 255. The 1871 provincial census records 5,329 "tonnage owned." See "1871 Census," Misc. C, Reel 7, PANS.

⁷⁰ Mercantile Agency Reference Book (Montreal: Dun, Wiman and Company, 1877). In the 1871 provincial census, under "warehouses, stores, factories and shops" a total of fifty-seven are listed.

Weymouth's rising commercial activity at the beginning of the 1890s was "en grande partie due aux habitants de Clare qui vont y faire leurs achats." The author predicted that if this practice were ever to cease, three-quarters of the stores would have to shut down because of a lack of clientele.⁷¹

At the time of Édouard LeBlanc's birth, the Acadian French formed the second largest ethnic group in the Weymouth area accounting for two hundred forty individuals, surpassed only by the English, which the census listed as being seven hundred eighty-two in number. The relationship between the two groups had usually been cordial and shortly after his nomination to the episcopacy, Father LeBlanc addressed the people of Weymouth, describing their town as a place "where the best of relations exist between all creeds and nationalities."⁷² But this flattering vision should be interpreted with care. While open hostility between the two cultures had not been a feature of local life, the "best of relations" claimed by LeBlanc did not necessarily mean that everyone was regarded as being on an equal footing. A glance at the political and economic dimensions of town life reveals that in Weymouth, as throughout the County, the dominant group were Anglophones. Except for the position of Justice of the Peace, all major appointments (commissioners, sheriffs, registrars and clerk) within the county governmental apparatus were exclusively in the hands of the non-Acadian element.⁷³ And on the economic level, although Acadians contributed to Weymouth's expanding growth during Édouard LeBlanc's youth, these people rarely were found at the

⁷¹ L'Évangéline, July 30, 1891, p. 2.

⁷² Msgr. Édouard Alfred LeBlanc, "Address to the Parishioners of Saint Joseph, Weymouth," Bishop LeBlanc Papers, Archives of the Diocese of Saint John [hereafter ADSJ].

⁷³ See "Appendix L" in Isaiah W. Wilson, A Geography and History of the County of Digby, Nova Scotia, pp. 427-436.

entrepreneurial level. Out of the thirty-nine businesses recorded in Weymouth by Dun and Wiman in 1877, only two were Acadian owned.⁷⁴ Nearly a decade later, the poor performance had been marginally enhanced with three Acadian businesses being recorded out of a total of thirty-six.⁷⁵

Discriminatory social stratification was usually justified by the dominant group through the invocation of ethnic stereotypes. Often Acadians were presented as "communities whose people are one and apart... small worlds by themselves."⁷⁶ Judge Savary's opinion that Acadians were in a better position when "their social and community relations were... among themselves," and that they "have fallen" because they "have become contaminated with some of the vices of modern life," is indicative of the patronizing mentality which prevailed within the Anglophone elite.⁷⁷

Nevertheless the "Weymouth experience" was very valuable for Édouard Alfred in that it permitted him an insight into the group who would later form a substantial part of his diocese. His varied contacts with Weymouth as an Acadian from Clare, as a member of the LeBlanc family, and as a schoolboy, better equipped him to function adequately in the Anglophone city of Saint John. Had LeBlanc's background not involved this setting, an already difficult situation in 1912 would have been even more of a challenge.

⁷⁴ The Mercantile Agency Reference Book, (Montreal: Dun, Wiman and Co. 1877), alphabetical pagination.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 1885.

⁷⁶ Digby Weekly Courier, December 18, 1896, p. 3.

⁷⁷ Ibid., June 25, 1886, p. 1.

When Édouard Alfred was two years old a school house appeared in Weave Settlement. Called School District No. 15 (Ohio), the new edifice was close to the LeBlanc home, having been built on a quarter acre of land sold to the school board by Édouard's grandfather, Joseph LeBlanc.⁷⁸ It was here that the young lad began his education. Being the last child placed him in a favorable position for schooling since help with the family's well-being could be provided by an older brother, Jean-Baptiste, who eventually took over the family's lumbering enterprise. Also, by the 1870s the sending of at least one member of the family to school was no longer the rarity it had once been. For example, in the summer term of 1875 there were one thousand six hundred thirty-three students attending school in Clare, or one out of every three and a half persons.⁷⁹ By 1880 the number had increased slightly to a total of one thousand seven hundred sixty-nine.⁸⁰

When Édouard Alfred first approached the doors of the village school in the mid 1870s, public education in Nova Scotia was still in its infancy with the "Tupper Laws" being just over a decade old. On the material side of things, involving buildings, books and furnishings, many sections had little to offer and that would continue for some time to come. Digby County was no exception to the trends of the early years and inspectors from that area often lamented that deficiency "prevails in the school furniture" and

⁷⁸ See "Elizabeth LeBlanc to John B. LeBlanc et. al., October 19, 1895," DCRO, Book 70, p. 365.

⁷⁹ "Report of the Superintendent of Education," Journals and Proceedings of the House of Assembly, Part II, Appendix 14, (Halifax: Blackador Bros., 1875), pp. 34-35.

⁸⁰ "Report of the Superintendent of Education," Journals and Proceedings of the House of Assembly, Part II, Appendix 5 (Halifax, Robert T. Murray, 1880), pp. D & E.

reported that "in several schools there is a great insufficiency in books."⁸¹

The Acadians in Digby County (as elsewhere in the province) were further handicapped by the factor of language. When the Education Act of 1864 created the public school system, the Council of Public Instruction inaugurated a uniform or standardized model involving both curriculum and the language of instruction. Books were to be written in and classes taught in English. For Acadian children, many of whom understood little or no English, that decision had severe ramifications. Teachers had to work from council-recommended English texts, but it was only through the French language that the lessons could be made intelligible to the candidates. L.S. Morse, school inspector for Digby County in the 1880s, described the situation in these terms:

The general progress of the Acadian French schools is of necessity not so rapid as that attained in the English schools... These [i.e. Acadian] schools labor under great disadvantages in that both languages are required to be taught, and the prescribed English text books are used in addition to French reading books. In as much as a large portion of the pupils attending these schools do not understand English, the teachers are obliged to do much extra work, translating from one language to the other in order to render problems and passages otherwise obscure, plain and intelligible to their pupils. It is impossible, also, for many of the pupils, owing to their limited knowledge of English to make an intelligent preparation of lessons in advance of recitation.⁸²

Bilingual teachers who would have alleviated this situation were rarely available. Generally, teaching fell to those with permissive licenses only, people who were "not

⁸¹ Father Eugène d'Hommeé, "Inspectors' Report," Journals and Proceedings of the House of Assembly (Halifax: Robert J. Murray, 1879), p. 23.

⁸² L.S. Morse, "Inspectors' Reports" Journal and Proceedings of the House of Assembly (Halifax: The Commissioner of Public Works and Mines, 1883), p. 23.

very well qualified, but the best to be had."⁸³

The standardized system of education operating in late nineteenth century Nova Scotia catered little to the cultural aspirations of the Acadians in the province. If anything, the system tended to suffocate Acadian identity and if Édouard Alfred had been taught ancestral values at home, his schooling in no way fostered an extension of those cherished traditions. It was the evolution of Nova Scotians as part of the British Empire that was stressed in the public schools, a situation which has prompted Rawlyk and Hafter to ask of Acadian students, "what culture were the children inheriting (if they) were reading French translations of English stories in their readers, were singing English songs, memorizing English history (and) celebrating English holidays?"⁸⁴

Despite the obstacles and shortcomings of the Nova Scotian educational system, some Acadians, albeit the select few, did manage to proceed through the system to complete what was then considered "high school." In the case of Édouard LeBlanc, he advanced beyond the elementary levels and in 1889 was admitted to *Collège Saint-Joseph* at a grade ten level, which under the *système classique* was called *syntaxe*.⁸⁵ However, where he received this upper-grades schooling, which enabled him to gain

⁸³ L.S. Morse, "Inspectors' Reports" Journal and Proceedings of the House of Assembly (Halifax: The Commissioner of Public Works and Mines, 1883), p. 22.

⁸⁴ George Rawlyk and Ruth Hafter, Acadian Education in Nova Scotia: An Historical Survey to 1965 (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1970), p. 22.

⁸⁵ This is calculated on the basis that in the 1891-92 term at *Collège Sainte-Anne* he was at the *belles lettres* or freshman level. Grades in the *collèges classiques* were labelled in the following manner: grades 7 and 8 were called *pré-classique* while grades 9 and 10 were called *elements latins* and *syntaxe* respectively. Grade 11 was known as *versification* and grade 12 was called *belles lettres* or the equivalent of a freshman year. From there, the three remaining years of a bachelor's degree (sophomore, junior and senior) were named *rhétorique, philosophie I and philosophie II*.

entry at *Collège Saint-Joseph*, is difficult to document and remains a matter of conjecture. Biographies published at the time of his consecration suggest that his studies beyond the parochial level were pursued at Weymouth, but incomplete school records in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia and lack of information in the Inspectors' Reports for the 1880 makes it impossible to confirm this theory.⁸⁶ It is possible that Édouard received special tutoring from dedicated teachers at Weymouth who might have recognized the academic potential of the young lad.

The year 1889 was very important in Édouard Alfred's life for it was then that he made the decision which would later enable him to enter the priesthood and eventually the episcopacy. He resolved to get a university education. After his schooling he had worked for a while as a clerk in Meteghan River, some ten miles south of Weaver Settlement towards Yarmouth.⁸⁷ The money earned would certainly help to pay the \$117.81 needed to carry him through the first year of study.⁸⁸ There were various institutions in Quebec to choose from, but *Collège Saint-Joseph* at Memramcook with its Acadian content and its proximity was where he went. On September 5, accompanied by a cousin, the future Fr. Désiré Comeau and a few other young men from the area, he

⁸⁶ One biography published at the time of his episcopal elevation can be found in *Le Moniteur Acadien*, December 12, 1912, p. 8.

⁸⁷ Probably in A. H. Comeau's mercantile, a first cousin, and also brother to LeBlanc's classmate, Désiré Comeau. This A. H. Comeau would later become the first Nova Scotian of Acadian extraction to be named to the senate.

⁸⁸ *Collège Saint-Joseph* 's Ledger, "Grand Livre No. 3, 1885-1890," p. 278, CEA.

entered that university.⁸⁹

The two years Édouard spent at Memramcook under the watchful eyes of the Holy Cross Fathers featured a blossoming of his academic talent. At the end of his first year he placed second in the honor prize category, a recognition reserved for those of model student ranking.⁹⁰ During his second year (the 1890-91 term) Édouard continued to excel and at the end of term ceremonies he was awarded prizes in Greek, Latin and History.⁹¹ On the extra-curricular side he proved devout and his choice of such activities as membership on the "Sodality of the Blessed Virgin," was a presage of things to come.

Édouard Alfred might have stayed on at *Collège Saint-Joseph* until the end of his *cours classique*, but events in Clare brought his student years at Memramcook to an abrupt end. In September 1890, two French priests of the Eudist Order, Fr. Gustave Blanche and Fr. Aimé Morin, arrived at Church Point. Their mission was to establish an institution of higher learning in that village, a decision which would permit Édouard to receive his education a mere five miles from his home.

Efforts to found an institution for Nova Scotian Acadians wishing to pursue their education to higher levels had been undertaken in the 1880s, largely through the energy of Fr. Jean-Marie Gay, parish priest at Saulnierville and Fr. Alphonse Parker at Saint Bernard. The latter had organized a financial campaign, called the *Monument Sigogne*,

⁸⁹ Désiré Comeau's mother, Madeleine, was a sister to Bishop LeBlanc's father, Luc, thus making Désiré and Édouard first cousins. The two men would be together all through their college and seminary years and would be ordained into the priesthood by Msgr. O'Brien on the same day. At that moment they shared the honor of being the first priests native to Saint Mary's Bay.

As to the other men from the area, they numbered eleven during Édouard's second year of study. See *L'Évangéline*, September 11, 1890, p. 3.

⁹⁰ *Le Moniteur Acadien*, June 27, 1890, p. 1.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, June 26, 1891, p. 2.

to get the funds necessary for construction and in a fifteen-month period had raised nearly six thousand dollars.⁹² For his part, Archbishop O'Brien at Halifax had been busy contacting a host of religious teaching orders in an attempt to find one which would accept the Church Point challenge. He had been relying heavily on the services of the parish priest of Notre Dame in Montreal, Father Rouxel, who had contacts with various religious teaching orders in France. Finally in the spring of 1890 the superior general of the Eudist Order informed Rouxel, "Nous serions très disposés à nous rendre à Ses [i.e. Archbishop O'Brien's] désirs."⁹³ Shortly after the Eudist's arrival an agreement was drawn up between them and the Archbishop, whereby "the above named Congregation will erect with the money derived from the subscriptions to the Sigogne Memorial an academy for boys."⁹⁴ In return for this undertaking the Eudists got charge of "the missions of Church Point and Saulnierville with their presbyteries, revenues, casuals and other usufruct of the lands belonging thereto."⁹⁵

The Eudists were well received among the Acadians of Saint Mary's Bay. In an address read by the local member of the Assembly, Ambroise H. Comeau, their arrival was hailed as "l'aurore et le prélude d'une ère nouvelle."⁹⁶ For his part, Father Blanche reported to Msgr. Cornelius O'Brien that in relation to building the college, the Acadians of Clare "sont tous disposés à faire quelques sacrifices et à nous aider autant qu'ils

⁹² Le Moniteur Acadien, November 25, 1890, p. 2.

⁹³ "Father Ange LeDoré to Father H. Rouxel, April 14, 1890," MG I, Vol. I (1) ACA.

⁹⁴ "An Agreement between the Most Rev. C. O'Brien, D.D., Archbishop of Halifax and Rev. Gustave Blanche" November 12, 1890, MG I, Vol. I (1) ACA.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ A.H. Comeau, "Address to Eudist Fathers," in L'Évangéline, October 16, 1890, p. 2.

pourront."⁹⁷ The enthusiasm which appeared during the financial campaign was again present when it came to the actual construction. For example, every district or school section in Clare appointed an individual to see that a certain quota of building material was provided by that particular section. (Incidentally, Luc LeBlanc was the one in charge of the Ohio district.) Similarly when it came to digging the foundation, every village was to provide its share of men, tools, and oxen.⁹⁸ Work began on October 13, 1890 and thirteen months later, thanks to the community fervor that had characterized the project, *Collège Sainte-Anne* opened its doors. By that date sixty one students had enrolled; Édouard Alfred was among the number.

The academic achievements that Édouard had demonstrated at *Collège Saint-Joseph* were carried over to *Collège Sainte-Anne*. During his first two years at Church Point, LeBlanc earned the gold medal award, symbol of the *prix d'honneur*, and also won prizes in Latin, literature and English history. As at *Collège Saint-Joseph*, his penchant for things spiritual asserted itself such that during the 1891-92 academic year he won the rector's medal of honor for excellence in religious instruction.⁹⁹ He placed second in that same category the following year.¹⁰⁰ LeBlanc's enthusiasm for religious study was bound to attract the attention of the institution's directors, who hoped to recruit some of their students into the priesthood.

⁹⁷ "Father Gustave Blanche to Msgr. C. O'Brien, September 22, 1890," MG I, Vol. I (1) ACA.

⁹⁸ *L'Évangéline*, October 16, 1890, p. 2.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, June 30, 1892, p. 3.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, June 29, 1893, p. 2.

The four years that Édouard Alfred spent under the aegis of the Eudist priests at Church Point had a profound effect on him. To enter a *college classique* operated by these French Fathers was more than a step towards a higher education. It involved surrendering old ways to enter into a new pattern of life. Every minute of the day from morning until bedtime was planned in advance for the student so that every aspect of his development, mental and physical, could be carefully monitored. He was told when to eat, sleep, study, play and pray; he was even denied a moment's privacy since all letters he received from home were opened (and surely read) by the institution's directors. Though draconian by modern standards, the Eudists saw this military style of education as "a paternal and constant surveillance, a discipline at once firm and mild; the influences of refined feeling and the prompting of Faith."¹⁰¹ Such a system, bred discipline and self-sacrifice promoting a highly developed work ethic required especially of the young men wishing to enter the priesthood. Students who adjusted well to the rigors of the system, who demonstrated academic fortitude and who had an inclination towards the spiritual were prime targets for the Eudists' campaign for clerical recruitment. Édouard Alfred met his teachers' requirements quite well.

By 1895, at almost twenty five years of age, Édouard Alfred had decided he would enter the Holy Orders. When he graduated from *Collège Sainte-Anne* that year, the resolve to enter the priesthood was facilitated by the decision on the part of the Eudist Order and Archbishop O'Brien to erect a seminary. In 1893 the two parties had concluded an agreement whereby the Fathers would open such a theology school "for the education of their own subjects in Canada, and at the same time the Halifax seminarians

¹⁰¹ Annual Directory of Saint-Anne College, 1893-1894 (Weymouth: Les Presses de L'Évangéline, 1894), pp. 16-17.

It should be noted that the first rector, Father Gustave Blanche had been a lieutenant in the French army during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870. See Father E. Georges, Mgr. Gustave Blanche, c.j.m. (Bathurst: Noviciat des Pères Eudistes, 1923).

would receive their training in the same building."¹⁰² Holy Heart Seminary on Quinpool Road had seen the light of day, at least on paper, and two years later on September 19, 1895, the seminary officially opened its doors to five hopefuls. Three of them were students from the first graduating class at *Sainte-Anne* Alphée Cottreau, Désiré Comeau and Édouard LeBlanc.

The three years spent at Holy Heart under Eudist tutelage played an important role on LeBlanc's attitude towards society and the role of the church within that society. For all practical purposes seminarians in Halifax at the end of the nineteenth century were being indoctrinated by an order whose conservatism was well entrenched. The situation in France at the time must bear some responsibility for those attitudes. During the last two decades of the century that country divided itself into two distinct camps. One side consisting of the clergy and ardent Catholics, resisted all republicanism because of the persecution and revolution it represented. The other group was pro-republican, bent on doing battle with the monarchy and what was considered monarchism's chief ally, the Church.¹⁰³ This rise of anticlericalism during the Third Republic, (1870-1940), especially as directed against the educational sector, made for a precarious future where teaching orders were concerned. Already in 1880 measures to expel the Jesuit Order from France were underway and Pope Leo XIII was preaching moderation to other orders discouraging them from criticizing civil authority for fear a similar fate would befall them. The "Ferry Laws," were especially repugnant. Named for the minister of

¹⁰² An Album commemorating the Fiftieth Anniversary of Holy Heart Seminary (Halifax: the Archbishop, 1946), p. 20. "Their own subjects in Canada" refers to those young men graduating from Eudist institutions, while "the Halifax seminarians" alludes to those students coming out of Saint Mary's University.

¹⁰³ J. V. Ducattillon, "Le Problème Religieux en France sous la Troisième République" in Jean Benoît-Levy, et.al., L'Oeuvre de la Troisième République (Montréal: Les Éditions de l'Arbre, 1954), pp. 73-74.

education Jules Ferry, the laws were designed to secularize the schools system and purge all clerical influence from it. Many Catholics in France viewed the move as "the first step toward complete suppression of Church schools"; the anticlerics saw the abolition of Catholic schools as a positive step toward destroying those "mental incubators designed to breed antirepublican and antimodernist ideas"¹⁰⁴ The laws went even deeper than the attack on the teaching orders. They infiltrated the curriculum as well by attempting to make it responsive to the "modern" world that, more than ever, was being moulded by science and technology.

The final purge of all religious teaching orders only came in July 1904 when the French premier, Emile Combes, imposed an outright ban. But earlier the Eudists had begun to leave France and establish their institutions in far away places such as Church Point and Halifax. In the biography of Fr. Ange LeDoré, Superior of the Eudist Order, J.-B. Rovolt described how by 1890 "la persécution s'annonçait de plus en plus menaçante. Les lois... faisaient prévoir l'expulsion prochaine des Congrégations [sic] de France."¹⁰⁵ The ideology, the teaching methods, indeed the very *raison d'être*, of the Eudist Order was in danger of collapsing in republican France. Such attacks tended to foster a conservative spirit among the Eudists. Intellectually, they came to live in a world polarized between good and evil, royalism and republicanism, Catholicism and Protestantism. Traditional values and strong central authority, both bulwarks against heretical innovation, were regarded as crucial. Thus, what came out of Rome, the pinnacle of ecclesiastical authority, was regarded as God-spoken and not to be

¹⁰⁴ Gordon Wright, France in Modern Times (Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Company, 1974), p. 239.

¹⁰⁵ R.P. J.-B. Rovolt, Vie du T.R.P. Ange LeDoré, Supérieur général des Eudistes [1834-1919] (Besançon: Imprimerie Jacques & Demontrond, 1925), p. 361.

challenged. It was this atmosphere that Édouard Alfred spent a good part of his young adulthood.

The papally-oriented attitudes of the Eudists at this time were especially significant because developments within the papacy between 1880 and 1903 only served to strengthen the Order's conservatism. What happened was that Catholicism in many European countries at the end of the nineteenth century was being exposed to modernist views. Many interest groups sought to reconcile Catholicism with the "modern world." This meant, for example, the introduction of science to the realm of theology, including historical criticism of the bible. Even Pope Leo XIII (1878-1903) had a leaning toward new scholarship as was demonstrated in his encyclical *Aeterni Patris*, in which he declared "Divine Providence itself requires that, in calling back the people to the paths of faith and salvation, advantage should be taken of human science."¹⁰⁶ The Pope's support for higher education in the United States and Canada, his establishment of the Vatican observatory and his opening of the Vatican Archives in 1881, all testify to the intellectualism that colored his papacy.¹⁰⁷ However during the last seven or eight years of his tenure, Leo XIII increasingly feared that his liberalism had gone too far and he developed severe doubts about the merits of modernism. This Papal shift to the right took place when Édouard LeBlanc was a seminarian. Conservative values came ever more into fashion under Leo XIII's successor, Pius X, who fiercely opposed modernist thought and its advocates. In 1907 with the publication of the encyclical *Pascendi Dominici Gregis* and the decree *Lamentabili Sane*, the new Pope declared himself

¹⁰⁶ Pope Leo XIII, "Aeterni Patris," in Claudia Carten (ed.), The Papal Encyclicals: Volume 2, 1878-1903, p. 18.

¹⁰⁷ The Catholic University of America in Washington and the University of Ottawa in Canada are but two examples of this Pope's concerns with higher education.

firmly against all expressions of liberal innovation. Eudist thinking was comfortable with this transformation to anti-modernism.¹⁰⁸

After three years of seminary life, on June 29, 1898, Édouard Alfred was kneeling alongside his cousin Desiré Comeau at the foot of the altar in Saint Mary's Cathedral in Halifax, as Monsignor O'Brien performed the rite of ordination. For LeBlanc a long time dream had come true, and for the Acadians of Clare it was the beginning of an indigenous clergy. The zenith in the career of any young man aspiring towards the priesthood comes after ordination when, for the first time, he celebrates the sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist. It was not uncommon for this first celebration to take place in the priest's home parish for it permitted family and friends to witness one of the most moving aspects of their faith and when that event was the first time it happened to a native son, the ceremony had all the more *éclat*.¹⁰⁹ Thus on Sunday, July 10 the church at Saint Bernard filled to overflowing as every parish along Saint Mary's Bay sent delegates to witness this solemn, joyful event.¹¹⁰ Assisted by Fathers Blanche, Murel

¹⁰⁸ It is interesting to note that during Pius XI's pontificate (1922-1939) conservatism again gave way to more "progressive" attitudes, especially in the fields of social theory and economics, as a means of coping with the problems of the interwar years. The new Pope believed that the working classes "must be given not only a proper wage but in whatever way possible some real partnership." See Eric John (ed.) The Popes (New York: Hawthorn Books Inc., 1964), p. 465. These reformist trends quickly spread to the United States where both priests and hierarchy became pro-labour activists, many of them Rome-trained. See James Hennesey, American Catholics - A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), pp. 263-264. The new social theories and the clerics who tried to apply them were strong paradigms for men like Moses Coady of Antigonish who studied at the Catholic University of America in Washington D.C. during this same period.

¹⁰⁹ The English press of the area noted the significance for the Acadians of LeBlanc and Comeau's elevation into the priesthood and urged "every person, Protestant as well as Catholic [to] unite in good wishes for them." See Digby Weekly Courier, July 1, 1898, p. 3.

¹¹⁰ See L'Évangéline, July 14, 1898, p. 3.

and Braud from his *alma mater* at Church Point, and by Fathers Parker, Sullivan and Stehelin from the area, Édouard LeBlanc officially began his life as a priest.

For the next fourteen years Fr. Édouard LeBlanc pursued his priestly duties in a manner similar to his other *confrères* in the Diocese of Halifax. As was usually the case, his first assignment involved serving as vicar, or assistant to an already experienced priest to learn the ins and outs of administrating a parish. It was a kind of on the job training. In Father LeBlanc's case he was assigned to Fr. James Daly's charge at Meteghan. For the next three years he helped the aging Daly with various "housekeeping duties" in the parish such as performing many of the sacramental rites (for example, in 1900 he performed fifty-seven of the sixty-one baptisms registered in the parish.)¹¹¹ Before long the novice priest was earning high praise throughout the parish. Even the local press noted his zeal, devotion and drive to promote the spiritual and secular advancement of the faithful.¹¹² During his stay in Meteghan he also worked diligently among the youth of the Stella Maris parish, taking measures to assure that adolescents and young adults did not stray from the path of virtue. One such step involved forming a Temperance Society in 1899, a popular measure in Maritime society at the beginning of the twentieth century, yet one that was recognized by certain

¹¹¹ "Registre des Baptêmes et Mariages No. 7," Archives de la paroisse Stella Maris, Meteghan, N.S.

Father Daly was sixty-seven when Father LeBlanc was named his vicar.

¹¹² L'Évangéline, March 30, 1899, p. 3.

parishioners at Meteghan as an "effort heroïque" on the part of the vicar.¹¹³ When he left in 1901 the parishioners expressed their deep appreciation for his "efforts empressés pour le bien spirituel et matériel de ceux que l'Église avait confiés à vos soins."¹¹⁴ Over \$130.00 had been collected in the parish and was presented to him as a farewell gift after Sunday mass.

LeBlanc left Meteghan to take up duties as the priest of Caledonia in Queen's County.¹¹⁵ There he remained for five years until 1906 when the Archbishop moved him to Saint-Vincent-de-Paul at Salmon River, the last Roman Catholic parish of Saint Mary's Bay before entering Yarmouth County. His stay there was a brief one of fourteen months. When the newly consecrated Archbishop, Msgr. Edward McCarthy, visited Salmon River for the first time on June 24, 1907 to administer confirmation, an impending transfer was discussed with Father LeBlanc. A week later the decision was made public and in the month of July Édouard Alfred arrived home in the Parish of Saint

¹¹³ This was reflected in an address read to Father LeBlanc by Councillor Philippe Thibodeau upon the former's departure from Meteghan. See *L'Évangéline*, June 20, 1901, p. 3. Later as Bishop of Saint John his pro-temperance stance would surface again when he issued a pastoral letter to the clergy and laity of his diocese denouncing the use of alcohol as a "habit... fraught with peril to the soul and body." See Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc, "Pastoral Letter, 1914," LeBlanc Papers, ADSJ.

For an insight into the role of the temperance movement as a catalyst for the creation of a society based on progressive reform at this time see E.R. Forbes, "Prohibition and the Social Gospel in Nova Scotia," *Acadiensis*, Vol. I, No. 1, 1971, pp. 11-36.

¹¹⁴ *L'Évangéline*, June 20, 1901, p. 3.

¹¹⁵ Records of Father LeBlanc's stay at Caledonia are non-existent as a fire later destroyed all parish documents for 1901-1906 period.

Bernard after an absence of some twenty years.¹¹⁶ There he led a group of people who were literally his family and friends. One suspects he could not have asked for more.

From the parishioner's point of view it must have been equally comforting for them to have "a native" son returning to the fold. They witnessed a young priest full of health and energy who actually rode around the village on his motorcycle. He had never been seriously ill and although he would pick up the habit of smoking two cigars a day, he did not regard this as threatening, at least not in comparison to the effects of wine and spirits, which he totally avoided.¹¹⁷ The man's zeal was constant and extended into both dimensions of human existence, the spiritual and the material. Evidently, the spiritual was complemented by what became a love of nature and of "the outdoors." Often the new priest, last Sunday's preceptor of divinity, could be seen heading out, hoe in hand, to work in his vegetable garden. A local paper commented that "sa ferme modèle... pourvue d'animaux pur sang, a largement contribué à relever l'agriculture dans tout le comté de Digby."¹¹⁸ People of the area remember a barn well stacked with equipment of a quality far superior to the implements used by those local residents who made farming a major source of their livelihood.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ On July 2, 1907 Msgr. McCarthy wrote in the parish register: "This is my first visit as Archbishop to Saint Bernard's... The Rev. Michael Cole, who has been pastor here for two years, has been called to Halifax to take charge of Saint Agnes Parish. He will be succeeded by Father LeBlanc of Salmon River. See "Registre des Baptêmes, 1907-1937," p. 2, Archives de la paroisse Saint-Bernard, Saint Bernard, N.S.

¹¹⁷ Information on Bishop LeBlanc's personal health was obtained from an insurance policy form which he completed in 1913. See "Knights of Columbus Benefit Certificate," LeBlanc Papers, ADSJ.

¹¹⁸ Le Moniteur Acadien, April 15, 1912, p. 2.

¹¹⁹ Interview with Msgr. N.T. Belliveau's Cove, November 4, 1988.

The image of the priest-farmer was one that stayed with Father LeBlanc even after his rise to the prelacy. A nephew tells of how he crossed on the Digby Ferry to Saint John with a pair of oxen for his uncle in the process of developing a farm on diocesan lands some ten miles from the city. This relative recalls a fairly substantial farm of forty cows, eight horses, two huge barns and a work crew of six people, himself included.¹²⁰ One newspaper joshed that the Bishop's farm had such variety of birds that the visitor to this operation "will be gazed at by many thousands of hens, turkeys, geese, ducks... he [Monsignor LeBlanc] seems to possess everything that moves below feathers."¹²¹ The many eggs produced by these fowls, as well as the butter, milk and vegetables of the farm, were largely destined for charity endeavors in and around the city of Saint John. The Convent of the Good Shepherd, situated close to the Bishop's palace on Waterloo Street, was often the recipient of this food much needed to carry on its work.

Bishop LeBlanc's love of the outdoor world was further revealed in the pleasure he derived from being a sportsman. As a priest in Saint-Bernard he befriended the Stehelins of New France, a family of Alsatian and French extraction who had founded a lumber settlement some ten miles from Weymouth, heading inland. There he would go hunting with one of the sons, Louis, who had also entered the priesthood. At the foot of Langford Lake where Louis' hunting camp was located, one room was appropriately dubbed the "Bishop's room."¹²² Once in Saint John, the Bishop kept up his interests in

¹²⁰ Interview with W.L., Ohio February 26, 1988.

¹²¹ "Newspaper Clipping," no date, LeBlanc Papers, ADSJ.

¹²² See Paul H. Stehelin, The Electric City (Hantsport: Lancelot Press Limited, 1983), p. 180. This book is a fascinating account of the Stehelin's attempts at bringing French civilization and North American industry to the Digby County wilderness at the beginning of the twentieth century.

the "open air" life by becoming a member of the Long's Lake Fishing Club and by sometimes returning home to Weaver Settlement to rest and go hunting with his dog.¹²³

Although Father LeBlanc's interest in nature and the various physical activities it could provide revealed a dynamic individual, nowhere did his vitality and ambition flourish more than in the project he envisioned for the new church at Saint Bernard. When he arrived there in 1907 the existing edifice was nearly sixty years old and an expanding local population (by 1911 it had grown to one thousand two hundred fifty-three¹²⁴) made the building of a new structure the first order of business for Father LeBlanc. In this task he received the blessing of the Archbishop, who personally appealed to the faithful "to second the efforts of their pastor... by their cooperation, and to show in every way their interest in the building of the much needed new church."¹²⁵ In reality, Father LeBlanc's vision of the temple about to be built was more in line with the European cathedral style than with the parochial church usually found along Saint Mary's Bay. When completed, the Saint Bernard Church measured two hundred twelve feet in length and was ninety-two feet wide at the transept with a height of seventy feet from the floor to the apex of the ceiling. It enclosed a volume of nearly one million cubic feet.¹²⁶ Thirty-two years later the last of the eight thousand granite blocks was laid. Father LeBlanc did not remain in the parish for that amount of time. His nomination to

¹²³ Interview with M. L.B. Ohio, February 26, 1988.

¹²⁴ Dominion of Canada, Fifth Census of Canada 1911 (Ottawa: C.H. Parmelee, 1912), p. 65.

¹²⁵ This appeal was made to the parishioners on July 8, 1910 during a visit by the Archbishop. See "Registre des Baptêmes, 1907-1937," p. 2, Archives de la paroisse Saint-Bernard, Saint Bernard, N.S.

¹²⁶ These statistics are given in Ed Comeau, "Church of Saint Bernard," pamphlet in the Archives de la paroisse Saint-Bernard, Saint Bernard, N.S.

the episcopacy came two years after the construction began. But when he initiated the project he had no way of knowing that and as far as he was concerned he might even remain in the parish for a decade. He acted as though he were going to be overseeing every aspect of the project with a diligent eye, which led one commentator to note; "celui-ci [i.e. Father LeBlanc] s'occupe de tout et ne craint pas de mettre lui-même la main à l'oeuvre."¹²⁷

To have devised such a gargantuan project (Saint Bernard's church appears in Fig. 4-5) and set it in motion was indicative of Father LeBlanc's energetic character and his willingness to accept challenge, and possibly a reflection on his desire to be recognized by his superiors as being capable. Whatever the case, the undertaking involved risks which would have been shunned by most.¹²⁸ The venture displayed LeBlanc's leadership abilities. Convincing the parishioners that such a building was possible, and instilling in them the confidence and enthusiasm needed to carry them through the long process was no minor feat. It would not be the last time Father LeBlanc confronted a major challenge which demanded that he function as an innovative decision maker.

When *Père LeBlanc*, as he was called locally, left Saint Bernard to take up his episcopal duties in Saint John, people were both joyful and saddened at the news. True, the honor bestowed was not to be passed by, but all the same one of their own was leaving. Five years earlier he had arrived and had taken charge of the people's spiritual needs. Taking charge had proved to be one of LeBlanc's strengths. His above average

¹²⁷ Église Saint Bernard, Livre Souvenir (Yarmouth: The Lawson Publishing Company, 1942), p. 8.

¹²⁸ The Saint Bernard Church that Msgr. LeBlanc started in 1910 was only completed in 1942 at a cost of over \$250,000. The funds to pay for the church were raised in a variety of ways including parish picnics, door to door soliciting and bank loans.

Figure 4 - 4

Father Édouard LeBlanc and parishioners, Saint Bernard, circa 1910



height enabled him physically to dominate most of those around him and that feature contributed to what ordinary people saw as an authoritative and assertive individual. However his firmness was not the kind marked by bouts of aggressiveness. Instead his face reflected the calm and gentleness that characterized his personality.¹²⁹ It was fortunate that his temperament was colored with patience for he would have accomplished little for the Acadians as Bishop of Saint John if he had been otherwise. A short-tempered priest with an openly pugilistic approach to opponents and critics was not what was needed to advance Acadian aspirations early in the twentieth century.

Along with LeBlanc's patience and composure there was a touch of humility in his approach to life. As far as can be discerned his aspirations had never gone beyond playing the role of parish priest. In the midst of all the fanfare of his nomination he wrote Ferdinand Robidoux that he had never dreamed he would one day wear the pectoral cross.¹³⁰ One could interpret that as an automatic response which any candidate would have made, but in this case LeBlanc seems to have been being frank. He came from a small parish in Nova Scotia, had never been closely associated with the hierarchy and had not been at the center of the nationalist controversy. After all, in 1900 LeBlanc was only a young vicar two years into the priesthood. By that time clerical patriots such as Richard and Doucet had long since been national agitators. LeBlanc was, as he wrote Pierre-Amand Landry, "un tout petit évêque acadien."¹³¹

¹²⁹ Much of the information on Msgr. LeBlanc's personality was provided by a retired priest, Msgr. N.T. He got to know the Bishop through his mother's repeated comments about LeBlanc who had been a very good friend of the family. The interview was done at Belliveau's Cove on November 4, 1988.

¹³⁰ "Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc to Ferdinand Robidoux, September 3, 1912," 4.1-4, CEA. A pectoral cross is the cross worn by a bishop.

¹³¹ "Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc to Pierre-Amand Landry, October 28, 1912," 5.1.9, CEA.

Figure 4 - 5
Saint Bernard Church



Yet in his humility he was not ignorant of the task that lay ahead. The Irish/Acadian conflict over an Acadian prelate was a long standing controversy that had reached all areas of Catholicism in the Maritimes, even the remote corners such as Saint Bernard in Digby County. The bitterness of the ethnic and linguistic battle became all the

more frightening when Monsignor LeBlanc realized he would be transported from a quiet, peaceful and rural hamlet to one of the Irish strongholds of urban Maritime Canada. Yet he accepted the task, and headed for what he called "le milieu difficile où la Providence veut me placer."¹³²

As Édouard Alfred LeBlanc received the mitre and pectoral cross from the papal delegate, the entire Maritime Catholic community, both lay and clerical, was asking itself who exactly was this new member of the local prelacy. Although his academic strength, his ability to function well among both French and English groups (thanks to his Weymouth experience as a youth and his Caledonia stand of five years as a priest), his ambitious nature, and his popularity with parishioners were strong attributes, they were overshadowed by one basic question rampant in the minds of both the French and English leaders. How much of a nationalist was LeBlanc? Would his rise to the episcopacy foster a continuation of the ethnic and linguistic bitterness in Maritime religious circles, or would he refuse to be guided by what the incumbent bishops had viewed as "a tendency to introduce nationality as an essential part of religion"?¹³³ Certain facts tended to shed light on what was to be the answer.

Firstly, Father LeBlanc had been raised in an atmosphere where pride in one's roots was an integral part of the family setting. This identification with his ethnicity was echoed early in his career during a sermon he gave at Yarmouth. On that occasion he insisted that Acadians should be "un peuple sincère à notre nationalité" and he advocated a mosaic, rather than a melting-pot view of society by urging "que le Français soit

¹³² "Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc to Pierre-Amand Landry August 15, 1912," 5.9.9 CEA.

¹³³ "Archbishop and Bishops to Msgr. Sbarretti, January 17, 1908," McCarthy Papers, Vol. III, No. 287, AAH.

Français, que l'Irlandais soit Irlandais..."¹³⁴ Secondly, as stated earlier, Father LeBlanc was not aloof from the nationalist lobby, although he had not been active in it. On the contrary, a letter written to Msgr. Marcel-François Richard shortly after his nomination suggests that LeBlanc had kept abreast of nationalist developments. In his note the new prelate thanked the patriotic enthusiast from Rogersville "pour tout ce que vous avez fait pour l'Acadie."¹³⁵ Similarly, some of the speeches LeBlanc gave during and after the consecration festivities, speeches fraught with national overtones, reveal a person well sensitized to the recent struggle.¹³⁶ Thirdly, Monsignor LeBlanc knew that to view the Francophone faction of his diocese no differently than the Anglophone portion would be controversial. Not only did he share their ethnicity, but also it was thanks to the relentless efforts of over twenty years by the Acadians of his diocese that he had attained the high office he now held. Rome had enthroned the man, but it was the lobbyists who had convinced the Vatican that it was time. In a telegram to Richard and the parishioners of Rogersville thanking them for their good wishes upon his nomination, the Bishop-elect included two words which indicated he was not about to ignore Acadians, at least not in his view of things. The telegram ended, "Vive l'Acadie."¹³⁷

¹³⁴ L'Évangéline, March 21, 1901, p. 3.

¹³⁵ "Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc to Msgr. Marcel-François Richard, August 12, 1912," 8.2-16, CEA.

¹³⁶ See especially the speech he gave at *Collège Saint Joseph* when he was honored by his *alma mater* a week after his consecration. This was printed in L'Évangéline, December 18, 1912, p. 1.

¹³⁷ "Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc to Msgr. M.F. Richard, no date," 8.2-16, CEA.

Figure 4 - 6

Msgr. LeBlanc's official photo, 1913



CHAPTER 5
THE NEW BISHOP CONFRONTS A THORNY SITUATION:
THE CASE OF MONCTON

In the latter part of November 1912, nearly three weeks before his consecration, Bishop elect Édouard LeBlanc received a letter from Alfred Blanchard of Moncton in which the author mourned the "persécution incessante" directed at the Acadian population of that city.¹ Two other letters from different sources, but with similar content, had arrived previously that same month at the Saint Bernard Rectory in Digby County. One of these, by the president of the *comité français*, observed that an inquiry by the Bishop would prove to His Grace how "revolting" things had gotten in Moncton.² What actually was it that had gone awry in that city to inflame spirits to such a high degree?

The immediate problem revolved around the Acadians' desire for the division of Saint Bernard parish in Moncton.³ This would be done along ethnic lines whereby Acadians would have their own church and would be ministered to by priests from within their own ranks.⁴ But these aspirations were being denied. In the eyes of Moncton's nationalists this was because of the unyielding Irish priest of Saint Bernard,

¹ "J. Alfred Blanchard to Msgr. Édouard Alfred LeBlanc, November 23, 1912," LeBlanc Papers, ADSJ.

² "Clément Cormier to Msgr. Édouard Alfred LeBlanc, November 18, 1912," *Ibid.*

³ Not to be confused with Msgr. LeBlanc's native parish of Saint Bernard in Digby County.

⁴ "Les Sociétés catholiques françaises to Msgr. T. Casey, January 6, 1912," LeBlanc Papers, ADSJ.

Father Edward Savage, who many Acadians regarded as a Francophobe. Spurred on by the nationalist enthusiasms of the beginning of the twentieth century and guided by a new and younger elite, Acadians in Moncton proved just as unyielding as their priest in their demand for their own parish. The battle lines had been drawn.

To confront Father Édouard LeBlanc with this situation before his consecration was audacious to say the least but at the same time it revealed the seriousness of the whole affair. Some Acadian leaders were convinced that a situation of crisis proportions was brewing in Moncton. Indeed, some viewed the way the Acadians were treated by the Irish clergy in that city as a microcosm of the way the Irish prelates had treated the Acadian community as a whole during the past sixty years. In the same way that the struggle for LeBlanc's nomination had given rise to heated rhetoric and ethnic malevolence, so did this attempt in Moncton to create an Acadian parish cause trouble. Because all facets of parochial administration were ultimately the responsibility of the diocesan head, the Moncton conflict fell squarely on LeBlanc's shoulders. It would be his first contact up close with the nationalist debate. Given the situation in the Maritimes that had led to his nomination to the episcopacy, one would be tempted to conclude that LeBlanc could have done without the Moncton problem, especially in the first year of his tenure. Yet, in another light it could be argued that the handling of the crisis "made" him, at least in the eyes of Acadian nationalists.

Before any evaluation of the new Bishop's performance in the case of Moncton can be made, some historical background on the situation LeBlanc found in 1912 is required. The socioeconomic standing of the Acadians, the rise of an Acadian urban elite, the setting up of national organizations, and the genesis of the school question must all be explored to establish their close association with the creation of an all Acadian parish.

Two years after Édouard Alfred was born, Moncton experienced a turning point in its history. In 1872 the Intercolonial Railway moved its general offices there and thus provided a great economic boost to life at the "Bend" (as the town had been called). The government company bought a fifty acre parcel of land and soon a car shop, an engine shop and other related buildings appeared, Moncton's role as hub of the Maritimes had been launched.⁵ This economic vitality was further enhanced by the town's participation in Maritime industrialization, itself the result of the new east-west trade pattern of the 1880s. Under the aegis of both enterprising businessmen and the National Policy, the town expanded rapidly as sugar, cotton, power, textile and iron industries began operation. In the 1880-1890 period Moncton's industrial capital more than doubled, reaching over one million dollars by the end of the decade.⁶

Spin-offs from the boom period were numerous and touched all residents in one way or another. An increase in the number of industries and in the population made new demands upon the town, especially in the utilities sector. Before long the water reservoir could not meet the requirements of the vibrant community. After a dry spell in 1889, an updated facility with a capacity of forty million gallons had to be constructed. A new \$15,000 sewer and drainage system built that same year reflected the need to come to terms with hygienic and environmental problems created by rapid urbanization.

⁵ Lloyd Machum, A History of Moncton Town and City [1855-1965] (Moncton: Moncton Publishing Company Ltd, 1965), p. 98. For a recent evaluation of the ICR's economic impact on Moncton see Daniel Hickey, "Moncton, 1871-1913: Le commerce et l'industrie dans un carrefour ferroviaire," in Daniel Hickey (ed.) Moncton, 1871-1929: Changements socio-économiques dans une ville ferroviaire (Moncton: Éditions d'Acadie, 1990), pp. 39-62.

⁶ See T.W. Acheson, "The National Policy and the Industrialization of the Maritimes, 1880-1910" in P.A. Buckner and David Frank (eds) The Acadiensis Reader, Volume II, pp. 178,181,182.

Electrical facilities were becoming more and more commonplace, again thanks to the demands of industry. By the end of the 1880s another indispensable tool of development, the telephone, had been installed between Moncton and Dorchester. All the while, Moncton's population continued to expand. The first Dominion census in 1871 registered four thousand one hundred ninety-eight residents.⁷ At the turn of the century Moncton had swelled to the nine thousand mark, and by the time of Msgr. LeBlanc's consecration that figure had exceeded eleven thousand.⁸ That involved an increase of slightly more than sixty percent within forty years.

Prior to Moncton's industrialization few Acadians lived in the community. In 1851 the "Moncton district", which included the immediate periphery as well as the urban zone, held only four hundred eight individuals (or fifteen percent of the total) who listed themselves as French. By 1871 that number had risen to seven hundred fifty, but the parallel rise of the English-speaking population in the town meant that the French continued to hover at the fifteen to sixteen percent level. Of this 1871 group, only twenty-seven were located within the boundaries of the town.⁹ At this period it was the rural areas of Westmorland County that held the bulk of the local Acadian population. In contrast to Moncton, with its small Acadian presence, areas such as Dorchester and Memramcook held over three thousand residents of French origin, or sixty percent of the

⁷ Canada: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census of Canada, 1870-1871, Volume I, p. 320.

⁸ Canada: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census of Canada, 1911, Volume I, p. 538. In the 1871 census the "Moncton" listing should be read as "Moncton district" as it probably included the immediate vicinity as well as the town itself. The 1911 connotation would be confined exclusively to the town's boundaries.

⁹ Jean-Roch Cyr, "L'Expansion démographique des Acadiens à Moncton avant 1881: le processus d'urbanisation et ses conséquences socio-culturelles," Cahiers D'histoire de L'Université de Montréal, Vol. 4, 1984, p.35.

population, and in Shediac the figure reached nearly four thousand, or sixty-nine percent of the total.¹⁰ With the development of industry after 1880, however, shifts occurred in the demographic profile of southeastern New Brunswick. By 1911, the French population in the city of Moncton proper had climbed to three thousand two hundred eighty, nearly doubling (twenty-nine percent) its percentage of forty years earlier.¹¹ The Acadian presence in rural areas had either stagnated or showed meager increases in the four-decade span between 1871 and 1911.¹² Apparently Acadians living in and around Moncton saw the emerging urban center as the place where a livelihood could be pursued and thus they opted to make it their home.¹³ By 1906 there was a sufficient number of Acadian factory workers in Moncton to warrant the creation of a labour organization known as the *Société des Ouvriers acadiens des Provinces maritimes*. Its founding meeting in February of that year was attended by over two hundred interested persons, itself an indication of the level of Acadian participation in the city's labour force.

Acadians had answered the call of the factory and moved to Moncton in the final decades of the nineteenth century in an attempt to better themselves economically. Yet their role in the general development of the town at the onset was not as influential as that of the non-Acadian segment. In terms of wealth and power there appears to have been a noticeable degree of disparity between the incoming tide of Acadians and the English

¹⁰ Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census of Canada, 1871, Volume I, p. 320.

¹¹ Ibid., 1911, Volume II, p.184

¹² During those forty years Shediac's Acadian population increased by only one thousand four hundred while the Dorchester-Memramcook area stagnated showing an augmentation of under five hundred.

¹³ It has been shown that Acadian women fell into this trend as well as men did. Between 1881 and 1891, over forty percent of the work force in Moncton's cotton mill industry were Acadian women. See Ginette Lafleur, "L'industrialisation et le travail rémunéré des femmes: Moncton, 1881-1891," in Daniel Hickey (ed.) Moncton, 1871-1929: Changements socio-économiques dans une ville ferroviaire, p. 80.

speaking element already in town. Coming from a hinterland where they had survived as farmers, (many, especially the young had become convinced there was little future in agricultural pursuits) Acadians arrived with limited resources and began at the bottom. This inferior economic standing has been demonstrated by Cyr. Studying the occupational ranks of the Acadians in Moncton at the beginning of industrialization, he found that in 1881, only eleven percent of those in jobs of high socioeconomic ranking were Acadians. By and large they gravitated toward jobs of intermediary (slightly above forty-five percent) or inferior (slightly above forty-three percent) status.¹⁴

Given this pattern of marginalization it became questionable whether the Moncton Acadians could shoulder the financial burden of setting up their own parish. That at least was the attitude of Father Savage, who used this notion of limited fiscal resources to argue against division of the parish. He tried to make his point clear by an examination of the Saint Bernard parish records, emphasizing the low contribution of the Acadians in contrast to the substantial donations of non-Acadians.¹⁵ However, the future would prove Father Savage had miscalculated Acadian capacity to support a church of their own.

By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century the Acadians in Moncton had improved their economic stature. Although Cyr's 1881 description of the Acadian occupational profile still applied in general terms, there nevertheless had emerged in the town an Acadian group which could be called lower middle class. By 1910 the growing

¹⁴ Jean-Roch Cyr, "L'Expansion démographique des Acadiens à Moncton avant 1881: le processus d'urbanisation et ses conséquences socio-culturelles," p. 37.

¹⁵ Henri P. LeBlanc, "Moncton - Notes sur la race française dans L'Église," pp. 31-32, 24.20-2, CEA.

number of Acadian carpenters, clerks, electricians, masons, machinists, pipe fitters, tinsmiths, etc. represented upward social mobility and increased capital accumulation.¹⁶ A review of *L'Assomption* parish's financial performance in its initial years confirms that this was the case.

In the 1916 financial report, parish revenues amounted to \$20,219.65. A \$3,000 loan which was added to the revenue column, may be subtracted to give a more accurate figure of the real intake, but the fact remains that the parish amassed over \$17,000 from collections at church services, from the sale of pews and from a bazaar, which alone netted over \$2,700. Of particular interest is the sum of \$5,438.20 entered as revenues under the heading of "voluntary contributions."¹⁷ This was a considerable sum of money given that the times were not prosperous and that the source of revenue was a mere seven hundred twenty-three families. Moreover, the parishioners had managed to offer their priest a gift of over \$1,700 a year earlier as a means of commemorating the first anniversary of their parish.¹⁸ The report for the next year was just as positive showing that in 1917 the parish had been able to repay \$20,035.89 in loans, thanks to new revenue of over \$22,000. The amount brought in by the annual fair surpassed the previous year's receipts by over \$1,400, and the "voluntary contribution" entry swelled

¹⁶ These tradesmen are listed in the Moncton Business Directory (Moncton: The Times Printing Co., 1909), pp. 191-213.

T.W. Acheson has shown that of all the principal Maritime centers of industrialization in the 1880-1890 period, Moncton had the highest average annual wages paid out to workers. See table I in T.W. Acheson "The National Policy and the Industrialization of the Maritimes, 1880-1910" in Acadiensis Reader, Volume II, p. 178.

¹⁷ "Rapport financier de la paroisse L'Assomption, 1916," 24.6-8, CEA.

¹⁸ L'Évangéline, February 10, 1915, p.1.

by twenty-eight percent to over \$7,000.¹⁹ This generosity appears to have been the beginning of a sustained practice rather than the product of an initial and limited burst of enthusiasm. The fiery nationalist parishioner Henri-P. LeBlanc, maintained that the Acadians of *L'Assomption* parish had mustered \$850, 000 in contributions during the first twenty-five years of the parish's existence.²⁰ Clearly Father Savage had misjudged the Acadians' capacity to shoulder the economic burden of a new parish. His error most likely derived from a tendency for Acadians to be stingy in donating to the Church, so long as the institution remained, at the local level, under the control of Anglophones.

Father Savage had also overlooked the emergence of an Acadian elite which was coming increasingly to play a leadership role in the promotion of national aspirations within Moncton. Although it is beyond the scope of this study to examine in detail every member of the new nationalist élite at the beginning of the twentieth century, a few generalizations can be offered about the origins, membership, and mentality, of the Acadian leadership in Moncton. For example insights can be gained from the identity of those who signed a 1908 petition to the Bishop of Saint John asking for a division of the parish. It carried the names of fourteen individuals who on this occasion were assuming a leadership role for their *confrères*.²¹

¹⁹ "Recensement et rapport financier de la paroisse L'Assomption à Moncton, 1917," 24.6-8, CEA.

²⁰ Henri-P. LeBlanc, "Moncton - Notes sur la race française dans L'Église," p. 32, 24.20-2, CEA.

²¹ The fourteen signers were: J. Alfred Blanchard, Zacharie Bourque, Eusèbe Comeau, Clément Cormier, J. Thélesphore Cormier, Zoel Cormier, L. Cyriac Daigle, Henri-P. LeBlanc, Raphael S. Léger, Celime A. Melanson, Simon Melanson, Alphée Robichaud, Frédéric A. Richard, Albert Sincennes.

Father Savage had warned his Bishop about what was coming, saying of the petitioners "doubtless they represent somebody, just how many of their own people, I do not know."²² The occupational diversity which characterized the group suggested that it represented a cross-section of Acadian society within the city. Six of the fourteen could be classed in the skilled and highly skilled category. These included a doctor, an agronomist, an architect, a newspaper editor, as well as an accountant and an auditor, both of whom worked for the I.C.R. Four others could be considered as white collar but in positions where the requirements of professional skills were at lower levels. Among this group were two municipal employees working as a tax assessor and tax collector for the city. Two individuals were in business for themselves operating grocery stores. The remaining four were in a class requiring limited skills: two carmen for the I.C.R., a clerk for the same company, and one mercantile clerk.

Upon further examination two other points emerge about the identity of the signers of the petition. First, they were relatively young. Of those whose age in 1908 it was possible to discover, six were in their twenties, and three were in their thirties. Of the two whose age it was not possible to establish, one was still alive in 1957 thus making him relatively young in 1908. Three members who were in their fifties did not fit this pattern. Second, many of the skilled or semi-skilled within the group had been born outside Moncton. Some came from as nearby as Memramcook, Gautreau Village, Sainte-Marie and Richibouctou, others from a greater distance such as from northern New Brunswick, and one from as far away as Massachusetts. For many in this category there had been a relocation period between when they left their place of origin and when they settled in Moncton. This hiatus encompassed a period where the individual pursued higher education and/or worked at his profession. For example Louis Cyriac Daigle

²² "Father Edward Savage to Msgr. T. Casey, January 20, 1908," 24.20-3, CEA.

studied agriculture at the *Collège Sainte-Anne de Lapocatière*; Dr. E.A. Richard went to medical school at McGill and practised in Saint Louis and Chatham before coming to Moncton after 1906; Henri-P. LeBlanc was a merchant in Massachusetts before his arrival in 1905, and J.-Alfred Blanchard studied in Fredericton and taught in the schools of northern New Brunswick before his settling in Moncton.

By the time the 1908 petition to Msgr. Casey was sent nationalists had succeeded in rallying to their cause a substantial portion of Moncton's Francophone population. When the vote over parish division was taken at a meeting called in 1913, one hundred ninety heads of Acadian families showed up and of those, nearly all voted in favor. It appears that the pro-division faction on that occasion represented approximately thirty-three percent of the Acadian population living in city.²³ From the remaining sixty-six percent of the French population in Moncton there emerged a small counter group as would be expected when debate involved such contentious issues as language and religion. One nationalist labelled these Acadians as "des traîtres et des peureux."²⁴ Those Acadians who supported Savage were not very forceful nor very active. Amongst all the documents generated by debate over parish division found in Moncton and Saint John, only one letter from this group was uncovered. Addressed to Bishop LeBlanc, the authors first vowed they were patriots. They proclaimed their support for the Acadian cause but objected to the division, because they saw it as being a "changement trop

²³ The 1911 federal census was used to arrive at the figure of thirty-three percent. That census lists Moncton's population at eleven thousand three hundred forty-five distributed among two thousand two hundred thirty-seven families for a average of slightly more than five individuals per family. Using that average the one hundred eighty-seven family heads that voted for the division represented very close to a one thousand people or nearly one third of the town's three thousand two hundred eighty Francophones. See Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Fifth Census of Canada 1911*, Volume I, p. 273 and Volume II, pp. 184-185.

²⁴ Henri P. LeBlanc, "Notes," 24.3-9, CEA.

marqué."²⁵ However, their attempts to influence the debate on separation appear to have stopped there.

Among the Acadian nationalists in Moncton during this period none stands out more than the fiery patriot, Henri-Paul LeBlanc.²⁶ Born in Memramcook in 1879, his stay in that village was short-lived as his family moved to Moncton in 1880. After elementary education in a local school, he entered *Collège Saint-Joseph* at the age of twelve but did not complete his baccalaureate because of poor health. At the beginning of the twentieth century the young LeBlanc became part of the Acadian emigration southward when he moved to Massachusetts in search of better opportunities. He was a merchant for some time, first in New Bedford, then in Waltham. Upon his arrival in that city the *Société L'Assomption* was a mere six months old and he joined the group as a propagandist and recruiter to "répandre cette société dans tous les centres où il y avait des Acadiens."²⁷ Gifted with a polished oratory and a detailed knowledge of Acadian history, the young LeBlanc spent many an evening wooing and entertaining Acadian audiences throughout Massachusetts in an attempt to make them join *L'Assomption*.

²⁵ "L. N. Bourque et al. to Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc, October 30, 1913," LeBlanc Papers, ADSJ. The three other signers of the letter were H. Melanson, J. Bourgeois, and C. Boudreau.

The petitioners argued that justice was all they sought: "... un certain nombre d'extra zélé pourrait peut-être faire du capital contre nous en faisant croire aux crédules que nous ne sommes pas patriotes et que nous essayons [sic] à nuire à la cause française. Ceci est bien loin d'être notre but. Notre seul désir est l'accord. Depuis des années nous demandions l'élévation d'un des notre [sic] à l'épiscopat. Nous avons obtenu de Rome notre grand désir, maintenant nous voulons être justes envers nos co-religionnaires."

²⁶ For a biography of LeBlanc see Patricia Gallant, "Henri-P. LeBlanc et L'Acadie," Vol. 13, No. 2, 1982, *CSHA*, pp. 40-59.

²⁷ Henri P. LeBlanc, "La lutte de Moncton," part I, p. 18, 24.20-1, CEA.

When LeBlanc, or "Henri-Paul" as he was called, arrived in Moncton in 1907 to take up permanent residence, he immediately associated himself with the La Tour branch of *L'Assomption*. At first, he acted as the branch's secretary, but LeBlanc would hold a variety of other positions within the society's internal structure until his death in 1958, including those of councillor, archivist, and "organisateur général", a post today labelled as administrative director. Without a doubt, he became *L'Assomption's* principal animator and his relentless patriotism qualified him for that task. Convinced that the French language in Moncton was in danger of disappearing, he reasoned that its only chance for survival was if French and English elements were separated in both the school setting and in the religious environment.²⁸ In his own words, in Moncton "il fallait une REVOLUTION."²⁹

As Acadian collective consciousness gathered momentum in Moncton, these urban nationalists sought to equip themselves with institutions that reflected and espoused their ambitions. Accordingly, a host of pro-Acadian nationalist groups were established during the first decade of the new century. This rise of nationalist activity echoed what had happened on a larger Maritime scene in the final decades of the nineteenth century. Prominent among these organizations were *La Société des Ouvriers acadiens des Provinces maritimes*, *Le Cercle catholique Beauséjour* whose purpose was "une oeuvre de régénération sociale," and *Les Dames Artisans*, a group of women workers who called their branch *L'Acadie*.³⁰ These groups, while having specific interests, all had the furthering of the Acadian cause as a general objective. This

²⁸ Henri P. LeBlanc, "Notes," 24.3-9, CEA.

²⁹ *Ibid.* The emphasis is LeBlanc's.

³⁰ *L'Évangéline*, February 10, 1910, p. 2.

common bond permitted a regrouping of all societies under one umbrella called *Les Sociétés catholiques françaises de Moncton*. Among the new pro-nationalist institutions coming to life in Moncton at this time however, two stand taller than the rest in their efforts to promote the Acadian cause; both L'Évangéline, and *La Société mutuelle L'Assomption*, arrived in Moncton in 1905.

Valentin Landry had left Le Courrier des Provinces Maritimes in Bathurst in order to establish a newspaper among his Acadian compatriots of Nova Scotia. At the time Nova Scotia had no French newspaper, whereas New Brunswick Acadians had two. It seemed logical that the Maritime's third French paper should be based in Nova Scotia. In 1887 Landry arrived in Digby to set up his company. He published L'Évangéline in that town for only a year. The ease of access to New Brunswick had prompted Landry to locate in Digby, but he could not overcome the fact that his French paper was being published in an English town. In 1888 he realized that being close to the Acadian population of Nova Scotia was even more important for the success of his paper than was his proximity to New Brunswick, so in December of 1889 he transferred his paper to Weymouth.

By the turn of the century, responding to what was going on in Moncton, Landry again relocated L'Évangéline. The rapid development that had taken place in Moncton as well as the influx of hinterland Acadians to the city assured that Moncton would become the primary Acadian urban center for the Maritimes. Accordingly Landry moved to that center. In the first issue that rolled off the Moncton presses, Landry assured his readership that neither money nor ill-feelings had prompted his decision. Rather, he insisted that he had acted "en vue du plus grand intérêt de la race acadienne" by placing

his paper in the midst of "la masse de nos nationaux."³¹ Yet with his paper often in financial difficulties, the larger market potential of Moncton must have been very attractive to Landry.

Upon its arrival in Moncton, L'Évangéline continued to espouse the nationalist mission it had undertaken at the time of its founding, but now it demonstrated a renewed vigor especially as the controversy over the division of Saint Bernard Parish grew in intensity. Landry followed the Saint Bernard situation very closely and took every opportunity to defend Acadian claims against what he saw as arrogant domination by the English-speaking element within the clergy. Becoming closely allied with the Acadian lobby, L'Évangéline provided the much needed medium for Landry and other nationalists to express their disappointment and even disgust with the status quo. The paper's stance was very militant for the period. Even reprimands from the highest ranking official of Canadian Catholicity could not alter its often biting style. Papal Delegate Sbarretti warned L'Évangéline concerning its tactics as early as 1909. Even that had had little effect in changing the paper's orientation, as is shown by Msgr LeBlanc's cancellation of his subscription in 1913 for what he saw as articles of "un fort mauvais goût."³² One article, entitled "Une question d'actualité", appeared in the October 22nd issue. It dealt with the division of Saint Bernard and in LeBlanc's eyes it was totally inappropriate prompting him to forward his notice of cancellation to the editor. The letter contained no explanation but was a simple, yet poignant, one sentence note which read,

³¹ L'Évangéline, June 1, 1905, p. 2.

³² Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc to F.A. Richard, October 26, 1913," 24.20-3, CEA.

"vous voudrez bien avoir la bonté d'ôter mon nom de la liste des abonnés de votre journal."³³

L'Évangéline's inflammatory language was complemented by the activities of another newcomer to Moncton, namely *La Société mutuelle L'Assomption*. Not to be confused with *La Société nationale L'Assomption* which was founded as a permanent committee at the first convention of 1881, *La Mutuelle* had been established in Waltham Massachusetts in 1903.³⁴ The large Acadian population of New England had not been oblivious to nationalist developments among the Acadians of the Maritime Provinces. Many were just as enthusiastic as their cousins in eastern Canada when it came to questions of language, culture and religion. As an effort to counterbalance the omnipresent pressures for "Americanization", these Acadians, with the help of a strong group of Maritime compatriots, organized to promote "par tous les moyens legitimes, l'avancement de la cause acadienne."³⁵

When *L'Assomption* was founded, its aims to provide economic support Acadians were described in the constitution. A series of specific funds were set up to assist needy Acadians. Prominent among these were funds for the sick, for those who could not pay funeral expenses, and, probably the best known and widely used, an

³³ Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc to J.O. Gallant, October 26, 1913," 24.20-3, CEA.

³⁴ This *Société nationale L'Assomption* had always been somewhat ambiguous in its administrative structure. The executive of the *Société* was the same as the organizing committee of the national conventions, at least for the first two of these rallies. It is only in 1890 that it elected its first independent executive and only in 1920 did it undertake the task of writing its own constitution.

³⁵ L'Évangéline, June 9, 1904, p. 3. Among the Acadians from the Maritimes that afforded stimulus to the plan by their presence at some of the founding meetings were Pierre-Amand Landry, Pascal Poirier, Rev. Marcel-François Richard, Ferdinand Robidoux, Rev. Philéas Belliveau and others. See Antoine Léger, Les Grandes Linges de L'Histoire de la Société L'Assomption (Québec: Imprimerie Franciscaine Missionnaire, 1933), p. 25.

education fund. The society would sponsor as *protégés* promising Acadians who did not have the means to further their education.³⁶ Money, the society reasoned, should not be a major obstacle impeding recruitment into the professional ranks of the Acadian community. Mutuality formed a pillar of *L'Assomption's* purpose, but its aim of awakening the national consciousness was just as important, perhaps even more so. The society became synonymous with Acadian nationalism. On many occasions it provided the driving force that motivated Acadians to continue their ethnic lobby. Antoine Léger, longtime stalwart of the organization, captured the society's essence when he noted that:

...elle a joué un rôle important dans la conservation de la mentalité acadienne et française. Elle a été l'âme de toutes nos fêtes; elle a, par ses succursales, servi de moyen de ralliement aux Acadiens qui, sans elle, seraient peut-être entrés dans les rangs de sociétés étrangères, même de celles qui sont organisées contre nous.³⁷

Through a wide-spread system of branch offices, *L'Assomption's* influence radiated in many directions reaching nearly all Acadian sectors of New England and the Maritime Provinces. By 1907 a total of fifty-two branches had been created, thirty-eight of which were in the Maritimes.³⁸ Membership was over four thousand three hundred. In 1905, branch Number 14, called "La Tour" was established in Moncton; it was destined to become the pillar of the Acadian lobby for the division of Saint Bernard Parish.

³⁶ For example in the 1915-16 academic year at *Collège Sainte-Anne* there were thirteen of these *Assomptionistes* that were being helped in whole or in part by the society. See MG I, Vol. XVII, "Book 1915-16," ACA.

³⁷ Antoine J. Léger, Les Grandes Lignes de L'Histoire de la Société L'Assomption, p. 73.

³⁸ Deborah Robichaud, "Les Convention Nationales (1890-1913): la Société Nationale L'Assomption et son Discours," p. 41.

As did many of the branches, No. 14 in Moncton became a rallying point for Acadians. Under its banner Acadians met at regular intervals to ponder the national issues of the day and to fraternize. This "social club" atmosphere for Acadians in Moncton had been lacking. In providing such an outlet, *L'Assomption's* popularity grew rapidly and soon swelled to such proportions that it became the seat of Acadian nationalist enthusiasms in the city. Added impetus was given to the Acadian faction when the society transferred its headquarters to Moncton in 1913. Once established locally, the *Mutuelle* began to inch towards becoming the Acadian promoter of cultural aspirations, even replacing the *Société nationale* in that capacity, as is evidenced by the resounding success of its conventions in contrast to the failure of some of the *Nationale's* rallies.³⁹

On the other side of the ethnic schism, stood the forceful and determined incumbent priest of Saint Bernard parish, Father Edward Savage. Born on January 25, 1859 he was the last of thirteen children belonging to William Denis Savage and Mary Stack of Melrose, Westmorland County. The Savage family was only one of many in the area whose roots went back to Ireland and who had made it to the new world after innumerable hardships. Life was still difficult in Melrose. The money needed to educate brilliant candidates beyond the parochial level was not always available. Indeed, poor

³⁹ The *Société L'Assomption's* sixth convention in 1913 is an example of this. Le Moniteur Acadien, (August 14, 1913, p. 2.) reported how pleased it was to see "un si grand nombre de prêtres et une délégation si universelle des différents groupes de notre population." Meanwhile the *Société nationale's* convention a week later at Tignish was evidently not as successful. Especially injurious was Msgr. LeBlanc's inattendance although the convention was to be a thanksgiving for his nomination to the episcopacy. LeBlanc had attended instead the *Mutuelle's* rally the week prior. See also Daniel Baker, "La Convention Nationale des Acadiens -- Tignish, Ile-du-Prince-Édouard, août, 1913," in CSHA, Vol. 15, No. 1, 1984, pp. 21-36.

family finances did prevent Edward from completing his high school until he was twenty-seven years old.⁴⁰ In 1886 this "mature" student entered *Collège Saint-Joseph* to study at the baccalaureate level. Upon completion of his theological studies at the *Grand Séminaire* in Quebec, he was ordained to the priesthood in 1891 by His Eminence Archbishop Taschereau, Canada's first cardinal.

After ordination, Father Savage worked for a time as assistant in Saint John and Fredericton. He was named to his first parish in 1895. In Sussex the young priest proved to his superiors his ability at administrating his parish. Msgr. Casey wrote of Savage's "good work... for the material and spiritual welfare of the people."⁴¹ When Father Meahen of Moncton died in 1905, the bishop informed Savage, " ...your virtue and your merits have won for you this important post."⁴²

When Father Savage arrived in Moncton he was warmly received by both ethnic groups within the congregation. While the Moncton Daily Transcript described him as "equipped well in qualities and by experience," L'Évangéline was even more flattering.⁴³ It predicted that his nomination would be for "le plus grand bien des fidèles

⁴⁰ Leo J. Hynes, Moncton's Catholic Roots (Sackville, N.B.: The Tribune Press Ltd, 1982), p. 92.

⁴¹ "Msgr. T. Casey to Edward Savage, August 1, 1905," O'Donnell Papers, Vol. IV, No. 244, AAH. Much of the Moncton situation between 1905 and 1921 is described in a manuscript entitled "Thirty years in Moncton," a copy of which is found in the O'Donnell Papers at the Archdiocesan Archives in Halifax. Written by Savage the document reproduced in their entirety many of the key letters pertinent to the question of Saint Bernard at the time.

⁴² "Msgr. T. Casey to Edward Savage, August 1, 1905," O'Donnell Papers, Vol. IV, No. 244, AAH.

⁴³ Daily Transcript, July 31, 1905, p. 8.

et la plus grande gloire de Dieu."⁴⁴ Polite rhetoric for sure, but for some time Father Savage's actions did appear very much in line with L'Évangéline's visions. Because of the large French segment within his congregation, Savage requested a French assistant or vicar, "and whenever possible two such assistants."⁴⁵ At the founding meeting of *L'Assomption*, branch 14, the new incumbent offered the basement of the church for the gathering and committed himself to doing whatever he could to further the efforts of the society. He also expressed the wish that every Acadian in the parish join in this "noble" organization.⁴⁶

Despite Father Savage's initial gestures of amiability, and despite the French-speaking assistants working with him, the lines of communications between himself and his Acadian parishioners, at least the elitist-nationalist ones, were never good.⁴⁷ Within four years of his pastorship, relations with Francophones had become very strained over the division of the Saint Bernard parish. Even though he could envisage two churches (one for the English-speaking and one for the French) within the parish, he refused to see the need for two parishes within the community. To him that was making "the Catholic Church a weapon to enforce a purely human ambition."⁴⁸ To that opinion he clung rigidly. Savage further believed that to split the congregation would jeopardize the

⁴⁴ L'Évangéline, August 3, 1905, p. 3.

⁴⁵ Father Edward Savage, "Thirty Years in Moncton," O'Donnell Papers, Vol. IV, No. 244, AAH.

⁴⁶ L'Évangéline, September 28, 1905, p. 1.

⁴⁷ Some of the Acadian priests attached to Saint Bernard's in the 1905-1913 period were Father Antoine LeBlanc, Father F.X. Cormier, Father Philip Hébert, Father Dismas LeBlanc and Father François A. Bourgeois. See Leo J. Hynes, Moncton's Catholic Roots, p. 235.

⁴⁸ "Father Edward Savage to Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc, September 18, 1913," LeBlanc Papers, ADSJ.

strength of Catholics as a whole in Moncton because of the negative effect parish division could have on the then raging debate over organization of Moncton's public school system.

Along with language and religion, education formed the third leg of what can be termed an Acadian cultural triumvirate. Nationalists saw the Roman Catholic faith and the French language as the foundations of the Acadian identity; education was the means of preserving the language. In effect, when the nationalist Henri-P. LeBlanc was shouting that, in order to save Acadian cultural identity, " IL FALLAIT UNE SEPARATION à l'école et à l'église"⁴⁹, he was echoing the popular view that both the church and the schools went hand in hand in promoting the French language, and therefore the Acadian identity. Both should be in the hands of Francophones if linguistic and cultural values were to be preserved. Viewed in this fashion, the question of schools for Catholics provided nationalists with a catalyst for the creation of an Acadian parish. Once established, the parish would assure Acadians in Moncton a system of education based on platforms that characterized Acadian distinctiveness.

Therefore, given the link nationalists made between the French language and Acadian identity, it was not surprising to discover that promotion of the French language was gaining support among Maritime Acadians. Newspaper articles on the subject became steadily more widespread. From northern New Brunswick one correspondent to L'Évangéline lamented the inadequate attention given the French language by school inspectors and accused them of "tout angliciser."⁵⁰ A few weeks later someone wrote

⁴⁹ Henri-P. LeBlanc, "Notes," 24.3-9, CEA. The emphasis is LeBlanc's.

⁵⁰ L'Évangéline, December 2, 1897, p. 3.

from Kent County, to protest "l'état des choses actuelles" in even more acerbic tones.⁵¹ For its part, Le Moniteur called for urgent reform in the province because the French language "n'y trouve point les égards et les soins qui lui sont dûs."⁵² The fourth Acadian convention in Arichat in 1900 had debated the language issue quite strongly and had called for Acadians to apply themselves "avec plus de soin à l'étude de leur propre langue."⁵³ Such resolutions were given added strength at the meeting by the Prime Minister's comment; "que pas un enfant... ne grandisse sans apprendre sa langue française"⁵⁴

In the city of Moncton Acadians reflected their concerns over the status of their language by forming a French literary circle in 1905. The club, known officially as *le Cercle Français de Saint Bernard*, proposed a variety of literary and musical activities "dans le but exclusif de parler et d'étudier notre belle langue française."⁵⁵ Later in 1912 when Quebec was proposing the first Canadian French language congress, L'Évangéline urged Monctonians to get involved because "le temps est venu de nous organiser pour assurer le maintien de notre idiome."⁵⁶ The paper's editor, J. O. Gallant, begged; "unissons-nous à nos frères de Québec pour assurer à tout jamais la survivance de notre langue."⁵⁷

⁵¹ L'Évangéline, January 13, 1898, p. 2.

⁵² Le Moniteur Acadien, January 5, 1898, p. 2.

⁵³ L'Évangéline, September 6, 1900, p. 1.

⁵⁴ Sir Wilfrid Laurier quoted in L'Évangéline, August 30, 1900, p. 2.

⁵⁵ Ibid., February 2, 1905, p. 2.

⁵⁶ L'Évangéline, March 6, 1912, p. 1.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

The greatest guarantee for the preservation of the French language [and in the Acadians' view, their religion] came through the schools. But the schools in Moncton were not catering to Acadian linguistic aspirations. At the beginning of the twentieth century what could be termed parochial schools were decidedly Anglophone. The Catholic schools' issue in New Brunswick had provoked a long and heated debate since the implementation of the Common Schools Act in 1871.⁵⁸ The Caraquet riots of 1875 had so jolted the people of the province that a compromise had to be reached.⁵⁹ By the turn of the century, Catholic parochial schools were generally tolerated in New Brunswick, but in places like Moncton the power structure regulating schools was still Protestant. Catholics wanting their own schools in that city had nothing "by law" and could only hope for the continued tolerance of the Protestant civic and school authorities.⁶⁰ This gentlemen's agreement ran as follows. The Moncton School Board did not officially recognize "Catholic" schools in the city and because of that Catholics were not subjected to two levies but as New Brunswickers supported one public school system. However, the Catholic parishes built facilities that were used as schools by Catholic students and often the Board rented those facilities from the parish. There were

⁵⁸ For an overview on this subject see Katherine MacNaughton, The Development of the Theory and Practice of Education in New Brunswick, 1784-1900 (Fredericton: University of New Brunswick, 1947).

⁵⁹ See George Stanley "The Caraquet Riots of 1875" in Acadiensis Reader, Volume II: Atlantic Canada after Confederation, pp. 78-95.

⁶⁰ One of Father Savage's letters permits us to arrive at the conclusion that a large segment of the school trustees in Moncton were Protestant. He wrote: "we have not, and never had, the same representation on the school board that the Catholics enjoy in St. John." See Father Edward Savage to Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc, September 18, 1913," LeBlanc Papers, ADSJ.

Of the ten names appearing on the members' list of the Board of School Trustees for the year 1909, only one, that of Doctor L. N. Bourque, is Acadian. See "Inspectors' Reports" in Journals of the House of Assembly of New Brunswick, (Fredericton: King's Printer, 1910), p. 98.

no official Catholic schools in the city, at least not in the sense that they existed in Ontario at the same time, but the Board indirectly financed Catholic education by renting parochial buildings.⁶¹

Under this arrangement at the turn of the century Catholics had their own school in Moncton, commonly called the "Wesley Street School." Operated by Saint Bernard's parish, the school offered education in a Catholic ambiance. Unfortunately for Acadians, the ambiance was not a French Catholic one. The way to change this appeared to be for Acadians to have their own parish which could eventually build a facility that would be used as its own French Catholic school. Thus, the link between schools and the dividing of Saint Bernard's parish was made. But here too, individuals such as Father Savage objected, because they saw a split along ethnic lines as a danger to the very existence in Moncton of Catholic facilities. Would the Moncton Board of Trustees accept yet another division within the educational system? Or would they use it as ammunition for abandoning the Catholic/Protestant arrangement they now tolerated? Trustees in any school district had considerable power in running the school. Since 1876 they were empowered to decide whether Catholic children could or could not be grouped in one school.⁶² In an exclusively Catholic district that caused no problem but in Moncton where Catholic students were administered by a predominantly Protestant Board, the existence of "Catholic" schools depended upon entertaining good relations with the Board. Father Savage was correct when he stated that schools for Catholics in Moncton

⁶¹ The Education Act of 1871 permitted trustees to rent Roman Catholic buildings if they so desired.

Although studies have been done on the educational system in New Brunswick, little scholarly work focuses on the system in urban areas where Catholics and Protestants lived side by side. Neither Hynes, MacNaughton nor Savoie elaborate upon Moncton's school arrangement in any detail.

⁶² Katherine MacNaughton, The Development of the Theory and Practice of Education in New Brunswick, 1784-1900, p. 220.

existed only because of "the toleration and goodwill of our separated brethern [sic]." To further subdivide the system along linguistic and national lines called for "very careful handling" since "the language question would introduce a new and most explosive element in the arrangement..."⁶³.

The first formal request for a division of Saint Bernard came at the beginning of 1908. By that time ethnic consciousness had been fermenting in Moncton for some years and many of the key players and organizations had been in place since 1905. This coming together of consciousness and resources precipitated major conflict. A group of Acadian parishioners launched the debate by petitioning Bishop Casey to request a separate Francophone parish. Such a reorganization, they assured the Bishop, would be detrimental to neither group concerned but would assure "la paix, l'harmonie et la charité fraternelle" among Moncton's Catholic population.⁶⁴ The petition ended with an offer to meet with the prelate, at his convenience, to further discuss the issue. Not wishing to offend, the petitioners called upon Father Savage to show him the letter they intended to forward to Saint John. The next day Father Savage warned his bishop of what was happening and proceeded to give his own views on the matter. He urged Casey not to reject the proposal flatly since to do that would give the agitators a "weapon with which they would endeavor to divide not a parish but a diocese."⁶⁵ Accordingly, when Bishop

⁶³ "Father Edward Savage to Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc, September 18, 1913," LeBlanc Papers, ADSJ.

⁶⁴ "Simon Melanson et al. to Msgr. Timothy Casey, January 1908, 24.20-03, CEA.

⁶⁵ "Father Edward Savage to Msgr. Timothy Casey, January 20, 1908," 24.20-3, CEA.

The question of creating an Acadian diocese per se had been circulating at this time.

Casey answered the Acadian petition he took a middle-of-the-road attitude, stating that an eventual division "seems now to go without saying" but reminding the Acadians that since their "spiritual wants are supplied, we may rely on Providence for further development."⁶⁶ The letter ended with the Bishop's comment that sending a delegation to discuss the proposal was unnecessary since he was "not a stranger to the condition in Moncton."⁶⁷

Towards the spring of that year another request was made by many of the same group that had earlier approached the Bishop. This time it came from Branch 14 of *L'Assomption*, and the requisition was conveyed to the parish priest of Saint Bernard. Under the society's charter (Chapter IV, article 39) it was stipulated that members were to receive holy communion as a group, under the *Assomption's* banner at special feast days during the year. Since this was a ceremony within the regular mass, it was customary and courteous to advise the parish priest of the group's intention beforehand.⁶⁸ Following that protocol, the president and secretary archivist of *L'Assomption* called upon Father Savage to make him aware of their plans. He objected to the proposal and refused to explain the reason for this denial, but did agree to address the next meeting of *L'Assomption* to discuss the matter of parish reorganization.⁶⁹ On April 14, 1909, he met the group, but the meeting proved to be highly confrontational.

⁶⁶ "Msgr. Timothy Casey to Simon Melanson, January 28, 1908," 24.20-3, CEA.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Catholic fraternal organizations within a parish, even though they were run by lay people, were always under the watchful eyes of the parish priest who felt free to praise or criticize the group's work whenever he saw fit.

⁶⁹ See "*Mémoire* to His Excellency Msgr. Donato Sbarretti, March 29, 1910" 24.20-3, CEA.

Because of "attacks and insinuations upon [himself] and [the] Bishop, published in certain journals," the disgruntled pastor arrived armed with a resolution that he had drawn up which the society would have to accept before permission to receive communion as a group would be granted.⁷⁰ Basically, the resolution called for an end to the sowing of dissension among Catholics, for an attitude of Catholic and Christian love towards members of other nationalities and for an admission that the "esprit de rebellion" against church authority was un-Acadian.⁷¹ To accept the resolution would have been an acknowledgement by the members that they were in fact responsible for the dissension and for the un-Catholic, rebellious attitudes the proposal wished to condemn.

Father Savage made no effort to hide his belief that two or three gentlemen in the hall had been responsible for the character attacks on him and his bishop. "Do not attempt to say it is not your fault," he admonished, "if it's not yours whose is it."⁷² At that point Savage became explicit, making pointed references to a man who, since his arrival in Moncton, allegedly had done nothing but "destroy all harmony by his gifted oratory - a lot of hot air."⁷³ When Henri-P. LeBlanc interrupted the diatribe to ask if Father Savage was referring to him, the priest riposted with "Oh, I see the cap fits all right."⁷⁴

The Savage-*L'Assomption* confrontation brought ethnic tension in Moncton to new heights. Unable to get any kind of satisfaction at the local level, *L'Assomption*

⁷⁰ Father Edward Savage, "Speech to Members of Society L'Assomption, April 14, 1909," 24.20-3, CEA.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² *Ibid.*, in "Mémoire to His Excellency Msgr. Donato Sbarretti, March 29, 1910."

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

decided to carry its case to the Bishop by means of a petition, dated November 18, 1909. In it *L'Assomption* made the claim that since it did not have any official organ, it could not be held responsible for articles published in newspapers. The society reiterated its faith in the Catholic Church, expressed its desire to live in harmony with the parish priest and ended by asking Bishop Casey to intervene in their favor on the communion issue.⁷⁵ Little redress came out of these proceedings; as 1909 drew to a close the rift grew wider.

Newspapers, both French and English, had done little to smooth over ethnic rivalry during 1909. If anything, the public press had fostered the atmosphere of dissension. Articles in *L'Évangéline*, such as one which drew an analogy between the happenings of 1755 and what was taking place in Moncton, simply escalated the mood of discord.⁷⁶ Valentin Landry's editorial comments to the effect that Acadians were being denied justice in religious matters were bad enough.⁷⁷ But even worse was when the fiery editor implied that those responsible for such denials were the local bishops. "Have they not made us understand", Landry asked, "that our complaints are all in vain as long as they are alive?"⁷⁸ Seeing that the situation might be getting out of hand, the Papal Delegate in Canada sent a forceful letter to Landry outlining Church views as to how far the freedom of the press should be carried. Monsignor Sbarretti said he was troubled by the paper's "insinuations regretables contre l'autorité religieuse" and warned

⁷⁵ "Acadian petition to Msgr. Casey, November 18, 1909," 24.20-3, CEA.

⁷⁶ The editorial was entitled "1755 Recommence." See *L'Évangéline*, April 22, 1909, p. 2. *L'Impartial* from Tignish came to *L'Évangéline's* defense in its condemnation of the situation over Saint Bernard. In its issue a few days after the above quoted editorial appeared, the P.E.I. organ assured readers that Acadians wanted peace but "si c'est la guerre que nos ennemis desirent, nous sommes prêts." See *L'Impartial*, April 27, 1909, p. 2.

⁷⁷ *L'Évangéline*, March 4, 1909, p. 2.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

that if Landry did not conform to Rome's guidelines for journalists, he (Sbarretti) would impose "des mesures plus rigoureuses."⁷⁹ A few months later Sbarretti went so far as to encourage certain groups in Moncton neither to assist nor encourage L'Évangéline in any way because "cette feuille n'est pas animée du véritable esprit catholique."⁸⁰ Landry sold his paper that same year.

While Francophone newspapers were stirring their readers with articles and editorials over parish reorganization, there was an attempt to draw Moncton's Anglophone press into the dispute. After an incident in which Father Savage had locked chairs in a room so as to prevent members of *L'Assomption* from holding a meeting on French education in Moncton, certain nationalists thought it was time for the English citizens of the community to find out about the activities of the parish priest of Saint Bernard.⁸¹ Claiming to tell the truth on the whole issue, an article entitled "L'Évangéline and the Acadian Question" appeared early in December in the Moncton Daily Times. It was signed by "British Catholic Fair Play." The piece was a lengthy exposé of how Acadians had been denied justice, how "open hostility [had] been shown by the reverend pastor", and how he had labelled as "firebrands" those who had risen to defend the Acadian cause.⁸² The author argued that *L'Assomption* could no more be held responsible for articles in L'Évangéline than the Ancient Order of Hibernians could be

⁷⁹ "Msgr. Donato Sbarretti to Valentin Landry, August 30, 1909," 24.20-3, CEA. The directives Sbarretti referred to in his letter had been issued by Leo XIII in his encyclical *Longinqua Oceani* of 1896 in which the pontiff reminded journalists to honor and obey bishops because of the sanctity of their office.

⁸⁰ "Msgr. Donato Sbarretti to Frédéric A. Richard, April 7, 1910," 24.20-3, CEA.

⁸¹ The chairs incident was reported in the Moncton Daily Times, December 11, 1909, p. 5.

⁸² Moncton Daily Times, December 11, 1909, p. 5.

condemned for the Fenian raid of 1865. The item predicted that "there will be no truce until the 'legitimate aspirations' of the Acadians of this parish are satisfied."⁸³ A few days later, a "French Acadian" replied to this allegedly "unbecoming attack" on Father Savage saying it was nothing but "indelicate, graceless and tactless vapourings."⁸⁴ The author defended Father Savage on the "chairs incident" saying that he had also refused these to another group wanting to discuss the schools' question (a group whose views were contrary to *L'Assomption's*) because "it might be construed... that he was in sympathy with those wanting a change."⁸⁵ The "French Acadian" insisted that Savage had a positive outlook toward *L'Assomption* "as a society" and explained that if disrespect had been shown, it involved only "the small clique whose ill-advised attitude [was] that of open rebellion."⁸⁶

Realizing he might have opened a Pandora's Box, the Daily Times editor, J.T. Hawke, decided that "nothing further along this line can be admitted to these columns."⁸⁷ However, before closing the debate the editor divulged that Valentin Landry had delivered the letter signed "British Catholic Fair Play" but that the piece had been written by others. Sometimes later Henri-P. LeBlanc would say that he had written the letter.⁸⁸ The identity of "French Acadian" was never revealed but because he seemed

⁸³ Moncton Daily Times, December 11, 1909, p. 5.

⁸⁴ Ibid., December 14, 1909, p. 4.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Henri P.-LeBlanc, "La Lutte de Moncton," p. 24, 24.20-1, CEA.

so well informed of Savage's inner thoughts, the good Father himself may have been the author.

With the question of group communion for *L'Assomption* members still unresolved, and with the Bishop and the parish priest procrastinating on the issue of parish reorganization, nationalists decided to take their case to a higher authority. In the spring of 1910 they approached the Papal Delegate with a detailed memoir of relations between *L'Assomption* and Father Savage since 1908. Frank and to the point, the brief asked the Pope's representative for a formal inquiry into the situation in order that justice might be rendered.⁸⁹ In reply, Monsignor Sbarretti informed the group that he paid careful attention to the memoir. He told them he would act on the issue as soon as *L'Assomption* annexed a corollary to the petition it had sent Bishop Casey in November of 1909, which condemned all newspapers, irrespective of language, that have been disapproved of by church authority.⁹⁰ That was done, but a change in Apostolic Delegate brought about more delay. It was April of 1911 before the new delegate, Msgr. Francisco Stagni, advised *L'Assomption* members in Moncton that they indeed had the right to receive communion as a group.⁹¹

With the communion issue out of the way, the year 1912 opened with a return to the debate over parish division. In January and February a series of letters were exchanged between Acadian leaders and the religious hierarchy [i.e. Bishop Casey and

⁸⁹ "*Mémoire* to His Excellency Msgr. Donato Sbarretti, March 29, 1910," 24.20-3, CEA. This memoir was presented to His Excellency in person by Clarence Cormier president of *L'Assomption*, and by Dr. Frédéric Richard, treasurer.

⁹⁰ "Msgr. Donato Sbarretti to Dr. Frédéric Richard, March 30, 1910" 24.20-3, CEA.

⁹¹ "La Tour Branch No. 14 to Msgr. Francisco Stagni, August 15, 1911" 24.20-3, CEA.

Apostolic Delegate Stagni] on the demand for a French parish in Moncton. Things were proceeding at a snail's pace. In March Msgr. Casey apologized for his "slowness to acknowledge" the correspondence in question, and more or less lobbed the ball back into the Acadian court by asking for "[your] views about a new parish...(along) what lines... best to erect it" and requesting "your good will as to its up-building and support."⁹² These questions by the Bishop were quite legitimate. As head of the diocese, he could not proceed with division on a whim but required assurances that the parish could survive. None of the correspondence coming from the Acadians had addressed the issue of parish finances. Acadian militants regarded money matters as being irrelevant. In their enthusiasm they thought of nothing but Father Savage's resistance to change. But the Papal Delegate saw things differently. Msgr. Stagni described Casey's concerns as being "parfaitement raisonable" and he made it clear to Acadians that the question of parish division should be negotiated through the Bishop.⁹³ There the matter rested through the last months of Casey's tenure to be inherited by his successor, Édouard LeBlanc.

When the new Bishop was enthroned, the Moncton situation was familiar to him, as has already been shown. The "urgent" letters he had received from Acadian nationalists while still a priest at Saint Bernard in Nova Scotia made it clear that this would have to be one of the first challenges dealt with. The nationalists delayed in approaching the new prelate, not because they believed the urgency had passed, but out of courtesy. They allowed him almost a year to familiarize himself with the structures of

⁹² "Bishop T. Casey to President and officers of Society of the Assumption, March 8, 1912," 24. 20-3, CEA.

⁹³ See "Msgr. F. Stagni to Clément Cormier, March 27, 1912," 24.20-3, CEA, and Ibid., April 11, 1912.

the diocesan administration and probably to let him get a behind-the-scene "feel" for the Moncton debate. Then in June 1913, a formal request for an interview was made and his reply, "je serai toujours heureux de vous voir et de causer de cette affaire," opened a new episode in the on-going squabble in Moncton.⁹⁴

Predictably Msgr. LeBlanc was anxious to acquaint himself with the various parishes and parish priests constituting his diocese. The sixth Congress of *L'Assomption* held at Shediac in August of 1913, to which His Grace was invited, afforded an ideal opportunity to visit that section of his religious jurisdiction. Given the situation in Moncton, a visit to Father Savage's parish was of paramount importance. During this first visit the new prelate made the Moncton pastor aware of his inclination to divide Saint Bernard along linguistic lines. Before any final decision was taken, however, Bishop LeBlanc asked Father Savage for his views on the matter. The request generated a lengthy but well thought-out condemnation of the whole idea, which was forwarded to LeBlanc in mid-September. Besides reiterating the risks that parish division might generate in terms of schooling, Savage condemned the spirit of nationalism which lay behind the agitation for change:

As far as a racial or national division is concerned - it also is impossible - from the fact that it would divide the families of an ever increasing number of the congregation - a thing in itself intolerable. There I must protest that I will never be a party to the segregation of the French people, or indeed of any people, as a distinct body in the community... in effect, an attempt to divide the seamless garment of our Lord. That I firmly believe to be un-Catholic, un- Canadian, un- Christian.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ "Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc to Clément Cormier, June 11, 1913," 24.20-3, CEA.

⁹⁵ "Father Edward Savage to Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc, September 18, 1913," LeBlanc Papers, ADSJ.

The points raised by Father Savage against the proposed division had, in Msgr. LeBlanc's own words, generated "much interest."⁹⁶ They nevertheless failed to deter the Bishop from pursuing his own plans.

In his reply to Father Savage, LeBlanc instructed the priest to call the Acadians of Moncton to a meeting to be held in Saint Bernard's Church on Monday, September 29, 1913. To do so was perfectly within his power, for as principal administrator of the diocese, parish division was a matter he could decide without calling upon the intervention of a higher authority. For LeBlanc to convene the meeting was more of a public relations gesture than a legal necessity. Bishop LeBlanc made it clear that neither Savage nor the English speaking parishioners were to attend. The request prompted Father Savage to be "purposely absent from the city during the time of the meeting."⁹⁷ One hundred and ninety Acadians attended at the meeting which was chaired by Dr. L.N. Bourque. When a vote on the motion of dividing the parish was taken, only three people opposed it.⁹⁸

The actual division might have proceeded shortly after this meeting had it not been for the article *Une question d'actualité* mentioned earlier which appeared in L'Évangéline a few weeks after the Acadian vote and to which Msgr. LeBlanc took

⁹⁶ "Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc to Father Edward Savage, September 26, 1913," O'Donnell Papers, Vol. IV, No. 244, AAH.

⁹⁷ Father Edward Savage, "Thirty Years in Moncton," O'Donnell Papers, Vol. IV, No. 244, AAH.

⁹⁸ See "Minutes de l'Assemblée des paroissiens de langue française tenue dans le crypte de l'église St. Bernard de Moncton le 29 eme jour de septembre 1913 afin de décider pour ou contre une division de la paroisse," LeBlanc Papers, ADSJ. Unfortunately none of the information examined reveals in any detail the discussions that took place at the meeting. The minutes are extant, but instead of noting all that transpired they simply record the motion for division and a list of those present. Neither L'Évangéline nor Le Moniteur Acadien are more explicit in their coverage of the meeting.

offence. It dealt with the division of Saint Bernard, but in LeBlanc eyes it was so contemptuous that he cancelled his subscription to the paper.⁹⁹ In an attempt to appease the Bishop, the committee of Acadians charged with the question of parish division met and passed a resolution unanimously condemning the article, and further resolved to publish nothing more on the turbulent issue of separation. This was made known to LeBlanc in mid-November.¹⁰⁰ Having thus established his authority, LeBlanc took action on this situation in Moncton. On January 21, 1914, the Bishop informed Father Savage that the division would take place on February 10. He would remain pastor of Saint Bernard, while Father Henri Cormier would assume the duties of heading the newly created Francophone parish. Until the new church was built, both groups would continue to worship in the existing facility.¹⁰¹

During the entire Moncton debate the Anglo-Protestant group in the city seems to have been oblivious to the squabble taking place among Catholics. On numerous occasions the Irish Catholics had warned that ethnic discord among Catholics could foster a negative backlash from the Anglo-Protestant "bear," especially in the areas of conversions and schools. Had the Protestant majority become more tolerant and no longer considered Catholics, especially the French-speaking ones, a threat? Were Acadians being placed more on an equal footing? It would appear not. The percentage of Acadians serving on city council, on the school board, and even in the post office was

⁹⁹ See "Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc to J.O. Gallant, October 26, 1913," 24.20-3, CEA.

¹⁰⁰ "Committee for parish division to Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc, November 14, 1913," LeBlanc Papers, ADSJ.

¹⁰¹ See "Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc to Father H. Cormier, January 22, 1914," 24.20-3, CEA.

not commensurate with their numbers in the city.¹⁰² Indeed, in 1913 L'Évangéline's editor considered Acadian influence in the Moncton to be null. He predicted that Acadians would do poorly if any one of them ran in the up-coming civic elections because English-speaking Monctonians were "trop fanatiques pour voter en faveur de ce qu'ils appellent un d.... frenchman."¹⁰³ A more logical explanation for Anglophone quietism could be found in the nature of the argument. Unlike conscription and prohibition which would later cause latent prejudices to emerge, this was an exclusively Catholic "problem" which did not spill over and effect Protestant society. The prevalent attitude was best summarized by the Moncton Time's editor, who did not want his newspaper to become the battle field for the controversy. After publishing two letters on the subject J.T. Hawke closed his paper to the debate judging that it "should be settled in some other sphere."¹⁰⁴

When Bishop LeBlanc created the new Acadian parish of *L'Assomption* in Moncton, one of the stipulations was that Saint Bernard should pay an indemnity of \$25,000 to the group separating as recompense for what these Acadians had contributed to the "mother church" on Botsford Street. Shortly after this announcement, Father Savage convened the English-speaking members of his parish "to adjust finances... [and] to discuss the further financial arrangement."¹⁰⁵ The result of the meeting was a

¹⁰² For example, as late as 1908 there were no Acadians working in Moncton's post office although they comprised over twenty percent of the city's population. See L'Évangéline, October 1, 1908, p. 2.

¹⁰³ L'Évangéline, February 5, 1913, p. 4.

¹⁰⁴ The Moncton Times, December 15, 1909, p. 4. It is interesting to note that the Times did not publish anything on the subject during 1912 and 1913. An overview of every issue during those two crucial years had revealed nothing in neither editorial nor headline form.

¹⁰⁵ Father Edward Savage "Thirty Years in Moncton," O'Donnell Papers, Vol. IV, No. 244, AAH.

series of resolutions which called the indemnity "excessive and greater than the amount to which they [Acadians] are entitled."¹⁰⁶ Anglophone anxiety had a lot to do with fears that their church was in need of expensive and costly repairs. Upkeep had not been possible, they maintained, because of a "lack of funds caused by the unsettled condition of affairs and the constant agitation carried on by a section of the congregation."¹⁰⁷

Nearly two years later these concerns were voiced again in a second petition to Bishop LeBlanc, this one more lengthy and formal than the first one had been. The arguments for not paying the \$25,000 centered on the premise that since it was the Acadians who had asked for the division and "who expected to experience the advantage therefrom", it was wrong to think they could claim compensation from those who had not sought separation.¹⁰⁸ The figure of \$5,000 per annum for five consecutive years was also out of proportion, the committee argued, given that between 1887 and 1891, when the Saint Bernard church was being built, Acadian contribution amounted to no more than thirty percent of the total.¹⁰⁹ The fact that at the end of 1915 Father Cormier was still writing to Father Savage for the first installment, now nearly two years overdue, was proof that the Saint Bernard Anglophones held fast to their position.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ "English-speaking parishioners to Msgr. LeBlanc, February 14, 1914" in O'Donnell Papers, Vol. IV, No. 244, AAH.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ "Hugh Hamilton et. al. to Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc, November 17, 1915," LeBlanc Papers, ADSJ.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ "Father Henri Cormier to Father Edward Savage, December 23, 1915," 24.20-3, CEA.

Mary's Home was another contentious issue which arose out of parish division. Mary's Home, originally designed as a refuge for the aged and the needy, had begun during Father Meahan's pastorate, but the aging priest died in 1905 while the project remained incomplete. Father Savage took up the cause and laid the cornerstone of the new institution on July 15, 1906. The home soon became a school where nuns taught the ever-increasing number of children who could no longer be accommodated at the Catholic school on Wesley Street.

Father Savage was especially concerned when certain assets of Mary's Home were included in the division of the parish. Part of the lands belonging to the home were to be used for the benefit of the new Acadian parish, including a site for the construction of the new *L'Assomption* church, if the Acadian congregation so desired. This was unjustifiable in Father Savage's eyes given that the property had been bought and the home had been built with personal contributions (some quite generous for the period) from Father Meahan and private citizens near and far. These donations had been made on the assumption that the home and its assets would be used for either an "orphanage home or like charitable purpose."¹¹¹ To now use part of the land to build a church for Francophone separatists violated Savage's sense of propriety. For the better part of four years the situation remained deadlocked. Then early in 1916 LeBlanc intervened to tell Father Savage that he was taking charge of the Mary's Home and other church properties around Moncton. Henceforth Father Savage was told he should "kindly refrain from all supervision in connection thereto." The Bishop concluded, "all revenues will be paid

¹¹¹ "Minutes of the English speaking members of the Saint Bernard Church, February 8, 1914," in "Thirty Years in Moncton," O'Donnell Papers, Vol. IV, No. 244, AAH.

directly to me or an agent which I will appoint."¹¹² This was bold and provocative action although LeBlanc tried to assure Savage, by saying "this is not intended against you personally."¹¹³

The debate over division of the parish spoils dragged on into the 1920s. In 1921 an agreement was signed between the two parishes over Mary's Home and other church lands and in 1922 with the sale of the home to the Sisters of Charity for the sum of \$35,000, a final settlement was reached. Of that amount \$30,000 went to *L'Assomption* parish, and \$5,000 to Saint Bernard's. Father Savage objected to the sale for the same reasons he had mustered earlier. The home, he argued, had been founded to deal with specific needs and should not be utilized for "ordinary parochial purposes."¹¹⁴ The pastor could take some comfort, perhaps, in the 1921 agreement's stipulation that the home would be used for school purposes by both parishes for a limited period of only fifteen years, after which time the building would revert to its originally intended purpose. Thereafter, if both parishes wished to use the home as an orphanage and a refuge, it would become a "strictly bi-lingual institution", with "the nuns in charge... [being] evenly divided as to French and English speaking", and with "the directing authority... alternately... French and English speaking"¹¹⁵ Overall, however Savage

¹¹² "Msgr Édouard LeBlanc to Father Savage, January 24, 1916," 24.20-3, CEA. The agent appointed was Mr. R.A. Frechet.

¹¹³ Quoted in Leo J. Hynes, *Moncton's Catholic Roots*, p. 127. The copy of this letter found at the *Centre d'Études acadienne* does not contain this last line which is found in the Father Hynes version. Unfortunately he does not state his sources.

¹¹⁴ Father Edward Savage, "Thirty Years in Moncton," O'Donnell Paper, Vol. IV, No. 244, AAH.

¹¹⁵ "Agreement between the Saint Bernard's Parish, Paroisse L'Assomption and The Roman Catholic Bishop of Saint John, April 1, 1921," LeBlanc Papers, ADSJ.

persisted in his view that justice was not served when people "reap[ed] where they did not sow."¹¹⁶

The 1921 agreement also dealt with the question of schools. Article 7 of the accord called for *L'Assomption* parish to "vacate the Wesley Street School, called St. Bernard's School, within ten years from this date or sooner if possible."¹¹⁷ The ten-year deadline gave plenty of time, for planning to establish an "Acadian" school in Moncton had been underway five years after the split occurred. In 1918, at the cost of \$15,500, *L'Assomption* parish bought a parcel of land for what was to become Sacred Heart School.¹¹⁸ Four years later Msgr. LeBlanc blessed the building. A huge financial burden was eliminated when the Moncton School Board, instead of building a new school, decided to pay rent to *L'Assomption* parish for the use of its new facility to hold classes. The arrangement suited both groups. Just as importantly the Board's gesture indirectly recognized the existence of a French Catholic School in the city. How could the board oppose French Catholic instruction while at the same time renting the facilities where that very sectarian instruction was given? The development contradicted the pessimistic predictions of Father Savage.

Along with Father Savage the English-speaking parishioners of Saint Bernard had been taken aback by certain developments during the division debate. Foremost among these were the questions of indemnity and Mary's Home. People such as James

¹¹⁶ Father Edward Savage, "Thirty Years in Moncton," O'Donnell Paper, Vol. IV, No. 244, AAH.

¹¹⁷ "Agreement between the Saint Bernard's Parish, Paroisse L'Assomption and The Roman Catholic Bishop of Saint John, April 1, 1921," LeBlanc Papers, ADSJ..

¹¹⁸ Recensement et rapport financier de la paroisse de L'Assomption à Moncton, 1917, 24.6-8, CEA.

Flanagan, Hugh Hamilton, and Patrick Gallagher had rallied around their pastor and sat on committees formed to see that justice be served. They had been active in writing LeBlanc as a group voicing their complaints over the financial aspects of division and as such had been more than mere passive observers.¹¹⁹ Yet in going through the primary material on the subject it is evident that the group rarely acted on its own but preferred to let Father Savage assume the leadership role. When the English-speaking parishioners decided to bring their objections to the indemnity clause before LeBlanc in writing they wished it be done through Savage. Later when it was decided that a committee of five be appointed to meet with the Bishop to discuss indemnity, the group wanted their priest to name the five members. One letter from the committee to Bishop LeBlanc is especially indicative of Father Savage's control. After the five signatures there follows the postscripts "seen and approved: Edward Savage."¹²⁰

That Father Savage held such a hegemonic position in parochial matters was not unorthodox at that time. If anything, it was the norm within Roman Catholic ideology at the beginning of the twentieth century. Why then did the Bishop not simply remove Father Savage and thereby reduce the intensity of the confrontation? As a strategy aimed at bringing harmony that would have been a bad move. Although Father Savage's strong character often added fuel to the division debate, he was not the primary reason motivating Moncton's French-speaking Catholics to ask for separation. The push for the creation of an Acadian parish in the city was rather another example of the group's attempts at self-assertiveness at the beginning of the twentieth century and Acadians would have challenged any priest at Saint Bernard bent on thwarting their ambitions.

¹¹⁹ See Father Edward Savage, "Thirty Years in Moncton," O'Donnell Papers, Vol. IV, No. 244, AAH.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

Removing the incumbent priest would have insulted him and the English-speaking Catholics of Moncton because it would have signaled that they were at fault and were thus being reprimanded. Far from solving anything, such a move by LeBlanc would have further alienated the two ethnic groups and in reality solved nothing. Instead of completely revamping the existing structures, it was best they be left in place as much as possible and that new ones be created to accommodate change.

The Moncton confrontation gave Msgr. LeBlanc his first opportunity to intervene in the ethno-linguistic rivalry that had pitted Acadian nationalists against the Irish clergy within the Maritime Catholic Church for years. The Moncton settlement achieved by Bishop LeBlanc permits two observations about post-1912 Acadian nationalism. First, the lobby mounted for an Acadian bishop had sought more than a symbolic victory. Once victory had been achieved the nationalists were determined to conscript LeBlanc for the advancement of nationalist aims. L'Évangéline's editorial of December 11, 1912, cautioned Acadians not to stop "après un premier succès, mais... s'armer d'un nouveau courage et marcher de l'avant."¹²¹ Thus the 1912 appointment accelerated the nationalist movement. The militants in Moncton had not even waited for enthronement of the new Bishop-elect before placing their demands before him.

LeBlanc's response largely fulfilled nationalist aspirations. A week after the consecration, P.A. Landry described the new Bishop as one filled with love and

¹²¹ L'Évangéline, December 11, 1912, p. 4.

sympathy for his compatriots.¹²² This was more than the polite rhetoric. It was a call to action and the Moncton issue gave LeBlanc the opportunity to assert himself. LeBlanc's Acadian background and his Eudist training meant that he understood the point Moncton's Acadians were trying to make, namely that there should be a link between religion and linguistic survival.¹²³ That parish division was imminent as Msgr. Casey had so declared in 1908 does not alter the fact that by the time of LeBlanc's consecration the project was stalled and no more advanced than it had been four years earlier. It took LeBlanc merely one year to convert theory into practice and in doing that he took a major step forward in terms of implementing the nationalist agenda.

Nationalists in Moncton gloated over what they saw as a victory of far reaching consequences. The creation of *L'Assomption* parish made Moncton more their city. It was incongruous to imagine Moncton ever becoming the Acadian center of the Maritimes without at the same time having an Acadian parish within its confines. In reality the division set the stage for what would transpire later on in LeBlanc's episcopacy, that is, the creation of the Archdiocese of Moncton. In honor of their triumph one of the French societies in city, the *Cercle Beauséjour*, organized a huge celebration a few days after LeBlanc made the official announcement of division. Interestingly enough, the fanfare was not labelled as a ceremony to mark the creation of the new parish. Rather, this "banquet magnifique", as *Le Moniteur* called it, was given in honor of an individual,

¹²² This address by Landry was given at Memramcook when the new prelate visited his old *alma mater* to be officially welcomed in the diocese by the Acadian leadership. See *L'Évangéline*, December 18, 1912, p. 5.

¹²³ For an insight into how the Eudist Fathers dealt with the issue of language, faith and cultural survival, see Susan Young de Biagi, "The Eudists and the Language Question in Acadia, 1890-1920," unpublished M.A. thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1986.

Father Henri Cormier, the first priest of the newly created parish.¹²⁴ Besides the local nationalists such as Henri-P. LeBlanc, Clément Cormier and J.-Alfred Blanchard who had fought for separation, the two hundred guests at the gala affair included a host of priests from the Acadian parishes of southeastern New Brunswick, as well as officers of *La Société Nationale L'Assomption* coming from New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and even Gardner, Massachusetts. Undoubtedly there was some truth in L'Évangéline's comment, "après les douleurs, après les larmes,... la joie, l'exaltation."¹²⁵

The task had not been easy for Bishop LeBlanc. His role in the Moncton parish division controversy had been direct and up front while at the same time tempered with much needed diplomacy. Always aware of what was happening through his regular contacts with nationalists, and later Father Henri Cormier, the Bishop had to find a solution that would answer to Acadian visions but that would not alienate the dominant English-speaking group. In a letter to the Superior of the Holy Heart Seminary, less than a year after he carried out the division of the parish, he summarized well what his leadership had been: "je me suis efforcé de gouverner avec charité, mais aussi avec justice et parfois avec fermeté."¹²⁶ That his firmness could be directed at Acadians also was evidenced in the newspaper affair. By the time the debate had dragged on into the twenties, it was apparent that the controversy had taken its toll on the Bishop. Again to Father Lecourtois, he penned his true feelings by asking for prayers and by commenting on the strength and guidance needed in a diocese that forced him to straddle both a

¹²⁴ For a report on these activities see Le Moniteur Acadien, February 26, 1914, p. 4.

¹²⁵ L'Évangéline, February 18, 1914, p. 4.

¹²⁶ "Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc to Father Paul Lecourtois, December 23, 1914," Archives des Pères Eudistes, Reel # F8950, PANB.

French and an English presence.¹²⁷

One aspect of the settlement which surely pleased Bishop LeBlanc was the setting up of a French Catholic school in Moncton. Always attuned to the value of education for Acadians, LeBlanc's work in that field was far from over with the setting up of one Acadian parish. On a broader scale, what about Acadians in the small rural areas of his diocese? Were they receiving a proper French Catholic instruction? LeBlanc believed there was room for improvement and if to satisfy Acadian educational aspirations in one urban center it had been necessary to split a congregation, to satisfy the same aspirations on the wider diocesan scale, it would be necessary to divide an entire religious order.

¹²⁷ "Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc to Father Paul Lecourtois, October 26, 1920," Archives des Pères Eudistes, Reel # F8950, PANB.

CHAPTER 6
THE TEENS AND TWENTIES: A PERIOD OF QUALIFIED
NATIONALISM

The Moncton debate had immersed LeBlanc into the politics of being bishop before he could get any real feel for his new role within the Maritime Catholic Church. Acadians in Moncton had turned to him prior to his enthronement to press for positive action in support of their claims. Bishop LeBlanc had not let those Acadians down. He created an exclusively French-speaking parish in Moncton, thus confirming the dual character of Catholicism in the city. Now, would the new Bishop act as favorably with regard to the larger issues facing Maritime Acadians at this period? For example, what leadership would he offer on such issues as prohibition, conscription, economic dislocation, and emigration, all of which confronted Acadians during the war period and through the 1920s? Would LeBlanc's elevation make him reclusive or approachable as a leader placed in a position where the whole arena of social reform could be open to him? How would he react to that situation? Those questions become easier to answer once an overview of LeBlanc's routine life as bishop can be established. What did he acquire when he became bishop? What did it mean for him to become the Roman Catholic prelate of Saint John during the first part of the twentieth century?

When he arrived in Saint John as Bishop-elect, on Tuesday December 3, 1912, to assume control of the see, LeBlanc was apparently scared. To a packed cathedral that evening he admitted to "stand[ing] here in fear and trembling" at the thought that he had been given a diocese to lead.¹ This was polite rhetoric to some extent, but the fact

¹ The New Freeman, February 23, 1935, p. 1.

remained that nearly every facet of the task that lay ahead would for him be a new experience. To help him along with coping, especially in the initial years, the new Bishop would have to rely on past experience and past acquaintances. As to the latter, no group helped him more than the Eudists Fathers.

Throughout his episcopacy, LeBlanc kept a close contact, both professional and personal, with those priests who had been so central to his education in Church Point and after that in Halifax. On the professional side, since the Eudists owned and operated the only Roman Catholic seminary in the Maritimes, LeBlanc had to keep in contact with that institution. Any time candidates for the priesthood were sent to Holy Heart from the Diocese of Saint John, LeBlanc would want to follow the progress of his future priests, and he did so through regular correspondence with the institution's directors. His exchange of letters with various members of the Eudist Order show that throughout his career the Bishop had deep affinity for the congregation. When the Superior General of the Eudists congratulated LeBlanc on his nomination, the new Bishop wrote back: "De toutes les lettres que j'ai reçues à l'occasion de ma nomination à l'évêché de St. Jean, la vôtre est celle qui a peut-être le plus réjouit mon cœur."² LeBlanc often reminisced about his years at Holy Heart calling them "de si belles années."³ He hated to decline invitations to his former *alma mater* because it meant missing out on time spent with those he considered his true friends. In much of this correspondence the element of friendship is clearly visible, and the feelings were mutual. LeBlanc, seen by Holy Heart as "the most distinguished of the seminary's sons," was made honorary president of the

² "Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc to Father Ange LeDoré, January 21, 1913," ADB, Group II, Reel # F8950, PANB.

³ "Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc to Father Paul Lecourtois, August 12, 1912," in *Ibid.*

school's first alumni association.⁴ In these Eudists Bishop LeBlanc confided, sharing his burden and often asking; "Priez pour moi; j'ai besoin de beaucoup de prières."⁵

In addition to his contacts with the Church, Monsignor LeBlanc kept in touch with many of the lay nationalists active at the time; this was certainly fitting, since their lobby was in great measure responsible for his elevation to the Saint John See. When the "old guard" of Landry, Poirier and Richard had passed away, the Bishop continued to approach the Acadian laity through such individuals as Henri-P. LeBlanc of Moncton and Albert Sormany of Edmunston (see Chapter VII). However, his greatest link with what was happening within Acadian society came through the newspapers. Although the Bishop and the editor of L'Évangéline were sometimes at odds with each other, Monsignor LeBlanc still believed this paper had "rendu d'immense service à la religion et à la patrie."⁶ In fact he owned twenty-five shares of the newspaper, substantial proof of his belief in the paper's merit both for Catholics, and for himself.⁷

LeBlanc's elevation to the prelacy demanded of him considerable readjustment. Pomp and ceremony surrounded his nomination and enthronement. Lavish receptions "at home" and abroad followed his consecration, and the money he received as gifts from various members of his flock, as well as the Pierce Arrow automobile he was furnished, all indicated a life-style alien to LeBlanc's previous experience.⁸ After fourteen years in

⁴ The New Freeman, August 7, 1920, p. 8.

⁵ "Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc to Father Paul Lecourtois, August 12, 1912," ADB, Group II, Reel # F8950, PANB.

⁶ See "Alfred Roy to Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc, August 8, 1923," LeBlanc Papers, ADSJ and also "Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc to Alfred Roy, June 20, 1931, Ibid.

⁷ "Alfred Roy to Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc, November 14, 1930," Ibid.

⁸ Interview with W.L., Saint Bernard, February 26, 1988.

Meteghan, Caledonia, Salmon River and Saint Bernard, life in Saint John, with its population of over forty-two thousand, meant learning to adjust to a somewhat different order of things.⁹

His palace alongside the cathedral on Waterloo Street, contrasted sharply with the glebe houses that LeBlanc had once called home in rural Nova Scotia. Built in 1863 during Monsignor Sweeney's tenure as bishop, it was an impressive structure, fit rival to any residence in the city. It came complete with a staff of priests, usually three or four in number, who assisted the Bishop in administering the diocese, as well as with a staff of servants and laborers, who kept the premises clean and proper for public events and receptions hosted by the Bishop.¹⁰ One case in point was the reception offered Cardinal Bégin of Quebec in 1917, complete with honor guards and with the city band playing on the palace lawn.¹¹ Such an elaborate routine went far beyond the parochial social life LeBlanc had known as a priest.

Along with this palatial life-style went the burden of added social and spiritual responsibilities. Prior to his nomination, LeBlanc had been in charge of only one church with a flock of hardly more than one thousand strong.¹² Now he headed a diocese which had thirty-eight parishes and sixty-three priests and ministered to a congregation

⁹ The 1911 federal census gave Saint John city a population of forty-two thousand five hundred eleven. See Canada: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Fifth Census of Canada, 1911, Volume II, pp. 182-183.

¹⁰ At the first diocesan synod held in Saint John, Fathers S.C. Oram, Raymond McCarthy, Zoel J. Landry and H. Ramage were listed as being "of the palace." See The New Freeman, December 4, 1920, p. 5.

¹¹ The New Freeman, October 20, 1917, p. 5.

¹² Canada: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Fifth Census of Canada, 1911, Volume II, p. 30.

numbering fifty eight thousand.¹³ The spiritual well being of all those priests and parishioners, as well as the financial welfare of all those parishes, was now his responsibility. LeBlanc realized the magnitude of his duties and was apprehensive about what lay ahead. He revealed his innermost feelings to the Superior of the Holy Heart Seminary, confessing; "Je dois vous dire que je suis saisi d'effroi et je tremble à la pensée de la terrible responsabilité que le bon Dieu m'impose."¹⁴

His first obligation was to get to know his diocese. That meant a time consuming visit to nearly all parts of Saint John, Kings, Queens, Sunbury, York, Carleton, Charlotte, Albert, Westmorland and Kent Counties. In 1914 L'Évangéline reported that the new Bishop had visited almost every district in his pastoral charge during the first fifteen months of his episcopacy.¹⁵ At the beginning of the twentieth century that was a sizeable undertaking. It was not be the last time he did so, for many of the rites performed in the individual Catholic parishes had to be officiated by a bishop. The blessing of a church, the consecration of a cemetery, the ordination of priests, or the investiture of a Domestic Prelate -- all were diocesan events which required the Bishop's presence. Even more time consuming and tiring were the ceremonies of Confirmation.¹⁶ These, which usually took place every year or two in various parishes throughout the diocese, were lengthy because many youths had to be confirmed at the same time. For example, Bishop LeBlanc performed the ceremony for one hundred thirty-nine

¹³ Le Canada Ecclésiastique (Montreal: Librairie Beauchemin, 1913), p. 300.

¹⁴ "Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc to Father Paul Lecourtois, August 12, 1912," ADB, Group II, Reel # F8950, PANB.

¹⁵ L'Évangéline, February 18, 1914, p. 1.

¹⁶ Confirmation is the rite which "confirms" the youth as a true disciple of Christ. This is done five to seven years after a child receives first communion, or at the age of twelve to fourteen years.

candidates in Moncton in October 1922, and again the following year for over two hundred in Woodstock.¹⁷

Such confirmations and his other religious duties in the diocese left LeBlanc strapped for time. Indeed, he sometimes found it necessary to turn down invitations to functions he would have liked to attend, as he explained in 1914 when refusing Father Lecourtois' offer to attend festivities at Holy Heart Seminary in Halifax. On the 4th of October he was to be in Woodstock for confirmations, on the 11th in Grande-Digue for an investiture, on the 18th in Saint John for the blessing of the new Infirmary, and on the 25th in Bouctouche for again another investiture. He added that he was absent every Sunday of the month and that he needed to somehow squeeze in a blessing of the Shédiac Church.¹⁸ In early twentieth century New Brunswick such a schedule was demanding by any standards and was not without consequences. By 1923 the strains of the episcopacy were beginning to show. The Bishop was forced to miss the silver jubilee celebrations *Collège Sainte-Anne* had organized for him, his cousin Désiré Comeau and Bishop Chiasson to mark their twenty-five years in the priesthood. As The New Freeman reported, "Bishop LeBlanc was, on account of stress of work, unable to be present."¹⁹

Other events, both within and outside the diocese, required that LeBlanc attend, not because Church dogma demanded it, but because, as bishop, protocol required he be there. For example, he was expected to preside over graduation exercises at Saint

¹⁷ The New Freeman, October 21, 1922, p. 8 and June 23, 1923, p. 8.

¹⁸ "Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc to Father Paul Lecourtois, October 1, 1914," ADB, Group II, Reel # F8950, PANB.

¹⁹ The New Freeman, June 30, 1923, p. 1.

Vincent's High School in Saint John, at *Collège Saint-Joseph* in Memramcook and at the Saint John Infirmary.²⁰ Beyond his immediate ecclesiastical jurisdiction, precedent also pressed him to travel throughout Canada and attend a host of celebrations given both for him personally or in honor of some specific event. For example, shortly after his rise to the episcopacy Bishop LeBlanc accepted an invitation from the people of Quebec who wished to celebrate his recent nomination. At Nicolet, where a large segment of the population was of Acadian ancestry, he was received by Bishop Bruneault and a gala dinner was given in his honor.²¹ Later in Montreal, he presided over the religious activities of the *Société des Artisans Canadiens-français*. Characterized by fatiguing pomp and ceremony, the event entailed a procession of five thousand people and a banquet for over a thousand invited guests.²² In 1917, Monsignor LeBlanc attended the enthronement of the second Acadian Bishop, Msgr. Patrice Chiasson, consecrated at Church Point.²³ In 1919, Bishop LeBlanc travelled to Charlottetown to assist at the dedication of Saint Dunstan's Cathedral and the following year, the centenary celebrations of Saint Mary's Cathedral brought him to Halifax.²⁴ Four years later he was again at his *alma mater* for the Acadian convention held there in 1921. A pilgrimage to Grand-Pré was organized where LeBlanc was chief celebrant at the mass offered at that Acadian memorial.²⁵ Another episcopal consecration saw Bishop LeBlanc travelling to

²⁰ See The New Freeman, June 22, 1918, p. 1, July 6, 1918, p. 1, and September 7, 1918, p. 5.

²¹ L'Évangéline, September 17, 1913, p. 1.

²² Ibid., October 15, 1913, p. 5.

²³ The New Freeman, October 20, 1917, p. 5.

²⁴ Ibid., September 27, 1919, p. 1 and December 25, 1920, p. 1.

²⁵ Ibid., August 6, 1921, p. 1.

western Canada in 1921. When Monsignor Prud'homme was named Bishop of Prince Albert-Saskatoon, LeBlanc and two diocesan priests headed for Saskatchewan. Taking advantage of the occasion, they visited a few Canadian cities *en route* including Toronto, Ottawa, Niagara Falls and Montreal.²⁶

Of all the travelling that duty or protocol imposed on LeBlanc, no tour equalled in importance the one known as the *ad limina* visit. This voyage to Rome or, more precisely, to the tombs of Saint Peter and Saint Paul was required of each Canadian Bishop at least once every ten years. While in Rome, a given bishop would have a private audience with the Pope and report to the Holy Father on the condition of his diocese. This visit to the center of Catholicism was a privilege reserved only for bishops; given the time and distance involved, LeBlanc would never have journeyed to the "Eternal City" had it not been for his rise to the episcopacy. In 1914 Bishop LeBlanc, accompanied by Father Désiré Comeau, left for Rome and also managed to visit Spain, Monaco, Algiers and the Italian cities of Naples and Genoa.²⁷ He found his second voyage in 1920 just as overwhelming as his first had been six years prior. At a reception celebrating his return, Bishop LeBlanc described the scene for the people of Saint John:

Imagine if you can, the Basilica of Saint Peter's more than 600 feet long - the sanctuary alone is as large as this whole cathedral. There were present during those days, fifty to sixty thousand people, thousands of priests, 300 bishops and forty-five cardinals. It is easy to understand the splendor of the ceremonies, the like of which could not be found in any part of the world.²⁸

²⁶ The New Freeman, October 31, 1921, p. 8.

²⁷ L'Évangéline, April 15, 1914, p. 1.

²⁸ Bishop LeBlanc quoted in The New Freeman, July 3, 1920, p.1.

Bishop LeBlanc had to make one more journey to Rome during his episcopacy in 1925 which Pope Pius XI declared to be a holy year. Again, he went to the Vatican, in order to take part in the sacred festivities, this time accompanied by Bishop Chiasson of Chatham.

The many travels undertaken by Bishop LeBlanc both in Canada and abroad made him acutely aware that the world was a continuously evolving entity. "Conditions have changed very much with the years," he told a group of children at the beginning of a school year.²⁹ LeBlanc soon realized however, that the changes of the day were not all positive and that the church must play an important role at the secular level if it also wished to be relevant. The work done by Bishop LeBlanc in and around the city of Saint John, especially the completion of Saint Joseph's Hospital, bore testimony to his strong sense of social obligation. He had a reputation to keep up as "a helpful factor in the progress of the city" and as a "keen student of civic affairs."³⁰

The welfare of the young received much of the Bishop's attention. His efforts at "always encouraging the young to still higher efforts" were especially evident in the number of Catholic schools, that were set up by what The New Freeman described as this "firm friend" of education.³¹ Bishop LeBlanc also realized that the young were interested in things beyond the realm of the academic. They needed an opportunity to participate in physical activities. Accordingly, he helped see that Saint John's Young Man's Christian Institute acquired a facility boasting "the largest swimming tank east of

²⁹ Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc quoted in The New Freeman, September 9, 1922, p. 8.

³⁰ The New Freeman, February 23, 1935, p. 4.

³¹ The New Freeman, February 23, 1935, p. 4. The schools built by Msgr. LeBlanc included Saint Vincent's, Saint Patrick's, Holy Trinity Parish, Saint John the Baptist, Saint Peter's and Mount Carmel Academy. See Ibid.

Montreal" and a gymnasium ranking "second to none in Canada."³² Likewise the Boy Scout movement in and around the city benefitted from Monsignor LeBlanc's wholehearted endorsement. He outfitted the well-equipped camp for boys, called "Saint Amend," at Torryburn just outside Saint John where the Scouts held their many rallies. In recognition for his work in fostering the Boy Scouts, Bishop LeBlanc was decorated with the Medal of Merit, one of the highest awards in the movement.³³

His efforts to improve the social climate of the diocese extended to the adult population as well, and to that end Bishop LeBlanc established a lay retreat movement. Its headquarters at Torryburn, a retreat house, also described as "splendidly equipped," was where people gathered for meditation, prayer and spiritual up-lifting.³⁴ Similarly, other organizations, such as the Catholic Women's League and the Sailor's Club, also received the full support of the Bishop in their efforts to create a better spirit of community within the city.

Few could deny that Monsignor LeBlanc's schedule was a heavy one. With his multitude of diocesan obligations as Bishop, with so many travels near and far, and with his intense involvement in the furtherance of community-based organizations, Bishop LeBlanc needed some sort of relief to offset the strains of his position. He found some

³² The New Freeman, February, 5, 1921, p. 5.

³³ Ibid., February 23, 1935, p. 4.

³⁴ Ibid.

relaxation in nature both as sportsman and as farmer.³⁵ He liked the outdoors, as has been noted earlier, and sometimes went back to Saint Bernard to hunt and fish, especially with members of the Stehelin family, who had a "bishop's room" for him in one of their hunting cabins. LeBlanc actually owned wilderness land along the Kejimkujik River in Nova Scotia's interior, although there is no indication that he ever went there to hunt and fish.³⁶ His outdoor interests were also somewhat satisfied back in Saint John, where the Bishop was a shareholder in the "Long's Lake Fishing Club."³⁷

The greater part of his leisure time, however, was devoted to farming. His elevation to the episcopacy was not at the expense of his fascination for agriculture; if anything, the farm he set up between Golden Grove and Loch Lomond Road outside Saint John, was more elaborate than his earlier operation in Nova Scotia. That three hundred forty-five bales of hay were bought in December of 1934 is one indication of the magnitude of his operation.³⁸ Cattle-raising was the focus of the enterprise; one writer even observed that the butter made at the Bishop's farm was "high grade" and "famous within a radius of 100 miles."³⁹

³⁵ An indication of Bishop LeBlanc's concern for the natural environment is given in a letter he addressed to his priests in 1921. The purpose of the piece was to announce the annual diocesan retreat, but LeBlanc injected a paragraph urging his priests to warn parishioners of the dangers of forest fires. The letter called for everyone to take "toutes les précautions nécessaires" and to make sure that provincial laws on the matter "soient fidèlement observés." See "Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc to Diocesan Priests, July 6, 1921," LeBlanc Papers, ADSJ.

³⁶ "Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc to Charles Bienvenu, May 2, 1934," *Ibid.* This acquisition undoubtedly dates back to the period when LeBlanc was parish priest at Caledonia.

³⁷ See "Fred Fisher to Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc, February 3, 1932," *Ibid.*

³⁸ "Customs Reports" in *Ibid.*

³⁹ "Newspaper clipping, no date" in LeBlanc Papers, ADSJ.

The first two decades of the twentieth century were difficult times in Maritime Canada. People struggled desperately to come to terms with the economic distress haunting the region. The industrialization scheme initiated at the end of the nineteenth century faltered in the 1920s and neither labour, management nor the politicians could come up with a viable remedy.⁴⁰ Strikes - and there were four hundred eleven in the Maritimes between 1901 and 1911⁴¹ -, redress programs such as "Maritime Rights," and several Royal Commissions could do little to turn the tide of factory closings and rising unemployment. For many, the only solution lay in relocation to other centers where the prospect of economic stability was more assured. To place even more burdens on an already strained regional society, enthusiasm for both war and reform dangerously split the Maritime community along ethnic and religious lines. Internal fragmentation was especially discernible over the issues of conscription and prohibition.

All these factors converged during this period and put the Acadians in an exceptionally precarious position. While the population in general suffered the adverse effects of economic and social dislocation, the Acadians in particular bore the brunt of the misfortunes. They were confronted with the same problems faced by the dominant English-speaking group. And because Acadians were not always in agreement with the Anglophone majority they were often viewed with suspicion and even hatred. Not since the Caraquet riots of 1875 had public opinion so crystalized against Acadians as it did in this period. The trying times demanded strong leadership. Given the secular role

⁴⁰ See, T.W. Acheson, "The National Policy and the Industrialization of the Maritimes, 1880-1910," The Acadiensis Reader, Volume II: Atlantic Canada after Confederation, pp. 176-201.

⁴¹ Ian McKay, "Strikes in the Maritimes, 1901-1914," Ibid., p. 229.

bishops often played in this era, the first Acadian Bishop found himself under extraordinary pressure.

Bishop LeBlanc's performance as an Acadian leader during the teens and twenties was both good and bad. Throughout this period he tended to be better able to express himself within the Catholic Church than in society at large. The setting up of Saint Bernard's parish in 1914, and later the founding of a community of Acadian nuns in 1924 both reflected a desire on the Bishop's part to see Acadians firmly rooted within Catholic parochial and educational circles. From the Acadian viewpoint, two very important steps along the road to self-assertion involved having their own parish in Moncton, and having their own teachers within the Diocese. Those plans the Bishop was willing to implement at the risk of alienating, and even of enraging, the English-speaking coreligionists. Yet, when the debates went beyond the Catholic arena to include society in general, the Bishop's approach was more cautious. For one thing, he did not directly challenge the views of the elected officials and the Protestant majority, as he had done with the English-speaking Catholics of Moncton. Monsignor LeBlanc's public stand on the issues of conscription and prohibition bear witness to this style of leadership.

When Prime Minister Borden returned from an Imperial War Conference in 1917 he reported to his colleagues that Canadian casualties on the Western Front far exceeded the number of recruits the government was able to muster under a voluntary system. Conscription was the only alternative. The Prime Minister knew that Quebec would never favour it, but if Wilfrid Laurier could be brought on side, there might be some appeasement. With that in mind, and with the urgency of the moment going beyond

partisan politics, Borden approached Laurier with the idea of establishing a coalition government. The opposition Liberals would be given equal representation in a union cabinet that Borden would lead. Laurier said no. His refusal was not based on any denial of the emergency. To have said "yes" would have meant losing Quebec. Worst still, it would have meant losing it to Bourassa and his *nationalistes*.⁴²

In 1917 when the Borden government decided the direction of World War I required obligatory military service, one of the most explosive ethnic crises of Canadian history erupted. The conscription debate polarized the nation's two founding peoples and affirmed that the twentieth century had indeed failed to create an atmosphere of "unity in diversity." On the conscription issue, the Maritime Provinces became a microcosm of the larger national scene, with the mass of Acadians taking a stand parallel to their French-Canadian cousins. Although the creation of an Acadian regiment in 1916 tended to suggest that Acadians were in favor of the war, the truth of the matter was that the unit never grew to the desired levels.⁴³ This was because many Acadians thought like the editor of L'Évangéline who declared that:

... nous nous sommes prononcés carrément contre notre participation aux guerres européennes, et nous tenons à le réaffirmer de nouveau... notre attitude est la même et ne changera pas pour faire plaisir aux Jingoës [sic] Canadiens [sic] ou Acadiens [sic].⁴⁴

⁴² Robert C. Brown and Ramsay Cook, Canada, 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd, 1974), p. 269.

⁴³ The Acadian regiment was the 165th batallion with Lieutenant-Colonel L.-Cyriaque Daigle as commander. See Le Moniteur Acadien, January 20, 1916, p. 2. Proof that enlistment quotas were not reached is evident in an editorial published in L'Évangéline, December 27, 1916, p. 1.

⁴⁴ L'Évangéline, May 11, 1916, p. 1.

Nowhere were Acadian anti-war and anti-conscription attitudes more evident than in the two election campaigns fought in New Brunswick during 1917. Charles Ferris concludes that in both the provincial contest of February 24 and in the December 17 federal election "race emerged as the single most important and enduring issue."⁴⁵

When the Conservative government of New Brunswick under James A. Murray called an election early in 1917, it held forty-six seats in the assembly as compared with two held by the Liberals. After the vote, the Liberals under Walter E. Foster reversed their paltry performance and won twenty-seven seats to the Conservatives' twenty-one seats. It soon became evident that the English-speaking counties had voted with the government and that the Liberal victory was due in part to the overwhelming support they received in the counties where the Acadian population predominated. These counties sent ten Liberals to Fredericton.⁴⁶ Acadians in the province had equated local political developments with the federal scene and concluded that a vote against the Murray Conservative government was a vote for Sir Wilfrid Laurier and thereby a vote against conscription.⁴⁷ The Fredericton Daily Gleaner also reasoned that this was in fact what had happened, and it countered with a stinging diatribe:

The election... may yet result in putting the Government [sic] of this Province [sic] absolutely in the hands of the Acadians... Those who cannot agree that the English-speaking people of New Brunswick should be eliminated from all influence in the Government [sic] of the Country [sic] and pitchforked into the position of serf and servants for the Acadians who are said to get their inspiration from Quebec and thereabouts may be expected to put up a bitter fight before they will yield to such intolerable

⁴⁵ Charles Ferris, "The New Brunswick Elections of 1917," unpublished M.A. thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1974, p. iii.

⁴⁶ L'Acadien, March 2, 1917, p. 1.

⁴⁷ Le Madawaska, March 1, 1917, p. 1.

conditions... if the English-speaking electorate submits quietly to the humiliation, the Acadians and their church will soon be in absolute control of the Government [sic] and the affairs of the Province [sic].⁴⁸

It was, as the political scientist Philippe Doucet observed, "as though the enemy were in power."⁴⁹ This voting trend manifested itself again in the federal vote later that fall with the Union government candidates winning Victoria-Carleton, York-Sunbury and, Saint John-Albert. However, the Liberals carried the vote in the Acadian areas of Madawaska, Restigouche, Gloucester, Kent and Westmorland, a pattern prompting J. Murray Beck to observe that "in no previous [federal] election had New Brunswick divided as sharply as this along purely ethnic lines."⁵⁰

If the mass of Acadians had displayed their opposition to conscription, the same could not be said of the Acadian élite. Spigelman has shown that among the Acadian elected and appointed officials, party allegiance predominated over ethnic considerations.⁵¹ Conservative stalwarts such as Pierre-Amand Landry and Pascal Poirier carried the conscriptionist banner while the Liberal MPs Onésiphore Turgeon and Pius Michaud vehemently opposed it.⁵² As for the religious elite within Acadian

⁴⁸ Fredericton Daily Gleaner, February 28, 1917, p. 6.

⁴⁹ Philippe Doucet, "Politics and the Acadians" in Jean Daigle (ed.) The Acadians of the Maritimes, p. 255.

⁵⁰ J. Murray Beck, The Pendulum of Power - Canada's Federal Elections (Scarborough: Prentice Hall of Canada Ltd., 1968), p. 142.

⁵¹ Martin Spigelman, "Les Acadiens et les Canadiens en temps de guerre: le jeu des alliances," CSHA, Vol. 8, No. 1, 1977, pp. 10-12.

⁵² Landry declared himself in favor of conscription because he believed it the most effective way of raising the Canadian army. See Le Moniteur Acadien, September 28, 1916, p. 1.

society, the position taken over conscription was not as clear cut as the stance taken by politicians.

Bishop LeBlanc supported the war effort, as ample evidence demonstrates. At the end of 1915 Le Moniteur Acadien, itself destined to be pro-conscriptionist when the issue arose in 1917, reported on Monsignor LeBlanc's efforts at encouraging the enlistment of young men, noting how he had never "laissé passer l'occasion d'engager la jeunesse catholique de son diocèse à voler au secours de la patrie menacée."⁵³

The Moniteur's comments were not an exaggeration, as was made evident by a host of facts which verify the paper's statement. Bishop LeBlanc's initial wartime public speech in Saint John was at a recruitment rally where he told the audience he considered it his patriotic duty to encourage men to active service. "C'est l'appel aux armes," the Bishop proclaimed, "que tous ceux qui veulent écouter cet appel s'enrôlent... Allez au combat rejoindre ceux qui luttent pour les destinés du Canada."⁵⁴ LeBlanc's position on Acadian participation in the war was demonstrated in his support of the 165th battalion. He welcomed its formation and appointed Father Jean Gaudet as chaplain. As late as March of 1917 he again urged his flock to enlist. "Dans les rangs de l'armée," he wrote, "il y a encore des places vides; ces places devraient être remplies sans délai par des hommes aptes au service militaire."⁵⁵

Such statements make it clear that Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc wished to see the Acadians do their part in supporting Canada's war effort. But he never came out in

⁵³ Le Moniteur Acadien, December 2, 1915, p. 1.

⁵⁴ Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc, "Discours sur le recrutement" published in Ibid., November 26, 1914, p.1.

⁵⁵ Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc, "Mandement" published in Ibid., March 3, 1917, p. 4.

categorical support for compulsory military service. It appears that LeBlanc's views on conscription were moulded by pressures from within the church. At the beginning of August 1917 Cardinal Bégin of Quebec, the Primate of the Canadian Catholic Church, published an article vividly denouncing conscription as "un mal infiniment plus grave que celui auquel on prétend vouloir remédier."⁵⁶ Bégin feared that the draft would force the enlistment of priests, brothers and seminarians.⁵⁷ Apprehensive for the future of Catholicism in the country, the Cardinal wrote Prime Minister Borden asking him "de vouloir bien... respecter les asiles de la jeunesse ou se forment... les futurs religieux et les futurs prêtres."⁵⁸ Conscription, he believed, was "une menace qui cause à l'épiscopat canadien les plus vives angoisses."⁵⁹

Little information has been uncovered either in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Québec or in the Diocesan Archives in Saint John to show there was a concerted effort on LeBlanc's part to explore the French Canadian hierarchy's views on conscription.⁶⁰ However, this should not be interpreted as a sign that LeBlanc was oblivious to Quebec attitudes and acted on his own on the matter. In October of 1917, a few months after the passing of the Military Service Act, LeBlanc received Cardinal Bégin at his palace in

⁵⁶ L'Évangéline, August 1, 1917, p. 1. For an insight into the French Canadian hierarchy's opposition to conscription see Jean Hamelin and Nicole Gagnon, Histoire du catholicisme québécois - Le XX^e siècle. tome I, 1898-1940, pp. 300-308.

⁵⁷ Bégin's fears must have been confirmed when on June 7, 1918 military police raided the novitiate located at Guelph in search of men trying to escape the draft. See Brian F. Hogan, "The Guelph Novitiate Raid: Conscription, Censorship and Bigotry during the Great War," The Canadian Catholic Historical Association, No. 45, 1978, pp. 57-80.

⁵⁸ "Cardinal Louis-Nazaire Bégin to Robert Borden, April 12, 1918," 60 CN, Gouvernement du Canada, IX: 209, AAQ.

⁵⁹ L'Évangéline, August 1, 1917, p. 1.

⁶⁰ See 31 CN, "Provinces maritimes I and II, AAQ.

Saint John and travelled with him to *Collège Sainte-Anne* for Father Chiasson's enthronement. There would have been ample opportunity for discussion on the conscription issue thereby giving LeBlanc a clear picture as to where the Quebec hierarchy stood on this all important debate and establishing a basis for drawing up his own policy. As Primate of the Canadian Catholic Church, Cardinal Bégin's opinions carried much weight and the chances that LeBlanc, or any other bishop, would dissent from that view were very small.

Therefore LeBlanc's view of conscription appears to conform more to the philosophy Laurier espoused: participation yes, but solely on a voluntary basis. However, the only side of Bishop LeBlanc that comes out explicitly in the record is that he urged Acadians to enlist prior to the enactment of conscription. Once service became compulsory, he fell silent likely in an attempt to prevent the war effort from becoming hopelessly divisive. LeBlanc knew that to come out openly for conscription would not be in the interest of the Acadians and to campaign against it would not be any better because of the backlash from the Anglophone majority that such a stance was sure to foster. Could the Protestant majority react to the Bishop's non-commitment to conscription? It might have been difficult. LeBlanc was definitely in favor of defending the Empire from Prussian aggression and conscription was primarily a political consideration, not a religious one. From the Acadian view point if there was resentment for the Bishop's evasiveness it was muted. It could be that Acadians realized that while it was easy for prelates in the province of Quebec publicly to denounce conscription, a bishop operating in a largely Anglo-Protestant society that was pro-conscriptionist had much more reason to remain silent.

A second major debate of the teens and early twenties also tended to alienate Acadians from the English-speaking majority. It involved the campaign for temperance

and later prohibition. Although the agitation was perceived by Protestant evangelists as a panacea for many social ills, it never "caught on" to the same degree among Acadian Catholics.⁶¹ As early as the 1880s, Acadians in New Brunswick were refusing to support the Temperance or Scott Act of 1878 as it was called, claiming it had not "amoindri les ravages de l'ivrognerie d'une manière appréciable."⁶² In response John T. Hawke, the prohibitionist editor of the Moncton Transcript, suggested that if information on temperance written in French were "persistently circulated among Acadian their "manifest disfavor" of temperance would change.⁶³ Le Moniteur Acadien replied that Mr. Hawke and his associates should carry their temperance zeal to their own *entourage* before attempting to preach virtue to Acadians.⁶⁴

As the twentieth century began and the temperance movement gained sufficient strength to threaten introduction of total prohibition, Acadian sentiment changed little. With the advent of the war, it was felt that self-sacrifice at home was a way of sharing the hardships endured by the front-line men. Total abstinence from liquor became a rallying cry sufficiently loud to ensure that prohibition might become legislated in certain parts of the country. That is what happened in New Brunswick on May 1, 1917. At the end of the war there seemed less need for self-mortification, and the movement lost some ground, but prohibitionists continued to pursue their belief that a New Jerusalem, a truly

⁶¹ It should be noted here that certain members of the Anglophone Catholic clergy did give considerable support to the temperance movement, especially in the United States. A case in point is the work done in this field by Father Theobald Mathew and his followers. See Father F. C. Hayes, "Father Mathew: His Life and Work," a series of eight articles published in The New Freeman between October 4 and November 22, 1919.

⁶² Le Moniteur Acadien, February 24, 1888, p. 2.

⁶³ Moncton Daily Transcript, February 20, 1888, p. 4.

⁶⁴ Le Moniteur Acadien, February 24, 1888, p. 2.

progressive community, could be established only within the framework of a totally dry society. To this end, advocates solicited government help, believing that "legislation and government activity represented the obvious method of implementing large scale reform."⁶⁵ Thus, within two years the people of New Brunswick were subjected by governments to two plebiscites on the issue of prohibition, one local and one Dominion-wide.

Both the provincial referendum of 1920 and the Dominion ballot of 1921 showed how well voting patterns reflected religious affiliation and ethnicity. While attempting to be objective in assessing Acadian opposition to the movement in the 1920 plebiscite, Claude M. Davis nonetheless concludes that "Acadians did not respond to the temperance crusade as favorably as their English-Protestant neighbors."⁶⁶ The 1921 Dominion vote confirmed Acadian opposition to the abstinence scheme when the New Brunswick counties dominated by a French-speaking population voted against a measure to ban inter-provincial importation of intoxicating liquors. Indeed, given their numbers, the Acadian indifference and even opposition to prohibition, as shown by the two plebiscites, played a significant role in the demise of the movement early in the 1920s.

The Acadian clergy's stand on the liquor issue was not as clear-cut as was the attitude of non-Catholic clerics. Among the Catholic clergy, few gave temperance the undivided attention it received from Methodist, Presbyterian and Baptist ministers. For example, even though Father Meahan of Saint Bernard parish in Moncton urged his

⁶⁵ E. R. Forbes, "Prohibition and the Social Gospel in Nova Scotia," *Acadiensis*, Vol. I, No. 1, 1971, p. 15.

⁶⁶ Claude M. Davis, "Prohibition in New Brunswick, 1917-1927," unpublished M.A. thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1978, p. 66.

flock to vote for the Scott Act in 1888, he admitted to its imperfections.⁶⁷ For his part, Father Ouellet of Shediac denounced the act outright from his pulpit and told his parishioners he hoped they would vote against it.⁶⁸ Moreover, for the Acadian masses, prohibition was a movement advanced by non-Catholics and non-French people. A quick glance at the surnames of stalwarts promoting the campaign made that clear.⁶⁹ As with conscription, Acadians saw prohibition as something being imposed upon them by the Anglo-Protestant majority in the province. That in itself that was enough to foster a negative response.⁷⁰

Édouard LeBlanc pursued a policy of moderation on the liquor question. As a young vicar in Meteghan, he had formed a temperance group in 1899. Now, as the Saint John prelate, he warned that the consumption of liquor "masters the will, deadens the conscience and leaves its victim a total wreck without help or without hope."⁷¹ Bishop LeBlanc became a total abstainer as time went on, and his views edged towards the suitability of that philosophy for everyone. In his 1916 pastoral letter, addressed to the clergy and laity of the diocese, he devoted a substantial portion of the message to the question of drinking, lauding especially that individual "who never touches intoxicating liquor." Only "those whose watchword is total abstinence," the Bishop warned, would

⁶⁷ *Le Moniteur Acadien*, January 27, 1888, p. 2.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, February 14, 1888, p. 2.

⁶⁹ Included in the list were Henry H. Stewart, D. W. Wilson, W. G. Clark, and clerics Thomas Marshall, and G.A. Goodwin and R.A. Sutherland.

⁷⁰ For example, neither the "Sons of Temperance" nor the "Women's Christian Temperance Union" were able to recruit Acadians from within the city of Moncton. See Jacques Paul Couturier, "Prohiber ou contrôler? L'application de l'Acte de Tempérance du Canada à Moncton, N.-B., 1881-1896," *Acadiensis*, Vol. XVII, No. 2, 1988, p. 6.

⁷¹ Msgr. Édouard-Alfred LeBlanc, "Pastoral Letter to the Clergy and Laity, 1914," LeBlanc papers, ADSJ.

reap "the highest and purest happiness on earth."⁷² Did his strong rhetoric advocating total abstinence necessarily mean the Bishop was in favour of criminalizing the trade and consumption of liquor? Was he a true prohibitionist in the style of certain Protestant leaders?

Here, as in the case of conscription, Bishop LeBlanc's response was not clear cut; his views on making liquor part of the criminal code do not emerge clearly in any of his correspondence or his decrees. What can be said is that there is no evidence that the Bishop of Saint John deviated from the general view of the Church and it was very difficult for the Church to be in favour of prohibition when it used wine in its rites.⁷³ In an article reprinted from The Catholic Herald, entitled "The Catholic Church and Prohibition," the Saint John New Freeman echoed church philosophy on the issue stating: "While... the church admires total abstinence, it will never endorse bone dry laws which would prevent use of wine at Mass."⁷⁴ Earlier, the Freeman had bitterly attacked hard-core prohibitionists by referring to a certain Biblical event: "... if Jesus Christ dared to perform in Canada in this year of Our Lord the miracle of the wedding feast of Cana, these... ministers... would have Him arrested and fined or imprisoned."⁷⁵

⁷² Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc, Pastoral Letter (Saint John: The Saint John Globe Publishing Company Limited, 1916), p. 3.

⁷³ Because of the close similarity in ritual, the Anglican Church followed much the same lines as Catholics in its view of prohibition. An Anglican priest penned: "it [prohibition] casts a slur upon our Lord Jesus Christ Himself when we denounce wine and beer as a crime." See "Prohibition and Scripture," Saturday Night, No. 38, 1919, p. 2.

⁷⁴ The New Freeman, August 16, 1919, p. 2.

⁷⁵ Ibid., March 1, 1919, p. 2.

The issue of prohibition, like that of conscription, was an extremely sensitive one for LeBlanc. Those who favored the criminalizing of liquor were largely Protestant.⁷⁶ To support temperance, but at the same time to denounce prohibition, was a difficult line to follow; little advantage could be gained by making such statements publicly. Worse, it could further alienate Protestants at a time when ethnic tension over forced enlistment still ran high. As in the conscription debate, therefore, LeBlanc partially aligned himself with the dominant English-speaking group but avoided commitment to extremist positions. In this way he hoped to conciliate majoritarian attitudes which were "basically prejudiced against Acadians," while retaining his credentials as leader of the Francophone community.⁷⁷

Conscription and prohibition had placed the Acadians of New Brunswick at odds with the dominant ethnic group and the antagonisms they raised persisted through the 1920s. The election of 1925 illustrated the problem. In that appeal to the electorate the ethnic question played a key role in the defeat of the Acadian Premier, Pierre Veniot. Liberal Walter Foster resigned as premier of New Brunswick in 1923 for personal reasons, being succeeded by Veniot from Gloucester County. The new Premier carried the party through the 1925 provincial election. He was the first Acadian to head a government in New Brunswick. In the balloting, the Acadian areas favoured the government while the Premier received little support in the Anglo-Protestant ridings, a factor prompting one political scientist later to conclude that race and religion "figured

⁷⁶ At the time of Monsignor LeBlanc's consecration, the Methodist, Presbyterian and Baptist population alone was one hundred fifty-five thousand eight hundred seventy-one as compared to the Catholic figure of one hundred forty-four thousand eight hundred eighty-nine. See Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Fifth Census of Canada, 1911, Volume II, pp. 18-19.

⁷⁷ Charles Ferris, "The New Brunswick Elections of 1917," p. 135.

prominently" in the 1925 contest.⁷⁸ Indeed, voting patterns were too clearly drawn along ethnic lines to be shrugged off as coincidental. Newspapers, even some unaccustomed to supporting Acadian viewpoints, denounced the campaign "which sought to align race against race and religion against religion"⁷⁹ and labelled as "mental degenerates" those who exploited the prejudice latent in the contest.⁸⁰ According to Veniot, he had been the victim of a "whispering campaign" that had attempted to make his nationality and his religion the focus of the election. Opponents went as far as declaring that if Veniot were elected, people would have to learn to cross themselves because it would be a prerequisite to entering government buildings.⁸¹ These verbal assaults, coupled with allegations that the Ku Klux Klan had actively worked against the government, put New Brunswick's Acadians on the defensive.⁸²

Amidst the ethnic and sectarian turmoil prevalent in New Brunswick during the 1920s, Bishop LeBlanc remained silent, at least publicly. He did not remain ignorant of the situation, nor did he privately ignore it. A letter he sent to the Superior of the Holy Heart Seminary is especially revealing. Although written a bit earlier than the 1925 election, it shows that LeBlanc had a sense of how major issues tended to create ethnic

⁷⁸ Calvin A. Woodward, The History of New Brunswick Provincial Election Campaigns and Platforms, (Toronto: Micromedia Limited, 1976), p. 51. John Baxter and the Conservatives managed 37 seats to Veniot's 11.

⁷⁹ Moncton Daily Transcript, August 11, 1925, p. 4.

⁸⁰ Fredericton Daily Gleaner, August 4, 1925, p. 6.

⁸¹ Arthur T. Doyle, Front Benches and Back Rooms - A Story of corruption, muckraking, raw partisanship and political intrigue in New Brunswick, (Toronto: Green Tree Publishing Company Ltd., 1976), p. 258.

⁸² Veniot's opinions of Ku Klux Klan involvement were shared by one writer to Saturday Night. See George Hespler, "Ku Kluxers Meddling in Politics," Saturday Night, Vol. 40, No. 41, 1925, p. 2.

tension and made his job of governing a diocese with a large Anglo-Protestant element all the more difficult. He wrote:

Priez bien pour moi, s.v.p. Nous avons beaucoup besoin de lumière et de force pour accomplir notre devoir partout et toujours dans un diocèse mixte comme le nôtre. Avec deux éléments dans un diocèse, la tâche est doublement difficile. ...malgré tout quelque fois la situation n'est pas facile.⁸³

In the 1920s Bishop LeBlanc emerged as a man seeking accommodation over confrontation. When sectarian conflicts polarized New Brunswick society at large, he reasoned that more could be accomplished by retreating into silence and even evading the issue than could be gained by head-on confrontation. This last option he feared was an alternative too risky for the frail and vulnerable Acadian minority. What power and energy he did have were he thought better spent if exercised within Acadian society which in the interwar years was facing major economic and social challenges.

The kind of moderation practiced by Bishop LeBlanc was not an ideology unique to him but was more in tune with mainstream policy within the Canadian Catholic Church early in the twentieth century. Indeed as early as Leo XIII's pontificate (1878-1903) the thrust of Rome's policy had been to harmonize relations with foreign governments, not antagonize them. That approach was continued under Pius X. He made it clear in his *Pascendi Dominici Gregis* encyclical of 1907 that "it is not with its own members alone that the church must come to an amicable arrangement --- besides its relations with those within, it has others outside."⁸⁴

⁸³ "Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc to Father Paul Lecourtois, October 26, 1920," ADB, Group II, Reel # F8950, PANB. The emphasis is LeBlanc's.

⁸⁴ Pope Pius X, "*Pascendi Dominici Gregis*," in Claudia Carten (ed.), The Papal Encyclicals, Volume 3, 1903-1939, p. 81.

Thus, when Rome sent its Apostolic Delegates to Canada at the turn of the century it did so with the instruction that accommodation was the best way of ensuring that Catholic minorities in the Canadian provinces could enjoy the benefits of a tolerant Protestant majority. Papal envoy Merry del Val was convinced that to impose on the Protestant majority educational legislation aimed at pleasing a few Catholics in Manitoba would simply spawn anti-Catholicism across the country.⁸⁵ When Msgr. Sbarretti became Papal Delegate in 1902 he made it clear that Rome wanted to pursue a "politique de fermeté dans la modération."⁸⁶ Much of the Canadian hierarchy accepted the new ideal. In a piece entitled "On Citizenship," Archbishop McNeil of Toronto urged his flock to "give to civil society and to civil government the loyalty to which they have a right."⁸⁷ Msgr. McNeil's personal social advisor, Henry Somerville, believed that it was wrong to "limit... support to one political party in order to further purely Catholic interests" and he also believed that Catholics who cared only about their interests and not those of others were narrow minded and above all, un-Catholic.⁸⁸ Thus LeBlanc's *modus operandi* sat well with the new trend of the times.

⁸⁵ Roberto Perin, Rome in Canada: The Vatican and Canadian Affairs in the Late Victorian Age (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), p. 134.

⁸⁶ Roberto Perin, "La raison du plus fort est toujours la meilleure: La représentation du Saint-Siège au Canada, 1877-1917," La Société Canadienne d'Histoire de l'Église Catholique, No. 50, Vol. 1, 1983, p. 111.

⁸⁷ As quoted by George Boyle, Pioneer in Purple (Montreal: Palm Publishers 1951), p. 242.

⁸⁸ See Jeanne M. Beck, "Henry Somerville and Social Reform: His Contribution to Canadian Catholic Social Thought," Canadian Catholic Historical Association, No. 42, 1975, p. 100.

After World War I, distress came to plague every sector of the Maritime economy.⁸⁹ In describing the regional protest of the period, E.R. Forbes maintained that "industrial collapse" was just as bad in the Maritimes during the twenties as it would be during the Great Depression.⁹⁰ Especially hard hit were the people making a living from fishing in the Maritimes, which included a sizeable portion of the Acadian population. Tariffs closing American markets forced Maritime fisherman to turn their eyes to the smaller and less lucrative markets of Central Canada, leading many to abandon their boats. For a sizable number of these people the answer lay in leaving the area for Canadian, and especially American, urban centers which offered more stability. The 1927 Royal Commission probing the state of the fisheries underlined this fact when it reported:

To-day the population of these [fishing] villages is not only seriously declining, but it is viewing its future with dissatisfaction and discontent. The young men are not replacing the older generation, and the situation must be regarded from a national viewpoint with grave anxiety and apprehension. Under the economic disabilities of the past few years, it is perhaps surprising that the decline has not been even greater. It will be impossible to recreate such communities if they are allowed to die out.⁹¹

The depopulation described by the commissioners was not an exaggeration. Another inquiry a few years later concluded that between 1881 and 1935 the Maritimes

⁸⁹ The extent of "bad times" are revealed in Province of Nova Scotia: A Submission of its Claims with Respect to Maritime Disabilities within Confederation as presented to the Royal Commission, (Halifax: Publisher not given, 1926). Although the submission was made by Nova Scotia, the two other Maritime Provinces accepted it as a valid description of their situation.

⁹⁰ E.R. Forbes, The Maritime Rights Movement, 1919-1925 - A Study in Canadian Regionalism (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1979), p. 54.

⁹¹ Report of the Royal Commission Investigating the Fisheries of the Maritime Provinces and the Magdalen Islands (Ottawa: F.A. Acland, 1928), p. 97.

had "lost a native population practically equal to that of Prince Edward Island."⁹² During the twenty years from 1911 to 1931, New Brunswick's population grew but its increase was only by fifty-six thousand three hundred thirty, or sixteen percent. Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island registered much lower growth, the former running at four percent and the latter actually decreasing by six percent.⁹³ As for the Acadian presence within this Maritime context, the figures were alarming. In the same twenty-year period, Acadian numbers went from one hundred sixty-three thousand four hundred seventy-four in 1911 to two hundred six thousand five hundred ninety in 1931, an increase of twenty-six percent, or one and one-third percent per annum.⁹⁴ That was down sharply from what it had been before. In the previous twenty years (1891-1911), the Acadian population had gone up by sixty thousand twenty-two, or by fifty-eight percent.⁹⁵ Thus Acadians were participating in the Maritime exodus in ever increasing numbers, a fact that prompted L'Évangéline's editor to write of emigration as "toujours croissante chez nous."⁹⁶ A few years later, the paper was more alarmist when it called the depopulation of Acadian areas as "la saignée éffrayante."⁹⁷

⁹² Department of Trade and Commerce, "The Maritime Provinces in their Relation to the National Economy of Canada" quoted in Report of the Royal Commission on Financial Arrangements between the Dominion and the Maritime Provinces (Ottawa: J.O. Patenaude, 1935), p. 9.

⁹³ Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Seventh Census of Canada, 1931, Volume II, 1931 (Ottawa: J.O. Patenaude, 1933), p. 3.

⁹⁴ Ibid., pp. 186, 178, 254, 320, 322, 338.

⁹⁵ Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census of Canada, 1890-91, Volume I, pp. 123, 128, 181.

⁹⁶ Alfred Roy, "Éditorial," L'Évangéline, November 11, 1920, p. 1.

⁹⁷ L'Évangéline, October 27, 1927, p. 11.

The Acadian press was particularly active in calling attention to the emigration phenomenon among Acadians. During the teens and the twenties, the pages of L'Évangéline, Le Moniteur Acadien and L'Impartial were filled with articles dealing with the exodus theme. Blaming the region's inability to nurture sustained economic growth as a prime reason for the outflow of population, many of the articles sought to promote remedial action. Rather than dwelling on the negative side of things the press focused on what individuals and organizations were doing, or had done, to counter the population drain. Attempts at repatriation, and the willingness of migrants to participate in the "come back home" movement were highlighted as editors sought to discourage those still in place from leaving. For example, in 1911 L'Impartial announced that its founder, François Buote, had succeeded in bringing back three hundred sixty people to Prince Edward Island in the matter of a few months.⁹⁸ Acadian political leaders such as Pierre Veniot were also quoted whenever they spoke on the question of bringing back to the fold those who had left. In 1927 Pierre Veniot told Acadians not to accept the federal government's emigration program unless it offered Canadians living in the United States, and wishing to return, the same advantages it proposed giving to those coming in from Europe.⁹⁹

The statistics on Acadian depopulation quoted above must have seriously frightened the Acadian elite of the Maritimes, since keeping people at home was a key factor in the group's efforts at cultural and linguistic survival. All leaders, it was thought, should work towards rectifying those conditions that forced people to leave. Indeed, in an address read to Bishop LeBlanc a week after his consecration, Pierre-

⁹⁸ L'Impartial, September 5, 1911, p. 5.

⁹⁹ Pierre Veniot quoted in L'Évangéline, October 27, 1927, p. 11.

Amand Landry told the prelate that he was sure Acadian farmers would be encouraged by the Bishop and that they would work "davantage à cultiver le sol."¹⁰⁰

It has been difficult, however, to find evidence that LeBlanc attempted to deal with economic dislocation and depopulation, even on the level of sympathizing with the people. In his speeches, decrees and letters from the 1920s, the economic hardships faced by Acadians as members of the regional society received practically no consideration at all. Either he did not perceive the problem to be of serious proportions, or he thought it inadvisable to comment on the situation, perhaps out of a fear that governments would interpret his views as an attack upon the policies of elected officials. This second interpretation appears more plausible since he could easily have grasped the extent of the problem simply by reading the Acadian press to which he subscribed. In either case, LeBlanc's silence on the matter indicates his belief that other issues were more deserving of his attention.

An illustration of his muteness on economic and social matters is provided by an ordinance published on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation. In it Bishop LeBlanc extolled the 1867 pact and urged all Catholics to observe wholeheartedly the day's celebration. He told the members of his diocese that they should thank God for the many favours bestowed upon Canada during the last sixty years and that they should ask Him for "la continuation de ces mêmes faveurs pour l'avenir."¹⁰¹ To people forced to leave their homes and families because Confederation had failed them, those words brought little comfort. It was at best, self-serving rhetoric. If Monsignor LeBlanc had

¹⁰⁰ Pierre-Amand Landry, "Adresse lue à Mgr. LeBlanc," Le Moniteur Acadien, December 19, 1912, p. 2.

¹⁰¹ "Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc, Mandement à l'occasion du Jubilé de Diamant de la Confédération" in L'Évangéline, June 30, 1927, p. 8.

offered little help to Acadians of the Maritimes suffering because of their position on certain civic issues, he provided no more consolation on the economic dimension.

In the field of education, however, LeBlanc was very active, and like many of his contemporaries, he placed a high emphasis on schooling as a means to betterment. Social gossellers, politicians and religious groups all envisioned an improved society through education. Sharing that philosophy, Bishop LeBlanc was convinced that more Acadians could and should be properly educated. Thus he set a course designed for change. It featured establishment of a community of teaching nuns who would be able to provide a Francophone staff for the schools then multiplying within Acadian communities across the Maritimes.

Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc had always been interested in education. As a youth attending both *Collège Saint-Joseph* and *Collège Sainte-Anne*, the future Bishop demonstrated his devotion to things intellectual in the high academic standing he maintained throughout his classical studies. One of the greatest honors bestowed upon him after his consecration was the honorary doctorate in theology conferred by Laval University.¹⁰² A few months prior to this, LeBlanc revealed the importance he gave to education when he told a Memramcook audience assembled to celebrate his enthronement that he would closely watch the development of national works especially those "qui par l'éducation contribuent davantage à la force et à la vitalité de notre peuple."¹⁰³ Later, in

¹⁰² "Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc to Father A.E. Gosselin, January 2, 1913," *Université* 178, No. 6, ASQ. LeBlanc made an error when writing the letter for he dated it January 2, 1912.

¹⁰³ Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc quoted in *L'Évangéline*, December 18, 1912, p. 1.

one of his pastoral letters to his flock, he would quote Saint Augustine's saying that "ignorance when avoidable, is sin."¹⁰⁴

While believing in the value of education in general, he argued that the education of Acadian children in his diocese, which was of particular concern to him, was substandard. The extent to which he believed the province of New Brunswick was not answering to the special needs of Acadians was revealed in a letter the Bishop addressed to the chief Superintendent of Education later in his career. He wrote the letter because a commission had recently been set up to examine the existing system and make recommendations as to possible improvements. In an unusually pungent tone, the Bishop blasted the status quo as "an abomination" because French-speaking Acadians were being forced to learn in a second language, one barely understood, let alone mastered, by many of the candidates. In the eyes of the Bishop, that caused frustrations which in turn forced a high percentage of Acadian students to leave school. "Is it any wonder," LeBlanc reproached, "...that we find so many French people in this Province are unable to read or write."¹⁰⁵ He ended the letter calling for a "sane pedagogy" and a system that would "give our French people a fair chance to acquire the education they are entitled to."¹⁰⁶ If this was the case in the 1930s, one suspects the situation had been worse in the previous decade.

For a Roman Catholic Bishop to take an interest in education was nothing new on the Canadian scene. The efforts of individual bishops to have Catholic educational rights

¹⁰⁴ Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc, Pastoral Letter to the Clergy and Laity (St. John: The St. John Globe Publishing Co., 1916), p. 6.

¹⁰⁵ "Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc to Dr. A.S. McFarlane, May 23, 1931," LeBlanc Papers, ADSJ.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

protected in the Canadian Confederation are well documented.¹⁰⁷ But for LeBlanc the fight over education had a particular twist because for him there was more at stake than merely the religious dimension for which previous bishops had fought. He perceived the whole linguistic and cultural identity of Acadians to be at risk as well. In a system that seemed more oriented towards strangling the Acadian student than motivating him to learn how, LeBlanc asked, could it be possible to hope for the advancement of the group as a distinct cultural entity. And if young Acadians quit the educational process at the elementary level, it meant they would not make it to university nor proceed on to the seminary. That in turn greatly diminished the possibility of having Francophone clergymen ministering in Acadian parishes. For this to be occurring at a time when LeBlanc was already complaining about the lack of priests was intolerable. As early as 1924 LeBlanc cited the declining number of priests in his diocese caused by death and retirement as "ces ravages douloureux dans les rangs de notre clergé."¹⁰⁸

In LeBlanc's opinion the key to swelling the ranks of the Acadian clergy and assuring linguistic survival lay in a system of education which offered Acadians instructions in French, by properly qualified teachers. The problem was to find the people who could do the pedagogical work of the Sisters of Charity, but now in the

¹⁰⁷ See Léon Pouliot, "Monseigneur Bourget et la Confédération" in La Société Canadienne d'Histoire de l'Église Catholique, 1959, and his "Monseigneur Ignace Bourget et Monseigneur Jean Langevin face à la Confédération" which appeared in the same periodical for 1967. Also, Walter Ullman's "The Quebec Bishops and Confederation" in Canadian Historical Review, Vol. XLIV, No. 3, 1963, is still considered a worthy source. More recent works include A.I. Silver's The French-Canadian Idea of Confederation (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), Chapter III, and K. Fay Trombley, Thomas Louis Connolly (1815-1876) - The Man and his Place in Secular and Ecclesiastical History, Chapter V.

¹⁰⁸ Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc, "Pastoral Letter" quoted in L'Évangéline, March 6, 1924, p. 1.

French language. The emergence of Acadian national aspirations among the Sisters of Charity at the beginning of the twentieth century gave rise to a solution to the problem. It involved reorganizing the Sisters of Charity in a manner reminiscent of the division of the Roman Catholic Church in Moncton.

With the passage of the Education Act in New Brunswick in 1871 the number of schools in the province grew at a rapid rate, more than doubling in the period 1871-1876.¹⁰⁹ Assisted by "poor section" legislation in the Act, many of the disadvantaged rural and small town areas in the province now had their schools. As has been shown earlier violence had erupted between Catholics and Protestants over the issue of language and religion. That had culminated in the deaths of two people during the Caraquet riots of 1875. When the compromise reached that year recognized as valid the certificates issued by the Superior of a Roman Catholic teaching order and permitted religious garb and symbols to be worn in school, the government did what MacNaughton aptly calls "legaliz[ing] within the non-sectarian system of the province schools of a sectarian bias."¹¹⁰ That greatly increased the field of action for teaching orders such as the Sisters of Charity.

The Sisters of Charity had first made an appearance in the Maritime Provinces when Bishop Walsh of Halifax recruited four members of the Order for service in his diocese. They arrived from their headquarters in New York in May 1849, and began

¹⁰⁹ Alexandre J. Savoie, Un Siècle de Revendications Scolaires au Nouveau-Brunswick, 1871-1971, Volume 1 (Montréal: Imprimerie Gagné Ltée, 1976), p. 55.

¹¹⁰ Katherine MacNaughton, The Development of the Theory and Practice of Education in New Brunswick, 1784-1900, p. 221.

their task of providing Catholic education for Halifax's youth.¹¹¹ Father Thomas Louis Connolly, a young priest who had come to the Nova Scotian capital in 1842 with Bishop Walsh, greatly admired the educational work that these Sisters were accomplishing. When the Vatican promoted Connolly to the Saint John See, the Sisters of Charity were high on his list of priorities for diocesan development in the field of Catholic education. When Connolly arrived in Saint John to take over the See, it was not long before he sought to establish Roman Catholic schools in that city. After much negotiating and at least two trips to New York, Connolly managed to secure as teachers, members of the Sisters of Charity. By the fall of 1854, these nuns were established in the Diocese of Saint John, playing the role of educator and also recruiting local young women into the order.

By the turn of the century the Sisters of Charity possessed a convent on Cliff Street, one in West Saint John, and one in the North End of the city. The Saint-Vincent Convent on Cliff Street housed over eighty orphans, and the *Mater Misericordae*. Hospital which stood on Sydney Street was testimony to the Order's efforts in caring for the sick as well. Further up the Saint John River, the Order also opened a convent in Fredericton. In the field of education, one of their main interests, the Sisters of Charity centered their efforts on Saint Patrick's in Silver River, a school with over a hundred orphans.¹¹²

When the Sisters of Charity set up their religious province in New Brunswick, Acadians formed a large segment of the Catholic population from which candidates to the Order could be recruited. If the nuns were to swell their ranks to any high degree, that

¹¹¹ Marianna O'Gallagher, s.c.h., "The Sisters of Charity of Halifax -the Early and Middle Years," The Canadian Catholic Historical Association, #47, 1980, p. 59.

¹¹² Le Moniteur Acadien, July 20, 1905, p. 3.

pool was simply too large to be ignored. But, a pronounced linguistic and cultural barrier separated the exclusively English-speaking nuns from possible Acadian recruits. By the beginning of the new century with Acadian nationalism on the ascent and with the question of language high on the nationalist agenda, the introduction of an English-speaking order of nuns within French-speaking villages to staff schools guaranteed a negative reaction of some kind on the part of Acadians. As it turned out, some saw the arrival of the Sisters of Charity as yet another threat to ethnic and linguistic survival. For nationalists, the parallels to be drawn between the question of unilingual English-speaking nuns present in Acadian areas and both the Acadian-bishop debate and the Acadian-parish issue in Moncton were too real to be treated lightly. Acadians would come to see these three religious matters as different manifestations of the same danger to their continued cultural existence.

At first that situation was ignored, and the Sisters of Charity proceeded to establish convents in both Acadian and linguistically mixed districts, dealing with the language problem "au meilleur de leurs capacités."¹¹³ Bathurst got its convent in 1871 while the one in Memramcook was set up in 1873. Bouctouche followed in 1880, and before long two more were set up, one in Shédiac in 1910 and the other in Saint-Anselme, just outside Moncton.

The language issue did not go away; in fact it was identified as the main reason for the low number of candidates recruited to the Order from Acadian ranks. "The almost exclusive use of the English language at the Mother House and in most of the outside houses" was, in the eyes of some, a deterrent which drove postulants to seek

¹¹³ Sr. Marie-Dorothée, Une pierre de la mosaïque acadienne (Ottawa: Les Éditions Leméac Inc, 1984), p. 43.

entry into congregations in Quebec and elsewhere.¹¹⁴ Those Acadians who had managed to enter and stay within the Order of the Sisters of Charity began complaining to their Superior General early in the new century. Calling themselves "The French Sisters," they lamented:

...within the last ten years, dozens of the very best girls in the country - school teachers at that - have scattered through the Province [sic] of Quebec and Ontario and even through the United States... We are thus losing some of our flesh and blood joining outside communities already very numerous and rich in subjects, while our own Institute, which should be theirs, is almost more or less in want of subjects.¹¹⁵

An 1891 article in Le Courrier des Provinces Maritimes, announcing that four girls from the Caraquet area were in the novitiate in Montreal, showed that the problem had been a long standing one.¹¹⁶

Dissatisfaction over the language issue did not remain "in house" but soon spread to other quarters. Although there were some French-speaking Sisters of Charity in the Acadian parishes, in the eyes of nationalists there should have been more. Soon discontent began to be heard from within the ranks of the Acadian clergy. By the turn of the century, more Acadians than ever before had entered the priesthood and were active in the Acadian parishes. There they began turning a critical eye on the situation prevailing in the local schools. Was it acceptable, one asked, that Acadian children in Bouctouche receive religious instruction in English, while a French-speaking nun

¹¹⁴ "The French Sisters to Reverend Mother Mary Thomas, December 27, 1914" unpublished manuscript in the *Archives Religieuses de la Congregation de Notre Dame du Sacré-Coeur* [hereafter ARCNDSC].

¹¹⁵ ibid.

¹¹⁶ Le Courrier des Provinces Maritimes, December 31, 1891, p.3.

struggled to teach catechism in English to children in Saint John?¹¹⁷ "The French Sisters" within the Order maintained that some Francophones clerics were reluctant to open convents in their parishes unless "they were sure of getting Sisters... perfectly competent to teach the French language in its purity."¹¹⁸ Young Acadian priests, notably Father Philippe Hébert and Hector Belliveau were actively involved in trying to obtain more French-speaking nuns for the Acadian parishes. Father Belliveau went so far as to gather signatures among the French nuns within the Sisters of Charity in Saint John requesting that a French training school, or novitiate, be established.¹¹⁹

The role of the Sisters of Charity within Acadian communities and the possible ethnic tension that could result took on a new dimension when a second larger group, the Acadian laity, entered the debate. For example, earlier on Placide Gaudet had viewed Archbishop Connolly's efforts in dispersing English-speaking nuns among Acadian parishes in Clare as being assimilatory in design.¹²⁰ At the turn of the century the public press was being used by nationalist militants to mobilize public opinion on the issue. In 1908 a correspondent to *L'Évangéline*, identifying himself as "un père de famille" from Memramcook, strongly deplored the loss of the Acadian Mother Superior of the convent.

¹¹⁷ Sr. M. Dorothee, *Une pierre de la mosaïque acadienne*, p. 77.

¹¹⁸ "The French Sisters to Reverend Mother Mary Thomas, December 27, 1914," ARCNDSC.

¹¹⁹ Sister Marie Dorothee states this in her book, *Une pierre de la mosaïque acadienne* on p. 77. When asked if she could document this she replied that her sources had been Sisters, alive at the time of the debate, whom she had later interviewed. As historian of her Order she had no reason to doubt what oral tradition had handed down to the succeeding generations of Sisters. If anything, the consistency of the facts throughout the years lent credence to the conventional wisdom. Indeed Father Belliveau was vicar in Saint John at this time, that is from his ordination in 1914 to 1916. See *L'Évangéline*, March 19, 1925, p. 5.

¹²⁰ Placide Gaudet, "Manuscript on Education," n.d., 1.24-24, CEA.

She was being replaced by someone of Irish extraction. Claiming to speak for the villagers, he lamented: "...ces braves gens sont indignés de voir la plus grande paroisse française du diocèse avoir une Supérieure [sic] Irlandaise [sic] à la tête de son couvent" and he ended with an air of hopelessness by questioning "n'avons-nous pas assez souffert? Quand s'arrêtera la persécution."¹²¹ Later in a 1911 article appearing in La Revue Franco-Américaine, Valentin Landry labelled as tyrannical what was going on in the convents of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.¹²² Between April 29 and June 3, 1914, a number of articles appeared in L'Évangéline to raise the question of the use of French within the convents of the Sisters of Charity. In this series of exchanges between an unidentified author from New Brunswick and "Vieux Maître d'école" from Nova Scotia, French language instruction in the convents was characterized as "négligée" and a request was made that all Catholic institutional prayers and religious instruction must not be carried out "en une langue étrangère." This was to be avoided "à tout prix."¹²³

However, the most biting of comments against Sisters of Charity convents found in Acadian villages came from an author who identified himself as "Quidam." In the spring of 1914 he condemned the use of English in the convent of Saint Louis, Kent County, especially during prayers and religious instruction. He concluded that if this

¹²¹ "Un père de famille," L'Évangéline, September 10, 1908, p. 3.

¹²² Valentin Landry "Voix d'Acadie- L'enseignement dans nos couvents," La Revue Franco-Américaine, Vol. VII, No. 2, 1911, pp. 120-133.

¹²³ L'Évangéline, May 20, 1914, p. 4 and June 3, 1914, p. 4.

situation persisted, "on se croirait dans les écoles d'Ontario."¹²⁴ Although Quidam had launched his attack in L'Évangéline, the rebuttal to his arguments appeared a few days later in Le Moniteur Acadien and was also anonymous. "Une ancienne élève des Dames de la Congregation Notre Dame" replied to Quidam by arguing that English was used because it was indispensable in preparing the future teachers of the province. Quidam's patriotism, she concluded, served only "quelques imaginations exaltées," and did nothing to develop "le bon sens et l'esprit de justice" among the novices.¹²⁵

On April 15, 1914, Quidam continued his attack, but this time he was more specific in his assault and made direct references to Sisters imported from the United States who were, in his opinion, definitely anti-French.¹²⁶ That brought a reaction from some of the residents of Saint Louis who protested Quidam's articles as "diffamatoires et beaucoup trop personnels; fruits de cerveaux exaltés ou non responsables."¹²⁷ Sixty people signed the protest before the Justice of the peace, M.J. Poirier, and forwarded it to L'Évangéline. However, what the protest attacked was Quidam's unprofessional tone, not necessarily the validity of his statements.

It was within this atmosphere of mounting debate that the "French Sisters" within the Community of the Sisters of Charity approached their Mother Superior to request a division of the Order into two provinces, which would allow the establishment of a

¹²⁴ "Quidam," L'Évangéline, March 18, 1914, p. 5. Quidam was making reference to the problems Franco-Ontarians were having at this period in implementing French language programs in the Ontario schools. In reality English language predominance in the curriculum made for a situation "souvent loin d'être encourageant." See Robert Choquette, La Foi: gardienne de la langue en Ontario, 1900-1950, p. 117.

¹²⁵ "Une ancienne élève," Le Moniteur Acadien, April 2, 1914, p. 1.

¹²⁶ "Quidam," L'Évangéline, April 15, 1914, p. 5.

¹²⁷ L'Évangéline, April 29, 1914, p. 5.

French novitiate or school to train Acadian nuns. They sought not a complete separation but rather the formation of a new sector within the Order. The petitioners expressly stated, "We shall still be able to keep the close religious bonds which unite us to our dear Community, forming a part thereof."¹²⁸ The supplication further explained the many reasons why the division would be a positive move: for example, it would foster more vocations than under the existing set-up, "thus procuring the greater glory of God, the good of religion and the expansion of Christian education."¹²⁹ Finally, the French Sisters assured their Mother Superior that patriotism in no way motivated their actions. They insisted they were outside "any narrow spirit of sectionalism or nationalism" and while they viewed their "own self preservation... at stake, it [was] only after all, a secondary consideration with [them]."¹³⁰ Although it is impossible to determine accurately the amount of nationalism that guided the French Sisters in comparison with the truly religious intentions that inspired their application for division, their claim to total innocence of nationalist ambitions is naive. What transpired later would demonstrate that all quarters of Acadian society, from Bishop LeBlanc and the clergy down to the laity, saw the creation of this new community as *une oeuvre nationale*. At that moment in 1914, however, the plan was stopped, since Mother Thomas refused to accept the French Sisters' wish for a separate sector. Her argument against the proposal was based

¹²⁸ "The French Sisters to Reverend Mother Mary Thomas, December 27, 1914," Chroniques, ARCNDSC. Activity along that front had been going on for more than a year. As early as the spring of 1913, LeBlanc wrote Archbishop Bégin of Québec, "[il] est question de leur donner un noviciat à part où tout se passerait à la française." See "Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc to Msgr. Louis-Nazaire Bégin, May 16, 1913," 31 CN, Provinces Maritimes, I; 190, AAQ.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ "The French Sisters to Reverend Mother Mary Thomas, December 27, 1914," Chroniques, ARCNDSC..

on her opinion that the number of French sisters asking for division was simply "too limited."¹³¹

In their desire to form a new branch of the Sisters of Charity, the Acadian nuns within the order had an ally in the person of Monsignor LeBlanc. Religious communities, by the fact that they are established within a given diocese, fall under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the incumbent bishop. Although the dismembering of a community, in part or in whole, to form a new entity would require an approbation from Rome, the Vatican would nevertheless rely heavily on the bishop's views of the matter before arriving at a final decision. Now that the Bishop of Saint John was of Acadian descent, the "French Sisters" could not but feel emboldened. As early as 1915, Monsignor LeBlanc had become actively involved in furthering the cause of the Acadians Sisters by informing Rome of their ambitions. Yet these initial moves did not produce the desired results, for in August of 1916 the Roman Church authorities announced their opposition to any schismatic plan, at least for the moment.¹³² Meanwhile, before Rome's negative response to the creation of a French Province could be made known, the Acadian group within the Sisters of Charity had again approached LeBlanc, this time with a new plan.

In November 1915, a petition signed by thirty-one "humbles petites soeurs acadiennes" was forwarded to Bishop LeBlanc. It attempted to solicit his support to

¹³¹ "French-speaking Sisters to Mother Mary Thomas, November 1915," LeBlanc Papers, ADSJ.

¹³² The letter from the Apostolic Delegate to Bishop LeBlanc contained no explanation as to why Rome refused but simply stated that the Sacred Congregation had deemed it "non expediant." See "Msgr. Diomedo Falconio to Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc, August 2, 1916," Box 6C, Folder 404, Archives of the Sisters of Charity of the Immaculate Conception, Saint John, New Brunswick [hereafter ASCIC].

form what was this time called "une oeuvre analogue à celle de notre Communauté existante."¹³³ Briefly stated, what the Acadian Sisters proposed in this second initiative was a structure more autonomous than the "province" requested earlier, but one still forming a part of and operating within the laws and constitution of the Sisters of Charity. In making their case for change the petitioners painted a gloomy picture as to the number of Acadian girls from within the diocese entering the convent. "Le mouvement des vocations vers notre communauté," the Sisters despaired, "se trouve aujourd'hui entièrement paralysé, en ce qui regarde la population acadienne du diocèse de St. Jean."¹³⁴ This they unequivocally blamed on the language question. The performing of most religious exercises in English, the preaching of spiritual retreats in a language not their own, and the unavailability of French language confessors were the major reasons, the letter stated, why Acadian girls "éprouvent de la repugnance à entrer dans notre communauté."¹³⁵ The remedy, according to the petitioners, was the creation of this new, and more independent French branch of the Order. It would remove the linguistic and cultural barriers to Acadian recruitment. The Sisters ended by reiterating what they saw as the need for LeBlanc's help in realizing the new project; otherwise, they predicted, "nous sommes destinées à disparaître, faute de sujets, dans un avenir relativement rapproché."¹³⁶

¹³³ "Acadian Sisters to Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc, November 24, 1915," LeBlanc papers, ADSJ. This new plan was initiated because Mother Mary Thomas had rejected the 1914 proposal for a French Province. See "French-speaking Sisters to Mother Mary Thomas, November 1915," LeBlanc Papers, ADSJ.

¹³⁴ "Acadian Sisters to Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc, November 24, 1915," LeBlanc Papers, ADSJ.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

For the next six years the issue remained more or less stagnant. One is tempted to question LeBlanc's procrastination on the matter. However, certain events and situations came into play during those years which created complications for the Bishop. The question of appointment of an Acadian to the Chatham See [discussed in Chapter VII] was in full debate by 1916 and the Moncton "problem" remained unsolved. The new Acadian parish had been set up, but Father Savage and his congregation refused to settle the indemnity claims. To add to this turbulent atmosphere by orchestrating yet another division along ethnic lines would have been a burden difficult to carry. Secondly, as in the Moncton debate, LeBlanc found himself in the delicate position of trying to be fair to both ethnic groups. He probably endorsed the claims of the French Sisters, but at the same time he could not disregard the wishes of the English-speaking Sisters of Charity, who in this case were the ones "giving up" some of their members. How could he accommodate one group but not alienate the other? Rapid and strong-willed action might have prompted detestation rather than reconciliation. LeBlanc's cautious approach is best reflected in his own words that "la séparation cause toujours un certain scandale et fait causer les gens."¹³⁷ Indeed, as one Sister witness to these events later wrote: "il est à propos de noter ici que Monseigneur Édouard LeBlanc s'est toujours montré favorable, quoique discrètement à cette question de séparation."¹³⁸ However, in 1922, with the controversies in Chatham and Moncton largely settled, LeBlanc had more room to manoeuvre.

¹³⁷ "Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc to Father Serafini Mauro, November 14, 1922." Box 6C, Folder 403, ASCIC.

¹³⁸ Mère Marie-Rosalie, "Biographie de Mère Marie Anne, fondatrice des Religieuses Notre Dame du Sacré Coeur," p. 32, ACRNDSC.

To some degree, his hand was forced by events in northern New Brunswick. In July 1922 at Campbellton Father Arthur Melanson, the future Archbishop of Moncton, founded the first Acadian order of teaching nuns, *les Filles de Marie de L'Assomption*.¹³⁹ This new development in the Diocese of Chatham had serious repercussions for the plans of the "French Sisters" within the Sisters of Charity. Acadian girls now had the opportunity of entering a novitiate in a totally French atmosphere, but not in the Saint John Diocese. The Campbellton situation could drain possible candidates away from the charge of Saint John. Judging the situation to be crucial, two of the main players within the Acadian Sisters group, Sisters Marie-Anne and Marie-Rosalie, went to the episcopal palace and confronted Bishop LeBlanc with their dilemma. Shortly after that meeting, LeBlanc decided that the best solution to the problem was complete separation and the setting up of a new Acadian community of nuns in his diocese. Under LeBlanc's supervision, a petition to Rome was prepared within a month. In it, the authors claimed the coveted sodality was not only of spiritual advantage, but also "pour le bonheur de notre cher pays."¹⁴⁰

In the sixteen months that elapsed between the petition to Rome and the issuing of the official decree erecting the community, Bishop LeBlanc intervened vigorously. It was through his efforts that the Mother Superior of the Sisters of Charity, Mother Marie-Alphonse, agreed to sign the petition for separation sent to the Vatican. Her signature

¹³⁹ Money for the school, the lodgings and for the salaries (which was \$100. per person per year) came from various collections made within the Catholic community of Campbellton. For example at the official opening and benediction of the school \$248. was collected at the door while a concert given that same night in another part of the town to raise more funds brought in an additional \$300. For a detailed account of this and of the life of Father Melanson, see Bertha Plourde, Mgr. L.-J.-Arthur Melanson, 1879-1941 (Montreal: Les Éditions Bellarmin, 1985).

¹⁴⁰ "Les Soeurs de la Charité de langue française to Pope Pius XI, August 15, 1922," Chroniques, ARCNDSC.

was vital to speed-up the already slow-moving pace of decision making in Rome. Had it not been for LeBlanc's "généreuse coopération," the papacy might have persisted with its tendency toward procrastination.¹⁴¹ Moreover, all through the difficult period of negotiating the division of the Order LeBlanc was seen by the Acadian Sisters as a father-like figure. The reorganization was bound to raise ill-feelings between those who parted from and those who stayed within the original community. Understandably, the Sisters of Charity were not pleased by a reduction in their numbers that the new foundation would entail, but for their part, the Acadian Sisters believed they could not work as they wished among their own people and stay within the existing structures. This situation was all the more difficult because it took place within a religious community rather than a lay one. In a sense it resembled a family disagreement, and thus hit home with more force than had the splitting of the Saint Bernard congregation, in which many people involved did not even know each other. The question of indemnity was especially stressing within this communal context. Indeed, Sister Marie-Rosalie viewed it as nothing short of "cette dernière agonie."¹⁴² Needing guidance and support, the Sisters turned to LeBlanc; here his paternal influence was overtly asserted, especially in the letters he exchanged with leaders within the Acadian faction of the Order. Sister Marie-Anne, the future Mother Superior of the new Acadian community, corresponded with LeBlanc and acknowledged "que c'est à un coeur de père que je m'adresse, notre unique appui ici-bas."¹⁴³ Later, Mother Marie-Anne's biographer would write; "Son Excellence a été pour tous le père qui travaille, le père qui s'inquiète des dangers, le père qui connaît

¹⁴¹ "Sister Marie-Anne to Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc, October 19, 1922," LeBlanc Papers, ADSJ.

¹⁴² "Sister Marie-Rosalie to Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc, May 24, 1923," in *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ "Sister Marie-Anne to Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc, May 20, 1923." in *Ibid.*

les meilleurs intérêts de ses enfants."¹⁴⁴ There is in this considerable polite rhetoric. But outside this "father-figure" image Bishop LeBlanc did show a genuine concern for the Sisters by using some of his personal funds to see the project through. Although not precise as to the exact amount, Sister Marie Rosalie later wrote that LeBlanc had "fourni de sa bourse... les honoraires assez élevés en de telles circonstances."¹⁴⁵

Finally, on December 29, 1923, Rome decided in favour of division. By a proclamation dated February 8, 1924, Bishop LeBlanc decreed that henceforth the convents at Bouctouche, Saint Joseph (Memramcook), Shediac, Saint Anselme and Petit Rocher were "séparés et indépendants de la Maison-Mère à Saint Jean."¹⁴⁶ Those convents then became part of a new community called *les Religieuses de Notre-Dame-du-Sacré-Coeur du Diocèse de Saint-Jean* with the Mother House and novitiate at Saint Joseph. The edict specified that all were at liberty either to join the new congregation or to remain within the Sisters of Charity; in total, fifty-three nuns joined the new sisterhood.

The founding of the *Religieuses de Notre-Dame-du-Sacré-Coeur* was an exercise deeply colored by Acadian nationalism. "L'Étoile de l'Acadie reparaît plus brillante que

¹⁴⁴ Sister Marie Rosalie, "Biographie de Mère Marie-Anne, fondatrice des Religieuses Notre Dame-du-Sacré-Coeur," unpublished manuscript in ARCNSDC, p. 117.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc, "Proclamation, February 8, 1924," Box 6C, Folder 404, ASCIC. Moncton would soon be added to the list of convents belonging to the new community as the French-speaking Sisters at Mary's Home would leave to establish their own nunnery.

jamais" was the way one sister described Rome's favorable decision for separation.¹⁴⁷ LeBlanc's *confrère* in the episcopacy, Msgr. Patrice Chiasson, congratulated him for "cette nouvelle oeuvre acadienne."¹⁴⁸ When the official ceremony of canonical erection took place at Saint Joseph on February 17, 1924, *L'Évangéline* described it as a "solemn minute" in the religious life of the Acadians.¹⁴⁹ As for Bishop LeBlanc, he must have felt a sense of accomplishment. As the parishioners joined the new Sisters in singing the Acadian national anthem, one observer caught a glimpse of LeBlanc's face and wrote: "sa figure reflète une joie semblable à celle de l'artiste devant l'oeuvre qu'il vient d'achever."¹⁵⁰

Bishop LeBlanc's joy involved more than symbolic achievement. A Francophone teaching order could provide French language education in the many Acadian villages and small towns of his diocese. He may also have thought that this could become a means of stabilizing the rural Acadian community. At this time nationalists were trying to prevent Acadians from migrating, even to take up residence in urban settings, especially large ones both inside and outside the Maritimes. In the public press and in books of the period the worth of the land and the rural setting in general were extolled as values worthy of being pursued. One writer's argument was that prosperity, health and religion all suffered when moving to the cities.¹⁵¹ For his part the future Archbishop of Moncton, Father Arthur Melanson, dedicated his book *Retour à la*

¹⁴⁷ "Chroniques," ARCNDSC.

¹⁴⁸ "Msgr. Patrice Chiasson to Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc, February 21, 1924, LeBlanc Papers, ADSJ.

¹⁴⁹ *L'Évangéline*, April 24, 1924, p. 6.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, May 31, 1920, p. 4.

terre to the Acadian youth stating that the life of a farmer was "celle qui mérite la plus d'être vécue, et qui donne la plus grande somme de bonheur ici-bas."¹⁵² Bishop LeBlanc too had reservations, especially moral ones, about people leaving the countryside to live in the city. He wrote of how "sin awaited the young men and women at every street corner" and in his 1923 pastoral letter LeBlanc described the devout rural Catholic, who "pour un rien ou par paresse" became religiously indifferent once in the towns and cities.¹⁵³ By locating convents and schools in parochial settings the Sisters sought to defend the value of rural life and to cater to Acadians in their own milieu.

From an initial base of twenty-five postulants at the end of 1924, the numbers grew rapidly especially during the 1930s and 1940s. By the 1960s approximately eight hundred candidates had passed through the doors of the novitiate. As education formed the principal *raison d'être* for the community, steps had to be taken to set up a pedagogical program for the novices in addition to their regular religious training. Bishop LeBlanc wrote to the provincial authorities asking that the Saint Joseph Convent at Memramcook be recognized as a normal school, dispensing the required courses for teacher training, thus eliminating the need for the nuns to attend the teachers' college at Fredericton.¹⁵⁴ Once that had been established a few months later, the *Religieuses de Notre-Dame-de-Sacré-Coeur* began graduating their teachers and establishing their schools in many Acadian areas of New Brunswick. Grand Falls, Moncton, Cap-Pelé, Dieppe, Drummond and Lewisville all received the nuns in their midst during the 1930s

¹⁵² Father Arthur Melanson, Retour à la Terre, (Montréal: Librairie Beauchemin, 1916), p. 12.

¹⁵³ Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc, "Pastoral Letter, February 20, 1922 and February 2, 1923" LeBlanc Papers, ADSJ.

¹⁵⁴ "Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc to Provincial Secretary, Antoine J. Léger, May 22, 1928," 21.1-5, No. 45, CEA.

and 1940s.¹⁵⁵ The order's work extended to southwest Nova Scotia in 1951 when a convent was established in Weymouth.¹⁵⁶ By the end of the 1940s the community was sufficiently vibrant to establish its own college. Known as the *Collège Notre Dame d'Acadie*, located on Archibald Street in Moncton it took in girls as early as age twelve and at times had over six hundred registered students. By mid-century, over eight hundred young women were registered in the Order's college and convents and more than nine thousand Acadian boys and girls were being taught by members of the religious community LeBlanc had founded.¹⁵⁷

There is little doubt that the Sisters of *Notre-Dame-du-Sacré-Coeur* were able to bring to the schools a Catholic and French language ambiance that otherwise would not have existed. To the nationalists of the period that was vital therefore so too was the work of the Sisters. However, in the long run how did LeBlanc's reforms benefit the overall participation of Acadians in the school system? Were literacy levels raised and was attendance more protracted? To answer those questions in detail would require a separate study but statistics taken a quarter of a century later still reveal a poor Acadian performance on the question of attendance. In 1951 the population of five years and over in Westmorland County was sixty-nine thousand nine. Out of that number fifty-three thousand nine hundred twenty-nine, or seventy-two percent, were not attending school, and three thousand seven hundred never had. Other counties where the Acadian population predominated also fit this pattern. Madawaska, Restigouche, and Kent

¹⁵⁵ Except for Moncton none of the above-named places were considered urban in 1931. See Canada, Dominion bureau of statistics, Seventh Census of Canada, 1931, Volume II, pp. 338-344.

¹⁵⁶ The convent in Weymouth was named "Saint Édouard" in honor of Bishop LeBlanc who had been born a few miles up the road.

¹⁵⁷ "Mother Marie-Augusta to Henri-P. LeBlanc, April 15, 1955," 24.8-8, CEA.

Counties had non-attendance levels of sixty-two percent, sixty-three percent, and sixty-four percent respectively.¹⁵⁸

This chapter has shown Bishop LeBlanc's nationalism asserting itself in the face of many challenges. The pattern that developed showed him to be a leader whose behavior was most explicit inside the framework of the Roman Catholic Church. He did not challenge the status quo in society as a whole, even when he shared the views of Acadians on such controversial issues as conscription and prohibition. But he was willing to confront English-speaking Catholics over the place of Francophones within the fabric of the church and ancillary church institutions, such as New Brunswick's parochial schools. In setting his priorities for change, LeBlanc demonstrated that his was a conservative and an elitist brand of Acadian nationalism. This comes out as well in LeBlanc's efforts with respect to education. Although he could see the general value of education, LeBlanc seemed more preoccupied with linguistic considerations in Acadian schooling, than in restructuring the curriculum as a means of alleviating economic and social distress. The schools were for him above all centers for promotion of the French language and recruitment of future priests and nuns. Thus, it was no surprise that as Bishop LeBlanc's nationalism became "institutionalized"; it led to the conviction that Acadian advancement in the Maritimes could be assured only through the establishment of additional French- Catholic institutions. In his conservatism he did what he thought was best in equipping Acadians with the linguistic weapons to battle the Anglophone world. The setting up of an Acadian parish in Moncton, as detailed in Chapter V, was a first step. The Sisters of *Notre-Dame-du-Sacré-Coeur*, although their

¹⁵⁸ Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Nineth Census of Canada, 1951, Volume I, (Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, 1953), p. 60-3.

work extended far beyond the religious field to include pedagogy, was a second example of institutionalization. During the 1920s and 1930s LeBlanc's struggle for a second Acadian bishop and for an Acadian ecclesiastical province both confirm the pattern taken by his convictions. Those two topics will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 7
MORE NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS: A SECOND ACADIAN BISHOP
AND A NEW ECCLESIASTICAL PROVINCE

The last decade and a half of LeBlanc's episcopacy provided a least two occasions for the Bishop to further entrench Acadians within Catholic circles in the Maritime Provinces. During the teens a lobby had been building up which led to the nomination of the second Acadian bishop, this one to the Chatham See in 1920. A bit later, LeBlanc combined forces with his new *confrère* in the episcopacy and began the process that would see the creation of an ecclesiastical province in New Brunswick, with the Metropolitan See in Moncton and the Archbishop an Acadian. For LeBlanc, whose view of promoting ethnic identification lay basically within the framework of solid Catholic institutions, the naming of a second Acadian Bishop and the creation of an Acadian archdiocese were a final triumph. Between LeBlanc's enthronement in 1912 and his death in 1935, the Roman Catholic face of New Brunswick, changed dramatically. These two accomplishments contributed to that change and were important events in Bishop LeBlanc's career and they continued to demonstrate how, in his own particular way, he sought the promotion of the Acadian fact in the Maritimes. What follows is an analysis of the circumstances surrounding these two notable events.

While the debate over having an Acadian elevated to the episcopacy was at its height in 1912, Msgr. Thomas Barry of Chatham wrote to the Apostolic Delegate outlining his reasons for opposing the on-going struggle. In the letter he predicted that if an Acadian were named to a Maritime See, "the Holy Congregation may expect a renewal

of the same [struggle] upon the next vacancy occurring" and he further prophesied that naming an Acadian would "be an encouragement to continue the agitation for others under the leadership of the new [Acadian] Bishop."¹ Not only was Bishop Barry right in his general assumptions, but what he had forecast was exactly what happened when the particular issue of replacing him became the order of business within the ecclesiastical province of Halifax.

The struggle to make an Acadian the bishop of Chatham was a continuation of the internal rivalry within the Maritime Catholic Church dating from the beginning of the twentieth century. In many respects, the scenario was similar to the struggle which led up to Édouard LeBlanc's becoming Bishop of Saint John. The arguments used, the petitions sent, the efforts of lay nationalists, the support from Quebec, all were reminiscent of the first controversy over Acadian access to the episcopacy. But the Chatham debate was different in the sense that it occurred after one Acadian Bishop had already been appointed. Thus questions arose about how the prestige of that office and the man who held it would be used to further Acadian ambitions. Before explaining LeBlanc's role in the Chatham dispute, attention should be given to the issues and personalities involved in this situation.

In all the major controversies involving Acadian nationalism that arose in the Maritimes one or two Francophone laymen stood out as playing a pivotal role. Pierre Amand Landry and Pascal Poirier were the driving forces among the laity in the fight for the first Acadian bishop, while later, Henri-Paul LeBlanc came to personify the campaign by the Acadians of Moncton to secure their own parish. Acadian demands that one of

¹ "Msgr. Thomas Barry to Msgr. Peregrine Stagni, May 17, 1912," ADB, Group II, Reel # F7763, PANB.

their own people be named to the Chatham Sea were also led by key members of the laity. This time the individual largely responsible for mobilizing that lobby was Doctor Albert Sormany. His involvement with Acadian education, the Acadian press, local politics, the *Société L'Assomption*, and other social organizations made him a leader among the new breed of nationalists who in the second decade of the twentieth century had begun replacing the old guard of Landrys and Poiriers.²

Albert Sormany was born on August 20, 1885 in Lamèque on the Acadian peninsula of New Brunswick, the son of Henry Sormany and Virginie Haché. His father had arrived in the area from the Isle of Jersey in the English Channel where he had been hired as an apprentice clerk to work at Shippagan by the Fruing family of fish merchants. Henry would later rise to prominence in the community not only as a man of property but also as customs officer, justice of the peace and crown lands commissioner.³ Albert was the youngest of a family of thirteen children of whom one was ordained a priest, three entered the sisterhood, and two became doctors. Besides respect for the value of education, which Henry Sormany instilled in his offspring, the father had another personality trait which he managed to pass on to his youngest child - pride in one's ethnic roots. Albert would later testify, "si la Divine Providence a voulu se servir de mon humble personne dans l'intérêt de nos causes nationales, c'est sans doute à cause de la formation que j'avais reçue d'un tel père."⁴

² See the biography written by Alexandre J. Savoie entitled Un Demi-Siècle D'Histoire Acadienne (Montréal: L'Imprimerie Gagnée Ltée, 1976).

³ Ibid., p. 16.

⁴ Albert Sormany, "Mémoires - La question épiscopale au Nouveau-Brunswick," p. 2, 25.5-2A, CEA.

After completing his elementary education at the parochial school, young Sormany entered the newly founded Eudist College at Caraquet in 1899. This initial contact was the beginning of a long association with that congregation of priests. After seven years at the *Collège du Sacré-Coeur*, Sormany followed a career similar to that of many of the Moncton nationalists. Leaving New Brunswick, he spent four years at the faculty of medicine of Laval University. Returning "home" in 1910 he set up general practise in Edmunston where he soon took a leading role in the affairs of the community. Working with other prominent local citizens Sormany set up a study group called *la petite boutique* - literally, "the little shop" - "pour discuter de nos questions nationales."⁵ For the next half century Doctor Sormany devoted himself to the advancement of Acadian society. One feature of his nationalism involved Acadianization of the Chatham See, a contest he later described as a "lutte... passionnante et nous l'avons menée avec enthousiasme et persévérance."⁶

In their bid to replace Msgr. Thomas Barry with an Acadian, nationalists such as Sormany sought help from and were strongly supported by elements within the hierarchy of the French-Canadian Catholic Church. Here again Msgr. Louis-Nazaire Bégin, Archbishop of Quebec, intervened to remedy what he regarded as unjust treatment of French-speaking Catholics by Irish prelates in the Maritimes, Ontario and the west.⁷ In a 1907 memoir to Pope Pius X, Bégin denounced the Irish clergy, "qui cherche à

⁵ Albert Sormany, "Mémoires - La question épiscopale au Nouveau-Brunswick," Part II, p. 5 25.5-2A, CEA.

⁶ Albert Sormany, "La nomination des premiers évêques acadiens," *CSHA*, 1965, p. 12. Edmunston formed part of the Diocese of Chatham.

⁷ A leading authority on the history of the Catholic Church in Canada has described Archbishop Bégin as a man with "a deep personal commitment to Catholic minority rights [and] a strong sense of the church's historical role in their defence." See Roberto Perin, *Rome in Canada*, p. 218.

s'imposer à notre peuple." He called for "un prêtre français pour une paroisse française, un évêque français pour un diocèse français, rien de plus, rien de moins."⁸ Bégin's elevation to the cardinalate in 1914 made him primate of the Canadian Catholic Church, thus adding to his power and prestige before the Vatican. For example, his 1915 voyage to Rome where he confronted Pope Benedict XV with ungracious candor over the religious situation outside Quebec, probably shaped the decision arrived at for Chatham when the See became vacant five years later.⁹ To have such a high-ranking figure espousing Acadian claims could not but be an influential factor in the struggle for episcopal recognition. Significantly, the French-speaking priests of the diocese later gathered \$1,000 among themselves to send to the Archbishop as a show of their "profonde estime" and as a means of helping defray costs incurred while working for Acadians.¹⁰

A second Quebec cleric also became involved in the battle of Chatham. In his memoirs Sormany describes how Msgr. Joseph Hallé, the Superior of the *Collège de Lévis*, came to Edmunston on official business and took the young doctor aside at a reception to suggest that Acadians organize a lobby for one of their own to replace Monsignor Barry.¹¹ Between 1913 and 1919 Hallé was canon, or titular head, of the cathedral in Quebec, making him a close aid to Cardinal Bégin.¹² Often Canon Hallé

⁸ Msgr. Louis-Nazaire Bégin, "Mémoire sur la condition de l'Église au Canada, 1907," 20A Évêques de Québec, VIII: 42, AAQ.

⁹ See Jean Hamelin and Nicole Gagnon, *Histoire du catholicisme québécois - Le XXe siècle - Tome II*, pp. 110-111.

¹⁰ "Msgr. Stanislaus Doucet to Cardinal Bégin, n.d.," A10X-1-7, CEA.

¹¹ Albert Sormany, "Mémoires - La question épiscopale au Nouveau-Brunswick," p. 3, 25.5-2A, CEA.

¹² He was consecrated bishop in April 1921.

acted as the middle man between Acadian nationalists and the primate. The frequent correspondence between Hallé and Sormany, informing the latter about strategies and keeping him acquainted with Monsignor Bégin's views and counsels highlighted the Québec-New Brunswick connection. Of Hallé's contribution to the Acadian cause in Chatham, Sormany wrote: "l'Acadie ne se doute guère, j'en suis certain, qu'elle doit beaucoup à ce grand évêque canadien français."¹³

The Diocese of Chatham had been created in 1860 and by the time of Bishop LeBlanc's consecration in 1912, the See had had only two prelates; Msgr. James Rogers and the incumbent, Msgr. Thomas Barry. There had been hope among nationalists that an Acadian would be named coadjutor to Monsignor Rogers when that nomination was pending at the turn of the century. Forming nearly four fifths of the local Catholic population and with eighteen of the diocese's thirty-two priests being French-speaking, Acadians in the Diocese of Chatham thought they had valid arguments in lobbying for one of their people to be named coadjutor to Monsignor Rogers.¹⁴ But Rome named

¹³ Albert Sormany, "Mémoires - La question épiscopale au Nouveau-Brunswick, p. 3, 25.5-2A, CEA.

¹⁴ See P.A. Landry and Pascal Poirier, "Mémoire to Cardinal Ledochowski, October 13, 1899," 5.2-9, CEA.

Thomas Barry.¹⁵ Fourteen years later, the whole issue resurfaced when Barry's advanced age and poor health prompted the Vatican to give him an auxiliary in the person of Msgr. Louis O'Leary.¹⁶ Although the nomination was not *cum futura successione*, many saw the move as paving the way for yet another prelate of Irish extraction on the Chatham See.¹⁷ To nationalists, the rising number of French-speaking Catholics in the diocese made the prospect of another non-Acadian prelate an affront. The 1911 federal census listed eighty thousand nine hundred twenty-seven Catholics in the Diocese of Chatham, while at the same time registering a French-speaking population of sixty-four thousand six hundred four.¹⁸ Since most French-speaking persons were Catholic, it was plausible to argue that close to eighty percent of the Roman Catholic population of the Episcopal See of Chatham was Acadians.¹⁹ Such statistics, in an era of rising nationalist ferment, reinforced by the presence of Édouard LeBlanc as Bishop of Saint John, set the

¹⁵ The naming of a bishop by Rome was and still is a very hierarchical procedure with the final decision resting in the hands of the Pope. Before the final choice is made the Pope is advised on the possible candidates by a plenary council called the Consistorial Congregation. If the nomination of a bishop concerns an area outside of Italy the Papal Delegate of that foreign country investigates the candidates for the Congregation and forwards his impressions and recommendations to it. That would have been the case for the bishops named in the Maritimes at the beginning of the century. Before forwarding recommendations the Delegate would have asked for advice, usually in the form of a list of three names in order of preference, from the Archbishop or head of the ecclesiastical province where the nomination was to be made. Thus a candidate in the Archbishop's favor would stand a good chance of being nominated.

¹⁶ In 1914 Bishop Barry was 73 years old.

¹⁷ "Msgr. Marcel-Francois Richard to Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc, November 2, 1914," LeBlanc Papers, ADSJ.

¹⁸ Canada: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Fifth Census of Canada, 1911, Volume II, pp. 19-23, 178-182.

¹⁹ The assumption that French-speaking people were also Roman Catholics has been used by Robert Choquette. See his study Language and Religion: a History of English-French Conflict in Ontario (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1975), p. 52.

stage for yet another episode in the on-going ethno-linguistic struggle within the Maritime Catholic Church.

Bishop LeBlanc was first approached on the Chatham question at the end of 1914 by Msgr. Marcel François Richard. The aging patriot wrote the Bishop asking for support in the naming an Acadian to the Chatham See. "Sans l'influence et l'appui de personnages haut placés dans l'Église," Richard reminded LeBlanc, "il ne serait guère possible de réussir." He concluded by telling LeBlanc that his counsels were more than desirable, "ils me sont nécessaires."²⁰ Yet, it would be another five years before the Bishop of Saint John would take definite steps (including a trip to Rome) to have a *confrère* named to Chatham. For that apparent procrastination LeBlanc was criticized, and in some instances the criticism ran deep. At the time he was even seen as "un homme au sentiment plutôt anglais."²¹ However, by 1920 LeBlanc's actions forced skeptics to change their minds about his stand on Acadian Catholic wishes.

The question nevertheless remains why did LeBlanc wait before involving himself energetically on the Chatham issue? While it is true that the Moncton feud and rumors about the establishment of an order of Acadian teaching nuns demanded a lot of LeBlanc's attention during the teens, they should not have been obstacles to his active participation in the Chatham debate. As to his role as the Acadians' representative in the church, that also should have provided stimulus to act. At this time bishops did lobby for other bishops of similar ethno-linguistic backgrounds. The work of Archbishop

²⁰ "Msgr. Marcel-Francois Richard to Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc, November 2, 1914," LeBlanc Papers, ADSJ.

²¹ "Father Nazaire Savoie to Msgr. Stanislaus Doucet, March 19, 1920." F1451A, No. 1210-11, CEA.

Bégin was a case in point. LeBlanc's hesitancy lay rather in a personality trait that came out at this point. His tendency to hold back in this situation, at least until the case for action had been made by others, was due to timidity which bred a hint of contempt among some nationalists. Writing to Sormany, the parish priest at Adamsville Kent County commented, "vous ignorez pas combien timide est Mgr. LeBlanc." In a postscript he added that his views on LeBlanc were confidential but "je suppose bien que je ne vous ai appris de [sic] nouveau."²² Sormany also wrote of LeBlanc's unwillingness to act earlier on but politely referred to it as his inability to grasp the part he was expected to play. "Lorsqu'il eut compris son rôle," Sormany later declared, "[il] nous a rendu de grands services."²³ Contrary to the Moncton issue which was totally within LeBlanc's power to settle, the attempt to place an Acadian bishop in the Chatham See would force him to lobby directly with the Vatican. At the risk of sounding apologetic, to come before the leading Roman authorities in the world could be intimidating for a man who a few years earlier had been a Nova Scotian country priest. Luckily for nationalists once the reticence had been overcome LeBlanc did emerge as the messenger of Acadian wishes.

Unfortunately, a situation in another diocese half-way across Canada forced the Chatham movement to be put on hold temporarily. The English-speaking Catholics of Winnipeg at the time were lobbying Rome for one of their group to replace the aging Msgr. Adélarde Langevin on the Saint Boniface See. Alternately the Anglophones suggested the creation of a new diocese in Winnipeg, suffragan to Saint Boniface but with an English-speaking prelate as titular. Upon the Archbishop's death in 1915, his auxiliary, Msgr. Arthur Béliveau, became diocesan administrator and he tried to thwart

²² "Father François Bourgeois to Albert Sormany, February 19, 1920," 25.1-6, CEA.

²³ Albert Sormany, "La question épiscopale au Nouveau-Brunswick," 22.5-2, CEA.

any division of the Archdiocese of Saint-Boniface. This situation was before the Vatican authorities throughout the summer and fall of 1915 and dragged on through the winter of 1916 before a solution was reached in May of that year.²⁴ In the summer of 1915 Msgr. Hallé warned Sormany not to approach Rome with Acadian demands because it could be detrimental to both Chatham and Saint Boniface. "Si nous mêlons notre affaire avec celle de Saint Boniface," Hallé cautioned, "nous allons passer pour des mal commodes."²⁵ As late as February 1916 he still urged restraint believing that "il est infiniment mieux de ne pas leur [i.e. Vatican authorities] mettre une autre question dans la tête pour ne pas les embrouiller."²⁶

However, by May 1916 the storm had passed in Saint-Boniface and French-speaking Catholics there were relieved that Msgr. Arthur Béliveau had been nominated to their Archdiocese. At the same time Rome did not overlook the Anglophone element in the West for it created a new Archdiocese, that of Winnipeg, and named Msgr. A.A. Sinnott to the prelate. It was only after Monsignor Béliveau's work at rearranging the diocesan boundaries as originally drawn up by Rome in 1915, that tempers cooled. In a positive sense, the Saint Boniface issue was helpful to Acadians who could use to their advantage the experience of Western clerics in dealing with Rome. Accordingly,

²⁴ For a good overview of the ethnic conflict over episcopal sees in Western Canada, see Robert Choquette "Adélard Langevin et l'érection de l'archidiocèse de Winnipeg," Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, Vol. 28, No. 2, 1974, pp. 187-207, and Raymond Huel "The Irish French Conflict in Catholic Episcopal Nominations: The Western Sees and the Struggle for Domination Within the Church," Canadian Catholic Historical Association, 1975, pp. 51-70.

²⁵ "Msgr. Joseph Hallé to Albert Sormany, August 29, 1915," 25.1-1, CEA.

²⁶ Ibid., February 28, 1916," 25.1-1, CEA.

Sormany wrote Béliveau appealing to the Archbishop's patriotism and to his sense of duty in helping "des frères d'autres provinces."²⁷

With the question of Western Sees resolved, nationalists in the East once again became self-assertive. Past experience in the Maritimes and in the West suggested that a memorial should be prepared for presentation to Rome stating the case in strong, unequivocal terms. Archbishop Béliveau advised that the petition clearly demonstrate "des faits précis de mauvais vouloir des autorités à votre égard."²⁸ For his part Msgr. Joseph Hallé, who worked on the document more than any other cleric, urged Sormany and his associates to prepare a detailed representation of "la vitalité catholique dans votre diocèse."²⁹ That meant the gathering of statistics to show the demographic strength of French-speaking Catholics in the diocese, the number of French-speaking priests ministering there, and also the range of convents, hospitals, higher education facilities etc, owned and operated by French Orders. It was further decided that the memorial should be signed by as many lay people as possible, so as to give it an air of grandeur.³⁰ This letter was a monumental task, one made more complex by the necessity of acting with discretion if not outright secrecy when soliciting signatures in parishes served by Irish priests. An elaborate network of agents charged with the gathering of signatures was organized through the efforts of Sormany and various Acadian priests in the diocese. A letter from Father Thomas Albert to Doctor Sormany is especially revealing

²⁷ "Albert Sormany to Msgr. Arthur Béliveau, May 1916," 25.1-1, CEA.

²⁸ "Msgr. Arthur Béliveau to Albert Sormany, May 26, 1916," 25.1-1, CEA.

²⁹ "Msgr. Joseph Hallé to Albert Sormany, May 29, 1916," 25.1-1, CEA.

³⁰ The Quebec hierarchy had originally suggested that only influential lay members sign the petition. See "Msgr. Joseph Hallé to Albert Sormany, August 22, 1916," 25.1-1, CEA. This would later change to include all members of the Acadian laity.

about what took place. In it the priest presented a detailed list of people who were reliable for the job in places such as Shippagan, Lamèque, Pokemouche, Inkerman and Paquetville, and noted that the candidate from Restigouche was especially well placed for the task because as agent for Singer Sewing Machines he could travel door to door without arousing suspicion!³¹ Throughout the summer of 1916 the signatures were amassed and forwarded to Sormany and by the spring of 1917 the final draft had been drawn up and printed in a very impressive manner, ready to be sent off to Rome.³²

The first part of the petition contained a short preamble calling for the successor to Monsignor Barry to be "de langue et d'origine française [sic], fils de l'Acadie."³³ That was followed by a list of over three thousand signatures headed by an élite group of doctors, lawyers and politicians of all levels of government. The final section of the memorial was a statistical summary which proved that the Diocese of Chatham was predominantly French. Quoting figures from the 1911 census reports, the document showed how a large percentage of the laity was French-speaking and also how it was ministered to by a French-speaking clergy; fifty-one priests out of a total of seventy-one. The French character of the diocese was also said to be enhanced by a large body of French-speaking nuns from Quebec operating hospitals, orphanages and convents in

31 "Father Thomas Albert to Albert Sormany, September 13, 1916," 25.1-2, CEA.

32 The finished product was probably the work of the nuns of the Franciscan Order in Quebec. In a letter to Sormany, Hallé had suggested they be used for the lay-out and other typographical work since they were "habituées à ces travaux et iront vite." See "Msgr. Joseph Hallé to Albert Sormany, October 2, 1916," 25.1-2, CEA.

33 Requête des Catholiques français au sujet d'un évêque français, Chatham, 1917, p. 3. Pamphlet in the possession of the author.

various areas of the diocese.³⁴ All this, the petition argued, combined with the college founded by the *Pères Eudistes* at Caraquet, showed the true linguistic colors of the See.

Once the petition had been drawn up in its final form, a Vatican lawyer, Count Sacconi was hired as the agent to present the case to the pontifical court.³⁵ As a final gesture, the memorial was forwarded to members of the Maritime hierarchy, including the ailing Bishop Barry. Monsignor LeBlanc received a copy to which he offered "l'assurance de mon entier dévouement" to the senders, but he did not elaborate, at least not for the moment.³⁶ As for Archbishop McCarthy, his reaction to the Chatham movement was not at all favorable if one interprets his views a few years later when the See did become vacant. Shortly after the death of Bishop Barry in 1920, Archbishop McCarthy wrote the Apostolic Delegate expressing his views on what he called "the campaign... for national aggrandizement... at the expense of the Holy Mother Church." The Archbishop reiterated earlier opinions expressed at the time of LeBlanc's elevation, stating how he believed "the spirit of the country" was English, and since "all the French of these provinces [spoke] English," there was "no grievance to remedy."³⁷ The initiative behind the present agitation, according to McCarthy had been provided by the Eudist Fathers. He noted that since they had begun training priests in the Maritimes, "a

³⁴ The petition gave the exact number of French and English-speaking nuns for all but three convents. For the two in Bathurst, it simply stated that they were English, while the Dalhousie Convent was labelled as French, but no exact figures given. However, in the remaining ten diocesan convents, precise numbers as to the linguistic origins of the nuns were advanced and showed that one hundred eighty-five out of two hundred thirty-six nuns in those convents, or seventy-two percent of them, were French-speaking.

³⁵ "Albert Sormany to Count Vincenzo Sacconi, February 10, 1917," 25.1-3, CEA.

³⁶ "Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc to Albert Sormany, April 15, 1917," 25.1-4, CEA.

³⁷ "Msgr. Edward McCarthy to Msgr. Pietro di Maria, February 24, 1920," McCarthy Papers, Vol. II, No. 149, AAH.

national spirit, absolutely contrary to the spirit of the Catholic Church was being developed," thus alienating not only some Catholics but potential Protestant subjects as well.³⁸ Ironically, when the name of a Eudist Bishop, Msgr. Patrice Chiasson, was suggested as a possible successor to Monsignor Barry, his candidacy was opposed by the administration of the *Collège du Sacré-Coeur* in Bathurst.³⁹ The institution's rector, Father Prosper Lebastard, saw a possible conflict of interest and warned "qu'un prêtre du clergé séculier rencontrera beaucoup moins de difficultés."⁴⁰ Lebastard reasoned that every little gesture by Chiasson towards his institution would be interpreted as nepotism and in order to prevent that view from taking root, Chiasson would actually be forced to pay scant attention to the efforts of his *confrères* in Bathurst.

On January 20, 1920 Msgr. Thomas Barry died. Once the Chatham See became vacant the Bishop of Saint John got actively involved in finding a replacement. The necessary groundwork had already been done by the laity under Sormany's able direction, who in turn had had help from Quebec. LeBlanc wasted no time. In two letters addressed to the hierarchy in Rome and in Canada, Bishop LeBlanc revealed that he had overcome his earlier shyness and was willing to assume his role as spiritual leader of the Acadian people.

The first letter came only a month after Bishop Barry's death and was written to Cardinal de Lai of the Roman Consistory. In it LeBlanc asked that Bishop Barry's successor be an Acadian. He offered a series of reasons as to why he believed his

³⁸ "Msgr. Edward McCarthy to Msgr. Pietro di Maria, February 24, 1920," McCarthy Papers, Vol. II, No. 149, AAH.

³⁹ Part of a letter "Father Prosper Lebastard to Albert Sormany, February 14, 1920," A10X-1-5, CEA.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

request could be justified. The third point was especially forceful, claiming that "les évêques de langue anglaise des Provinces Maritimes [sic] ne favorisent jamais la nomination d'un évêque français à moins d'y être forcé par le Saint-Siège."⁴¹ LeBlanc went as far as asking for a division of the Chatham Diocese if his request could not be met.

In his letter to the Consistory, Bishop LeBlanc specifically stated that he wished to see Patrice-Alexandre Chiasson named to Chatham.⁴² That request he made with "toute l'autorité de notre position comme représentant des Acadiens."⁴³ It was normal to expect LeBlanc to support Chiasson with the full weight of his office.⁴⁴ On many levels they were kindred spirits. Besides being Acadians from rural Nova Scotian settings, the two had studied together at *Sainte-Anne* from 1891 to 1894. Both did their theology at the hands of the Eudists, albeit at different seminaries, and both returned to Saint Mary's Bay to work among the Acadians once their studies had been completed.⁴⁵ When Chiasson became rector of *Sainte-Anne* in 1908, LeBlanc had been recently transferred to the neighboring parish of Saint Bernard. During the four years between Chiasson's

41 "Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc to Cardinal de Lai, February 20, 1920," LeBlanc Papers, ADSJ. The emphasis is LeBlanc's.

42 It should be noted that Chiasson had already been consecrated in 1917 as Vicar Apostolic of the Gulf of Saint Lawrence. That title gave him all the rights and powers of a bishop. The reason why he was not called a bishop per se was that the territory he governed had not yet been organized as a diocese.

43 "Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc to Cardinal de Lai, February 20, 1920," LeBlanc Papers, ADSJ.

44 This was not the first time Chiasson's name came up for episcopal recognition. He had been third on the list of three that was used to fill the vacant Saint John See in 1912.

45 While LeBlanc registered at the Eudist seminary in Halifax, Chiasson studied theology under the Eudists in France.

nomination to the rectorate of *Sainte-Anne* and LeBlanc's departure for the Saint John See, there must have been numerous occasions for the two men to strengthen the bonds of friendship initiated during college years. Later, Bishop LeBlanc was given the honor of being one of the co-consecrators at Chiasson's enthronement in 1917. To have a fellow Acadian and friend named to the Maritime episcopacy was, for LeBlanc, a much welcomed event. As prelates, the two men would continue the friendship of over twenty-five years and would find it to their advantage and liking to collaborate closely on important "national" issues, such as the creation of an Acadian archdiocese.

The second letter, even more to the point, was written ten days later and addressed to the Apostolic Delegate. In it, LeBlanc labelled himself as "le défenseur des Acadiens trop souvent ignorés et humiliés" and called the incumbent struggle for an Acadian on the Chatham See as "notre cause," leaving little doubt as to his stance.⁴⁶ Above all, the letter was a direct assault on Irish domination within the Maritime episcopacies denouncing the fact that the Irish prelates "ont le pouvoir et veulent le garder aussi longtemps que possible."⁴⁷ LeBlanc's attack extended to the Archbishop claiming that "avec les autres évêques de nos Provinces [sic], il [McCarthy] considère que les Irlandais sont les seules (sic) capables de gouverner un diocèse."⁴⁸ LeBlanc went on to explain how Irish haughtiness and hegemony were the very reasons that forced him to insist upon a bishop of Acadian nationality for Chatham:

Mais pourquoi, me direz vous, insistez-vous tant pour avoir des évêques de votre nationalité? C'est que trop souvent les évêques de langue anglaise ne nous donne [sic] pas justice. Nous ne sommes pas traités sur un pieds [sic] d'égalité; les

⁴⁶ "Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc to Msgr. Pietro di Maria, March 1, 1920," LeBlanc Papers, ADSJ.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

prêtres Irlandais [sic] sont favorisés dans la nomination des curés. Ils placent d'abord les Irlandais dans les meilleurs paroisses et les paroisses de campagne vont aux prêtres français.⁴⁹

The letter ended with LeBlanc offering apologies for not being more charitable towards his brothers in the episcopacy but explaining that he felt the truth had to come out.

Bishop LeBlanc's letter to the Delegate soon became widely known among the clergy due in part to the fact he made no effort to hide it. Some were surprised and concluded, "il [LeBlanc] est avec nous et il travail fort."⁵⁰ He was now seen as a "patriote éclairé [sic] et prudent."⁵¹ This outburst of nationalist sentiment on LeBlanc's part undoubtedly stimulated the lay and clerical lobby, giving it renewed vigor to work with the one who should naturally lead them in the struggle. It is at this time that LeBlanc became convinced that a trip to Rome might be the final push needed to assure an Acadian succession in Chatham. Before he left he asked his clergy to give him names of individuals, besides Chiasson, whom they believed were worthy of the episcopacy. "Donnez-moi des noms," he wrote, "afin que si Mgr. Chiasson n'est pas accepté, je puisse les leurs [Roman authorities] donner."⁵² Accordingly twelve priests wrote the Bishop submitting names of possible candidates.

When LeBlanc arrived in Rome in the spring of 1920, the Vatican had not yet reached a decision on the Chatham issue. However, the February 20th letter from

⁴⁹ "Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc to Msgr. Pietro di Maria, March 1, 1920," LeBlanc Papers, ADSJ.

⁵⁰ "Father Nazaire Savoie to Msgr. Stanislaus Doucet, March 19, 1920," F1451A, No. 1210-1211, CEA.

⁵¹ "Father Nazaire Savoie to Albert Sormany, March 21, 1920," 25.2-7, CEA.

⁵² As quoted in "Father Nazaire Savoie to Msgr. Stanislaus Doucet, March 19, 1920," F1451A, No. 1210-1211, CEA.

LeBlanc to Cardinal de Lai was by then before the Roman authorities and it left no doubt as to where LeBlanc stood on the matter. By the time His Lordship left the Eternal City in June, he was confident that the mission had been a success. Although Rome would await the Apostolic Delegate's report before making an official announcement, LeBlanc was convinced that unless some unforeseen circumstances appeared in Msgr. Pietro di Maria's report, which was very unlikely, the battle had been won. Midway across the Atlantic he sensed victory when he wrote to the Superior of the *Collège Sacré-Coeur* saying, "vous n'avez rien à craindre."⁵³ His lobby had worked; he had played his role as Acadian spiritual leader with skill. Indeed, the clerics from Quebec who made the voyage with him were impressed by his conduct and all agreed that his intercession during these final stages was what prompted a decision in favor of Acadians. Of LeBlanc's performance in Rome Sormany would later write:

Des prêtres du palais Cardinalice [sic] de Québec qui avaient fait le voyage en même temps me disaient que Mgr. LeBlanc avait agit à Rome avec une dextérité remarquable, qu'il n'avait rien négligé pour réussir et ils ajoutaient que nous lui devons en très grande partie le transfert de Mgr. Chiasson à Chatham, que sans son intervention opportune et pleine de doigté nous aurions très probablement manqué notre coup.⁵⁴

In the month of September 1920, Cardinal Bégin announced that Msgr. Patrice-Alexandre Chiasson, an Acadian of Cape Breton origin, had been named to the Chatham See.⁵⁵ Acadians now sat on two Maritime Sees. They would later join forces to carry

⁵³ As quoted in "Msgr. Stanislaus Doucet to Father Prosper Lebastard, June 25, 1920," A10X-1-5, CEA.

⁵⁴ Albert Sormany, "Mémoires - La question épiscopale au Nouveau-Brunswick," p. 10, 25.5-2A, CEA.

⁵⁵ "Msgr. Patrice Chiasson to Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc, September 7, 1920," LeBlanc Papers, ADSJ.

through the most ambitious project yet envisioned within the Acadian nationalist movement of the early twentieth century: the creation of an Acadian Archdiocese.

As the decade of the 1930s opened Bishop LeBlanc had cause for feeling mixed emotions. As any leader at the time would be, he was conscious of the rampant pessimism resulting from economic collapse, a fact which prompted him to devote an entire pastoral letter to the subject.⁵⁶ On a more personal note, Monsignor LeBlanc was recuperating from the first in a series of attacks caused by a coronary disorder.⁵⁷ This would recur in 1933, again at the end of 1934, and finally in February of 1935, it brought on his death. Yet, despite the world situation and despite the deteriorating condition of his health, for Bishop LeBlanc the 1930s were also a time of reflection, of looking back upon eighteen years of episcopacy with the satisfaction that Acadians, at least institutionally, were now "better served" by their church. In large measure that was due to his intervention, often of a calm and diplomatic nature, but always sure of the goal aimed at. However, the success achieved in Moncton, in Memramcook with the setting up of an Acadian Mother House, and in Chatham, while greatly enhancing the position of Acadians within the Maritime Catholic Church, did not really put them on an equal footing with other ethnic groups in the area. Only the creation of an Acadian diocese per se would accomplish that. Given that seventy-two percent of the Catholic population of New Brunswick at the beginning of the decade was French-speaking, many nationalists believed there was no reason why an Acadian diocese should not be transformed into an

⁵⁶ See Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc, "Pastoral Letter, February 22, 1933," LeBlanc Papers, ADSJ.

⁵⁷ At the beginning of March 1930 Bishop LeBlanc was reported out of danger and home from the hospital. See *L'Évangéline*, March 6, 1930, p.1.

archdiocese with a metropolitan seated in Moncton.⁵⁸ Such a move would necessitate a separation from Halifax and the creation of a new ecclesiastical province within the civil province of New Brunswick. By the 1920s, however, the innovations seemed achievable since both New Brunswick Sees were now occupied by Acadians, who it was hoped would be willing to let go part of their respective dioceses to form the projected third one. For church minded nationalists, it would be the final triumph in a battle that had begun in the 1880s. Nevertheless, resistance could be expected from the incumbent Archbishop in Halifax, Msgr. Thomas O'Donnell, who was not pleased with the prospect of losing the Saint John and Chatham portions of his ecclesiastical province.

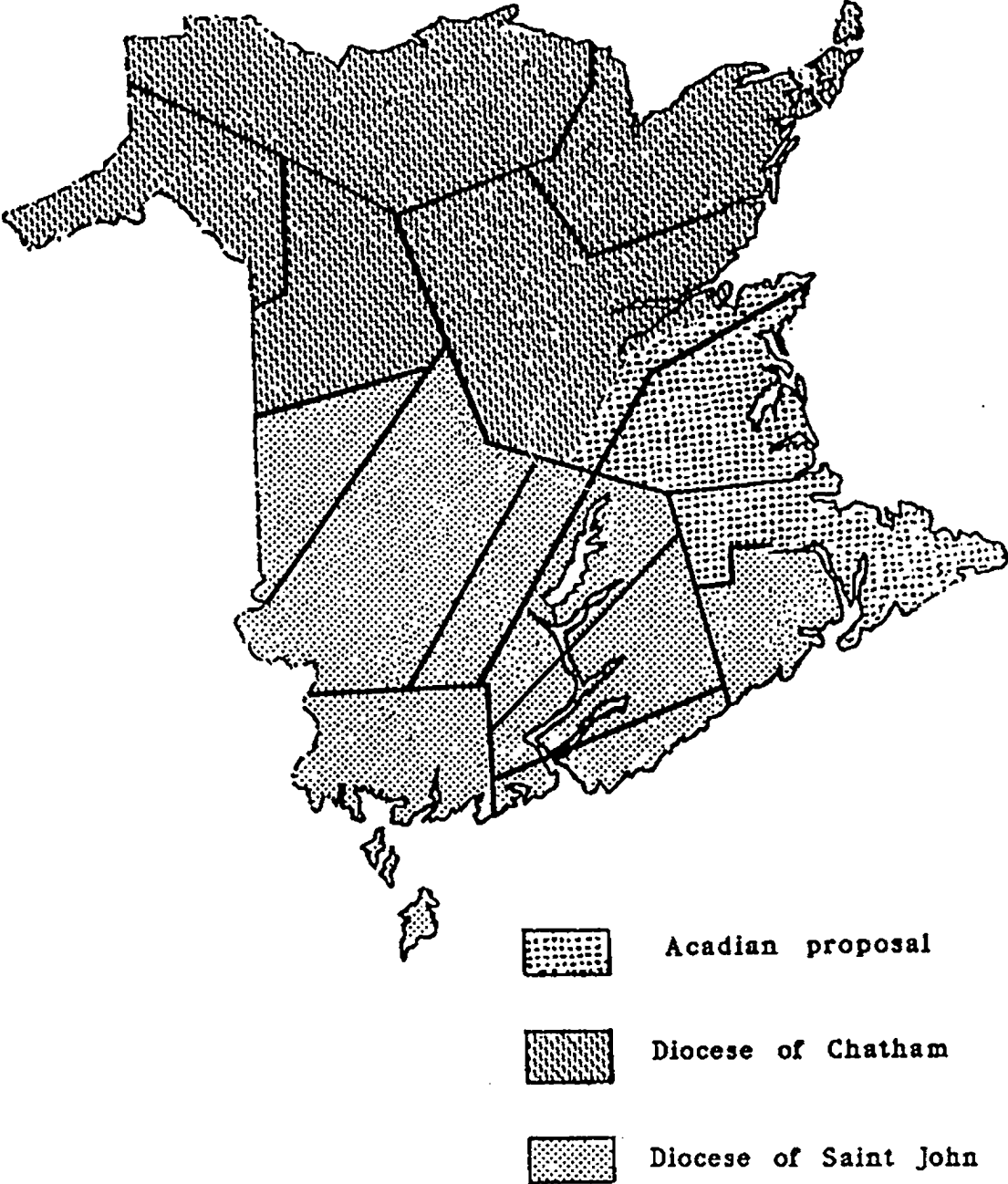
The idea of erecting a diocese in New Brunswick exclusively to serve Acadian designs was not a new concept but dated back to the turn of the century when in 1900 Acadians had been by-passed in naming coadjutors for Saint John and Chatham. Among the first proponents of the scheme was Fr. Marcel-François Richard. He wrote Pierre-Amand Landry at the beginning of 1900 elaborating upon his plan for the creation of the new diocese which would comprise Westmorland and Kent Counties and also include the civil jurisdictions of Carleton and Rogersville in the County of Northumberland.⁵⁹ (see Fig. 7-1). There were good reasons why he would assign priority to this part of

⁵⁸ That calculation was made by Henri-P. LeBlanc using figures from the 1931 Dominion census. The results of his efforts were a elaborate statistical tables showing the percentage of Catholics (French-speaking and other) at the county and the diocesan level. The results of his efforts can be found in the "Fonds Henri P. LeBlanc," 24.5-8, CEA.

⁵⁹ "Fr. Marcel-François Richard to Pierre-Amand Landry, January 11, 1900," 5.1-3, CEA.

Figure 7 - 1

Father Marcel-François Richard's
proposal for an Acadian diocese, 1900



New Brunswick rather than the province's northern regions.⁶⁰ Although the southeast was slightly smaller in terms of population by a margin of some eight thousand people, much of the nationalist leadership originated from the Westmorland-Kent area (i.e. Landry from Dorchester, Poirier and Gaudet from Shediac, and Richard from Rogersville, etc.).⁶¹ Also, the area comprised in Father Richard's proposal had one college (*Saint-Joseph*) and several convents, which were seen as assets for any diocesan structure. Most importantly, Moncton could serve as the See. The town was growing vigorously under the stimulus of industrial development during the last decades of the nineteenth century and was worthy of ecclesiastical, as well as civil, recognition. In the thirty year period between 1871 and 1901 the town's total population had risen fifty-seven percent, while the population of French origin had multiplied by nearly sixty-one percent.⁶² Accordingly, nationalists like Richard saw the potential for Moncton becoming an important Acadian center, "susceptible d'agrandissement," and thus an ideal

⁶⁰ It should be understood that even though a diocese is considered an ecclesiastical unit, its delimitations are contained in a specific geographic territory. In outlining the area of dioceses, civil boundaries such as county lines, and not ethnic origins, are adhered to. Therefore, there could not be a diocese for all Acadians of New Brunswick with the see somewhere in an Acadian area of the province. Given this fact, and given the fragmented character of Acadian population shown in chapter I, Maritime Sees were more or less bound to the phenomenon of ethnic pluralism.

⁶¹ While the 1901 Dominion Census gave the French population of northern New Brunswick at approximately forty thousand, the Counties of Westmorland and Kent plus the jurisdiction of Rogersville were attributed a total French population of thirty-two thousand eight hundred eleven in the same census. See Canada: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Fourth Census of Canada, Volume I, pp. 290-294.

⁶² See Canada: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census of Canada, 1870-71, Volume I, pp. 320-321, and Fourth Census of Canada, 1901, Volume I, pp. 294-295.

location for an episcopal see.⁶³

At the Arichat national convention held in August 1900, the delegates debated the question of an Acadian bishop but did so with the underlying assumption that it might only be possible within the context of creating an Acadian diocese. A copy of the resolution was forwarded to Monsignors Sweeney and Rogers by the secretary of the *Société Nationale L'Assomption*. To the dismay of nationalists neither prelate responded to the proposal, nor even acknowledged its receipt. Accordingly a second petition, this one more forceful and formal, was addressed to the two New Brunswick Bishops some three months later. This second one carried the signatures of every Acadian public servant of the province from judge of the supreme court to municipal councillor. The supplication, sent by registered mail so as to dispel any claim of being lost, ended with an unambiguous demand for a "démembrement de vos diocèses respectifs, de façon à former un troisième diocèse dont le siège serait à Moncton et le titulaire serait un Acadien-français."⁶⁴ Monsignor Sweeney persisted in offering no comment but Monsignor Rogers did give Pierre-Amand Landry the text of an address he had read from the pulpit in which he adopted a middle-of-the-road policy. Opting to act only on papal directives, he declared "it belongs to the authority of the Pope, not to us, to cut off,

⁶³ "Fr. Marcel-François Richard to Pierre-Amand Landry, January 11, 1900," 5.1-3, CEA. Father Richard went as far as approaching the Papal Delegate with his option. He did so with carefully chosen words and a tact which he hoped would not jeopardize him vis-à-vis Monsignor Falconio; after all, bishops and not parish priests, were the ones who made recommendations regarding the structure and administration of dioceses. Father Richard justified overstepping his authority by saying to the Apostolic Delegate: "je n'ose, Excellence, abandonner ce bon peuple qui m'est doublement cher, même au risque d'être sacrifié et immolé sur l'autel de la patrie." See "Fr. Marcel-François Richard to Monsignor. Falconio, March 9, 1900," 8.2-6, CEA.

⁶⁴ See Appendix "F" in P. A. Landry and Pascal Poirier "Memorial to Msgr. Cornelius O'Brien" in 5.2.11, CEA.

modify or erect territories or districts into Dioceses [sic]."⁶⁵ While not opposed to the demands of the French-speaking members of his diocese, he gave no indication that he would act in promoting their cause. Acadians, however, interpreted his words as meaning he could eventually be brought to adhere to their views. Thus, the problem seemingly lay with Msgr. John Sweeney.

Unable to obtain full support from both Bishops involved in the future creation of a third New Brunswick See, Acadian nationalists decided to move one step up on the hierarchical structure. They approached Archbishop O'Brien with a seventeen point document reiterating their demands for an Acadian diocese "dans l'intérêt de la justice relative, [and] de la paix."⁶⁶ While the Metropolitan stated it would be a "personal gratification" for him to have an Acadian as one of his suffragans, he said he could not visualize the dismemberment of two dioceses to achieve that goal.⁶⁷

The arrival of the two new Bishops on the scene, Msgr. Timothy Casey for Saint John in 1901 and Msgr. Thomas Barry for Chatham in 1902, temporarily ended nationalist agitation over creation of an Acadian diocese. However after allowing the new bishops what they deemed to be sufficient time to absorb the "Acadian question" nationalists approached the New Brunswick prelates in the spring of 1904 with a petition not unlike the ones forwarded to their predecessors. Again, the nationalists based their case for an Acadian prelate on boasts about their own loyalty to the church of Rome,

⁶⁵ See Appendix "H" in P. A. Landry and Pascal Poirier "Memorial to Msgr. Cornelius O'Brien" in 5.2.11, CEA.

⁶⁶ "Pierre-Amand Landry, Pascal Poirier to Msgr. Cornelius O'Brien, March 1901," 5.2-11, CEA.

⁶⁷ "Msgr. Cornelius O'Brien to Pascal Poirier and Pierre-Amand Landry, March 15, 1901," 8.4-2, CEA.

along with population statistics designed to show that exclusion of Acadians from high church office was unfair.⁶⁸ The response to the petition resembled the 1900 scenario with the Bishop of Chatham offering his "plus profond respect" to Acadian ambitions, and the Bishop of Saint John offering no response at all.⁶⁹

Frustrated by this blend of evasion and indifference, the petitioners again proceeded up the hierarchy to the Archbishop. While fully aware of what Monsignor O'Brien's views had been in 1901, Acadians nevertheless reiterated their claims.⁷⁰ The Archbishop held steadfastly to his former views, saying he was "unable to comply with the request of the Executive Council of the Assumption" to form a third diocese in New Brunswick because both incumbent Bishops were attending "to the Episcopal [sic] duties required of them" and because it was wrong to presume "that any portion of their flock [was] being neglected."⁷¹ Cornelius O'Brien's successor, Edward McCarthy, took a similar position as he demonstrated in a petition sent to the Apostolic Delegate some three years later. In that communiqué, which was co-authored by his suffragans, the Archbishop argued that creation of an Acadian diocese in Moncton, just because some nationalists wanted it, would cause chaos in the Maritime Catholic Church:

... these agitators propose the formation of a new Diocese [sic] as an efficient remedy for an imaginary ill, but on the contrary it would simply be the means of causing a series of agitations on the part of other groups of Acadians. For instance, there are in Gloucester County, N.B., as many Acadians as in Westmoreland,

⁶⁸ "Memorial to Msgr. Timothy Casey and Msgr. Thomas Barry, April 1904," 5.2-11, CEA. The petitioners quoted the 1901 Dominion Census which gave New Brunswick a Francophone population of nearly eighty thousand.

⁶⁹ "Memorial to Archbishop C. O'Brien, January 6, 1905," 5.2-11, CEA.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ "Msgr. C. O'Brien to L.J. Belliveau, February 21, 1905," 5.1-6, CEA.

and would not the formation of a diocese of Moncton add fuel to the ambition of the agitators, and incite them to stir up agitations in Gloucester and in other centers. Should such a state of affairs ensue the result would be a practical impossibility of religious government.⁷²

At this time Msgr. Marcel-François Richard was having his audiences with the Pope and the Pontiff's promise that an Acadian bishop would soon be appointed forced the Maritime hierarchy to come up with some plan to respond to Rome's wish to accommodate Acadians. Accordingly, Archbishop McCarthy and his New Brunswick suffragans submitted what they believed to be the best option to settle the Acadian question. In their proposal to the Apostolic Delegate they proposed forming an Acadian diocese out of the three largely French counties of Madawaska, Restigouche and Gloucester in the northern extremity of the province (see figure 7-2). Bathurst, in the County of Gloucester, was seen as the ideal site for the Episcopal See, as the town was over two-thirds Catholic and easily accessible, given its location on the Intercolonial main line, and given its position as terminus of the Caraquet and Gulf Shore Railways.⁷³ This proposal by the hierarchy came one month after Acadians, gathered in Saint-Basile for their sixth national convention, had used the occasion to forward demands to Pope Pius X for an Acadian diocese. The memoir to the Pontiff made known a motion by the Acadian delegates asking His Holiness to grant "un évêque de leur nationalité, avec siège épiscopal à Moncton."⁷⁴

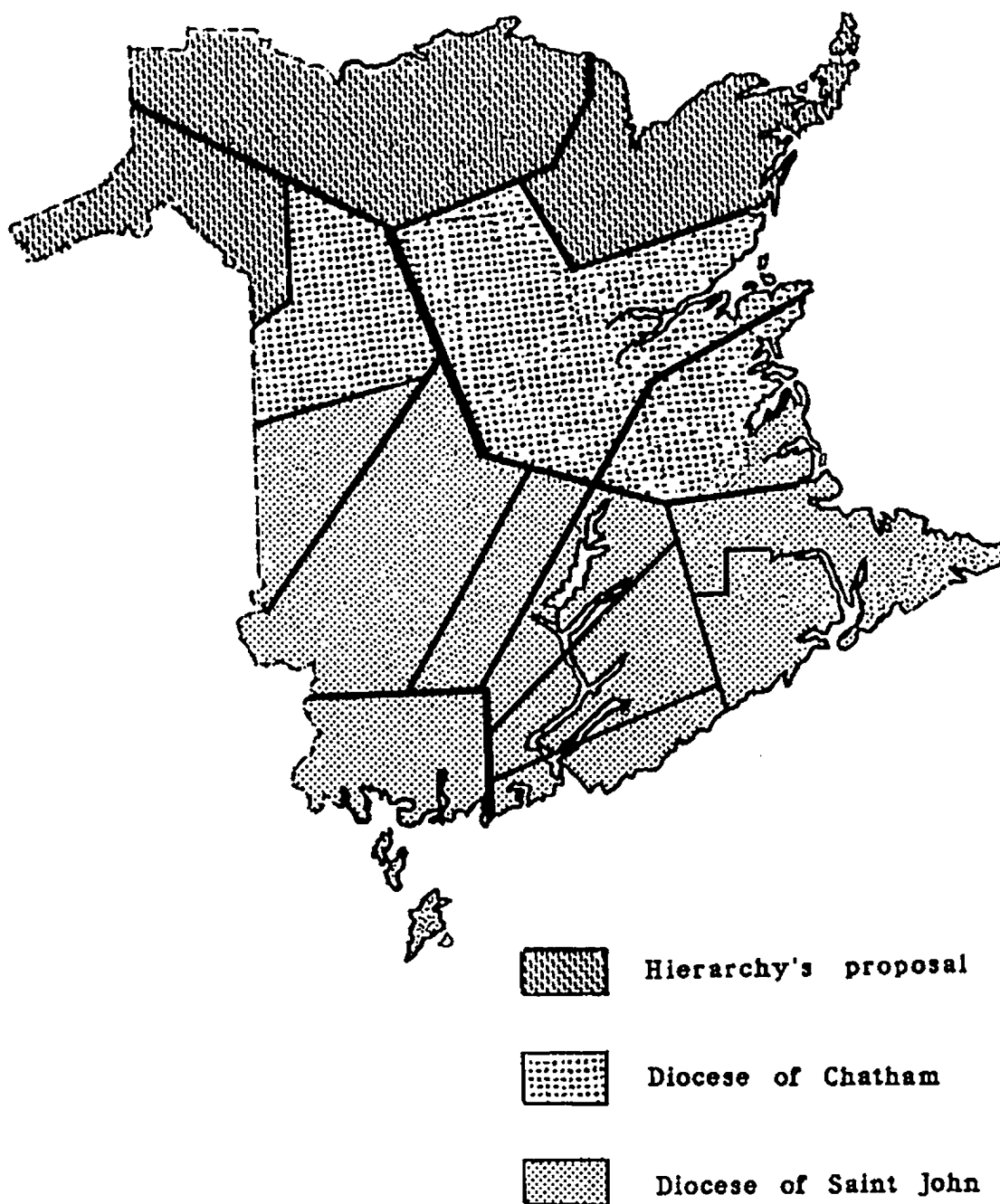
⁷² "Archbishop Edward McCarthy and Suffragans to Msgr. Donato Sbarretti, January 17, 1908," McCarthy Papers, Vol. III, No. 287, AAH.

⁷³ "Msgr. Thomas Barry to the Congregation of the Propaganda, December 6, 1908," 8.4-2, CEA.

⁷⁴ "*Mémoire* to Pope Pius X, Saint-Basile, August 20, 1908," 7.1-17, CEA. The motion was made by Dr. David Landry, New Brunswick's Minister of Agriculture, and was seconded by the Honorable Ambroise H. Comeau, Nova Scotia's Acadian representative in the Senate.

Figure 7 - 2

Hierarchy's proposal for an Acadian diocese, 1900



The hierarchy's choice of northern New Brunswick as the location for the new diocese had a certain logic. By regrouping the three counties in question only one diocese, that of Chatham, would be dismembered. In contrast, the Acadian proposal for an episcopal see based in Moncton dismembered both the Chatham and Saint John Dioceses. Moreover, the Acadian design would place Anglophones from both the Saint John and Chatham jurisdictions under the influence of an Acadian prelacy and possibly Acadian priests. This the episcopacy wished to avoid for "the preservation of these two Dioceses as English speaking [they considered] very important in this English colony."⁷⁵ One suspects however that the sense of having to propose something, more than any conviction that Acadians should have their own diocese, dominated the outlook of the Bishops. As late as the spring of 1912 Archbishop McCarthy was still writing that "an Acadian diocese would... lend fire to that national feeling, and lead to much trouble in the future."⁷⁶

Upon Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc's elevation to the episcopacy in 1912, the idea of an Acadian diocese understandably fell by the wayside. Rome had responded to Acadian aspirations in the way it best thought fitting, while at the same time respecting the views of the local hierarchy who opposed creation of an Acadian diocese. But upon Msgr. Patrice Chiasson's nomination to the Chatham See in 1920, Acadians acquired control of the dioceses of New Brunswick if not the ecclesiastical province to which they belonged. Soon after Msgr. Patrice Chiasson's enthronement, the pre-1912 rumblings of an Acadian diocese resurfaced.

⁷⁵ "Msgr. Edward McCarthy and Suffragans to Msgr. Donato Sbarretti, September 15, 1908," 8.4-2, CEA.

⁷⁶ "Msgr. Edward McCarthy to Msgr. Pellegrino Stagni, May 17, 1912." McCarthy Papers, Vol. I, No. 9, AAH.

In the spring of 1925 discussion about creating an Acadian diocese began to gain momentum within religious circles in New Brunswick and Bishop LeBlanc's views on the matter made for much talk. Because of the somewhat ambiguous nature of his line of thought, people were led to believe Bishop LeBlanc was against the idea. That was not so. His support for the project was a qualified one that reflected a cautious approach characteristic of his decision-making process. At this point Bishop LeBlanc refused to sign a petition destined for Rome on the subject of diocesan division. He warned the priests who had prepared the piece that yet another request to the Vatican was pushing the Acadians' luck. They had lobbied for and been granted two bishops of their nationality; to ask for more, Monsignor LeBlanc believed, was telling Rome: "Nous ne sommes pas encore satisfaits de ce que nous avons et nous voulons plus."⁷⁷ Such comments were interpreted as signifying the Bishop's disapproval of the plan. Even as late as 1933 Fr. Francis Carney, vicar in Fredericton, interpreted a conversation he had had with Bishop LeBlanc as meaning the prelate was dead set against this innovation. He wrote Archbishop O'Donnell: "The Bishop[LeBlanc] informed me that he personally was not in favor of it but he had to submit to pressure."⁷⁸ But closer scrutiny of the matter reveals that it was not so much the plan as the timing that bothered the Bishop. To ask for more at this time, when Rome had given Acadians "le Nouveau-Brunswick, tout entier," and in eight years at that, was simply too much in Bishop LeBlanc's eyes.⁷⁹ The opinion was not without merit. As for Father Carney's impressions, he would later

⁷⁷ "Fr. Nazaire Savoie to Msgr. Stanislaus Doucet, April 3, 1925," A10X-1-6, CEA. In this letter Father Savoie was paraphrasing Bishop LeBlanc.

⁷⁸ "Fr. Francis Carney to Msgr. Thomas O'Donnell, June 1, 1933," O'Donnell Papers, Vol. IV, No. 245, AAH.

⁷⁹ "Fr. Nazaire Savoie to Msgr. Stanislaus Doucet, April 7, 1925," A10X-1-6, CEA.

tell O'Donnell that his letter had not been "strictly accurate," and that he had "mingled [his] personal views with the expressions of the Bishop."⁸⁰

Thus Monsignor LeBlanc's belief during the 1930s that the creation of an Acadian diocese was a good idea does not reflect a change of mind, but rather demonstrates a consistent attitude which eventually would be expressed in public. By the early 1930s two main determinants were at play. First, fifteen years had elapsed since the nationalists had campaigned to have Patrice Chiasson named to the Chatham See. Second, the Catholic population of New Brunswick had grown considerably, reaching forty-six percent of the New Brunswick total by 1931 and that was mainly thanks to growth among Acadians.⁸¹ Francophones with their bishops, community of nuns, parochial schools, colleges and hospitals had come a long way since Bishop LeBlanc's enthronement in 1912. Thus they yearned to carry their advance in the religious field to the highest level, namely creation of an Acadian ecclesiastical province. In the spring of 1933 Monsignors LeBlanc and Chiasson came out to lead this agitation.

On March 20 the two New Brunswick suffragans wrote the Archbishop claiming that they had been approached repeatedly, "by priests and prominent laymen in this province," on the question of a third diocese and the creation of an ecclesiastical province for New Brunswick. This they approved because "the interest of the Church would be better served" and because "an archbishop would greatly promote Catholic influence with

⁸⁰ "Fr. Francis Carney to Msgr. Thomas O'Donnell, June 12, 1933," O'Donnell Papers, Vol. IV, No. 245, AAH.

⁸¹ Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc and Msgr. Patrice Chiasson, "Supplique Relative à la Division des Diocèses de Saint-Jean et de Chatham...", March 25, 1933, LeBlanc Papers, ADSJ.

the government."⁸² Bishops LeBlanc and Chiasson explained that the new diocese would be formed out of Kent, Westmorland and Albert Counties with the See in Moncton, and they hoped Monsignor O'Donnell would "see fit to support us in our petition to the Holy Father."⁸³ The letter ended with a post scriptum which must have infuriated the Archbishop. It read: "Copy of the letter to the Holy See will be sent to you in a few days."⁸⁴ Bishops LeBlanc and Chiasson were preparing a document destined for Rome which called for dismembering the province of Halifax, whether the Archbishop of that province approved or not. In other words, the March 20 letter did not call for the Archbishop's counsel in order to reach a decision; it asked him to support a declaration of policy. The petition was being prepared regardless of what Archbishop O'Donnell's views were. As he would later say: "I was never consulted about the matter, directly or indirectly, until it was all cooked."⁸⁵

In two separate letters to his suffragans in New Brunswick, O'Donnell let it be known that their actions were nothing short of a blatant insult. To Bishop LeBlanc he wrote of the unfairness of being "kept in ignorance" and concluded it was impossible for an archbishop to recommend to Rome "that about which he knows nothing."⁸⁶ As to the letter addressed to Bishop Chiasson, that tone was even more direct claiming, "common report is that the movement... is based on nationalism and the desire to swamp entirely

⁸² "Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc and Msgr. Patrice Chiasson to Archbishop Thomas O'Donnell, March 20, 1933," McCarthy Papers, Vol. III, No. 301, AAH.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ "Msgr. Thomas O'Donnell to Fr. Francis Carney, June 6, 1933," O'Donnell Papers Vol. IV, No. 245, AAH.

⁸⁶ "Msgr. Thomas O'Donnell to Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc, March 27, 1933, McCarthy Papers, Vol. III, No. 301, AAH.

the English-speaking Catholics in New Brunswick by forming a little Quebec in the Maritimes."⁸⁷ The Acadian Bishops saw Archbishop O'Donnell's reaction as being uncalled for. Convinced he had acted correctly, Bishop LeBlanc wondered "qu'est-ce que nous aurions pu faire que nous n'avons pas fait?"⁸⁸ Monsignor Chiasson later accepted the Archbishop's contention that he should have known about the document for a third diocese before he was asked to approve it. But to persistently use that argument after he had seen the petition was, in Bishop Chiasson's, view an accusation "que nous le renseignons mal et par consequent; que nous le trompons."⁸⁹ This war of words and attitudes suggested that little had changed within the Maritime Catholic Church since the turn of the century.

Despite the rhetorical backlash emanating from Halifax, Bishop LeBlanc and Chiasson were determined to proceed with their plan to erect an ecclesiastical province in New Brunswick. Before the end of March 1933 the two Acadian Bishops had finished a memorandum on the subject to be forwarded to Rome via the Apostolic Delegate in Ottawa, should he judge it appropriate.⁹⁰ The document began with an outline of how the Catholic population of New Brunswick had grown since the erection of the first diocese in 1860. Because of that and also as a means of expanding Catholic influence in the area, the two Bishops "croyons fermement que la création d'un nouveau diocese et la

⁸⁷ "Msgr. Thomas O'Donnell to Msgr. Patrice Chiasson, April 1, 1933," ADB, Groupe II, Reel # 7668, PANB.

⁸⁸ "Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc to Msgr. Patrice Chiasson, March 29, 1933," ADB, Groupe II, Reel # 7768, PANB.

⁸⁹ "Msgr. Patrice Chiasson to Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc, April 17, 1933," LeBlanc Papers, ADSJ.

⁹⁰ "Msgr. Patrice Chiasson to Msgr. Andrea Cassulo, March 30, 1933," ADB, Group II, Reel # 7668, PANB.

formation d'une Province [sic] Ecclésiastique [sic] dans cette Province [sic] Civile [sic] serait très utile et dans l'intérêt de l'Église."⁹¹ For Monsignors LeBlanc and Chiasson the argument that a third diocese would further alienate the Protestant civil authorities had no foundation. "Le pouvoir civil," they argued "se verrait obligé de montrer encore plus de respect et de déférence à la dignité et aux justes réclamations d'un Archevêque [sic]."⁹² A copy was forwarded to the Archbishop in the hope he would "find it convenient to approve of the measure."⁹³ He would not.

Archbishop O'Donnell had a keen sense of authority's place in the scheme of things and he firmly believed that respect for authority must be a first consideration, indeed, a guiding principle. The way he saw his authority was clearly outlined when he wrote: "the Bishop [sic] in his diocese is what the Pope is in the universal Church... He must be heeded, he is the authority and obedience must be rendered to him for this is the will of God."⁹⁴ That philosophy, applied to an archbishop/suffragan relationship sheds light on why Monsignor O'Donnell felt the way he did when Bishops LeBlanc and Chiasson approached him with their proposal for an archdiocese. To him it was a plan conceived behind his back, leaving him little option but "to disapprove of this matter."⁹⁵

91 "Msgr. Édouard LeBlanc and Msgr. Patrice Chiasson, "Supplique Relative à la Division des Diocèses de Saint-Jean et de Chatham...", March 25, 1933, LeBlanc Papers, ADSJ.

92 Ibid.

93 "Msgr. Patrice Chiasson to Msgr. Thomas O'Donnell, March 30, 1933," LeBlanc Papers, ADSJ.

94 Msgr. Thomas O'Donnell, "Faithful Owe Obedience to Bishops Who Are Divinely Appointed Church Teachers," July 18, 1930, O'Donnell Papers, Vol. I, No. 4, AAH.

95 "Msgr. Thomas O'Donnell to Fr. Francis Carney, June 6, 1933," O'Donnell Papers, Vol. IV, No. 245, AAH. Emphasis is in the letter.

To counter the LeBlanc/Chiasson proposal, Archbishop O'Donnell turned to the vigorous priest of Saint Bernard parish, Fr. Edward Savage, for advice. Writing a week after he had received the proposal from his Acadian suffragans, the Archbishop asked of the Moncton priest: "Give me all your views pro and con because of my ignorance of the whole matter."⁹⁶ Father Savage's reply contained no pros but clearly outlined his fervent opposition to the idea, which he believed people would interpret as "purely and nakedly an example of EXAGGERATED NATIONALISM." Non-Catholics, he argued, would see a third diocese as "a challenge" and as another example of "French domination": that in turn, might jeopardize the "present fairly acceptable school arrangements."⁹⁷

At the beginning of June 1933 Archbishop O'Donnell used his influence to instigate a counter-movement to the Acadian proposal. Answering a letter from the Vicar General in Fredericton, Monsignor Carney, Archbishop O'Donnell urged the priest to initiate some kind of opposition movement.⁹⁸ He told the vicar to "get busy," with a counter-lobby meant to compromise the Acadian claims.⁹⁹ This initiative led to the drawing up of a petition which was signed by all but two of the English-speaking priests of the diocese. Addressed to the Apostolic Delegate, Msgr. Andrea Cassulo, the document listed four points as to why the proposed archdiocese should not be established. Some of the arguments used were reminiscent of the objections raised in the

⁹⁶ "Msgr. Thomas O'Donnell to Fr. Edward Savage, March 27, 1933" O'Donnell Papers, Vol. IV, No. 244, AAH.

⁹⁷ "Fr. Edward Savage to Msgr. Thomas O'Donnell, March 29, 1933," McCarthy papers, Vol. III, No. 302, AAH. The emphasis is in the letter.

⁹⁸ Father Carney's title of Monsignor is an honorary one.

⁹⁹ "Msgr. Thomas O'Donnell to Fr. Francis Carney, June 6, 1933," O'Donnell Papers, Vol. IV, No. 245, AAH.

earlier debates aimed at thwarting Acadian enthusiasms. First, it was said that the reorganization would "arouse" the English-speaking element in the diocese who supposedly had "already suffered from the racial question." Second, it was said that the idea would "precipitate an anti-Catholic movement" and thus jeopardize the precarious state of Catholic schools. It was also argued that another see would place a severe strain on the church's finances "especially in these times of depression." Lastly, the authors concluded that "this matter...[was] purely racial."¹⁰⁰ A copy of the petition was also forwarded to the Secretary of the Consistorial Congregation in Rome, Cardinal Rossi, whose assistance was asked "so that the division as planned may not be consummated."¹⁰¹

That same summer, a lobby to challenge Acadian wishes was organized for presentation to the Apostolic Delegate by Father F. C. Ryan, priest at Red Bank, New Brunswick. In a lengthy presentation to Papal Delegate Cassulo, Father Ryan described how the mentality of Acadian Bishops, allegedly so different from the English-speaking prelates, had left much of the Catholic population of New Brunswick "without efficient leadership and vigilance."¹⁰² He argued that since the mentality and mannerisms of the French Bishops were "so estranged from that of the English," the result had been a

¹⁰⁰ "English-speaking priests to Msgr. Andrea Cassulo, June 6, 1933, LeBlanc, Papers, ADSJ.

¹⁰¹ "Fr. Francis Carney to Msgr. Raphael Rossi, June 26, 1933," LeBlanc Papers, ADSJ.

¹⁰² "Fr. F.C. Ryan To Msgr. Andrea Cassulo, July 27, 1933," O'Donnell Papers, Vol. IV, No. 245, AAH.

"CHASM that may be most difficult to bridge."¹⁰³ Were these statements partisan shots used by Ryan to exaggerate the existing situation in the hope of catching the Apostolic Delegate's attention or were they honest comments referring to LeBlanc's and Chiasson's preoccupation with nationalism? As for LeBlanc, although he was very much interested in Acadians having their linguistic and cultural aspirations met within the church, he sought to remain on good terms with Anglophone Roman Catholics. But was an honest, good-working relationship possible? To what extent did success depend on LeBlanc's ability to be a "politician"? There is no denying that much of LeBlanc's motivation in creating the new ecclesiastical province came from nationalist ambitions. This is evident when going through the correspondence between LeBlanc and Chiasson on the question of diocesan division; one senses a "them-and-us" attitude. LeBlanc sometimes isolates as "les prêtres irlandais" those in his diocese not in favor of division.¹⁰⁴ Even though there was no overt attempt to estrange Anglophones in the province, incidents such as the push for another Acadian See in New Brunswick led them to believe that their Bishop had only a marginal interest in their well-being. In much the same way that Acadians had insisted that only one of theirs could truly represent them in the church, Anglophones in LeBlanc's diocese were now using the same argument in reverse, that is, to halt Acadian domination within the Catholic Church of Anglophone New Brunswick.

For Father Ryan the solution to the ethno-religious problems in New Brunswick lay not in preventing Acadians from rising to the episcopacy as much as preventing them

¹⁰³ "Fr. F.C. Ryan To Msgr. Andrea Cassulo, July 27, 1933," O'Donnell Papers, Vol. IV, No. 245, AAH. The emphasis is in the letter.

¹⁰⁴ "Msgr. Édouard Alfred LeBlanc to Msgr. Patrice Chiasson, June 2, 1933," ADB, Groupe II, Reel # 7668, PANB.

from having any influence over the English-speaking Catholics. To do that, he proposed dividing New Brunswick in such a way that there could still be two Acadian Bishops (i.e. Moncton and Chatham), but that they would be suffragan to a newly created English archdiocese within the province (see figure 7-3). This, he believed was the way to unity. Acadians would be "guaranteed all" by the above arrangement and end "for all time that nasty thorn of NATIONALISM."¹⁰⁵

Rome pondered the question of an Acadian Metropolitan in Moncton for another three years. During the interval, lobbyists continued to press the Acadian claims at home and before the papal court. Especially effective on the Vatican scene was the French Canadian primate, Cardinal Rodrigue Villeneuve, who, in his own words, had worked "au surplus"¹⁰⁶ in pushing for an Acadian See. The new Cardinal had been enthroned as head of the Canadian Catholic Church in 1932 and his attitudes towards French Catholic minorities outside Quebec conformed to those of Cardinal Bégin at the beginning of the century. Known for this work in furthering the cause of French culture in Ontario, it was not surprising to find Villeneuve involved in the Acadian struggle for an archdiocese.¹⁰⁷ As primate, he served as intermediary between Apostolic Delegate Cassulo and Acadian nationalists, arranging meetings and offering his palace as the meeting place.¹⁰⁸ By the spring of 1935 he had been in such regular contact with the

¹⁰⁵ Fr. F.C. Ryan To Msgr. Andrea Cassulo, July 27, 1933, " O'Donnell Papers, Vol. IV, No. 245, AAH. The emphasis is in the letter.

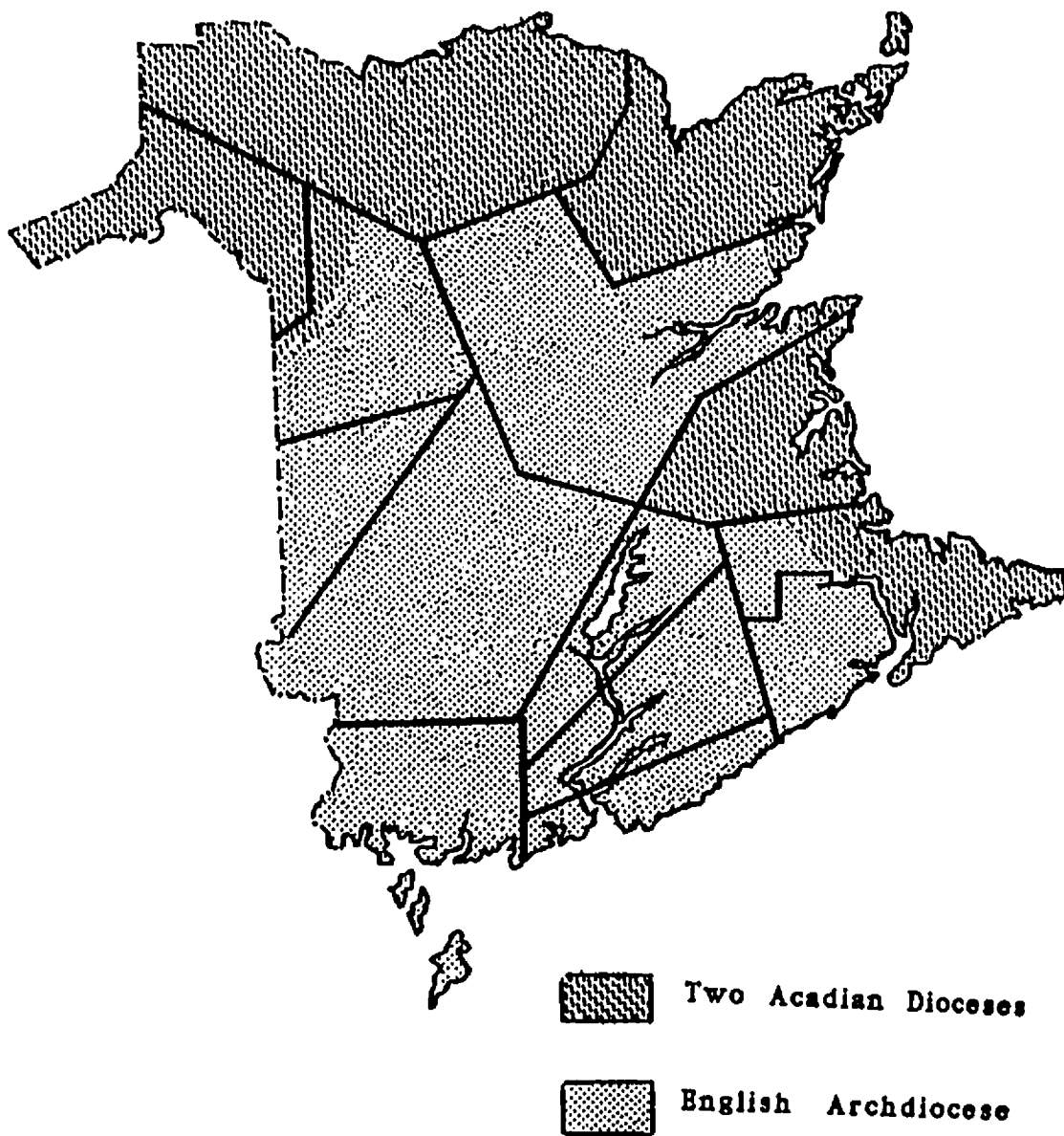
¹⁰⁶ "Msgr. Rodrigue Villeneuve to Msgr. Patrice Chiasson, March 19, 1935," unclassified manuscript in Melanson Papers, Archives of the Archdiocese of Moncton [hereafter AAM].

¹⁰⁷ Jean Hamelin and Nicole Gagnon, Histoire du catholicisme québécois, - Le XXe siècle, p. 365.

¹⁰⁸ Albert Sormany, "La nomination des premiers évêques acadiens, " CSHA, 1965, p. 14.

Figure 7 - 3

Father F.C. Ryan's proposal for an English Archdiocese, 1933



Vatican on the issue that he concluded Rome was edging closer to a final decision. He wrote Monsignor Chiasson in March of that year, saying "les dispositives sont excellentes dans le sens que vous souhaitez."¹⁰⁹

In November of 1935 Villeneuve brought the case for an Acadian archdiocese directly to the Vatican. There he had meetings with the Cardinal Secretary of the Consistory and was asked to prepare written arguments in favor of the Acadian claim. The resulting document supported the Acadian demands and rejected what Monsignor Villeneuve called the "objections faibles" as advanced by the non-Acadian elements of the Maritime clergy.¹¹⁰ With Cardinal Villeneuve's direct intervention in the debate over the Acadian archdiocese, Rome's dossier on the issue was more or less complete. The two questions remaining to be answered were "when" and "who." The entire question was quite sensitive since the incumbent in Halifax would be forced to abandon a sizeable portion of his ecclesiastical province; two dioceses and a population of nearly two hundred thousand Catholics.¹¹¹ How could the schism be carried out without antagonizing the Archbishop? Then the unexpected happened. On the morning of Monday, January 13, 1936, Archbishop O'Donnell died of a cerebral hemorrhage, only five years into his tenure.¹¹² If Rome was to act on the Acadian question, now was the appropriate time to do so. Accordingly, the creation of the Archdiocese of Moncton was

¹⁰⁹ "Cardinal Rodrigue Villeneuve to Msgr. Patrice Chiasson, March 29, 1935," Melanson Papers, AAM.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, November 15, 1935.

¹¹¹ In 1931 the Roman Catholic population of New Brunswick was one hundred eighty-eight thousand one hundred fifty-seven. See Dominion of Canada, Seventh Census of Canada, 1931, Volume I (Ottawa: J.O. Patenaude, 1936, p. 240.

¹¹² L'Évangéline, January 16, 1936, p. 1.

announced officially to the people of *L'Assomption* Parish on August 30, 1936.¹¹³ Then, a little more than six months later, the Vatican named Msgr. John McNally to succeed Archbishop O'Donnell.¹¹⁴

As to who would be the first Archbishop of Moncton, the question still remained a mystery, at least for a few months. However, in the month of December *L'Évangéline* announced that Msgr. Louis Joseph Arthur Melanson, a New Brunswick Acadian and currently Bishop of Gravelbourg, Saskatchewan, had been named first Archbishop of the Archdiocese of Moncton.¹¹⁵ The moment was one of great exaltation in the annals of Acadian religious and national history. In the space of twenty-five years Acadians in New Brunswick had progressed from being ostracized in the Catholic hierarchy to a position of dominating those same religious structures. Given their numbers, Rome's decision to grant Acadians an ecclesiastical province was appropriate. Jubilation erupted among the nationalists but one of the main characters in the long fought struggle was absent from the celebrations; Édouard Alfred LeBlanc had died fourteen months earlier on Sunday, February 17, 1935.

News of Bishop LeBlanc's death evoked sentiments of sadness and loss amid Acadian and Anglophone society. *L'Évangéline's* editor, in a long tribute, declared that his death "a causé partout un douloureux émoi." It described him as a man who had gained prestige and the admiration of citizens from all parts of the Maritimes.¹¹⁶ For his part the Premier stated that a "profond sorrow" would be felt throughout New

¹¹³ *L'Évangéline*, September 3, 1936, p. 1.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, March 11, 1937, p. 1.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, December 17, 1936, p.1.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, February 21, 1935, p. 3.

Brunswick as a result of the Bishop's passing while the Leader of the Opposition termed it "a distinct loss to the province."¹¹⁷ Other tributes poured in to the episcopal palace from all over the country and parts of the United States.

The body lay in state at the palace on Tuesday the 19th and for most of Wednesday the 20th of February. That afternoon it was transferred to the Cathedral in the company of an honor guard that had been in continuous attendance since the previous day. On Thursday morning the pontifical funeral mass was celebrated by Archbishop O'Donnell. Fourteen archbishops and bishops from the Maritimes, Quebec, Ontario, the West and one from New England were either present at the mass or officially represented by some church dignitary. Priests from Acadian parishes all over New Brunswick and Nova Scotia crowded the church to bid farewell as did the head of the Anglican Church in New Brunswick and some thirty ministers from various Protestant sects in and around the city. The crowd, both inside and outside the church was estimated at between twelve and fifteen thousand.¹¹⁸ Fifteen months later Father Patrick Bray, the incumbent rector of the Eudist Holy Heart Seminary in Halifax was named to succeed Bishop LeBlanc and was enthroned in that capacity on May 21, 1936.

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s LeBlanc must be given credit for further expanding Acadian power within the Catholic Church of Maritime Canada. Taking control of the Chatham See and having an ecclesiastical province erected certainly put Acadians in a much better posture vis-à-vis Irish and Scottish hegemony at the

¹¹⁷ As quoted in The Evening Times Globe, February 18, 1935, p. 3.

¹¹⁸ For a detailed description of the funeral ceremonies see L'Évangéline, February 28, 1935, p. 1 and 3.

hierarchical level. LeBlanc, along with some lay stalwarts, had his fair share to play in that turn-over. In reaching for that goal some eager nationalists were dissatisfied over what they saw as a certain hesitancy to act on important matters on the Bishop's part but in the end it was the Acadian cause within the Maritime Catholic Church that triumphed. Throughout the last decade of his life LeBlanc continued to be regarded as the Acadian representative within regional Catholicism even though a second Acadian had been enthroned in Chatham in 1920. Bishop Chiasson knew that and in the struggle for an ecclesiastical province his position was second to LeBlanc's despite the latter's failing health. Chiasson's views and actions in this affair were often the views and actions of "Sa Grandeur de Saint Jean," as he often referred to his senior in the episcopacy.¹¹⁹ Although LeBlanc died before the Archbishopric of Moncton had been formally instituted the ground work, much of it due to LeBlanc's intervention, had been completed and it was merely a question of time before it became a *fait accompli*. Indeed, by the time he died in 1935 LeBlanc had figured prominently in shaping the religious map of the Maritimes to conform to the visions of the old guard of nationalists that had been responsible for him becoming bishop in 1912.

¹¹⁹ "Msgr. Patrice Chiasson to Msgr. Stanislaus Doucet, March 25, 1925," A10X-1-6, CEA.

CONCLUSION

Many challenges faced Acadians throughout the last half of the nineteenth century as they struggled to assert their collective identity. The difficulties inherent to their minority status were further compounded by geographic fragmentation, poverty, and exclusion from the structures of power within the region. Those in control tended to neglect Acadians and viewed them as second class citizens whose best chances for the future lay in integrating with the larger Anglophone-dominated community. The inability of the dominant group to view the Acadians as a distinct society whose cultural identity was worth preserving was reflected in the school legislation enacted at mid-century. None of the provincial governments considered French language instruction. Indeed they consciously rejected the concept. In Nova Scotia for example, the Tupper Laws of 1864 instituted a publicly funded school system where English was to be the only language of instruction. This was nothing short of "a severe blow" for Acadians and further undermined "their feeble efforts to maintain their language, culture, and customs in the midst of an alien and sometimes hostile majority."¹ Conventional wisdom, which was shared by the Irish-dominated hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church held that in the name of "progress", Acadians would have to give up their language and in the religious sphere, accept subordination to Roman Catholics of other ethnic backgrounds.

Despite marginalization and discrimination Acadian society did not disintegrate. Indeed it persisted and over time came to display a remarkable and growing self-

¹ Rawlyk, G. A. and Hafter, Ruth. Acadian Education in Nova Scotia - An Historical Survey to 1965, p. 14.

assertiveness. To understand all the fine points of that process would require a separate study, but some general factors can be discerned. First and foremost was the fact that Acadians were moving from the margins toward the mainstream. Benefitting from Maritime transition beyond a frontier stage of development, toward provincial cohesion, dispersed Acadian communities began to profit from new institutional structures appearing in their midst. These included the church, colleges, and even the press. Steadily expanding numbers, in both absolute and relative terms, provided Acadians with a major source of strength. At the same time, their labour and capital had come to play a significant role in building the region's mid-Victorian achievements in terms of staples extraction, shipbuilding and trade. After Confederation Acadians became increasingly involved with the process of urban-industrial transformation, notably as migrants drawn to emerging growth centers such as Moncton, where most found work, while a few achieved membership in an ascendant Maritime middle class.

The changes fostered the emergence of an assertive and increasingly vocal leadership group. Largely the product of *les collèges classiques*, the members of this elite tended to be doctors, lawyers and clerics rather than entrepreneurs. As in Quebec the clergy-dominated colleges stressed the prestige to be derived from membership in the professions. Young men may also have assumed that their best career prospects lay in areas outside the fiercely competitive world of business where they would also have to work in English and ran high risks of assimilation. Even as professionals the emerging Acadian leaders found themselves exposed to assimilationist processes, especially when they lived in cities, took Anglophone marriage partners and adapted to an urban bourgeois life-style. Despite those temptations which could easily have translated into erosion of the Acadian identity, cultural assimilation was resisted. It could well be that the ideology fostered in the *collèges classiques* played a part in that decision and the

leadership core began a struggle to mobilize the kind of mass self-consciousness which they believed would guard against any repetition of the disaster of 1755. It added up to a crusade, in which Acadian leaders "sought to preserve their heritage of custom and language within an Anglophone milieu and to convince the wider world of their legitimate claims to a distinctive identity."²

It would be misleading to suggest that the mobilization of Acadian nationalism derived exclusively from changes taking place within the Acadian community. While internal factors such as the founding of colleges and the setting up of an indigenous press contributed to the process of nationalist self-assertion, external events also influenced the course of change. For example, the end of the nineteenth century ushered in a period of intense nationalism in French Canada.³ Quebec's outrage over the hanging of Louis Reel, over the way the Jesuits Estates' Act had been settled, and Quebec's reaction to the Boer War had generated strong anti-French sentiment especially in Ontario, In turn Francophone Quebec, lead by Ultramontanists within the Roman Catholic Church drew together to insist on the preservation of the French fact within Canada. In the process they provided inspiration and models for the Acadians then trying to forge their own identity. The first Acadian mass rally since 1755 was made possible in 1880 by the efforts of Quebec's Saint Jean Baptiste Society. That meeting stimulated Acadians to initiate their own "national" conventions and the presence of influential Québécois at most of these early gatherings suggest that Acadian nationalism drew much of its inspiration from the rising tide of French-Canadian nationalism.

² Naomi Griffiths, "Longfellow's *Evangeline*: The Birth and Acceptance of a Legend," in P.A. Buckner and David Frank (eds.) *The Acadiensis Reader*, Volume II, p. 73.

³ See for example Denis Monière, *Le développement des idéologies au Québec des origines à nos jours*, (Montréal: Les Editions Québec/Amérique, 1977), pp. 212-223.

In making their bid for acceptance as a distinct and viable identity Acadian leaders faced a series of problems, the most pressing of which was a definition of exactly who they were. An analysis of the first national convention by Camille Richard provides an insight into how important this issue of self-definition was for the nationalist agenda. By dividing the various topics discussed at the convention into ten categories, Richard demonstrated how the "definition category" was debated more than any other topic during the deliberations.⁴

Having articulated their vision leaders of the Acadian nationalist movement faced many challenges. Deprived of governmental structures they could call their own and catering to a largely rural and lower class population, nationalist leaders faced a formidable task in terms of arousing a mass collective consciousness. Their response tended to be more authoritarian than democratic, involving initiatives imposed from above rather than coming from below. For example, in choosing symbols to reflect Acadian identity, the leaders ignored folk traditions and instead opted for images derived from their own metropolitan bourgeois culture. Some scholars have suggested that key symbolism associated with the Acadian renaissance - the flag for example - was above comprehension for the masses who found it very difficult to identify with the elite-inspired rhetoric icons.⁵ Traditionally a rural society, and encouraged to remain so by members of the leadership who believed that Acadian survival demanded a continued close association with the land, many rank and file Acadians had reason to see the

⁴ Camille Richard, "L'Idéologie de la première convention nationale acadienne", p. 76.

⁵ Antonine Maillet, Rabelais et les traditions populaires en Acadie (Québec: Les presses de l'Université Laval, 1971), p. 12.

nationalist agenda as being both alive and static.⁶ Whether that meant the leadership faced a serious challenge from below is a question which lies beyond the scope of this thesis. What can be said is that the Acadian renaissance derived the core of its strength from the ability of a few to convey the impression to outsiders that they commanded overwhelming support from the mass of the Acadian community.

Central to the nationalist strategy was their emphasis on the events and the legacy of the deportation. Far from being an isolated incident in time, it was presented as the focal point of the Acadian experience. Nationalists claimed it translated into current problems and offered the source of strength needed to build a better future. When nationalists spoke of the immeasurable sufferings and the heroic deeds of epic proportions that characterized the lives of the deportees, they offered the message which had popular appeal. Although most Acadians lacked a strong literary tradition, a rich oral culture had perpetuated the memory of 1755 from one generation to the next and nearly every Acadian could in some way identify with it. The point is important since sociologists see a close link between the success of nationalist agitations and the degree to which the masses can identify with the events celebrated by the nationalist ideology. In his analyses of the first Acadian national convention, Camille Richard suggests that "plus le groupe a vécu ces événements ou les sent proches de lui, plus alors le nationalisme répond à un besoin du groupe et plus le groupe le vivra intensément."⁷

⁶ One of the strongest proponents of the agrarian life-style for Acadians was Msgr. Marcel-François Richard who for a number of years headed the *Société de colonisation acadienne-française*. See Ferdinand Robidoux, Conventions nationales des Acadiens, pp. 240-252.

⁷ Camille Richard, "Idéologie de la première convention acadienne," p. 24.

A second factor which helped the nationalist campaign was the church. It is no coincidence that mobilization of the Acadian renaissance paralleled the growth of an Acadian priesthood. The Roman Catholic Church, which contained such stalwart nationalists as Fathers Marcel-Francois Richard and Stanislaus Doucet, was virtually the only major institutionalized structure upon which Acadians could rely for support. Priests greatly assisted the nationalists' campaign from both the public podium and the pulpit. A large part of the success of the national conventions can be attributed to the French-speaking members of the Roman Catholic clergy in the Maritimes who spread the word to their flock and recruited delegates from within the parish. They also presided over workshops during the sittings and accommodated the conventions by lending their facilities. In an article on the Acadian flag Perry Biddiscombe identifies the influence of the church as "vital" and states that the national lobby "benefitted greatly" from that presence. Indeed Biddiscombe concludes that the Roman Catholic Church "partially compensated" for the weaknesses inherent in the lack of adequate structures.⁸

Although Acadians encountered many difficulties in the nineteenth century in their attempt at "finding their place," progress was discernable. By century's end Acadians had established a presence in most sectors of regional society. Nevertheless Acadians were excluded from one of the main pillars of what Griffiths has called "their heritage of custom and language" - the Roman Catholic Church.⁹ Until the founding of local classical colleges and the establishing of a seminary in Halifax in 1895, a large portion of the Acadian parishes were in the hands of non-Acadian members of the clergy.

⁸ Perry Biddiscombe, "Le Tricolore et l'étoile: The Origin of the Acadian National Flag, 1867-1912," p. 135.

⁹ Naomi Griffiths, "Longfellow's Evangeline: The Birth and Acceptance of a Legend," in P.A. Buckner and David Frank (eds.) The Acadiensis Reader, Volume II, p. 73.

Archbishop Hannan's comment to the people of Meteghan in 1877 could have applied to many Acadian sectors of the Maritimes when he noted, "not one priest or student [is] supplied from the large population of French descent in this and the neighboring County of Yarmouth."¹⁰

For Acadian nationalists the structure of Roman Catholicism in the Maritimes at the beginning of the new century represented an insult. Despite their rising numbers in many dioceses of the region not one Acadian had risen to the prelacy, a fact which was interpreted as deliberate exercise in ethnic chauvinism by an Irish episcopacy. In actuality, the situation derived from more than crass self-interest on the part of those in power. For the hierarchy, Canada and the Maritime Provinces were English and thus to accommodate Francophones would jeopardize the church's long term well being. For Acadians loss of language equalled eventual loss of faith therefore they insisted that Catholicism must be in French. Accordingly, episcopal pragmatism collided with Acadian nationalism resulting in a battle for supremacy within the Maritime Catholic Church.

The extent to which Rome was sympathetic toward Acadian demands during this period is difficult to discern. Given the rising tide of anti-clericalism in France and the difficulties the Vatican was encountering at this time with countries such as Austria and Germany, the "Acadian question" must have been dwarfed by problems of church-state

¹⁰ Msgr. Michael Hannan, "Registre des Baptêmes, No. 4, 1867-1877," Archives de la paroisse Stella Maris, Meteghan, N.S.

relations which were of much larger consequence.¹¹ Thus one has cause to be skeptical about whether the Vatican bureaucracy gave high priority to the problems of Maritime Catholicism. Moreover a sceptic might assume that Rome remained more committed to inertia than to innovation in the name of giving justice to the Acadians. Thus for Acadian nationalists to claim they had a natural ally in the power of the Pope may have been mere wishful thinking. Moreover when "victory" finally came in 1912 triumph might in reality have been a move designed to thwart further agitation. Definitive exploration of those issues is beyond the scope of this study. However, existing historiography concerning Rome's dealings with Canada at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth does shed some light on relations between the Papacy and Acadian nationalism.

That the Vatican took a close interest in the affairs of the Roman Catholic Church in Canada during this period is evidenced first by its sending several Papal envoys to evaluate specific Canadian problems and secondly by the setting up of a permanent delegation in Ottawa as of 1899. Within the framework of late nineteenth century Vatican administrative policy these steps were conventional procedure for establishing a closer rapport between foreign countries and the seat of Catholicism. The role of the papal delegate in Ottawa was to report to Rome on all facets of Canadian Catholicism, not merely what was emerging out of Ontario and Quebec. Therefore Rome had an important intermediary whose proximity to all Catholic groups in the country was seen as a vital mechanism for keeping Rome abreast of particular issues. With the volume of

¹¹ During the final decades of the nineteenth century Rome encountered a series of problems with certain European countries. For example, in 1870 Austria revoked its entente, or "concordat", with Rome which regulated relations of mutual concern to both parties. Similarly, Prussia and other German states began an anti-Rome campaign in the wake of Bismarck's ascendancy. Fearing that Catholicism was a threat to national unity, the German Chancellor would eventually break off diplomatic relations with Rome.

correspondence sent to Rome there can be little doubt that by 1912 a sizeable dossier had been accumulated at the Vatican on the Acadian issue as a result of this office.

The growing attention Rome paid to the linguistic aspirations of the Maritime's Francophone minority reflected a general trend in Vatican policy. Roberto Perrin's assertion that "Rome was not opposed in principle to ethnic aspirations in this period" holds true across the North American scene.¹² Francophone groups from Ontario and Manitoba, Ukrainians professing the Eastern rite,¹³ and Italians emigrating in large numbers to the United States all met with some degrees of accommodation when presenting their case before the Roman authorities. The Acadians were no different.

Although the various apostolic delegates reflected different attitudes with regards to ethnicity's place within the Canadian Catholic Church, Rome's envoys were instructed to use compromise as a guiding principle.¹⁴ While not being indifferent to the plight of ethnic minority groups belonging to the fold limits existed as to how far Rome would go toward accommodating demands for change. This was particularly true when change involved the risk of provoking confrontation with other churches, with civil authorities

¹² Roberto Perin, Rome in Canada: the Vatican and Canadian Affairs In The Late Victorian Age, p. 222.

¹³ There are marked differences between Catholics of the Eastern rite and those of the Latin rite. For example clerics in the Eastern church are permitted to marry. Large numbers of Eastern Europeans came to the Canadian West at the turn of the century, emigrating principally from the province of Galicia in the Ukraine. Rome tried to deal with the problem a married clergy would cause to the Catholic population of Canada which adhered to the Latin rite. The Vatican at first insisted that only celibate or widowed priests of the Eastern rite come to America. However, the rising tide of immigrants forced Roman authorities to change their policy and married priests were sent.

¹⁴ Msgr. Merry del Val's views on Canadian Catholicism were more in line with the Maritime hierarchy's vision than those of his successor, Msgr. Falconio, who showed a greater sensitivity to Acadian aspirations.

and even with different ethnic groups within its own parameters. As one scholar has emphasized, "what Rome wanted above all was that ethnic or religious questions not divide the local church and that as much as possible they not trouble relations with civil authorities."¹⁵

In the light of such a policy LeBlanc's nomination can be seen as a compromise. While responding positively to Acadian demands, Rome also sought to accommodate the local hierarchy by rejecting the idea of an Acadian diocese. Furthermore, concessions that came later such as the nomination of a second Acadian bishop in 1920 and the creation of an ecclesiastical province in 1936, should not be interpreted as Roman blind support for the Acadian cause. Rome basically appears to have acted with pragmatic caution when dealing with Acadian nationalism and the events of 1912 probably signaled more short term tactical considerations than long term strategy.

Nevertheless the elevation of Monsignor Édouard Alfred LeBlanc to the Saint John See in 1912 signaled an important victory for the Acadian lobby. With his enthronement, nationalists felt that a significant wrong had been righted and that they now held a influential tool crucial to their collective self-assertion. But would the new Bishop live up to Acadian expectations and be the spokesman and defender of the group on the crucial issues that confronted them in the early twentieth century?

LeBlanc's diocese was an ethnically mixed one, dominated by a city where most of the town's Catholics were of Irish extraction, thus his position was precarious. Dealing with national issues would always be contentious, requiring a cautious and diplomatic approach rather than a bold and uncompromising attitude. LeBlanc, more

¹⁵ Roberto Perin, Rome in Canada: the Vatican and Canadian Affairs In The Late Victorian Age, pp. 222-223.

than some other clerics who had been suggested for the post, was of the temperament needed to suit the situation. Those Acadians instilled with an impatient nationalism initially tended to interpret LeBlanc's leadership as a sign that his mentality "n'était pas la nôtre au point de vue national."¹⁶ However as the years went by and his mode of operation became more understandable, Acadian nationalists passed a more favorable judgement on their Bishop. Albert Sormany would later write: "Mgr. LeBlanc a été prudent, sans doute, diplomate beaucoup mais quand même un très bon évêque acadien."¹⁷

Bishop LeBlanc was an Acadian nationalist, but in his own manner. To further the Acadian identity meant for LeBlanc the creation of French Catholic institutions. That he willingly did, even at the risk of alienating non-French elements within the Maritime Catholic community. LeBlanc stood firm in what he believed to be the best way of assuring linguistic and cultural survival for the Acadian portion of his flock. The creation of *L'Assomption* parish in Moncton, his work to have an Acadian enthroned on the Chatham See, the founding of an order of French-teaching Sisters, and his efforts in conjunction with Msgr. Patrice-Alexandre Chiasson to have an Acadian Archdiocese erected in New Brunswick, all bear witness to this.

It has been suggested that the post 1912 era saw a scaling down of national sentiment. In a 1980 article Thériault called the 1913-1945 period a time of waning national enthusiasms. He argued that after 1912 the "grand congresses became a thing of the past," that the leadership was more "piecemeal" and that "no single public figure

¹⁶ Henri P. LeBlanc, "Moncton - Notes sur la race française dans L'Église," 24.20-2, CEA.

¹⁷ Albert Sormany, "La question épiscopale au Nouveau-Brunswick," 25-5-2, CEA.

emerged as had been the case in the period from 1881 to 1912"¹⁸ Thériault's assessment bears consideration but the judgment he passed on Acadian collective consciousness during the interwar years may be in need of revision. While LeBlanc's leadership lacked an heroic dimension, it is possible to suggest that his career constituted a legitimate and perhaps necessary stage in the evolution of Acadian self-assertion. Such a view would argue that LeBlanc stood as a transitional figure operating with limitations of the age in which he lived.¹⁹

The church in LeBlanc's era was looked upon by Acadians as the chief vehicle to assure their ethnic survival. It had played and was still playing what one sociologist has called a "rôle prépondérant" within Acadian society.²⁰ In LeBlanc's time the church helped sustain those institutions of health, education and welfare which stood at the core of community life. The preponderant role of the state in those fields would not develop for another thirty years. Moreover, the state, which for Maritime Acadians was Anglophone and Protestant, tolerated certain things but guaranteed nothing.

¹⁸ Léon Thériault, "Acadia, 1763-1978, An Historical Synthesis," in Jean Daigle (ed.), The Acadians of the Maritimes, p. 77.

¹⁹ An interesting parallel may be drawn between LeBlanc's leadership and that of Robert Drummond, Grand Secretary of the Provincial Workmen's Association at the end of the nineteenth century. Like LeBlanc Drummond preferred compromise over confrontation and had difficulty in addressing the crucial issues facing miners in a rapidly changing world. He too stands out as transitional figure between the PWA's foundation and "the radical future" which would characterize the labour movement in the Maritimes during the first quarter of the twentieth century. However, unlike LeBlanc the labour leader had become an anachronism by the time of his death. See Ian McKay, "By Wisdom, Wile or War: The Provincial Workmen's Association and the Struggle for Working-Class Independence in Nova Scotia, 1879-97," Labour/ Le Travail, Vol. 18, 1986, pp. 13-62.

²⁰ Jean-Paul Hautecoeur, "Nationalisme et développement en Acadie," Recherches sociographiques, Vol. 17, No. 2, 1976, p. 171.

It was only at mid-century and beyond that Acadians began to work within the structures of the state and seek what it could offer in their ongoing process of self-assertion. For example, in 1946 Acadian teachers in New Brunswick organized a lobby group known as *L'Association acadienne d'éducation* which put forth what it saw as legitimate claims for French language instruction and later took control of Acadian education. In 1970 as, *L'Association des Enseignants francophones du Nouveau-Brunswick*, it officially became the recognized professional association for Francophone teachers in the province. Also at mid-century Acadians could use new media forms as further guarantees of language and cultural survival. The setting up of radio and television facilities in Moncton by the CBC during the 1950s is a good example of new mechanisms of self-assertion outside the church's sphere of action. Also, the *Société nationale des Acadiens* was given new vitality in this period and a permanent secretariat was put into place.²¹ Later, with the introduction of bilingual and bicultural federal policy Acadians created state-funded structures which replaced the church as the prime supporter of nationalist ambitions. For example, Acadians in Nova Scotia organized *La Fédération acadienne de la Nouvelle-Écosse* at the end of the sixties and a few years later Francophones in New Brunswick set up their *Société des Acadiens et Acadiennes du Nouveau Brunswick*. At this juncture the *Société nationale's* mandate was revamped and it became the umbrella organization for Acadian cultural associations in the three Maritime Provinces.

But in LeBlanc's time these accomplishments were still two generations away and government funded initiatives to assist Acadians in their bid for self-assertion were not forthcoming. On the other hand the Catholic church was becoming genuinely

²¹ For an insight into the restructuring of *La Société nationale* see Jean-Paul Hauteocour, *L'Acadie du Discours* (Québec: Les Presses de L'Université Laval, 1975), pp. 91-194.

concerned for the people's linguistic and cultural welfare which its leaders believed could be assured through the creation of more church sponsored institutions. It is in this interim period between the victories of the early 1900s and the new orientation at mid-century, when the functions of the state were set in motion, that the LeBlanc-style nationalism made its mark.

By the 1960s this approach to nationalism was fast becoming anachronistic. Today we wonder why LeBlanc's energies went into developing more religious structures rather than attempting to address the ills of economic and social dislocation at the grassroots level. Why, for example, were convents and new bishops more important than conditions of living? The answer to that lies in the fact that LeBlanc was very much a product of his age and his age was the late Victorian era, not the 1920s and 1930s. Men who had matured in the final decades of the nineteenth century were often "limited by their preconceptions"²² irrespective of whether they were clerical or lay leaders. Witness for example the municipal reformer Reginald Harris and his Halifax board of control whose "narrowness of vision provided no effective analysis of chronic social ills... and no solution to industrial underdevelopment."²³ Even the broader, more 'progressive' reform movement under the guise of social gospel was rooted in the nineteenth century and often did little to alleviate social and economic distress among Nova Scotians.²⁴ Like many of his contemporaries in the social leadership of the Maritimes in this period, LeBlanc fitted well into the mainstream of an ideology that could still be labelled as conservative.

²² Henry Roper, "The Halifax Board of Control: The Failure of Municipal Reform, 1906-1919" *Acadiensis*, Vol. XIV, No. 2, 1985, p. 65.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ E. R. Forbes, "Prohibition and the Social Gospel in Nova Scotia," p. 36.

Thus the "institutionalized" nationalism championed by Édouard LeBlanc prevailed for Acadians in their quest for recognition, at least within the Roman Catholic society of Maritime Canada. The Bishop's performance became subdued and carefully measured when he was called upon to exercise a leadership role with Maritime society at large. This approach was very evident when war, and the reform enthusiasm it engendered, confronted Acadians. On the questions of conscription, prohibition and emigration, LeBlanc opted for silence or when he did speak on such contentious issues it was in such a way as not to offend those who were in power provincially and at the federal level. For example, it is difficult to conceive that LeBlanc was for conscription when the primate of the Canadian Catholic Church was against it. However, LeBlanc never proclaimed his views on military enlistment other than to encourage "nos jeunes hommes à voler à la défense de l'empire."²⁵ Prohibition also received a carefully evasive response from the Bishop. Although in favor of temperance it would be extremely difficult for him, as well as for any other Roman Catholic cleric, to advocate criminalizing the liquor trade when wine was used by the church every day for the celebration of mass. But to come out and publicly state this would have alienated Anglo-Protestant citizens who promoted the movement and for a time made it the law of the land. The brand of quietism had the virtue of giving LeBlanc the acceptance he needed to pursue what he regarded as his first priority, namely consolidation of the French fact within the fabric of Maritime Catholicism.

Édouard Alfred LeBlanc died at 1:05 a.m. Sunday, February 17, 1935. Just as his nomination to the episcopacy had been a moment of great joy, his death cast a somber

²⁵ Msgr. Édouard Alfred LeBlanc, "Discours sur le recrutement et la guerre," Moniteur Acadien, novembre 26, 1914, p. 1.

mood among Acadians. The Roman Catholic Church in the Maritimes had changed substantially during the twenty-two years of his episcopacy with many of the changes being the result of LeBlanc's labours. And if it was to church-oriented structures that nationalists tended to look towards as a viable means of ethnic survival, LeBlanc was undoubtedly a "national" hero. However, if the church was to provide leadership within the context of the larger Anglo-Protestant community in Maritime Canada, the desire not to antagonize seemed to shape both LeBlanc's rhetoric and actions. Studies on other French-Catholic minorities and what role their bishops played in providing ethnic leadership would permit us to see to what extent Msgr. Édouard Alfred LeBlanc's vision was a paradigm of church sponsored nationalism in Canada during the first half of the twentieth century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I: ARCHIVAL SOURCES

A) NEW BRUNSWICK:

1. Archives de l'Archevêché de Moncton, Moncton, New Brunswick. Archbishop Louis-Joseph-Arthur Melanson Papers, unclassified correspondence, 1935.

2. Archives de la Paroisse Saint-Pierre-aux-Liens, Caraquet, Nouveau-Brunswick. Registre de l'Abbé Bailly de Messein, 1768-1773.

3. Archives du Centre d'études acadiennes, Université de Moncton, Moncton, New Brunswick. Albert Sormany Papers, 1915-1917.

_____ Antoine J. Léger Papers, 1928.

_____ Archives des Pères Eudistes, Correspondance, 1920-1925.

_____ Ferdinand Robidoux Papers, 1912-1951.

_____ Henri-P. LeBlanc Papers, 1908-1916, 1955.

_____ Marcel-François Richard Papers, 1885-1912.

_____ Pascal Poirier Papers, 1900-1902.

_____ Pierre-Amand Landry Papers, 1893-1912.

_____ Placide Gaudet Papers, 1893.

_____ Rameau de St.-Père Papers, 1861-1890.

_____ Thérèse Roy and Cécile Rachon Papers, 1863.

_____ Valentin Landry Papers, 1888-1909.

4. Archives des Religieuses de la Congrégation Notre Dame du Sacré-Coeur, Moncton, New Brunswick. Biographie de Mère Marie-Anne, fondatrice des Religieuses Notre Dame-du-Sacré-Coeur.

_____ Correspondance and "Chroniques," 1914-1922.

5. Archives of the Diocese of Saint John, Saint John, New Brunswick. LeBlanc Papers, Address to the Parishioners of Saint Joseph's, Weymouth, N.S. 1912.

_____ Correspondance, 1912-1934.

_____ Documents relative to Saint Bernard's Parish,
Moncton, New Brunswick, 1913-1933.

6. Archives of the Sisters of Charity of the Immaculate Conception, Saint John, New Brunswick. Correspondance Box, 6C, 1916-1922.

_____ Proclamation by Msgr. Édouard Alfred LeBlanc,
1924.

7. Public Archives of New Brunswick, Fredericton, New Brunswick. Groupe II, Bishops' Correspondance, 1912-1920, Reels F7763 and F8950.

B) NOVA SCOTIA:

1. Archives de la paroisse Saint-Bernard, Saint-Bernard, N.S. "Registre des Baptêmes, 1907-1937."

_____ "Registre des Baptêmes et Mariages, 1868-1906."

2. Archives de la paroisse Stella Maris, Meteghan, N.S. "Registre des Baptêmes, 1881-1891."

_____ "Registre des Baptêmes et Mariages, No. 4, 1867-1877."

_____ "Registre des Baptêmes et Mariages, No. 7, 1896-1899."

3. Archives du Centre Acadien, Université Sainte-Anne, Pointe-de-l'Église, Nouvelle-Écosse. Abbé Jean-Mandé Sigogne Papers, 1800-1817.

_____ An Agreement between the Most Rev. C. O'Brien,
D.D., Archbishop of Halifax and Rev. Gustave
Blanche" November 12, 1890, MG I.

_____ "Collège Sainte-Anne, Registres de notes," 1915-1916.

_____ Correspondance des Pères Eudistes, 1890.

- _____ "Le Saint Coeur de Marie" October 15, 1893, Vol. I, MG 1.
- _____ "Les curés d'Arichat," manuscript prepared by the Société Historique Acadienne de l'Île Madame, n.d.
4. Archives of the Archdiocese of Halifax, Halifax, Nova Scotia. McCarthy Papers, 1908-1920.
- _____ O'Donnell Papers, 1905-1933.
- _____ McCarthy Papers, 1933.
5. Archives of the Municipality of Clare, Little Brook, Nova Scotia. "Minute Book No. 1," 1867-1905.
6. Digby County Records Office, Weymouth, Nova Scotia. "Condon to LeBlanc and others, May 30, 1866," Book 34.
- _____ "Indenture Doty Jr. and White, n.d.," Book 9.
- _____ "Langford Sr. to LeBlanc and others, November 11, 1867," Book 35.
- _____ "LeBlanc to LeBlanc and others, October 19, 1895," Book 70.
- _____ "LeBlanc to LeBlanc, February 18, 1832," Book 11.
7. Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Halifax, Nova Scotia. "Bound Volumes of Nova Scotia Records for the Period 1624-1867."
- _____ "Papers of Families and Individuals," Vol. 771, No. 12.
- _____ "Education." School Papers for the County of Digby (1814-1865), and for the County of Yarmouth (1811-1840).
- _____ "Colonial Office Papers," 217, Vol. 43, doc. 257.
- _____ "Census of 1871", Misc "C", Reel #7.
- _____ "Census of 1881", Misc "C", Reel #8.
- _____ "Census of 1891", Misc "C", Reel #5.
- _____ "Lords of Trade" RG 1, Vol. 31, No. 34.

C. ONTARIO:

1. Archives of the Diocese of London, Ontario. "Address by the Archbishop of Westminster, September 10, 1910."

2. National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario. "Généalogies des Familles acadiennes", ARC-178, Roll 3.

_____ Laurier Papers, Reel # C-743, 768, 769, 785, 880, 1896-1909.

_____ "New Brunswick Census Returns 1861, No. 99 - Dorchester Parish", Reel # C-1005.

_____ "Shipping Registers, "Digby N.S., 1880-1901", Vol. 263, Reel # C-2433.

_____ "Shipping Registers, Yarmouth, N.S., 1877-81, 1881-84, 1884-91", Vols. 98,99 and 240, Reel # C-2449.

D. QUÉBEC:

1. Archives de l'Archevêché de Québec, Québec. 60 CN, Gouvernement du Canada, IX: 209, 1918.

_____ 312 CN, Nouvelle-Écosse, I, 1790.

_____ 310 CN, Ile-du-Prince-Édouard I: 48, 1814.

_____ 31 CN, Provinces Maritimes, I and II: 86, 190, 1899, 1913.

_____ 20A Évêques de Québec, VIII: 42, 1907.

2. Archives de la Congrégation de Jésus et Marie [Eudistes], Charlesbourg, Québec. AC - Lieux - Ch. Pt. 1895.

3. Archives du Séminaire de Québec, Québec. Université 177, No. 84, 1912, and Université 178, No. 6, 1913.

II: PRINTED SOURCES

A) PUBLISHED PRIMARY ACCOUNTS AND REFERENCE BOOKS:

- Arsenault, Samuel, et. al. Atlas de L'Acadie - Petit Atlas des Francophones des Maritimes. Moncton: Editions d'Acadie, 1976.
- Album Souvenir 1864-1964 - Collège Saint Joseph. Centre d'études acadiennes, Université de Moncton. No publisher nor place of publication given.
- An Album commemorating the Fiftieth Anniversary of Holy Heart Seminary. Halifax: the Archbishop, 1946.
- Annual Directory of Saint-Anne College. 1893-1894. Weymouth: Les Presses de l'Évangéline, 1894.
- Bourne, Msgr. Francis. Address by the Archbishop of Westminster, Montreal, September 10, 1910. Unclassified pamphlet in the Archives of the Diocese of London, Ontario.
- Briand, Msgr. Jean-Olivier. "Pastoral Letter, August 16, 1766," Rapport de l'archiviste de la Province du Québec, 1929-1930. Québec: Redempti Paradis, 1930.
- Briand, Msgr. Jean-Olivier. "Pastoral Letter, June 28, 1766," Mémoire sur les Missions de la Nouvelle-Écosse du Cap Breton et de l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard de 1760-1930. Québec: C. Darveau, 1895.
- Calendar of Saint Joseph's College, Memramcook, N.B. Saint John: J.A. McMillan, 1890.
- Centenaire de la mort du Père Jean-Mandé Sigogne. Yarmouth: The Lawson Publishing Co. Ltd., 1944.
- Comeau, Ed. Church of Saint Bernard. pamphlet in the Parish Archives, Saint Bernard, N.S.
- Église Saint Bernard, Livre Souvenir. Yarmouth: The Lawson Publishing Company, 1942.
- Harbec, Hélène (ed.). Guide bibliographique de l'Acadie, 1976-1987. Moncton: Centre d'études acadiennes 1988.
- John, Eric (ed.). The Popes. New York: Hawthorn Books Inc., 1964.
- L'illustration du Journal le Moniteur Acadien. Shediac: Le Moniteur Acadien, 1892.
- Le Canada Ecclésiastique - Almanac annuaire du clergé canadien. Montréal: Cadieux et Derome, 1899.

- Le Canada Ecclésiastique. Montreal: Librairie Beauchemin, 1913.
- LeBlanc, Msgr. Édouard Alfred. Pastoral Letter to the Clergy and Laity. St. John: The St. John Globe Publishing Co., 1916.
- LeBlanc, Msgr. Édouard Alfred. Pastoral Letter to the Clergy and Laity. Saint John: The Saint John Globe Publishing Co., 1914.
- LeBlanc, Msgr. Édouard Alfred. Pastoral Letter. "Msgr. E. LeBlanc, évêque, St. Jean - Lettres circulaires," 1923. Centre d'études acadiennes, Université de Moncton.
- Lovell, John. Nova Scotia Directory for 1871. London, Ontario: The Genealogical Research Library, 1984.
- Moncton Business Directory. Moncton: The Times Printing Co., 1909.
- Prospectus du Moniteur Acadien. Microfilm 1072, Centre d'études acadiennes, Université de Moncton, Moncton, New Brunswick.
- Public Archives of Nova Scotia. Place-Names and Places of Nova Scotia. Belleville: Mika Publishing Company, 1976.
- Rapport concernant les Archives canadiennes pour l'année 1905, Volume II. Ottawa: C. H. Parmelee, 1909.
- Requête des Catholiques français au sujet d'un évêque français, Chatham, 1917. Pamphlet in the possession of this author.
- Robichaud, Norbert (ed.). Guide bibliographique de l'Acadie - Supplément et mise à jour, 1988-1989. Moncton: Centre d'études acadiennes, 1991.
- Saint Anne's College Calendar, 1940-1941. Moncton: l'Évangéline Ltée, 1941.
- Saint Joseph's College Ledger, "Grand Livre No. 3, 1885-1990." Centre d'études acadiennes, Université de Moncton.
- Shortt, Adam and Doughty, Arthur G. (eds.), Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-1791, Volume I. Ottawa: Thomas Mulvey, 1921.
- Smith, Leonard (ed.). Saint Mary's Bay 1774-1801: Early Parish Register. Clearwater, Florida: Owl Books 1983.
- The Concise Dictionary of the Christian Church. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- The Mercantile Agency Reference Book. Montreal: Dun, Wiman and Co. , 1877 and 1885.

B) NEWSPAPERS:**1) Used extensively:**

L'Évangéline (Weymouth, N.S., Digby, N.S., then Moncton, N.B.), 1887-1937.

Le Moniteur Acadien (Shédiac, N.B.), 1867-1923.

The New Freeman (Saint John, N.B.), 1917-1935.

2) Used periodically:

Daily Transcript (Moncton), 1905.

Digby Weekly Courier (Digby, N.S.), 1886-1896.

Evening Times-Globe (Saint John, N.B.), 1935.

Fredericton Daily Gleaner (Fredericton, N.B.), 1917-1925.

L'Acadien (Moncton, N.B.), 1917.

L'Écho (Meteghan River, N. S.), 1884.

L'Impartial (Tignish, P.E.I.), 1893-1911.

La Patrie (Montréal), 1901.

La Presse (Montréal), 1912.

Le Courrier des Provinces Maritimes (Bathurst, N.B.), 1885-1891.

Le Devoir (Montréal), 1912.

Le Madawaska (Edmundston, N.B.), 1917.

Moncton Daily Times (Moncton, N.B.), 1909.

Moncton Daily Transcript (Moncton, N.B.), 1888-1925.

Saint John Standard (Saint John, N.B.), 1912.

The Examiner (Charlottetown, P.E.I.), 1863-1871.

The Globe (Saint John, N.B.), 1900.

The Halifax Herald (Halifax, N.S.), 1897.

The Yarmouth Herald (Yarmouth, N.S.), 1866.

C) GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS:

- Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Census of Canada 1870-71, Volume I. Ottawa: I.B. Taylor, 1873.
- Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Census of Canada, 1880-1881, Volumes I and IV. Ottawa: Maclean, Roger & Co., 1885.
- Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Census of Canada, 1890-1891, Volume I. Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, 1893.
- Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics. "Census of Nova Scotia, 1817" n.d., pamphlet CS-90, Louis R. Comeau Library.
- Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Fifth Census of Canada 1911, Volumes I and II. Ottawa: C.H. Parmelee, 1913.
- Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Fourth Census of Canada, 1901, Volume I. Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, 1902.
- Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Ninth Census of Canada, 1951, Volume I. Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, 1953.
- Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Seventh Census of Canada, 1931, Volume I. Ottawa: J.O. Patenaude, 1936.
- Canada, Government. Report of the Royal Commission Investigating the Fisheries of the Maritime Provinces and the Magdalen Islands. Ottawa: F.A. Acland, 1928.
- Canada, Government. Report of the Royal Commission on Financial Arrangements between the Dominion and the Maritime Provinces. Ottawa: J.O. Patenaude, 1935.
- Canada, Parliament. "Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries," Sessional Papers, Vol. XI, No. 1, 1878.
- Canada, Parliament. "List of Vessels on the Registry Books of the Dominion of Canada the 31 day of December 1886," Sessional Papers, Vol. 14, No. 15, 1887.
- Canada, Parliament. "Thirty-First Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries," Sessional Papers, Vol. XXXIII, No. 11A., 1899.
- New Brunswick, Government. Reports of the Sea and River Fisheries of New Brunswick. Fredericton: J. Simpson, 1852.
- New Brunswick, Legislative Assembly. "Inspectors' Reports," Journals of the House of Assembly of New Brunswick. Fredericton: King's Printer, 1910.

- Nova Scotia, Government. A Submission of its Claims with Respect to Maritime Disabilities within Confederation as presented to the Royal Commission. Halifax: _____ 1926.
- Nova Scotia, Government. Nova Scotia Statutes, Chapter VII, Section II, 1766.
- Nova Scotia, Legislative Assembly. "Insepectors' Reports," Journal and Proceedings of the House of Assembly. Halifax: The Commissioner of Public Works and Mines, 1883.
- Nova Scotia, Legislative Assembly. "Inspectors' Report," Journals and Proceedings of the House of Assembly. Halifax: Robert J. Murray, 1879.
- Nova Scotia, Legislative Assembly. "Report of the Superintendant of Education," Journals and Proceedings of the House of Assembly, Part II., Halifax: Robert T. Murray, 1880.
- Nova Scotia, Legislative Assembly. "Report of the Superintendant of Education," Journals and Proceedings of the House of Assembly, Part II. Halifax: Blackadar Bros., 1875.
- Nova Scotia. Legislative Assembly. "Report of the Schools of Nova Scotia for the year 1851," Journal and Proceedings of the House of Assembly. Halifax: Richard Nugent, 1851.
- Prince Edward Island, Legislative Assembly "Inspector's Report," Assembly Journals, Prince Edward Island. Charlottetown: The Islander, 1845.
- Prince Edward Island, Legislative Assembly. "Appendix 0," Journals of the Prince Edward Island Legislative Assembly. Charlottetown: John Coombs, 1872.

D) GENERAL WORKS:

- Akenson, Donald H. (ed.). Canadian Papers in Rural History. Volume VI. Gananoque: Langdale Press, 1988.
- Albert, Thomas. Histoire du Madawaska - entre l'Acadie, le Québec, et l'Amérique. Québec: Editions Hurtibise HMN, 1982.
- Allaire, J.B.-A. Dictionnaire Biographique du Clergé Canadien-Français - Les Anciens. Montréal: Imprimerie de l'École Catholique des Sourds-Muets, 1910.
- Armour, Charles and Lackey, Thomas. Sailing Ships of the Maritimes. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., 1975.
- Arsenault, Fernand, and Babineau, Edmour. François-Amédée Bourgois. Moncton: Éditions d'Acadie, 1985.

- Arsenault, Fernand, and Babineau, Edmour. Philippe Belliveau. Moncton: Éditions d'Acadie, 1988.
- Arsenault, Georges. L'Agriculture chez les Acadiens de L'Île-du-Prince-Édouard, 1720-1980. Summerside: La Société Saint-Thomas d'Aquin, 1981.
- Arsenault, Georges. La Religion et les Acadiens de l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard, 1720-1980. Summerside: Société Saint-Thomas d'Aquin, 1983.
- Arsenault, Georges. L'Éducation chez les Acadiens de l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard, 1720-1980. Summerside: la Société Saint-Thomas d'Aquin, 1982.
- Babin, Fr. Basile. Entre le marteau et l'enclume. Charlesbourg, Québec: les Pères Eudistes, 1981.
- Baglole, Harry (ed.). Exploring Island History. Belfast, Prince Edward Island: Ragweed Press, 1977.
- Basque, Maurice (et. al.). Deux siècle de particularisme - Une histoire de Tracadie. Shédiac: Imprimerie Chedick Ltée., 1984.
- Beck, J. Murray. Joseph Howe. Volume I and II. Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1982.
- Beck, J. Murray. The Pendulum of Power - Canada's Federal Elections. Scarborough: Prentice Hall of Canada Ltd., 1968.
- Bell, Winthrop. The "Foreign Protestants" and the Settlement of Nova Scotia. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961.
- Benoit-Levy, Jean, et. al. L'Oeuvre de la Troisième République. Montréal: Les Éditions de l'Arbre, 1954.
- Bercuson, David (ed.). Canada and the Burden of Unity. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1977.
- Berger, Carl. The Sense of Power - Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970.
- Berger, Carl. The Writing of Canadian History - Aspects of English - Canadian Historical Writing: 1900-1970. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1976.
- Bernard, Antoine. La Renaissance acadienne au XXe siècle. Québec: Université Laval, 1949.
- Blanchard, J.-Henri. Histoire des Acadiens de L'Île-du-Prince-Édouard. Moncton: Imprimerie de l'Évangéline, 1927.
- Blanchard, J.-Henri. Rustico - une paroisse acadienne de L'Île-du-Prince-Édouard. Rustico: Centennial Committee, 1938.

- Bolger, F.W.P. (ed.). Canada's Smallest Province. Charlottetown: The Centennial Commission, 1973.
- Bourgeois, Roy and Basque, Maurice. Une histoire de Lamèque - Des origines à nos jours. Moncton: Éditions d'Acadie, 1984.
- Bourque-Campbell, Joan. L'Histoire de la Paroisse de Sainte-Anne-du-Ruisseau. Yarmouth: Lescarbot, 1985.
- Brown, Robert C. and Cook, Ramsay. Canada, 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1974.
- Buckner, P.A. and Frank, David (eds.). The Acadiensis Reader: Volume I and II. Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1985.
- Bumsied, Jack. Henry Alline, 1748-1784. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971.
- Campbell, D. and MacLean, R.A. Beyond the Atlantic Roar: A Study of Nova Scotia Scots. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1974.
- Carten, Claudia (ed.). The Papal Encyclicals, Volumes 2 and 3, Wilmington, N.C.: McGrath Publishing Company, 1981.
- Catta, Cannon Etienne. Le Révérend Père Camille Lefebvre (1831-1895) et la renaissance acadienne, Volume 2. Moncton: Université de Moncton, 1983.
- Chiasson, Fr. Anselme. Chéticamp: Histoire et Traditions acadiennes. Moncton: Éditions des Aboiteaux, 1972.
- Chiasson, Fr. Anselme. Chéticamp: History and Acadian Traditions. Saint John's: Breakwater Books Limited, 1986.
- Choquette, Robert. L'Église catholique dans l'Ontario français du dix-neuvième siècle. Ottawa: Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1984.
- Choquette, Robert. La Foi - gardienne de la langue en Ontario, 1900-1950. Montréal: Éditions Bellarimin, 1987.
- Choquette, Robert. Language and Religion: a History of English-French Conflict in Ontario. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1975.
- Chouinard, H.-J.-J.-B. Fête nationale des Canadiens-français célébrée à Québec en 1880. Québec: Imprimerie A. Côté et Cie, 1881.
- Clark, A. H. Three Centuries and the Island. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959.
- Comeau, Lucille. Sont les gens de Saulnierville: monographie paroissiale. Yarmouth: Lescarbot 1980.

- Condon, Ann Gorman. The Loyalist Dream for New Brunswick. Fredericton: New Ireland Press, 1984.
- Conrad, Margaret (ed). They Planted Well - New England Planters in Maritime Canada. Fredericton: The Acadiensis Press, 1988.
- Crunican, Paul. Priests and Politicans: Manitoba Schools and the Election of 1896. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974.
- Cuthbertson, Brian. The First Bishop: A Biography of Charles Inglis. Halifax: Waegwoltic Press, 1987.
- d'Entremont's, Fr. Clarence. Histoire de Quinan, Nouvelle-Écosse. Yarmouth: Lescarbot, 1984.
- Dagnaud, Fr. Pierre-Marie. Les Français du Sud-Ouest de la Nouvelle-Écosse. Besançon: Libraire Centrale, 1905.
- Daigle, Jean (ed.). Les Acadiens des Maritimes. Moncton: Centre d'études acadiennes, 1980, also English version, The Acadians of the Maritimes, 1982.
- DeGrâce, Eloi. Mgr. Stanislas Doucet. Shippagan: Imprimerie Gagné Ltée., 1977.
- Deveau, J.-Alphonse. Clare, La Ville Française: Tome II - Les derniers cent ans. Yarmouth: Lescarbot, 1985.
- Deveau, J.-Alphonse, ed. Diary of a Frenchman. Halifax: Nimbus Publishing Limited, 1990.
- Deveau, J.-Alphonse. La Ville française. Québec: Les Éditions Ferland, 1968.
- Dionne, N.E. Les Ecclésiastiques et les Royalistes Français Réfugiés au Canada. Québec: 1905. (Publisher not given).
- Doucet, Camille-Antonio. Une étoile s'est levée en Acadie - Mgr. Marcel-François Richard. Charlesbourg Est: Les Éditions du Nouveau, 1973.
- Doyle, Arthur T. Front Benches and Back Rooms - A Story of corruption, muckraking, raw partisanship and political intrigue in New Brunswick. Toronto: Green Tree Publishing Company Ltd., 1976.
- Fingard, Judith. The Anglican Design in Loyalist Nova Scotia, 1783-1816. London: Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 1972.
- Forbes, E.R. The Maritime Rights Movement, 1919-1925 - A Study in Canadian Regionalism. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1979.
- Gallant, Cécile and Arseanult, Georges. Histoire de la pêche chez les Acadiens de l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard. Summerside: La Société Saint-Thomas d'Aquin, 1980.

- Ganong, William F. The History of Caraquet and Pokemouche. Saint John: The New Brunswick Museum, 1948.
- Georges, Father E. Mgr. Gustave Blanche, c.i.m. Bathurst: Noviciat des Pères Eudistes, 1923.
- Gildas, Father M. Mgr. M.-F. Richard - Prêlat Domestique: Sa Vie et ses Oeuvres. Moncton: L'Imprimerie Nationale Limitée, 1940.
- Gosselin, Abbé Auguste. L'Église du Canada Après la Conquête: Deuxième Partie, 1775-1789. Québec: Imprimerie Laflamme, 1917.
- Griffiths, Naomi. The Acadians: Creation of a People. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1973.
- Hamelin, Jean and Gagnon, Nicole. Histoire du catholicisme québécois - Le XXe siècle (Tome I, 1898-1940). Montréal: Boréal Express, 1984.
- Hautecoeur, Jean-Paul. L'Acadie du Discours. Québec: Les Presses de L'Université Laval, 1975.
- Hennesey, James. American Catholics - A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States. New York: Oxford University Press, 1981
- Hickey, Daniel (ed.). Moncton, 1871-1929: Changements socio-économiques dans une ville ferroviaire. Moncton: Éditions d'Acadie, 1990.
- Hornsby, Stephen J. et. al. (eds). The Northeastern Borderlands: Four Centuries of Interaction. Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1989.
- Hynes, Fr. Leo J. Moncton's Catholic Roots. Sackville, N.B.: The Tribune Press Ltd, 1982.
- Isajiw, Wsevolod (ed.). Identities: The Impact of Ethnicity on Canadian Society. Toronto: Peter Martin Associates Limited, 1977.
- Johnston, A.A. A History of the Catholic Church in Eastern Nova Scotia: Volume I - 1611-1827. Antigonish: Saint Francis Xavier University Press, 1960.
- LeBlanc, René and Laliberté, Micheline. Sainte-Anne: collège et université, 1890-1990. Pointe-de-l'Église: Chaire d'étude en civilisation acadienne de la Nouvelle-Écosse, 1990.
- Léger, Antoine. Les Grandes Linges de L'Histoire de la Société L'Assomption. Québec: Imprimerie Franciscaine Missionnaire, 1933.
- LeGresley, Omer. L'Enseignement du Français en Acadie (1604-1926). Mamers, France: Gabriel Enault, 1926.
- Lemieux, Lucien. L'Établissement de la Première Province ecclésiastique au Canada - 1783-1844. Ottawa: Fides, 1968.

- Lupul, Manoly. The Roman Catholic Church and the North-West School Question: A Study in Church - State Relations in Western Canada, 1875-1905. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974.
- Machum, Lloyd. A History of Moncton Town and City [1855-1965]. Moncton: Moncton Publishing Company Ltd, 1965.
- MacLean, R.A. Bishop John Cameron: Piety and Politics. Antigonish: The Casket Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd., 1991.
- MacNaughton, Katherine. The Development of the Theory and Practice of Education in New Brunswick, 1784-1900. Fredericton: University of New Brunswick, 1947.
- MacNutt, W. S. New Brunswick, A History: 1784-1867. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1963.
- Maillet, Antonine. Rabelais et les traditions populaires en Acadie. Québec: Les presses de l'Université Laval, 1971.
- Mannion, John J. Irish Settlements in Eastern Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974.
- Marie-Dorothée, Sr. Quand tourne le vent - Mgr. Édouard Alfred LeBlanc, premier évêque acadien, 1912-1935. Moncton: Religieuses de Notre-Dame-du-Sacré-Coeur, 1991.
- Marie-Dorothée, Sr. Une pierre de la mosaïque acadienne. Ottawa: Les Éditions Leméac Inc, 1984.
- Martell, J. S. Immigration to and Emigration From Nova Scotia, 1815-1838. Halifax: The Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1942.
- Masters, Donald C. The Reciprocity Treaty of 1854. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1963.
- Melanson, Father Arthur. Retour à la Terre. Montréal: Librairie Beauchemin, 1916.
- _____. Mémoire sur les Missions de la Nouvelle-Écosse, du Cap Breton, et de L'Île-du-Prince-Édouard de 1760 à 1820. Québec: C. Darveau, 1895.
- Monière, Denis. Le développement des idéologies au Québec des origines à nos jours. Montréal: Les Éditions Québec/Amérique, 1977.
- Moody, Barry. The Acadians. Toronto: Grolier Limited, 1981.
- Murphy, Terrence and Byrne, Cyril J. (eds.). Religion and Identity. Saint John's: Jespersen Press, 1987.
- O'Brien, Msgr. Cornelius. Memoirs of Rt. Rev. Edmund Burke: Bishop of Zion, First Vicar Apostolic of Nova Scotia. Ottawa: Thoburn and Company, 1894.

- Ommer, Rosemary E. (ed). Merchant Credit and Labour Strategies in Historical Perspective. Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1990.
- Paquet, Msgr. L.-A. Une grande force catholique et nationale. Québec: Imprimerie de l'Action Sociale Ltée, 1931.
- Parker, John. Sails of the Maritimes. North Sydney: the author, 1960.
- Perin, Roberto. Rome in Canada: The Vatican and Canadian Affairs in the Late Victorian Age. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.
- Pichette, Robert. Les Religieuses, pionnières en Acadie. Moncton: Michel Henry, 1990.
- Plourde, Bertha. Mgr. L.-J.-Arthur Melanson, 1879-1941. Montreal: Les Éditions Bellarmin, 1985.
- Poirier, Pascal. Le Parler Franco-Acadien et ses Origines. Québec: Imprimerie franciscaine missionnaire, 1928.
- Poirier, Pascal. Le Père Lefebvre et L'Acadie. Montréal: C.O. Beauchemin et fils, 1898.
- Poirier, Pascal. Origine des Acadiens. Montréal: Eusèbe Sénécal, 1874.
- Rameau de Saint Père, Edmé. Une Colonie Féodale en Amérique. l'Acadie [1604-1881]. Paris: Librairie Plon, 1889.
- Rameau de Saint-Père, Edmé. La France aux Colonies. Paris: A Jouby, 1859.
- Rawlyk, G. A. (ed.). Historical Essays on the Atlantic Provinces. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1967.
- Rawlyk, G. A. (ed.). Revolution Rejected, 1775-1776. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd, 1968.
- Rawlyk, G. A. and Hafter, Ruth. Acadian Education in Nova Scotia - An Historical Survey to 1965. Ottawa: Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1970.
- Rawlyk, G. A. Nova Scotia's Massachusetts - A Study of Massachusetts - Nova Scotia Relations, 1630-1784. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1973.
- Robichaud, Donat. Le Grand Chipagan - Histoire de Shipagan. Montréal: Imprimerie Gagné Ltée, 1976.
- Robidoux, Ferdinand (ed.). Les Conventions Nationales des Acadiens, Volume I. Shédiac: Imprimerie du Moniteur Acadien, 1907.
- Rovolt, Father J.-B. Vie du T.R.P. Ange LeDoré, Supérieur général des Eudistes [1834-1919]. Besançon: Imprimerie Jacques & Demontrond, 1925.

- Sager, Eric W. and Fischer, Lewis R. Shipping and Shipbuilding in Atlantic Canada, 1820-1914. Ottawa: The Canadian Historical Association, 1986.
- Saunders, S.A. The Economic History of the Maritime Provinces. Fredericton: The Acadiensis Press, 1984.
- Savoie, Alexandre J. Un Demi-Siècle D'Histoire Acadienne. Montréal: L'Imprimerie Gagnée Ltée, 1976.
- Savoie, Alexandre J. Un Siècle de Revendications Scolaires au Nouveau-Brunswick, 1871-1971, Volume 1. Montréal: Imprimerie Gagné Ltée, 1976.
- Shafer, Boyd C. Faces of Nationalism. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1972.
- Silver, A.I. The French-Canadian Idea of Confederation. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982.
- Stanley, Della M. Pierre-Amand Landry - Au service de deux peuples. Moncton: Éditions d'Acadie, 1977.
- Stehelin, Paul H. The Electric City. Hantsport: Lancelot Press Limited, 1983.
- Stevens, G.R. Canadian National Railways, Volume 2. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Company Limited, 1962.
- Stewart, Gordon and Rawlyk, George. A People Highly Favoured of God. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd., 1972.
- Têtu, Msgr. H. and Gagnon, Abbé (eds.). Mandements, Lettres Pastorales et Circulaires des Évêques du Québec, Volume 10. Québec: Imprimerie générale A. Côté et Cie, 1888.
- Thorburn, Hugh. The Politics of New Brunswick. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961.
- Tremblay, Marcel. 50 Ans D'Éducation Catholique Et Française En Acadie: Caraquet 1899 - Bathurst 1949. Bathurst: Université du Sacré Coeur, 1949.
- Trombley, Sister K. Fay. Thomas Louis Connolly (1815-1876): The man and his place in Secular and Ecclesiastical History. Leuven, Belgium: Catholic University of Leuven, 1983.
- Vachon, André. Mgr. Jean-Olivier Briand (1715-1794). Québec: Les Éditions des Dix, 1979.
- Walker, James. The Black Loyalists. Halifax, Dalhousie University Press, 1976.
- Wilson, Isaiah W. A Geography and History of the County of Digby, Nova Scotia. Belleville: Mika Studio, 1972.

- Winzerling, Oscar. Acadian Odyssey. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1955.
- Woodward, Calvin A. The History of New Brunswick Provincial Election Campaigns and Platforms. Toronto: Micromedia Limited, 1976.
- Wright, Gordon. France in Modern Times. Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Company, 1974.
- Wynn, Graeme. Timber Colony - A historical geography of early nineteenth century New Brunswick. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981.

E) ARTICLES:

- Acheson, William. "Doctoral Theses and the Discipline of History in Canada, 1967 and 1985," Historical Papers, 1986.
- Alexander, David. "Economic Growth in the Atlantic Region, 1880 to 1940," Acadiensis, Vol. VIII, No. 1, 1978.
- Arsenault, Fernand. "L'Église catholique en Acadie (état de recherche)," Revue de l'Université de Moncton, Vol. 15, No. 1, 1982.
- Arsenault, Fernand. "Le leadership de l'Église en Acadie (1864-1942)," The Canadian Catholic Historical Association, Study Sessions, No. 50, Vol. 2, 1983.
- Arsenault, Georges. "Le système des propriétaires fonciers absents de l'Ile-du-Prince-Édouard et son effet sur les Acadiens," Revue de l'Université de Moncton, Vol. 9, nos. 1, 2, 3, 1976.
- Baker, Daniel. "La Convention Nationale des Acadiens -- Tignish, Ile-du-Prince-Édouard, août, 1913," Cahiers de la Société historique acadienne, Vol. 15, No. 1, 1984.
- Beck, Jeanne M. "Henry Somerville and Social Reform: His Contribution to Canadian Catholic Social Thought," Canadian Catholic Historical Association, No. 42, 1975.
- Biddiscombe, Perry. "Le Tricolore et l'étoile: The Origin of the Acadian National Flag, 1867-1912," Acadiensis, Vol. XX, No. 1, 1990.
- Bittermann, Rusty. "The Hierarchy of the Soil: Land and Labour in a 19th Century Cape Breton Community," Acadiensis, Vol. XVIII, No. 1, 1988.
- Boudreau, Ephem. "L'Abbé Hubert Girroir, 1825-1884," Cahiers de la Société historique acadienne, Vol. VI, No. 2, 1975.
- Boudreau, Ephem. "l'Abbé Maillard, apôtre des Micmacs," Cahiers de la Société historique acadienne, Vol. IV, No. 5, 1972.

- Brookes, Alan A. "Out-Migration from the Maritime Provinces, 1860-1900: Some Preliminary Considerations," Acadiensis, Vol. V, No. 2, 1976.
- Brun, Régis. "L'Industrie du homard dans le Sud-Est acadien du Nouveau-Brunswick, 1850-1900," Égalité, No. 16, 1985.
- Brun, Régis. "Quelques Documents du Musée du Fort Beauséjour," Cahiers de la Société historique acadienne, Vol. II, No. 7, 1967.
- Careless, J. M. S. "Limited Identities in Canada," Canadian Historical Review, Vol. L, No. 1, 1969.
- Chiasson, Fr. Anselme. "Le Clergé et le Réveil acadien (1864-1960)," La Revue de l'Université de Moncton, Vol. II, No. 1, 1978.
- Choquette, Robert. "Adélarde Langevin et l'érection de l'archidiocèse de Winnipeg," Revue d'histoire de L'Amérique Française, Vol. 28, No. 2, 1974.
- Choquette, Robert. "John Thomas McNally et l'érection du diocèse de Calgary," Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, Vol. 45, 1975.
- Choquette, Robert. "Linguistic and Ethnic Factors in the French-Irish Catholic Relations in Ontario," The Canadian Catholic Historical Association, 1972.
- Comeault, Gilbert L. "La question des écoles du Manitoba - Un nouvel éclairage," Revue d'histoire de L'Amérique Française, Vol. 33, No. 1, 1979.
- Cook, G. Ramsay. "Canadian Centennial Celebrations," International Journal, Vol. XXII, 1967.
- Cormier, Father Clément. "Le Centenaire du Moniteur Acadien," Cahiers de la Société historique acadienne, Vol. II, No. 6, 1967.
- Couturier, Jacques Paul. "Prohiber ou contrôler? L'application de l'Acte de tempérance du Canada à Moncton, N.-B., 1881-1886," Acadiensis, Vol. XVII, No. 2, 1988.
- Coutur., Jacques Paul. "Tendances actuelles de l'historiographie acadienne (1970-1985)," Historical Papers, 1987.
- Craig, Beatrice. "Immigrants in a Frontier Community: Madawaska 1785-1850," Histoire Sociale - Social History, Vol. XIX, No. 38, 1986.
- Cyr, Jean-Roch. "L'Expansion démographique des Acadiens à Moncton avant 1881: le processus d'urbanisation et ses conséquences socio-culturelles," Cahiers d'histoire de L'Université de Montréal, Vol. 4, 1984.
- Desjardins, Sr. Georgette. "Le rôle des religieuses Hospitalières de Saint-Joseph dans l'éducation au Madawaska depuis 1873," La Société canadienne d'histoire de l'Église catholique, 1981.

- Farrell, John K.A. "Michael Francis Fallon, Bishop of London, Ontario, Canada (1909-1931): The Man and His Controversies," The Canadian Catholic Historical Association, 1968.
- Forbes, E. R. "Prohibition and the Social Gospel in Nova Scotia," Acadiensis, Vol. I, No. 1, 1971.
- Gallant, Patricia. "Henri-P. LeBlanc et l'Acadie," Cahiers de la Société historique acadienne, Vol. 13, No. 2, 1982,
- Ganong, William F. "A Monograph of the Origins of Settlements in the Province of New Brunswick," Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada. Section II. Ottawa: James Hope and Son, 1905.
- Griffiths, Naomi. "The Founding of Le Moniteur Acadien," Acadiensis, Vol. II, No. 2, 1973.
- Griffiths, Naomi, "The Golden Age: Acadian Life, 1713-1748," Histoire Sociale - Social History, Vol. XVII, No. 33, 1984.
- Harvey, D. C. "The Struggle for the New England Form of Township Government in Nova Scotia," Canadian Historical Association Annual Report, 1933.
- Hautecoeur, Jean-Paul. "Nationalisme et développement en Acadie," Recherches sociographiques, Vol. 17, No. 2, 1976.
- Henretta, James A. "Families and Farms: *Mentalité* in Pre-Industrial America," William and Mary Quarterly, Vol. XXXV, No. 1, 1978.
- Hespler, George. "Ku Kluxers Meddling in Politics," Saturday Night, Vol. 40, No. 41, 20, 1925.
- Hody, Maud. "Étude démographique sur les Acadiens des Maritimes," Cahiers de la Société historique acadienne, Vol. III, No. 4, 1969.
- Hogan, Brian F. "The Guelph Novitiate Raid: Conscription, Censorship and Bigotry during the Great War," The Canadian Catholic Historical Association, No. 45, 1978.
- Huel, Raymond. "The Irish French Conflict in Catholic Episcopal Nominations: The Western Sees and the Struggle for Domination Within the Church," Canadian Catholic Historical Association, No. 42, 1975.
- Huel, Raymond. "When a Minority Feels Threatened: The Impetus for French Catholic Organization in Saskatchewan," Canadian Ethnic Studies, Vol. XVIII, No. 3, 1986.
- Hughes, Gary. "Miscou and Lamèque: Two Islands and Their State of Bondage, 1849-1861," New Brunswick Museum Journal, 1978.

- Lacerte, Roger. "État des recherches sur la presse française en Acadie" in Cahiers de la Société historique acadienne, Vol. VI, No. 1, 1975.
- Lalonde, André. "L'Église catholique et les Francophones de l'Ouest, 1818-1930," La Société canadienne d'histoire de l'Église catholique, II, 1983.
- Landry, Nicholas. "La petite et moyenne entreprise dans la Péninsule acadienne, 1864-1897," La Revue d'histoire de la Société historique Nicholas Denys, Vol. XIII, No. 2, 1985.
- Landry, Valentin. "Voie D'Acadie," La Revue Franco-Américaine, Vol. VII, No. 6, 1911.
- Landry, Valentin. "Voix D'Acadie- L'enseignement dans nos couvents," La Revue Franco-Américaine, Vol. VII, No. 2, 1911.
- LaPlante, Léopold. "Un collège acadien en Nouvelle-Écosse," Relations, No. 140, 1952.
- Mailhot, Raymond. "Quelques éléments d'histoire économique de la prise de conscience acadienne, 1850-1891," Cahiers de la Société historique acadienne, Vol. II, No. 2, 1976.
- McGowan, Mark. "The De-Greening of the Irish: Toronto's Irish Catholic Press, Imperialism, and the Forging of the New Identity, 1887-1914," Historical Papers, 1989.
- McKay, Ian. "By Wisdom, Wile or War: The Provincial Workmen's Association and the Struggle for Working-Class Independence in Nova Scotia, 1879-97," Labour/ Le Travail, Vol. 18, 1986.
- McKay, Ian. "The crisis of dependent development: class conflict in the Nova Scotia coalfields, 1872-1876," Canadian Journal of Sociology, Vol. 13, Nos. 1-2, 1988.
- Moir, John S. "Coming of Age, but Slowly: aspects of Canadian religious historiography since Confederation." The Canadian Catholic Historical Association, I, 1983.
- Nicholson, Murray. "Irish Catholic Education in Victorian Toronto: An Ethnic Response to Urban Conformity," Histoire Sociale - Social History, Vol. XVII, No. 34, 1984.
- Nicholson, Murray. "Irish Tridentine Catholicism in Victorian Toronto: Vessel for Ethno-Religious Persistence," The Canadian Catholic Historical Association, II, 1983.
- O'Gallagher, s.c.h. Marianna. "The Sisters of Charity of Halifax - the Early and Middle Years," The Canadian Catholic Historical Association, No. 47, 1980.

- Ommer, Rosemary. "The Truck System in Gaspé, 1822-77," Acadiensis, Vol. XIX, No. 1, 1989.
- Perin, Roberto. "La raison du plus fort est toujours la meilleure: La représentation du Saint-Siège au Canada, 1877-1917," La Société canadienne d'histoire de l'Église Catholique, No. 50, Vol. 1, 1983.
- Plessis, Msgr. Joseph-Octave. "Le journal des visites pastorales en Acadie," Cahiers de la Société historique acadienne, Vol. 11, Nos. 1,2,3, 1980.
- Poirier, Pascal. "Mémoires," Cahiers de la Société historique acadienne, Vol. 4, No. 3, 1971.
- Pouliot, Fr. Léon. "Monseigneur Bourget et la Confédération," La Société canadienne d'histoire de l'Église Catholique, No. 26, 1959.
- Pouliot, Fr. Léon. "Monseigneur Ignace Bourget et Monseigneur Jean Langevin face à la Confédération," La Société canadienne d'histoire de l'Église Catholique, No. 34, 1967.
- _____ . "Prohibition and Scripture," Saturday Night, No. 38, July 5, 1919, p. 1.
- Punch, Terrence M. "The Irish Catholic, Halifax's First Minority Group," Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly, Vol. 10, No.1, 1980.
- Rawlyk, George. "A new Golden Age of Maritime Historiography?," Queen's Quarterly, Vol. LXXVI, No. 1, 1969.
- Rimmington, Gerald T. "The Founding of Universities in Nova Scotia," Dalhousie Review, Vol. 46, No. 3, 1966.
- Robichaud, Deborah. "Les Conventions nationales (1890-1913): la Société Nationale l'Assomption et son Discours," Cahiers de la Société historique acadienne, Vol. 12, No. 1, 1981.
- Roper, Henry. "The Halifax Board of Control: The Failure of Municipal Reform, 1906-1919" Acadiensis, Vol. XIV, No. 2, 1985.
- Savoie, Alexandre-J. "Les communautés religieuses et l'enseignement au Nouveau-Brunswick depuis 1872," La Société canadienne d'histoire de l'Église catholique, 1981.
- Sirois, Georges. "Les Acadiens du nord-ouest du Nouveau-Brunswick à l'heure de la confédération (1861-1870)," Cahiers de la Société historique acadienne, Vol. V, No. 1, 1973.
- Sirois, Georges. "Les Acadiens et la Naissance du Commerce du Bois dans ce Nord-Ouest du Nouveau-Brunswick, 1820-1840," Cahiers de la Société historique acadienne, Vol. 7, No. 4, 1976.

- Sormany, Albert. "La nomination des premiers évêques acadiens," Cahiers de la Société historique acadienne, 1965.
- Spigelman, Martin S. "Race et religion - Les Acadiens et la hierarchie catholique irlandaise du Nouveau-Brunswick," Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, Vol. 29, No. 1, 1975.
- Spigelman, Martin. "Les Acadiens et les Canadiens en temps de guerre: le jeu des alliances," Cahiers de la Société historique acadienne, Vol. 8, No. 1, 1977.
- Stanley, George. "The Caraquet Riots of 1875," Acadiensis, Vol. II, No. 1, 1972.
- Sutherland, David. "Parish Perspectives: Recent Work in Community History Within Atlantic Canada," Acadiensis, Vol. XVII, No. 1, 1987.
- Thériault, Léon. "L'Église catholique en Acadie, 1604-1864," Revue de l'Université de Moncton, Vol. II, No. 1, 1978.
- Thornton, Patricia. "The Problem of Out-Migration from Atlantic Canada, 1871-1921: A New Look," Acadiensis, Vol. XV, No. 1, 1985.
- Tremblay, Marc-Adelard. "Les Acadiens de la Baie Française," Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique Française, Vol. XV, No. 4, 1962.
- Ullman, Walter. "The Quebec Bishops and Confederation," Canadian Historical Review, Vol. XLIV, No. 3, 1963.
- Wahl, James. "Father Louis Funcken's Contribution to German Catholicism in Waterloo County, Ontario," The Canadian Catholic Historical Association, II, 1983.
- Wynn, Graeme. "Population Patterns in Pre-Confederation New Brunswick," Acadiensis, Vol. X, No. 2, 1981.
- Zucchi, John. "Church and Clergy, and the Religious Life of Toronto's Italian Immigrants, 1900-1940," The Canadian Catholic Historical Association, II, 1983.

F) THESESES:

- Boudreau, Gérald C. "L'Apostolat du missionnaire Jean Mandé Sigogne et les Acadiens du sud-ouest de la Nouvelle-Écosse." Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Université de Montréal, 1989.
- Cry, Jean-Roch. "Les Acadiens de Moncton: aspects d'histoire sociale, 1698-1881." Unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of History, Université de Moncton, 1982.
- Davis, Claude M. "Prohibition in New Brunswick, 1917-1927." Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1978.

- Ferris, Charles. "The New Brunswick Elections of 1917." Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1974.
- LeBlanc, Phyllis. "Le Courrier des Provinces Maritimes et son influences sur la société acadienne, (1885-1903)." Unpublished M.A. thesis, Université de Moncton, 1978.
- Richard, Camille. "L'Idéologie de la première convention nationale acadienne. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of Sociology, Université de Laval, 1960.
- Roy, Thérèse B. "L'Évolution de L'Enseignement chez les Acadiens du Nouveau-Brunswick, 1755-1855." Unpublished M.A. thesis, Université de Moncton, 1972.
- Spigelman, Martin. "The Acadian Renaissance and the Development of Acadien-Canadien Relations 1864-1912." Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Dalhousie University, 1975.
- Stanley, Della M.M. "A Man for Two Peoples - Pierre-Amand Landry, 1846-1916." M.A. thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1974.
- Taillefer, Jean-Marie. "Les Franco-manitobains et l'éducation, 1870-1970," Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1988.
- Young de Biagi, Susan. "The Eudists and the Language Question in Acadia, 1890-1920." Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1986.

III: ORAL SOURCES

Interview with Mary LeBlanc, Saint-Bernard, Nova Scotia, February 26, 1988.

Interview with Willis LeBlanc, Saint-Bernard, Nova Scotia, February 26, 1988.

Interview with Msgr. Nil Thériault, Belliveau's Cove, Nova Scotia, November 4, 1988.

All tapes in the possession of this author.

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

DEPARTMENTAL APPROVAL AND RECOMMENDATION FOR THE AWARDING
OF GRADUATE DEGREES OR DIPLOMAS

Student's Name _____
(Surname) (Given Names)

Department _____ Degree _____

Thesis Title _____

Graded APPROVED
(Approved or Not Approved)

This is to certify that the above named student has successfully completed all of the departmental requirements for the degree of _____ in _____

We, therefore, recommend that his/her name be presented to the _____/_____/fall statutory meeting of the Faculty along with others being recommended for graduate degrees and diplomas.

(date)

(Departmental Officer)

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

DEPARTMENTAL APPROVAL AND RECOMMENDATION FOR THE AWARDING
OF GRADUATE DEGREES OR DIPLOMAS

Student's Name _____
(Surname) (Given Names)

Department _____ Degree _____

Thesis Title _____

Graded _____
(Approved or Not Approved)

This is to certify that the above named student has successfully completed all of the departmental requirements for the degree of _____ in _____.
We, therefore, recommend that his/her name be presented to the winter/spring/fall statutory meeting of the Faculty along with others being recommended for graduate degrees and diplomas.

(date)

(Departmental Officer)

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

DEPARTMENTAL APPROVAL AND RECOMMENDATION FOR THE AWARDING
OF GRADUATE DEGREES OR DIPLOMAS

Student's Name _____
(Surname) (Given Names)

Department _____ Degree _____

Thesis Title _____

Graded APPROVED
(Approved or Not Approved)

This is to certify that the above named student has successfully completed all of the departmental requirements for the degree of _____ in _____.

We, therefore, recommend that his/her name be presented to the ~~spring~~/~~summer~~/fall statutory meeting of the Faculty along with others being recommended for graduate degrees and diplomas.

(date)

(Departmental Officer)

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

DEPARTMENTAL APPROVAL AND RECOMMENDATION FOR THE AWARDING
OF GRADUATE DEGREES OR DIPLOMAS

Student's Name _____
(Surname) (Given Names)

Department _____ Degree _____

Thesis Title _____

Graded APPROVED
(Approved or Not Approved)

This is to certify that the above named student has successfully completed all of the departmental requirements for the degree of _____ in _____

We, therefore, recommend that his/her name be presented to the ~~meeting~~/~~meeting~~/fall statutory meeting of the Faculty along with others being recommended for graduate degrees and diplomas.

(date)

(Departmental Officer)

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

DEPARTMENTAL APPROVAL AND RECOMMENDATION FOR THE AWARDING
OF GRADUATE DEGREES OR DIPLOMAS

Student's Name _____
(Surname) (Given Names)

Department _____ Degree _____

Thesis Title _____

Graded APPROVED
(Approved or Not Approved)

This is to certify that the above named student has successfully completed all of the departmental requirements for the degree of _____ in _____.

We, therefore, recommend that his/her name be presented to the ~~winter/spring~~ fall statutory meeting of the Faculty along with others being recommended for graduate degrees and diplomas.

(date)

(Departmental Officer)

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

DEPARTMENTAL APPROVAL AND RECOMMENDATION FOR THE AWARDING
OF GRADUATE DEGREES OR DIPLOMAS

Student's Name _____
(Surname) (Given Names)

Department _____ Degree _____

Thesis Title _____

Graded APPROVED
(Approved or Not Approved)

This is to certify that the above named student has successfully completed all of the departmental requirements for the degree of _____ in _____

We, therefore, recommend that his/her name be presented to the ~~_____~~/~~_____~~/fall statutory meeting of the Faculty along with others being recommended for graduate degrees and diplomas.

(date)

(Departmental Officer)

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

DEPARTMENTAL APPROVAL AND RECOMMENDATION FOR THE AWARDING
OF GRADUATE DEGREES OR DIPLOMAS

Student's Name _____
(Surname) (Given Names)

Department _____ Degree _____

Thesis Title _____

Graded A P P R O V E D
(Approved or Not Approved)

This is to certify that the above named student has successfully completed all of the departmental requirements for the degree of _____ in _____.

We, therefore, recommend that his/her name be presented to the ~~winter/spring~~/fall statutory meeting of the Faculty along with others being recommended for graduate degrees and diplomas.

(date)

(Departmental Officer)

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

DEPARTMENTAL APPROVAL AND RECOMMENDATION FOR THE AWARDING
OF GRADUATE DEGREES OR DIPLOMAS

Student's Name _____
(Surname) (Given Names)

Department _____ Degree _____

Thesis Title _____

Graded APPROVED
(Approved or Not Approved)

This is to certify that the above named student has successfully completed all of the departmental requirements for the degree of _____ in _____

We, therefore, recommend that his/her name be presented to the ~~meeting~~/~~meeting~~/fall statutory meeting of the Faculty along with others being recommended for graduate degrees and diplomas.

(date)

(Departmental Officer)

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

DEPARTMENTAL APPROVAL AND RECOMMENDATION FOR THE AWARDING
OF GRADUATE DEGREES OR DIPLOMAS

Student's Name _____
(Surname) (Given Names)

Department _____ Degree _____

Thesis Title _____

Graded APPROVED
(Approved or Not Approved)

This is to certify that the above named student has successfully completed all of the departmental requirements for the degree of _____ in _____.

We, therefore, recommend that his/her name be presented to the ~~_____~~/~~_____~~/fall statutory meeting of the Faculty along with others being recommended for graduate degrees and diplomas.

(date)

(Departmental Officer)

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

DEPARTMENTAL APPROVAL AND RECOMMENDATION FOR THE AWARDING
OF GRADUATE DEGREES OR DIPLOMAS

Student's Name _____
(Surname) (Given Names)

Department _____ Degree _____

Thesis Title _____

Graded APPROVED
(Approved or Not Approved)

This is to certify that the above named student has successfully completed all of the departmental requirements for the degree of _____ in _____

We, therefore, recommend that his/her name be presented to the ~~winter/spring~~/fall statutory meeting of the Faculty along with others being recommended for graduate degrees and diplomas.

(date)

(Departmental Officer)

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

DEPARTMENTAL APPROVAL AND RECOMMENDATION FOR THE AWARDING
OF GRADUATE DEGREES OR DIPLOMAS

Student's Name _____
(Surname) (Given Names)

Department _____ Degree _____

Thesis Title _____

Graded A P P R O V E D
(Approved or Not Approved)

This is to certify that the above named student has successfully completed all of the departmental requirements for the degree of _____ in _____.

We, therefore, recommend that his/her name be presented to the ~~spring~~/~~summer~~/fall statutory meeting of the Faculty along with others being recommended for graduate degrees and diplomas.

(date)

(Departmental Officer)

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

DEPARTMENTAL APPROVAL AND RECOMMENDATION FOR THE AWARDING
OF GRADUATE DEGREES OR DIPLOMAS

Student's Name _____
(Surname) (Given Names)

Department _____ Degree _____

Thesis Title _____

Graded APPROVED
(Approved or Not Approved)

This is to certify that the above named student has successfully completed all of the departmental requirements for the degree of _____ in _____
We, therefore, recommend that his/her name be presented to the ~~spring~~/~~summer~~/fall statutory meeting of the Faculty along with others being recommended for graduate degrees and diplomas.

(date)

(Departmental Officer)

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

DEPARTMENTAL APPROVAL AND RECOMMENDATION FOR THE AWARDING
OF GRADUATE DEGREES OR DIPLOMAS

Student's Name _____
(Surname) (Given Names)

Department _____ Degree _____

Thesis Title _____

Graded APPROVED
(Approved or Not Approved)

This is to certify that the above named student has successfully completed all of the departmental requirements for the degree of _____ in _____.

We, therefore, recommend that his/her name be presented to the ~~winter/spring~~ fall statutory meeting of the Faculty along with others being recommended for graduate degrees and diplomas.

(date)

(Departmental Officer)