

The Religious Background of New France

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THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY was the great age of Catholic revival in France. If this is a most significant fact to keep in mind for any understanding of French history in this era,¹ it is doubly important for New France, since it was the greatest single impetus for later colonization and the prime factor in developing the nature and quality of France's American colonies. Catholic revival, however, was not unique to France but was part of a great religious stirring throughout Europe that is generally designated as the Counter-Reformation. Nor indeed can the French revival be disassociated from the Protestant Reformation, the Renaissance, or the discovery of America itself. It is the purpose of this paper to make a study of certain specific tendencies within this upsurge of religious life in seventeenth-century France and to note what influence they had upon the religious and cultural development of New France. Before doing so it will be helpful in the understanding of a complicated religious phenomenon to seek the origins of many aspects of the French revival in earlier reform movements within the ancient Catholic Church.

I

Such an investigation could well carry us back several centuries in church history, for even in the darkest ages of Christendom the spirit of revival and reform was never wholly dormant. To keep this review within manageable proportions we shall look no further back than the fifteenth century. During this century, when ecclesiastical life was almost completely secularized, the more thoughtful prelates were even then deeply concerned over the lack of spiritual direction for troubled souls. "What a sight", they exclaim, "for a Christian as he wanders through Christendom, this desolation of the church; all the pastors have abandoned their flocks; they are all handed over to hirelings!"²

Among the most tireless advocates for reform during this bleak period were the mystics. For them what mattered supremely in the Christian life was not the mere fine-spun speculation of the schoolmen but holy living, and they sought to achieve their goal through an intensified devotion to God, best exemplified in a loosely organized order known as the Brethren

1. Vide E. Lavisse, *Histoire de France* (4 vols., Paris, 1905), III, I, p. 88, "Negliger les choses religieuses du XVII^e siècle ou les estimer petitement, c'est ne pas comprendre l'histoire de ce siècle, c'est ne pas le sentir."

2. L. Ranke, *A History of the Papacy Political and Ecclesiastical in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (trans. by J. E. M. D'Aubigné 2 vols., Glasgow, 1855), I, p. 53.

of the Common Life.³ One outstanding production of this movement of devotion was *The Imitation of Christ* written by St. Thomas à Kempis, somewhere between 1420 and 1425. In this book was set forth the theme that was to dominate the religious controversies of the sixteenth century and has never yet ceased to trouble the theological world. "O Lord," St. Thomas à Kempis prayed, "I stand in need of yet greater grace, if I ought to reach that pitch, where neither man nor any other creature shall be hindrance unto me."⁴ How to attain that effective grace or how to be justified before God was the pre-eminent concern of the Protestant Reformation, but it was very much a concern of the leaders of the Catholic Reformation as well, particularly of a group of men who had founded at Rome during the reign of Leo X an Oratory of Divine Love, dedicated to holy living—this at a time when it was fashionable in church circles "to question the truths of Christianity and to scoff at them."⁵ Among the members of the Oratory were several priests who were later to become renowned in European Church life, such as Cajetan of Thiene, Peter Caraffa, and Reginald Pole. Their purpose was very similar to that of their great contemporaries in the Protestant world, Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, and Melancthon—"the renovation of the doctrine and faith of the church"⁶—and they were by no means shocked by Luther's doctrine of "justification by faith alone."

Such widespread preoccupation with the doctrine of justification at this time is all the more remarkable for the fact that controversy on the subject had occurred only infrequently among the schoolmen; but now, as Ranke points out, it was suddenly to "captivate and engross an age, and challenge the activity of all minds that belonged to it." The explanation for this intense interest in grace, as Ranke rightly observes, was a reaction against "the secularization of the ecclesiastical order, which had almost forgotten the immediate relation of man to God."⁷

Unfortunately, the members of the Oratory of Divine Love and the followers of Luther were to divide over the question as to the best means to attain sufficient grace; Luther on the basis of his conception of "justification by faith alone" saw no inevitable need for the priesthood; the men of the Oratory sought to make the church more conscious of its supernatural function of mediating grace by a reform of the priesthood. To this end Cajetan of Thiene and Peter Caraffa jointly founded the Institute of the Theatines to train a more spiritually minded clergy who would take their sacerdotal functions seriously; they emphasized strongly devotional exercises accompanied by acts of mercy. Orders of a similar nature such as the Somaschi, the Barnabites, and the Oratorians began to spring up all over

3. A good account of the origin of the Brethren of the Common Life is to be found in E. J. Ives, *The Message of Thomas à Kempis* (London: S.C.M. Press, 1922).

4. Thomas à Kempis, *Of the Imitation of Christ* (The World's Classics, XLIX, Oxford, 1920), p. 128.

5. Ranke, *A History of the Papacy . . .*, I, p. 104.

6. *Ibid.*, I, p. 105.

7. *Ibid.*, I, p. 107.

Italy. These in turn had a stimulating effect upon the long-established religious communities; within the Franciscans there emerged the Capuchins, with their pointed hood as a sign of their stricter adherence to the ideals of St. Francis, and the Recollects, with a strong emphasis upon interior reflection.⁸ A new element was added to this reform by Philip Neri, who in 1564 founded the Congregation of the Oratory, not only to deepen the spiritual life of the priesthood, but also to strengthen its intellectual acumen.

Concurrently with this revival of the religious life among the male orders was a renewed interest in religious revival among the female orders. In 1542 appeared the Capuchines based upon the model of the Poor Clares. Earlier (1535) Angela Merici founded the Ursulines, an order that was destined to play an unusually significant role in the religious development of French Canada. Its primary activity, the instruction of young girls, was frequently supplemented by deeds of mercy to the sick and indigent.⁹

Female orders played an important part in reviving the religious life of Spain, thanks above all to the vigorous zeal of St. Teresa of Jesus. In 1562 she brought the Carmelite convent at Avila back to its original austerity. St. Teresa lived during the "golden age of mysticism in Spain,"¹⁰ and much of her reforming zeal is characterized by a strong sense of divine direction. She drew her inspiration from the mystical giants of the time, particularly St Peter of Alcantara, who in 1555 originated the Discalced or Barefoot reform of the Franciscan Order, and St. John of the Cross, whose "incomparable lyrics," says E. A. Peers, "are among the choicest treasures of all seekers everywhere after reality."¹¹

Closely associated with the golden age of mysticism in Spain was the rise of the Society of Jesus, which was to give substance and form to the Counter-Reformation. The life story of its founder, St. Ignatius Loyola, is too well known to be touched upon here; suffice it to say that his *Spiritual Exercises*, first published in Latin in 1548, sparked the most far-reaching reform in all Christendom. Although the *Exercises* owe much to Spanish mysticism they were not uninfluenced by earlier reform movements in Italy. During a period of residence at the monastery of the Theatines in Venice, Loyola beheld "an order of priests zealously and strictly devoting themselves to duties properly clerical."¹² At this time he was contemplating founding an order of knight-errants for God, and with the example of the Theatines before him he resolved that through ascetic practices his contemplated order should become essentially spiritual; nevertheless, he also felt that it would be possible to combine the ascetic life with "the utmost worldly shrewdness."¹³ Later, when he and his little band

8. A brief account of the rise of these orders is to be found in B. J. Kidd, *The Counter Reformation 1550-1600* (London: S.P.C.K., 1933).

9. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

10. On "The Golden Age of Spanish Mysticism," vide E. A. Peers, *Studies of the Spanish Mystics* (2 vols. London: Sheldon, 1927-1930), II, p. 3 *et seq.*

11. *Ibid.*, I, p. 288.

12. Ranke, *A History of the Papacy . . .*, I, p. 146.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 149.

of followers went to Rome to offer their services to the Pope, he was to incorporate another important element into his discipline—a detachment from wealth.

It happened during his visit to Rome that a Reform Commission set up by Paul III in 1536, with instructions to deal frankly with the prevailing evils within the church, was reporting on its work to the Pope. Among its members were many eminent ecclesiastics, who stated frankly that the great menace to the church was not clerical immorality, as so many reformers had maintained, but the temptations of excessive wealth. This report made a vivid impression upon Loyola and his companions, and freedom from worldly possessions became a primary condition for membership in the Society of Jesus. Another observation of this commission, that the church was greatly in need of an educated clergy, led Loyola to seek also to better his own education by enrolling at the Sorbonne in Paris in 1528. Here he learned how much the authority of the church had been undermined by the philosophic attack of the nominalists upon medieval doctrine, and he therefore resolved to put an end to gnawing doubt by seeking a clear and rigid definition of the church's faith, an objective finally achieved by his followers at the Council of Trent.¹⁴

These then were the dominating principles of the order that was destined to stop the onward sweep of Protestantism in Europe, and was also destined to contribute much to the formation of the religious life of Latin America and French Canada.

II

There was considerable delay, however, before France committed the serious responsibility for missionary work in the new world to the Order of Jesus. The cause was the difficulty she had in deciding which variety of reform she would accept; the reason for her perplexity has been well expressed by an eminent French historian Henri Martin, who "has depicted the three rival systems, Rome, the Renaissance, the Reformation, which were presented to the choice of France, and were represented in three individuals, who happened to be together for a moment in Paris—Calvin, Rabelais, Loyola."¹⁵ The choice for all intents and purposes had been made in 1515 when Francis I signed a concordat with Leo X; but it was by no means a firm choice, for the main issue of the great religious debate, in the sixteenth century, the place of grace in the scheme of salvation, had not yet been settled to the satisfaction of the religiously concerned, and it was to continue to disturb the Church of France down to the Revolution.

Calvinism was a product of the French mind but even before John Calvin had produced his solution of the problem of grace in the *Institutes*, Jacques Lefèvre, an honoured humanist at the University of Paris, was teaching a doctrine of "gratuitous justification" similar in content to Luther's

14. *Ibid.*, p. 176

15. G. P. Fisher, *The Reformation* (New York: Scribner, 1916), p. 215.

doctrine.¹⁶ One of his pupils, Briçonnet, Bishop of Meaux, gave encouragement to an evangelistic revival in his diocese that had been stimulated by the warm-hearted teachings of Lefèvre. For a time "it seemed as if Meaux aspired to become another Wittenberg."¹⁷ The Sorbonne, however, decided otherwise. In 1521 its theologians condemned Luther and all his works. This caused Briçonnet to withdraw his support of the evangelistic movement even to the extent of acquiescing in the persecution of the Protestants in his diocese.

The defection of Briçonnet did not completely overwhelm the new movement, for Calvinism came along to give it a fresh impulse and it also had acquired powerful supporters in very exalted circles so that for a time it was in a fair way of establishing a permanent enclave within the French nation.¹⁸

Furthermore, a variation of Calvinism, perhaps even more appealing to the French mind, had appeared in 1555 with the publication of *Dialectique* by Pierre de la Ramée, whose new method of logic seemed to offer "liberation from the gloomy cave of scholastic metaphysics." Ramée has been credited by some American church historians with providing the foundation of New England culture.¹⁹ Be that as it may, the *Dialectique* had a brief career in France, as the fearful massacre on St. Bartholomew's day (1572) included Pierre de la Ramée among its victims, and the Huguenots from now on adhered even more firmly to the uncompromising dogmas of Calvin. Nevertheless, for the spiritually concerned within the church of France, the main problem of man's relation to God remained and was again raised in a more acute form in a later century by the Jansenists and the Quietists.

III

Thus it was to a situation of religious violence and in intellectual conflict that the Catholic revival, whose origins we have traced in Italy and Spain, came to France. It came in the form of a mystical invasion, which has been set forth in great detail by Henri Bremond in his literary history of religious sentiment in France, an indispensable guide for this very confused period of religious controversy.²⁰ According to Bremond, the way for mysticism was prepared by the "devout humanists" of the sixteenth century. Among these are included several Jesuits, who despite Loyola's antagonism to the Renaissance were, according to Bremond, true Hellenists, but he also

16. *Ibid.*, p. 210.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 211.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 231 *et seq.* Vide also Guizot and de Witt. *The History of France from the Earliest Times to 1848* (8 vols., trans. by R. Black, New York: Nottingham Society, 1848), III, p. 440 *et seq.*

19. Vide Perry Miller and T. H. Johnson, *The Puritans* (New York: American Book Co., 1938), pp. 28-40. Concerning Ramée they write, "He put into the hands of Protestant divines and scholars dialectical spears with which they could pierce the metaphysical armour of the Catholic champions."

20. H. Bremond, *Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux en France* (11 vols., Paris: Blond et Gay, 1916-33).

adds that they were "more speculative, than practical, more aristocratic than popular: in that they sought the true and beautiful rather than the holy, addressing themselves to an élite rather than the populace."²¹ In France Bremond finds that this esoteric doctrine was transformed into a more comprehensive religion and at the same time gave a stimulus to a mystical development that did much to further the missionary consciousness of the French Church.²²

François de Sales is given the credit of bringing the devout humanism of the sixteenth-century Jesuits down to earth. This was partly achieved by the genius of his personality, but also by his famous book of devotion, *Introduction à la vie dévote* which put, as it were, "the whole Christian Renaissance at the door of the most humble."²³ The result was a phenomenal outburst of pious speculation in which mysticism played a prominent role.

One of the key figures in this movement was Pierre Coton, a leading Jesuit who resolved to turn this mystical piety into practical channels for the glory of the Catholic Church, both at home and in the missionary field. Born in Nerode in 1564, an area much troubled by religious wars, he early began to detest both Huguenots and Jesuits, forming "in his infancy," so we are informed, "a fear of the double pests."²⁴ Somehow he overcame his mistrust of the Jesuits and ultimately became a prominent member of the Society of Jesus, and was given the important task of convincing Henry IV, a former Huguenot, that the Jesuits had the good of France at heart. So brilliantly did he succeed that he himself became Henry's most trusted counsellor and collaborator, as well as the director of the earliest missions to New France. Nor is it surprising that the king who promulgated an edict of toleration for the Huguenots should have chosen Coton as his spiritual adviser, as the latter after his admission to the Society of Jesus remained liberal in outlook and was "sometimes more or less suspect to his friends."²⁵

It was through the confessional that Father Coton exercised a unique control over the mystical movement, which frequently seemed to be getting out of hand. One of the most notable members of the movement, Marie de Valence, sought his advice about her ecstatic experiences, and so impressed Father Coton with her profound religious insight that he persuaded her to move to Paris for the purpose of sharing her impressions with the devout of that city. Thus arose in Paris a loosely organized community of contemplatives, among them Madame Acarie, whose salon became the meeting place of the mystics.

The most influential member of the group, from a political point of view, was the chancellor of France, M. de Marillac, who was often able to give

21. *Ibid.*, I, p. 17.

22. *Ibid.*, I, p. 71.

23. *Ibid.*, I, p. 72.

24. *Ibid.*, II, p. 77.

25. *Ibid.*

powerful aid in practical matters. From the more subtle world of theology came Pierre de Berulle, who has been credited with the spiritual education of some of the most notable of French theologians, including Vincent de Paul, Jean-Jacques Olier, and the towering Bossuet himself.²⁶

It was Berulle who first perceived that the movement might be heading in the direction of Quietism and took measures to forestall such a development. With the help of Chancellor de Marillac, he made it possible for Madame Acarie to go to Spain to seek out one of St. Teresa's most gifted pupils, Anne of Jesus, and persuade her to bring some Spanish Carmelites to France and set up a convent as a standard for all mystics to emulate. Madame Acarie succeeded brilliantly in her mission, with the result that French mysticism was brought under a Spanish discipline; according to Bremond it was purged of its "ferment of pantheism and moral indifferences."²⁷

Berulle also provided the movement with a method of meditation which differed sharply from the Ignation. The latter is a disciplined method which has for its goal the perfection of the individual; the Berullian was based upon the assumption that the interior life is for God and his glory; in the words of Bremond, "Saint Ignatius formed moralists and ascetics, while Berulle formed worshippers."²⁸

The most illustrious of the worshippers was St. Vincent de Paul, who in preparing a rule for the Daughters of Charity made theocentrism its most outstanding characteristic: the Daughters were not only to be ready to respond immediately to the call of the needy and unfortunate, but also must at all times be "*en rapport* with the Holy Trinity."²⁹ Many of these Daughters carried the Berullian method of devotion to the new world; by the sincerity of their works of mercy, free from the taint of "egotistic obsessions," they made the name of St. Vincent de Paul one of the most revered in French Canada. Berullian influence did not reach the new world through the Daughters of Charity and St. Vincent de Paul alone; another brilliant pupil of Berulle was Jean-Jacques Olier, the founder of the Order of St. Sulpice, which was to become a serious rival to the Jesuits for the spiritual leadership of New France. Olier, after a crisis of despair, became the Berullian *par excellence*. He felt it was his particular mission to bring his master's method of devotion within the reach of the ordinary member of the church; he did this with so much fervour and richness of imagination that a philosophy "at first a little difficult becomes accessible and persuasive to the mediocre reader."³⁰ It is against such a background of movement and personality that the religious life of the early settlements in New France must be perceived. But it would hardly be a true picture of the movement to see it all in glowing colours. Unfortunately the Catholic revival itself was

26. *Ibid.*, II, p. 265.

27. *Ibid.*, II, p. 311.

28. *Ibid.*, III, p. 114.

29. *Ibid.*, III, p. 251.

30. *Ibid.*, III, p. 461.

shot through with violent religious controversy that was to have an inhibiting effect upon its overseas expansion. One brutal method for the suppression of controversy was the Inquisition which was early introduced into Spanish America. No such untoward event happened in New France; nevertheless, there was among the early missionaries to Canada a spirit of apprehension towards new ideas and independent judgments, resulting in a very close surveillance of the religious development of the colony. In the allocutions and *mandements* of the religious authorities in New France there is a constant echo of the struggle over Jansenism in the old world as well as overtones of the violent suppression of Quietism, both of which were closely intertwined with a constitutional debate over Gallicanism. Consequently, a review of the religious background of the French Canadian church would not be complete without some reference to these three controversial matters.

IV

In order of importance Jansenism comes first. It takes its name from a Louvain professor, Cornelius Jansen, whose posthumous work, *Augustinus* (1640), raised a storm of protest in the Society of Jesus.³¹ Jansen and his followers early had protested against a form of popular religion directed by the Jesuits through the confessional, based upon a method of casuistry that was to be ridiculed by Pascal in his *Provincial Letters*.³² The Jansenists asserted that this religion was anything but evangelical, since it varied between pious little devotions and a natural moralistic theology of stoical-sufficiency. Against this rather mechanical religion the Jansenists urged that experience, not reason, must be the final guide for the spiritual life; the *Augustinus*, like Calvin's *Institutes*, also stressed the utter helplessness of man to lead the good life and his consequent dependence upon grace. No amount of church-going, said the Jansenists, can save a man unless the love of God is in him; this love he cannot find in himself; it depends completely upon "conversion"—the gift of God.

At this point the Jesuits laid the charge of heresy. The Jansenists' emphasis upon "conversion" had for them all the defects of the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination—a man could do nothing for his own salvation. Jansen denied the charge, since he held that God may always grant his gift of conversion, and this he felt modified Calvin's grim determinism.

Nevertheless the Jesuits were determined to secure papal condemnation of the *Augustinus* and indirectly the Jansenists, but their task was complicated by the fact that both Jansen and his followers vehemently affirmed their loyalty to the Roman see,³³ and it was not until 1713, with the publi-

31. On the *Augustinus*, vide J. M. Neale, *A History of the So-called Jansenist Church of Holland* (Oxford: Parker, 1858), p. 11 *et seq.*

32. *Vide esp.* the ninth letter, Pascal, *Les Provinciales* (*Texte de 1656-57*, Paris, n.d.), pp. 125-42.

33. J. Forget writes in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (Special edition, 16 vols., New York, 1913), VIII, p. 287, ". . . Jansenius although he gave his name to a heresy was not himself a heretic, but lived and died in the bosom of the Church."

cation of the bull *Unigenitus*, that Jansenism was finally outlawed in France; but only to recur in the even more dangerous guise of Quietism, or so the Jesuits thought.

The chief apostle of Quietism was a Spaniard, Miguel de Molinos, who in 1675 published *Guida Spirituale* which became the textbook of the movement. One of the most famous disciples of Molinos was Madame Guyon, who carried the mystical doctrines of the *Guida* to the French court and found a most enthusiastic supporter in the person of de la Matte Fénelon, the Archbishop of Cambrai. Fénelon was greatly charmed by the *Guida Spirituale*, but the Jesuits found in the book many of the "errors" of the *Augustinus* and in this they were supported by Bossuet. A modern student of the controversy, Ronald Knox, agrees with the Jesuit analysis; "Quietism," he says, "was the natural outcome of Jansenism, a translation of its theories into practice," and he regards Molinos' assurance that "God will work out his justification in us as long as we freely give our consent by means of resignation,"³⁴ as being the ultimate goal of Jansenism, however much the Jansenists might repudiate Quietism.

Be that as it may, the Jesuits regarded Quietism as being still another threat to the spiritual authority of the church, since the Quietists even more than the Jansenists dispensed with any mediator between man and God.

It was at the instigation of a leading Jesuit, Father la Chaise, the King's confessor, that Louis XIV took action against the movement by locking up Madame Guyon in the Bastille and banishing Fénelon to his diocese of Cambrai.³⁵

Not without fierce opposition, the Jesuits succeeded in overcoming their opponents; there were times when it appeared as if they themselves might be outlawed from France, as indeed they were in the following century, because of their mistrust of Gallicanism. With few exceptions the Jesuits were ultramontanists, arguing that ecclesiastical interests were primary, and that the final voice in disputed matters between church and state must be that of the pope.³⁶ On this point Louis XIV took Bossuet for his mentor. The latter became the powerful spokesman for Gallicanism, which he succinctly formulated in a famous *Declaration of the French Clergy*.

Gallicanism, however, was no new factor intruded into the church by Louis XIV; in the fourteenth century Philip the Fair had asserted the power of the monarchy in the relations of church and state; this was political Gallicanism; but in the seventeenth century there was added by Edmond Richer, a doctor of the Sorbonne, what might be called theological Gallicanism, namely, that the church's infallible authority resided not only with the pope, but with the pope in collaboration with the bishops. In the Declaration, issued by the clergy in 1682, Bossuet combined political and

34. R. A. Knox, *Enthusiasm* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1950), p. 232.

35. Fénelon, *Pious Reflections* (London: C. Tilt, 1839), p. xv.

36. *Vide* article on the Gallican Church by Viscount St. Cyres in *The Cambridge Modern History V*, esp. p. 75.

theological Gallicanism. Besides reaffirming Richer's assertion that the infallibility of the church belongs to bishops and pope jointly, he also asserted that the temporal authority of kings is independent of the pope, that a General Council is superior to popes, and that the ancient liberties of the Gallican church are sacred. What he was really attempting was to create a strong national church which would give stability and strength to the absolute monarchy of France. As part of this ideal he hoped to have all Frenchmen owe allegiance to one constitutional church. It was necessary then that the dissenting churches in France be induced to return to the established church of France. To facilitate this return Bossuet sought to soften somewhat the rigidities of Roman doctrine. His great work, *Exposition de la doctrine catholique*, was so moderate in tone that he was accused "of having fraudulently watered down the Roman doctrines to suit a Protestant taste."³⁷ Another of his works, *The History of the Variations of the Protestant Churches*, went even further in this direction, since he sought to prove that variation was not necessarily an indication of doctrinal error.³⁸

All this was shocking to the Jesuits, who adhered to a rigid definition of doctrine, and they saw Gallicanism, as presented by Bossuet, as one of the major causes for an unjustified flirting with Protestantism. They were now confirmed in their conviction that only a strongly centralized church and a powerful papacy could save Christian Europe from slipping into irretrievable error. It is small wonder, then, that when the Jesuits achieved supremacy in New France, they not only took good care, as far as in them lay, to keep out Jansenists and Quietists, but also reversed Gallicanism to such an extent that the civil power came close to subjection to the spiritual. In point of fact the church in Canada from the first displayed a concern with political and social development that left little room for lay initiative in the fields of political and social science.

This close watch over the religious life of French Canada was to have a profound effect upon the cultural life of the colony. For one thing the Jesuit suspicion of Jansenism and other dissenting movements in France prevented New France from sharing in a scientific revival in Europe heralded by such giants as Kepler, Galileo, Newton, and Descartes. In the natural order of events one would expect the work of these men to be included in a review of the religious background of French Canada, as it undoubtedly must be in any review of the religious background of New England.³⁹ In Europe itself, theological thought was greatly stimulated by what has been described as "the downfall of Aristotle and Ptolemy."⁴⁰ Both Pascal and Bossuet attempted to meet the challenge of the Copernican revolution to church doctrine, but none of this preliminary work for a new apologetic was allowed

37. *Ibid.*, p. 86.

38. *Vide* J. B. Bossuet, *The History of the Variations of the Protestant Churches* (2 vols., New York: D. & J. Sadlier, 1845), esp. II., p. 314.

39. Miller and Johnson, *The Puritans*, pp. 732-5.

40. H. Butterfield, *The Origins of Modern Science* (London: Macmillan, 1949), p. 48 *et seq.*

to reach the libraries of French-Canadian seminaries, to say nothing of the spirit of doubt and inquiry of Montaigne or Descartes.

When the scientific revival had transformed itself into the Age of Enlightenment the latter received no comprehension in New France, and without the Enlightenment the French Revolution was an inconceivable event. It may well be argued that there were many aspects to both the Enlightenment and the French Revolution that had disastrous consequences for Europe and from which New France was happily saved; yet there was a penalty to be paid for being cut off from the main stream of intellectual history. By shielding New France from all tensions and polemics associated with the Copernican challenge the Jesuits created a people deeply estranged from the modern world, for whom adjustment to the industrial revolution has been more painful than it might otherwise have been.⁴¹ Nor do French-Canadian scholars deny that their firm adherence to Aristotelian or Thomist concepts makes communication with other peoples extremely difficult.

It is not surprising, therefore, that many French-Canadian Catholic clergy have tried to isolate their people from the social trends of the modern world, fearing that nothing but evil can come with large-scale industrialization. On the other hand, many clergy, particularly those associated with university training, have come to the conclusion that industrialization is inevitable and are now organizing courses in applied sciences.⁴² It will no doubt be some time before they can compete effectively with English-speaking universities in these fields, and one cannot but regret that many of the more attractive aspects of the rich religious heritage of New France may be lost in the transition to modern world concepts. It would seem incumbent upon English-speaking Canada to have a deeper knowledge of this heritage than hitherto if it is to have any comprehension of Quebec's problem of adjustment to our technological civilization.

41. *Vide* E. C. Hughes, *French Canada in Transition* (London: Routledge, 1946), *passim*. Professor Hughes writes, "The fact that the industrial revolution has come by waves of outside influence may account for the fact that the institutions of French Canada, and especially her educational institutions, have not undergone that transformation which has—in the United States, at least—made them so much the handmaiden of industrial progress" (p. 211).

42. For a frank discussion of this problem, *vide* Arthur Maheux, "Religion in French America," in *History of Religion in the New World* (Reprinted from *The Americas*, Vol. XIV, No. 4, April, 1958), pp. 106-7.