

**Guide to Documents Relating to
French and British North America
in the Archives of the Sacred
Congregation "de Propaganda Fide"
in Rome, 1622-1799**

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE	v
FOREWORD	vii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ix
ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS	xi
I. ROME AND NORTH AMERICA, 1622-1799: THE INTERPRETIVE FRAMEWORK	1
1. A Newfoundland Example	1
2. The Seventeenth Century	2
3. The Structures of the New World	5
4. The Eighteenth Century	8
5. An Age of Revolutions	12
6. Conclusions	15
II. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PROPAGANDA AND ITS JURISDICTION	25
III. THE ARCHIVES OF PROPAGANDA	29
1. Acta	29
2. SOCG	31
3. Fondo Vienna	33
4. Informazioni	33
5. Istruzioni	34
6. Miscellanee Diverse, Miscellanee Generali, Miscellanee Varie	34
7. Udienze	34
8. Decreti	35
9. Brevi e Bolle	35
10. Congregazioni Particolari	35
11. Lettere	36
12. Congressi	37
IV. ARCHIVISTS, HISTORIANS, AND THE ARCHIVES OF PROPAGANDA	41
1. Guides and Finding Aids	41
2. Calendars and Inventories	42
3. Studies	46
V. OTHER ROMAN ARCHIVES AND LIBRARIES	63
1. Archivio Segreto Vaticano	63
2. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana	64
3. Biblioteca Casanatense	65
4. Biblioteca Vallicelliana	65
5. Biblioteca Dell'Accademia dei Lincei e Corsiniana	65
6. Archivio di Stato di Roma	65

7.	Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele II	65
8.	Archives of the Religious Orders	66
VI.	METHODS EMPLOYED IN THE PREPARATION OF THE <i>CALENDAR</i>	69
VII.	HOW TO USE A STANDARD ENTRY OF THE <i>CALENDAR</i>	75
	APPENDIX A - TRANSLATIONS	79
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	83
	INDEX OF PROPER NAMES IN THE <i>CALENDAR</i>	113

* *The Calendar of Documents Relating to French and British North America in the Archives of the Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide" in Rome, 1622-1799* is available on microfiche.

PREFACE

The National Archives of Canada has always been concerned with protecting religious, or ecclesiastical, archives. Since the late nineteenth century, this institution has been copying documents of this type in various archives across the country and even abroad. In 1977, the Archives decided to conduct, in conjunction with the Research Centre in Religious History of Canada at Saint Paul University, a systematic *Calendar of Documents Relating to French and British North America in the Archives of the Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide" in Rome, 1622-1799*. This finding aid is the result of the first phase of the project and provides us with a description of all the items related to the history of French and English North America prior to 1800. Researchers will find it worthwhile to consult this *Calendar*, which acquaints us with many previously unknown documents.

Unfortunately, we were unable to publish the entire *Calendar* on paper. This guide, which serves as its introduction, provides a history of the Congregation, the organization of its archives, a study of projects carried out by the archivists and historians using documents conserved by this institution, and a description of the methodology used to prepare the *Calendar*. In addition, the guide provides a bibliography of publications related to the religious history of the period covered and an index to all the proper names mentioned in the *Calendar*. The *Calendar* itself is available on microfiche and must be acquired separately from this publication.

We would like to express our appreciation to those in charge of the archives of the Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide," now called the Sacred Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples, and particularly to Father Joseph Metzler, OMI, formerly responsible for these archives and now in charge of the Secret Archives of the Vatican, for enabling us to carry out this project. We wish to sincerely thank Mr. Luca Codignola, who carefully went through the series of documents and drew up the *Calendar*. We are also grateful to Father Pierre Hurtubise, OMI, Director of the Research Centre in Religious History of Canada and Rector of Saint Paul University, and Mr. Victorin Chabot, Chief of the Canadian Society Archives Service, Manuscript Division, at the National Archives of Canada, for coordinating this project. We thank the Public Programs Branch for its assistance in producing this guide. And finally, we extend our sincere thanks to Father Ovila Gadouas, OMI, who translated the *Calendar* into French.

Jean-Pierre Wallot,
National Archivist

FOREWORD

In June 1977 I read a paper at the annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association in Fredericton, New Brunswick. I stressed the importance of the archives of the Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide" for the early history of Canada. When the session was over, its chairman, Robert S. Gordon, who was Director of the Manuscript Division of the (then) Public Archives of Canada, asked me whether I would be willing to prepare a calendar of documents of interest to the history of North America preserved in the archives of Propaganda. It was not that he was suddenly persuaded by what I had said. In fact, for a number of years the Public Archives of Canada had been looking for an opportunity to systematically investigate the Roman archives. I subsequently met with Victorin Chabot, then Chief of the French Archives Section, and on 1 October 1977 started to work on the *Calendar*.

It took seven years to complete this project. I must admit that this is somewhat longer than I had expected. There are two main reasons for this. The first is that, luckily enough, the documents of Propaganda touching upon North America in the years 1622-1799 were many more than I had foreseen. Secondly, the real work began after a document was located. Reading the documents was usually not much of a problem. What I found difficult, and certainly time-consuming, was checking the documents against all known printed sources and the available historical literature, cross-referencing it with other documents preserved in other archival series, and finding supporting data (facts, individuals and dates) that were often implied in the text but very rarely explicitly stated. During these years, curiosity led me to a number of archives in Europe and in North America where I consulted other documents, learned the origins and outcomes of some stories I had discovered in Propaganda, and came to know better some of the personalities mentioned in the documents.

What I found gratifying in this work was not only the thrill of using sources that very few people in the world had ever touched, let alone used, but also the realization that this was not "just religious history." There was much more -- so many events, stories and people. As a historian, though, this abundance created a theoretical problem. Henry James said "The historian, essentially, wants more documents than he can really use." It is all too easy to use this new documentation to shed light on a particular topic. But what if one wants to use them all in comprehensive fashion? Notwithstanding James's epigram, I have tried to introduce readers to the documents that I have calendared not only by giving them "technical" information about Propaganda, its archives and its history, but also by including an interpretive guide dealing with the various aspects of the relationship between the Holy See and North America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is a rather difficult task to acknowledge the help received from all the friends, colleagues, scholars and institutions who supported me throughout the production of the *Calendar*. For their continuous support during these several years, I wish to thank first of all my friends and teachers William J. Eccles (University of Toronto), Raimondo Luraghi (Università di Genova), Tiziano Bonazzi (Università di Bologna), Piero Del Negro (Università di Padova), Cornelius J. Jaenen (University of Ottawa), Pierre Savard (Université d'Ottawa) and Giorgio Spini (Università di Firenze).

It was thanks to the joint effort of the National Archives of Canada and Saint Paul University (Ottawa) that this project was initiated. Having these friends and colleagues in Ottawa lent a sense of teamwork to the project. In particular I wish to thank Robert S. Gordon and Victorin Chabot of the National Archives of Canada, and Pierre Hurtubise of Saint Paul University. Ovila Gadouas translated the preliminary version into French, as it appeared in microfiche in October 1983. He was much more than a simple translator. We discussed and examined each entry together, and he was able to make several improvements. His untimely death on 17 July 1984 prevented him from seeing this project through to its completion.

Josef Metzler was recently appointed Archivist of the Vatican Secret Archives. While I was preparing the *Calendar*, however, he was the archivist of Propaganda. His knowledge of the archives and of the history of the Congregation proved invaluable. I also wish to thank Sister Maria Margherita Villaluz, who was an employee at the archives of Propaganda during my period of research there. While I was preparing the *Calendar*, Anton Debevec was pursuing a similar task for the Academy of American Franciscan History, and had been working at the archives of Propaganda since 1955. Many times I asked for his assistance, and his experience always helped me greatly.

In recent years, I was greatly supported by a working team that gathered in the Roman offices of the Canadian Academic Centre in Italy (CACI). Pierre Hurtubise and I, together with the two subsequent Directors of CACI, Amilcare Iannucci (University of Toronto) and Roberto Perin (York University), launched a new project whose aim was to calendar documents of North American interest in the other Roman archives and libraries. Monique Benoît and Gabriele P. Scardellato came to Rome from Canada in September 1982, and until July 1984 calendared various series preserved in the Vatican Secret Archives. The project was financially assisted by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. We spent many hours discussing the difficulties and problems we were encountering.

A number of Italian colleagues, archivists and historians were very helpful on various occasions. I would like to mention in particular Isidoro Agudo (Archivio Generale dei Frati Minori Cappuccini), Franco Angiolini (Università di Pisa), Stefano Arnaldo Baiocchi (Biblioteca Statale del Monumento Nazionale di Farfa), Georges Bottereau (formerly with the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu), Hugh Fenning (Collegio San Clemente), Antonio Froles (Archivio Generale dei Carmelitani Scalzi), Alessandro Galuzzi (Pontificia Università Lateranense), Bernard Jacqueline (Sacra Congregazione per l'Evangelizzazione dei Popoli), Elio Lodolini (Archivio di Stato di Roma), Francesca Loverci (Università di Roma), Lajos Pásztor (Archivio Segreto Vaticano), Salvatore Rotta (Università di Genova), Alessandra Surdi (Centro Italiano di Studi Americani), Leo van Wijmen (Collegio Internazionale S. Alberto), Anita Weston Bilardello (formerly with the Università di Roma), and Felix Zubillaga (Istituto Storico della Compagnia di Gesù).

Over the years, in connection with the *Calendar*, I met and corresponded with a number of foreign scholars, and visited many libraries and archives outside Italy. I wish to acknowledge the help I received in Canada from Selma Barkham (Memorial University of Newfoundland), Cyril Byrne (Saint Mary's University), Jean Fournier (Archives de l'Ordre Hospitalier de Saint Jean-de-Dieu), Armand

Gagné (Archives de l'Archevêché de Québec), Bruno Harel (Archives des Prêtres de Saint-Sulpice), Jan Kupp, Raymond J. Lahey (formerly with Memorial University of Newfoundland), Terrence Murphy (Memorial University of Newfoundland), Honorius Provost (former archivist at the Archives du Séminaire de Québec). In the United States, I wish to thank John D. Krugler (Marquette University) and John J. McCusker (University of Maryland), and in England, Joseph A. Callanan (Southwark Curia Diocesan Archives), Howell Daniels (Institute of United States Studies), Francis Edwards (formerly with the Department of Historiography and Archives, English Province of the Society of Jesus), Elisabeth R. Poyser (Westminster Diocesan Archives), David Beers Quinn (formerly with the University of Liverpool), Sarah Tyacke (The Map Library, The British Library), and Esmond Wright (formerly with the University of London). In France, I wish to acknowledge the help received from Gabriel Debien, Claude Fohlen (Université de Paris I), Florence), Jean Guennou (Archives du Séminaire des Missions-Étrangères), and Joseph Lehuenen (former mayor of Saint-Pierre, in Saint-Pierre and Miquelon). I also wish to thank Antonio Brasio (Provincia Portuguesa da Congregação do Espírito Santo), and J.H. van den Hoek Ostende (Gemeentelijke Archiefdeinst van Amsterdam).

Lastly, sincere thanks goes to my wife, Gabriella Ferruggia Codignola, and to my daughter, Federica. An American historian has dedicated one of his books to his wife, "sine qua non, sed non typista." In a work in which Latin has been one of the most recurring features, I cannot think of a better dedication. As to my daughter Federica, she was born two months after I started to work in the archives of Propaganda. She is now ten, and still believes that all fathers must spend most of their time going to archives and pounding a typewriter. I hope she will soon know better.

* * * * *

Portions of the *Guide* have already appeared in a number of articles. They have all been largely revised and updated. Chapter One appeared as "Rome and North America 1622-1799. The Interpretive Framework," in *Storia nordamericana*, I, 1 (1984), pp. 5-33. Chapter Four was published in two separate parts, as "L'Amérique du Nord et la Sacrée Congrégation 'de Propaganda Fide,' 1622-1799. Guides et inventaires," in *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, XIII, 2 (September 1979), pp. 197-214; and as "L'Amérique du Nord et la Sacrée Congrégation de Propaganda Fide,' 1622-1799. Études," in *Bulletin du Centre de Recherche en Civilisation Canadienne-Française*, 21 (December 1980), pp. 1-21. Chapter Five appeared as "Roman Sources of Canadian Religious History to 1799" in The Canadian Catholic Historical Association, *Study Sessions* (1983), pp. 73-88. The latter owes much to a preliminary survey of Roman repositories conducted in 1981 by Francesca Loverci in co-operation with this writer. The survey was sponsored by the Istituto Culturale Canadese of Rome, and was never published.

A preliminary edition of the *Calendar* appeared in microfiche in October 1983. It was published jointly by the (then) Public Archives of Canada and Saint Paul University. The numerical sequence of the preliminary edition is different from this final edition. In the preliminary microfiche edition, vol. II was Acta, vol. III was SOCG, vol. IV was Congregazioni Particolari, vol. V was Lettere and vol. VI was Congressi. In the final edition, the volume entirely devoted to Congregazioni Particolari is merged with a larger volume, entitled Varia. With the appearance of the final edition of the *Calendar* (always in microfiche), the preliminary edition should be disregarded.

Rome, 1 March 1988

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

abp.	archbishop (pl. abps.)
ACS	autograph copy, signed
Acta	APF, Acta series
ADf	autograph draft, unsigned
ADfS	autograph draft, signed
AL	autograph letter, unsigned
alias	otherwise called
ALS	autograph letter, signed
AM	autograph memorandum
ap.	apostolic
APF	Archives of the Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide"
B	blank (pl. Bs)
b.	born
bp.	bishop (pl. bps.)
Brevi e bolle	APF, Brevi e bolle series
C	contemporary manuscript copy in another hand, unsigned
<u>C</u>	APF, Congressi series
<u>C</u> , AA	APF, America Antille sub-series
<u>C</u> , AC	APF, America Centrale sub-series
<u>C</u> , AM	APF, America Meridionale sub-series
<u>C</u> , Anglia	APF, Anglia sub-series
<u>C</u> , Anglia, Miscellanee	APF, Anglia, Miscellanee sub-series
<u>C</u> , AS	APF, America Settentrionale sub-series
<u>C</u> , Cardinali	APF, <u>C</u> , Cardinali, Segretari, Protonotari, Consultori sub-series
<u>C</u> , Francia	APF, <u>C</u> , Francia sub-series
<u>C</u> , Irlanda	APF, <u>C</u> , Irlanda sub-series
<u>C</u> , Missioni	APF, <u>C</u> , Missioni sub-series
<u>C</u> , Missioni, Miscellanee	APF, <u>C</u> , Missioni, Miscellanee sub-series
c.	about
cdl.	cardinal (pl. cdl.)
CG	General Congregation (Congregazione Generale)
CG/6	General Congregation unnumbered, item no. 6
CG 33/18	General Congregation no. 33, item no. 18
CM	Congregation of the Mission (Lazarists)
congr.	congregation
<u>CP</u>	APF, Congregazioni Particolari series
CP	Special Congregation (Congregazione Particolare)
CP/2	Special Congregation, item no.2
CS	contemporary manuscript copy in another hand, signed
CSSp	Congrégation du Saint-Esprit (Spiritains)
D	official manuscript document, unsigned
Decreti	APF, Decreti series
DS	official manuscript document, signed
f.	folio (pl. ff.)
fl.	floruit
FV	APF, Fondo Vienna series
FV, C	APF, FV, Congressi sub-series
FV, Decreti	APF, FV, Decreti sub-series

FV, Dubia et resolutiones	APF, FV, Dubia et resolutiones sub-series
FV, Registro dei brevi	APF, FV, Registro dei brevi sub-series
FV, SOCG	APF, FV, SOCG sub-series
FV, Varia	APF, FV, Varia sub-series
i.e.	that is
Informazioni	APF, Informazioni series
Istruzioni	APF, Istruzioni series
Lettere	APF, Lettere series
LS	letter in another hand, signed
M	memorandum
Mgr	monsignor
Miscellanee diverse	APF, Miscellanee diverse series
Miscellanee generali	APF, Miscellanee generali series
Miscellanee varie	APF, Miscellanee varie series
MN	marginal note (pl. MNs)
MS	memorandum, signed
ms	manuscript (pl. mss)
N	nuncio
no.	number
NS	New Style
OCarm	Order of the Brothers of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel (Carmelites)
OCD	Order of the Discalced Brothers of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel (Discalced Carmelites)
OCist	Order of Citeaux
OCSO	Order of the Cistercians of the Strict Observance (Trappists)
OFM	Order of Friars Minor (Franciscans)
OFM Cap	Order of Friars Minor Capuchin (Capuchins)
OFM Rec	Order of Friars Minor Recollet (Recollets)
OH	Hospitaller Order of St. John of God
OM	Order of the Minims (Minims)
OP	Order of Friars Preacher (Dominicans)
OS	Old Style
OSA	Order of St. Augustine (Augustinians)
OSB	Order of St. Benedict (Benedictines)
PF	Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide"
pl.	plural
PM	printed matter
PS	post scriptum
PSS	Society of Priests of St. Sulpice (Sulpicians)
R	rescriptum (decision made)
r	recto
re	with reference to
recte	correctly
Rel.	relator
RHSJ	Religieuses Hospitalières de Saint-Joseph
S	summary
Sep.	September
ser.	series
sic	thus

SJ	Society of Jesus (Jesuits)
SME	Séminaire des Missions-Étrangères, Paris
SOCG	APF, Scritture Originali Riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali series
TOR	Third Order Regular of St. Francis
Udienze	APF, Udienze series
v	verso
Varia	<i>Calendar</i> , vol. IV: Varia and Addenda
VHM	Visitation Nuns (Visitandines)
vic.	vicar (pl. vics.)
vol.	volume (pl. vols.)
[]	editor's interpretation or remark
?	doubtful interpretation or item

I. ROME AND NORTH AMERICA, 1622-1799: THE INTERPRETIVE FRAMEWORK

1. A NEWFOUNDLAND EXAMPLE

On 14 January 1784, James Keating, Patrick Gaul, John Commins and Lewis Maddock wrote a letter from Waterford, Ireland, to James Talbot, bishop of Birta and vicar apostolic in the London district. On behalf of the Newfoundland Catholic community, they informed the bishop that the Catholics of the island meant to invite a Recollet priest from Waterford, a certain James Louis O'Donel, to join them in St. John's. Since the Governor of the island, John Campbell, had recently consented to the erection of a Catholic chapel, they needed a priest. The priest had to come from the Waterford area, the region of origin of most Newfoundland Catholics, and had to be fluent in English and Gaelic, since most of the inhabitants spoke only Gaelic. The letter also mentioned that two or three "unhappy priests, who are a disgrace to themselves, to us and to our Holy Religion," were already preaching on the island. They had, however, no proper licenses, and should be replaced by O'Donel.

Keating, Gaul, Commins and Maddock had not addressed their letter directly to Talbot, but sent it instead to William Egan, bishop of Waterford and the former bishop of many Newfoundland Catholics. Egan, in turn, had forwarded their petition, together with his opinion of O'Donel and a letter from O'Donel himself addressed to Talbot, to John Thomas Troy, bishop of Ossory. Troy read the dossier, kept the originals, had copies of the documents prepared, certified them and sent the packet to Talbot in London. Talbot, for his part, did not feel confident about a decision on the matter. The Newfoundland Catholics had taken for granted their position under the jurisdiction of the vicar apostolic of London, but what if the bishop of Quebec, Louis-Philippe Mariauchau d'Esgly, should oppose their proceedings on the grounds that it was he who was responsible for their spiritual needs? Talbot reassembled Troy's packet and sent it to his immediate superiors, the officials of Propaganda in Rome.¹

On 17 May 1784 the cardinals of the Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide" held one of their regular meetings (Congregazioni Generali) in their palace overlooking the Spanish Steps in Rome. The secretary of Propaganda, Stefano Borgia (the secretary was Propaganda's most important official after the prefect), reported on the Newfoundland Catholics' petition. The cardinals agreed to appoint O'Donel superior of the mission in Newfoundland and to ask the Pope for the concession of the customary faculties (spiritual powers) usually granted to the prefects of missions. Pope Pius VI gave his approval on 30 May. A week later, on 5 June, Propaganda wrote to Egan announcing O'Donel's appointment, and enclosed a letter for O'Donel that the bishop of Waterford was requested to forward. On the same day, a third letter was sent to Talbot, stating that his own jurisdiction over Newfoundland was discontinued due to O'Donel's appointment.²

Thus, in less than a year, the petition of four Irish citizens written on behalf of their Newfoundland co-religionists had found its way to Rome, where a decision was made to the satisfaction of the petitioners and their community. In its roundabout journey, the petition had passed through many hands -- Egan, Troy, Talbot, Borgia. As citizens of the British empire, Newfoundlanders were certainly aware that distance from the centres of power did not make communication any easier. As Catholics, they were certainly not fully aware of all the subtle jurisdictional problems inherent in their request. Even their Irish and English superiors did not know exactly how to handle their petition, which was, in fact, a simple request for a proper priest. That is why the dossier ended up in the Roman offices of Propaganda, where nobody doubted the full power of the Congregation to deal with mission territories. Ironically, O'Donel's appointment probably took only a few minutes of the Propaganda officials' precious time, yet it was deemed necessary in order to comply with the request that had come all the way from Newfoundland. Surprisingly, no substantial changes were made to the petition on

its way to Rome. In fact, the Newfoundland Catholics soon welcomed O'Donel to their island -- the very priest and person for whom they had asked.

This small incident is a good example of the relationship that existed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries between the Catholics of North America and the Holy See. It is an extreme example only in the sense that the whole hierarchical ladder is represented and that all steps were duly recorded. (In most cases, there was a more direct way of reaching Rome, or it may only seem so because not all documents are extant.) This chapter will examine the general framework of the relationship between Rome and North America, the way the Holy See shaped its North American policy and whether this changed over time. It will also briefly discuss whether it is possible to determine the impact of the Holy See upon the history of North America.

2. THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

When, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, France and England decided to add the New World to their maps, they found that Spain had left unoccupied most of what is now Canada and the United States, and was in no position to continue its previous massive colonial effort. They began the acquisition of their American empire at random. Port-Royal was established in 1605, Jamestown in 1607, Quebec in 1608, and Cuper's Cove, Newfoundland, in 1610. Bermuda was first settled in 1612, and the Pilgrim Fathers landed in Plymouth in 1620. At first, profit was the only measure of a colony's success and therefore plans were continually made and unmade, both by individual entrepreneurs and by governments, according to the immediate income from the colonies. Some fifty years passed before France decided that its colonies had grown too important to be left in the hands of a number of semi-private commercial companies and before it tried to centralize the colonies' administration. Jean-Baptiste Colbert attached the colonies to the Ministry of the Marine. Difficulties arose from overlapping responsibilities, and it was found that commis were not always experts in colonial affairs. The rivalry between the French colonial governor and the intendant was theoretically resolved by the central figure of the King. In most cases, however, this rivalry was fostered by the King himself, who wanted to limit the powers of his two officials. As for England, it never had a central agency that controlled the development of the thirteen continental colonies or any of its West Indian possessions, let alone a plan for their establishment. The Board of Trade, created in 1669, had only advisory powers. Any final decision rested with the Privy Council, whose members dealt with the whole range of government decisions.³

During the sixteenth century, Spain and Portugal had occupied most of Central and South America. Since both were Catholic countries, Catholicism had played a vital role in the early conquest of America. Catholicism in fact had been the ideology of the Conquest. Paradoxically, Rome had almost no part in it. By virtue of the so-called royal patronage, the Pope had delegated all spiritual powers over Spanish and Portuguese possessions around the world to their respective kings. The religious orders, which operated in Central and South America, and which played such an important role in the conquest of the New World, because of royal patronage were responsible to their Iberian kings, not to Rome. The Pope had in fact confined himself, in the early stages, to drawing a line separating and establishing in perpetuity Spanish and Portuguese America.⁴

Although some suggested, in the 1640s, that the Pope, like any other prince in Europe, should have his own colonies,⁵ the Holy See, unlike France and England, had no colonies. From 1622 on, however, it did have a central agency to deal with these "Catholic" colonies, or, more precisely, to profit from other countries' efforts to build and maintain colonial empires. In 1622 the Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide" was established to spread the true faith among the infidels, to protect it where Catholics lived side by side with non-Catholics, and ultimately to achieve union with the Protestant and Orthodox churches. The new Congregation was meant to pursue these goals by co-

ordinating all missionary activities and centralizing information on foreign lands. For its part, the Holy See had thousands of potential Catholic settlers, an army of missionaries, a refined diplomatic body, a knowledgeable bureaucracy and a recognized (though declining) international status. Besides, unlike their colleagues in France and England, Holy See officials felt an institutional urge for conversion and expansion that made them international in their outlook and in their attitude toward the new worlds.⁶

As far as North America was concerned, the timing of the establishment of Propaganda was perfect, since European settlement had only just begun. To be sure, America did not have top priority on the Congregation's agenda. When its cardinals met for the first time on 8 March 1622 to share among themselves jurisdictional responsibility for various parts of the world, only Brazil and the West Indies were mentioned in the division, both as appendages of their mother lands, Portugal and Spain.⁷ While Spanish and Portuguese America were certainly better known to Europeans in general than French and English North America, there is no doubt that, for Propaganda officials, both North and South America were regarded as places of far lesser importance than, for example, Germany, Illyria, Albania, the East Indies or the Slav countries. This attitude continued for nearly two more centuries. A glance at the papers preserved in the archives of Propaganda shows the enormous disparity between its dealings with North America and those with other parts of the world. The series *Scrittura Originali Riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali* (hereafter SOCG), which contains all "important" incoming documents, has (for the period 1622-1668) only two volumes relating to North America out of a total of 417 volumes, as compared with 39 volumes for Germany; 34 for Illyria; 29 each for Albania, the East Indies and France; 27 for Poland; and 25 for Switzerland.⁸

For their part, Holy See officials who did not belong to Propaganda were even less interested in North American facts. Events in those remote lands were unlikely to affect the European balance of power or the network of European diplomacy. Even when Pius VI decided to send his nuncio in France, Giuseppe Maria Doria Pamphili, archbishop of Seleucia, to attend unofficially the preliminaries of the Treaty of Paris, which was to settle the War of American Independence, his instructions made it clear that "Il trattato che va a conchiudersi tra le potenze belligeranti di Europa non è certamente di quella importanza, né ha quei rapporti della Sede Apostolica ch'esigga una spedizione di un Allegato." Nevertheless, the nuncio was told, "essendosi già stabilita l'indipendenza delle Provincie Unite dell'America dall'Inghilterra, [...] sembra necessario che Nostro Signore [the Pope] prenda qualche pensiero e sollecitudine per l'esercizio e conservazione della religione cattolica in quegli stati."⁹ [See Appendix A for translation]. These words were not written in the 1620s -- when North America consisted of only a few scattered settlements -- but on 15 January 1783, when North America was, for the second time in two decades, changing its rulers and had just accomplished a successful revolution.

This lack of interest in North America was not due to a parochial attitude on the part of the Holy See. The courts of St. James's and Versailles were no better. Canadian and American settlers alike constantly complained about their mother countries' insufficient support. There were never enough provisions, money or soldiers. Bureaucrats and military officers posted abroad always regarded it an unpleasant, though somewhat rewarding and often necessary, purgatory.¹⁰ Wars were won or lost in Europe, not in America, and the practical results of a victory or defeat in the colonies were most likely to be reversed when the (European) treaty was eventually signed (in Europe).¹¹

Now and then, some French king or minister developed a genuine interest in the welfare of the French colonies or simply in their economic viability.¹² Even though it was through this kind of interest that New France grew to be the ruler of North America, there were always more pressing matters that came first, and the lack of military support from Versailles eventually led to the French (and Canadian) defeat in the crucial Seven Years' War.¹³ In England too, someone occasionally advocated a scheme for a more perfect union with the colonies, but only after the Seven Years War was their importance clearly recognized, albeit too late.¹⁴ London's real concern was to control their unruly character and

indiscriminate growth, since the thirteen continental colonies had almost 1.2 million inhabitants by the 1750s, and only the common fear of their Canadian neighbours had enabled England to keep a firm grip over its overseas territories.¹⁵

Since the Holy See generally lacked interest in North America, Propaganda planned and implemented the gamut of North American policies. Everyone in Rome seemed to be aware that North America was Propaganda's responsibility, and duly forwarded every matter pertaining to the New World to its officials. Most of Propaganda's decisions did not require anyone's approval. Indeed, a number were made in the presence of the Pope ("coram Sanctissimo") or submitted to the Pope by the Congregation's secretary at regular meetings called "Udienze." But the Pope always sanctioned these decisions and never tried to influence them. On certain matters, Propaganda could not decide alone and turned to other congregations, usually the Sacred Congregation of the Rites or the Holy Office. Here again, Propaganda's decisions were never reversed. Conversely, Propaganda received a number of letters, petitions and requests whose writers had wrongly addressed the Pope. The latter merely forwarded them via the secretary of state to Propaganda, which managed to avoid jealous rivalries by taking over these matters. The Congregation intervened so well that during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there is only one example of a dispute between it and another Roman department with regard to North America. It took place in 1661, when the vicar apostolic of Canada, François de Laval, bishop of Petraea, and the archbishop of Rouen, François de Harlay de Champvallon, were fighting over the creation of a full bishopric in Quebec. Champvallon maintained that Canada was and had always been under his jurisdiction, and tried to establish his own hierarchy in Canada through the Sulpicians of Montreal. One of these, Gabriel Thubières de Levy de Queylus, had personally gone to Rome and, bypassing Propaganda, had requested the creation of a parish in Montreal, claiming that it was under the jurisdiction of Rouen. Since the Dataria Apostolica had taken for granted Montreal's location in France, Queylus having carefully avoided mentioning the truth, it complied with Queylus's request. When Mario Alberizzi, secretary of Propaganda, realized what had happened, he became furious and put pressure on his puzzled colleagues at the Dataria, thus causing the concession to be revoked.¹⁶ It may well be said, then, that as far as North America was concerned, Propaganda alone spoke for the Holy See, whereas other Roman agencies and even the Pope himself had only occasional communications with the New World. (The relationship between Propaganda and the regular orders was, however, far more complex, as we shall see later.)

Thus the Holy See's policy toward North America was Propaganda's policy, which in turn was shaped over the years by a handful of Roman officials who dealt with North America as part of their duties covering the entire world. Their own knowledge of American matters was fundamental to every decision Propaganda officials took with regard to the New World. Yet none of them had ever been to North America, none spoke English and very few spoke French: Italian and Latin were often the only languages they could understand. Under Benedict XIV (1740-1758), for example, only one person in the Vatican understood German. (Most incoming letters written in a language other than Italian or Latin were read in translation -- usually prepared by the foreign clergy's special agents who resided in Rome -- and on at least one occasion diplomatic difficulties were caused by a bad translation).¹⁷ Besides, North America was not the object of gossip or public writing, nor could Propaganda officials hope to gain additional information through social occasions or similar gatherings. Unlike bureaucrats in France and England, they seem not to have been aware of the copious literature relating to the New World that was published in Italy alone, not to mention the rest of Europe.¹⁸ The only explicit reference to published sources that is to be found in the documents preserved in the archives of Propaganda is to Louis Moreri's *Grand dictionnaire historique* and to the Jesuit *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, both used to describe the geography of Canada. The reference, however, is in a report written by Pierre-Herman Dosquet, bishop of Samos and coadjutor of the bishop of Quebec, not by an official of the Congregation.¹⁹

Strange as it may seem, there is not a single reference to Francesco Giuseppe Bressani's *Breve relatione*, although the book was published in Macerata in 1653.²⁰ Two general reports on the state of missions belonging to Propaganda were attempted, one in 1678 by the secretary of the Congregation, Urbano Cerri, the other in 1709 by a future secretary of Propaganda, Niccolò Forteguerra. Cerri's report, found in a number of manuscript versions, was eventually published in 1716, and is the more famous of the two. The portion dealing with North America, however, is a very poor collation of names and events exclusively gathered from documents preserved in the archives of Propaganda.²¹ As to Forteguerra's *Memorie intorno alle missioni*, its contents show that he had a poorer knowledge of Propaganda archives than Cerri (he was not yet secretary of the Congregation when he wrote his report). On the other hand, his description of the New World shows familiarity with some printed sources, though these were never acknowledged. At any rate, the portion of the *Memorie* devoted to North America shows little awareness of the actual state of the French and British continental colonies.²² If Roman bureaucrats ever talked or read about North America, this is nowhere evident in what they did or wrote.

Propaganda officials were, however, thorough and devoted bureaucrats, and did their work well while in office. They always seemed to be aware of past events, and usually documents buried in their archives were easily located when the need arose. In one notable instance this did not happen. In 1756, Richard Challoner, bishop of Debra and Coadjutor of the vicar apostolic in the London district, Benjamin Petre, wrote a long and detailed report on the state of the British colonies of America. He pointed out that, even though the vicars apostolic of London had always taken for granted their jurisdiction over them, he had no official document proving the origin of that jurisdiction. The Secretary of Propaganda, Nicola Lercari, had the archives searched for any pertinent documentation, but had to admit before the cardinals of his Congregation that:

Essendosi fatte le dovute diligenze in questo archivio, non si è trovato alcun documento che sia mai stata appoggiata agl'arcipreti d'Inghilterra [...] né posteriormente alli vicari apostolici [...] la cura di spedire missionari nelle isole o terraferma dell'America soggetta agl'inglesi o di avere soprintendenza sopra di essi o delle missioni

and that he had "mai veduto nessun breve o decreto che così regolasse questo affare." [See Appendix A for translation] The problem was quickly solved by granting the vicar apostolic immediate jurisdiction over all British possessions in America.²³ Lercari's search into the archives had been thorough indeed. Neither in Propaganda nor in the London archives²⁴ is there any trace of the vicar apostolic's jurisdiction over America. Challoner's case was an exception, and in most instances previous documents were indeed found and put to good use. If little was lost, then, little was gained. While some among Propaganda officials were more able or more inquisitive than others, their knowledge of North America was the sum of what past officials had known, plus the information acquired while in office.

3. THE STRUCTURES OF THE NEW WORLD

After Propaganda's establishment in 1622, every Catholic in North America was spiritually dependent on the new Congregation. He or she would communicate with it through the local clergy via the established hierarchies. In the early days of colonization, missionaries went to North America on their own initiative, sometimes with the consent of their ordinary (local) superior. In 1668 Pierre de Neufville, a secular priest from the diocese of Coutances, wrote to Propaganda reporting on the wrongdoings of French, Spanish, Basque and Italian fishermen working along the shores of Newfoundland. To make the most of their stay, these men worked on Sundays arranging their catch. Evidently, Neufville was not aware that in order to perform his duties he needed special faculties that could only be granted by Propaganda, for he had been going to Newfoundland every summer for the

past four years with the consent of his French ordinary, the bishop of Saint-Malo, François de Ville-Montée.²⁵ Propaganda took every opportunity to make it clear that whoever wanted to become an apostolic missionary and operate in mission territories had to ask the Congregation for special faculties. These varied according to the needs and the position of the petitioners, and had to be renewed periodically in order to maintain a closer relationship between Propaganda officials and their subordinates around the world.²⁶

Missions had to be formalized as soon as possible. In the early stages of missionary activities, a prefect apostolic was appointed. He was responsible to Propaganda and could partially communicate his faculties to his missionaries. Missions might be small, but the organizational structure was to be applied to all of them. In the second half of the eighteenth century, a small mission such as Saint-Pierre and Miquelon consisted of a prefect apostolic (in Saint-Pierre) and a single missionary (in Miquelon).²⁷ Propaganda always corresponded with individual missionaries operating in the New World, although it was cautious never to bypass the appointed superiors in the colonies. Those who wrote to Propaganda were unsophisticated priests who simply did not know whether the land in which they found themselves was dependent on any superior, missionaries so far from established hierarchies that they found it easier to correspond with Rome than with Quebec or Baltimore, rebel priests at war with their superiors, idealists envisaging grand schemes for the conversion of the American savages, or simply European priests who longed to be exposed to the vineyards of the New World.²⁸

In the mid-seventeenth century, Canada became important enough to require a more efficient hierarchic structure. Until then, for most practical purposes, the Jesuits had run the church in the colony. (As we shall see, Propaganda had almost no power over them). In 1658 Laval was appointed vicar apostolic in Canada. A vicar apostolic was, in fact, a bishop abroad (in *partibus infidelium*). He had the spiritual powers of a bishop, but depended on Propaganda. As soon as European diplomacy allowed it, Laval was appointed full bishop of Quebec.²⁹ Propaganda corresponded directly with Laval and his successors. Laval, in particular, sent yearly reports on the state of religion in his diocese. Later, Bishop Jean-Olivier Briand (the first bishop after the English Conquest of 1760) appointed a vicar general in Paris, who acted as his liaison with Rome and Propaganda. The three successive vicars general in Paris (Pierre de La Rue, better known as Abbé de L'Isle-Dieu, appointed before the Conquest, 1734-1777; François Sorbier de Villars, 1777-1788; and Martin Hody, 1789-1792) forwarded and often filtered an enormous amount of correspondence coming from North America. De La Rue was often assisted by Joseph-Marie de La Corne de Chaptés, dean of the Chapter of Quebec (1762-1779). When the French Revolution disrupted the customary networks, the correspondence between Canada and Rome went via Lisbon -- where the Quebec merchant Francis Morrogh acted as a practical contact -- or was entrusted to priests travelling from Rome to England via Venice and Germany. Of course, after the Conquest, Canada became an English possession, and a number of matters were dealt with in London rather than in Paris. Thomas Hussey was then appointed vicar general of the bishop of Quebec in London (1784-1788). Like his French colleagues, Hussey too had a voluminous correspondence with Propaganda.³⁰

After the American War of Independence, Propaganda tried to organize the American clergy according to the system that had been applied to Canada. (Before the American Revolution, there were only Jesuits in the British continental colonies, and the vicar apostolic in the London district enjoyed token jurisdiction over them.) At first, a proposal was put forward to establish a vicar apostolic in Baltimore or Philadelphia. When Benjamin Franklin unexpectedly made it clear that the American Congress actually preferred an American bishop to a foreign vicar apostolic, John Carroll was first appointed prefect apostolic of the missions in the United Provinces of America (1784), and then full bishop of Baltimore (1789), thus becoming the second Catholic bishop in Anglo-America. Like his colleague in Quebec, Carroll corresponded directly with Propaganda, but often used Hussey in London to keep up correspondence with Rome.³¹

Prior to the bishop of Quebec's appointment of a vicar general in Paris, most matters pertaining to Canada passed through the hands of the nuncio in France. The nuncio did not depend on Propaganda, but was responsible to the Pope through the Secretary of State. For all practical purposes, he was the Holy See's ambassador to the French court. Propaganda used the nuncio in France to approach the higher echelons of the French government or of the French clergy, and sometimes asked him to supervise prospective missionaries.³² Propaganda had a similar relationship with the nuncio in Flanders. Since Great Britain was not a Catholic country, the Pope could not and would not maintain a nuncio there. Thus the nuncio in Brussels, because of his geographical location, was also made responsible for England. Although he was likely to be less informed on American matters than his colleague in Paris, he was, for example, the one that forwarded to Propaganda early information on the Maryland mission in the seventeenth century.³³

If Propaganda enjoyed an easy and smooth relationship with the secular clergy in North America and with their appointed superiors, some problems arose in its dealings with the regular clergy. Theoretically, Propaganda had jurisdiction over seculars and regulars alike, and both had to refer to it for faculties necessary to operate in mission territories. In practice, the situation was not so simple. The very first mission that Propaganda planned in the New World was in fact blocked by the opposition of the superiors of a powerful order, the Discalced Carmelites. In 1625 the Discalced Carmelite Simon Stock, a friend of George Calvert's, Baron Baltimore, disclosed to the officials of the newly founded Congregation the possibility of opening the first Catholic mission of Anglo-America in Newfoundland, where Baltimore was trying to establish the colony of Avalon. Propaganda officials encouraged his endeavours in writing, but then, faced with the opposition of Stock's confrères, decided not to pursue the matter further. Propaganda made it clear that "questa Sacra Congregazione ha per costume di non violentar li superiori delle religioni, trovando che coll'andar contro la loro volontà si difficolano sempre grandemente li negotii." [See Appendix A for translation]. In fact, Propaganda was balancing Stock's visionary project against the Order's powerful Middle East missions, and decided that it could not afford the Order's hostility in the very first years of its existence.³⁴ On their part, Discalced Carmelites were positively jealous of the new Congregation, and tried to share with it as little as possible of their knowledge of North America.³⁵ Later, when the Discalced Carmelites became involved in Louisiana, they seemed to cooperate with Propaganda.³⁶

Even more difficult, particularly in the early days, was Propaganda's relationship with the Society of Jesus. The Jesuits felt themselves to be in competition with Propaganda from the Congregation's inception. In 1625 Propaganda wrote to the Jesuit General, Muzio Vitelleschi, enquiring about the possibility of founding some missions in the New World. Vitelleschi quickly answered that his Order had already sent three of its members to North America eleven years before (Pierre Biard, Enemond Massé and Jacques Quentin, accompanied by the lay brother Gilbert du Thet), while that year three Jesuits (Charles Lalemant, Massé and Jean de Brébeuf) and two lay brothers (Gilbert Burel and François Charton) had been sent to "Canada confinante con la Nuova Francia."³⁷ [See Appendix A for translation.] The history of the Jesuit missions among the Huron nation and their tragic and abrupt end in the late 1640s is too well known to be recounted here. Although the Society of Jesus from time to time sent catalogues of its missionaries to Propaganda, what should be noted is the de facto independence of the North American Jesuits from the Congregation, an independence that lasted until the creation of the bishopric of Quebec in 1674. The Jesuits insisted on the same privileges in North America that were accorded them in the East Indies. Naturally enough, Propaganda maintained that faculties were granted to all missionaries on an equal basis, and that the Jesuits were not a special case.³⁸ The result of this dispute was an almost total lack of co-operation between the Society and Propaganda, aggravated by the fact that almost all Jesuit missionaries were French and dealt with France. This hostility was eventually dissolved by the appointment of Laval as vicar apostolic, since he always enjoyed a good relationship with them.³⁹ At the end of the eighteenth century, when the Jesuits were suppressed and disbanded, they remained in Canada as secular missionaries dependent on Bishop Briand of Quebec, who was instructed to execute the brief *Dominus ac Redemptor*, dissolving

the Society "pacate ac tranquille."⁴⁰ [See Appendix A for translation.] As to the British colonies of America, after receiving some information on Maryland in the seventeenth century, Propaganda completely lost track of them. The Jesuits became the only missionaries there, and received their faculties directly from their English provincials.⁴¹ When the bishopric of Baltimore was created in 1789, the secular clergy of the United States consisted almost exclusively of former Jesuits, Carroll included, so that they were accused of being a powerful and exclusive clique.⁴² By that time, though, Propaganda had delegated the administration of the former British colonies to the bishop of Baltimore, and competition with the formerly powerful Society had long been forgotten.

Propaganda's relationship with other orders operating in North America was simpler and never posed any problems. Capuchins, who had been active in Acadia in the early days of European settlement and were later entrusted with missions in the Louisiana area, enjoyed a long and well established relationship with Propaganda.⁴³ The Recollets were in a similar position. In fact, when Propaganda first mentioned the need for a bishopric in Canada, the choice fell to a Recollet candidate.⁴⁴ The Sulpicians had no relationship with Propaganda but only with Paris, and, except for the controversy between Champvallon and Laval mentioned above, they also did not present any problems for the Congregation.⁴⁵ The Spiritains, who were sent to Canada and to Saint-Pierre and Miquelon in the late eighteenth century, were sent and administered by their Paris superiors. These often asked Propaganda for faculties and reported on the state of their missions.⁴⁶

The relationship between Propaganda and the secular clergy in North America was, then, very direct and well-structured. There is no doubt that they all -- from the bishops to the simple missionaries -- looked upon Rome and particularly upon Propaganda as the source of their jurisdiction and spiritual power. This is less true of the regular orders, since they had a double loyalty -- toward Rome (Propaganda) and their direct superiors. Still, with a few important exceptions, they too maintained a good relationship with the Congregation, especially after the creation of the bishoprics of Quebec and Baltimore.

4. THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The America of the eighteenth century was markedly different from that of the seventeenth century. In the seventeenth century, the focus was on the Atlantic Ocean rather than on the American mainland. Englishmen and Frenchmen alike were still confined to the shores of the New World, and, while the French enjoyed a better knowledge of and claimed dominance over the interior of the continent, in fact they were clustered around the St. Lawrence basin. While skirmishes between the French and the English virtually began the very moment they set foot in the New World, Americans and Canadians were too busy with their economic and demographic problems to try to overpower each other. For their part, London and Versailles reasoned in terms of European strategies, and the American colonies weighed little in the European balance of power. North America was not only a new world, but a different one, separated from Europe by a vast and perilous ocean and overwhelmingly populated by non-Europeans.

Eighteenth-century North America was very different. While the British colonies grew spectacularly in population, New France extended itself to the Gulf of Mexico and the Rocky Mountains, though in most cases the French enjoyed only token possession. The economy became less and less an issue, while both Versailles and London came to regard their colonies in imperial and military terms in the much wider theatre of worldwide pre-dominance. Not only the Atlantic Ocean, but most of the North American continent had been tamed. The Mediterranean Sea was now more hostile than the Atlantic Ocean, and the shores of North Africa (let alone the interior) certainly more foreign to Europeans than their American counterparts. What had been outposts in an unknown world became only appendages of their European mother countries.⁴⁷

Secluded in the city-state of Rome, far away from America but also from the courts of St. James's and Versailles, Propaganda officials too were affected by and participated in this general shift in the European perception of the New World. Like all bureaucrats, however, they did not like change, and left to themselves would have changed as little as possible. This conservative attitude is mirrored in the organization of their archives, whose operative structure (documents were stored to be used, not to be preserved for posterity) clearly reflects Propaganda officials' working style. At the beginning, all Propaganda officials met periodically in plenary sessions ("Congregazioni Generali"), and incoming documents were filed in the series entitled SOCG, while the proceedings of the meetings were recorded in the Acta series. SOCG documents were arranged geographically, according to the place of origin of the incoming document. While this arrangement is proof of the international outlook of Propaganda's early officials, it sometimes prevented easy access to documentary evidence. Rudimentary mistakes on the part of unknowing copyists who, for example, confused Armenia with America or Newfoundland (Terranova) with the Holy Land (Terrasanta) would not make the search any easier.⁴⁸ After 1669, SOCG documents were arranged chronologically, but the geographical arrangement was introduced or continued for other series, like Congressi and Congregazioni Particolari. No other substantial reforms intervened in Propaganda's working style in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. On two different occasions a proposal was put forward to establish procurators to deal with certain portions of the world, but both proposals were rejected.⁴⁹ Evidently, Propaganda felt no need to overstructure itself nor to change a well-oiled routine.

Taken in the limits of its North American policies, this unchanging working style of Propaganda is reflected in the astonishing uniformity of its attitude toward the New World. Times changed, officials changed, and yet, well into the latter half of the eighteenth century, every decision made by Propaganda was predictable, regardless of what changes were taking place in the development of North America. While every opportunity was seized to spread the influence of Catholicism in the New World, Propaganda was careful never to raise the suspicions of the leading forces in the colonies nor to act against the established hierarchies of the various regular orders. Time was a vital factor in shaping Propaganda's decisions, but it was time measured by eternity, not by the need for immediate results. Often, delay was preferred over action, since better results could be achieved in the long run. In assessing their colonial options, France and England were guided by economic, imperial or military motivations. (The conversion of the American savages was a motivation only in the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries). As to the Holy See, the idea of expansion was inherent in the very existence of the (missionary) church, while the success of the expansion was assessed by the number of accomplished conversions, the number of operational missionaries, and the number of bishoprics around the world, regardless of their location on the world map.⁵⁰

The case of Simon Stock is a particularly good example of all these ideas at work. Although confused as to the real location of his project (space), Propaganda officials encouraged Stock (opportunity seized) until the Order's opposition was discovered (hierarchies respected). The Avalon enterprise was then abandoned so as not to jeopardize the Middle East status quo (space, again), while other regular orders were contacted (time).⁵¹ Similarly, it took sixteen years before Laval, who had been selected as vicar apostolic of Canada in 1658, could be appointed bishop of Quebec in 1674, since all opposition in France had first to be appeased or won over.⁵² Many years later, when Canada became a conquered colony and its Catholics were still without a bishop (Henri-Marie Dubreil de Pontbriand died in 1760), the chapter of Quebec resolved to elect its bishop autonomously, and then to ask Rome's approval. Propaganda positively rejected the procedure:

Né alcun titolo o ragione puo competere al capitolo di quella cattedrale, né al clero della diocesi nominare, e molto meno di eleggere, i loro vescovo. [...] E stato dunque un atto nullo [...] [e] anche di pericolosissimo esempio. [See Appendix A for translation.]

Propaganda, however, added that "Sua Santità non avrà difficoltà di deputare per vicario apostolico lo stesso ecclesiastico eletto per vescovo di quel capitolo."⁵³ [See Appendix A for translation.] A few years later, at the beginning of the American War of American Independence, Propaganda was not disturbed by the fact that this was, after all, a revolution against an established authority. It waited to see who would come out the winner, and then it came to terms with the representatives of the American Congress, managing to convince the new rulers to accept the establishment of a Catholic hierarchy in the United States.⁵⁴

It would be a mistake to consider this unchanging working style of Propaganda and the uniformity of its decisions as evidence that Propaganda was not affected by the general shift in the European perception of the New World. Things did indeed change, even for Propaganda officials. Over the decades, a new geographical awareness slowly replaced the confusion North America had caused to the early officials of the Congregation. In the 1620s they had been unable to locate Lord Baltimore's colony of Avalon on the island of Newfoundland, which was probably the portion of North America best known to early seventeenth-century Europeans.⁵⁵ They appointed Pacifique de Provins prefect of the missions of Canada (i.e., Acadia), and continued to style him with that title even though he never went to North America and spent most of his American life in the West Indies.⁵⁶ They suggested that a mission in Guyana could make it possible to find an overland passage through North America leading to the Indians of New Mexico.⁵⁷ Random mistakes of this kind became less and less frequent in the second half of the seventeenth century, and were virtually non-existent in the eighteenth century. Marginal notes, which served the purpose of identifying the geographical location of a document, became more precise, although there was still room for confusion. "Canada" became "Quebec" after the erection of the bishopric, and reverted to "Canada" in the late eighteenth century. The British continental colonies were always "Indie Occidentali" (and as such were often confused with the islands proper), until they were referred to as "Baltimore" on account of the new bishopric. "America" usually meant Spanish or Portuguese America, while Newfoundland was simply "Terranova." Saint-Pierre and Miquelon were a special case, as they are today. Since they were islands, they were usually included with the West Indies, although it was evident that they were far away from the Caribbean seas.⁵⁸

In view of what was happening elsewhere in the world, it is not surprising that this shift in perception became more evident in the second half of the eighteenth century, as shown by the sheer quantity of North American material received by Propaganda from the early 1760s onwards. From the end of the Seven Years War the amount of mail increased out of all proportions to the previous period. It is worth noting, for example, that a third (33.5%) of the 460 letters of North American interest written by Propaganda over the 177 years between 1622 and 1790 are dated between 1622 and 1759, while the other two thirds (66.5%) were sent between 1760 and 1799. Correspondence with the bishops of Quebec (Briand, d'Esgly, Jean-François Hubert, Pierre Denaut) became a regular duty for Propaganda officials. Even more time-consuming was Propaganda's correspondence with the bishop of Quebec's vicar general in Paris, the Abbé de L'Isle-Dieu, whose passion for letter-writing was almost matched by his successor, Villars. After Carroll's appointment as prefect apostolic of the missions in the United Provinces of America, Propaganda began a regular correspondence not only with the future bishop, but also with a number of his American confrères who had been in hiding most of their lives and wanted to profit from the new climate of religious tolerance. On some matters relating to North America, Propaganda prepared detailed dossiers for the use of the secretary -- a small change from previous working practices that can be interpreted as a new awareness of the importance of American events.⁵⁹ At the same time, new openings for missions were found in Newfoundland, in Saint-Pierre and Miquelon, in the Canadian Northwest, among the Iroquois, and along the Ohio River.⁶⁰

In the second half of the eighteenth century, a better knowledge of North American events accompanied Propaganda's increasing awareness of the geography of the New World. The instruction sent to Pietro Pamphili Colonna, archbishop of Colossus and nuncio in France, on 28 March 1764, well described the state of the French colonies of America after the Conquest and the political strategy to

be employed for the appointment of a new bishop in Canada to replace Pontbriand.⁶¹ Twenty years later, another instruction was prepared for the new nuncio in France, Doria Pamphili, who was sent to participate in the preliminaries of the Treaty of Paris. Dated 15 January 1783, it clearly detailed the North American jurisdiction of the bishop of Quebec and the former responsibilities of the vicar apostolic in the London district over the British colonies of North America.⁶² Doria Pamphili's successor, Antonio Dugnani, archbishop of Rhodes, received yet another instruction, on the eve of his departure for Paris, in which he was provided with details of current affairs in the United States and the West Indies. The instruction contained a full list of agents that Propaganda employed in Paris. The nuncio was advised to contact them to obtain information on events in various parts of the world for which they were responsible -- from China to Quebec, from Cayenne to Senegal, from Ile-de-France to Constantinople, from Cochinchina to Madagascar.⁶³

Also evident in Propaganda's attitude toward the New World is a change of emphasis regarding the conversion of the Indians -- that is, as an early missionary put it, upon the establishment of Indian missions "a tutti quelli parti settentrionali d'America, che sono plene di populi che mai hanno senti[to] novo del Santo Evangelio."⁶⁴ [See Appendix A for translation.] In the early days, North America was regarded as a land of emptiness, and was considered important for its savages and barbarous inhabitants, not for the few Europeans who had settled there.⁶⁵ In 1642, Pacifique de Provins refused to go to Acadia, which he described as a barren wilderness covered by snow for six months of the year, and forests where one could walk for no more than a mile every five days. Worse still, the Indians were very few, not more than 500 dispersed over 200 or 300 leagues. Pacifique had no intention of "finire la vita [sua] a confessare 40 catholici francesi." That is why he asked to be sent somewhere else in North America, where there were "molti piu selvatici da cristianizzare."⁶⁶ [See Appendix A for translation.]

With the failure of the Jesuit missions among the Hurons in the late 1640s and the growing number of Europeans who migrated to the New World, the missions among the Indians became less important, while the need to maintain the True Faith among the Catholic settlers increased. Laval's detailed yearly reports to Propaganda usually devoted only a few lines at the end to the Indian missions, even though his strict co-operation with the Séminaire des Missions-Étrangères of Paris made him more aware of the needs of the missions than any of his successors.⁶⁷ In 1729 Dosquet asked Propaganda for permission to ordain "i nativi di quel paese" ad titulum missionis. [See Appendix A for translation.] Today's reader is likely to take Dosquet's words as a reference to the Indians of Canada, but Propaganda officials well knew that Dosquet had in mind Europeans born in Canada, and no confusion arose.⁶⁸ Later still, in 1769, Briand informed Propaganda that he had some hope of being authorized to use former Jesuits for the Indian missions, "pour les quelles les Canadiens n'ont guères de goût mais que devois-je faire."⁶⁹ [See Appendix A for translation.] In their attitude toward the Indian missions, Propaganda and the clergy operating in Canada (with some notable exceptions on the part of the Society of Jesus) closely resembled French government and society. At the beginning of colonization, both regarded the conversion of native Americans as their chief task and duty. Later, the needs of the European settlers became a priority for both.⁷⁰

There seems to be little doubt that the attitude of Propaganda towards North America changed during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries according to the pattern experienced by France and England. On the one hand, the unchanging working style and the uniformity of their North American policies seem to indicate that the officials of Propaganda resisted change, and, like all bureaucrats, often favoured the machine over the aims for which that machine had been created. On the other hand, their increasing awareness of the geography and of the events of the New World, their attitude towards the conversion of the Indians, together with the great quantity of North American material received (particularly in the second half of the eighteenth century) show that the officials of Propaganda shared the same image of North America (albeit a more confused and less detailed one) as their English and

French colleagues, and often made their decisions according to the same range of options. It remains to be seen why all this happened.

5. AN AGE OF REVOLUTIONS

During the Ancien Régime, change had been so slow that it did not affect the lives of individual citizens. Generation after generation had been trained to believe that, while small alterations could make their lives a little better or a little worse, they would substantially follow in their parents' footsteps. The second half of the eighteenth century shook this general belief in a static and unchangeable world, in Europe as well as in America. The Seven Years' War turned North America from a largely French continent to an English-speaking one. While Canada lost its religious uniformity and most of its political and military leaders, the British colonies lost their hostile neighbours, and the opportunity arose to rally against the English "tyrants." Contrary to all expectations, the American Revolution became a reality for the governments of Western Europe. The French Revolution and what followed it were even more terrifying to the European establishment, since its social character and the violence it originated touched all facets of Western society as it was then known. Kings were beheaded, nobles fled the country, peasants became popular leaders, popes were arrested and exiled. Individual citizens began to realize, in Europe as well as in America, that change was indeed possible within the short span of their own lives, and that the future could be significantly different from the past, for better or, indeed, for worse.

The Holy See had entered a period of great difficulties. Its supernational status waned. The gap between the missionary church, zealously striving to survive in a perilous land, and the routinèere church, operating within a well-established tradition of relations with the civil authorities in such countries as Italy and France, was widening, with a crisis of vocations as one of its results.⁷¹ The heroic age of missions was long past, and they were now experiencing a period of tragic collapse. Rome's inability to cope with the political pressures exercised by other European governments led to the implementation of the papal brief *Dominus ac Redemptor* (1773), which suppressed the Society of Jesus with its 22,589 members, withdrawing some 3,000 Jesuits from their mission fields.⁷² When the French Revolution threatened the very existence of the Catholic Church in France, and significantly disrupted the missionary network Propaganda had been organizing via Paris for decades, the Holy See was simply overwhelmed by the magnitude of events that no government in Europe had been able to anticipate.

Oddly enough, in the years immediately following the eruption of the French "turbamenti,"⁷³ Propaganda officials began to look at their mission fields in Protestant North America as the only real alternative to the European catastrophe. The young churches of Canada, Newfoundland and the United States were to provide a refuge for priests and religious institutions fleeing Europe. As already noted, in 1785, the nuncio in France, Dugnani, was advised to contact the network of all agents that Propaganda had organized in Paris. Four years later, in 1789, times had changed. On account of the frightening news coming from Paris, Dugnani wrote, "Le meilleur parti est celui d'aller en Amerique." In 1790, someone from the offices of Propaganda (its prefect, Cardinal Leonardo Antonelli, or its pro-secretary, Giulio de Carpineo) wrote to the nuncio that he was "immerso nella piu profonda amarezza" for the loss "di queste due grandi istituzioni di S. Sulpizio e del Seminario delle Missioni Straniere," since for their loss "vanno a perdersi tanti vicari apostolici, tante missioni feconde, tante anime guadagnate alla Fede di Gesù Cristo con spese immense e con incessanti sudori." [See Appendix A for translation.] According to the writer, though, the idea of leaving France for the American missions was a dangerous one, since that was "un campo pieno di spine e di triboli, [...] e ogni emulazione del par[t]ito de protestanti, che è prontissimo in quegli stati, potrebbe distruggere e devastare tutte le fatighe degli agricoltori evangelici di quella vigna." [See Appendix A for translation.] The suggestion was made that the majority of the members of the two religious institutions be sent to North and South America,

but that in Paris "almeno la semenza di questo illustre Seminario [des Missions-Étrangères]" be left, "acciocché in ogni favorevole evento possa subito ristabilirsi quest'opera così salutare." [See Appendix A for translation.] The agent of the English clergy in Rome, Robert Smelt, expressed similar views one year later: "Religion seems to thrive in America, whilst it loses ground in Europe."⁷⁴

The situation in France deteriorated, and by 1793 any hope of recovery was abandoned. The bishop of Baltimore, Carroll, was informed that "In tantis [...] quibus quotidie augimur angustiis, ac in tantis catholicae fidei in Europa illatis vulneribus, a provinciis americanis expectamus solacium."⁷⁵ [See Appendix A for translation] Similar words were used with the bishop of Quebec, Hubert, in 1794, and with O'Donel, new bishop of Thyatira and vicar apostolic in Newfoundland. The latter was told in 1796: "Catholicos [...] a nefaria irreligionis atque incredulitatis vertigine, quam in nostra Europa misere vagare deflemus, strenue defendas."⁷⁶ [See Appendix A for translation] That same year, Napoleon invaded Italy. Two years later, Pius VI was taken prisoner, and Propaganda fled to safer grounds in Padua.

All Europeans considered the British defeat in the American War of Independence an event of great significance. Some countries were directly affected by its outcome (France, Spain, Rome). Others simply used the American example to assess their internal political options (Germany, Tuscany, Venice). Naturally enough, the French Revolution was even more important, since it touched upon the lives and thoughts of all Europeans. As Europeans, the officials of Propaganda participated in this general trend. The values and ideas that had served them for more than a century changed under the pressure of unforeseeable events.⁷⁷

Their involvement, however, only partially explains why Propaganda officials followed their French and English colleagues in matters dealing with North America. The rest of the explanation lies in their role as recipients of American correspondence. Propaganda officials lived in Rome and never had any opportunity to see the far-away places they administered. Their correspondents, on the other hand, were on the spot. They were not only witnesses but often also participants in events. Their participation varied according to the individual's social position. The nuncio in France, for example, was a high diplomat living in the Court of Versailles. For him, North America was a small portion of his greater European responsibilities. Although unlikely to be particularly interested in North American events, the nuncio was usually well informed on activities at Court, thus helping Propaganda to understand the essential background to the American colonies of the "Most Christian King." As a trained diplomat, however, he knew better than anybody else how to deal with Propaganda. He wrote often (neither rough seas nor winter ice inhibited him), always acknowledged letters received, duly answered queries and clearly stated new items on which decisions had to be made. His letters were short and clear. Propaganda officials found them easy to process, and answered in similar style. It was bureaucracy at its best.

Unlike the nuncios, the bishops of Quebec and Baltimore lived in North America, were in fact Americans, thought and acted as Americans. For practical reasons, they usually wrote once a year and combined a general report on the state of religion in their dioceses with a list of requests. When reading these letters, Propaganda officials were certainly aware that the information they provided and the requests they contained originated not in some European office but on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. Laval's letters, with their strange names of Indian tribes and Canadian villages; Briand's letters, with their praises of the Protestant British governor and their firm stand against the American revolutionaries; Carroll's letters, with their images of rebel priests fighting established authority in the town of Philadelphia or in the Illinois wilderness -- these all provided a picture of American reality that could not be mistaken for anything else.

The letters of individual missionaries were, however, the ones that plunged the bureaucrats of Propaganda deepest into the reality of the New World, closest to the human needs of the missionaries

and their flock. Since there was no routine correspondence with the missionaries, these letters were special. Often they contained requests for faculties or privileges and sometimes for help against hostile superiors. In some cases no request was made. The letters were simply prompted by the urge to let the centre of catholicism know what was being done and what results were being achieved in some distant and unheard-of land. Neufville's letter of 1668 dealing with Newfoundland fishermen has already been discussed. Around 1765, a report on Louisiana written by the Jesuit François-Philibert Watrin found its way to the desks of Propaganda. Officials were informed that the Illinois, who sixty years before numbered 10,000, were now reduced to 800 or 900, and that the cause of their decline rested with "la fréquentation des François." Watrin explained:

Ils veulent jouir les douceurs dont ils voient l'usage parmi les François; ils s'amolissent, et ne peuvent plus resister à la vie dure qu'il faut mener malgré soi quand on passe comme eux l'hyver au milieu des bois.⁷⁸ [See Appendix A for translation.]

In 1785, the Capuchin Charles Maurice Whelan, recently arrived in New York, wrote to the nuncio in France, Doria Pamphili, to report on his adventurous career. He had been chaplain in the French fleet commanded by François-Joseph-Paul, Count de Grasse, who was defeated at Les Saintes on 12 April 1782 in what was then considered "the hottest and most terrible, and also the most disastrous, of sea-fights since the invention of gunpowder." A prisoner in Jamaica for thirteen months, he ministered to 3,563 Frenchmen, 800 Spanish and 35 Americans, before finding his way to the United Provinces of America. Adding a cosmopolitan touch to his report, he ended his letter by suggesting that any priest operating in New York had at least to speak Gaelic, English, French and Dutch, and that some Spanish and Portuguese were also advisable. Whelan's letter was subsequently forwarded by the nuncio to Propaganda.⁷⁹ Every example is a case-study in itself, and the list is virtually endless. Significantly, each item eventually ended up in the hands of the same people in the offices of Propaganda.

All incoming correspondence was quickly and efficiently processed according to the ritual defined above as Propaganda's "unchanging working style." The historian is somewhat frustrated when, searching in the archives of Propaganda for universal views of European colonization of the New World, general considerations on the conversion of native populations, and overall plans for re-converting North American heretics to Catholicism, he finds next to nothing. But Propaganda officials were administrators, not intellectuals. Like their colleagues in France and England, they were unlikely to be political scientists or philosophers, since they were too busy with pending business to devote any significant portion of their precious time to discuss the overall meaning of their task. (After all, their faith was there to provide all the answers). They did not have much time to read, either. They most appreciated letters whose requests were clearly singled out and whose general descriptions were kept to a minimum. The nuncios, as we have seen, were masters in the art of letter-writing. Conversely, individual missionaries were often verbose, and sometimes did not even have any special requests. In this case, the letter was read but not processed, and it was likely to disappear into the archives. This is what happened, for example, to the first general description of North America to reach Propaganda, a report written in 1625 by the Recollet Gregorio Bolívar, which was never used.⁸⁰

If Propaganda officials were not intellectuals, they certainly were good bureaucrats, if only because they tended to their daily routine while letting their minds wander about. This allowed them to absorb the winds of change that touched them through their correspondents around the world. Those who wrote to Propaganda were mostly North Americans or were directly connected with North American events. They were Bolívar, a friar with twenty years of experience in South America; Stock, who was a friend of Lord Baltimore's and claimed to have converted the English nobleman; Pacifique de Provins, who was said to have been killed by the "cannibals" of Guyana; Neufville, a diocesan priest ministering to the Newfoundland fishermen; François-Joseph Le Mercier, the Jesuit superior in Martinica, formerly superior in New France;⁸¹ Laval and Briand, bishops of Quebec; L'Isle-Dieu and

Villars, vicars general of the diocese of Quebec in Paris; Watrin, a missionary with long experience in the Illinois country; Carroll, bishop of Baltimore; and Whelan, a former sea-chaplain before becoming a missionary in the American republic. It is all too easy to add one name after another to that list. What has to be noted, however, is not the quantity of Propaganda's correspondents, but their most important qualifications -- they were all active participants in the history of North America for the two centuries discussed here. They saw the New World change before their very eyes and were often the instruments of that change. Through their letters, requests, queries, descriptions, reports and petitions, Propaganda officials too became part of the process.

The reason why Propaganda's attitude towards North America changed, as did that of France and England, is twofold. On the one hand, as important members of a European government who lived in the centre of the Catholic world, the officials of Propaganda shared most experiences and indeed the same reality as their counterparts in other European capitals. Points of view could be and often were different, but the general frame of reference was the same. North America found its way into that frame of reference in the second half of the eighteenth century, first with the Seven Years War, then with the American Revolution, later still in the period of the French Revolution.⁸² From this perspective, Propaganda (together with the Holy See in general) changed its attitude towards North America according to a pattern that was similar to that of all other European governments who had a way in the international balance of power. On the other hand, Propaganda's relationship with its North American correspondents made its case very special, similar only to that of France and England. From 1622 onwards, letters poured in that portrayed the changing reality of the New World as experienced by those who lived there. Little by little, Propaganda officials came to share their correspondents' ideas, viewpoints, perceptions and images. In Rome, as well as in London and Paris, decisions regarding North America were made according to a frame of reference that was deeply influenced by those Europeans who had chosen to live in the New World.

6. CONCLUSIONS

We have examined the general framework of the relationship between Rome and North America and shown how Propaganda's attitude towards the New World changed according to a pattern similar to that of France and England. At this point, one is likely to be confronted by the obvious question: Did the Holy See's policies toward North America have any real impact on the development of its history? In the past, Catholic historians made no distinction between the Holy See and Catholicism in general. The two were equated under a missiological interpretation that portrayed the progress of religion in a particular country (Canada or the United States).⁸³ The case of Spanish and Portuguese America (which has already been discussed) shows that recognition of the role played by Catholicism in shaping the historical development of the New World does not necessarily mean that the Holy See had any part in it. Recently, other historians have simply taken for granted the importance of Catholicism in the New World, and found that the Holy See had in fact hindered the development of the Catholic church in the United States in the period immediately following the War of American Independence.⁸⁴

This writer believes that the question of the real impact of the Holy See upon North American development cannot be answered in general terms, but only with reference to specific areas, people and times. In the Newfoundland example that introduces this chapter, one could argue that the intervention of the Holy See was a mere formality, since O'Donel's appointment had already been decided upon in St. John's and Waterford, and Propaganda simply took note of a decision already made and recorded it in its files. One could also argue, however, that the roundabout journey of the petition of the citizens of Newfoundland shows the general awareness of the Holy See's final say on the matter. Had Propaganda refused to comply with the request to appoint O'Donel, the island would have been left in the hands of those two or three "scandalous" priests, who, like others before them, had been unable

to achieve a significant following within their community or provide it with a sense of religious identity. The Newfoundland example is necessarily uneventful and narrow in its scope." Other case-studies could be more rewarding for their broader context or for the number of questions raised -- the Avalon colony, Laval's appointment, the Conquest of Canada, the establishment of the new America republic, to mention only some of the examples already touched upon. To approach our subject in more general terms would be as meaningless as to examine the so-called "real" impact of France and England upon the historical development of North America. There certainly was an impact, if only because France and England (like the Holy See) enjoyed a two-way relationship with the New World. To go beyond that simple assertion, however, involves a deeper examination of case-studies, from which new assumptions can be drawn.

NOTES

All references to documents of Propaganda are given according to the item numbers as shown in the *Calendar*.

- 1 William Egan to James Louis O'Donel, Clonmel, 23 Dec. 1783, SOCG 577; James Keating, Patrick Gaul, John Commins and Lewis Maddock to James Talbot, [Waterford], 14 Jan. 1784, SOCG 576; Keating, Gaul and Commins to [Talbot], Waterford, 14 Jan. 1784, Westminster Diocesan Archives [hereafter WDA], A, vol. 42, no. 44; O'Donel to [Talbot], Waterford, 19 Jan. 1784, id., no. 59; Egan to [Talbot], Clonmel, 4 Feb. 1784, id., no. 47; O'Donel to Talbot, Waterford, 31 Dec. 1784, SOCG 578; Propaganda's internal memorandum [Rome, 1784], SOCG 575.
- 2 Proceedings of the General Congregation of 17 May 1784, Acta 209; Propaganda to Egan, [Rome], 5 June 1784, Lettere 295; Propaganda to O'Donel, [Rome], 5 June 1784, Lettere 296; Propaganda to Talbot, [Rome], 5 June 1784, Lettere 297; Leonardo Antonelli and Stefano Borgia to Talbot, Rome, 5 June 1784, WDA, A, vol. 42, nos. 53-54.
- 3 John Huxtable Elliott, *The Old World and the New, 1492-1650*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970, p. 100; Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System, II: Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World-Economy, 1600-1750*, New York: Academic Press, 1980, pp. 179-180; Kenneth Gordon Davies, *North Atlantic World in the Seventeenth Century*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press - London: Oxford University Press, 1974, pp. 37-42; William John Eccles, *Canada under Louis XIV, 1663-1701*, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1964, pp. 31-32; Ian R. Christie, *Crisis of Empire. Great Britain and the American Colonies, 1754-1783*, London: Edward Arnold, 1966, pp. 11-12; Jack P. Greene, "An Uneasy Connection. An Analysis of the Preconditions of the American Revolution," in Stephen G. Kurtz and James H. Hutson, eds., *Essays on the American Revolution*, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1973, pp. 40-45; I.K. Steele, *Politics of Colonial Policy. The Board of Trade and Colonial Administration, 1696-1720*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968.
- 4 Elliott, *Old World and New*, pp. 80-81; Charles Gibson, *Spain in America*, New York: Harper, 1966, pp. 15-18, 68-69; J.H. Parry, *The Spanish Seaborne Empire*, London: Hutchinson, 1966, pp. 154-157; Jacques Heers, *Christophe Colomb*, Paris: Hachette, 1981, pp. 512-515; Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1964, pp. 141-142; Ignacio Ting Pong Lee, "La actitud de la Sagrada Congregacion frente al Regio Patronado," in Josef Metzler, ed., *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum, I/1: 1622-1700*, Freiburg: Herder, 1971, pp. 353-438; William E. Shiels, *King and Church: The Rise and Fall of the Patronato Real*, Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1961.
- 5 Pacifique de Provins to Niccolò Guidi di Bagno, Nantes, 2 Nov. 1647, SOCG 148.
- 6 On the international status of the Holy See, see Owen Chadwick, *The Popes and European Revolution*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981, p. 254.
- 7 Proceedings of the General Congregation of 8 March 1622, Acta 1.
- 8 In the years 1622-1668 (vols. 1-417), SOCG documents were arranged by geographical areas; from 1669 onwards (vols. 418 on), documents were arranged chronologically.
- 9 [Propaganda] to Giuseppe Maria Doria Pamphili, [Rome], 15 Jan. 1783, Lettere 274.

- 10 See, for one, the example of Louis-Joseph de Montcalm, who refers to his posting in Canada as a "commission que je n'avois ni désirée ni demandée" ("Journal du Marquis de Montcalm durant ses campagnes en Canada de 1756 a 1759," in Henri-Raymond Casgrain, ed., *Collection des manuscrits du Maréchal de Lévis*, VII, Quebec: L.-J. Demers, 1985, p. 18).
- 11 See the example of Louisbourg, conquered in 1745 by an American expedition and restored to the French in 1748 by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (Eccles, *France in America*, Toronto: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1972, p. 177). Or the abandonment of the loyalist Iroquois of the American Revolution in the Treaty of Paris of 1783 (Barbara Graymont, *The Iroquois in the American Revolution*, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1972, pp. 2-3, 104-106).
- 12 See the striking example of Louis XIV and his minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert (Henry Ingram Priestley, *France Overseas through the Old Régime. A Study of European Expansion*, New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1939, pp. 146-157; Eccles, *Canada under Louis XIV*, p. 252 and passim; Philip P. Boucher, "Comment se forme un ministre colonial: l'initiation de Colbert, 1651-1664," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, XXXVII, 3 [December 1983], pp. 431-452).
- 13 Eccles, *France in America*, pp. 193-194, 208; George F.G. Stanley, *New France. The Last Phase, 1744-1760*, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1968, p. 270.
- 14 Davies, *North Atlantic World*, pp. 240-245; Christie, *Wars and Revolutions. Britain, 1760-1815*, London: Edward Arnold, 1982, p. 86; Christie, *Crisis of Empire*, pp. 39-54, 65, 112; Greene, "Uneasy Connection," pp. 63-65; Tiziano Bonazzi, ed., *La rivoluzione americana*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 1977, p. 38. On William Pitt's Atlantic strategy, see Walter L. Dorn, *Competition for Empire, 1740-1763*, New York: Harper & Row, 1940, p. 357; Eccles, *France in America*, p. 194; Guy Frégault, *La guerre de la conquête, 1754-1760*, Montreal: Fides, 1955, pp. 162-163.
- 15 Richard Hofstadter, *America at 1750. A Social Portrait*, New York: Random House, 1973, pp. 3-5 [1st. ed.: 1971]; Christie, *Crisis of Empire*, pp. 112-113.
- 16 [Mario Alberizzi] to Giulio Rospigliosi, [Rome], 25 June 1661, Lettere 78.
- 17 Propaganda's internal memorandum, [Rome, 12 Sep. 1667], SOCG 225.
- 18 Although his sources have never been properly investigated, the only exception to this was Niccolò Forteguerra, who will be discussed later. See also Fortunato Margiotti, "La dotazione libraria dei cardinali di Propaganda Fide nel 1700," *Euntes Docete. Commentaria Urbaniana*, XXI (1968), pp. 367-409. Piero Del Negro has listed all works dealing with Canada that were published in Italy prior to 1800 (Piero Del Negro, "Per una bibliografia italo-canadese. Il Canada nella pubblicistica italiana dell'età moderna," in Luca Codignola, ed., *Canadiana. Problemi di storia canadese*, Venice: Marsilio Editori, 1983, pp. 13-31; see also Del Negro, "Saggio di una bibliografia delle opere relative agli Stati Uniti apparse in Italia nel Settecento," in Giorgio Spini et al., eds., *Italia e America dal Settecento all'età dell'imperialismo*, Venice: Marsilio Editori, 1976, pp. 149-156). Roman periodical literature has never been investigated with regard to North America (see Valerio Castronovo and Nicola Tranfaglia, eds., *La stampa italiana dal 500 all'800*, Bari: Laterza, 1976). On language problems, see Chadwick, *Popes and European Revolution*, p. 326. Chadwick points out, "The monsignori of the Curia were notorious for their belief that Rome was the centre of the world and that nothing outside Rome mattered." (id., p. 155)
- 19 Pierre-Herman Dosquet to Propaganda, [1729], SOCG 488.

- 20 Francesco Giuseppe Bressani, *Breve relatione d'alcune missioni de' P.P. della Compagnia di Giesù nella nuova Francia*, Macerata: Per gli heredi d'Agostino Grisei, 1653. On Bressani, see Silvana Frino Zanovello, "La relazione sulla Nuova Francia di Francesco Bressani," *Miscellanea di Storia delle Esplorazioni*, II, 5 (1977), pp. 105-118; Stelio Cro, "The Original Letter of Father Bressani Written from Fort Orange in 1644," *Canadian Journal of Italian Studies*, IV, 1-2 (Fall-Winter 1980-1981), pp. 26-67. Unpublished documents in Bressani's handwriting are in the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu.
- 21 Relazione di Mgr Urbano Cerri alla Santità di NS. PP. Innocenzo XI dello Stato di Propaganda, [1678], Varia 224 (this is probably the most complete copy among the many preserved in Propaganda). See also Bernard Jacqueline, "La S. Congrégation 'de Propaganda Fide' en 1678 d'après le rapport d'Urbano Cerri au Pape Innocent XI," *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, 4th ser., XLIII (1965), pp. 464-481.
- 22 Forteguerra, *Memorie intorno alle missioni*, ed. by Carmen Prencipe Di Donna, Naples: M. D'Auria, 1982. Written between 1706 and 1709, the *Memorie* were first published in 1828. See also Luciano Calzamiglia, "Mons. Niccolo Forteguerra e le sue 'Memorie intorno alle missioni,'" unpublished thesis, Pontificia Università Lateranense (1979).
- 23 Richard Challoner to Propaganda, [London, 1756], SOCG 532; Proceedings of the General Congregation of 6 Dec. 1756, Acta 204; [Propaganda] to Benjamin Petre, Rome, 27 Jan. 1757, Lettere 146.
- 24 [Challoner], Raguaglio dello Stato della Religione Cattolica nelle Colonie Inglesi d'America, [London, 1756], Southwark Curia Diocesan Archives, ms 37, pp. 417-423; [Challoner], Breve Relazione dello stato della Religione Cattolica in Inghilterra, [London, 1774], id., pp. 429-476; [Challoner], Breve Relazione dello Stato della Religione Cattolica in Inghilterra, [London, 1774], WDA, A, vol. 41, no. 136.
- 25 Pierre de Neufville to Clement IX, [Rome, 1669], SOCG 361; Neufville to Propaganda, [Rome, 1669], SOCG 367; Proceedings of the General Congregation of 26 March 1669, Acta 134; Proceedings of the General Congregation of 13 May 1669, Acta 137.
- 26 Faculties granted by Propaganda are to be found, for example, in C 528-539. In 1669, all bishops and vicars apostolic depending on Propaganda were reminded that if they did not comply with Propaganda's order to send annual reports on the state of religion in their territories, their incomes and faculties would be suspended ([Propaganda] to all bishops and vicars apostolic, [Rome], 21 Sep. 1669, Lettere 97).
- 27 Julien-François Becquet was appointed prefect in 1767; Jean-Baptiste-François Paradis was his vice-prefect and only missionary. See for example [Propaganda] to Joseph-Marie de La Corne de Chaptas, Rome, 27 April 1768, Lettere 197.
- 28 Neufville to Propaganda, [Rome, 1669], SOCG 367; Eustache de Lotbinière to Clement XIV, Quebec, 22 Oct. 1772, C 103; Lotbinière to [Giuseppe Maria Castelli], [Quebec], 22 Oct. 1772, C 104; Alexandre to Leonardo Antonelli, Vassy, 14 Sep. 1783, C 146; Paolo Moretti to Antonelli, [Rome, 1788], C 522; Patrick Power to [Propaganda], Ferryland, 18 Nov., 1789, C 459; Edmund Burke to Giacinto Sigismondo Gerdil, Quebec, 15 Aug. 1797, C 236; Friedrich Caesar Reuter to [Cesare Brancadoro], Baltimore, 14 Apr. 1799, C 391.
- 29 Campeau, *Évêché de Québec*.

- 30 See Ivanhoë Caron, "Les évêques de Québec, leurs Procureurs et leurs vicaires généraux, à Rome, à Paris et à Londres (1734-1834)," *Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada*, 3rd ser., 29 (May 1935), sec. I, pp. 153-178. On Francis Morrogh, see Jean-François Hubert to Antonelli, Quebec, 7 Nov. 1791, SOCG 684. Thomas Douglas, nephew of John Douglas, bishop of Centuria and vicar apostolic in the London district, was sent to Quebec to work for the Morrogh firm. Hubert and John Douglas thus established a practical contact, and Douglas offered to forward Hubert's correspondence to Rome (see Robert Morrogh to John Douglas, Quebec, 10 Aug. 1795, WDA, A, vol. 46, no. 72). On the roundabout journey to England, see Robert Smelt to John Douglas, Rome, May 1794, id., vol. 45, no. 44.
- 31 James Hennesey, *American Catholics. A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1981, pp. 69-88. On the years 1754-1784, see Codignola, "L'America del Nord nei documenti della Sacra Congregazione 'de Propaganda Fide' (1754-1784)," in Spini et al., eds., *Italia e America*, pp. 127-147.
- 32 [Guido Bentivoglio] to Alessandro Bichi, Rome, 11 June 1632, Lettere 31; [Propaganda] to Celio Piccolomini, [Rome], 25 May 1660, Lettere 75; [Propaganda] to Doria Pamphili, Rome, 17 July 1776, Lettere 257.
- 33 Carlo Francesco Airoidi to Antonio Barberini, Brussels, 11 Oct. 1670, C 478; Airoidi to Federico Baldeschi Colonna, Brussels, 12 Nov. 1672, SOCG 420.
- 34 On the Avalon colony, see Codignola, *The Coldest Harbour of the Land. Simon Stock and Lord Baltimore's Colony in Newfoundland, 1621-1649*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988, p. 45 (1st Italian ed.: 1982). The quotation is from [Propaganda] to Simon Stock, Rome, 17 July 1627, Lettere 14.
- 35 A comprehensive report commissioned by the Order was heavily edited and reached Propaganda in an almost incomprehensible form. The original report is Bede of the Blessed Sacrament to Paolo Simone di Gesù e Maria, London, 24 Oct. 1625, General Archives of the Discalced Carmelites (Rome), *Missiones Europa Anglia. P. Beda a SS. Sacr.: Litterae & relationes 1625/27*, 271.h, ff. 3rv-4rv. The doctored version is [Bede of the Blessed Sacrament] to [Paolo Simone di Gesù e Maria], [London, 24 Oct. 1625], SOCG 161. See Codignola, *Coldest Harbour*, pp. 26-29.
- 36 Proceedings of the General Congregation of 3 June 1720, Acta 185; Proceedings of the General Congregation of 17 March 1721, Acta 186.
- 37 Proceedings of the General Congregation of 21 July 1625, Acta 5; [Propaganda] to [Muzio Vitelleschi], [Rome, Fall 1625], SOCG 252 (Propaganda's letter includes Vitelleschi's autograph answer).
- 38 Vitelleschi to Urban VIII, [Rome, 1637], SOCG 333; [Jérôme Lalemant] to Barberini, [1637-8], SOCG 334; Proceedings of the General Congregation of 23 March 1637, Acta 44; Proceedings of the General Congregation of 16 March 1638, Acta 45. See the Jesuit catalogues in C 562 (1635); C 564 (1653); Varia 379 (1653); Varia 180 (1657); Varia 205 (1659); Varia 181 (1667); C 540 (mid-1760s).
- 39 André Vachon, "Laval, François de," in David M. Hayne and Vachon, eds., *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, II: 1701 to 1740, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969, pp. 360-362.

- 40 [Propaganda] to Jean-Olivier Briand, Rome, 8 Sep. 1773, Lettere 238.
- 41 In 1756, Challoner pointed out that only in the past few years had the Jesuits asked for faculties, while before they had only requested his approval (Challoner to Propaganda, [London, 1756], SOCG 532).
- 42 See Claude-Florent Bouchard de La Poterie's pamphlet *The Resurrection of Laurent Ricci; or, A True and Exact History of the Jesuits*, Philadelphia, 1789, SOCG 668, and the allegations contained in La Poterie to Antonelli, Boston, 6 Jan. 1790, SOCG, 532.
- 43 Candide de Nant, *Pages glorieuses de l'épopée canadienne. Une mission Capucine en Acadie*, Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1927; Claude L. Vogel, *The Capuchins in French Louisiana (1722-1766)*, Washington: The Catholic University of America, 1928.
- 44 Conrad Morin, "Les tentatives du secrétaire François Ingoli pour l'érection d'un évêché au Canada (1631-1641)," *Causerie donnée au douzième Congrès annuel de la Société Canadienne d'Histoire de l'Église Catholique* (Toronto, 1945), pp. 4-7.
- 45 There is no study on the relationship between Propaganda and the Sulpicians. The standard reference work is Henri Gauthier, *La Compagnie de Saint-Sulpice au Canada*, Montreal: Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice, 1912.
- 46 Albert David, "Les missionnaires du Séminaire du Saint-Esprit à Québec et en Acadie au XVIIIe siècle," *Nova Francia*, I, 1-5 (1925-26), pp. 9-14, 52-56, 99-105, 152-159, 200-207. On their activities in Saint-Pierre and Miquelon, see Jean-Yves Ribault, "La population des îles Saint-Pierre et Miquelon de 1763 à 1793," *Revue française d'histoire d'Outre-mer*, LIII, 190-191 (1966), pp. 21-32.
- 47 Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier, 1534-1760*, Hinsdale, Ill.: The Dryden Press, 1969, pp. 103-185; Elliott, *Old World and New*, p. 102; Davies, *North Atlantic World*, p. 298.
- 48 Proceedings of the General Congregation of 22 Nov. 1630, Acta 21; Proceedings of the General Congregation of 4 March 1686, Acta 161; Aimé de Lamballe to Propaganda, Rome, 15 May 1759, SOCG 534; Carlo Agostino Fabroni to the Assessor of the Holy Office, Rome, 10 Apr. 1696, Lettere 122; [Propaganda] to Troy, [Rome], 3 July 1790, Lettere 375.
- 49 Proceedings of the General Congregation of 26 Oct. 1694, Acta 167; Proceedings of the General Congregation of 27 Feb. 1696, Acta 168; Proceedings of the General Congregation of 3 Oct. 1707, Acta 178.
- 50 Missionaries, vicars apostolic and bishops were periodically asked to answer 90 questions on the state of their mission territories. The printed form was already extant in 1678 (Propaganda to all missionaries, Rome, 1678, C 527), and was answered by Petre and Challoner as late as 1745 (Petre and Challoner to Propaganda, [London], 3 Sep. 1745, SOCG 531). For Propaganda's attitude toward time in the crucial years 1754-1784, see Codignola, "L'America del Nord," pp. 140-142. See also Relazione di Mgr Urbano Cerri, and Forteguerra, *Memorie intorno alle Missioni*.
- 51 Codignola, *Coldest Harbour*, p. 56 and passim.
- 52 Campeau, *Évêché de Québec*.

- 53 [Propaganda] to Pietro Pamphili Colonna, [Rome], 28 March 1764, Varia 187. See also Castelli to [Mario Marefoschi], [Rome], 21 Jan. 1766, Varia 409.
- 54 Codignola, "L'America del Nord," pp. 139-140.
- 55 David Beers Quinn et al., eds., *New American World. A Documentary History of North America to 1612*, IV: *Newfoundland from Fishery to Colony. North-West Passage Searches*, New York: Arno Press, 1979, pp. 1-178; Gillian T. Cell, *English Enterprise in Newfoundland, 1577-1660*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969, pp. 34-52; Cell, ed., *Newfoundland Discovered. English Attempts at Colonisation, 1610-1630*, London: Hakluyt Society, 1982; Louis Booker Wright, *Religion and Empire. The Alliance between Piety and Commerce in English Expansion, 1558-1625*, New York: Octagon Books, 1973, pp. 134-149 [1st ed.: 1943]; Codignola, *Coldest Harbour*, p. 16. On Propaganda's queries on the site of the Avalon colony, see [Propaganda] to Stock, Rome, 15 Nov. 1625, Lettere 9.
- 56 In 1647, Pacifique de Provins was still styled "Prefect of the mission of Canada," [Propaganda] to Pacifique de Provins, Rome, 11 Feb. 1647, Lettere 55).
- 57 Ibidem.
- 58 See, for example, [Propaganda] to La Come, Rome, 27 April 1768, Lettere 197.
- 59 Proceedings of the General Congregation of 13 Aug. 1792, Acta 221; Proceedings of the General Congregation of 17 Sep. 1792, Acta 223-226; Proceedings of the General Congregation of 16 June 1794, Acta 229-232.
- 60 [Propaganda] to O'Donel, [Rome], 5 June 1784, Lettere 296; [Propaganda] to Pamphili Colonna, [Rome], 9 April 1766, Lettere 185; [Antonelli] to Hubert, [Rome], 6 April 1791, Lettere 387; [Propaganda] to Antonio Dugnani, [Rome], 11 Sep. 1790, Lettere 387; [Propaganda] to Dugnani, [Rome], 28 April 1790, Lettere 370.
- 61 [Propaganda] to Pamphili Colonna, Rome, 28 March 1764, Lettere 167.
- 62 [Propaganda] to Doria Pamphili, [Rome], 15 Jan. 1783, Lettere 274.
- 63 [Propaganda] to Dugnani, [Rome], 27 May 1785, Lettere 315.
- 64 Stock to [Propaganda], London, 28 July 1628, SOCG 48.
- 65 Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America. Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975, p. 32.
- 66 Pacifique de Provins to Francesco Ingoli, Paris, 12 Dec. 1641, SOCG 104.
- 67 Noël Baillargeon, *Le Séminaire de Québec sous l'épiscopat de Mgr de Laval*, Quebec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1972.
- 68 Dosquet to Propaganda, [1729], SOCG 488; Proceedings of the General Congregation of 6 Oct. 1729, Acta 195; Propaganda to Bartolomeo Massei, [Rome], 20 Oct. 1729, Lettere 132.
- 69 Briand to [Castelli], Quebec, 29 Oct. 1769, Varia 264.

- 70 Neill, *History of Christian Missions*, p. 140; Henry Warner Bowden, *American Indians and Christian Missions. Studies in Cultural Conflict*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981, p. 113.
- 71 Chadwick, *Popes and European Revolution*, pp. 210-211; Franco Venturi, *Settecento Riformatore*, II: *La chiesa e la repubblica dentro i loro limiti 1758-1774*, Turin: Einaudi, 1976, pp. 149-150; Giovanni Tabacco, *Andrea Tron (1712-1785) e la crisi dell'aristocrazia senatoria a Venezia*, Trieste: Università degli Studi, 1957, p. 127.
- 72 Neill, *History of Christian Missions*, pp. 204-207; Gerald R. Cragg, *The Church and the Age of Reason, 1648-1789*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1970, pp. 213-214; Chadwick, *Popes and European Revolution*, pp. 245-390.
- 73 [Propaganda] to John Carroll, [Rome], 22 May 1790, Lettere 371.
- 74 Dugnani to Francesco Saverio Zelada, Carpentras, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, *Segreteria di Stato, Francia*, vol. 580. f. 98r; [Propaganda] to Dugnani, [Rome], 28 July 1790, Lettere 377; Robert Smelt to Thomas Horrabin, Rome, 2 March 1791, WDA, A, vol. 43, no. 45.
- 75 [Propaganda] to Carroll, [Rome], 22 Feb. 1793, Lettere 402.
- 76 [Propaganda] to Hubert, [Rome], 27 Sep. 1794, Lettere 415; [Propaganda] to O'Donel, [Rome], 16 Jan. 1796, Lettere 429.
- 77 On Germany, see Horst Dipple, *Germany and the American Revolution, 1770-1800. A Sociohistorical Investigation of Late Eighteenth-Century Political Thinking*, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1977. On Tuscany and Italy in general, Spini et al., eds., *Italia e America*, pp. 9-156. On Venice, Del Negro, *Il mito americano nella Venezia del Settecento*, Rome: Accademia dei Lincei, 1975.
- 78 François-Philibert Watrin to [Pamphili Colonna], [France, 1765], C 267.
- 79 Charles Maurice Whelan to [Doria Pamphili], [New York], 28 Jan. 1785, C 322. The description of the battle is in James Breck Perkins, *France in the American Revolution*, New York: Burt Franklin, 1970, p. 398 [1st ed.: 1911].
- 80 Relacion de la Virginia por fr. Gregorio de Bolívar menor observante Predicator de la Yndia Occidental, [Rome, 1625], Varia 223. On Bolívar's report see Metzler, "Der älteste Bericht über Nordamerika in Propaganda-Archiv," *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft/ Nouvelle revue de science missionnaire*, XXV (1969), pp. 29-37; Codignola, *Coldest Harbour*, pp. 21, 60-61.
- 81 On François-Joseph Le Mercier, see Gerard Brion and Le Mercier to Propaganda, [1670], SOCG 396; Le Mercier to Propaganda, [Cayenne, 1677], SOCG 429; [Propaganda] to Le Mercier, [Rome], 1 Oct. 1680, Lettere 119.
- 82 For Italy, see Spini et al., *Italia e America*, pp. 27-156, and in particular Anna Maria Martellone's "Introduzione," pp. 27-37.
- 83 Codignola, "L'Amérique du Nord et la Sacrée Congrégation 'de Propaganda Fide', 1622-1799. Études," *Bulletin du Centre de Recherche en Civilisation Canadienne-Française*, 21 (December 1980), pp. 1-12.

84 Hennesey, *American Catholics*, pp. 72, 87-88.

II. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PROPAGANDA AND ITS JURISDICTION

The Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide" was officially established by Gregory XV in June 1622, with the bull *Inscrutabili divinae providentiae*.¹ Propaganda was founded to spread the True Faith among the infidels, to protect it where Catholics lived side by side with non-Catholics, and ultimately to achieve union with the Protestant and the Orthodox churches. The new Congregation was meant to pursue these goals by coordinating all missionary activities and centralizing information on foreign lands.

The idea of founding a special Roman congregation for missionary activities long pre-dated the actual establishment of Propaganda. At first, by virtue of the so-called royal patronage, the Pope had delegated all spiritual powers over Spanish and Portuguese possessions around the world to their respective kings. Obviously, this system limited the influence of the popes and of the Holy See in general as far as the evangelization of the new territories was concerned.² Pius V (1566-1572) set up a special congregation for missionary matters and another one for the affairs of the church in Germany and other countries influenced by Protestantism. A similar initiative by Gregory XIII (1572-1585) suffered from the same lack of success as the two preceding attempts. The same pope, however, was successful in establishing a congregation for Germany and one for the Italo-Greeks. It was Clement VIII (1592-1605) who eventually founded a congregation "de Propaganda Fide," which lasted from 1599 to 1604. Fresh plans and initiatives were made under Paul V (1605-1621), but it was only under his successor, Gregory XV (1621-1623), that the Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide" came to life.³

From the very beginning, North America came under the jurisdiction of Propaganda. It was only with the bull *Sapienti consilio*, issued by Pius X on 29 June 1908, that the United States and Canada were withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Congregation, together with Newfoundland, Great Britain, Scotland, Holland and Luxemburg.⁴

The new congregation was at first housed in the Vatican palaces, and then in the palace of the Cancelleria Apostolica. Shortly after the death of Propaganda's first Secretary, Francesco Ingoli (1578-1649), the offices of the Congregation and its archives were moved to Piazza di Spagna, in the recently completed palace, where it has been ever since.⁵ During the troubled years at the end of the eighteenth century and the French occupation of Rome, Propaganda officials left Rome and moved to Padua. As for its archives, Napoleon had most of them transferred to France. The archives were soon restored to the Holy See and sent to Rome, but in the process a number of volumes were lost and have never been retraced. Some of them were later brought to Vienna, and from there were restored to the Holy See in 1925 (these last ones are known today as Fondo Vienna).⁶

At the beginning, Propaganda consisted of thirteen cardinals selected by the Pope, of whom one was appointed prefect. The prefect was invariably a cardinal. Although not a cardinal, the secretary was Propaganda's most influential official after the prefect. Shortly after its foundation, Propaganda was also given a religious of the Carmelite Order, then a protonotary apostolic (1626) and the so-called Assessor of the Holy Office (1630). In their work, Propaganda officials were helped by clerks ("minutanti"), and, when the archives became too large and needed special staff, by archivists.⁷

In dealing with the working patterns of Propaganda officials, one must bear in mind that these did not substantially change until 1893, when the system was reformed.⁸ As a rule, all cardinals met periodically in what was then called the "Congregazione Generale" (General Congregation). Sometimes, especially in the earlier days, these meetings took place coram Sanctissimo, i.e., in the presence of the Pope.⁹ Questions that required deeper study were entrusted to a special committee, usually consisting of a number of Propaganda cardinals who claimed special expertise in the area, besides some prelates

from other sacred congregations or curial offices who were reputed to be particularly competent to deal with the case. These special committees were called the "Congregazione Particolare" (Special Congregation). They were appointed when the need arose and were disbanded when the case was solved.

Sometimes in the middle of the seventeenth century it became clear to Propaganda officials that a number of cases were of lesser importance and as such unworthy of being discussed by the whole of the cardinals of Propaganda in the General Congregations. They were then dealt with by the prefect and the secretary alone in periodical (usually once a week) meetings called "Congresso."

From 1622 to 1665 the General Congregations, as we have seen, were often held coram Sanctissimo. From 1666 onwards this custom changed. The secretary of Propaganda (seldom its prefect) was entrusted with the duty of referring to the Pope those matters that needed the Pope's approval. These meetings, called "Udienza" (Audience), were usually held on pre-arranged and fixed days.

In all cases, the decisions made were communicated to the people or institutions concerned in the shape of letters, instructions, decrees, etc. In the next chapter, we shall discuss each case when dealing with each archival series in detail.

NOTES

- 1 The original bull is in Varia 209. Pope Gregory XV called the new Congregation into existence on 6 Jan. 1622, and the cardinals met for the first time on 14 Jan.; although the bull is dated 22 June, it was probably printed in September, and was certainly ready by 6 Oct. See Nikolaus Kowalsky and Josef Metzler, *Inventory of the Historical Archives of the Sacred Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples or "de Propaganda Fide."* New Enlarged Edition, Rome: Pontificia Universitas Urbaniana, 1983, p. 13; Metzler, "Foundation of the Congregation 'de Propaganda Fide' by Gregory XV," in Metzler, ed., *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum, N1: 1622-1700*, Freiburg: Herder, 1971, pp. 86-93.
- 2 On royal patronage, see Chapter One.
- 3 For a summary of all these initiatives, see Kowalsky and Metzler, *Inventory*, pp. 11-13. See also the detailed survey by Metzler, "Wegbereiter und Vorläufer der Kongregation. Vorschläge und erste Gründungsversuche einer römischen Missionszentrale," in Metzler, ed., *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum, N1*, pp. 38-78.
- 4 Niccolò Del Re, *La curia romana. Lineamenti storico-giuridici*, Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1970, p. 193.
- 5 Kowalsky and Metzler, *Inventory*, p. 16. See also Giovanni Antonazzi, *Il palazzo di Propaganda*, Rome: De Luca, 1979; and Paolo Portoghesi, *Roma barocca*, Bari: Laterza, 1978.
- 6 Kowalsky and Metzler, *Inventory*, p. 16.
- 7 Kowalsky, "L'archivio della Sacra Congregazione 'de Propaganda Fide' e i suoi archivisti," Pontificia Universitas Urbaniana, *Annales* (1963-64), pp. 38-53.
- 8 Kowalsky and Metzler, *Inventory*, p. 16.
- 9 For example, ten General Congregations were convened in 1669, ten in 1675, fifteen in 1700, fourteen in 1725, ten in 1750, seven in 1775 and seven in 1790.

The reason why the series starts with vol. 3 is that in the early days of Propaganda its officials had hoped to assemble in vols. 1 and 2 the proceedings of the earlier congregations of Propaganda.² When those proceedings were eventually recovered, they were placed somewhere else, and now exist as vol. 21 of the series *Miscellaneous Diverse*. Two duplicate volumes took their place.

Acta contains the proceedings of the General Congregations. They are bound in volumes that are numbered and follow a chronological order. As such, and with very few exceptions, this series does not contain incoming documents (for example, letters that were addressed to Propaganda). The series starts with vol. 3, which contains the proceedings of the General Congregations that were held from 1622 to 1625. From vol. 4 to vol. 19, each volume contains the proceedings of two years, with one exception (vol. 18, which contains the proceedings of 1648 only). From vol. 20 to vol. 167 (the last volume of the eighteenth century), each one contains the proceedings of a single year. Some volumes are duplicates (vols. 1-2, 5, 9, 11, 40). Vol. 7 contains two volumes bound together, one for the year 1630 and one for the year 1631. Vol. 89 is divided into two tomes. In all, 168 volumes were examined (from vol. 1 to vol. 167; the whole series, up to 1892, consists of 345 volumes).

In the archives of Propaganda, the Acta series may well be singled out as the most important of all series, not because of the documents it contains (in fact there are very few "original" incoming documents in this series), but because it provides the key to an understanding of Propaganda and its activities. Acta is certainly the departure point for anyone conducting research into the archives of Propaganda.

I. ACTA

Within each volume, pagination is indicated by folios. A folio is a leaf of paper numbered on the front side (recto), unnumbered on the opposite side (verso). In some cases, folios have been numbered two, three and even four times on account of archival re-arrangements. In these instances, the stamped number must be used. In some cases, volumes are numbered by pages, not by folios.

All documents preserved in the archives of Propaganda are bound together in volumes. All volumes have different titles on their spines, which define, by and large, the kind of documents they contain. Whenever a volume has no title on its spine, or the old title is illegible, then the title shown on the cover, or in the frontispiece, becomes the official title.

We shall now deal with each series and sub-series in detail. The reader must be aware, however, that what follows is not a complete inventory of the archives of Propaganda, for which we refer to Kowalsky and Metzler's 1983 *Inventory*.¹ This is, instead, an inventory of the series and sub-series that were selected for the special purpose of the *Calendar* within its chronological and geographical scope (North America, 1622-1799). The methods employed in this selection will be explained and outlined in detail in Chapter Six.

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the officials of Propaganda worked according to an almost unchanging pattern that was not reformed until 1893. This is clearly reflected in the organization of the archives of the Congregation. By and large, documents received were filed in a "Congregazione Generale" (General Congregation), in the series *Congregazioni Particolari* when discussed in a "Congregazione Particolare" (Special Congregation), and in the series *Congressi* when discussed in a "Congresso." The proceedings of the General Congregations were recorded in the Acta series, while outgoing letters were copied and registered in the *Lettere* series and other minor series.

III. THE ARCHIVES OF PROPAGANDA

At first, the proceedings of each General Congress were opened by a statement of the number of the members of the General Congress, the date of the meeting, the names of the members of Propaganda in attendance (sometimes only indicated generally) and of those absent, and the place where the meeting was held. Agenda items were numbered. Each item was then introduced by a member of Propaganda, usually the one responsible for the portion of the world concerned or the subject in question. Very often it was the secretary of Propaganda who introduced the item to be discussed. The items were short -- about five to ten lines each. Marginal notes gave the gist of the subject treated. The decision made by the members in attendance was not given separately at the end of each item, but was simply part of the item itself. No blanks were left between one General Congress and the next, nor between one item and the next. Latin was the only language used. This applies to all General Congresses from 1622 to May-June 1657 (vols. 1-25).

From May-June 1657 onwards, we note a complete change in the organization and appearance of Acta. Italian became the language used in all proceedings, while Latin was still in use for the introductory remarks of each General Congress (numbers, date, place, names) and for the rescriptum (decision) made. The rescriptum was now placed at the end of the item, separate from the rest. As to the location in which the meeting took place, it was very often omitted, since the meetings were then held in the newly-built palace of Propaganda in Piazza di Spagna. Although there was no substantial difference between the proceedings recorded in vols. 1-25 and those of vols. 26-167, the latter were usually much longer and more detailed. Sometimes, in the second half of the eighteenth century, the report of the member of Propaganda responsible for the subject treated (often referred to as "Cardinal Ponente") took the shape of a separate dossier, usually followed by archival notes, and often by a copy or a summary of the original documents to be examined.

Not only was every item dealt with in a General Congress progressively numbered, but the General Congresses themselves were, for certain periods, numbered according to the different pontificates:

- General Congresses 1-33 under Gregory XV (Jan. 1622-June 1623);

- General Congresses 1-316 under Urban VII (Sep. 1623-July 1644);

- General Congresses 1-103 under Innocent X (Sep. 1644-March 1649).

For a while (Sep. 1649-May 1657), this system was dropped, and General Congresses went unnumbered. The old system was resumed when the series was reformed, in 1657, with the sequence "General Congresses 1-136 under Alexander VII and Clement IX (May 1657-Dec. 1668);" then definitively abandoned.

Each volume of Acta was provided with a table of contents, which may be more precisely termed an index, placed at the end of each volume. While several systems were tried in their preparation, they usually consisted of the marginal notes of the item referred to, a line of explanation on its subject, and then the numbers of the folios and of the item, or the numbers of the General Congress and of the item considered.³

It should be noted here that, while from 1669 the proceedings of the Special Congresses formed a special series, from 1622 to 1668 they were recorded in Acta. The corresponding original documents were assembled in SOCG.

In theory, the proceedings of the General Congresses should find their corresponding original documents in SOCG. This happens very frequently in the 1669-1799 period, i.e., when the re-organization of SOCG along chronological lines facilitated access to the original material by a simple system of cross-references. It is however possible to find no trace in Acta of documents that appear in SOCG, and vice versa. For the preceding period, 1622-1668, this is considerably more difficult, since the subdivision into geographical areas greatly complicates the search for the original documents.

It is in any case more difficult to know with precision which original documents were used in a General Congregation.

2. SOCG

The SOCG series contains the original documents reported and dealt with in the General Congregations -- letters, memoranda, petitions, short notes, documents meant for Propaganda's internal use. They came from individuals and institutions, from missionaries, vicars apostolic, bishops, nuncios, cardinals, from kings and queens, from pontifical agents around the world and from secret agents active in foreign lands.

All documents are bound in volumes that are numbered progressively from 1 to 906 (the last volume of the eighteenth century; the whole series, up to 1892, consists of 1,044 volumes). In all, 908 volumes were examined (from vol. 1 to vol. 906).

SOCG was once subdivided into two parts, the first running from vol. 1 to vol. 417 (1622-1668), the second from vol. 418 to vol. 1044 (1669-1892). The main difference between the two parts is that the first is arranged along geographical lines, the second in chronological order.

Part One

Running from vol. 1 to vol. 417, the first part of SOCG was once known and referred to as *Lettere Antiche*. It must not be confused with another series, *Lettere*, which contains the copies of the letters written by Propaganda officials. Documents are here arranged according to their country of origin (for example, vol. 259 deals with America), or to the matter treated (for example, vol. 180 deals with the heresies of Cirillo Lucari). Some sub-series formerly considered on their own must now be regarded simply as part of SOCG. They were:

- Cause, vols. 311-322;
- Collegi, vols. 361-381;
- Memoriali, vols. 382-417.

Cause contains questions concerning all countries. Collegi refers only to matters pertaining to various colleges around the world. Memoriali contains copies of petitions on various matters; a good number of them are also to be found in the series *Congregazioni Particolari*. The whole first part, however, must now be referred to simply as SOCG.

The first part of SOCG is considered very difficult for the following reasons:

- Classification according to geographical areas required a good knowledge of the geography of the world. This was not always the case with Propaganda officials, who often confused America with Africa, and the West Indies with the East Indies, North, Central, and South America were often confused, and Acadia, Canada, Maryland, New England, Newfoundland and Virginia were often used to indicate a place very far away from the modern location of the former colonies. It is obvious, however, that the international outlook of the officials of Propaganda made their geographical awareness much better than that of the common people of the time. Moreover, their knowledge of world geography improved toward the end of the seventeenth century, and may be considered sufficiently good in the eighteenth century.

- Different countries were often filed in the same volumes. For example, vol. 106 deals with England, Georgia (in Europe), Ireland, Persia, Scotland, Spain and Tartary in the year 1637.

- If a document dealt with different countries at the same time, it had to be filed under only one heading. This means that a document dealing with two countries was filed under only one of them, usually the one considered more important, and became almost untraceable for the other. For example, vol. 288, which should deal with Greece only, contains important material on the Capuchin missions in Acadia scattered among various documents dealing with the general state of the Capuchin missions in the world.

- Although some documents relating to French and English colonies are to be found under appropriate volume-titles (for example vol. 50, dealing with Africa and the Congo in particular), most of them are under their mother-countries (England, France, Spain, etc.).

- Some documents are untraceable unless we are aware of the pattern of the international network used by Propaganda officials and by the Holy See in general. Reports on the Maryland missions, for example, reached Rome through the nuncio in Brussels, who was responsible for England (and its colonies). A volume titled "Lettre di Svizzera, Fiandra e Rezia" would then contain documents relating to North America.

While some volumes contain a table of contents or an index, others do not. There is, however, a three-volume general index to 1657, although it is quite difficult to consult. One must also remember that, notwithstanding its continuous numbering, the series is not complete. Some volumes were lost during the transfer of the archives to Paris, although some of them have since reappeared in Fondo Vienna.

Part Two

Running from vol. 418 to vol. 906 (1668 to 1799), Part Two was referred to in the past as *Scritture Corrispondenti agli Aiti*, as the correspondence between these documents and Acta is very frequent. Documents were filed chronologically according to the sequence of the General Congregations in which they were discussed. Consultation of Part Two of SOCG was (and is) so easy, that volumes have no tables of contents or indices.

From the point of view of chronology, there are a few exceptions (vols. 464, 489, 495-498, 501). Vol. 685 should be in *Congregazioni Particolari*. Vol. 443 deals with Armenia, vol. 693 with "Indie Orientali Thibet - Ava - Regu Malabar America," vol. 837 with Lebanon (and the regular sequence of General Congregations). There is a vol. 495a and vol. 495b, a vol. 670 and a vol. 670a.

In theory, original documents received by Propaganda were assembled in SOCG and dealt with in Acta. It is however possible to find no trace in Acta of documents that appear in SOCG and vice versa. Correspondence between SOCG and Acta is on the whole very frequent in the 1669-1799 period, i.e., when the re-organization of SOCG along chronological lines facilitated access to the original material by a simple system of cross-references. For the preceding period, 1622-1667, this correspondence is considerably rarer, since the subdivision of the documents into geographical areas greatly complicates the search for the original documents. It is in any case very difficult to know with precision which original documents were used in a General Congregation. (One must also remember that some original documents were not assembled in SOCG and are to be found in Congressi or other series).

To locate the General Congregation in which a document is discussed, one must look for the original cross-references contained in the document itself, usually on the verso of the last folio of the last document of a dossier. It usually contains the number of the General Congregation, the number of the item in Acta and the date of the General Congregation. In most cases, portions of the said

This series consists of two different parts. The 14 volumes of the first part (vols. 118, 120, 134-136, 156-158, 162-167) seem to come from the Society of Jesus, and the numbers on their spines probably derive from the original numbering system of some other archives. All volumes of the first part, except for vol. 135 (Ethiopia and South-East Asia) and vol. 136 (various missions), deal with China (i.e., vols. 118, 120, 134, 156-158, 162-167), and are organized in 12 tomes.

4. INFORMAZIONI

- Varia. Four volumes of miscellaneous origin. This sub-series has the same origin as the series Miscellanea Diverse, Miscellanea Generali and Miscellanea Varie.

- Registro dei brevi. Register of briefs issued between 1701 and 1809, in 12 tomes. Tomes 1, 2 and 4 are missing. Vol. 70 is the alphabetical index to the briefs by countries.

- Dubia et resolutiones. A collection of cases that were discussed by the Sacred Congregations of the Council, of the Holy Office and of the Rites, in seven tomes. Tome 1 is missing.

- Collectio decretorum. A collection of decrees, decisions and instructions issued by Propaganda that were collected in four tomes by order of Benedict XIV. Vol. 55 is the index to the sub-series.

Documents of some of the sub-series did not differ from the ones still preserved in their original series of provenance (SOCC, Congregazioni Particolari, Congressi, Decreti). Other sub-series need a few more words of explanation.

- vols. 1-20: SOCC
- vols. 21-24: Congregazioni Particolari
- vols. 25-38: Congressi
- vols. 39-50: Decreti
- vols. 51-55: Collectio Decretorum
- vols. 56-61: Dubia et resolutiones
- vols. 62-70: Registro dei brevi
- vols. 71-74: Varia

According to their series of origin, volumes of Fondo Vienna can be divided into sub-series:

This is not an original series that stemmed from the administrative work of Propaganda officials. The Fondo Vienna series was created in 1925, when a number of volumes were transferred from Vienna to Rome. They were among others that had been taken to Paris during the French occupation of Rome. Most of them were soon after returned to the Holy See, but some were lost. Since the transfer from Vienna took place when related series had already been progressively numbered, they were left apart as a special series, with volumes numbered from 1 to 74 regardless of the original series to which they had previously belonged.

3. FONDO VIENNA

In other cases, cross-references do not correspond to Acta. This pattern may be missing or wrong. In some cases, cross-references do not correspond to Acta. This might mean that the matter was not reported before the General Congregation, or was reported and no decision made; again, its proceedings might have been assembled with another item, or simply lost. In general, however, by knowing the date of a General Congregation and the item number as shown in Acta, it is easy to locate the original documents.

This series, which covers the years 1666-1895, consists of 252 volumes, of which vols. 1-37 cover the years prior to 1800. As we have already seen, from 1622 to 1665 the General Congregations were often held coram Sanctissimo. From 1666 onwards, this custom changed. The secretary of Propaganda (seldom its prefect) was entrusted with the duty of referring to the Pope those matters that needed his approval. These meetings were called "Udienza," and were usually held on pre-arranged and fixed days. The Udienze series derives from the audiences with the Pope.

7. UDIENZE

Documents of interest to North America are to be found in vols. 6, 20 and 22 of Miscellanea Diverse; in vol. XIV of Miscellanea Generali; and vols. I, III, VI, XI, XIII, XIVa and XLVII of Miscellanea Variæ.

One must remember that documents contained in the four volumes of the Varia sub-series of Fondo Vienna have the same origin as those of the three series of Miscellanea.

Miscellanea Diverse consists of 37 volumes. There is a vol. 8 and a vol. 8a, a vol. 11A and a vol. 11b. Miscellanea Generali consists of 33 volumes. There is a vol. XVIa and a vol. XVIIb. Volumes I, II and XXIV are missing. Miscellanea Variæ consists of 56 volumes. There is a vol. I and a vol. Ia; a vol. III and a vol. IIIa; a vol. XI and a vol. XIa; a vol. XIII and a vol. XIIIa; a vol. XIV and a vol. XIVa. Vol. XXXVI is missing.

The only reason why there are three different series of Miscellanea is that they were once stored on three different sets of shelves in the archives of Propaganda. In fact, there is no difference as to the nature and origin of the documents they contain. The three series consist of 126 volumes in all. They contain documents from a variety of sources, and their contents are not organized according to any particular system. There are documents received by Propaganda, memoranda and notes meant for Propaganda's internal use, minutes of Propaganda's meetings, collections of items relating to a special issue, papers of individuals, travel reports and diaries.

6. MISCELLANEE DIVERSE, MISCELLANEE GENERALI, MISCELLANEE VARIÆ

Documents of interest to North America are found in vols. 1 and 3 only.

This series consists of seven volumes containing drafts, notes and extracts of instructions sent by Propaganda to nuncios, bishops, vicars apostolic and other superiors of the missions. Copies of these drafts may sometimes be found in Lettere. The present collection contains only seven volumes, and it is evident that a number of volumes are missing. The first two volumes, unnumbered, cover the period 1623-1648. Three further volumes are marked 1-3, and two more B and C (vol. A is missing). They contain instructions from the second half of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth.

5. ISTRUZIONI

Documents relating to North America are to be found in vol. 136 only.

The second part consists of three volumes (numbered I-III), probably sent to Propaganda by Saverio Marini, bishop of Rieti from 1779 to 1813. They contain information and notes on the temporal state of Propaganda from the beginning of the eighteenth century.

For the period 1622-1668, the proceedings of the Special Congregations were dispersed within Acta, their original documents to be found in SOCG. When the archives were re-organized in 1668, a new series, Congregazioni Particolari, was created to contain all papers relating to the proceedings of the Special Congregations. (One may recall that in 1668 a new organization of SOCG was devised, Particolare" (Special Congregation). There is a vol. 34a and a vol. 34b.

This series, which mainly covers the years 1669-1864, consists of 162 volumes. They contain the proceedings of the meetings of the cardinals of Propaganda that were known as "Congregazione

10. CONGREGAZIONI PARTICOLARI

This series consists of 13 volumes, which contain the more solemn pontifical decisions concerning territories administered by Propaganda. Only vol. 1 deals with the period prior to 1800. Vol. 12 is a collection of faculties, and vol. 13 a collection of professiones fidei.

9. BREVI E BOLLE

The Decreti sub-series of Fondo Vienna has the same origin as this series.

Vol. 9-11 contain drafts of decrees. Vol. 12 deals with the economy of Propaganda. Vol. 13 deals with Asia. Vols. 1-8 contain the decrees of the years 1622-1819, but there is a gap between 1675 and 1791. from the rescripta that are found in Acta.

This series consists of 13 volumes, probably compiled for Propaganda's internal use. It contains the decrees of the General Congregations (seldom of the Congress). As such, they do not usually differ

8. DECRETI

There is also a 28-volume general index to this series that covers the years 1666-1897, besides some more specialized indices for the nineteenth century;

- Udienze (1810-1848), 3 vols.
 - Minute delle udienze (1764-1803), 6 vols.;
 - Registro delle udienze (1764-1832), 23 vols.;
 - Facoltà straordinarie (1760-1850), 9 vols.;
 - Deputazioni e facoltà ordinarie (1699-1856), 8 vols.;
- A number of registers were compiled for Propaganda's internal use.⁸ They are:

Audiences could be held in relationship with items already discussed in General Congregation (in which case original documents are likely to be found in SOCG and the relative proceedings in Acta), or dealt with in a Congresso (in which case original documents may be found in the Congressi series).

The organization of Udienze varied over time. At the beginning all items dealt with in the audiences were written in the form of a register. Later, a separate folio was used for each item, and at the end the secretary noted the Pope's decision. Many of the items are original incoming documents that were to be discussed. A dossier was prepared that contained the original documents, a memorandum usually from the secretary of Propaganda, and other material relevant to the case.

and that from 1669 onwards its documents were filed according to a chronological sequence). In 1864 this series was discontinued. Notwithstanding its chronological limits (1669-1864), Congregazioni Particolari contains occasional documents that pre-date 1669, especially in vols. 1-10.

Vols. 1-10 are arranged according to the matter treated, and are not chronologically defined; they contain documents of miscellaneous origin. Vols. 11-161 contain documents arranged according to their country of origin or to the matter treated, and follow a rough chronological order. While some volumes refer to only one Special Congregation, most contain the proceedings of various Special Congregations. There are three volumes of indices for vols. 11-161 of Congregazioni Particolari, organized according to locations and matters treated. Of interest for North America until 1799 are vols. 3, 6-7, 20-21, 105, 137 and 145. Vol. 145 is the only one in which its American contents are clearly indicated by its title. Vols. 20 and 137 have "America" in their titles, among other countries and topics. Nothing in the titles of vols. 3, 6-7 and 21 gives any indication of the documents of American interest they contain, yet vol. 3 contains a document relating to the Capuchins in Acadia, vol. 6 has documents of great interest for the history of the Capuchins in Acadia and in the American provinces, vol. 7 preserves a catalogue of the Jesuits in Canada in 1653, and vol. 21 deals with the necessity of sending bishops into foreign lands, among which American territories are mentioned. Vol. 105 assemblies papers relating to the division of the world among Propaganda officials; interestingly, North America is never mentioned.

11. LETTERE

The Lettere series contains the copies of letters written by Propaganda officials and sent to their correspondents around the world. As in the case of Acta, Lettere contains no original incoming documents. Propaganda's original letters are now scattered in other archives all over the globe.

The series consists of 278 volumes numbered from 1 to 278 (the last volumes of the eighteenth century). There are 388 volumes in all for the period 1622-1892. At the beginning (1622-1657), most letters were written in Italian or occasionally in French. They were bound together in volumes titled "Lettere volgari" (vols. 2-8, 10-32, 1622-1657). During the same period, some letters were written in Latin. They were bound together in volumes entitled "Lettere latine" (vols. 1 and 9, from 1622 to 1646).

From 1658 to 1669 a new system was tried, and letters were filed according to the country of origin of the matter in question, not according to language (vols. 33-54). From 1670 to 1679 (vols. 55-68) and from 1721 to 1807 (vols. 110-293) Propaganda reverted to a chronological arrangements of its letters. With few exceptions, every year has two volumes, one with letters written by Propaganda's secretary, the other with letters written by the Congregation at large. From time to time, however, letters relating to a single geographical area were again collected and filed in one volume. They deal with Belgium (vol. 253), China (vols. 257 and 272), and the East Indies (vols. 116, 125, 134, 145, 152, 161, 170 and 187).

From 1680 to 1720 (vols. 69-109), letters were still arranged according to their chronological sequence, but a single volume per year included both the Secretary's and Propaganda's correspondence.

In theory, copies of all letters written by Propaganda were kept in Lettere. (Obviously, some letters were not recorded, or their copies have disappeared). Propaganda's procedure was as follows. A document reached Propaganda, and was filed in SOCG, Congregazioni Particolari or Congressi. It was then discussed in a General Congregation, a Special Congregation or in a Congress. If discussed in a General Congregation, the proceedings were recorded in Acta. If discussed in a Special

Much more important is the division into sub-series, according to the country of origin of the documents or to the subject treated. Within each sub-series, volumes are filed according to a numerical and roughly chronological sequence. Many sub-series are followed by a number of miscellaneous volumes, which contain documents relating to the same geographical area or to the same matter treated in the sub-series, but are usually undated. The volumes of Congressi have no indices or tables of contents.

All the documents are bound in 1,451 volumes, 129 of which were consulted for the purpose of the *Calendar*. Congressi is divided into two parts and many sub-series. The subdivision into two parts has little practical significance. In general, sub-series of the first part deal with mission territories, while sub-series of the second part deal with the administration of Propaganda or with its institutes (colleges, examinations of missionaries, staff, finances, etc.). This arrangement is rather irregular and cannot be wholly trusted.

Apparently, Congressi was not initiated at the beginnings of Propaganda. Although some sub-series have 1622 as their starting year, most of them seem to start in the middle of the seventeenth century. While the prefect and the secretary met in Congresso before that time, the series is likely to have been officialized only around 1668, when SOCG was reformed and organized chronologically rather than geographically.

The Congressi series contains the original documents received by Propaganda and dealt with in a Congresso. Congressi preserves letters, memoranda, petitions, short notes and documents meant for bishops, nuncios, cardinals, pontifical agents around the world and secret agents active in foreign lands. As such, they do not differ substantially from the documents in SOCG. The reason why an incoming document was filed under SOCG (and discussed in a General Congregation) or under Congressi (and discussed in a Congresso) depended solely on the importance that the receiver (usually the secretary or the prefect) attached to it. Obviously, documents considered trivial at the time may now be of great historical significance.

12. CONGRESSI

Most volumes of *Lettere* contain an index or summary of contents at the end of the volume itself. Some (vols. 32-39, 41-42, 44-52, 253, 257, 273-278), however, do not. There is also a good index to the letters written between 1750 and 1755.¹⁰

Most letters were written by Propaganda officials under the stimulus of incoming documents that raised questions or simply new interests. In this instance, cross-references with other series (Acta, SOCG, Congressi, Udienze, etc.) are likely to exist. In some cases Propaganda officials took the initiative, and wrote letters that apparently did not spring from matters already under discussion. In this second instance, obviously, no cross-references with other series exist.

Due to the above procedure, *Lettere* may be said to provide a key to the understanding of Propaganda and its archives even better than Acta, in that Acta reflects only the documentary material of SOCG, while *Lettere* reflects SOCG and all other series.

Congregation, both the original documents and the proceedings were recorded in *Congregazioni* Particolare. If discussed in a Congresso, no proceedings were recorded, but in every case a reply was prepared, and the copy of this reply filed in *Lettere*.

As a rule, no minutes of the Congress were recorded. When a reply was prepared, a copy was, however, filed in Lettere. According to this general pattern, documents preserved in Congress may find corresponding documents only in Lettere. In a number of instances, Propaganda officials scribbled the date of the reply on the incoming document itself, usually on the verso of the second folio. For the purpose of the *Calendar*, the editor was able to trace most of them. In some cases, however, dates proved to be inaccurate; in other cases, replies could not be found (either they were not registered at the time or they are now untraceable).

There are exceptions to the pattern described above. Some documents that ended up in Congress were also discussed in a General Congress; minutes to these discussions were then recorded in Acta (i.e., they were treated like SOCG documents). Incoming documents relating to the same dossier may have been split: some are now in Congress, some in SOCG, some in Udienze, etc.

We shall deal in Chapter Six with the methods employed in selecting the sub-series for examination. For the time being, three sub-series of the second part need some additional words explaining their contents.

- Missioni (7 vols. and 26 vols. of "Miscellanea"). This sub-series contains requests for admission by aspiring missionaries, information concerning them, the approval and appointment of missionaries, etc. As the *Calendar* shows, there are many exceptions to the above pattern. A number of volumes in the "Miscellanea" section were not registered when they were received, and were subsequently arranged in rough chronological order.

- Cardinali, Segretari, Protonotari, Consultori (3 vols. and 2 vols. of "Miscellanea"). This sub-series contains material concerning appointments of cardinals of Propaganda, its prefects and secretaries. The list of prefects and secretaries compiled by Metzler¹¹ is mainly based on this sub-series. It should also be used to determine the terms of office of the various cardinals.

- Ministri (2 vols. and 1 vol. of "Miscellanea"). This sub-series contains material concerning the officials and the staff at large of Propaganda. It mainly deals with the temporal state of the Congregation.

NOTES

- 1 Nikolaus Kowalsky and Josef Metzler, *Inventory of the Historical Archives of the Sacred Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples or "de Propaganda Fide"*, New Enlarged Edition, Rome: Pontificia Universitas Urbaniana, 1983.
- 2 See Chapter Two.
- 3 For a more detailed discussion of these indices, see Kowalsky and Metzler, *Inventory*, pp. 24-26.
- 4 The New Netherlands in Asia were treated as if they were in America (see the many references in the Index under the entry "New Netherlands"). The island of St. Christopher in the West Indies is said to be "near Madagascar," ([Propaganda] to Malachias O'Queely, [Rome], 12 May 1640, Lettere 22), and the marginal note of an 1784 letter dealing with the American convert Thayer is again "Madagascar" (Giuseppe Maria Doria Pamphili to Leonardo Antonelli, Paris, 15 Nov. 1784, C 317).
- 5 Carlo Rossetti to [Propaganda], Ghent, 17 Aug. 1641, SOCG 14; Rossetti to [Propaganda], Ghent, 24 Aug. 1641, SOCG 13.
- 6 Kowalsky and Metzler, *Inventory*, 29. See also Metzler, "Indici dell'Archivio Storico della S.C. 'de Propaganda Fide'"; *Euntes Docete. Commentaria Urbaniana*, XXI (1968), pp. 109-130.
- 7 For a detailed history of Fondo Vienna, see Nikolaus Kowalsky, "L'archivio della Sacra Congregazione 'de Propaganda Fide' e i suoi archivisti," Pontificia Universitas Urbaniana, *Annales* (1963-64), pp. 38-53.
- 8 These registers were not included in the *Calendar*.
- 9 Kowalsky and Metzler, *Inventory*, pp. 61-62; Metzler, "Indici."
- 10 Kowalsky and Metzler, *Inventory*, p. 65; Metzler, "Indici."
- 11 Kowalsky and Metzler, *Inventory*, pp. 102-106; Metzler, "Serie dei Cardinali Prefetti e dei Segretari della Sacra Congregazione 'de Propaganda Fide,'" in Metzler, ed., *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum*, III/2: Freiburg: Herder, 1976, pp. 615-626.

IV. ARCHIVISTS, HISTORIANS, AND THE ARCHIVES OF PROPAGANDA

The *Calendar* includes a bibliography that specifies, entry by entry, all documents preserved in the archives of Propaganda that were, in the past, used by archivists or historians in relation to the history of North America in the period 1622-1799. It would now seem helpful to give a general survey of their works.

1. GUIDES AND FINDING AIDS

Except for Carl Russell Fish's *Guide*, which will be dealt with later,¹ the earliest survey of the archives of Propaganda with reference to North America is Peter Keenan Guilday's 1921 article.² In this article, which he had been asked to write to celebrate the Congregation's 300th anniversary, Guilday briefly surveyed the history of Propaganda. Somewhat surprised by the fact that the documents preserved at Propaganda had been so little used until then, Guilday went on to briefly discuss the available historical literature on the Roman curia in general and on Propaganda in particular. His outline of the archives of Propaganda is, however, of no value whatsoever. There was nothing in Guilday's article that was not in Fish's then ten-year-old *Guide*.

By contrast, the essay that Conrad Morin published in *Culture* in 1946 is a worthy and sound description of the archives of Propaganda from the Canadian viewpoint, and also has some value for United States historians.³ Morin briefly describes the state of the Roman archives and the early efforts on the part of the Canadian government to use them. He then mentions Fish's *Guide* and Candide de Nant's *Pages glorieuses*,⁴ while suggesting that both works must be approached carefully owing to the discovery of some new documents and the partial re-arrangement of the archives of Propaganda.⁵ The core of Morin's essay is devoted to Propaganda⁶ and to the Archivio Segreto Vaticano (Vatican Secret Archives).⁷ In describing the archival series of Propaganda, Morin has chosen a "historical" approach rather than an "archival" one.⁸ This was probably the wrong choice. If one wants to put to good use Morin's description, he needs a sort of conversion table that would give an archival and topographical meaning to Morin's "historical" approach. The last section of Morin's essay deals with what he styles "archives canadiennes de contenu romain," and particularly with Canadian repositories that preserve "copies d'originaux" of Roman provenance.⁹

There is another description of the archives of Propaganda in a collective work, edited by Lajos Pásztor, devoted to the sources for the history of Latin America preserved in ecclesiastical archives of Italy.¹⁰ This work considers as Latin America not only Spanish and Portuguese territories, but also the French West Indies, or the old French territories that are now part of the United States.¹¹ The description of Propaganda contained in Pásztor's *Guide* was authored by Nikolaus Kowalsky, who was the archivist of Propaganda from 1958 to 1966. At first, Kowalsky explains the relationship between Propaganda and Latin America. Then he lists a number of archival series, with indications of where documents of interest for Latin America are likely to be found. (Contrary to Morin, Kowalsky's approach is topographical.) Kowalsky's description and the accompanying bibliography are very short, in tune with the style set by the general editor of the *Guide*. It is, however, very clear and still useful.¹²

The last guide published to date is René Bélanger's 1974 article.¹³ It contains a description of the history and organization of Propaganda, with a short but detailed summary of its major archival series. There is also a short history of the relationship between Propaganda and Canada, and a bibliography. Although Bélanger is particularly interested in the nineteenth century, his article may be profitably consulted in connection with Morin's and Kowalsky's guides. More recently, this writer published a short general survey devoted to the importance of the archives of Propaganda for the

history of New France,¹⁴ while John J. McCusker, in an article reviewing the primary sources for the history "of Early British America, mentions the *Calendar* (in preparation) and a number of previous works.¹⁵

In 1961, Kowalsky published his inventory of the archives of Propaganda.¹⁶ The *Inventario* immediately became the indispensable tool of all historians and archivists working in Propaganda, and yet it soon became evident that a revised version of the first inventory was needed. In 1983 a new inventory was published, compiled by Josef Metzler,¹⁷ archivist of Propaganda from 1966 to 1984, which revises and enlarges Kowalsky's old inventory.¹⁸ The inventory proper is preceded by a short history of the foundation of Propaganda and its purpose, and followed by a short bibliography (somewhat incomplete) and a list of prefects and secretaries of the Congregation.¹⁹

Kowalsky also published a history of the archives of Propaganda and of their archivists,²⁰ while his successor, Metzler, published a review of all indices of the documents of Propaganda compiled since 1657.²¹

2. CALENDARS AND INVENTORIES

The first list of documents preserved in the archives of Propaganda was published, without the name of the compiler, in 1910.²² It is completely drawn from Fish's *Guide*,²³ and, according to the introduction, deals with Canada only. It is a list of documents subdivided into archival series (Acta, SOCG, Congressi, Memoriali, Scripta Varia). They are dated and their contents briefly summarized, but their more precise location is not given. Memoriali and Scripta Varia are not included in the Propaganda material, showing that the compiler was not familiar with the documentary material he listed.²⁴ The only usefulness of this list, which pre-dates Fish's *Guide*, was to draw the attention of Canadian historians and archival authorities to the importance of the archives of the Holy See. The compiler of the list hoped that Roman documents of Canadian interest would have been copied,²⁵ but, Morin's assertions notwithstanding,²⁶ the project never became a reality.

The portion of Ivanhoë Caron's calendar, published between 1939 and 1942, that deals with Propaganda is drawn from the above list.²⁷ Caron compiled a chronological list (from 1610 to 1729) of manuscripts and printed matter preserved in various repositories, dealing with the Canadian church during the French regime. In the calendar there is no mention of the archives of Propaganda, all Roman documents being designated as "Documents du Vatican." Caron draws from the 1910 list those documents that seem to fit into his new compilation. It is a third-hand work that confuses rather than improves the knowledge of Roman archives in general and of Propaganda in particular. In his introduction,²⁸ Caron states that copies of the documents contained in his calendar are at the Public (now National) Archives of Canada and at the Archives de l'Archevêché de Québec.

We now must go back to 1911 and examine in some detail Fish's *Guide to the Materials for American History in Roman and Other Archives*.²⁹ Being both a guide and calendar cited by all historians and archivists, Fish's work has until very recently been the only good finding aid for the history of North America. In many respects, it is still the only work available. Fish worked in Italy from September 1908 to the end of August 1909,³⁰ and did a prodigious amount of research for such a short stay. He visited a great number of archives and libraries all over Italy, which he described in his work,³¹ but gave special attention to the archives of Propaganda, which he considered "more important than all others taken together."³² The title of Fish's *Guide*, probably dictated by J. Franklin Jameson, general editor of the Carnegie Institution series, is somewhat misleading. Fish examined "all general references to America or the Western Indies and all documents of interest for general American history [...] together with everything relating to Cuba and the northern provinces and bishoprics of Mexico, because of their connection with the missions of Florida and the Western States."³³ Fish's aim

was to make available "the unprinted sources for the history of the United States and Canada existing in Italy, and particularly at Rome."³⁴

In the section of the *Guide* devoted to Propaganda, Fish briefly surveys the history of the Congregation and its jurisdictional problems, then lists the most important archival series, and names those who had already used them in connection with the history of North America.³⁵ Each series is then briefly explained, and the documents listed. By and large, for each document he gives the volume number, the initial folio of the document or the item number, and its date. Next, there is a very short summary (one or two lines, seldom three) of the document in question. Fish lists all volumes examined, even though in some of them he had not found any document of interest for his *Guide*. He has examined the following archival series: Acta (pp. 123-147), SOCG (pp. 147-158), Congressi (pp. 158-188), Udienze (p. 189), Cause (p. 189), Memoriali (pp. 189-190), Congregazioni Particolari (pp. 190-192), Miscellanea (pp. 193-194), Scripta Varia (p. 195), Visite e collegi (p. 195) and Museo Etnografico (p. 195).³⁶

Fish's *Guide* must, however, be consulted with care. On the one hand, a number of documents have been re-arranged since Fish's time -- the numbering of folios has changed and volumes have been transferred to other series. On the other hand, Fish himself was sometimes not accurate enough. For some documents he gave the folio number, for others the item number, for others still only the date or the summary. There are also a number of typographical errors, although not as many as one usually finds in these kinds of works. Fish did not always have enough time to do his job properly. Often he contented himself with the marginal notes or with the summaries of the documents prepared by the clerks of Propaganda, thus repeating their mistakes, simplifications or confusions.

Other mistakes are Fish's sole responsibility. This will be shown by the following two examples. Under "Acta," he lists a document as "Charles François Bailly de Mefrein deputed coadjutor."³⁷ Had Fish known Bailly de Messein, he would have inserted, in square brackets, "Messein" as a correction of "Mefrein." And yet the spelling "Mefrein" belongs to an absent-minded copyist, since it appears only in the table of contents of the archival volume, not in the document itself, which reads "Messein." This means that Fish never read the original document, but contented himself with the table of contents. Similarly, again under "Acta," he lists "Leonard Neel (Neale) chosen coadjutor."³⁸ Fish knew Neale, and corrected the wrong spelling. But the wrong spelling was only in the table of contents of the archival volume and in the rescriptum, the document itself having the right one. Evidently, Fish had not seen the original document, but only the rescriptum or the table of contents. In the SOCG series Fish's errors are more frequent, especially in its first part, once known as Lettere Antiche (vols. 1-417). It is, however, as it has already been pointed out in Chapter Three, the most difficult section of the whole archives of Propaganda. The following is a sample of Fish's list of documents. It is drawn from vol. 141, which deals with the year 1642:

- f. 26. May 14. The provincial of the Capuchins says, among other things, that the ambassador of Constantinople has been declared viceroy of North America.
- f. 30. Jan. 20. The Capuchin missionaries of America designate a Capuchin priest as prefect of missions.
- f. 31. May 28. The provincial of the Capuchins of France has received the decree for the extension of the missions in America.
- f. 45. May 28, 1640. The provincial of the Capuchins of Normandy gives account of the missions of America.

ff. 51-52. May 26. The provincial of the Capuchins speaks of Canada and Florida, wishing to forestall the Dutch in occupying a place where the natives are docile and one can embark in February.

f. 67. Nov. 7. The above mentioned provincial gives a relation of Canada.

ff. 68, 73. Dec. 8, 1641. Another relation of the same mission by the same provincial.

ff. 69-72. Oct. 8, 1641. The same provincial sends a map of parts of America, made by a priest who lived there three years.

ff. 216-218. Note of fourteen candidates considered for the mission of Maryland, with a relation of Maryland of Nov. 7, 1641.

f. 222. Nov. 12, 1641. Decree of the Sacred Congregation on the expedition of missionaries to Maryland.³⁹

The following is the same sample, corrected and revised:⁴⁰

ff. 9, 14. Jan. 24, 1642. The Capuchin provincial of Paris, Honoré de Cunières, gives an account of the missions of Greece, Canada, and England. (Omitted by Fish)

ff. 10, 13. Jan. 18, 1642. The Capuchin prefect of the mission of Canada, Pacifique de Provins, reports on Madagascar, Greece, and Canada. (Omitted by Fish)

ff. 24. Jan. 10, 1642. Pacifique writes of his friendship with Christopher of the Holy Trinity. The answer by Propaganda briefly touches upon Canada. (Omitted by Fish)

ff. 30, 37. Feb. 15, 1642. Pacifique is soon leaving for Canada. (Omitted by Fish)

ff. 38, 41. March 7, 1642. Pacifique has received the decree for the extension of his mission to the whole of North America. (Omitted by Fish)

ff. 39-40 (Fish, f. 26). March 14 (1642). The Capuchin prefect of the mission of Canada, Pacifique de Provins, says, among other things, that the French ambassador in Constantinople, Count de Marcheville, has been declared viceroy in North America.

f. 44 (Fish, f. 30). (It deals with the West Indies only.)

ff. 45-46 (Fish, f. 31). March 28 (1642). The Capuchin prefect of the mission of Canada, Pacifique de Provins, has received the decree for the extension of his mission to the whole of North America.

f. 68 (Fish, f. 45). (It deals with the West Indies only.)

ff. 78-79 (Fish, ff. 51-52). June 28, 1642. The Capuchin provincial of Paris, Honoré de Cunières, reports on the question of the Capuchin prefecture. Canada mentioned. (Omitted by Fish).

ff. 105, 116 (Fish, f. 67). Nov. 7, 1641. The above mentioned prefect gives a relation of Canada.

ff. 106, 115. Feb. 4, 1642. A note by Propaganda on the extension of Pacifique's mission. (Omitted by Fish)

ff. 107, 114 (Fish, ff. 68, 73). Dec. 12, 1641. Another relation on Canada by the same *prefect*.

ff. 108, 113 (Fish, ff. 69-72). Oct. 17, 1641. The same *prefect* sends a map of *New France*, made by a priest who lived there three years.

ff. 122, 127. Dec. 30, 1641. *Christopher of Holy Trinity reports on New France and Pacifique's projects*. (Omitted by Fish)

ff. 346-351 (Fish, ff. 216-218). *Various items. Letter of Carlo Rossetti, Nuncio in England, to Propaganda, of Sep. 7, 1641*. Notes of fourteen candidates considered for the mission of Maryland. A relation of Maryland, *undated*. *Notes by Propaganda on the whole dossier*.

ff. 356, 363 (Fish, f. 222). Nov. 12 (1641). Decree of the Sacred Congregation on the expedition of missionaries to Maryland.

Fish's *Guide* is, by modern standards, incomplete and riddled with errors. It has also been superseded, as far as Canada and the United States are concerned, by the present *Calendar* (1622-1799) and by Finbar Kenneally's *United States Documents*.⁴¹ And yet, used with care, it still stands as the only clue to a number of repositories for the history of the continent in general and of nineteenth-century Canada in particular.

By contrast, it is impossible to put to good use Achille Gingras's doctoral dissertation, which should, according to its title, list all documents of Canadian interest in the archives of Paris, Rome and London.⁴² In the section devoted to Propaganda (pp. 238-323), he, like Fish, briefly surveys the history of the Congregation and then lists the most important archival series. He immediately falls into two traps. He confuses the series SOCG and Congressi,⁴³ and assigns 416 volumes,⁴⁴ as does Fish,⁴⁵ to Memoriali, now (as was the case when Gingras compiled his thesis) part of SOCG and consisting of 36 volumes only (vols. 382-417). These two serious errors are of course repeated throughout the list of documents.

Gingras's calendar differs from Fish's only in that the former employed a chronological approach, while the latter used an archival approach and listed the archival volumes according to the subject treated, noting (in theory) their date, series, volume number and folios. The result, as one can judge from the sample below, is puzzling:

Relation sur les provinces et couvents des Franciscains, adressée au Cardinal Barberini, leur protecteur.

Mémoire à l'usage des nonces de France pour empêcher les hérétiques de pénétrer au Canada (19 janvier 1635).

État des missions du Canada.

Scritt. Rif. [i.e., SOCG], ff. 30-60, 109 a 115.⁴⁶

Furthermore, Gingras sometimes omits the date, sometimes the folio or item number, sometimes even the archival series. All this does not happen by chance. Gingras has merely copied Fish's list, leaving out all documents that (on the basis of Fish's summaries only) had no interest for Canadian religious history. When one tries to actually use Gingras's *Répertoire*, it becomes immediately evident that it cannot be used without the help of Fish. Moreover, Gingras employs the old folio numbers that were in use in Fish's time, but that had long been superseded in 1958. Lastly, there is not a single document cited by Gingras that does not already appear in Fish's *Guide*. In practice, what Gingras has done, as far as Propaganda was concerned, is to add his own errors and omissions to Fish's.⁴⁷ His *Répertoire* is therefore completely useless.

The most important calendar of the archives of Propaganda relating to the history of the United States is still being published by the Academy of American Franciscan History. Ten volumes have appeared to date, plus an *Index* for vols. 1-7.⁴⁸ Although edited by Kenneally, *United States Documents in the Propaganda Fide Archives* is mostly the work of the archivist Anton Debevec, who single-handedly found, translated, summarized and ordered all documents calendared.⁴⁹ Vol. 1 is prefaced by Kenneally, who explains the scope and the aims of the calendar. Then the introduction, by Antonine Tibesar, briefly surveys the history of Propaganda and lists the main archival series of Propaganda, pointing out the major difficulties encountered during the early phase of research. (No other volumes of the First Series have introductions).

The seven volumes of the First Series (1622-c.1865) present 15,347 summaries ("letters") of documents. Each "letter" consists of a serial number, the numbers of the original folios, the number and title of the archival volume containing the document, the document's title or the names of the writer and addressee, the date and place of origin, a short summary of the contents, a list of the persons mentioned, and a note of the language used. The work of locating, reading, translating, ordering and summarizing the documents has been performed with great care.

Nevertheless, some editorial choices are open to criticism. The tables of contents (except those of vols. 1 and 2) are useless. The indexes that conclude each volume, and the general Index to vols. 1-7, are insufficient and sometimes incorrect. A distinction should have been made in the indexes between those documents that were actually written or received by a person, and those in which the person is only mentioned. Anonymous letters (sometimes more important than the signed ones) and letters of the apostolic nuncios are listed only under the names of the persons mentioned (the nuncios, who were all archbishops, signed only by the name of their see, though sometimes adding their Christian name); letters of the nuncios should mention the place of their appointment and their first and family names. The indices could have been expanded to include other items of significance, such as names of religious orders or dioceses. No abbreviations have been used, though there are many recurring words (bishop, archbishop, vicar apostolic, nuncio, procurator general, etc.), with consequent waste of much space. Cross-references are incomplete or non-existent.

Furthermore, on account of its geographical scope (the United States within their modern-day borders), most of the documents dealing with Canada were not included in Kenneally's calendar. As will be shown in Chapter Six, this is misleading. Until well into the second half of the eighteenth century, there was no practical distinction between the French and British territories of North America. Apart from these editorial flaws, this calendar is an important enterprise of great significance for the history of the Catholic church in the United States as well as for American history in general, and completely supersedes Fish's *Guide*. Since this Calendar does not include documents dealing with the area of the United States that from 1622 to 1799 was under Spanish rule, these will be found in Kenneally. On the other hand, Kenneally's *United States Documents* presents only 529 entries relating to French and British North America in the years 1622-1799, compared to the 2,441 entries of the present *Calendar*.

3. STUDIES

I shall now describe a number of works written by historians who have used the archives of Propaganda in relation to North America in the years 1622-1799. Documents published at random and works only occasionally citing documents of Propaganda will not be discussed here, since they do not stem from larger and consistent projects of research.

One must surely begin this survey by recalling the collective work, entitled *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum*, edited by Metzler, that was published between

1971 and 1979 to honour the Congregation's 350th anniversary.⁵⁰ It is a general history of Propaganda, from its origins until today, which consists of three volumes in five tomes containing articles written in various languages. These articles are organized along rough chronological lines, but each deals with a special geographical area or general topic. Six articles deal with North America, two of which are outside the chronological limits of the *Calendar*.⁵¹ In the appendix to vol. III/2, the list of the officials of the Congregation⁵² is followed by a number of printed documents from the archives of Propaganda. None of them is of special interest to North America, but they all deal with general problems of the history of missions that can be profitably consulted.⁵³

The first North American historian who used the archives of Propaganda was Étienne-Michel Faillon in his *Histoire de la colonie française*.⁵⁴ He was particularly interested in the history of the erection of the bishopric of Quebec. Faillon gave special attention to vol. 256 of the SOCG series, whose title "America e Canada" made it an obvious choice.⁵⁵ As was common in his day, Faillon took too many liberties with the documents he cited, and his critical apparatus was inconsistent.⁵⁶ Faillon had personally consulted the archives of Propaganda when he was in Rome in 1864-1869 to establish the Sulpician procure.⁵⁷

Another important historian of New France, the Jesuit Camille de Rochemonteix, used some documents of Propaganda relating to the early years of Bishop François de Laval in Canada.⁵⁸ Rochemonteix, like Faillon, seems to know only vol. 256 of SOCG.

The American Catholic historian John Dawson Gilmary Shea⁵⁹ did not personally consult the archives of Propaganda, but had copies made through the archbishop of New York, Michael Corrigan.⁶⁰ Shea's use of Propaganda documents is similar to that of Faillon and Rochemonteix -- too many liberties with the documents, inconsistency of the critical apparatus, and failure to properly cite original documents. At any rate, Shea's use of the documents of Propaganda is limited.

Although primarily concerned with the history of the Society of Jesus, the four-volume work by the Jesuit Thomas Aloysius Hughes must be seen as a general history of North America. Hughes's *History* covers the whole continent, including the West Indies but not Canada, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁶¹ Hughes did not personally consult the archives of Propaganda, but, contrary to Shea, he used Propaganda documents profusely. What he saw were copies preserved at Georgetown University,⁶² or copies that were made by his confrère Louis Schmitt.⁶³ Hughes did not cite or quote documents of Propaganda haphazardly -- they are often of central importance to his narrative. Unfortunately, he also took too many liberties with the documents. The reader is at pains with the inconsistency of his garbled critical apparatus, and confusion is the key-note of both the footnotes and the two documentary volumes. Incidentally, he did not find much room for Propaganda in the two volumes of documents. His monumental *History* is, however, contrary to Faillon, Rochemonteix and Shea, still a useful starting point for any researcher.

If we turn from the category of works dealing with the whole of the history of North America to survey the field of studies devoted to shorter periods, then we must first consider the work of the Franciscan Conrad Morin. Morin laboured for eight years in the Vatican Secret Archives and in other Roman archives, including Propaganda. He was a student at the Università Gregoriana, where he took his doctoral degree in ecclesiastical history, writing a dissertation, discussed in July 1942, devoted to the history of the relationship between Canada and the Holy See.⁶⁴ He also published a short guide to the Roman archives,⁶⁵ discussed above, and an article on the efforts of the first Secretary of Propaganda, Francesco Ingoli, to erect a bishopric in Canada.⁶⁶ He wanted to do much more. His thesis was only the first portion of what was proposed as a three-part study, entitled "Le Saint-Siège et l'établissement de l'Église au Canada sous le régime français," whose first volume, "L'affiliation au Saint-Siège ou la Mission apostolique (1615-1658)," was to take him from the beginnings to the establishment of a vicariate apostolic in Canada. Although he often referred to his work as being at

press, not even volume one (his dissertation) was ever published.⁶⁷ Furthermore, Morin also proposed a multi-volume work that would contain "ces textes intégralement, avec traduction et notes,"⁶⁸ entitled "Les sources de l'Église canadienne aux Archives du Vatican et de la Propagande." This was never published either. The magnitude of Morin's unfortunate project is evident from the list of archival volumes he had apparently consulted, as it appears at the beginning of his dissertation.⁶⁹

Unfortunately, circumstances prevented Morin from even starting what looked like a very promising project. Almost nothing was published. We are, however, left with his thesis, which, to date, is still the most important study dealing with the early relationship between Canada and the Holy See based on Propaganda and Vatican documents. The documents that are published at the end of this thesis are well annotated and scrupulously transcribed.⁷⁰

The Jesuit historian Lucien Campeau knows Morin's works well. He covered the same years studied by Morin in an essay contained in Metzler's *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum*⁷¹ and in a book occasioned by the 300th anniversary of the erection of the bishopric of Quebec.⁷² The central theme of both essays is the creation and development of the Roman ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Canada.⁷³ This is probably why Campeau emphasizes out of all proportion the early period (until 1674), to which he devotes 66 pages, as opposed to only two pages for the subsequent period (from 1674 to 1763). Although they were written on different occasions, both the essay and the book use the same documentary material from Propaganda, and must be consulted together.⁷⁴

Laval, and in particular his relationship with the Séminaire de Québec, is also the subject of Marcel Gérin's unpublished 1939 thesis.⁷⁵ He used some Propaganda documents of the SOCG and Congressi, America Settentrionale series.

The relationship between Propaganda and the British colonies of America is the focus of two articles by the Jesuit historian Charles Edwards O'Neill,⁷⁶ who is also the author of a study on Louisiana that will be discussed later.⁷⁷ O'Neill dealt only with those territories that are now part of the United States, and clearly separated the history of the British colonies as such and of Louisiana because of the latter's particular history. Following closely the Acta series of Propaganda, O'Neill devoted the first of the two essays to Maryland (to c. 1760) and Louisiana (to the end of the seventeenth century), and the second to the British colonies in general (from 1750 to 1808) and again to Louisiana (from the beginning of the eighteenth century to 1815).

As far as Canada is concerned, the last period of relations with Propaganda is described by Lucien Lemieux in a volume devoted to the first ecclesiastical province of Canada (1783-1844),⁷⁸ and in an article that appeared in the collection *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum*.⁷⁹ This volume is a work that, particularly with regard to the nineteenth century, appears to be solid and well documented. However, as far as the eighteenth century is concerned, it is limited by an as yet incomplete knowledge of the archives of Propaganda. For example, Lemieux stated that the letters received by Propaganda are kept in the Congressi series, but he neglects the much more important SOCG series, which is never cited or even mentioned in the bibliography.⁸⁰ On the other hand, Acta, Lettere and Congressi, America Settentrionale seem to have been used to their fullest extent. The article covers the years 1760-1840.⁸¹ Following the model proposed by Campeau, who had looked at the preceding period, Lemieux enlarged certain themes within the framework of a detailed account of the relations between Propaganda and the Canadian authorities (holidays, indulgences, loans with interest, etc.), which they discussed during those years.

If we pass from the area of general studies to that of studies devoted to particular times or themes, we must first mention the historiography of the Capuchins. They had a remarkable influence in the first half of the seventeenth century in Acadia, and later in Louisiana. This is a particularly rich

and important literature, whose scope reached far beyond a simple history of the order. In his *Storia delle missioni dei Cappuccini*,⁸² which appeared between 1867 and 1909, Rocco da Cesinale was the first to deal with North America on the basis of Propaganda documentation. He clearly divided his work into the pre-Propaganda period (vol. 1), and a later one dealing with the period following the establishment of the Congregation (vols. 2-4). This having been said, we must note that Rocco, even though he had the advantage of living in Rome, did not make a systematic search in the Propaganda archives. He restricted himself to citing documents taken from printed works or those from Acta, which is certainly the easiest series to consult. As well, North America represented a relatively marginal area of interest for Rocco. Out of his four volumes, only about twenty pages are devoted to North America and to the West Indies.⁸³ However, Rocco's work remains a rather useful reference point for a general understanding of the Capuchin missions.⁸⁴

More or less at the same time, but without knowledge of each other (at least in the beginning), Candide de Nant and John M. Lenhart, both Capuchins, were working on a history of their order in North America in the seventeenth century. The first one to undertake the task was Candide, who in 1903 had been led to the documents of Propaganda by a seventeenth-century report dealing with the Capuchins in Acadia. He was not able to complete his research in the archives of Propaganda until after World War I. In the meantime, he had become aware of the parallel work of Lenhart,⁸⁵ and had availed himself of Fish's *Guide*. He had also published a number of articles using some documents of Propaganda.⁸⁶

In his unassuming work, *Pages glorieuses*,⁸⁷ Candide made a nevertheless important contribution to historical knowledge not only concerning the Capuchins in Acadia, but also about the general expansion of Catholicism in the New World.⁸⁸ It is, in Morin's words, "le premier ouvrage d'histoire canadienne qui soit le fruit d'une véritable utilisation des sources romaines."⁸⁹ [See Appendix A for translation.] Candide limited his investigation to the French Capuchins, and according to that interest searched the archives of Propaganda for any pertinent documentation. His documents all come from Acta, and the corresponding documents of SOCG, or again from the volumes of SOCG where the French content is evident. One of the documents on which his work is based is "Brevis ac dilucida,"⁹⁰ the starting point of his earlier research, which he had already published separately.⁹¹ But one must be careful of the considerable liberties Candide took in the transcription of the documents. It was not uncommon for him to forget certain words, change their order, or modernize their spelling following inconsistent criteria.⁹² We will recall that the numbering of folios has changed since Candide's time, and that the series he calls Lettere is now called SOCG.

Throughout his works,⁹³ Lenhart's thesis is that Propaganda had already established a jurisdiction over the American territories by creating a prefecture entrusted to the Capuchins, whatever the practical outcome of this may have been. This, according to Lenhart, was accomplished well before the bishop of Debra, Richard Challoner, was given jurisdiction over the British colonies in 1756,⁹⁴ and also before the appointment of John Carroll as superior of the missions in the American Provinces in 1784.⁹⁵ Lenhart, who knew Candide,⁹⁶ Rocco, Fish and Hughes, shows a good knowledge of the archives of Propaganda, even though he seems not to have made any systematic search (having drawn from Acta and SOCG only).⁹⁷ The documents he transcribes are very interesting. Unfortunately, the transcription of certain documents is incorrect, because Lenhart was not very familiar with the early history of North America. This ignorance is blatant when one reads his explanatory footnotes.⁹⁸

Another work on the Capuchins is Claude Vogel's book, which we will discuss later.⁹⁹ One must also consult an article by Odoric-Marie Jouve, the historian of the Recollets, devoted to François-Joseph Du Tremblay -- better known as Père Joseph or "L'Éminence grise" -- and his activities relating to New France during the years 1632-33.¹⁰⁰ In this article, the attitude of Propaganda is briefly described, although Jouve did not base it upon Propaganda documents, except for very few instances.

Jouve's article can therefore serve as a useful complement to *Candide's Pages glorieuses*, of which Jouve in fact made abundant use.³

On the subject of the Capuchins we should also remember Pacifique de Provins (René de L'Escale, 1588-1648), who, even though he never set foot in North America, was for many years prefect of the Capuchin missions in Canada (i.e., Acadia), and continued to consider himself as such even when he was in the West Indies. The continual relationship between Pacifique and Propaganda is already well known, although the relative documents preserved in the archives of Propaganda were used by *Candide* only. Partially, this documentation was also used by Godefroy de Paris,¹⁰¹ for whom, however, Pacifique's American life represented merely the end of his missionary career.

By contrast, on the Franciscan Recollets and their relationship with Propaganda we have almost nothing. Besides Jouve's *opera omnia* (drawn almost exclusively from the Vatican Secret Archives), we can only mention Lenhart's article on the reasons for keeping the Recollets out of Canada in 1632. The Capuchin historian laid the blame on François-Joseph Du Tremblay.¹⁰² With regard to the Jesuits, we have already mentioned Rochemonteix, Hughes and Campeau. Campeau wrote of his Order with particular competence and unusual depth.¹⁰³ We shall deal later with Jean Delanglez and his book on the Jesuits in Louisiana.¹⁰⁴

The Discalced Carmelites did not have a mission in North America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but it was a member of their order, the Englishman Simon Stock (Thomas Doughty, 1574-1652), who provided Propaganda with the earliest information on the colonization of Newfoundland, the Northwest passage and the Puritan exodus to New England. Hughes and Lenhart mentioned Stock and some of his letters. In 1925, August Schmidlin, in a very short and vague article, examined a project for missionary expansion in Asia using the hypothetical Northwest passage.¹⁰⁵ Recently Raymond J. Lahey, using some of the more interesting letters that Stock has sent to Propaganda, dealt very competently with the relations between Stock and George Calvert, Baron Baltimore, regarding the Avalon settlement in Newfoundland.¹⁰⁶ Some of that material was also used by John D. Krugler.¹⁰⁷ The whole story of Stock's friendship with Lord Baltimore and the Avalon colony was recently dealt with by this writer.¹⁰⁸

Louisiana formally depended for a long time on the religious authorities of Quebec. O'Neill dealt in detail with its history and its relations with Propaganda both in the two above-mentioned essays and in a book covering the history of Louisiana from its beginnings until 1732.¹⁰⁹ His book shows that the interests of the French government did not always coincide with those of Catholic expansion in the New World. Capuchins and Jesuits have been studied by Claude Vogel¹¹⁰ and Delanglez.¹¹¹ Unlike O'Neill, neither of these personally consulted the archives of Propaganda, but both had copies of Propaganda documents made.¹¹² Incidentally, Vogel was the first historian to use the modern numbering system of the folios of the documents of Propaganda, later adopted by the vast majority of scholars.

The writings on the period 1754-1784 deserve special attention owing to the importance of these years for the history of the United States and Canada, as well as for the early history of the American Catholic church. This writer has used material from Propaganda for an essay covering the period from the English conquest of Canada to the War of American Independence.¹¹³ It deals as much with Canadian political transformations as with those in the former British continental colonies. Isabella Bandini and Isabella Santini completed two dissertations in 1984 that examine in depth the role of two vicars general of the bishop of Quebec in Paris, Pierre de la Rue, Abbé de L'Isle-Dieu, and François Sorbier de Villars.¹¹⁴ Both had a long and very interesting correspondence with Propaganda.

What have most interested American historians are the facts relating to the birth (or rebirth, according to Lenhart) of the American Catholic hierarchy. Fish was the first scholar to make available the documents preserved in Propaganda relating to Carroll's appointment as superior of the missions

in the United Provinces and then as the first bishop of Baltimore. In 1910 he published a series of 34 documents in their original language, drawn from different series (Acta, Lettere, Congressi, Istruzioni, Decreti), covering the years 1783-1789.¹¹⁵ Although partially used by Shea,¹¹⁶ these documents were almost entirely unpublished and unknown. As always, the transcription leaves much to be desired.¹¹⁷ On account of their interest, Fish's documents were almost immediately translated into English by the Jesuit Edward I. Devitt.¹¹⁸ In a brief introduction to the documents, Devitt describes Fish's work and the copies of the documents of Propaganda that Shea had left with the archives of Georgetown University.¹¹⁹

Guilday used the Georgetown University copies some years later to write an article on the years 1783-1785 and Carroll's appointment.¹²⁰ This was useful summary of facts already known, but no new sources were introduced. Two years later, Guilday published a complete biography of Carroll.¹²¹ Although he used the documents of Propaganda again, and this time more abundantly, Guilday had still not consulted the archives of the Congregation directly, but had some additional copies made for his own use.¹²²

Thomas O'Brien Hanley recently edited all of Carroll's papers.¹²³ Although many of the published documents come from the archives of Propaganda,¹²⁴ which is only one of the many archives consulted, it does not seem that a systematic search was carried out. Carroll's letters were drawn exclusively from Congressi. The SOCG series, which is equally important for its references to Carroll, was not at all mentioned, even though several documents appearing in that series were published via copies kept in other American archives. Therefore most of Carroll's letters that are in the present *Calendar* or in Kenneally's *United States Documents* are not in the Carroll papers. In addition, the editor has chosen merely to indicate the names of the archives consulted at the bottom of each document, omitting all data regarding archival series or folio numbers. This makes the process of finding specific information on any original document very difficult.¹²⁵

In conclusion, one can say that, except for a few cases, the history of the relationship between Propaganda and North America has yet to be written. The principal exception is Morin's work, which was unfortunately never published. Other notable exceptions are the articles written by Campeau, Lemieux and O'Neill, which stemmed from Metzler's *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum*, and this writer's *Coldest Harbour*. Several questions therefore remain unanswered. How did the officials of Propaganda see the New World? Did their attitudes change over time? How did these attitudes influence their periodical decisions vis-à-vis North America? What influence and what authority did they have over missionaries, vicars apostolic and bishops operating in America? What place did North America have in the overall policies of Propaganda? What was the power of the Congregation in the context of the Holy See's general policies of missionary expansion? Is it possible to determine in what way the history of French and British North America was influenced by the decisions made in Rome in the offices of Propaganda or of the Holy See in general? The historian who can provide answers to these questions will shed new light on some important points regarding the development of North American history in the colonial period.

NOTES

- 1 Carl Russell Fish, *Guide to the Materials for American History in Roman and Other Italian Archives*, Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution, 1911.
- 2 Peter Keenan Guilday, "The Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide (1622-1922)," *Catholic Historical Review*, VI, 4 (January 1921), pp. 478-494.
- 3 Conrad Morin, "Les archives du Saint-Siège, importantes sources de l'histoire politico-religieuse du Canada," *Culture*, VII, 2 (June 1946), pp. 151-176.
- 4 Candide de Nant, *Pages glorieuses de l'épopée canadienne. Une mission Capucine en Acadie*, Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1927.
- 5 This is true not only in the cases of Fish and Morin, but also for all historians and archivists who used the archives of Propaganda before the 1930s.
- 6 Morin, "Archives du Saint-Siège," pp. 156-161.
- 7 Id., pp. 161-170.
- 8 In Morin's words: "[C]'est le point de vue historique et non le point de vue archivistique (ou topographique) qui a inspiré le classement ci-dessous; en d'autres termes, dans le but de faciliter les recherches méthodiques, les collections ont été groupées par ordre d'appartenance de matières et non pas de fonds." [See Appendix A for translation] (id., pp. 155-156).
- 9 Id., pp. 170-176.
- 10 Nikolaus Kowalsky, "L'Archivio della Sacra Congregazione de Propaganda Fide," in Lajos Pásztor, ed., *Guida delle fonti per la storia dell'America latina negli archivi della Santa Sede e negli archivi ecclesiastici d'Italia*, Vatican City: Archivio Vaticano, 1970, pp. 328-338.
- 11 Id., p. vi.
- 12 See also Kowalsky, "L'archivio della Sacra Congregazione 'de Propaganda Fide'," *Rassegna degli Archivi di Stato*, XXV, 1 (gennaio-aprile 1965), pp. 37-44.
- 13 René Bélanger, "Les archives historiques de la Propagande à Rome," *Archives*, LXXIV, 1 (1974), pp. 8-14.
- 14 Luca Codignola, "L'America del Nord nei documenti dell'archivio della Sacra Congregazione 'de Propaganda Fide', 1622-1799. Una introduzione," in Codignola, ed., *Canadiana. Storia e storiografia canadese*, Venice, Marsilio. 1979, pp. 33-45.
- 15 John J. McCusker, "New Guides to Primary Sources on the History of Early British America," *William and Mary Quarterly*, XLI, 2 (April 1984), pp. 277-295.
- 16 Kowalsky, "Inventario dell'archivio [sic] storico della S. Congregazione 'de Propaganda Fide'," *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft/ Nouvelle revue de science missionnaire*, XVII, 1 (1961), pp. 9-23; 2 (1961), pp. 109-117; 3 (1961), pp. 191-200.

- 17 Although signed "Nikolaus Kowalsky and Josef Metzler," the new inventory was compiled by Metzler only.
- 18 Kowalsky and Metzler, *Inventory of the Historical Archives of the Sacred Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples or "de Propaganda Fide."* New Enlarged Edition, Rome: Pontificia Universitas Urbaniana, 1983.
- 19 Kowalsky had published a similar list in 1962, which was revised by Metzler in 1976. The latter added the list of the Prefects for the Economy and of the Secretaries for Oriental Affairs. See Kowalsky, *Serie dei cardinali prefetti e dei segretari della Sacra Congregazione "de Propaganda Fide,"* Rome: Editiones Urbaniana, 1962; Metzler, "Serie dei Cardinali Prefetti e dei Segretari della Sacra Congregazione," in Metzler, ed., *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum, III/2: 1815-1972*, Freiburg, Herder, 1976, pp. 615-626. The new list is in Kowalsky and Metzler, *Inventory*, pp. 102-106.
- 20 Kowalsky, "L'archivio della Sacra Congregazione 'de Propaganda Fide' e i suoi archivisti," Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana, *Annales* (1963-1964), pp. 38-53.
- 21 Metzler, "Indici dell'archivio storico della S.C. 'de Propaganda Fide,'" *Euntes Docete. Commentaria Urbaniana*, XXI (1968), pp. 109-130.
- 22 "Documents relatifs au Canada parmi les archives italiennes," *Rapport de l'archiviste en chef du Canada* (1910), pp. 106-115. The list includes documents from the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vatican Library), the archives of Propaganda and the Archivio Segreto Vaticano (Vatican Secret Archives).
- 23 Fish, *Guide*.
- 24 Fish includes both Memoriali and Scripta Varia in the Propaganda material (Fish, *Guide*, pp. 189-190, 195). Memoriali is now part of the SOCG series, while the documents listed by Fish as Scripta Varia are, in fact, in vol. 22 of the series Miscellanea Diverse.
- 25 "Documents relatifs au Canada," p. 106.
- 26 Morin, "Archives du Saint-Siège," p. 154.
- 27 Ivanhoë Caron, "Inventaire des documents concernant l'Église du Canada sous le régime français," *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec* (1939-1940), pp. 155-353; (1940-1941), pp. 333-473; (1941-1942), pp. 178-298.
- 28 Caron states: "Une autre source de renseignement [...] est indiquée dans le *Rapport de l'archiviste en chef du Canada*, pour l'année 1910 (p. 106), sous le titre 'Documents relatifs au Canada parmi les archives italiennes.' Nous ne donnons qu'un sommaire de ces pièces écrites en langue italienne, mais le département des Archives Publiques du Canada, à Ottawa, en renferme de belles copies. On en trouve aussi quelques-unes aux archives de l'archevêché de Québec. Elles sont indiquées sous le titre 'Documents du Vatican' [See Appendix A for translation.] [1939-1940], p. 155).
- 29 Fish, *Guide*.
- 30 Id., p. iii.

- 31 Fish mostly worked in the archives of Rome, but also visited Naples, Venice, Turin and Florence.
- 32 Fish, *Guide*, pp. 121-122.
- 33 *Id.*, p. 1.
- 34 *Ibidem*.
- 35 Fish also names Thomas J. Shahan, but this last seems not to have known the archives first hand, but only the portions of the various bullarii relating to Propaganda. See Thomas J. Shahan, "L'histoire de l'Église catholique aux États-Unis," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 1 (1900), pp. 678-689.
- 36 See note 24 for Memoriali and Scripta Varia. Fish's Miscellanea consists of documents of the series Congressi Missioni Miscellanea, Congressi America Centrale Miscellanea, Miscellanea Diverse, and Miscellanea Varie. Fish's Visite e Collegi consists of Congressi documents. The Museo Etnografico is no longer housed in the palace of Propaganda.
- 37 This is the full citation: "Acta, 1788, f. 316, no. 1, Sept, 10. Father Charles François Bailly de Mefrein deputed coadjutor of the bishop of Quebec" (Fish, *Guide*, p. 141).
- 38 This is the full citation: "Acta, 1795, f. 8 Mar. 23. D. Leonard Neele (Neale) chosen coadjutor of the Bishop of Baltimore" (*id.*, p. 143).
- 39 *Id.*, p. 151.
- 40 In revising the above sample, the editor has followed Fish's criteria, without challenging the quality of the summary itself. The documents omitted by Fish have been added, his errors corrected (corrections are in italics), and documents that do not in fact pertain to North America are only mentioned.
- 41 Finbar Kenneally, ed., *United States Documents in the Propaganda Fide Archives. A Calendar. First Series*, vols. 1-7 and *Index* to vols. 1-7, Washington, DC: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1966-1981.
- 42 Achille Gingras (Guy Laviolette), "Répertoire des sources manuscrites de l'histoire religieuse canadienne en Europe surtout à Paris, à Rome et à Londres: 1608 a 1860," unpublished thesis, Institut Catholique de Paris (1958-1959).
- 43 *Id.* p. 240.
- 44 *Ibidem*.
- 45 Fish, *Guide*, p. 189.
- 46 Gingras, "Répertoire," p. 242.
- 47 This happens at least 21 times for the period 1622-1799 alone. The list below shows all Gingras's errors that derive directly from Fish:
- 1 p. 241, line 14: "17 nov." instead of "11 nov."
 - 2 p. 242, line 12: "Le P.V." instead of "Le P. Hyacinthe."
 - 3 p. 242, line 34: "ff. [...] 359" instead of "ff. [...] 269."

- 4 p. 243, line 21: "trois Capucins" instead of "quatre Capucins."
 5 p. 243, line 29: "f. 36" instead of "f. 367."
 6 p. 244, line 37: "13 mars 1645" instead of "13 mars 1646".
 7 p. 244, line 39: "27 avril 1645" instead of "27 avril 1646."
 8 p. 244, line 43: "25 octobre 1645" instead of "20 septembre 1645 et 25 octobre 1646."
 9 p. 245, line 22: "10 déc. 1647" instead of "17 déc. 1647."
 10 p. 245, line 29: "lettre du nonce" instead of "lettre de Pacifique de Provins."
 11 p. 247, line 1: "26 mai 1659" instead of "26 mai 1661."
 12 p. 247, line 7: "13 juin 1660" instead of "13 janv. 1660."
 13 p. 247, line 31: "4 fév. 1664" instead of "30 juin 1664." ("4 fév. 1664" is the date of the preceding item in Fish's list).
 14 p. 249, line 10: "No. 28" instead of "No. 25."
 15 p. 250, line 2: "4 mars" instead of "4 fév."
 16 p. 250, line 32: "Récollets de Saint-Domingue" instead of "Récollets de Saint-Denis."
 17 p. 255, line 20: "3 mars 1765" instead of "3 mars 1766." (Fish had dated the Acta volume 1765; the year was in fact 1766).
 18 p. 255, line 23: "f. 96" instead of "ff. 93-96."
 19 p. 258, line 21: "fol. 115" instead of "fol. 114."
 20 p. 260, line 3: "fol. 55" instead of "ff. 50-75."
 21 p. 260, line 30: "fol. 224" instead of "ff. 223-225."
- 48 See note 41. Vols. 8-10 are edited by Anton Debevec, Mathias C. Kiemen and Alexander Wyse. They were published in 1980-1983 and form the second series of the calendar.
- 49 See this author's early reviews of Kenneally's *United States Documents* in *Rivista Storica Italiana*, LXXXVII, 3 (settembre 1976), pp. 599-605, and in *William and Mary Quarterly*, XXXV, 2 (April 1978), pp. 419-420.
- 50 Metzler, ed., *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum*, Freiburg: Herder, 1971-1976, 3 vols. There is also a summary in Italian of the entire work, entitled *Compendio di storia della Sacra Congregazione per l'Evangelizzazione dei Popoli o "de Propaganda Fide," 1622-1972*, Rome: Pontificia Università Urbaniana, 1974.
- 51 They are Charles Edwards O'Neill, "North American Beginnings in Maryland and Louisiana," in id., I/2, pp. 713-726; Lucien Campeau, "Les initiatives de la S. Congrégation en faveur de la Nouvelle-France," in id., pp. 727-795; O'Neill, "The United States of America," in id., II, pp. 1162-1184; Lucien Lemieux, "Provision pour l'Église canadienne. A. La Congrégation de la Propagande, modératrice et promotrice d'une Église canadienne en expansion (1760-1840)," in id., III/1, pp. 729-748. These three articles will be discussed later. The two outside the chronological limits of the *Calendar* are Willi Henkel, "The Final Stage of USA Church's Development under Propaganda Fide," in id., pp. 705-728; Alexander Baran, "Provision pour l'Église canadienne. B. Further Development after 1840," in id., pp. 749-757.
- 52 See note 19.
- 53 Metzler, ed., *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum*, III/2: 1815-1972, pp. 653-840.
- 54 [Étienne-Michel Faillon], *Histoire de la colonie française en Canada*, Villemarie: Bibliothèque Paroissiale, 1865-1866, 3 vols. Only vols. 2 and 3 mention Propaganda documents. The *Histoire* was to consist of 10 volumes, but only the first three were published, to cover the years 1532-

1675. See Olivier Maurault, "M. Étienne-Michel Faillon (1800-1870)," *Les Cahiers des dix*, 24 (1959), p. 157.
- 55 Almost all documents cited by Faillon are taken from vol. 256 of the SOCG series. The volume has "America e Canada" on its spine, and the number "3" in the frontispiece. Other documents cited come from Acta, vol. 27, dealing with the year 1658 (Faillon, *Histoire*, II, pp. 322, 327-328), and from Congressi, America Settentrionale, wrongly cited as "Scrittura riferite nei Congregazione" (id., III, p. 170).
- 56 Vol. 256 of SOCG, for example, is normally cited as "vol. America. 3. Canada. 256," but also as "Vol. America. 3. Canada," "156," "255" and "356" (id., II, p. 376; III, pp. 186, 356, 371).
- 57 See Maurault, "Faillon," pp. 152, 157. See also the documents of Propaganda published by Morin relating to Faillon's Roman years, Morin, ed., "Éclaircissements inédits de Faillon sur son *Histoire de la colonie française*," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, V, 4 (March 1952), pp. 585-588.
- 58 Camille de Rochemonteix, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVIIe siècle d'après beaucoup de documents inédits*, Paris: Letouzey, 1895-1896, 3 vols.
- 59 John Dawson Gilmary Shea, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days. The Thirteen Colonies. The Ottawa and the Illinois country. Louisiana. Florida. Texas. New Mexico and Arizona, 1521-1763*, New York: Edward Jenkins' Sons. 1866; Shea, *Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll, Bishop and First Archbishop of Baltimore, Embracing the History of the Catholic Church in the United States. 1763-1815*, New York: Edward Jenkins' Sons, 1888.
- 60 Shea, *Catholic Church*, p. iv. According to Edward I. Devitt, the copies are now in the archives of Georgetown University, in Washington: "Dr. Shea's MSS. in Georgetown University contain a voluminous collection entitled 'Propaganda Transcripts,' which include nearly all of these documents, many of which were translated and published in full by him" (Edward I. Devitt, ed., "Propaganda Documents. Appointment of the First Bishop of Baltimore," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, XXI, 4 [December 1910], p. 186). This writer has not personally checked that collection.
- 61 Thomas Aloysius Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America Colonial and Federal. Text and Documents*, London: Longmans, Green, 1907-1917, 4 vols. Except for Metzler, ed., *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda de Fide Memoria Rerum*, there is no other work mentioned in this survey that deals with so long a period.
- 62 See note 60.
- 63 Hughes, *History*, p. 20.
- 64 Morin, "Le Saint-Siège et l'établissement de l'Église au Canada sous le régime français d'après les archives romaines. L'affiliation au Saint-Siège ou la mission apostolique (1615-1658)," unpublished thesis, Pontificia Università Gregoriana (1982).
- 65 Morin, "Archives du Saint-Siège."
- 66 Morin, "Les tentatives du secrétaire François Ingoli pour l'érection d'un évêché au Canada (1631-1641)," Causerie donnée lors du douzième congrès annuel de la Société canadienne d'histoire de l'Église Catholique (Toronto, September 1945).

- 67 Morin, "Archives du Saint-Siège," p. 155; Morin, "Tentatives," p. 16; Morin, *Saint-Siège*, p. 10.
- 68 Morin, "Archives du Saint-Siège," p. 156.
- 69 Monique Benoît and Gabriele Scardellato were puzzled by the complete lack of consistency in Morin's list of volumes allegedly consulted in the Vatican Secret Archives. See Monique Benoît and Gabriele Scardellato, "The Flesh Made Word: The Vatican Archives and the Study of Canadian History," *Archivaria*, 20 (summer 1985), pp.67-78. As far as Propaganda is concerned, there is only one perplexity: Why the gap in the Acta series between vols. 106 and 127?
- 70 Morin, "Saint-Siège," pp. 229-262. A good number are Propaganda documents.
- 71 Campeau, "Initiatives."
- 72 Campeau, *L'Évêché de Québec (1674). Aux origines du premier diocèse érigé en Amérique du Nord*, Quebec: La Société historique de Québec, 1974.
- 73 See also Campeau, "La juridiction ecclésiastique en Nouvelle-France avant Mgr de Laval," *La Société Canadienne d'histoire de l'Église catholique, Sessions d'étude* (1972), pp. 91-108. This article was subsequently revised as Campeau, "Initiatives."
- 74 The following are some typographical errors identical in both Campeau's "Initiatives" and *Évêché*:
 - Acta, vol. 7/II, f. 11v, recte 10v ("Initiatives," p. 744; *Évêché*, p. 24).
 - SOCG, vol. 74, f. 116, recte f. 196 ("Initiatives," pp. 739, 751; *Évêché*, pp. 18, 33).
 - The General Congregation that discussed what was related in SOCG, vol. 74, f. 196, is not dated 16 May 1633, but 31 May 1632 ("Initiatives," p. 739; *Évêché*, p. 18).
- 75 Marcel Gérin, "Les grandes étapes de l'oeuvre missionnaire des évêques canadiens. Quebec (1663). Nicolet (1803). Pont-Viau (1921). Monseigneur de Laval et le Séminaire des missions étrangères de Québec," unpublished thesis, Institut Scientifique de la Propagande (1939).
- 76 O'Neill, "North American Beginnings"; O'Neill, "United States."
- 77 O'Neill, *Church and State in French Colonial Louisiana. Policy and Politics to 1732*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966. Due to the far greater importance of the local and French archives for the history of Louisiana, in this book the documents of Propaganda are not much used.
- 78 Lemieux, *L'établissement de la première province ecclésiastique au Canada 1783-1844*, Montreal: Fides, 1968.
- 79 Lemieux, "Provision."
- 80 Lemieux, *Établissement*, p. xviii. Curiously, the SOCG series is also omitted from the bibliography that precedes Lemieux, "Provision."
- 81 The only gap in the history of Canada left by Campeau and Lemieux is, then, the period 1674-1763.
- 82 Rocco da Cesinale, *Storia delle missioni dei Cappuccini*, Paris: P. Lethielleux - Rome: Tipografia Barbera, 1867-1909, 3 vols.; vol. 4 published as "Historia Ordinis fr. Minorum Capuccinorum,"

- Analecta Ordinis Minorum Capuccinorum*, XXIV (1908) pp. 43-45, 79-86, 121-125, 187-192, 282-287; XXV (1909), pp. 67-71, 240-246, 293-295.
- 83 Rocco, *Storia delle missioni*, III, pp. 673-693 (a chapter devoted to French America that also touches upon Maryland, the West Indies and Canada).
- 84 See, for example, *id.*, II, pp. 317-397 (a chapter on France).
- 85 "Tout récemment [1916-1917] le P. John Lenhart a publié en anglais [...] un travail qui est exactement sur le plan de celui-ci. Il a consulté a peu près toutes les sources imprimées de quelque importance et une partie des archives de la Propagande jusque-là inédites. C'est une très bonne étude où nous retrouvons avec plaisir la plupart de nos conclusions" [See Appendix A for translation.] (*Candide, Pages glorieuses*, p. viii).
- 86 [Candide de Nant], "Letter of Father Ignace re Acadia (According to a photographic copy of the original in the archives of the Propaganda, Rome)," *Report concerning Canadian Archives* (1904), Appendix H. pp. 331-341; Candide de Nant, "Port-Royal en 1650", *Nouvelle-France*, V, 7 (July 1906), pp. 330-339; Candide de Nant, "Silhouettes de missionnaires. I. Le père Léonard de Chartres," *Nouvelle France*, X, 7 (July 1911), pp. 316-323.
- 87 See note 4.
- 88 *Candide, Pages glorieuses*, pp. 83-311.
- 89 Morin, "Archives du Saint-Siège," p. 154.
- 90 Ignace de Paris to Propaganda, [1656], SOCG 261.
- 91 [Candide], "Letter of Father Ignace," The same document is in *Candide, Pages glorieuses*, pp. 305-311.
- 92 The following is one of the worst examples. P. 202, note 3, reads as follows:
 "Tandem aliquando post longam satis et fastidiosam nimis expectationem advenit ad nos P. Archangelus de Fossé qui novos ordines a S.C. editos pro continuandis missionibus detulit. Video cum gaudio me obtinuisse quae instanter petieram omnimoda inquam absolutionem a prefectura missionum transmissa PP. Provincialibus et ideo muneris mei esse existimavi... gratias agere.
 "Quoad alia, ac praecipue quoad P. Archangelum adjunctum P. provinciali plura dicenda occurrunt sed parco memor causae, memor temporum dicam tantum praeter intentionem et expectationem nostram hoc factum ... et nescio quomodo S. Cni in mentem venerit illud statuere et P. Archangelo illud acceptare. Deprecor Altissimum ut omnia dirigantur in spe contra spem."
 [See Appendix A for translation.] *Arch. Prop. Lett. Ant.*, 26 janvier 1640, vol. 139, f. 48".
- What follows is the same text in its original form:
- "Tandem aliquando post longam satis et fastidiosam nimis expectationem advenit ad nos P. Archangelus de Fossé, qui novos ordines a Sacra Congregatione editos pro continuandis missionibus ad nos detulit, per quos (inter alia) et prout sonant vestrae ad me directae litterae video cum gaudio me obtinuisse, quae instanter petieram, omnimodam inquam absolutionem a praefectura missionum transmissa patribus provincialibus provinciarum, et ideo muneris mei esse existimavi (alias sceleris merito argueret ut ingratus) gratias agere sicut per praesentes ago et Sacrae Congregationi, et vobis.

"Quoad alia a Sacra Congregatione ordinata et decreta, ac praecipue quoad patrem Archangelum adiunctum patri provinciali provinciae parisiensis in administranda praefectura missionum et non aliis provinciis plura dicenda occurrunt, sed parco memor causae, memor temporum, dicam tantum praeter intentionem et expectationem nostram hoc factum esse, et nescio quomodo Sacrae Congregationi in mentem venerit illud statuere et patri Archangelo illud ipsum quantumcumque oblatum acceptare. Quantum ad me attinet deprecor Altissimum ut omnia ad maiorem Sui gloriam dirigantur in spe contra spem." [See Appendix A for translation.] (Léonard de La Tour to Francesco Ingoli, Paris, 26 Jan. 1640, Archives of the Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide," SOCG, vol. 139, f. 80r)."

- 93 John M. Lenhart, "The Capuchins in Acadia and Northern Maine (1632-1655)," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, XXVII, 3 (September 1916), pp. 191-229; 4 (December 1916), pp. 300-327; XXVIII, 1 (March 1917), pp. 47-63; 2 (June 1917), p. 184; Lenhart, "An Important Chapter in American Church History (1625-1650)," *Catholic Historical Review*, VIII, 4 (January 1929), pp. 500-524; Lenhart, "The Capuchin Prefecture of New England (1630-1656)," *Franciscan Studies*, new ser., III, 1 (March 1943), pp. 21-46; 2 (June 1943), pp. 180-195; 3 (September 1943), pp. 306-313. The first of these three articles uses Propaganda material via Rocco, *Storia delle missioni*. The second and the third articles draw from the same documents, consulted in the archives of Propaganda, which are translated into English in "Important Chapter" and left in the original language in "Capuchin Prefecture."
- 94 See Luca Codignola, "L'America del Nord nei documenti dell'archivio della Sacra Congregazione 'de Propaganda Fide' (1754-1784)," in Giorgio Spini et al., eds., *Italia e America dal Settecento all'età dell'imperialismo*, Venice: Marsilio Editori, 1976, pp. 128-129.
- 95 See id., p. 140.
- 96 Lenhart's definition of *Pages glorieuses* is "[a] standard work" (Lenhart, "Capuchin Prefecture," p. 44).
- 97 He had only one citation from Congressi, America Centrale (Lenhart, "Important Chapter," p. 506).
- 98 According to Lenhart, Simon Stock, in his letter of 22 April 1626, wrote that he had "only the means to reach Genoa" (Lenhart, "Capuchin Prefecture," pp. 23, 181). The original, however, reads: "[D]ove es più persecutione che qua et difficultà di fare frutto non può andare, si non a Geneva, et andero là, si mi darranno li mezzi necessari per fare frutto" [See Appendix A for translation.] (Simon Stock to [Propaganda], London, 22 Apr. 1626, SOCG 28). The town where Stock wanted to go was then Geneva, the cradle of Calvinism, and not Genoa, which does not make any sense at all. Furthermore, according to Lenhart George Calvert went to Newfoundland in 1625 and from the island sent back a report (Lenhart, "Capuchin Prefecture," p. 24). But Lord Baltimore went to his colony in Avalon in 1627 for the first time, and the 1625 report had been written by his governor, Sir Arthur Aston (Stock to [Propaganda], Chelsea, 30 Oct. 1625, SOCG 32). In another document, Lenhart read a strange "Hulzi" (Lenhart, "Capuchin Prefecture," p. 192). He should have read "nu. 31" -- a cross reference with item no. 31 of the General Congregation of 12 January 1629 (Stock to [Propaganda], London, 28 July 1628, SOCG 48). Inaccuracies and errors of this kind are unfortunately quite common.
- 99 Claude Vogel, *The Capuchins in French Louisiana (1722-1766)*, Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America, 1928.

- 100 Odoric-Marie Jouve, "Le Père Joseph Leclerc du Tremblay, Capucin, et les missions de la Nouvelle-France (1632-1633)," *Revue d'histoire des Missions. Études missionnaires*, XVI, 2 (juin 1939), pp. 209-232. The same article was published in *Bulletin des recherches historiques*, XLV, 5 (May 1939), pp. 129-143; 6 (June 1939), pp. 164-177.
- 101 Godefroy de Paris, "Notes et documents pour servir à l'histoire du Père Pacifique de Provins," *Études franciscaines*, XLV (1933), pp. 348-357, 439-455, 569-586; XLVI (1934), pp. 194-217, 469-491; Godefroy, "Un grand missionnaire oublié. Le P. Pacifique de Provins, capucin," *Collectanea Franciscana*, IV (1934), pp. 363-380, 522-545; V (1935), pp. 213-240, 571-591; Pacifique de Provins, *Le voyage de Perse et Brève relation du voyage de l'Amérique*, ed. by Godefroy de Paris and Hilaire de Wingene, Assisi: Collegio S. Lorenzo da Brindisi dei Fr. Minori Cappuccini, 1939.
- 102 Lenhart, "Who kept the Franciscan Recollets out of Canada in 1632?," *Franciscan Studies*, new ser., V, 3 (September 1945), pp. 277-300 (partially based on Propaganda documents).
- 103 Campeau is editing the *Monumenta Novae Franciae* for the Society of Jesus. In the two volumes appeared to date, the difficult relationship between the Jesuits and Propaganda is touched upon. See Campeau, ed., *Monumenta Novae Franciae*, I: *La première mission d'Acadie (1602-1616)*, 1967; II: *Établissement à Québec (1616-1634)*, 1979, both printed in Rome: Monumenta Hist. Soc. Jesu, and Quebec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval. Two documents from Acta (II, pp. 87, 279) and one from SOCG (II, p. 89).
- 104 Jean Delanglez, *The French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana (1700-1763)*, Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America, 1928.
- 105 August Schmidlin, "Projekt eines Nordamerik. Missionswegs nach China in der Frühzeit der Propaganda (ver 300 Jahren)," *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, XV, 3 (1925), pp. 147-149.
- 106 Raymond J. Lahey, "The Role of Religion in Lord Baltimore's Colonial Enterprise," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, LXXII, 4 (Winter 1974), pp. 492-451; Lahey, "Avalon: Lord Baltimore's Colony in Newfoundland," in G.M. Story, ed., *Early European Settlement and Exploitation in Atlantic Canada. Selected Papers*, St. John's, Nfld.: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1982, pp. 115-137.
- 107 John D. Krugler, "'With promise of Liberty in Religion': The Catholic Lords Baltimore and Toleration in Seventeenth-Century Maryland 1634-1692," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, LXXIX, 1 (Spring 1984), pp. 21-43.
- 108 Codignola, *The Coldest Harbour of the Land. Simon Stock and Lord Baltimore's Colony in Newfoundland, 1621-1649*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988 (1st Italian ed., 1982). See also "Notizie dal Nuovo Mondo. Propaganda Fide e il Nord America, 1622-1630," in Codignola, ed., *Canadiana. Problemi di storia canadese*, Venice: Marsilio Editori, 1983, pp. 32-44. A thesis on Stock's activities relating to North America was also defended at the Università di Pisa (Antonella Signorini, "Un carmelitano scalzo e l'America, 1623-1636. Una selezione dalle lettere di Simon Stock, nell'archivio della Sacra Congregazione 'de Propaganda Fide'," unpublished thesis, Università di Pisa [1980]).
- 109 O'Neill, "North American Beginnings"; O'Neill, "United States"; O'Neill, *Church and State*.
- 110 Vogel, *Capuchins in French Louisiana*.

- 111 Delanglez, *French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana*.
- 112 Vogel by his confrère Antonine Wilmer (Vogel, *Capuchins in French Louisiana*, pp. xi-xii), Delanglez by the Jesuit E. Mattern (Delanglez, *French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana*, p. iv).
- 113 Codignola, "America del Nord."
- 114 Isabella Bandini, "François Sorbier de Villars (1720-1788). Il suo ruolo di intermediario tra la chiesa canadese e Roma, e le sue lettere conservate nell'archivio di Propaganda," unpublished thesis, Università di Pisa (1984); Isabella Santini, "Le relazioni tra il Canada e la Santa Sede nella corrispondenza di Pierre de La Rue, abbé de L'Isle-Dieu, vicario generale della diocesi di Quebec (1760-1776)," unpublished thesis, Università di Pisa (1984).
- 115 Fish, ed., "Documents Relative to the Adjustment of the Roman Catholic Organization in the United States to the Conditions of National Independence, 1783-1789," *American Historical Review*, XV, 5 (July 1910), pp. 800-829.
- 116 Shea, *Life and Times of Carroll*, pp. 204-248.
- 117 Fish warns the reader: "The typewritten copies of most of these letters reached me after leaving Rome, and I was consequently unable to collate them with the originals, and I have refrained from making any change save in one or two cases where it was obvious that the wrong letter had been struck." (Fish, ed., "Documents," p. 801).
- 118 Devitt, ed., "Propaganda Documents," pp. 185-236.
- 119 Id., p. 186.
- 120 Guilday, "Appointment of Father John Carroll as Prefect-Apostolic (1783-1785)," *Catholic Historical Review*, VI, 2 (July 1920), pp. 204-248.
- 121 Guilday, *The Life and Times of John Carroll Archbishop of Baltimore (1735-1815)*, New York: The Encyclopedia Press, 1922.
- 122 Id., p. 837.
- 123 Thomas O'Brien Hanley, ed., *The John Carroll Papers*, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1976, 3 vols.
- 124 See id., I, pp. 68, 182, 267, 280, 287, 326, 449, 468, 470; II, pp. 118, 256, 260, 265, 273, 277, 284, 288.
- 125 Microfilms of the documents edited by Hanley are preserved at the Catholic University of America in Washington (id., I, p. xxxi).

V. OTHER ROMAN ARCHIVES AND LIBRARIES

Until now, I have dealt specifically with the archives of Propaganda. Yet, as everybody knows, they are not the only Roman archives nor the only ones in which documents of interest for North America in the years 1622-1799 could be found. The extensive investigations in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano (Vatican Secret Archives) and in the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (as we shall see later), coupled with the findings of the *Calendar*, have already discovered hundreds of documents, most of them unavailable elsewhere and therefore unknown to historians, that are of great significance for the history of North America as a whole. David Beers Quinn, the foremost authority on sixteenth-century British America, stated that the Roman archives have been far less exploited by historians than those of London, Paris and Seville. According to Quinn, "The major additions to be made will come from Rome, from the Jesuit and Vatican archives [...]. The potential additions to our knowledge of the missions and of the whole connection of the Roman Catholic Church [with North America] are very great, and in the end these associations can be documented from such sources on a wholly new level of completeness."

Prior to 1622, i.e., prior to the establishment of the Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide," the documents one is likely to find in Roman archives are occasional as to their origin. The Cantino map of 1502 was found by sheer chance in a pork butcher's shop in Modena.² Gerolamo da Verrazzano's 1529 map of the east coast of North America is now in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vatican Library).³ In Bologna, once with Modena part of the Papal States, there is one of the three extant copies of Samuel de Champlain's *Brief Discours* of 1601, the second copy being at the Archivio di Stato of Turin and the third (the more famous one, albeit not the earliest) in the John Carter Brown Library in Providence, Rhode Island.⁴ Among the many hundreds of items, Carl Russell Fish lists a document relating to a 1611 voyage to China by way of Nova Zembla where New France is mentioned, possibly a clue to one of Henry Hudson's voyages of discovery.⁵ They are all extraordinary documents, and yet occasional in nature, the result more of happy encounters with the unexpected rather than of planned research.

After 1622, this pattern continues to apply to most Roman repositories, with the notable exceptions of, as we shall see, the Vatican Secret Archives, the archives of the religious orders and, of course, Propaganda.

I. ARCHIVIO SEGRETO VATICANO

In Rome there are many archives and many libraries. The distinction between archives and libraries does not always correspond with modern usage. Some libraries preserve many manuscripts, while other archives contain many printed books, pamphlets or periodical literature. In general, however, a distinction must be made between the two major repositories, the Archivio Segreto Vaticano and Propaganda, and all others. As a rule, documents preserved in the Vatican Secret Archives and Propaganda tend to be homogeneous as to their origin, as they stem directly from the working apparatus of the Holy See. Most documents relating to the work of the nuncio in France, for example, are found either in the Vatican Secret Archives (European matters in general) or in Propaganda (missionary matters), since the nuncio maintained a weekly correspondence with both the secretary of state and the high officials of the Congregation. We shall deal later with the archives of the religious orders, but they too stem directly from the activities of the orders, and the documents they preserve tend not to be occasional.

In itself, the Vatican Secret Archives is a collection of a number of archives. It contains, for example, the archives formed as a result of the activities of various offices and institutions of the Holy See -- the Sacred Congregation of the Rites, the Sacred Congregation of the Council, the Sacred

Aside from the Vatican Secret Archives and Propaganda, Rome has a number of archives and libraries that only in comparison with the above two will we refer to as "minor." The documents they preserve, albeit important, are in fact less numerous and less homogeneous in their origins. The Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vatican Library) the largest of the "minor" repositories, contains a number of series that by and large correspond directly to bequests received from various sources -- popes, cardinals, Holy See officials in general (Fondo Barberini, Fondo Boncompagni-Ludovisi, Fondo Borgia, Fondo Chigi, Fondo Ottoboni, Fondo Urbinate, Fondo Vaticano). After Fish,¹⁰ they are known to contain documents relating to Avalon in Newfoundland and New France (Fondo Ottoboni), New France (Urbinate), Louisiana (Vaticano), and the Capuchins in Acadia (Barberini).¹¹ Owing to the importance of these collections, the Vatican Library is probably the one among the various "minor" repositories that is likely to contain the most interesting material for the history of North America.

2. BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA

Because of the limited research time available, the two researchers were not able to carry out an exhaustive survey of the above series. Instead, they selected the series to be examined on the basis of references found in scholarly studies or even research notes, in particular those of Morin. This second calendar is, however, a very important starting point for further research in the Vatican Secret Archives.

- Processus Datariae
- Segreteria Apostolica, Epistolae ad Principes
- Segreteria Apostolica, Segreteria dei Brevi
- Segreteria di Stato, Lettere di Principi
- Segreteria di Stato, Lettere di Vescovi
- Fondo (Archivio) Consistoriale, Acta Camerarii
- Fondo (Archivio) Consistoriale, Processus Consistoriales
- Sacra Congregatio Consistorialis, Acta Congregationis Consistorialis
- Sacra Congregatio Consistorialis, Congregationis Consistoriales
- Sacra Congregatio Consistorialis, Positiones Congreg. Em. Cap. Ordinum
- Sacra Congregatio Consistorialis, Praeconia et Propositiones
- Acta Sacrae Congregationis super Disciplina Regularium.

Benoit and Scardellato also prepared an additional calendar of selected documents from various documents of the Vatican Secret Archives.⁹ These series are as follows:

Until fairly recently, the only clue to the importance of the Vatican Secret Archives were Fish's *Guide* and Conrad Morin's thesis.⁷ However, two Canadian researchers working from September 1982 to July 1984 in Rome prepared a very important calendar of Vatican documents dealing with North America in the years 1600 to 1799.⁸ In their comprehensive survey of 727 volumes or bundles of the series Francia (formerly Nunziatura di Francia) of the archives of the Secretary of State, Monique Benoit and Gabriele Scardellato were able to study in great detail the correspondence (in the broader sense of the term) between the nuncio in Paris and the secretary of state. Their calendar consists of 1,050 entries, an introduction, a list of nuncios and secretaries of state, the list of all volumes and bundles consulted, and a comprehensive index. Given the oftentimes confused organization of material in Francia, Benoit and Scardellato chose to survey its contents topographically, from vol. 53 to vol. 662. Calendar entries also follow this numerical, as opposed to chronological, sequence.

that, as a rule, should be in the archives of Propaganda (Fondo Missioni).⁶ (Fondo Albani, Fondo Borghese, Fondo Carpegna), besides documents directly dealing with the missions (Fondo Francesciani), or documents that were once filed by Holy See officials among their private papers, relationship between the Holy See and the various religious orders (Fondo Gesuiti, Fondo Cappuccini, Congregation of the Consistory, the Holy Office, etc. It also contains documents that derive from the

The Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele II is the national library of Italy. It was established by incorporating the series preserved in the suppressed Roman congregations at the time of the Italian unification. Of the five series into which the manuscript division is divided, only one does not seem to have any material pertaining to North America (Fondo Orientale). The four of interest are Fondo Vittorio Emanuele, Fondo Gesuiti, Fondo Sessoriano and Fondi Minori. The Fondo Gesuiti has many

7. BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE VITTORIO EMANUELE II

The Archivio di Stato di Roma is the general repository for the Papal States prior to their merging with Italy in 1870. Even though it is Italian in scope, it contains many documents of interest for the history of the missions and their administrative problems. A document, for example, was found that deals with the Sulpician Seminary of Montreal (Archivio Paesi Stranieri, secc. XVII-XVIII, b. 28, Inghilterra, anni 1510-1830).¹⁵

6. ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI ROMA

The Biblioteca dell'Accademia dei Lincei e Corsiniana was initially the private library of the Corsini family and in particular of Lorenzo Corsini, then Pope Clement XII (1730-1740). In 1883 it was donated to the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, which merged its own library with the former Biblioteca Corsiniana. The library is known to contain a dossier of the Holy Office dealing with the state of the Catholic Church in Canada after the Conquest (ms 2555/1), a good number of documents dealing with the French Nunciature in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a dossier on Propaganda missionaries in England (ms 244), and documents on the French Recollers in the eighteenth century (ms 713, 912), about whom little is available elsewhere.¹⁴

5. BIBLIOTECA DELL'ACCADEMIA DEI LINCEI E CORSINIANA

The Biblioteca Vallicelliana (Vallicelliana Library), established in the second half of the sixteenth century by St. Filippo Neri, is considered of particular relevance for ecclesiastical history. The library seems to be very rich in general reports on world affairs, particularly on France and England. A number of documents seem likely to contain information on North America (ms G 47, K 13, K 102, K 104, M 13-14, R 55, S 38-45).¹³

4. BIBLIOTECA VALLICELLIANA

The Biblioteca Casanatense (Casanatense Library) was originally the personal library of cardinal Girolamo Casanate (1620-1700), sometime Secretary of Propaganda (1666-1668). A preliminary survey shows, for example, that the library contains five letters from Agostino Favorti, a high official of the Roman curia, to François de Laval, vicar apostolic in Canada, dated 1671-1675 (ms 367); an undated manuscript map of North America, the work of Giovanni Battista Nicolosi (ms 675); a manuscript history of the Jesuits in America by Vincenzo Maria Coronelli, General of the Franciscan Conventuals in 1701-1707 (ms 648); and a printed dossier on the Seven Years' War, with specific reference to North America (ms 5,556).¹²

3. BIBLIOTECA CASANATENSE

documents relating to the missions of the Society of Jesus, while the Fondo Sessoriano has a dossier on the Quebec church at the beginning of the eighteenth century (ms 230).¹⁶

8. ARCHIVES OF THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS

Most religious orders keep their general archives in Rome. Their archives tend to be homogeneous, in that they usually stem from the order's working apparatus, its administration and its bureaucracy. As far as North America is concerned, their archives must be approached selectively, according to the time periods in which the orders were active in certain areas of North America. The Archivio Generale dell'Ordine dei Carmelitani Scalzi (Discalced Carmelite General Archives), for example, contains material relating to the early history of Newfoundland,¹⁷ and is likely to contain documents on the endeavours of the order in Louisiana at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The Archivio Generale dei Frati Minori Cappuccini (Capuchin Archives), though never surveyed, is likely to preserve documents relating to Acadia in the first half of the seventeenth century, where the Capuchins operated extensively. The Spiritans were very active in eighteenth-century Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Saint-Pierre and Miquelon, and that is the period one must look for in their Archivio Generale dei Padri dello Spirito Santo (Spiritian General Archives).

The Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (Jesuit Roman Archives) is the most important repository that was originated by a religious order, if only on account of the importance of the Society of Jesus in the early history of North America. Among the various series that should be consulted,¹⁸ the most important are vols. 109 and 110 of Fondo Gallia, and the Catalogi Breves. The Jesuit Archives are currently being examined by two Canadian scholars, Lucien Campeau and Robert Toupin, the former dealing with the seventeenth century, the latter with the eighteenth century. Their aim is to publish in their entirety (at least for the seventeenth century) documents relating to the history of the Society of Jesus in Canada that are scattered among many repositories around the world, of which ARSI is only one. Judging from the quality of the three volumes by Campeau that have appeared in print to date, dealing with the years 1602-1637,¹⁹ one could only hope that the following volumes of the series will soon be made available, and the high standard of scholarship set by the first three volumes be indeed maintained.²⁰

- 1 David Beers Quinn, "Documenting Canada's Early White History," *Archivaria*, 7 (1978), p. 90. Quinn wrote from a Canadian perspective, but the scope of his article is clearly North American. See also James Lambert, "Toward a Religious Archives Programme for the Public Archives of Canada," *Archivaria*, 3 (Winter 1976-77), pp. 40-56.
- 2 William P. Cumming, Raleigh A. Skelton and David B. Quinn, *The Discovery of America*, London: Elek, 1971, p. 56.
- 3 Jacques Habert, *La Vie et les Voyages de Jean de Verrazane*, Ottawa: Le Cercle du Livre de France, 1964, pp. 384-385.
- 4 [Samuel de Champlain], "Brief Discovers [...] aux Indes Occidentales," [1601], in Henry Percival Biggar, ed., *The Works of Samuel de Champlain*, Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1: 1922, pp. 1-80. Biggar's version is taken from the Providence copy. Whether the Brief Discovers was authored by Champlain is still being debated.
- 5 Carl Russell Fish, *Guide to the Material for American History in Roman and Other Italian Archives*, Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution, 1911, p. 115.
- 6 Martino Giusti, *L'Archivio Segreto Vaticano*, Vatican City, 1975.
- 7 Fish, *Guide*, pp. 20-100; Conrad Morin, "Le Saint-Siège et l'établissement de l'Église au Canada sous le régime français d'après les archives romaines. L'affiliation au Saint-Siège ou la mission apostolique (1615-1658)," unpublished thesis, Université Gregoriana (1942), pp. x-xiv.
- 8 Monique Benoit and Gabrièle Scardellato, *A Calendar of Documents of North American Interest in the Series Francia, Archives of the Secretary of State of the Holy See, Archivio Segreto Vaticano*, Ottawa: National Archives of Canada and St. Paul's University, [1985]. Microfiche edition available.
- 9 Monique Benoit and Gabrièle Scardellato, *A Calendar of Documents of North American Interest from Various Series and Sub-Series of the Archivio Segreto Vaticano*, Ottawa, National Archives of Canada and St. Paul's University [1985], microfiche edition available.
- 10 Fish, *Guide*, pp. 101-118.
- 11 Jeanne Bignami Odier, *La Bibliothèque Vaticane de Sixte IV à Pie XI. Recherches sur l'histoire des collections de manuscrits*, Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1973; Bignami Odier, "Guide au Département des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Vatican," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 51 (1934), pp. 205-239.
- 12 This writer is currently examining the sources for the history of North America in the Casanatense Library. To date, items 1 to 2,116 (the library preserves 6,291 manuscripts) have been examined. See G.D. Anagni and C. de Ferrari, *Index Manuscriptorum*, 1844, 3 vols.; A. Moricca Caputi, *Inventario (topografico) manoscritti*, 1915, 2 vols.; E. Monei et al., *Catalogo dei manoscritti della Biblioteca Casanatense*, Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1949-1978, 6 vols.

- 13 *Index codicum manuscriptorum*, 2 vols.; *Index codicum manuscriptorum*, Appendix, 1887-1889, 3 vols.; *Index materialium-praeceptorum codicum manuscriptorum graecorum et latinorum Bibliothecae Vallisellanae ordine alphabetico depositus*, 1749; *I manoscritti di Costantinò Corisintì nella Biblioteca della R. Società di Storia Patria*, 1908.
- 14 A. Arrigoni et al., *Indice dei libri manoscritti che si conservano nella Libreria dell'Ecc.ma Casa Corsini*, 1738-1958, 3 vols.; *Inventario dei manoscritti corsiniani*, 2 vols.
- 15 Armando Lodolini, *L'Archivio di Stato di Roma. Epitome di una guida degli archivi dell'amministrazione centrale dello Stato Pontificio*, Rome: Istituto di Studi Romani, 1960.
- 16 Tullio Tenori, "I manoscritti di interesse americanistico esistenti nelle Biblioteche ed archivi italiani. I manoscritti della Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma," *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti della Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche*, ser. VIII, vol. VIII, 5-6 (1953), pp. 263-277.
- 17 See Luca Codignola, *The Coldest Harbour of the Land: Simon Stock and Lord Baltimore's Colony in Newfoundland, 1621-1649*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988, p. 193 (1st Italian edition: 1982).
- 18 See the list used by Lucien Campeau in the volumes described in note 19 (I: p. 46*; II, p. 38*).
- 19 Lucien Campeau, ed., *Monumenta Novae Franciae*, I: *La première mission d'Acadie* (1602-1616), 1967; II: *Etablissement à Québec* (1616-1634), 1979; III: *Fondation de la mission huronne* (1635-1637), 1987, all Rome: Monumenta Hist. Soc. Jesu - Quebec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval.
- 20 It might be worth noting that all the papers of Barthélemy Vimont, François-Joseph Le Mercier, Jérôme Lalemant and Paul Ragueneau have been made available in the following dissertations: Ferdinand G. Pierotti, "I gesuiti in Nuova Francia (1639-1658). Le lettere del padre Barthélemy Vimont conservate nell'Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu," unpublished thesis, Università di Pisa (1980); Stefania Pierotti Gigli, "I gesuiti in Nuova Francia (1635-1672). Le lettere del padre François-Joseph Le Mercier conservate nell'Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu," unpublished thesis, Università di Pisa (1983). Sandra Boti, "I gesuiti in Nuova Francia (1638-1671). L'esperienza canadese di padre Jérôme Lalemant e le sue lettere conservate a Roma nell'Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu," unpublished thesis, Università di Pisa (1987); Angela Recce, "I gesuiti in Nuova Francia (1641-1642). L'esperienza canadese di padre Paul Ragueneau e le sue lettere conservate a Roma nell'Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu," unpublished thesis, Università di Pisa (1987). See also Fabio Simoncini, "I gesuiti in Nuova Francia 1710-1717. Ordimento interno e organizzazione scolastica dai documenti dell'Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu," unpublished thesis, Università di Pisa (1980).

VI. METHODS EMPLOYED IN THE PREPARATION OF THE CALENDAR

The *Calendar* contains descriptions of 2,441 documents conserved in different series of the Propaganda Fide archives.¹ In all, 1,932 archival volumes were examined.² Entries summarize the content of all the documents with respect to facts and individuals in French and British North America between 1622 and 1799. We will now discuss the geographical and chronological scope of the *Calendar*.

As to geography, since there is no practical distinction in North America between French and British territories until the second half of the eighteenth century, both are accounted for. This editor has then included the whole of what is now Canada, the eastern part of what is now the United States, particularly Louisiana, the area then called Ohio and Mississippi, and the great American West, at that period almost exclusively in the hands of the French. Conversely, documents dealing with the area of the United States that from 1622 to 1799 was under Spanish rule are omitted, since they were treated by the Holy See as the northernmost portion of South and Central (i.e., Spanish) America. Florida as such was then excluded from the *Calendar*.³ Louisiana was included because, for the whole of the period in question, it presented something of a political anomaly.

Chronologically speaking, 1622 is the only logical starting point, since it was the year in which Propaganda was established. On the other hand, 1799 represents quite simply the end of the eighteenth century, and the beginning of another era for the Catholic church in Europe, which originated from the disruption of the Napoleonic period.⁴

All documents of interest to North America that pre-date 1622 were calendared; they were very few.⁵ Conversely, a large number of documents were found that are dated after 1800. With very few exceptions,⁶ they were not inventoried and were left for a new calendar devoted to the period 1800 and after. When the same archival volume was found to contain documents dated 1799 and before, or 1800 and after, only the former were calendared.

This editor has tried to give the widest possible scope to his work, and to bear in mind the many facets of the research and the variety of uses to which it might be put. He has therefore not restricted himself only to those documents mentioning North America (however briefly) or having a direct bearing on the history of North America, but has also taken into consideration documents that do not refer specifically to America. His view encompasses those that may have in some way influenced the American policy of Propaganda (for example, the many documents regarding the Capuchins in the first half of the seventeenth century), which indicate the depth of knowledge of American affairs on the part of Propaganda officials (for example, the different subdivisions of the world among the various cardinals of Propaganda, where North America was notably absent), and that demonstrate the possibility of errors and mistaken geographical attributions (for example, the confusion between America and Africa, the West Indies and the East Indies, Armenia and America, Newfoundland and the Holy Land).⁷

Obviously there can be no objective limit to research, unless we undertake an analysis of the entire body of Propaganda's documentation. For example, the problems arising between the Jesuits and Propaganda in China had, in their turn, a decided influence upon the relations between the Jesuits and Propaganda in North America. Nothing is, ultimately, beyond the scope of this enquiry. As no such objective criterion can exist, and such an extension is clearly impracticable, the final choice and responsibility must lie with the editor. Any error should, however, be on the side of excess, and any omission must be put down to the mistakes to which any archival research is open.

In order to be as inclusive as possible, this editor has chosen not to extrapolate individual documents dealing with North America from their dossiers, but to calendar all dossiers in their entirety. In order to form a dossier, or showing evidence of being used as such by Propaganda officials. In a number of cases, this is confirmed by references to the same "Congregazione Generale" (General Congregation), to enclosures, translations, etc. Documents that were originally part of the same dossier may now be scattered among various series in the archives of Propaganda. To preserve the unity of individual dossiers, this editor has kept them intact in all parts, thus cataloguing items not in themselves concerned with North America. In two cases, this proved to be quite cumbersome because of the disproportion between American and non-American matters. In other cases, documents that in themselves do not pertain to North America have been calendared, because they were cross-referenced with documents of other series that do deal with North America.

The same methods and problems apply to the treatment of individuals. Anyone having anything to do with the history of French and British North America between 1622 and 1799 has been included in the *Calendar*. In the case of individuals, however, some serious problems arose. How to consider an individual during his or her previous non-American life? Generally, the criterion followed was that of calendaring all the documents that could have direct bearing on the American experience of the individual in question. For example, Joseph de Paris's refusal to grant Pacifique de Provens permission to return to the missions in the Orient was considered an objective factor behind Pacifique's subsequent project of a new mission in Acadia. Yet Pacifique's documents relating to his activity in the Orient were not included in the *Calendar*.

In some cases, the importance of an individual who lived principally in North America has led this editor to include entries concerning documentary material that does not strictly relate to that area. Examples are François de Laval's presence at François Pallu's consecration as bishop, and Louis Hennepin's European life after his American explorations. There is then the problem of individuals who had continual dealings with North America but never set foot on the continent (for example, Simon Stock and Pierre de La Rue, Abbé de L'Isle-Dieu), or of those who were thought to be in North America, but were in fact elsewhere (for example, Paolo Moretti), or of those who tried to go but appear never to have gotten there (for example, Paolo Moretti), or of those who were thought to be in North America, *Calendar*, but only when the documents in question were somewhat related to North America. For example, neither Stock's letters dealing exclusively with England, nor L'Isle-Dieu's reports dealing exclusively with the West Indies, were calendared.

All names of persons appear in the entries in their modern standard form by their family names only. If there is room for confusion, initials or full first names are also used. Full names, with additional information mainly referring to the period covered by the documents, are to be found in the index. Original spellings are maintained only in quotations, or when the individual was not clearly recognizable to this editor. The same treatment applies to geographical names, which are always given in their modern standard form in their original language (Saint-Malo, not St. Malo), unless modern usage requires its English translation (Padua, not Padova).

An effort has been made to identify individuals, facts, places and dates when they are not in the original documents, which is unfortunately most often the case. Obviously, this was not always possible. Everything between square brackets belongs to the editor, and everything else is in the original document.

It now seems necessary to explain why some series and sub-series were selected for this *Calendar*, while others were excluded. In the case of some series, whose volumes are in simple chronological sequence (Acta, SOCG, Udienze, Lettere), volumes were simply examined from the beginning until the year 1799. Some other series (Fondo Vienna, Informazioni, Istruzioni, Miscellanea

Diverse, Miscellanea Generali, Miscellanea Varie, Decreti, Brevi e bolle, Congregazioni Particolari) were examined completely, although only documents dated 1799 or before were calendared.

The Congressi series, divided as it is into many sub-series, requires special consideration. Apart from the fact that volumes were investigated only as far as documents dated 1799 or before were concerned, no attempt was made to cover the whole series and, consequently, all sub-series. A random investigation into the sub-series dealing with countries with no known relations with North America showed that the chance of finding documents of interest in such sub-series (as those dealing with Ethiopia, Muscovy, Hungary, China, etc.) is almost non-existent. The editor then proceeded in his investigation according to a scheme that took into account the following categories of sub-series and volumes:

- those clearly dealing with America (America Settentrionale, America Centrale, America Meridionale, America Antille)
- those dealing with countries with known American connections (Anglia, Francia, Irlanda, Belgio Olanda, Elvezia Rezia Savoia Piemonte, Spagna Portogallo Gibilterra)
- those dealing with general matters (Missioni, Cardinali, Segretari, Protonotari, Consultori, Ministri)
- all miscellaneous volumes relating to the above sub-series.

The following is the list of Congressi sub-series and volumes that were investigated and in which documents of interest to the *Calendar* were found:¹⁰

- America Settentrionale, vols. 1-2
- America Centrale, vols. 1-3
- *America Centrale, Miscellanea, vols. 1-5
- America Meridionale, vols. 1-4
- America Antille, vols. 1-3
- Anglia, vols. 1-5
- *Anglia, Miscellanea, vols. 1-6
- Francia, vols. 1-2
- Irlanda, vols. 1-17
- Missioni, vols. 1-7
- *Missioni, Miscellanea, vols. 1-26
- Sacra Congregazione, vols. 1-3

The following is the list of Congressi sub-series and volumes where findings were deemed to be possible, but no documents were actually found:

- *Francia, Miscellanea, vol. 1
- Belgio Olanda, vols. 1-16
- *Belgio Olanda, Miscellanea, vols. 1-13
- Elvezia Rezia Savoia Piemonte, vols. 1-8
- *Elvezia Rezia Savoia Piemonte, Miscellanea, vols. 1-2
- Spagna Portogallo Gibilterra, vol. 1
- *Cardinali, Segretari, Protonotari, Consultari, vols. 1-3
- *Cardinali, Segretari, Protonotari, Consultori, Miscellanea, vols. 1-2
- *Ministri, vols. 1-2
- *Ministri, Miscellanea, vol. 1.

Some series were not examined, because, on the basis of Metzler's *Inventory*¹¹ and of the experience gained during the preparation of the *Calendar*, findings were not deemed to be possible. They are as follows:

- Congregatio Particularis de rebus Sinarum et Indiarum Orientalium;
- Congregatio super Correptione Librorum Ecclesiae Orientalis;
- Atti della Commissione per la revisione delle Regole;
- Sinodi Diocesani;

- Fondo Spiga;
 - Fondo Consalvi;
 - Regestum Facultatum;
 - Collezione d'Istruzioni, Circolari e Decreti a Stampa.
- For a complete and exhaustive explanation of the contents of the above series, one should consult Metzler's *Inventory*.¹²

NOTES

- 1 Here is a listing of the number of documents found for the following series: Acta, 235; SOCG, 727; Varia, 429; Lettere, 461; Congressi, 589.
- 2 There are 168 volumes of the Acta series, 908 of SOCG, 74 of Fondo Vienna, 17 of Informazioni, 8 of Istruzioni, 126 of Miscellanea Diverse, 33 of Miscellanea Generale, 56 of Miscellanea Varie, 37 of Udienze, 13 of Decreti, 13 of Brevi e bolle, 162 of Congregazioni Particolari, 278 of Lettere, 129 of Congressi.
- 3 References to Spanish North America are found in Finbar Kennelly, ed., *United States Documents in the Propaganda Fide Archives. A Calendar, First Series*, vols. 1-7, and *Index to vols. 1-7*, Washington, DC: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1966-1981. As far as the scope of the *Calendar* is concerned, one may say that everything that is in Kennelly is also in the *Calendar*, but not vice versa.
- 4 See Owen Chadwick, *The Popes and European Revolution*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981.
- 5 A report on dominant religion all over the world, [Rome, 16th century], C 526; Propaganda's internal memorandum, [Rome, ?1610-1], Varia 183; [Lorenzo de Paoli] to Paul V, [Rome, ?1610-1], Varia 184; Guido Benivoglio to Joseph Le Caron, Paris, 20 March 1618, SOCG 284.
- 6 Propaganda's internal memorandum, [Padua, Nov. 1800], Lettere 461; [Propaganda] to Pius VII, [Rome, after July 1800], C 242; [John Mattingly?] to [Propaganda?], [?London, ?after 1806], C 264; Propaganda's internal memorandum, [Rome, c. 1823], Varia 194.
- 7 For these examples, see Chapter One, note 48; Chapter Three, note 4.
- 8 See François-Louis de Pourroy de Laubertière's request for faculties, which was calendared with similar requests from other bishops (Laubertière to Clement XII, [1739], SOCG 527; and the dossier SOCG 522-527).
- 9 See the dossiers in SOCG 512, 540-575; and SOCG 609-670.
- 10 The sequence of the two following lists is the editor's choice. An asterisk (*) indicates that the complete sub-series was examined.
- 11 Nikolaus Kowalsky and Josef Metzler, *Inventory of the Historical Archives of the Sacred Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples or "de Propaganda Fide"*, New Enlarged Edition, Rome: Pontificia Universitas Urbaniana, 1983.
- 12 Ibidem.

VII. HOW TO USE A STANDARD ENTRY OF THE *CALENDAR*

In the *Calendar*, each entry has a specific number within its series (for example, Acta, 116, SOCG 213, Varia 202, Lettere 51, Congressi 105¹). Also, each series has been numbered: II, Acta; III, SOCG; IV, Varia and Addenda; V, Lettere; VI, Congressi. (Many minor series have been regrouped under IV, Varia.)

For each document, the series and subseries are provided. These are followed by the volume number and, when possible, the year or years the volume covers. In some cases, the time span indicated for a volume corresponds only vaguely to the year or years covered by the records.

The volume number is followed by all folios (or, more rarely, pages) of which the calendared document consists. Blanks are considered part of a document. For example, "ff. 99rv-100rv" means that the document consists of folios 99 and 100. On the other hand, "ff. 109rv, 112rv" means that the document consists of folios 109 and 112, but that folios 110 and 111 belong to another document. In the case of series where no incoming documents are preserved (Acta, Lettere, Decreti, etc.), a document may consist of a portion of a folio only. For example, "ff. 82v-83r" means that the document appears on the verso of folio 82 and on the recto of folio 83, but that the recto of folio 82 and the verso of folio 83 belong to other documents.

The above two kinds of information, i.e., the title of the archival series and the volume number, are the only ones necessary when ordering a particular document in the archives of Propaganda. The sub-series need only be specified in the case of the Congressi series. Folio (or page) numbers are then necessary to locate the document within the selected volume.

Next, the language used in the document is shown. In the case of incoming documents pertaining to North America, most are written in Italian and Latin, although some are in French, Spanish and English. Incoming documents written in a language other than Italian (sometimes even in Latin) were usually translated into Italian by the foreign clergy's agents residing in Rome for circulation among Propaganda officials. Some of these translations are still attached to the original documents. Most of Propaganda's outgoing documents were written in Italian or Latin, although occasionally we find letters in French. Although the core of the document is usually in one language only, often notes were scribbled on the original document or citations were made that were in another language. Sometimes a single entry may consist of up to three different languages.

Each entry contains historical information on the document. This information varies according to the nature of the archival series. In Acta, being a collection of proceedings of the "Congregazioni Generali" (General Congregations), only the place where the meeting was held (invariably Rome) and the date of the meeting are indicated. In Lettere, being registers of copies of letters written by Propaganda officials, dates of outgoing letters are clearly stated. The only notable exception is vol. 275, where days are usually absent. The place of origin is nearly always Rome (though this is seldom openly stated). Letters registered in vols. 276-277, however, were mostly written in Padua or Venice. Dates of both Acta and Lettere, as is the case for all Propaganda's internal or outgoing documents, are given according to the New Style calendar (Calendario Gregoriano). Seldom do Propaganda's letters indicate the name of the person who signed the original, even though this was, most often, the prefect or the secretary of the Congregation.

Entries relating to series of incoming documents (SOCG, Congressi, etc.), show the names of the sender(s) and of the addressee(s), edited according to modern standard usage, usually in the language of the country of origin, followed by a short indication of their capacity at the time when the letter was written. Obviously, not all incoming documents are letters. In the case of books, pamphlets or printed matter in general, their author is given. Entries show the day, month and year in which the

document was written. Documents that have subsequently been certified are sometimes given according to the date of certification, although original dates are given in the subsequent description of the document. Unless otherwise stated, all incoming documents are dated according to the New Style calendar. One must note, however, that information about sender and addressee, place and date of a document, is seldom complete, and that details lacking in the original document have been supplemented by this editor whenever possible.

Each entry also includes a summary of the contents of the document. In the case of Acta, the summary is usually preceded by details about the number of the relating General Congregation, of the item in question (for example, "CG 290/13"), followed by the name of the member of Propaganda to whom the matter was entrusted (for example: "Rel.: Pallotta"). In the case of SOCG or other series containing incoming documents, the summary is preceded by archival indications of the type of document (for example "ALS", or "M", or "PM").²

Additional information is given between brackets only when it offers data that are not in the original document and that this editor considers to be necessary or of particular significance. Whenever a document has too many names, and they cannot be contained in the summary, all names are listed in the remarks following the summary. When the document touches upon matters other than North American, this is indicated at the end of the description.

The summary is followed by a number of additional indications, which may vary according to the series. They are as follows:

MN(s)	Marginal note(s) by Propaganda officials
PF notes	Additional notes or comments on the matter in question by Propaganda officials
PF S	Summary of the contents of the document prepared by Propaganda officials
Df of PF answer	Draft of the reply to be written as it will appear in Lettere. In some cases, the date of the reply may also accompany the draft or simply replace it.
Df of R	Draft of the rescriptum as it will appear in Acta (only in SOCG)
R	Rescriptum (only in Acta)
Re CG 155/1 of 29 Mar. 1632	There is an explicit cross-reference with the CG 155 of 29 March 1632, where the document in question was discussed as item no. 1 of the cardinals' agenda (only in SOCG).
Re PF answer of 1789	There is an explicit cross-reference with the 13 June 1789 date of the reply as it will appear in Lettere.
Bs: 80v, 87r	The verso of folio 80 and the recto of folio 87 are (blanks are considered part of the document).

In the last section of each entry, general details on the documents are given, such as their forming part of a dossier, the existence of enclosures, other copies, translations, erroneous pagination, etc. Cross-references with documents of other series (i.e., with entries of other volumes of this

Calendar) are clearly specified at the end of each entry. They usually consist of references to an incoming document, to the proceedings of the discussions or decisions related to it, and, finally, to the decrees, instructions or replies that originated from it. For example, Richard Challoner, bishop of Debra and coadjutor of the bishop of Prusa, Benjamin Petre, wrote to Propaganda in 1756 from London (SO CG 532). Two summaries prepared by Propaganda officials are extant of that letter, one with additional comments and notes (C 573), and another that is shorter (C 575). We also have a memorandum written by the Congregation's secretary, Nicola Lercari, explaining the case (C 416). We then find the proceedings of the discussion as it took place in the "Congregazione Generale" (General Congregation) of 6 Dec. 1756, with an indication of the Pope's approval of the decision made by the cardinals dated 23 Jan. 1757 (Acta 204). A reply was then written and sent to Petre on 29 Jan. 1757 (Lettere 146).³

NOTES

- 1 Congressi is abbreviated as C.
- 2 For these abbreviations, consult the list "Abbreviations and Symbols."
- 3 Richard Challoner to Propaganda, [London, 1756], SOCG 532; Propaganda's internal memorandum, [Rome, 6 Dec. 1756], C 575; Propaganda's internal memorandum, [Rome 6 Dec. 1756], C 573; [Nicola Lercari] to [Propaganda], [Rome, 6] Dec. 1756, C 416; Proceedings of the General Congregation of 6 Dec. 1757, Acta 204; [Propaganda] to Benjamin Petre, Rome, 29 Jan. 1757, Lettere 146.

APPENDIX A - TRANSLATIONS

Following are English translations of passages in Latin, Italian and French. In some cases a few words originally in English are included to help the reader locate the passage.

p. 3

"The treaty that is about to be concluded between the warring powers of Europe is surely not that important, nor does it have relations with the Apostolic See that would require sending an Appendin. Nevertheless, the nuncio was told "since independence has already been granted by England to the United Provinces of America, [...] it would appear necessary that Our Lord [the Pope] give some thought and attention to the practice and preservation of the Catholic religion in those states."

p. 5

"... the necessary search having been made in the archival records, no document was found indicating that the archpriests of England [...], nor later the apostolic vicars [...] had ever been assigned the task of sending missionaries to the islands or to continental America under English rule, or that of supervising either these or the missions [... and that he had] "never seen any brief or decree regulating the question in this way."

p. 7

Propaganda made it clear that "this Holy Congregation was not in the habit of opposing the superiors of the religions orders, since it had discovered that going against their will made negotiations increasingly difficult."

...had been sent to "...the Canada bordering on New France."

p. 8

...dissolving the Society "peacefully and tranquilly."

p. 9

"Nor can any authority or action fall under the jurisdiction of that cathedral, nor can the clerics of the diocese appoint, much less elect, their bishop." [...] therefore it was an invalid act [...] [and] also a very dangerous precedent."

p.10

Propaganda, however, added that, "His Holiness will not have difficulty appointing as apostolic vicar the same cleric elected as bishop of that chapter."⁵³

p. 11

...upon the establishment of Indian missions "to all those parts of North America that are full of people who have never heard the news of the Holy Gospel."

Pacifique had no intention of "ending his life by hearing the confessions of forty French Catholics." That is why he asked to be sent somewhere else in North America where there were "many more savages to convert to Christianity."⁶⁶

In 1729 Dosquet asked Propaganda for permission to ordain "the natives of that country" for the alleged purpose of the mission.

...for the Indian missions, "which the Canadians do not like very much, but what can I do?"

p. 12

...Dugnani wrote: "The best idea is to go to America."

...wrote to the nuncio that he was "immersed in the deepest bitterness" for the loss "of the two great institutions of St. Sulpice and the Seminary of the Foreign Missions," since their loss "will mean the loss of many apostolic vicars, many thriving missions, many souls won over to the faith of Jesus Christ at enormous cost and an unending struggle." According to the writer, though, the idea of leaving France for the American missions was a dangerous one, since that was "a field full of thorns and bramble, [...] and any competition from the Protestant party, which is very well prepared in those states, could destroy and devastate all the efforts of the evangelical stewards of that vineyard." The suggestion was made that the majority of the members of the two religious institutions be sent to North and South America, but that in Paris "at least the seed of the illustrious Seminar of the Foreign Missions" be left "so that in any favourable circumstance that may arise, it will be possible to re-establish this worthy undertaking."

p.13

The bishop of Baltimore, Carroll, was informed that "In these difficulties, which worsen day by day, and with such great wounds as have been inflicted on the Catholic faith in Europe, we hope for solace from the American provinces."

The latter was told in 1796: "You should defend Catholics vigorously [...] against the evil vortex of irreligion and unbelief, of which we deplore the wretched spread here in Europe."

p. 14

"They want the good life they see the French enjoying; they lose their toughness, and can no longer endure the hard life that unfortunately is their lot, such as having to spend the winter in the middle of the woods."

p. 49

It is, in Morin's words, "the first work of Canadian history that is the fruit of a real use of Roman sources."

p. 52

Note 8. In Morin's words: "It is the historic and not the archival or topographical point of view that has inspired this classification; in other words, with a view to facilitating research methods, the collections have been grouped by order of appearance of the items and not the source."

p. 53

Note 28. Caron states: "Another source of information is the *Rapport de l'archiviste en chef du Canada* for 1910 (p. 106) under the title 'Documents relatifs au Canada parmi les archives italiennes.' We give only a summary of these items written in Italian, but the Public Archives of Canada, in Ottawa, has good copies. Some can also be found in the archives of the archdiocese of Quebec, under the title 'Documents du Vatican.'"

p. 58

Note 85. "Very recently [1916-1917] Father John Lenhart published a work in English with exactly the same format as this one. He consulted nearly all the important printed sources and a portion of the archives of Propaganda that was up to that time unpublished. It is a very good study in which we can verify with pleasure most of our conclusions."

p.59

Note 92

"Now at last, after a rather long and exceedingly disgusting delay, Father Archangel de Fossé has arrived here with new arrangements issued by the Sacred Congregation for continuing the missions. I am delighted to see that I have obtained what I have asked for constantly -- I mean absolution from every kind of missionary prefecture, which has passed to the Fathers Provincial -- and for this I consider it my duty [...] to express my thanks.

As regards other matters, and especially as regards the fact that Father Archangel was assigned to the Father Provincial, more occurs to me that should be said, but I shall spare this; mindful of the case, and mindful of the times, I shall say only that this happened beyond our intention and expectation [...] and I know not how the Sacred Congregation hit upon the idea of this decision, or how it occurred to Father Archangel to accept it. I beseech the most high that everything may be directed as hoped, not as expected."

What follows is the same text in its original form:

"Now at last, after a rather long and exceedingly disgusting delay, Father Archangel de Fossé has arrived here with new arrangements issued by the Sacred Congregation for continuing the missions. I am delighted to see that (among other items) through these arrangements, and as the letter that you addressed to me stated, I have obtained what I have asked for constantly -- I mean absolution of every kind from the missionary prefecture, which has passed to the Fathers Provincial of the provinces -- and for this I considered it my duty (otherwise one would deservedly charge me with ingratitude) to express my thanks, as I am doing with the present letter, both to the Sacred Congregation and to you."

As regards the other matters disposed and decreed by the Sacred Congregation, and especially as regards the fact that Father Archangel was assigned to the Father Provincial of the Parisian Province in the administration of the missionary prefecture and not to other provinces, more occurs to me that should be said, but I shall spare this; mindful of the case, and mindful of the times, I shall say only that this happened beyond our intention and expectation, and I know not how the Sacred Congregation hit upon the idea of this decision, or how it occurred to Father Archangel to accept just however much was offered. As regards myself, I beseech the Most High that everything may be directed to His own greater glory, as hoped, not as expected."

p. 59

Note 98. "... where there is more persecution and difficulty in bearing fruit than here; it cannot work, except in Geneva, and that is where I will go, if they provide me with the necessary means to be successful."

One asterisk indicates reference works. Two asterisks indicate primary sources. Listed works with no asterisks are studies. General works that deal with individual countries (Canada, the United States, France, Great Britain, Italy, etc.) or Europe or North America as a whole have not been listed, unless they are of special interest for the Calendar.

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INDEX OF PROPER NAMES IN THE *CALENDAR*

N.B. - The *Calendar* is available on microfiche from the National Archives of Canada.

America, Canada, England, Europe, France, Great Britain, New France, North America, Rome, the United States and the West Indies are not indexed. The Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide" as such is not indexed, but its members are. Numbers in italics indicate documents received or sent, or authorship of documents (books, pamphlets, broadsides, etc.). Numbers refer to entries, not to pages. Entries are indexed as follows:

II	<i>Acta</i>
III	<i>SOCG</i>
IV	<i>Varia and Addenda</i>
V	<i>Lettere</i>
VI	<i>Congressi</i>

A

- Abenakis,
VI 540 598
- Acadia,
II 116 125 204 224
III 1 167 173 201 206 258-260 268 276 436 439 501 532 574 600 681 692
IV 31 118-119 121 251-252 264 395 400
V 338 353
VI 69 80 89 91-94 110 115 166 185 188 195 198-199 204 207 218 230 270 319 332 417 432 446-447 511 515 573 575
See also New Scotland, Nova Scotia
- Achonry, bishopric of, see Blake (1739-1758)
- Adana, archbishopric of, see Zondadari (1785-1795)
- Adda, Ferdinando d', 1649-1719, N in England (c. 1665-1688), cdl. (13 Feb. 1690),
IV 219
- Address delivered in the Chapel of Kells* (1791), by Patrick Smyth,
III 648 664
- Adh mar, Jean-Baptiste-Amable, 1736-1800,
V 284 291 311
VI 143 147 149-150 152-153 161 168 176 521
- Aegean Sea, see Archipelago
- Africa,
II 41-42 50 56 70 161 167 178 192
III 53 89 92 114 148 351 435 443-444 461 470
IV 169-170 173 199 224-227
V 83 120 220
VI 413-414 529 541 585
- Agen, bishopric of,
IV 330
- Agniers,
IV 181
see also Mohawks

- Agretti, Claudio, papal envoy extraordinary to England (1669),
 V 99
 VI 477 478 496
- Agucchi, Giovanni Battista, d. 1632, private secretary of Gregory XV
 IV 211
- Agwelentegwas,
 VI 364 367
- Aiaooués,
 VI 267
- Aimé de Lamballe (Boscher de la Villéon), d. 1773, OFM Cap, procurator general (1754-1761), then procurator of the French missions,
 II 205
 III 533-534 539
 V 149 151-152
 VI 61 62 269 418 420
- Aire, bishopric of, see Anglure de Bourlemont, C.-F. d' (1650-1659)
- Airoldi, Carlo Francesco, 1637-1683, abbot of Sant'Abbondio, internuncio in Flanders (16 Nov. 1668 - 8 avr. 1673),
 II 151
 III 420
 V 99 115
 VI 477 478 496 498
- Aix,
 III 11
- Ajestalate,
 VI 364 364
- Akenzas,
 IV 37
- Alabamas,
 VI 267
- Alamanni Nasi, Vincenzo Antonio, 1679-1735, secretary of the Cipher, abp. of Seleucia (1723-1735),
 V 130
- Albanel, Charles, 1616 (1613?)-1696, SJ,
 IV 205 379
 VI 562
- Albani, Alessandro, 1692-1779, cdl. (from 16 July 1721), member of PF,
 IV 117
 V 154
 VI 589
- Albani, Annibale, 1682-1751, cdl. (23 Dec. 1711), member of the Sacred Congregation of the Consistory,
 VI 37
- Albani, Giovanni Francesco, see Clement XI
- Albania,
 IV 328
 VI 540-541 585
- Albany,
 IV 335
 VI 378
- Albergati Ludovisi, Niccolò, 1604-1687, cdl. (6 March 1645), PF member,
 II 97 116 119 121
 IV 67 231
- Alberizzi, Mario, d. 1680, PF secretary (1657-1664), abp. of Neocesarea (1671-1676), cdl. (27 May 1675, member of PF
 II 111-112
 III 184 186 191-192 195 205
 IV 6 382-383
 V 76 82-84

- Albertini, Michele, d. 1685, SJ, superior in the Archipelago (1661-1685),
 IV 68
 V 101
- Albertoni, see Altieri, P.
- Albizzi, Francesco, 1591-1684, cdl. (2 March 1654), PF member,
 II 101 120 122 125 127 130 132
 IV 1-2 6 232 382
 VI 498
- Alby, Count of, see Sartine
- Aldobrandini, Ippolito, see Clement VIII
- Aleppo,
 IV 190 217
 V 315
- Alessandro da Poppi, OFM Cap,
 II 192
 III 480
- Alexander VII (Fabio Chigi), 1599-1667, Pope (1655-1667),
 II 104-108 115 129
 III 189 195-196 200 204 205 210 212-213 216 232 295 301 302 303-304 311 334 381 389
 V 60 67 74 77 81-82 86
 VI 6 10 51 401 404 405-406
 see also *Inter Cætera*
- Alexander, William, 1567?-1640,
 III 40
 V 16
- Alexandre, OFM Cap,
 V 285
 VI 146
- Aléxis d'Auxerre (Brice), OFM Cap,
 II 82
 III 132 134 137 140 255 256 262 265
- Alger,
 IV 189
- Algonquins,
 III 206 246 249 501
 IV 180 185
- Alibamons, see Alabamas
- Allain, Jean-Baptiste, 1738 or 1739-1812, CSSp,
 V 354
 VI 457
- Allemans, see Les Allemans
- Almyra, bishopric of, see Hubert, J.-F. (1785-1788)
- Alphonse de Paris, OFM Cap, provincial of Paris (1651-1654),
 IV 274
- Altieri, Emilio, see Clement X
- Altieri (Paluzzi degli Albertoni), Paluzzo, 1623-1698, cdl. (in pectore 14 Jan. 1664, published 15 Feb. 1666),
 PF prefect(1671-1698),
 III 408 412 417
 IV 235
 VI 11 14 18-19 498
- Alvise, see Mario Alvise
- Amazon, river
 III 125
 VI 581
- Amboise,
 VI 511

- "America with those known parts" (1626), printed map by John Speed,
 III 28-29 39 48
 V 15
- American Revolution, see American War of Independence
- American War of Independence (1776-1783),
 III 595
 IV 51-52 59 301
 V 273 390
 VI 126 236 275 287 291 446
- Amiens,
 III 274
- Amiot, Michel-Auguste, 1766-1834, priest,
 III 717
 VI 228
- Amsterdam,
 II 184
- Anabaptists,
 VI 486
- Andastes,
 III 209
- André de Paris, OFM Cap,
 II 92
 III 148 151-152 156
- Andros,
 IV 371-372
- Angeac, François-Gabriel d', 1708-1782, governor of Saint-Pierre and Miquelon (1763-1772),
 VI 515
- Ange de Paris, OFM Cap, lay brother,
 III 83 337
- Angelelli, Ottavio, 1751-1809, bp. of Gubbio (1785-1809),
 VI 351 375
- Angélique de l'Isle-sur-Songue, OFM Cap, provincial of Saint-Louis (1639-1642),
 III 11 12
- Angers, archbishopric of,
 VI 393 404-405
 see also Couet Du Vivier de Lorry (1782-1801)
- Anglicans, see Church of England
- Anglure de Bourlemont, Charles-François d', d. 1669, bp. of Aire (1650-1659),
 III 269
- Anglure de Bourlemont, Louis d', 1627-1697, abp. of Bordeaux (1681-1697),
 V 108
- Ango Des Maizerets, Louis, 1636-1721, priest,
 VI 31
- Angola,
 II 192
 III 480
- Anian, Strait of, see Strait of Anian
- Anjou,
 IV 53
- Annapolis,
 VI 297-298 319
- Annecy,
 VI 131-132 141
- Anne d'Autriche, 1601-1666, Queen Mother of France (1643-1661),
 II 81 86 93 108 112 114 124
 III 23 129 145 148 154-155 159-160 186 198-199 207 254 298 306 308-309
 V 75

- Annonay,
 VI 260
- Annonciation-d'Oka, see L'Annonciation-d'Oka
- Ansbach-Bayreuth, Margrave of,
 IV 57
 V 265
- Anthony,
 VI 364 367
- Anticosti,
 IV 225
- Antigua,
 II 203-204
 III 531-532
 IV 61
 VI 263 272 319 419 573 575
- Antoine de Saint-Just, OFM Cap, lay bother,
 III 83 337
- Antonelli, Leonardo, 1730-1811, secretary of the Cipher, secretary of the Sacred Congregation of the Consistory, assessor of the Holy Office, cdl. (26 April 1775), PF prefect (1780-1795),
 II 218 221 227 233
 III 594-597 599 605 606 607 652-653 655-656 661-662 670 671 672 676 678 684 690 692-695 696 704-705 706 710 715 718 721 723
 IV 20 22 23-27 30 32 106 168 191-193 294 301 304 360
 V 171 173 199 209 269 289-290 306 318 321 327 344 355 361 364-365 370 379-380 382 387 400 404 409 419
 VI 125 126 130 133 135 140 144 146 150-151 155 156 166 177 178 179-180 182 184-185 203 210 216-217 220 223-227 231 236 276-278 280-281 286 293 295 299 304 308 311 316-317 324-326 328 334 336 338 341 343 344 347 351 353-354 357-358 360 362 363 366 368 374 376-377 445 448 450 452 455-457 462 494 500 520 522
- Antonelli, Niccolò, 1698-1767, PF pro-secretary (9 Sept. 1743-15 July 1744), PF secretary (1757-1759, card. (24 Sept. 1759), secretary of the Secretariate of Briefs to Princes (from 5 Aug. 1761),
 IV 72 127-131 221 241 257 259-260 409
 V 147 148 149 151-154 170 172 176 180 187-188
 VI 61-62 420-421 573
- Antonio, cardinal, see Barberini, A. (1607-1671)
- Antonio da Modena (Montecuccoli), 1598-1648, OFM Cap, general (1633-1637),
 III 63 326
- Aosta, bishopric of, see Millet (1699-1727)
- Apalachees,
 IV 37
 VI 267
- Apologie du Bienheureux Raymond Lulle* (1645), by Pacifique de Provins,
 III 95
- Appalachians,
 VI 282 284-285
- Appellants,
 II 190
 III 477
- Aprest, Pierre, OM, provincial of Paris
 III 128
- Aquitaine, Capuchin province of,
 IV 374
- Aquitaine, Jesuit province of, see Herbodeau
- Aquitaine, Minim province of,
 IV 330
- Aquitaine, Recollet province of, see Immaculée-Conception (Aquitaine), Recollet province of

- Aracoeli, see Commissary of,
Aranjuez,
VI 380
- Arce, see Lom d'Arce
- Archange de Fossez, c. 1602-1663, OFM Cap,
II 81-82
III 6 15-17 18 64 70 81-82 83 84-86 88 98-101 105 107 112 119 121-122 129-138 139-140 157-158 254
V 24 43 51-52
- Archangel of Pembroke (Pembroke), 1568-1632, OFM Cap,
IV 376
- Archbishoprics, see Bishoprics and archbishoprics
- Archdeken, Peter, d. 1739, OFM Rec, bishop of Killala (1735-1739),
VI 411-412
- Arche, d', vic. general of the abp. of Bordeaux,
IV 424
- Archinto, Giovanni, 1736-1799, cdl. (in pectore 15 April 1776, published 20 May 1776), prefect of the Sacred Congregation of the Rites,
IV 123
VI 232
- Archipelago,
IV 61 217 372
V 101
VI 7 540-541 585
- Arctic,
IV 225
VI 555
- Ardagh, bishopric of, see O'Beirne (1739-1747)
- Ardbraccan,
III 629 647 653
- Ardilliers, François-Paul, SJ,
IV 77 244
VI 69 82 425
- Ardizzone, see Pedemonte and Ardizzone
- Arequipa, bishopric of,
II 146-147 150
III 405-406
V 111
VI 9
- Argall, Samuel, c. 1572-before 1641,
III 252
- Argenti, Giovanni Giuseppe Vincenzo, abbot, PF clerk,
IV 318
- Arignano, see Costa d'Arignano
- Arkansas, natives,
VI 267
- Arles, archbishopric of, see Du Lau (1775-1792)
- Armagh, archbishopric of, see R. O'Reilly (1788-1818)
- Armenia,
II 21 161
III 534
V 122
VI 541
- Arquand, see L'Arquand
- Arsène de Paris, d. 1645, OFM Cap,
III 165 170
- Ascoli Satriano, bishopric of, see Bolognetti (1630-1639)

- Ashton, John, 1742-1815, SJ,
 II 218 222 232
 III 606 713
 IV 24 105 343 351 354-355 412
 V 355 363 364
 VI 343 560
- Asia,
 II 42 119 161 167 178
 III 53 351 435 443-444 461
 IV 67 169-170 173 199 224-227 231 233
 V 83 120
 VI 413-414 529 585
- Assessor of the Holy Office,
 II 19-20 42 57-58 62 72 194
 III 348
 IV 117
 V 122 125 137-138 147 153 174 180 193 215
 see also L. Antonelli, Casanate, Piazza, Veterani
- Assistentia* (French), SJ,
 IV 180-181 205
- Assyria,
 IV 377
- Astalli Pamphili, Camillo, 1616-1663, cdl. (19 Sept. 1650), PF vice-prefect (Summer 1651),
 II 79
 III 267
 V 59
- Aston, Arthur, d. 1627, governor of Avalon (1625-1626),
 III 32 46 161 242 314-315
 VI 257
- Athens, archbishopric of, see Guidi di Bagno (1644-1657), Vecchi (1667-1673), Cavalieri (1712-1717),
 Massei (1721-1730)
- Atienza,
 VI 379-381 384
- Attakapas,
 IV 37
- Aubert,
 V 292 304
 VI 153 161 163 521
- Aubert, Jean-Baptiste, 1722-after 1784, SJ,
 VI 540
- Aubré, OFM Cap,
 IV 252
- Audran, Pierre, 1721-after 1792, SJ,
 III 536
 IV 116
 V 145
- Augsburg, bishopric of, see von Pfalz-Neuburg (1690-1737)
- Augustin de Paris, OFM Cap,
 III 83
- Augustin de Pontoise, OFM Cap,
 II 61 79 81
 III 90 116 284 346
 IV 207 370
 VI 566

- Augustines de la Miséricorde de Jésus,
 II 132 142
 III 388
 VI 134 138 151 164 190
 Augustinians, see Order of St. Augustine
 Aulnay, see Menou d'Aulnay
 Austral lands,
 III 411
 Austria
 VI 70 137 585
 Authier de Sisgau, Christophe d', 1609-1667, OSB, bp. of Bethlehem (1651-1663),
 III 9 12
 Autun, bishopric of, see Marbeuf (1767-1788)
 Auvergne,
 IV 249 252
 Ava,
 VI 334
 Avalon,
 II 2-3 6-9 14 16-17 24
 III 25 27-30 32-36 39-41 46-50 65 161 314-318 323
 IV 222 224 226-227
 V 1 4 10-11 13-17 25 28
 VI 567-569 581 584
 Avaux, Count of, see Mesmes
 Aviau Du Bois de Sanzay, Charles-François d', 1736-1826, abp. of Vienna (1789-1801), abp. of Bordeaux
 (1802-1826),
 VI 384
 Avignon,
 III 12 77 107
 Azzolini, Decio, 1623-1689, cdl. (2 March 1654), PF member, secretary of state (1667-1670),
 II 114 140
 VI 498

B

- Baby, François, 1733-1820,
 III 592
 Babylon, bishopric and town,
 III 145
 IV 25 27 294 416-417 422-423
 V 243
 see also Pidou (1687-1717), Varlet (1718-1719)
 Bacallaos,
 VI 396
 see also Avalon and Newfoundland
 Bagno, see Guidi di Bagno
 Bagot, Jean, SJ,
 III 306-307
 Bahamas,
 III 531
 VI 263 419
 Bahia, see São Salvador de Bahia
 Baie des Chaleurs,
 VI 185 188 195

- Baillet, Noël, OP,
 II 206
 III 512 540 541-542 545-546 548 550-551 552 555 556 562 563 564 566 568 571 572
 V 157
- Bailloquet, Pierre, 1613-1692, SJ,
 IV 205 379
 VI 562
- Bailly de Messein, Charles-François, 1740-1794, bp. of Capsa (1788-1794), coadjutor of the bp. of Quebec (1788-1794),
 II 214 219 233
 III 599-600 607 684 691-693 695 715-716 718
 IV 104 157 342 344 345 350 360
 V 356 369 386 387 392 400 415 418-419
 VI 122 162 191 195 203-204 205 207 210 217 220 223 227 229 231 502
- Bainbridge, William,
 IV 317 320-322 325
- Baker, Alexander, d. 1638, SJ,
 II 17
 III 25 47 49
 VI 571
- Baldeschi Colonna (Ubaldi), Federico, 1625-1691, abp. of Cesarea (1665-1673), PF secretary (1668-1673), cdl. (in pectore 12 June 1673; published 17 Dec. 1674), PF member,
 II 144-145 149
 III 364 373 380 393 395 398-399 400 403 407 412 415 420
 IV 182 235 382-383 426
 V 96 100-111 113
 VI 5 7 9 11 14-16 23 404 410 477 497 498
- Balise,
 IV 37
- Ballard, notary,
 III 451
- Balthazar de Paris, d. after 1656, OFM Cap,
 IV 371
- Baltimore, Baron, see Calvert
- Baltimore, bishopric and town,
 II 218 221 229-230 232
 III 594-597 605-606 633 669 671 673-676 678 698-703 705-706 709-713
 IV 28 31 105 111 158 315-316 343 351 354-355 412
 V 374 379 388 398 434-435 438 442-443 445
 VI 230-231 343 348 372 376-377 387-393
 see also Carroll (1789-1815)
- Bandini, PF copyist,
 VI 265
- Bandini, Ottavio, 1577 or 1578-1629, cdl. (5 June 1596), PF member,
 III 320
 IV 211
 V 6 10
- Bandy, see Bondy
- Banfi, Bernardo, 1675-1733, OH, general (4 May 1721-1730),
 III 549
- Baptiste de Château-Thierry, OFM Cap, lay brother,
 III 337

- Barbados,
 II 204
 III 531-532
 IV 61
 VI 263 409 419 573 575
- Barbaria,
 VI 541
- Barbel, Jacques, c. 1670-1740, royal notary,
 VI 31
- Barbé-Marbois, Marquess of, see Marbois
- Barberini, Antonio, 1569-1646, OFM Cap, cdl. (7 Oct. 1624), known as cdl. of Sant'Onofrio, PF vice-prefect (1632-1646), protector of the Capuchins (1632-1646),
 II 3 28 33 37 50 61 63 65 72-73
 III 18 116 164-165 170-171 286 325-326 346
 IV 370
- Barberini, Antonio, 1607-1671, cdl. (in pectore 30 Aug. 1627, published 7 Feb. 1628), known as cdl. Antonio, PF prefect (1632-1671),
 II 47 55-57 125 128-129
 III 13 42 52-54 56-59 60 61 80 85 89 138 210 214 302 334 391-392 393 397 410
 IV 182 381
 V 38 40 99
 VI 9 478 498
- Barberini, Carlo, 1630-1704, cdl. (23 June 1653), PF prefect (1698-1704),
 VI 587
- Barberini, Francesco, 1597-1679, cdl. (Oct. 1623), PF member, secretary of state (1623-1644), protector of England (1626-1679)
 II 15-17 57 66 68 73 96 118 133 149-150
 III 1 41 138 251 420
 IV 235-236
 V 16 114 115-116
 VI 498
- Barberini, Francesco, 1662-1738, cdl. (13 Nov. 1690, protector of the Capuchins (1719-1738), prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars (from 28 June 1726), protector of England,
 VI 479
- Barberini, Maffeo, see Urban VIII
- Barbuda,
 VI 319
- Barcelona,
 III 684
- Bardi, Gerolamo, 1685-1761, cdl. (9 Sept. 1743), PF member,
 V 154
- Bardies, abbot
 V 259
- Bardstown, bishopric of, see Flaget (1808-1832, 1833-1850)
- Bargellini, Pietro, 1630-1694, abp. of Thebes (1665-1690), N in France (1668-1671),
 II 130 133-135 137 139 141 148 182
 III 367 375-376 377-379 380 408 409-411
 V 92-93 95 96 112
 VI 3 401 410
- Barnabé, OFM Cap,
 IV 37
 VI 96
- Barnabites, see Congregation of the Clerics of St. Paul
- Barral, Claude-Mathias-Joseph de, 1714-1803, bp. of Troy (1761-1790),
 VI 181
- Bar-sur-Aube, Capuchin convent and town,
 VI 171-172

- Barthélemy de Mantes, OFM Cap,
 III 87
- Barth Mourogne, Joseph de,
 VI 361
- Bartholomew, OFM Cap,
 VI 61 62
- Bartoletti, pontifical agent in Leghorn,
 VI 336
- Bartoli, Giuseppe, notary in the Holy Office,
 IV 114
- Basile de Paris, OFM Cap, provincial of Paris (1659-1662, 1671-1674),
 II 118
 III 174
 IV 230
- Basques,
 IV 16
 VI 173 440 447
- Basse-Terre, Grenada, see Port-Royal, Grenada
- Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe,
 III 572
- Batavia, see New Netherlands
- Bathiat, Jacques, priest,
 III 123 126
- Batiscan, river,
 IV 93
- Baudouin, Michel, 1691-1768, SJ, superior in Louisiana (1751-1759), vic. general of the bishopric of Quebec (1751-1768),
 II 205
 III 533 536-539
 VI 122 421 508 540-541
- Baugé,
 VI 406
- Baulderon, Antonin, OFM Rec, Guardian of the Convent of Saint-Denis, procurator of the province of Paris,
 III 247
- Bavaria,
 III 699
- Bavaria, Duke of, see Maximilian II Emmanuel
- Bayonne, bishopric of,
 III 478
 VI 440
 see also Druillet (1707-1727)
- Bazin de Bezons, Armand, d. 1721, abp. of Bordeaux (1698-1719),
 IV 424
- Béarn, see Gallard de Béarn
- Beaubois, Nicolas-Ignace de, 1689-1770, SJ, vic. general of the bishopric of Quebec,
 VI 268
- Beauce,
 IV 148 158
- Beauharnais, Comtesse de, see Tascher de La Pagerie
- Beaumont, Christophe de, 1703-1781, abp. de Paris (1746-1781),
 V 206
- Beaumont de Gibaud, Léo de, d. 1744, bp. of Saintes (1718-1744),
 III 490
- Beauport,
 III 201

- Beaupré,
 II 125
 III 201
 IV 90
- Becquet, François, d. 1788, CSSp, superior of the Séminaire du Saint-Esprit (1763-1788),
 IV 16 48 49-50 54 55 56 58 190
 V 257 258 262 263 315 321 342 354
 VI 442 444 447 452 456-457
- Becquet, Julien-François, CSSp,
 IV 16 49 53-55
 V 190 197 229 231-232 254 264
 VI 82 93 110 168 270 430 432 434-435 440 513 515-516
- Bective, Earl of, see Taylor
- Bédard, Jean-Baptiste, 1772-1834, priest,
 III 716
 VI 229
- Bédard, Jean-Charles, 1766-1825, PSS,
 III 716
 VI 229
- Bédard, Thomas-Laurent, 1747-1795, priest,
 III 585 592 600 717
 VI 204 228
- Bede of the Blessed Sacrament (John Hiccocks), 1588-1647, OCD, vic. provincial of England (1625-1626, 1635-1642),
 II 8-9
 III 32 34 36 161 314-315 317-318 323
 V 11
 VI 257 568
- Beeston, Francis, 1751-1810, SJ,
 II 232
 III 713
- Bégin, Charles, 1757-1824, priest,
 III 716
 VI 229
- Bégon, Scipion-Jérôme, 1681-1753, bp. of Toul (1723-1753),
 II 200
 III 490 516
- Beirut, bishopric of, see Lambert de La Motte (1658-1679)
- Belcher, Jonathan, 1710-1766, administrator of Nova Scotia (Oct. 1760-Nov. 1761), lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia (Nov. 1761-26 Sept. 1763),
 IV 251
- Belcher, William,
 III 647
- Belcher, William, Jr.,
 III 647
- Belgium,
 II 177
 III 459
 IV 114
 V 234 398 410
 VI 409
 see also Flanders
- Bellisomi, Carlo, 1736-1808, abp. of Tyana (1775-1794), N in Cologne (1775-1786), N in Portugal (1785-1795), cdl. (in pectore 14 Feb. 1794, published 21 Feb. 1794),
 IV 57 318
 V 265 383 412 413
 VI 352 369-370

- Bellon, see Grainbery du Bellon
- Bellon, Abbé (Brother of Viscompte de Bellon),
VI 355
- Bellon, Vicomte de (Brother or Abbé Bellon),
VI 355 361
- Beloio, New Netherlands,
III 189
- Benedict XIII (Pierfrancesco Orsini), 1649-1730, pope (1724-1730),
II 195
III 483-484 485 486 529 549 558 570
IV 225
V 132
- Benedict XIV (Prospero Lambertini), 1675-1758, pope (1740-1758),
II 203-204
III 437-538 553 561 565 568
IV 111 242
V 140
VI 421 507
- Benedictines, see Order of St. Benedict
- Benedikt von Skt. Wendelin, OFM Cap,
II 166
III 442
- Bénévent (Saint-Barthélemy de Bénévent), Augustinian abbey of,
VI 32 34 36-37 39-46 154
- Benoist, Anne,
IV 118
VI 89 91-93
- Benon, Joseph, SJ, superior in Persia,
II 123
III 237
- Bentinck, see Cavendish Bentinck
- Bentivoglio, Guido, 1577-1644, abp. of Rhodes (1607-1621), N in Flanders (1607-1615), N in France (1616-1621), cdl. (11 Jan. 1621), PF member, protector of France (from 1621),
II 13 21 24-27 30 33-35
III 3 246 248 249
IV 222
V 31
- Bentivoglio, Marco Cornelio, 1668-1732, abp. of Carthage (1712-1719), N in France (1712-1719), cdl. (19 Nov. 1719),
III 468
IV 416-417 422
V 127
- Bentman, vic. general of the abp. of Bordeaux,
IV 424
- Berey Des Essarts, Félix, 1720-1800, OFM Rec, commissary provincial of Canada (1796-1800),
III 592 601 716
IV 108
V 387
VI 200 229
- Bergères, see Blaise de Bergères de Rigauville
- Bergeret,
VI 361
- Bergier, Marc, c. 1667-1707, PSS, vic. general of the bp. of Quebec (1699-1707),
VI 196
- Bériaux, Louis-Michel, 1728-1801, priest,
III 716
VI 229

- Bermuda,
 II 5
 III 252 314-316 531
 IV 213 225
 VI 263 409 411 419
- Bernard, Louis, OP,
 III 541-542 548 551-552 561-562 565 572
- Bernardin de Crépy-en-Valais, OFM Cap,
 IV 371
- Bernardine of Saint-Joseph (Ann Matthews), b. 1732, OCarm,
 II 221
 III 671 674
 IV 315
 V 398 416
- Bernardino da Macerata (Trollii), d. 1653, OFM Cap, definator general (1637-1650),
 III 18 116 164-165 169 170-171
- Bernardino da Sant'Angelo in Vado (Franceschi), OFM Cap, procurator general (1719-1733),
 II 189
 III 476 502
- Bernardo Maria di Gesù, OCD, procurator general,
 II 185 186
- Bernières, Henri de, c. 1635-1700, SME
 II 115
 III 184-185 392
- Bernis, see Pierre, Pierre de Bernis
- Berroyer, notary,
 III 389
- Berry,
 VI 122
- Berthelot, Charles, 1770-1830, priest,
 III 592 717
 VI 228
- Berthelot Dartigny, Michel-Amable, 1738-1815, notary,
 III 585 592
 VI 167
- Berthiaume, Jean-Jacques, 1739-1807, called Brother Juniper, priest,
 III 601
 VI 200
- Bertin, Charles-Jean de, 1712-1774, bp. of Vannes (1746-1774),
 V 192 205
- Bertrand, Laurent-Joseph, c. 1744-1813, priest,
 IV 51 122
- Bésard, François, d. 1681, SME superior (1670-1674, 1680-1681),
 III 182 382
- Besozzi, Gioacchino, 1679-1755, OCist, cdl. (9 Sept. 1743), prefect of the Sacred Penitentiary Apostolic (from 1747),
 III 560
- Besson, Jean-Pierre, 1751-1836, priest,
 V 271-272 275 287
 VI 131-132 137 139 141
- Best, John, sea captain,
 VI 454
- Bethlehem, bishopric of, see Authier de Sisgau (1651-1663)
- Beyries, Jean de, 1728-1793, SME superior (1783-1789),
 VI 152
- Beystel, see Boysdale
- Bezons, see Bazin de Bezons

- Biard, Pierre, 1567 or 1568-1622, SJ,
 III 252
 IV 180 183-185
- Bichi, Alessandro, 1596-1657, bp. of Carpentras (1630-1657), N in France (1630-1634), cdl. (28 Nov. 1633),
 II 25 27
 III 1-3 54 58-61 66
 V 29 31-32 34
- Biddulph, Andrew (alias Fitton), 1605-1661, priest,
 III 109
- Billon, Jean-Pierre, merchant,
 V 351
 VI 337 341 342
- Biord, Jean-Pierre, 1719-1785, bp. of Geneva (1764-1785),
 V 271-272 287
 VI 130 131-132
- Birmingham, Jacob, priest,
 III 620 649 665 666
- Birtha, bishopric of, see Talbot
- Biscaret, abbot,
 IV 252
- Bishoprics and archbishoprics, see Achonry, Adana, Agen, Aire, Almyra, Angers, Aosta, Ardach, Arequipa, Arles, Armagh, Ascoli Satriano, Athens, Augsburg, Autun, Babylon, Baltimore, Bardstown, Bayonne, Beirut, Bethlehem, Birtha, Bolina, Bordeaux, Bourges, Caesaropolis, Canatha, Capsa, Carthage, Castoria, Castres, Centuria, Ceramus, Cesarea, Chalcedon, Chalons-sur-Marne, Chambery, Chartres, Clermont, Cloyne, Cologne, Colossus, Comana, Condom, Conza, Corinth, Cork, Cosenza, Coutances, Cyrene, Damascus, Dax, Debra, Derry, Doliche, Dorylea, Dublin, Emessa, Esztergom, Evreux, Eumenia, Faenza, Ferentino, Florence, Geneva, Ghent, Gortyna, Gravina, Grenoble, Gubbio, Heliopolis, Hvar, Kildare, Killala, Killaloe, Königgrätz, Langres, Larissa, La Rochelle, Leitmeritz, Leopolis, Lima, Limoges, Lisieux, Luçon, Lyon, Madaurus, Mainz, Mallus, Meath, Metellopolis, Mileto, Mohilew, Montefiascone, Montepulciano, Myra, Myrina, Nantes, Narbonne, Naupactus, Naxivan, Nazianzo, Neocesarea, New Orleans, Nicea, Nilopolis, Nisibis, Orléans, Orvieto, Ossory, Paris, Patras, Perge, Petraea, Philippi, Poznan, Prusa, Quebec, Ragusa, Rama, Rennes, Rhodes, Rieti, Rimini, Rouen, Saintes, Saint-Malo, Saint-Omer, Saint-Pol-de-Léon, Samos, Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Santiago de Cuba, São Salvador de Bahia, Sappa, Sebaste, Seleucia, Sens, Sina, Sigüenza, Skoplje, Split, Ston, Tarsus, Thabraca, Thamiatia, Thebes, Thyatira, Tyana, Toul, Toulouse, Trequier, Troy, Tuam, Turin, Vannes, Vienna, Waterford, Würzburg, Zante, and Cefalonia
- Bissy, see Thiard de Bissy
- Blacke, Thomas, priest,
 III 109
- Black River, Wisconsin,
 II 115
- Blackthorns,
 III 630
- Blaise de Bergères de Rigauville, Charles-Régis, d. 1782, canon of Quebec,
 IV 394 403 405
 VI 137
- Blake, Walter, d. 1758, bp. of Achonry (1739-1758),
 II 201
 III 523
- Blaudy,
 IV 55
- Boarman, John, 1743-1794, SJ,
 VI 560
- Boarman, Sylvester, 1746-1811, SJ,
 II 232
 III 713
- Bodkin, Mary, b. c. 1761,
 IV 310 317-318 322

- Bodkin, Valentine, d. 1812, abbot, agent in Rome of the Irish clery,
 III 632 639-640 652 662
- Boesme, see Le Boesme
- Bohemia,
 VI 541 589
- Bohemia, Jesuit province of,
 II 138
 see also Krupski
- Boiret, Denis, 1734-1813, SME director (from 1776),
 IV 190
 V 315
- Boismorel, see Morrissetaux
- Boisseau, Nicolas-Gaspard, 1726-1804,
 III 601
 VI 200
- Boisseau, Nicolas-Gaspard, 1765-1842, the younger,
 III 601
 VI 200
- Boissonault, Joseph-Marie, 1766-1834, priest,
 III 717
 VI 228
- Bolan, William. d. 1807,
 VI 454
- Bolina, bishopric of, see Kierski (1736-1768)
- Bolivar, Gregorio, fl. 1600-1625, OFM Rec,
 IV 223
- Bologna,
 VI 522
- Bolognetti, Giorgio, 1595-1686, bp. of Ascoli Satriano (21 Sept. 1630-1639), bp. of Rieti (28 Feb. 1639-1660),
 N in France (1634-1639),
 II 36 38 40
 III 42-43 67 73 250 331
 V 38-40
- Bolton, John, 1742-1809, SJ,
 II 232
 III 713
 VI 558 560
- Bonaccorsi, see Buonaccorsi
- Bonaventura da Recanati (Massari), d. 1691, OFM Cap, procurator general (1667-1678, 1685-1688),
 II 140 166
 III 374
- Bonaventure de Boulogne, OFM Cap,
 III 87
- Boncompagni, Ugo, see Gregory XIII
- Bonocompagni Ludovisi, Ignazio, 1743-1790, cdl. (in pectore 17 July 1775, published 13 Nov. 1775), secretary
 of state (1785-1789),
 II 211
 VI 352 369
- Bondy, de,
 VI 355
- Bongianini, Ferdinando, SME agent in Rome,
 II 199
 III 504-505 506 511
 V 135
- Bonnécamps, Joseph-Pierre de, 1707-1790, SJ,
 IV 77 244
 VI 69 82 425

- Bonnemere, Florent, 1600-1683, SJ,
 IV 205
- Bonnot de Mably, Gabriel, 1709-1785,
 IV 215
- Boone, John, 1735-1795, SJ,
 VI 294
- Bordeaux, archbishopric and town,
 III 81 597
 IV 23 190 424
 V 298 302 305 315 358 362
 VI 141 304 311 316 335-337 344 366
 see also Anglure de Bourlemont, L. d' (1681-1697), Bazin de Bezons (1698-1719), Champion de Cicé (1781-1801), Aviau Du Bois de Sanzay (1802-1826), seminary of the archbishopric
- Borghese, Camillo, see Paul V
- Borgia, Stefano, 1731-1804, PF secretary (1770-1789), cdl. (30 March 1789),
 II 209-210 212-215 220
 III 599 603 606 636
 IV 17-18 36 97-105 120 122 146-156 265 268 271 273-278 280-283 287-291 293 295 298-300 302 339-344 347-354
 V 221-224 225-226 260-261 286-288 324-328 461
 VI 107 112 127 129 133-134 137 145 156 163 164-165 166 182 201 244 245 251 252 271 293 431 432 439 513 556
 see also *Registro delle Prouidenze*
- Borja, Gaspar, d. 1645, cdl. (17 Aug. 1611), PF member,
 III 2
 IV 211
- Borromeo, Federico, 1617-1673, cdl. (22 Dec. 1670), secretary of state (1670-1673),
 V 113
- Borromeo, Vitaliano, 1720-1793, cdl. (26 Sept. 1766), PF member
 II 211
 III 593
 VI 339
- Boscher de La Villéon, see Aimé de Lamballe
- Bosnia,
 VI 541
- Bosson, Joseph-Vincent, 1743-1819, priest,
 V 271-272 275 287
 VI 131-132 137 139 141
- Boston,
 II 221
 III 605 671 674 678
 IV 25 29 31 293 301
 V 281 361 378 380 393 398
 VI 295 353 393
- Botelho de Matos, José, 1678-1761, bishop of São Salvador de Bahia (1741-1761),
 III 553
- Boucault, Pierre, fl. 1742-1754, priest,
 III 686
 VI 212
- Bouchard de La Poterie, Claude-Florent, b. c. 1754, priest,
 III 605 676
 IV 26-27 29
 V 372 377 378 379-380
 VI 353 362 393
 see also *Resurrection of Laurent Ricci*

- Bouguet, CSSp,
 IV 49-50
 V 254
 VI 440 444 447
- Boullard, Étienne, 1658-1733, priest,
 VI 31
- Bourbon, Henri de, 1600-1682, Duc de Verneuil, abbot of Saint-Germain-des-Prés,
 III 381 386
 IV 233
- Bourbon, Île de, see Île-de-Bourbon
- Bourg, Jean-Pierre, b. c. 1742,
 VI 270 515
- Bourg, Joseph-Mathurin, 1744-1797, CSSp,
 V 229 308 337
 VI 110 166 168 185 188 195 270 432 515
- Bourges, archbishopric and town,
 III 203 220
 VI 29 32 180 299
 see also Montpezat de Carbon (1665-1675), Chastenet de Puységur (1788-1801)
- Bourgne, see Du Bourgne
- Bourgoing, François, 1585-1662, Oratoire de Jésus et de Marie-Immaculée, general (from 1641),
 II 109
 III 240 312
 V 72
- Bourke, Edmund, see Burke, Edmund, fl. 1785-1801
- Bourlemont, see Anglure de Bourlemont
- Boursier, Joseph, 1625-in or after 1688, called Desforges, SJ,
 IV 205
- Bowler, Edward,
 III 647
- Boyer, river,
 IV 154
 VI 106
- Brabant,
 VI 70
- Bradillon, vic. general of the abp. of Bordeaux,
 IV 424
- Bradshaw, Edward, see Elias of Jesus
- Brady, Patrick,
 III 647
- Brady, Philip,
 III 647
- Brady, Thomas,
 III 647
- Branagan, Michael,
 III 653
- Brancaccio, Francesco Maria, 1592-1675, cdl. (28 Nov. 1633), PF member,
 II 95 131 134
- Brancadoro, Cesare, 1755-1837, abp. of Nisibis (1789-1801), vice-superior of the missions in the Netherlands (1790-1792), N in Belgium (1792-1795), PF secretary (1795-1801), bp. of Orvieto (1800-1803), cdl. 23 Feb. 1801),
 II 235
 IV 113 323-328 329 331-332 365 368
 V 425-426 438 446-447 461
 VI 388-391 392 394-395 501
- Branças, Jean-Baptiste-Antoine de, c. 1693-1770, bp. of La Rochelle (1725-1729),
 IV 240

- Brandolisi, Cassio, fl. 1719-1721, priest,
 III 479
- Braschi, Giovanni Angelo, see Pius VI
- Braschi Onesti, Romualdo, 1753-1817, cdl. (18 Dec. 1786), secretary of the Secretariate of Briefs to Princes (from 5 Jan. 1787),
 IV 157-167 345 355 357-359 361-362 364 366-367 369
 V 405 406 418 419 423 424-425 426 438 445
 VI 205 501
- Brassac, Count of, see Gallard de Béarn
- Brassard Deschenaux, Charles-Joseph, 1752-1832, priest,
 III 716
 VI 229
- Brassard Deschenaux, Joseph, 1722-1793,
 III 592
- Brassard Deschenaux, Pierre-Louis, 1759-1802, notary,
 III 592 601 716
 VI 200 202 229
- Braunschweig,
 IV 57
- Brazil,
 II 1 76 98 102
 III 167 253-254 553
 IV 207 210 212 228 374 384-385
 VI 503-504 581-583 588
- Brébeuf, Jean de, 1593-1649, SJ,
 III 252
- Brémond, Antonine, OP,
 III 559 565
- Brésoles, see Moreau de Brésoles
- Bressani, Francesco Giuseppe, 1612-1672, SJ,
 IV 180 185
 see also *Breve relatione*
- Brest,
 VI 449
- Bretigny, see Poncet de Bretigny
- Breve relatione d'alcune missioni dei Padri della Compagnia di Gesù* (1653), by Francesco Giuseppe Bressani,
 IV 180 185
- Briand, Jean-Olivier, 1715-1794, vic. general of the bp. of Quebec (1760-1766), bp. of Quebec (1766-1784),
 II 208 210
 III 574 579 580-581 585-589 590-591 600-601 607 687 690
 IV 36 38 39 40 41-42 43-45 51-52 59 73-74 78 88 99 101 119-120 122 130-131 132 133 137-140 145-146 216 219-220 249 263 264 265-266 273 275 340 348 352 392 394 396-397 399 403 405-406 408 410-411
 V 174 176 179 181-183 184 185-188 194 195 197-200 208 209 212 215 217 218 221 222 223-225 229 237 238 240 241-242 244-245 247-248 249 260 261 266 267 269 270 271 280 284 287 290 306 308 311-312 314 317 319 320 329 338-339 356
 VI 68-71 72-73 77 78 79 80 82 93 97 98-99 102-103 107-108 109 111-113 115-116 117 118 120-121 122 125-127 130-131 133 135 136 137 139 142-145 147-150 154 158 160-161 163 166-167 169 173 177 189 191 200 204 210 213 216 231 269-272 275 281 293 299 429-430 437 438 446-447 466 510-511 515
- Brice, see Alexis d'Auxerre, Mme de Brice, Pascal d'Auxerre
- Brice, Mme de,
 III 166 254
- Briefs to Princes, Secretariate of,
 II 132 142
 see also Antonelli, N.; Braschi Onesti; Ceva; Conti, I; Giacomelli; Marescotti; Negroni; Olivieri, F.; Passionei; Sluse

- Brienne, see Loménie, Loménie de Brienne
- Briggs, Henry, 1561-1630,
 II 15
 III 40
 V 16
 see also "North part of America"
- Briggs, Joseph,
 III 647
- Brigot, Pierre, 1713-1791, SME, bp. of Thabraca (1755-1791),
 VI 100 101
- Brion, Gérard, SJ, superior of the South American Islands (c. 1670),
 II 144
 III 395 396
 IV 68
 V 101
- Brissy, see Thiard de Brissy
- Bristol,
 VI 490
- Brittany,
 III 367
 IV 249 251
 VI 103
- Brittany, Capuchin province of,
 III 176
 IV 217 374
 see also Raphaël de Nantes (1638-1640)
- Britton, Richard, priest,
 III 108-109
- Bro, Jean-Baptiste, 1743-1824, CSSp,
 V 229
 VI 110 270 432 515
- Brooke, John, c. 1709-1785, Church of England clergyman,
 VI 80
- Brouet, Ambroise, d. in or after 1676, SJ,
 IV 205
- Bruges,
 VI 277 279
- Bruget, doctor of the Sorbonne,
 VI 2
- Bruguier, Jean-Baptiste, 1764-1815, priest,
 III 601
 VI 200
- Bruneau, Jacques, c. 1576-1634, Spanish resident in London (Oct. 1624-Jan. 1626),
 III 321
 V 2
- Brunet, Michel, 1771-1835, priest,
 VI 224
- Brunier,
 VI 355
- Brussel, Augustin-Nicolas,
 III 490
- Brussels,
 III 38 241 420
 IV 240
 VI 276-278 350 477-478 492 496 559
- Bruyère-Chalabre, Alexandre-Joseph-Alexis de, 1736-1796, bp. of Saint-Omer (1778-1796),
 VI 453

- Buade, Louis de, 1622-1698, Count of Frontenac and of Palluau, governor general of New France (1672-1682, 1689-1698),
 VI 196
- Buissé, Oudane, priest,
 III 123 126
- Buisson de Saint-Cosme, Jean-François, 1667-1706, priest,
 VI 196
- Bulgaria,
 IV 328
 VI 541
- Bulger, John,
 III 722 724
- Buonaccorsi, Bonaccorso, d. 1678, cdl. (29 Nov. 1669), PF member
 II 151
- Burel, Gilbert, fl. 1625-1635, SJ, lay brother,
 III 252
- Burke, Edmund, 1753-1820, vic. general of Upper Canada (1794-1801), bp. of Sion (1817-1820), vic. ap. in Nova Scotia (1817-1820),
 II 223
 III 600-601 602 680 684 696
 IV 31
 V 387 400 448 460
 VI 200 202 204 217 220 223 231 234 236
- Burke, Edmund, c. 1756-1826, OP,
 III 722 724
 VI 454 459 462-463 468
- Burke, Edmund, OFM Cap, provincial of Ireland (1772-1782),
 VI 171-172
- Burke, John, priest,
 V 327
- Busca, Ignazio, 1731-1803, abp. of Emessa (11 Sept. 1775-1789), N in Flanders (18 Sept. 1775 - 16 Jan. 1785), cdl. (30 March 1789), Secretary of State (1796-1797), PF member,
 II 229
 III 706 709
 VI 276
- Butler, John, d. 1800, bp. of Cork (1763-1787), Lord Dunboyne,
 VI 185 188 339
- Buttelli, Giovanni, notary in the Saint-Office,
 VI 118-119 121
- Byrne, William,
 III 665

C

- Cadiz,
 VI 217 359
- Caën, Emery de, b. 1603, commander in Quebec (1624-1626, 1632-1633),
 II 40
 III 42
- Caesaropolis, bishopric of, see Picquet
- Caetani, Luigi, d. 1642, cdl. (19 Jan. 1626), PF member,
 II 18 23
- Cahill, Michael,
 VI 459

- Caignet, Jean, fl. 1663-1670, priest,
 III 365
 VI 1
- Cain, see Kean
- Caldea,
 III 142
 VI 377
- Caldwell, Edward,
 VI 372
- Caldwell, Henry, 1738-1810,
 VI 222
- Caldwell, Thomas,
 III 592
- California,
 IV 224 226-227
 VI 526 554 581
- California, Gulf of,
 III 511
 VI 396
 see also Mare Vermejum
- California, Sea of,
 II 148
 III 411
- Callanan, Lawrence, OFM Cap, guardian of the Convent of Cork,
 V 333
 VI 187
- Calvarin, Goulven, d. 1719, priest,
 VI 31
- Calvert, Cecil, 1605-1675, 2nd Baron Baltimore,
 II 36
 III 110 324 329
 VI 273 573
- Calvert, Charles, 1637-1715, 3rd Baron Baltimore, governor of Maryland (1661-1675),
 III 420
 IV 382
 V 99 115
 VI 477-478
- Calvert, George, 1580-1632, 1st Baron Baltimore,
 II 2 182
 III 25 36 161 242 314-315
 IV 224 226-227
 VI 257 573 581
- Calvert, Leonard, 1610 or 1611-1647, governor of Maryland (1634-1647),
 II 36
 III 2 108 110 329 339 347
 IV 224 226-227
 V 32
 VI 573 581
- Cambodia,
 IV 190
 V 315
- Campanelli, Filippo, d. 1795, auditor to the pope, cdl. (30 March 1789),
 V 324 326
- Campbell, John, c. 1720-1790, governor of Newfoundland (1782-1786),
 III 575-576 578
- Campi, banker,
 V 351

- Camps, Pedro, d. 1790, priest,
VI 283
- Camus, see Le Camus
- Camus Duperon, see Duperon
- Canatha, bishopric of, see Denaut (1794-1797), Plessis (1800-1806)
- Canseau,
II 118
III 104 174
IV 230 371 373
- Canses,
VI 267
- Canterbury,
III 26 65
- Canterbury, archbishopric of (Church of England),
VI 492
- Canton,
VI 450
- Canvet, Ambroise, fl. 1636-1657, SJ,
IV 205
- Cap-des-Rosiers,
III 259
- Cap-du-Nord,
III 125 141 153
IV 206-207
- Cape Breton Island (Île Royale),
III 536
IV 225 395 400
V 156
VI 218 319
- Capel, Antoine, fl. 1783, PSS,
V 280
VI 142-144 147
- Cappelloni, Paolo Antonio, notary in the Holy Office,
III 528 559
- Capponi, Luigi, 1583-1659, cdl. (24 Nov. 1608), PF vice-prefect (1645-1653, 1655), PF pro-prefect (1657),
II 77-78 84-85 89 98 102
III 128 146 150-151 256-257
- Cap-Rouge,
II 125
III 201
- Capsa, bishopric of,
VI 589
see also Bailly de Messein (1788-1794), C. O'Donel (1798)
- Cap-Sable,
VI 223
- Capuchins, see Order of Friars Minor Capuchin
- Carafa, Carlo, 1611-1680, cdl. (14 Jan. 1664), PF member,
II 149
VI 382
- Carafa, Pier Luigi, 1581-1655, cdl. (6 March 1645), PF member,
II 88
- Carafa, Pier Luigi, 1677-1755, bp. of Larissa (1713-1728), PF secretary (1717-1724), cdl. (20 Sept. 1728),
II 184-191
IV 417
V 128-130
- Carafa, Vincenzo, 1585-1649, SJ, general (1646-1649),
II 77-78 83-84

- Carbery, Thomas,
 III 625 643
- Carbon, see Montpezat de Carbon
- Càrdenas, see Peñalver y Càrdenas
- Cardinals, see Sacred Congregation of Cardinals
- Carette, Louis-François, 1712-after 1763, SJ, superior in Louisiana (1759-1762?),
 VI 540
- Caribbean,
 VI 411
- Carleton, Guy, 1724-1808, 1st Baron Dorchester, governor-in-chief of the province Quebec (1768-1778, 1786-1791),
 II 214 219
 III 599 607
 IV 41-42 264
 V 240 369
 VI 107 109 117-119 122 161 168 185 194 203 210 515
- Carleton, Thomas, 1735-1817, governor-in-chief of New Brunswick (1784-1786),
 VI 161 168
- Carli, Gian Rinaldo, 1720-1795,
 IV 215
 see also *Lettere americane*
- Carmelite Nuns
 II 221
 III 674
 IV 315
 V 398 410 416
 see also Bernardine of St. Joseph, Dickinson, Mary Aloysia, Mary Eleanor
- Carmelites, see Carmelite Nuns, Order of the Brothers of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel
- Carmelo, Spinelli's secretary,
 VI 541
- Carolinas,
 VI 263 319 364 409 411 419
 see also North Carolina, South Carolina
- Caron, see Le Caron
- Carpegna, Gaspare, 1625-1714, cdl. (22 Dec. 1670), cdl. Datario (1671-1676), cdl. Vicario (from 12 August 1671),
 prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars (from 10 Jan. 1675), PF member,
 II 155
 IV 237
 V 111 118
 VI 587
- Carpenter, John, d. 1786, abp. of Dublin (1770-1786),
 VI 339
- Carpentras, bishopric of, see Bichi (1630-1657)
- Carpineo, Giulio de, PF pro-secretary (30 March 1789-Feb. 1791),
 II 216-218
 IV 412
 VI 579
- Carr, Matthew, OSA, vic. general in the United States,
 IV 333 334 336-337
 V 433 440

Carroll, John, 1735-1815, SJ, superior of the missions in the United States (1784-1789), bp. of Baltimore (1789-1808), abp. of Baltimore (1808-1815),

- II 211-212 217-218 220-222 228-229 234
- III 593 594-597 605 606 609 633 636 644 662 668 669 670-671 674 676 677 678 679 696 698 699-702 704-705 706 710-711 719 721 722-724
- IV 20 22 24-25 31 105 107 110-112 158 160 163 168 190 304-305 312 316 329 331 333-334 336 343 351 354 355 356 358 362-364 412-413
- V 298 299-300 302 305 307 315 316 321 339 341 344 349 352 353 355 359 360 361 364 365 370 371 373 378 379-380 381 383 387 388 389 393-394 397 398 399 401 402 405-407 408 410 416-417 421 422 423-424 432-433 436 438 439-441 445 447 451 452-453 456 457-458 459
- VI 194 199 234 236 294 296 302 304 311 316 320 322 324 325-326 327 328 329 331-334 335 339 340 343 347-348 350-351 353 356 358 360 362 368 369-370 374-375 376-377 378 388 389-390 391-392 393 394-395 520

Cars, see Des Cars

Carthage, archbishopric of, see Bentivoglio, M.C. (1712-1719)

Cartier, Jacques, 1491-1557,

- VI 401

Casanate, Girolamo, 1620-1700, PF secretary (1666-1668), assessor of the Holy Office, cdl. (12 June 1673), PF member,

- III 230
- IV 382
- V 89-91 106
- VI 498 587

Casanovas, Bartolomé, fl. 1767-1774, priest,

- IV 283

Casimir of Dublin (Nulty), OFM Cap, provincial of Ireland (1788-1800?),

- VI 348

Caskanourays, see Tuscaroras

Casoni, Filippo, 1733-1811, abp. of Persia (1794-1801), N in Spain (1794-1800), cdl. (23 Feb. 1801),

- IV 35 329 330 331
- VI 380-382 383 384

Casoni, Lorenzo, 1645-1720, secretary of the Sacred Congregation of the Consistory (from Dec. 1682), secretary of the Cipher (c. 1687), cdl. (17 May 1706), PF member,

- II 178
- VI 22

Casot, Jean-Joseph, 1728-1800, SJ, superior of New France (1790-1800),

- III 601 602
- VI 63 117 200 202 540

Cassiet, Pierre-François, 1726-1809, CSSp,

- IV 16 49-50 55-56 58 252
- V 257 262-264 279 332
- VI 442 447 449

Castelgandolfo,

- IV 429

Castelli, Guiseppe Maria, d. 1780, cdl. (24 Sept. 1759), PF prefect (1763-1780),

- III 589 590
- IV 14 36 40 41 42-43 44 45-48 56 60 61 74 117 247-248 249-250 253-255 263 264 266-267 268 269-270 389 391-399 403 404 405 406 409 410 411
- V 158 159 161 181-184 186 194 212 214 216-218 221 243 262-264
- VI 65 68 70 73-74 76 77 78 83-84 86 91-92 93 100 102 104-107 111 114 121 265-266 271 275 319 419 422 423 426 431-432 436-437 440-442 464-465 559 589

Castilla,

- III 568

Castillon, André, SJ, provincial of Paris (1661-1664),

- II 116
- III 172-173
- V 61 62-63

- Castoria, bishopric of, see Neercassel (1662-1686)
- Castres, bishopric of,
IV 24
- Castries, Marquess of, see La Croix, C.E.G. de
Cataraqui,
VI 185
- Catherine of Aragon, 1485-1536, queen consort of Henry VIII (1509-1533),
VI 482
- Cats, Balduinus, d. 1663, bp. of Philippi (1662-1663), vic. ap. in Holland (1662-1663),
II 119
III 192
IV 231
V 79
- Caumont, Pierre de, c. 1641-1694, SME,
II 133
III 359
V 93
VI 402
- Causse, Johannes (Fidentius), OFM Rec,
II 221
III 671 674 679
V 398
- Cavalieri, Silvio de, 1642-1717, PF secretary (1707-1717), abp. of Athens (1712-1717),
II 179-183
III 463
V 126
- Cavelier, (Jean?), priest,
II 139 141
III 375-376 378
VI 410
- Cavendish Bentinck, William Henry, 1738-1809, 3rd Duke of Portland, home secretary (1794-1801),
II 235
III 725 727
VI 495
- Cayenne (Vieille-Cayenne),
II 130 157
III 379 429 559
IV 16 20 24-25 36 45 49 56 58 189-190 217 244 247-248 254-256 269 274 294
V 119 158 214 221 224 226 246-247 252-253 258 262-263 293-294 315 322 343 354 360 363
377 409
VI 107 110-111 173 259 424 426 429-433 437 439 442 444 450 452 456-457 464-467 470 499
515 518 540 572 574
see also Guyana
- Cayugas,
VI 364
see also Goyogouins
- Cazeneuve, François-Joseph, 1766-1817, priest,
III 601
VI 200
- Cefalonia, see Zante and Cefalonia
- Celesia, Gaetano, d. 1810, pontifical agent in Leghorn, (c. 1792-1810)
V 399 401 434 438 443-444
VI 374 386
- Celsi, Angelo, c. 1600-1671, cdl. (14 Jan. 1664), PF member,
II 137
- Centuria, bishopric of, see Douglas (1790-1812)
- Ceramus, bishopric of, see Davoust (1771-1789)

- Cerfoumont, Stanislas, OFM Cap,
 II 232
 III 713
- Cerri, Urbano, d. 1679, PF vice-secretary (1673), PF secretary (1675-1679),
 II 150 152 154-156 167 178 195
 III 420 425 429 443-445 462 485-486 488
 IV 224 226-227 236-237 382-383
 V 116 118
 VI 411 580-581
- Cesarea, archbishopric of, see Piccolomini (1656-1658), Baldeschi Colonna (1665-1673)
- Ceva, Giuseppe, secretary of the Secretariate of Briefs to Princes,
 II 38
 III 245
- Cévennes,
 VI 14 25 475
- Chabert, Victor, called Roux,
 VI 470
- Chais de Soissons de Frovilles, J.-A., lawyer of the Compagnie du Scioto,
 VI 355 361
- Chalcedon, bishopric of, see Smith, Richard (1624-1629)
- Challoner, Richard (alias John Fisher), 1691-1781, bp. of Debra (1738-1781), coadjutor of the bp. of Prusa (1739-1758), vic. ap. in the district of London (1758-1781),
 II 203-204
 III 531 532
 IV 59 61 72 188 221 241-242 257 259-260 271-272 277-279 285
 V 148 161 170 180 216 217-218 235 274 341
 VI 263 271 272 291 296 310 319 419 420 422 427-428 525 558 559 560 573 575
- Chalons-sur-Marne, bishopric of, see de Noailles, G.J.-B.-L. (1696-1720)
- Chambery, bishopric of, Conseil (1780-1793)
- Chambly, river
 III 692
 VI 207
- Champagne, Capuchin province of,
 II 189 197 205 207
 IV 217
 VI 269 467
 see also Georges de Fauquemont, Nicolas de Chaumont, Simon de Parey
- Champenois, Nicolas, d. 1810, bp. of Doliche (1785-1810),
 V 324-325
- Champflour, Étienne de, 1644-1724, abp. of La Rochelle (1703-1724),
 II 183
 III 467
- Champgenêteux, Benedictine abbey of (diocese of Le Mans),
 V 259
- Champion de Cicé, Jérôme-Marie, 1735-1810, abp. of Bordeaux (1781-1801),
 V 345 346 348
 VI 334 336 337 344
- Champlain, Lake
 VI 353
- Champvallon, see Harlay de Champvallon
- Chaptés, see La Corne de Chaptés
- Charest, Étienne, 1718-1783,
 IV 394

- Charles I, 1600-1649, King of Great Britain and Ireland (1625-1649),
 II 5 16-17 36 182
 III 2 242 316
 IV 419-421
 V 17 32
 VI 310
- Charles II, 1630-1685, King of Great Britain and Ireland (1660-1685),
 III 410
- Charles County, Maryland,
 VI 264
- Charles d'Amiens, OFM Cap,
 III 83
- Charles de Saint-Alexis, OCD,
 II 185
- Charles de Sainte-Marie, OFM Rec?,
 III 271
- Charleston, South Carolina,
 III 597 605 678
 V 361
 VI 282 284
- Charlevoix, René-François-Xavier de, 1682-1761, SJ,
 III 567
 see also *Histoire de l'isle Espagnole*
- Charnizay, see Menou de Charnizay
- Charny, see Lauson de Charny
- Charon, see Le Charon
- Chartier de Lotbinière, Eustache, (François-Louis), 1716-1789, OFM Rec,
 IV 264
 V 244
 VI 103-104 115-117 438
- Charton, François, fl. 1625-1626, SJ, lay brother,
 III 252
- Chartres, bishopric of, see Monstiers de Mérinville (1710-1746)
- Chastellain, Pierre, 1606-1684, SJ,
 IV 205 379
 VI 562
- Chastenot de Puységur, Jean-Auguste de, d. 1815, abp. Bourges (1788-1801),
 VI 453
- Château,
 III 244
- Château-Thierry,
 III 43
- Chaumonot, Pierre-Joseph-Marie, 1611-1693, SJ,
 IV 205 379
 VI 562
- Chaumont, Denis, protonotary ap.,
 VI 241 249
- Chaussegros de Léry, Alexandre-André-Victor,
 III 601
 VI 200
- Chaussegros de Léry, Charles-Étienne, 1774-1842,
 III 601
 VI 200
- Chaussegros de Léry, Gaspard-Joseph, 1721-1797,
 III 592-601
 VI 200

- Chaveaux, Charles, 1758-1794, priest,
 III 602
 VI 202
- Chedabouctou,
 II 162
 III 436 439
 V 121
- Chelsea,
 III 32-33 317
- Chevrières, see La Croix de Chevrières de Saint-Vallier
- Chiampagny,
 III 339 347
- Chiaromonti, Gregorio Luigi Barnaba, see Pius VII
- Chigi, Fabio, see Alexander VII
- Chigi, Flavio, 1631-1693, cdl. (9 April 1657), envoy extraordinary of France (1664), PF member,
 II 138
 III 199 211 306 381 382 386
 IV 233
 V 96
- Chile,
 VI 581
- China,
 II 5-6 111 114 130
 III 29 37-38 48 181 184 316 318 381 386 479 489 510
 IV 190 396
 V 7-9 75 110 132 230 315 363 370 373 430 450 455
 VI 354 358-359 450 499 508 520 540 584
 see also Tonkin
- Chliffet, see Philippe-Thérèsius de Sainte-Anne
- Choctaws,
 VI 267
- Choiseul, Étienne-François de, 1719-1785, Duke of Choiseul, Count of Stainville, minister of Foreign Affairs (1758-1761), minister of War (1761-1770), minister of the Navy (1761-1766), minister of Foreign Affairs (1766-1770),
 IV 255
 V 158
 VI 418 511
- Christopher of the Holy Trinity (Gardiner), d. 1646, priest (from 1640),
 II 59-60 62
 III 8 10 92 93 95-97 106 113 114 115 117 118 123 125 141 153 340 341-344 345 345
 IV 208
- Chrysologue, OFM,
 III 558
- Chrysostome de la Passion, TOR, provincial of Saint-Yves,
 II 162 164
 III 436 439
 V 121
- Church of England (Anglicans
 IV 218
 VI 230 262 297 462
- Ciampini, Giovanni Giustino, 1633-1698, priest,
 II 150
 V 116
- Cibo, Alderano, 1613-1700, cdl. (6 March 1645), PF member, secretary of state (1676-1689),
 IV 382

- Cibo, Edoardo, d. 1706, abp. of Seleucia (1670-1689), PF secretary (1680-1695),
 II 158 160-166
 III 430 432 434-436 438 440-441
 IV 429
 V 120-121
- Cicé, see Champion de Cicé
- Ciecissewski, Albert, SJ, provincial of Lithuania,
 II 138
 III 372-373
- Cimarra,
 VI 541
- Cipher, Secretariate of the, see Alamanni Nasi; Antonelli, L.
- Ciquard, François, 1754-1824, PSS,
 III 705
 V 280
 VI 142-144
- Cirillo de Barcelona, d. 1799, OFM Cap, vic. general of the bp. of Santiago de Cuba, superior of the missions in New Orleans
 IV 276 281 289
- Cistercians, see Order of Cîteaux
- Civitavecchia,
 V 350-351 438 445
 VI 334 338 341-342 344-345
- Clark, John, SJ, provincial of England 1664-1667),
 IV 8-13
- Clarke, Alured, 1745-1832, lieutenant-governor of Lower Canada (1791-1796),
 VI 222
- Clarke, James,
 III 647
- Claude "Bollauarensis," OFM Cap, lay brother,
 III 337
- Claude de Bourges, d. 1678, OFM Cap, provincial of Touraine (1655-1657, 1660-1663, 1666-1669, 1672-1673),
 III 176-178
- Clement VIII (Ippolito Aldobrandini), 1536-1605, pope (1592-1605)
 III 334
- Clement IX (Giulio Rospigliosi), 1600-1669, pope (1667-1669), formerly cdl. (9 April 1657), PF member, secretary of state (1655-1667),
 II 106-107 134-136
 III 361 367 378 380 383 391 394 401 491 494
 IV 233 393 396 427
 V 76 78 96 104
 VI 1 6 10
- Clement X (Emilio Altieri), 1590-1676, pope (1670-1676),
 II 149-150 156
 III 412 413 428 434
 IV 234-237
 V 99 110 113 116 118
 VI 6 11-12 403 477 496
- Clement XI (Albani), 1649-1721, pope (1700-1721), formerly cdl. (13 Feb. 1690), PF member,
 II 165 183
 III 444 453 456 458 460 461-462 464 465 467 489
 IV 114-115 225 238 417
 V 124
 VI 24 28 32-33 36 37 43-45 148

- Clement XII (Lorenzo Corsini), 1652-1740, pope (1730-1740),
 II 196 199
 III 495 498 504-506 508 517 519 522-523 526-527 528 560
 IV 239-240 272
 V 136
 VI 411-412
- Clement XIII (Carlo Rezzonico), 1693-1769, pope (1758-1769),
 II 205
 III 533 536-537 538 541 551-552 562 581 588
 IV 70-86 117 127-131 132 221 241 248 253 255-257 258-261 263 271-272 277-279 286 346 391
 393 396 406 408 409-410
 V 148 158 170 172 176 179-182 186-187 189 194-196 201
 VI 67 69 72 73 76 77 79 90 97 157 263 274 420-421 427-428 434 464-465 573
- Clement XIV (Giovanni Vincenzo Antonio Ganganelli), 1705-1774, pope (1769-1774),
 IV 87-99 119-121 145 146-154 262-263 265 268 270 271 273-274
 V 221-225 240 245
 VI 93 97 103 104 107 108 427 556-557 560
- Clermont, bishopric of,
 III 126
 IV 249 252
 VI 424
 see also Massillon (1718-1742)
- Clermont, Gabriel,
 VI 521
- Clermont-Tonnerre, François de, d. 1724, bp. of Langres (1696-1724),
 VI 474
- Clinton, Elinor,
 III 647
- Clonmel,
 III 577
- Cloran,
 III 613
- Clot, see du Clot
- Cloyne, bishopric of,
 III 603
- Coady, John,
 III 722 724
- Cochinchina,
 IV 190
 V 315
 VI 334 336 499
- Collegio San Clemente, Rome,
 IV 310
- Collegio San Isidoro, Rome,
 II 213
 III 640 643 647-648 650 652 667
 VI 187 201 307 461
- Collegio San Matteo, Rome,
 IV 333
 V 433 440
 VI 378
- Collegio Urbano, Rome,
 III 595-597 674 705 721
 IV 190 332
 V 283 298-299 302 305 315 321 344-345 348 350 355 358 379-380 398 434-436 441-443
 VI 304 316 325 333 335 338 347 375 385 387

- Collet, Charles-Ange, 1721-after 1800, canon of Quebec,
IV 394 403
- Collins, John, d. 1795,
III 592
- Colloredo, Leandro, 1639-1709, cdl. (2 Sept. 1686), prefect of the Sacred Penitentiary Apostolic (from 1688),
III 557
- Cologne, archbishopric and town,
III 188 190 192
IV 57
see also von Österreich (1785-1801)
- Colonna, Carlo, 1665-1739, cdl. (17 May 1706), count,
VI 473
- Colonna, see Baldeschi Colonna, Colonna di Sciarra, Pamphili Colonna
- Colonna di Sciarra, Prospero, 1707-1765, cdl. (9 Sept. 1743), PF member,
IV 117 389
V 154
VI 589
- Colorado, river
V 9
- Colossus, archbishopric of, see Pamphili Colonna (1760-1766)
- Columbus, Christopher, c. 1491-1506,
VI 401 572
- Coman, William, d. in 1821,
III 722 724
- Comana, bishopric of, see Maigrot (1696-1730)
- Comando, kingdom in Africa,
II 70 76
III 98 253-254
- Combes, Alexis de, d. 1745, SME superior (1736-1745),
V 141
- Côme de Mantes, d. after 1658, OFM Cap,
III 90 284
IV 371
- Côme de Senlis, OFM Cap, lay brother
III 284
IV 371
- Commins, John,
III 576
- Commissary of Aracoeli,
III 406
- Compagnie des Cent-Associés,
III 41 44-45
- Compagnie des Indes,
VI 268
- Compagnie des Indes occidentales,
II 133 135 139 141
III 213 359 363 375-376 378
- Compiègne,
VI 58
- Concanen, Richard Luke, 1747-1810, OP, agent in Rome of the archbishop of Dublin, bp. of New York New York (1808-1810),
VI 234 392-393
- Condom, bishopric of, see Matignon (1672-1693)
- Condulmer, Domenico Nicola, 1683-1747, bp. of Hvar (1723-1747),
II 194
III 483

- Confrérie de la Mort,
 IV 144
 Confrérie du Sacré-Cœur-de-Jésus, Canada?,
 IV 143
 Congo,
 II 192
 III 167 479
 V 237 241
 VI 516
 Congrégation de Montréal, see Société Notre-Dame de Montréal
 Congrégation des Hommes, Montreal,
 IV 286-287
 Congrégation des Prêtres Missionnaires du Saint-Sacrement,
 III 9
 Congrégation du Saint-Esprit (Spiritains), see Allain; Becquet, F.; Becquet, J.-F.; Bouguet; Bourg, J.M.; Bro;
 Cassiet; Donat; Le Loutre; Le Roux; Longueville, J.; Paradis; Séminaire du Saint-Esprit
 Congrégation pour la Propagation de la Foi, see Sodalité de l'Exaltation de la Sainte-Croix
 Congregazione dei Pii Operarii,
 III 445
 Connecticut,
 II 211
 III 593
 IV 293
 V 379
 VI 353
 Connell, James, SJ, procurator in Rome of the bishop of Baltimore,
 V 410 416-417
 Connolly, John, c. 1750-1825, OP, prior of Collegio San Clemente (1782-1796), bp. of New York (1814-1825)
 IV 310 317-318 320-321 325
 Conseil, Michel, 1716-1793, bp. of Chambery (1780-1793),
 IV 29
 Consistory, see Sacred Congregation of the Consistory
 Constantinople,
 III 96
 IV 180 184 189-190 298 371-372
 V 151 315
 Conti, Innocenzo, d. 1815, cdl. (19 April 1773), secretary of the Secretariate of Briefs to Princes (from
 3 March 1775),
 IV 156 353
 V 324 325-326
 Conti, Michele Angelo, see Innocent XIII
 Conway, Anthony, OP,
 VI 352
 Conza, archbishopric of, see Lagonissa (1622-1645)
 Coppola, Domenico, 1752-1807, secretary of the Congregation of Rites (1798-1800), PF secretary
 (23 Feb. 1801-15 Dec. 1807)
 IV 123
 VI 232 233
 Coquart, Claude-Godefroy, 1706-1765, SJ,
 VI 63 540
 Corballis, Patrick,
 III 647
 Cordon, Marquess of, see Salier della Torre
 Corinth, archbishopric of, see Spinelli (1725-1734), Vincenti (1785-1794)
 Cork, bishopric and town,
 VI 187
 see also Butler (1763-1787)

- Cork, Capuchin convent of, see Callanan
- Cormandel,
 IV 190
 V 315 391 394
- Corradi, Giacomo, d. in 1666, cdl. (19 Feb. 1652),
 III 205
 V 82
- Corsini, Lorenzo, see Clement XII
- Corsini, Nereo Maria, 1685-1770, cdl. (in pectore 14 Aug. 1730, published 11 Dec. 1730), PF member
 IV 117 389
 VI 72 589
- Cortés, Hernán, 1485-1547
 VI 401
- Corti, Giuseppe, abp. of Sebaste (1654-1670?),
 II 113
 III 188 189
- Corti, Pietro, OM, general (1673-1679),
 V 117
- Cortown,
 III 643
 IV 32
- Corvia, Sea of, see California, Sea of,
- Cosenza, archbishopric of, see Sanfelice (1650-1660)
- Cosimi, Stefano, 1629-1707, abp. of Split (1678-1708),
 II 169
 III 446 448
- Cospean (Cospeau?), Philippe, 1568-1646, bp. of Lisieux (1636-1646),
 II 59
 III 340 341
- Costa d'Arignano, Vittorio Maria, 1737-1796, abp. of Turin (1778-1796), cdl. (30 March 1789),
 V 269
 VI 124 129 130 131
 VI 264
- Cotolendi, Ignace, 1630-1662, SME, bp. of Metellopolis (1660-1662), vic. ap. in Nankin (1660-1662),
 III 181 186 381 383 386
- Couet Du Vivier de Lorry, Michel-François, 1727-1803, abp. of Angers (1782-1801),
 IV 29
- Coulouge,
 II 125
 III 201
- Coulouges, see Le Tonnelier de Coulouges
- Courtenay (or Courtney), Edward (alias Leedes), SJ, provincial of England (1660-1664),
 II 117 120 122
 IV 2-3 5-7 8 229 232
 V 66 68 70-71
- Courval, see Poulin de Courval Cressé
- Coutances, bishopric of,
 III 361 367
 see also C.-F. Loménie de Brienne (1667-1720)
- Couturies, Jean, PSS, superior of the Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice (Paris),
 IV 402
- Couznois,
 III 490
- Cowan, James, OFM, guardian of Collegio San Isidoro (1790-1793),
 III 626 640 643 647-648 650 652 667

- Crane, Philip, OSA, prior of Collegio San Matteo,
 IV 333 334-337
 V 433 440
 VI 378
- Creeks,
 VI 364
- Cremona, cdl. of, see Scaglia
- Crescenzo, Marcello, 1694-1768, abp. of Nazianzo (1739-1743), N in France (1739-1743), cdl. (9 Sept. 1743),
 II 202
 III 530
 V 139
 VI 57
- Cressé, see Poulin de Courval Cressé
- Crèvecoeur, Michel-Guillaume-Jean de, 1735-1813, French consul in New York (1784-1790),
 VI 322 323
- Crissé, see Turpin de Crissé et Sanzay
- Croion, Pierre, priest,
 VI 521
- Cron, see Michel de Cron
- Crussol, Alexandre-Charles-Emmanuel de, 1743-1815, called Florensac, Chevalier, Knight of Malta,
 V 330-331
 VI 186
- Crussol d'Uzès, François de, 1740-1789, bp. of La Rochelle (1768-1789),
 IV 14 118
 V 197 202-203 205
 VI 89 92-94 453
- Cuba, see Santiago de Cuba
- Cugnet, Gilles-Louis, canon of Quebec,
 IV 394 403
- Culture, doctor of the Sorbonne,
 VI 2
- Curaçao,
 VI 541
- Curland,
 II 138
 III 373
- Cyprus,
 III 7 42
 IV 189 377
- Czartoryski, Theodorus Casimirus, 1702-1768, bp. of Poznań (1739-1768),
 II 201

D

- Dablon, Claude, 1618 or 1619-1697, SJ,
 III 202
 IV 205
- Dagobert de Longuory, OFM Cap, superior of Louisiana,
 IV 37
 VI 96 443
- Daillon, see La Roche Daillon
- Daily, priest,
 III 576
- Daly, Thomas,
 III 647

- Daly, Widow,
 III 647
- Damas, archbishopric of, see Giraud (1767-1773), Pierre de Bernis (1784-1795)
- Damietta, see Tamiathis
- Damon, lieutenant-general of Lévis, F.-C.
 III 22-23 148
- Damville, Duke of, see Lévis, F.-C. de
- Daniel de Nogent, OFM Cap,
 III 273
 IV 414
- Dannally, OFM Cap,
 VI 348
- Darby, Francis (alias Fitzherbert), (1613-1687), SJ, superior in the American Provinces (1659-1664),
 II 117 120 122
 IV 3 5 229 232
 V 66 70-71
- Darcelle, Mathieu, priest,
 III 114 115 123 126
- Darien,
 IV 207
- Dartigny, see Berthelot Dartigny
- Dataria Apostolica,
 II 146
 III 194 205
 IV 311
 V 78 81-82
 see also Carpegna
- Datti, F.,
 IV 314
- Davaugour, see Dubois Davaugour
- Davion, Albert, d. 1726, SME,
 II 190
 III 477-478
 VI 196
- Davoust, Jean, 1728-1789, SME, bp. of Ceramus (1771-1789),
 V 227 230
 VI 66-67 88 100 101 274 509 511 512
- Dax, archbishopric of, see Le Quien (1772-1801)
- Debeuf (Lebeuf?), notary
 III 308
- Debra, bishopric of, see Challoner (1738-1781)
- de-Grand-Dos-Melé, archdeacon of Saint-Malo,
 VI 115
- Deguisse, François-Joseph, 1759-1835, priest,
 III 602
 VI 202
- Delaney, Martin,
 III 722 724
- Delaroche,
 VI 361
- Delaware,
 II 211
 III 593
 V 321
 VI 294 325 329
- Delaware Bay
 III 106

- De Lisle de La Cailletterie, Jean, 1736-1814,
 V 284 291 311
 VI 143 147 149-150 152-153 163 521
- della Rovere, see Rovere
 della Somaglia, see Somaglia
- Demerara,
 VI 276-278
- Demers, Jean-Baptiste-Nicolas (alias Pierre), 1722-after 1780, SJ,
 VI 63 540
- Dempsey, Sylvester,
 III 612 617 622 640 644 646-647 665
- Denaut, Pierre, 1743-1806, vic. general of the bp. of Quebec (1790-1795), bp. of Canatha (1794-1797), coadjutor
 of the bp. of Quebec (1794-1797), bp. of Quebec (1797-1806),
 II 233
 III 715 716-718
 IV 161-162 359 360 361
 V 411 414-415 418-419 446 449-450 454-455 461
 VI 162 227-229 231 237 238 239-243 244 246-247 248-250 252-254
- Denis de Nîmes, OFM Cap, provincial of Saint-Louis (1662-1666, 1669-1671),
 V 64
- Denys, Simon,
 III 276
- de Paoli, see Paoli
 de Quen, see Quen
- Derome, Jacques, 1752-1808, priest,
 III 602
 VI 202
- Derry, bishopric of, see M. O'Reilly (1739-1749), MacDavett (1766-1797)
- Des Cars, Jean-François, 1747-1822, Baron, Knight of Malta,
 VI 152 154-155 180 521
- Deschamps, Pierre, SJ, procurator general for South America,
 II 188
 III 475
- Deschamps de La Bouteillerie, Charles-Joseph, 1674-1726, priest,
 VI 31
- Deschenaux, see Brassard Deschenaux
 Des Essarts, see Berey Des Essarts
 Desforges, see Boursier
- Desforges, Antoine, 1763-1822, priest,
 III 601
 VI 200
- Désirade,
 IV 244 247-248 254 256
 V 158
 VI 424 464-465 467 572 574
- Desjardins, Philippe-Jean-Louis, 1753-1833, priest,
 III 717
 VI 228 236 248-250 253-254
- Des Laurents, see Laurents
 Desnouse, see Jean de Troyes
 Despuyols, Dominique, SME?,
 II 190
 III 477-478
- Destables, Charles-Louis, priest,
 IV 269
 V 214

- Detroit,
 III 581
 VI 185
- d'Eudemare, see Eudemare
- de Vecchi, see Vecchi
- Devernai, see Verney
- Deville, E.-Thomas,
 III 601
- Díaz de la Guerra, Juan, d. 1800, bp. of Sigüenza (1777-1800),
 IV 331
 VI 380 381-382
- Dicconson, Edward, 1670-1752, bp. of Mallus (1740-1752), vic. ap. in the English Northern district (1740-1752),
 V 142
- Dickinson, Clare Joseph, fl. 1790-1794, OCarm,
 II 221
 III 671 674
 IV 315
 V 398 416
- Didace de Liesse, OFM Cap, lay brother,
 III 284
 IV 371
- Diderick Bernard, 1726-1793, SJ,
 IV 291-292
 VI 296 558 560
- Didier, Pierre, OSB,
 II 221
 III 671 674 676 705
 IV 106
 V 370-371 373-374 379 398
 VI 354 355-356 357-358 360
- Dieppe,
 II 185
 III 137 303 470-471
 IV 180 185
- Digges, Thomas, 1711-1805, SJ, superior in the American provinces (1750-1753),
 VI 560
- Digne, Joseph, agent in Rome of the bp. of Quebec (1729-c. 1741), and French shipping agent,
 III 530
- Dilhet, Jean, b. 1753, PSS,
 III 705
- Dillon, Arthur-Richard, d. 1806, abp. of Narbonne (1763-1801),
 VI 181
- Di Negro, see Francesco da Genova
- di Perrone, see Perrone
- Discalced Carmelites, see Order of the Discalced Brothers of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel
- Discalced Carmelite Nuns, see Carmelite Nuns
- Dohen, Charles-Philippe, 1701-after 1762, SJ,
 VI 63 540
- Doliche, bishopric of, see Champenois (1785-1810)
- Dominica,
 II 81 93
 III 560
 IV 61 220 257
 V 159-160
 VI 61 263 271-272 319 418-420 445 573
- Dominicans, see Order of Friars Preacher
- Dominican Third Order, see Marguerite de Saint-Joseph

- Dominus ac Redemptor* (21 July 1773), brief,
 V 234 238 250
 VI 117 556 558 560
- Donald, M.,
 III 716
 VI 229
- Donati, Abbot, pro-auditor to the pope,
 V 423 424-425 426
- Donnelly, Owen,
 III 647 665
- Dorchester, Baron, see G. Carleton
- Dormeilles, see Le Charon
- Doria Pamphili, Giuseppe Maria, 1751-1816, abp. of Seleucia (1773-14 Feb. 1785), N in France (1773-Feb. 1785),
 cdl. (14 Feb. 1785), secretary of state (1797-1799),
 III 582-583 586 587
 IV 17-18 23 46-48 55 56 58 188 293 294 301 411
 V 242 243 253 254 257 258 262 263 273-274 276 281 283 286 288-289 290-292 293-294 298
 299 302 305 307 309 322 336
 VI 136 153 154 155 163 169-170 173 275 280 286-287 289 291 294 295 296-297 299-306 308-
 309 310 311-312 314 316 320 322-324 329 436 442 445 448 450 520
- Dorylea, bishopric of, see Mariauchau d'Esgly (1772-1784)
- Dosque, Bernard-Sylvestre, c. 1727-1774, priest,
 IV 252
- Dosquet, Pierre-Herman, 1691-1777, bp. of Samos (1727-1733), coadjutor of the bp. of Quebec (1729-1733), bp.
 of Quebec (1733-1739),
 II 194-196 198-200
 III 484 485 486 488 490 493 495 498-499 501 504-506 508 509 510-511 519 528 529
 IV 15 70-71
 V 132-133 134 135-136 143 159 160 163 164
 VI 53 55-56 64 74 75 88 261 419-420 509 511 512
- Douai, bishopric and town,
 II 216
 III 38 242
 IV 21
 V 69 360
 VI 350
- Douaron, Charles,
 VI 91
- Douaron, Jean,
 VI 91
- Douaron, Jeanne,
 VI 91
- Douaron, Madeleine,
 VI 91
- Douay, Anastase, d. after 1699, OFM Rec,
 II 158 171
 III 431
- Dougherty, Charles,
 III 647
- Dougherty, Felix, b. 1774,
 III 595-597 605 674 705 721
 IV 332
 V 344-351 355 358 379-380 398 402 434-437 441-444
 VI 333-338 341-342 344-347 375-376 385-386 387
- Dougherty, Michael,
 III 647
- Doughty, Thomas, see Stock

- Douglas, John, d. 1812, bp. of Centuria (1790-1812), vic. ap. in the London district (1790-1812),
 II 235
 III 725-727
 V 420 449 454
 VI 238 246 495
- Drogheda,
 III 622
- Drouart, Bertrand,
 III 306
- Druillet, André, 1664-1727, bp. of Bayonne (1707-1727),
 II 190
 III 477
- Druillettes, Gabriel, 1610-1681, SJ,
 III 202
 IV 205 379
 VI 562
- Druran, Mark (Mark Harrington, alias Drury?), priest,
 III 109
- Drury, see Druran
- Dublin, archbishopric and town,
 III 605 645 657 659 696 723
 IV 334
 VI 494 500
 see also Carpenter (1770-1786), Troy (1786-1823)
- Dublin, Augustinian convent of,
 IV 333
- Dubois, Guillaume, 1656-1723, cdl. (16 July 1721),
 II 191
 III 479
- Dubois Davaugour, Pierre, d. 1664, governor of New France (1661-1663),
 II 124
- Du Bois de Sanzay, see Aviau Du Bois de Sanzay
- Dubois-Nautier, priest,
 V 374
 VI 360-361 363
- Dubord, Jean-Baptiste, 1764-1814, priest,
 III 601
 VI 200
- Du Bourgne,
 III 113
- Dubreil de Lagagnerie, brother-in-law of Simon Denys,
 III 276
- Dubreil de Pontbriand, Henri-Marie, 1708-1760, bp. of Quebec (1741-1760),
 II 202 205
 III 530 533 535 537-538 686
 IV 73 120 130 258
 V 139-141 144 145 149-150 152 160 179
 VI 57-58 59 69 88 103 212 267 415 417 421
- Dubrovnik, see Ragusa
- Dubut, Abbot,
 VI 152 155
- Duchesnay, see Juchereau Duchesnay
- Du Chesne, Adrien, d. after 1656,
 III 276

- Duchesne, Jean-Olivier (nephew of Briand),
 V 292 304
 VI 153 161 163 521
- Duchouquet, see Lefebvre Duchouquet
- du Clot, Joseph-François, 1745-1821, priest,
 V 271-272 275 287
 VI 131-132 137 139 141
- Ducondu, Joseph, 1764-1796, priest,
 III 600-601 602
 VI 200 202 204
- Dufau, Martin, c. 1699-1778, SME superior (1746-1750),
 VI 507
- Dufau, Pierre,
 III 592
- Dufaux, François-Pierre, 1752-1796, priest,
 VI 185
- Duffey, Daniel,
 III 618 640 646-647 665
- Dufrost Youville, see Youville
- Duggin, David,
 III 722 724
- Dugnani, Antonio, 1748-1818, abp. of Rhodes (1785-1794), N in France (1785-c. May 1791), cdl. (21 Feb. 1794),
 IV 20 22-30 106 190
 V 311 315 318 321 332 345 346-348 351 358 359 360 362-363 370 371 372-374 377 381 384
 389
 VI 175 177 333-337 338 341-342 351 354-361 363 365 366
- Duhamel, Benjamin, d. 1777, OFM Cap,
 V 216
- Du Jaunay, Pierre, 1704 or 1705-1780, SJ,
 VI 63 117 540
- Duke William*, ship,
 VI 252
- Du Lau, Jean-Marie, d. 1792, abp. of Arles (1775-1792),
 VI 175 177 180
- Dulong, François, fl. 1633-1654, OFM Rec,
 VII 268
- Dunboyne, Lord, see Butler
- Dunn, Thomas, 1729-1818, judge, president of the Executive Council of Lower Canada, Administrator of Lower
 Canada (12 Aug. 1805-24 Oct. 1807, 19 June 1811-4 Sept. 1811),
 III 585 592
 VI 167
- Duperon, Charles Camus, priest,
 II 58
 III 349 350
 IV 208
 V 33
- Du Peron, François, 1610-1665, SJ,
 III 324
 IV 205
- du Plessis, Armand Jean, Cardinal Richelieu, 1585-1642, cdl. (5 Sept. 1622),
 III 54 63 66-69 86 246 249
 V 35
- Duplessis, Christophe, 1608-1672, Baron of Montbard,
 II 105
 III 306-307
 V 60

- Duplessis de Mornay, Louis-François (Louis-François de Vannes), 1663-1741, OFM Cap, bp. of Eumenia (1714-1727), coadjutor of the bp. of Quebec (1714-1727), bp. of Quebec (1727-1733),
 II 181 184 194-196 198
 III 465 481 485-486 488 490 493 495 498-499 501 504-505 508
 IV 70-71 240
 V 132-133 135
 VI 88 261
- Du Plessis de Richelieu, Alphonse-Louis, 1582-1653, abp. of Lyon (1628-1653), cdl. (19 Nov. 1629),
 II 58
 III 350
- Dupré, see Le Comte Dupré
- Durazzo, Stefano, d. 1667, cdl. (28 Nov. 1633), PF member,
 II 115 123
 III 238
 IV 65-66
- Du Tartre, Françoise, fl. 1645-1651,
 III 276
- Du Thet, Gilbert, c. 1575-1613, SJ, lay brother,
 III 252
- Du Tremblay, see Joseph de Paris (Du Tremblay)
- Dutton,
 VI 454
- Duval, Joseph, 1768-1807, priest,
 III 585 592
 VI 248-250 254
- Du Val d'Eprémesnil, Jean-Jacques, 1745-1794,
 IV 26
 V 374
 VI 355 357-358 360 361 363
- Duverger, see Forget Duverger
- Du Vivier, see Couet Du Vivier de Lorry

E

- Eastern Shore,
 VI 264
- East India School, Virginia,
 III 34
- East Indies,
 II 5 44
 III 188 251 316 330-333 339 347 359 410 460 504-505
 IV 35 103 184 196 217 341 349 377 393 427
 V 36 134 140-141
 VI 88 141 193 399 483 486 489 508 515 529 540 561 570 585
- Echavarria, Jaime Juan, d. 1789, bp. of Santiago de Cuba (1770-1788),
 IV 155 276 280 283 289-290
 VI 122
- Eden, Joseph, priest,
 II 232
 III 713
- Edenshink, Josef, priest,
 VI 347
- Edgeworth de Firmon, SME,
 V 284
 VI 147
- Edmund of St. Martin (Edmund Stanford), d. 1635, OCD,
 III 36

- Egan, William, d. 1796, bp. of Waterford (1771-1796),
 II 209
 III 575-576 577 578
 V 295 297 335 375
- Egypt,
 III 117 142
 IV 25 189 377
 VI 508 540
- Elci, Raniero d', 1670-1761, abp. of Rhodes (1730-1738), N in France (1731-1738), cdl. (in pectore le 20 Dec. 1737, published 23 June 1738),
 II 199
 III 506 508 509-510 511
 V 136
 VI 55-56
- Elias of Jesus (Edward Bradshaw), d. 1652, OCD,
 II 8
 III 32 34 36 161 314-315 317-318 323
 V 11
 VI 257
- Eliseus of St. Michael (William Pendrynck), 1583-1650, OCD, vic. provincial of England (1618-1625, 1626-1635),
 III 36 161
 VI 257
- Elizabeth I, 1533-1603, Queen of England and Ireland (1568-1603),
 III 31
 VI 573
- Elling, William, OSB,
 III 232
 III 713
 VI 388 390 394-395
- Elliot, John, c. 1734-1808, governor of Newfoundland (1786-1789),
 VI 454 459 463
- Elzéar de Beauvais, OFM Cap,
 III 87
- Elzéar de Saint-Florentin, OFM Cap, lay brother,
 IV 371
- Emanuel de Villeneuve de Berg, OFM Cap,
 III 83 337
- Emery, Jacques-André d', PSS, superior of the Société de Saint-Sulpice,
 IV 27 28 30
 V 377
 VI 152
- Emessa, bishopric of, see Busca (1775-1789)
- England, Discalced Carmelite province of,
 II 8-9
 see also Eliseus of St. Michael (1618-1625), Bede of the Blessed Sacrament (1625-1625), Eliseus of St. Michael (1625-1635), Bede of the Blessed Sacrament (1635-1642)
- England, Jesuit province of,
 II 117 120 122 138
 VI 310 540
 see also Courtenay (1660-1664), Clark (1664-1667), Simeon (1667-1671)
- English College, Douai,
 II 13 216
 III 38 242
- English College, Rome,
 VI 415 557

- Ennis, Michael, OSA,
 IV 323 324 333 335 336
 VI 378
- Enniskean,
 II 620
- Entrechaux, see Fogasses d'Entrechaux de La Bastie
- Eprémesnil, see Du Val d'Eprémesnil
- Erard, see Gérard
- Erskine, Charles, 1739-1811, papal envoy extraordinary to England (1793-1801), cdl. (23 Feb. 1801)
 II 235
 III 723-724 725-726 727
 V 420 430 449-450 454-455
 VI 234 388-389 495
- Escale, see Pacifique de Provins
- Escobleau, see Sourdis d'Escobleau
- Esgly, see Mariauchau d'Esgly
- Espérance, see L'Espérance
- Esprit d'Yvoy (Sabatier), OFM Cap,
 III 6 82 87
 V 24
- Essarts, see Bery Des Essarts
- Este, Rainaldo d', d. 1672, cdl. (16 Dec. 1641), PF member,
 II 80-82 90
 V 52
- Estotiland,
 VI 396 526
- Estrées, César d', 1628-1714, cdl. (in pectore 24 August 1671, published 16 May 1672), PF member,
 II 159 162 164
 III 416 436 438-439
 V 121
 VI 11
- Esztergom, bishopric of,
 IV 298
- État de la mission Catholique telle qu'elle est conduite par les Exjésuites en Amérique, L'* (1788), by Patrick Smyth,
 II 220
 III 636 640 669
 IV 32
 V 379
- Ethiopia,
 III 337
 IV 25 374
 VI 492 499
- Étoile, Abbot of L', see La Corne de Chaptés
- Eudemare, Georges d', 1589-after 1653, SJ,
 IV 379
 VI 562
- Eudo, Gilles, 1724-1779, PSS,
 VI 122
- Eumenia, bishopric of, see Duplessis de Mornay (1714-1727)
- Eusèbe de Paris, OFM Cap,
 III 87
- Ewer (Yore), Thomas Anthony, 1749-1833, OFM Rec,
 III 722 724
 VI 459 461 463 468 469
- Ex sublimi* (26 Jan. 1753), bull,
 IV 111

Extract of an Address delivered in the Chapel of Kells (1791), by Patrick Smyth,
III 650
Eyston, Bonaventure, d. 1716, OFM Rec,
VI 52

F

- Fabroni, Carlo Agostino, d. 1727, secretary of the Sacred Congregation of the Consistory, PF secretary (1695-1706), cdl. (17 May 1706),
II 168-170
III 445-446 452
IV 115 238
V 122 124-125
VI 23 28 479
- Facchinetti, Cesare, 1608-1683, cdl. (13 July 1643), PF member,
II 105
VI 499
- Faenza, bishopric of, see Rosetti (1643-1676)
- Fairchild, Lawrence,
III 647
- Fairchild, Thomas,
III 647 665
- Falconieri, Ottavio, abbot of San Gerolamo, internuncio in Belgium (1673-1674),
V 115
- Farfa, abbey,
II 174
II 454
- Farmer (Steinmyer), Ferdinand, 1720-1786, SJ,
III 595
V 316 344
VI 320-321 322 558 560
- Farnese, Alessandro, see Paul III
- Farrell, Patrick
III 647
- Farrissy, Ferdinand, priest,
II 56
III 89 335-336
IV 208
V 20
- Fassati, Pio Bonifacio, OP, secretary of the Sacred Congregation of the Indulgences,
IV 332
- Fatebenefratelli, see Hospitaller Order of St. John of God
- Faulconier, see Le Faulconier
- Faulquier Vitrey, Edmond de, vic. of the abp. of Lyon,
II 58
III 350
- Faure, see Léonard de Paris
- Favery, see Fermanel de Favery
- Favoriti, Agostino, d. 1682, secretary of the Sacred Congregation of the Consistory,
V 91 104 107 108 109-110
VI 8 29-30 475
- Feauté, Pierre, d. 1661, SJ, lay brother,
IV 205
- Federici, priest?,
IV 295

- Feliciano da Piacenza (Lampugnani), d. 1644, OFM Cap, procurator general (1637-1643),
 II 53-54 61 69
 III 71 78 284 285 290 338 346 351
 IV 370
 V 24
- Féligonde, see Pelissier de Féligonde
- Felipe IV, King of Spain, see Philip IV, King of Spain
- Félix de Reims, d. 1658, OFM Cap, lay brother,
 III 284
 IV 371
- Fénelon, see Salignac de La Mothe-Fénelon
- Ferdinand, OFM Cap,
 IV 37
 VI 96
- Ferentino, bishopric of, see Patrignani
- Fermanel de Favery, Luc, d. 1688, SME superior (1674-1680),
 III 182 382
- Fermeuse,
 VI 459
- Feroni, Giuseppe Maria, 1692-1767, cdl. (26 Nov. 1753), PF member,
 IV 117 389
 V 154
 VI 589
- Ferryland,
 III 722 724
 VI 459-461 463 468
- Feuillantines, nuns,
 III 271
- Feuville, Jean, 1600 or 1601-1701, SJ, lay brother,
 IV 205
- Fidentius, see Causse
- Figso, Louisiana,
 IV 280
- Filicchi, Abbot,
 VI 375
- Filicchi, Filippo, merchant
 IV 295 297
 V 313
 VI 330 351 375
- Filicchi, Nicola, VI 351
- Filippi, Giovanni Vincenzo, Abbot, 1656-1738, bp. of Zante and Cefalonia (1698-1718),
 II 173
 III 452-453
- Fillion, François,
 III 592
- Finatère, Jean-Dominic, priest
 IV 401
- Finlay, G.C.,
 VI 222
- Finlay, Hugh, c. 1730-1801,
 III 592
 VI 167
- Firmin d'Amiens, OFM Cap,
 III 87
- Firmon, see Edgeworth de Firmon
- Fisher, John, see Challoner, Richard
- Fitzherbert, see Darby

- Fitzherbert, Alleyne, 1753-1839, Baron St. Helens,
VI 280
- Fitzwilliam, see Villiers
- Five Nations
VI 367
see also Iroquois, Six Nations
- Flaget, Benedict-Joseph, 1763-1850, PSS, bp. of Bardstown (1808-1832, 1833-1850)
III 705
- Flanders,
II 150
III 318
VI 70
see also Belgium
- Fleming, Francis Anthony, d. 1793, OP, rector of the Irish College in Lisbon, then vic. general for the northern district of the bp. of Baltimore,
II 232
III 713
V 383
VI 352 369-370 376
- Fleury, see Joly de Fleury
- Floirac, Abbot,
IV 26-27 29
- Floquet, Pierre-René, 1716-1782, SJ,
VI 63 117
- Florence, archbishopric of, see Nerli (1670-1683)
- Florida,
II 171
III 67 156 411
IV 155 220 223 225 283-284
V 162
VI 319 364-365 396 460 526 554 573
see also Northern Florida
- Floyd,
VI 372
- Focras, priest,
VI 141
- Fogasses d'Entrechaux de La Bastie, Jean-Joseph de, 1704-1767, bp. of Saint-Malo (1739-1767),
V 155-156
VI 417
- Fontainebleau,
III 154-155 159-160
IV 406
VI 32 45-46 295
- Fontenay,
II 170
III 449-451
V 123
- Forest, Adam, priest,
III 123 126
- Forget Duverger, Jacques-François, d. after 1764, vic. general of the bp. of Quebec (1760-1764),
IV 258
- "Formulae facultatum quae conceduntur missionariis" (undated),
VI 579
- Forrester, C., priest,
III 677
- Fort,
VI 342

- Fort Amhersbury,
 VI 234
- Forteguerra, Niccolò, 1674-1735, PF secretary (1730-1735),
 II 197
 III 495 496 498 504-505 507
 IV 70-71 225 239-240
 V 133 135
 VI 53 55
- Fort-Rosalie,
 IV 37
- Fort-Royal, Martinique,
 III 572
- Fort Stanwix,
 IV 335
 VI 378
- Foubert, Abbot, vic. general of the bp. of Quebec?,
 IV 239-240
- Foucault, Nicolas-Joseph, intendant of Poitou,
 III 449 451
- Fournel, François,
 III 716
 VI 229
- Frambach, Jacob, 1729-1795, SJ,
 II 232
 III 713
 VI 558 560
- Franceschi, see Bernardino da Sant'Angelo in Vado
- Francesco da Genova (Di Negro), 1573-1650, OFM Cap, procurator general (1625-1637),
 II 21 23
 III 63 325
 V 27
- Francheville, Pierre, 1649-1713, priest,
 II 365
 VI 1
- Franchi, Angelo, 1675-1751, OFM Rec, bp. of Ragusa (1728-1751),
 II 200
 III 520
- Franciscans, see Order of Friars Minor (Franciscans)
- Francisco de Caldes, OFM Cap,
 IV 280 290
- François de Cunières, OFM Cap,
 II 79 81
 III 244
 IV 207
 VI 566
- François de Joinville, OFM Cap, lay brother convers,
 III 83
- François "Juniarsensis," OFM Cap, lay brother,
 III 337
- François-Marie de Paris, OFM Cap, lay brother,
 IV 371
- Franklin, Benjamin, 1706-1790,
 IV 293 413
 V 273 276 299 305 307
 VI 280 286 287 289 291 295 297 300 304 311 312-315 316 520
- Frémin, Jacques, 1628-1691, SJ,
 IV 205

French Revolution (1789-1794)

- VI 585
Frères de La Charité, see Hospitaller Order of St. John of God
Frézeau de La Frézelière, Charles-Magdelaine, 1656-1702, bp. of La Rochelle (1694-1702),
II 170
III 449 451
V 123
Friburg,
VI 225
Friquet, Johannes, d. 1667, Leopold I's resident in La Hague (1659),
II 113
III 188-189
Fröling, Wolfgang, OSB,
III 705
V 398 402 417
VI 376
Fromm, Franz, OFM Rec,
V 432 439
VI 388
Frontenac, Count of, see Buade
Froville, see Chais de Soissons de Froville
Fundy, Bay of,
VI 195
Fuss, Hildebrand, priest,
II 119
III 192
IV 67 231
V 79-80
VI 561 565

G

- Gabriel de Joinville, OFM Cap,
III 83 90
IV 371
Gabriel de Paris, OFM Cap,
III 82-83 87
Gagnon, Pierre-Paul, 1649-1711, priest,
III 365
VI 1
Gaillard, François-Bernard, 1762-1817, priest,
III 601 717
VI 200 228
Gaillard, Joseph-Ambroise, canon of Quebec,
IV 394 403
Galizio, see Marco Antonio da Carpenedolo
Gallard de Béarn, Jean, 1579-1645, Count of Brassac,
III 55-56
Galli, Antonio Andrea, 1697-1767, cdl. (26 Nov. 1753), PF member,
V 154
Gallio, Marco, d. 1683, bp. of Rimini (1659-1681), N in Cologne (1659-1666), cdl. (1 Sept. 1681),
II 113 119
III 188 191-192
IV 231
V 67 73 79-80

- Gallio's agent,
III 191
- Gallitzin, Dimitri Augustin, priest,
IV 316
- Galway,
III 89 294 336
- Gambieu,
V 292 304
VI 153 161 163 521
- Gand, see Ghent
- Ganganelli, Giovanni Vincenzo Antonio, see Clement XIV
- Garampi, Giuseppe, 1725-1792, bp. of Montefiascone (1776-1792), N in Vienna (1776-1785), cdl. (14 Feb. 1785),
VI 281
- Gardiner, see Christopher of the Holy Trinity
- Gardoqui, Diego de, Spanish minister in the United States,
VI 347
- Garipault, André, Sir Ligné, priest,
II 170
III 499-501
V 123
- Garnet, William, governor of Kells,
III 616 640 643 646 647
- Garnett, James,
III 615
- Garnier, Ambroise, PSS,
II 232
III 713
- Garreau, Léonard, 1609 or 1610-1656, SJ,
IV 379
VI 562
- Garreau, Pierre, 1722-1795, called Saint-Onge, canon of Quebec,
IV 394 403 405
- Garret, sea captain,
VI 470
- Gascogne, Jesuit province of, see Aquitaine, Jesuit province of
Gaspé,
II 259
VI 188
- Gassot, Joseph, priest,
VI 16
- Gatien, Jean-Baptiste, 1764-1821, priest,
III 585 601 602
VI 200 202
- Gaubert, Louis, d. 1679, SJ, lay brother
IV 205
- Gaudin, Jacques, priest
III 386
- Gaul, Patrick,
III 576
- Gaultier, notary,
III 308
- Gaultier de Varennes, Jean-Baptiste, 1677-1726, priest,
VI 31
- Gavelle,
VI 355
- Gavi, Giovanni Battista, pontifical consul in Leghorn,
VI 334 336

- Gazelle, Pierre, fl. 1793-1796, priest,
 III 716
 VI 229
- Gazil de La Bernardière, Michel, c. 1624-1679, SME procurator (1663-1664), SME superior (1667-1670),
 II 131 134-135 139 141 146
 III 182 359 363 375-377 379-380 382 400 402 404 415
 V 93 95-96 109
 VI 3 8
- Gegan, Sylvester,
 III 665
- Geissler, Lukas, 1735-1786, SJ,
 III 597
 V 349
 VI 560
- Geneva, bp. and town,
 VI 131
 see also Biord (1764-1785)
- Genoa (Genova),
 IV 35
 VI 386
- George II, 1683-1760, King of Great Britain and Ireland (1727-1760)
 VI 481-482 490
- George III, 1738-1820, King of Great Britain and Ireland (1760-1820),
 IV 51-52 408
 V 284
 VI 147 168 179 196 221 237 240-241
- Georges de Fauquemont, OFM Cap, provincial of Champagne,
 III 533-534 539
 IV 205
- Georgetown,
 III 703
- Georgetown College,
 II 221-222
 III 671 674 705
 V 379-380 398 416-417
 VI 264 347 362 376 387
- Georgia (Europe),
 II 161
 III 435
 V 120
- Georgia (North Amerca),
 II 211
 III 531 593
 VI 263 282 284-285 319 364 419 490
- Gérard, Félicité, minim sister of the Order of St. Francis of Paula,
 II 228
 III 698 702 705
 V 417
- Gerdil, Giacinto Sigismondo, 1718-1802, cdl. (in pectore 23 June 1777, published 15 Dec. 1777), PF
 prefect (1795-1802),
 III 725-726
 IV 35 322
 VI 148 158 159 236 238-239 293 383 386-387
- Germain, see L. Langlois
- Germain, Charles, 1707-1779, SJ,
 VI 63 117 540
- Germans, village of the, see Les Allemans

- Germany,
 II 88
 III 369
 IV 328
 V 417
 VI 282 284-285 294 347 353 362 370 388-392 394 488 490 585
 see also Northern Germany
- Germany, Jesuit province of,
 III 138
- Ghent, bishopric and town,
 IV 12-13
 see also van der Noot (1742-1770)
- Ghilini, Tommaso Maria, 1718-1787, abp. of Rhodes (1763-1778), N in Flanders (1763-1775), cdl. (1 June 1778),
 V 234 250
 VI 422 558 559
- Giacinto da Rovereto, OFM Cap,
 III 497
- Giacomelli, Michelangelo, secretary of the Secretariate of Briefs to Princes (from 1762),
 V 186
- Gibaud, see Beaumont de Gibaud
- Gibault, Pierre, 1737-1802, priest,
 V 337
 VI 188 194
- Gibraltar,
 VI 481-482 484-485 489
- Ginetti, Marzio, 1585-1671, cdl. (in pectore 19 Jan. 1626, published 30 May 1627), PF member,
 II 72-73 113 119
 IV 67 231
- Giovanni Antonio da Firenze (Schiatti), d. 1780, OFM Cap, procurator general (1775-1780),
 IV 281
- Giovanni da Moncalieri (Moriondo), d. 1654, OFM Cap, general (1637-1642),
 III 66-67 70 72 74-79 81
- Girard, Jacques, c. 1712-1782?, priest,
 IV 249-250 252 261
 V 185
 VI 417 424
- Girardin, commander at Miquelon,
 VI 453
- Giraud, Bernardino, 1721-1782, abp. of Damascus (1767-1773), N in France (1767-1773), cdl. (in pectore le 17 June 1771, published 19 April 1773),
 IV 40-41 44 45 269
 V 201 206 211-212 214 218 220-221 223-224 227 229
 VI 83-85 100 102 107 111 112 426 430
- Girault de Villeneuve, Étienne-Thomas, 1718-1794, SJ,
 III 601
 VI 63 117 200 540
- Girouard, Antoine, 1762-1832, priest,
 V 337
 VI 185 188 195
- Giuseppe da Bevagna, OFM Cap,
 II 61
 III 346
 IV 370
- Giustiniani di San Prospero, Lorenzo, OCD,
 V 219-220
 VI 102

- Glandelet, Charles de, 1645-1725, priest,
VI 31
- Glapion, Augustin-Louis de, 1719-1790, SJ, superior in New France (1763-1790),
III 592 602
VI 63 117 202 540
- Gleeson, Martin,
VI 454 463
- Gnellus, see O'Neil, David,
- Godard, Jean, priest,
III 344
- Goetz, Johann, priest,
VI 388 390
- Gondy, Jean-François-Paul de, d. 1679, abp. of Paris (21 March 1654-1662), cdl. (19 Feb. 1652),
III 272 307
- Gonzaga, see Valenti Gonzaga
- Gordan, Antoine, 1717-1779, SJ,
VI 63 117 540
- Gorée,
IV 190 294
V 239 257 294 315 322
VI 450 452 516
- Gorman, Augustin,
III 665
- Gortyna, bishopric of, see L. Neale (1795-1816)
- Gosselin, Michel-Olivier, 1773-1810, priest,
III 716
VI 229
- Gounon, Simon-Pierre, 1719-1764, SJ,
VI 63 540
- Gournay, Henri de, Count of Marcheville,
III 96
- Gournay, Pierre, 1700-1767, called Latour, SJ,
VI 63 540
- Gouyé, Thomas, SJ, procurator general for South America,
II 188
III 475
- Goyogouins,
IV 181
see also Cayugas
- Grace, Thomas, 1731-1827, OFM Cap,
VI 459
- Graessl, Dominikus Lorenz, 1753-1793, SJ, bp. of Samos (1793), coadjutor of the bp. of Baltimore (1793),
II 228-230 232 234
III 679 698-699 705-707 710 713 719 721
IV 112 159-160 163 356-358 362-363
V 405-406 407 408 410 416-417 423-424
VI 347 376
- Grainbery de Bellon,
VI 361
- Grand Dictionnaire historique ou Mélange curieux de l'histoire sacrée et profane* (1674; 2nd edition, 1725), by
Louis Moreri,
III 488
- Grand-Dos-Melé, see de-Grand-Dos-Melé
- Granville,
VI 449
- Grasse, François-Joseph-Paul, 1722-1788, Count of Grasse-Tilly,
VI 322-323

- Grasse-Tilly, Count of, see Grasse
- Gravé de La Rive, Henri-François, 1730-1802, priest,
 III 585 592 600-601 602 717
 IV 302 303
 V 275
 VI 139 142 143 163 166 168 191 200 202 204 228-229 254
- Gravier,
 VI 355 361
- Gravier, Charles, 1719-1787, Count of Vergennes, minister of Foreign Affairs (from June 1774),
 IV 23 294 413
 V 276 283 293 302
 VI 280 286 295 297-298 304 308 309 311 324 329 445 520
- Gravina, bp. of, see Sacchetti (1623-1626)
- Grace, priest,
 VI 459
- Greaton, Joseph, 1679-1753, SJ, superior in the American provinces (1740-1743),
 II 177
 III 459
 IV 114-115
 V 125
- Greece,
 II 51 89 118 121 123
 III 17 86-87 90 142 151-152 158 174 244 284 289 354
 IV 62-63 180-181 217 230 338 372
 VI 508 540 576-577
- Greece, Jesuit province of,
 II 123
- Greenland,
 IV 225
 VI 526 554
- Grégoire d'Elsaurdy, OFM Rec, provincial of Immaculée-Conception (1651-1654),
 III 268
- Gregory XIII (Ugo Boncompagni), 1502-1585, pope (1572-1585),
 III 334
- Gregory XV (Alessandro Ludovisi), 1554-1623, pope (1621-1623),
 III 344
 IV 209 211
- Grenada,
 II 93
 III 565 572
 IV 59 61 220 257
 V 159-160 216
 VI 263 271 319 418-422 428 445 572-574
- Grenadines
 IV 220
 V 159-160
 VI 263 271 319 418-420 445 573
- Grenoble, bishopric of,
 VI 141
 see also Le Camus (1671-1707)
- Grenville, William Wyndham, 1759-1834, 1st Baron Grenville, foreign secretary (1791-1801),
 II 235
 III 725 727
 VI 495

- Grillet, Jehan, 1624-1677, SJ, superior in the French West Indies (1663-1676),
 II 123 144
 III 237-238 395-397
 IV 428
 V 101
 VI 563
- Grimaldi, Girolamo, d. 1685, abp. of Seleucia (1641-1643), N in France (1641-1643), cdl. (13 July 1643),
 II 75
 III 8 107 117-118 123 352 353
 V 49
- Grimaldi, Girolamo, Duke,
 IV 283
- Guadeloupe,
 II 81 127
 III 141 181 184 273 376 559-561 565 572
 IV 103 185 189 205 217 244 247-248 254-256 341 349 414 418
 V 51 158 206 360 363
 VI 82 93 418 464-467 540 572 574
- Gualtieri, Filippo Antonio, 1660-1728, cdl. (17 May 1706),
 IV 416
 V 129
- Gualtieri, Ludovico Gualtiero, 1706-1761, abp. of Myra (1743-1760), N in France (1754-1760), cdl.
 (24 Sept. 1659),
 II 205
 III 535 536
 V 143-144
 VI 58 268
- Gubbio, bishopric and town,
 IV 297
 VI 351 375
 see also Angelelli (1785-1809)
- Gueffier, Étienne, d. 1660, French resident in Rome,
 II 108
 III 195 299 301 302 305
- Guerin,
 VI 355
- Guernsey,
 VI 471
- Guerra, see Díaz de la Guerra
- Guichaux (Guichaud), Jacques-Olivier, 1755-1790, priest,
 III 601
 VI 200
- Guidi di Bagno, Giovanni Francesco, 1578-1641, abp. de Patras (1614-1627), N in Belgium (1621-27 Feb. 1627),
 cdl. (in pectore 30 August 1627, published 19 nov. 1629),
 II 6 57
 III 38 318
 V 3 8 12
 VI 584
- Guidi di Bagno, Niccolò, d. 1663, abp. of Athens (1644-1657), N in France (1643-1656), cdl. (9 April 1657),
 II 79-81 86-87 95 105
 III 22-23 127-128 145-148 153 156 266-267 277 313 354 357
 IV 186
 V 52-53 55 56-60
- Guinea,
 III 253-254
 VI 430 492
- Gulf of California, see California, Gulf of

Gulf of Mexico, see Mexico, Gulf of

Guyana (Nouvelle-Cayenne),

IV 16 49 58 103 189-190 243-244 247-248 254 256 294 341 349

V 258 263 293-294 315 322 377 409

VI 93 424 429 437 444 450 452 464-465 467

see also Cayenne and Nouvelle-Cayenne

H

Hacket, see Whitehair

Hagoyownloga,

VI 364 367

Haldimand, Frederick 1718-1791, governor-in-chief of the province of Quebec (1778-1786),

V 275 306

VI 122 136 144 147 161 163 185 447

Halifax,

IV 299

V 275 277 308 310-311 329 337

VI 139 161 166 168-169 185 187-189 195 318-319 446-447 459 470-471

Hallé, Jean, SJ, superior in the French West Indies,

II 96

III 263 275

IV 186

VI 570

Hamburg,

V 437 444

Hamel, Antoine, 1756-1791, priest,

III 585 601

VI 200

Hamel, Ignace-Germain, 1672-1732, priest,

VI 31

Hamilton, Henry, c. 1734-1796, lieutenant-governor of the province Quebec (1782-1785),

III 591

VI 167

Hammond, John,

III 647

Hancock, John, 1737-1793, governor of Massachusetts (1780-1785, 1787-1793),

IV 293

Hannahsodalh,

VI 364 367

Hannon, Thomas,

III 647

Harbour Grace,

III 722 724

VI 462-463 468

Harlay de Champvallon, François de, 1625-1695, abp. of Rouen (1651-1671), abp. of Paris (1671-1695),

II 112 114 127 135-136 139 141 157-158

III 183 194 197-199 202 204-205 214 223 227 363-364 375 377 379 391-392 394 431

IV 381 418

V 74-76 78 82-84 95 104

VI 3

Harrington, Mark, see Druran?

Harrison, priest,

III 109

Harrison, Edward, c. 1729/c. 1734-1794,

III 592

Harrison, Henry, 1652-1701, SJ,
 VI 409
 Harrison, Marianne,
 IV 317 319-322 325
 Harrison, Mary,
 IV 325
 Harrison, Samuel, American consul in Lisbon,
 IV 310 317-319 321-322 325
 Hartery, Demetrius,
 III 722 724
 Havana,
 VI 365
 Havre-de-Grace,
 V 373
 VI 358 360
 Hazeur de L'Orme, Pierre, 1682-1771, canon of Quebec,
 IV 394 403
 Hébert, Isaac, b. c. 1749,
 VI 270 515
 Hébert, Jean,
 VI 91
 Hébert, Jean-Baptiste,
 IV 118
 VI 89 91-93
 Hébert, Jean-François, d. 1831, priest,
 III 601
 VI 200 202
 Hébert, Pierre,
 VI 91-92
 Heilbron, Karl, OFM Cap,
 II 221
 III 671 674 676 678 679
 V 379-380 383 398
 VI 347 370
 Heilborn, Peter, d. 1816, OFM Cap?,
 III 679
 VI 347 370
 Heliopolis, bishopric of, see Pallu (1658-1684)
 Hellett, Samuel,
 III 647
 Henchmann, Daniel H.,
 IV 325
 Hennepin, Louis, 1626-c. 1705, OFM Rec,
 IV 238
 Henri, chief physician in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon,
 VI 168
 Henri de Savoie, prince,
 III 306-307
 Henrietta Maria, 1609-1669, queen consort of Charles I,
 III 277-278
 Henry VIII, 1491-1547, King of England and Ireland (1509-1547),
 VI 482
 Herbodeau, Claude, SJ, provincial of Aquitaine (1661-1665),
 V 63
 Hessen,
 IV 57
 Hiccocks, John, see Bede of the Blessed Sacrament

- Hickey, OSA, provincial of Ireland,
IV 334
- Hilaire de Calais, OFM Cap, lay brother,
III 337
- Hilaire de Genevaux, OFM Cap,
IV 37
VI 267
- Hill, Thomas,
III 640 647
- Hingan, Jacques, 1729-1779, PSS,
VI 122
- Hippolyte de Brou, OFM Cap,
III 90
- Hippolyte de Magny, OFM Cap,
III 90 116 284
- Hirondelle*, see *L'Hirondelle*
- Histoire de l'isle Espagnole ou de S. Domingue* (1730-1731), by Pierre-François-Xavier de Charlevoix,
III 567
- Historical Account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts [...] to the year 1728* (1728), of David Humphreys,
VI 493 555
- Hodcroft, George,
III 647
- Hody, Martin, 1714-1796, superior of SME, (1756-1763, 1772-1775, 1790-1796?), assistant SME (1783-1790), vic. general of the bp. of Quebec (1789-1793),
III 607 692 693-695
IV 31 33-34
V 367 369 383 385 387 391 393-394 397 403
VI 206 207 209 210 217
- Holden (Henry Holden?, alias Johnson, 1597-1661 or 1662), priest,
III 109
- Holland, Samuel Johannes, 1728-1801,
III 592
- Holland,
II 119
III 156 696
IV 240 328 428
V 27 340
VI 279 322 483 494 499 559
see also New Netherlands
- Holy Cross, parish church in Boston,
VI 353
- Holy Land,
IV 189
see also Palestine
- Holy Office, see Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office
- Holy Trinity, parish church in Philadelphia,
III 679
VI 370 388-390 394
- Honnois, natives,
IV 335
VI 378
- Honoré de Cunières, OFM Cap, provincial of Paris (1639-1642),
III 6 15 19 84 85 90 94 100 107 116 120 124 169 281 338
V 24 43
- Honoré "Letus," OFM Cap,
III 83

- Hood, John,
 III 647 665
- Hood, Patrick,
 III 647 665
- Hôpital du Mont-Carmel, see Mont-Carmel
- Hôpital-Général, Montreal,
 VI 270
- Hôpital-Général, Quebec,
 VI 134 138 151 164 190 438
- Hospitalières de la Miséricorde de Jésus, see Augustines de la Miséricorde de Jésus
- Hospitalières de Saint-Joseph, see Religieuses hospitalières de Saint-Joseph
- Hôtel-de-Ville, Paris,
 VI 186
- Hospitaller Order of St. John of God (Fatebenefratelli, Frères de la Charité),
 III 548 569-572
 see also Banfi
- Hôtel-Dieu, Montreal,
 VI 119
- Hôtel-Dieu, Quebec,
 VI 138 183 438
- Hôtel du Mouton-Counné, Marseilles,
 VI 342
- Houel du Petit-Pré, Charles, governor of Guadeloupe,
 II 93
 III 23 154-155 159-160
- House of Commons (London),
 VI 490
 see also Parliament (British)
- Howard, Philip Thomas, OP,
 VI 477 496
- Huault de Montmagny, Charles, c. 1583-1653, governor lieutenant-general of New France (1636-1648),
 III 251
- Hubert, Auguste (Augustin)-David, 1751-1792? priest,
 III 585 592 600-601 602
 VI 200 202 204
- Hubert, Jean-François, 1739-1797, bp. of Almyra (1785-1788), coadjutor of the bp. of Quebec (1785-1788), bp. de Quebec (1788-1797),
 II 210 214 219 223-225 227 233 235
 III 579 581 583 586-587 592 599 602 607 680-681 684 687-689 690 691 692 693-696 716-717 718 725 727
 IV 31 33-34 101 104 108-109 123 156-157 162 191-193 299 304-306 308-309 340 342 344-345 348 350 352 353 360-361
 V 312 317-320 323-324 326 329 338-339 356 357 367 369 381 384-386 391 392 393-394 400 403 404 409 411 413-414 415 418-419 427-428 431 446 449 454
 VI 173 177-181 184 189 191 194 195 198-199 202 203 205-206 207 209 210 213-215 216-217 219 220 223-224 227 228-229 230-231 232 237-238 240-241 246-250 253-254 393
- Hubert, Pierre-René, 1744-1797, priest,
 III 601
 VI 200
- Hudson, Henry, fl. 1607-1611,
 VI 573
- Hudson Bay,
 VI 230 415
- Hudson Strait,
 VI 526 554

- Huet de La Valinière, Pierre, 1732-1806, PSS,
 II 224
 III 595-596 681
 V 339
 VI 194 198-199 332
- Huguet, Joseph, 1725-1783, SJ,
 VI 63 117 540
- Humphreys, David, 1689-1740, secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (1716-1740),
 VI 493 555
 see also *Historical Account*
- Hunter, George, 1713-1779, SJ, superior in the American provinces (1756-1768),
 VI 558 560
- Huntington, Mrs.,
 VI 187
- Hurons,
 III 45 167 209 246 249 276 301 304 581
 IV 180 185
 VI 508
- Hurtauld, former assignee of the abbey of Méobec,
 III 203 220
- Hussey, Thomas, 1741-1803, vic. general of the bp. of Quebec (1784-1788), bp. of Waterford (1797-1803),
 III 582-583 695
 V 314 317 318 319 323 329 366
 VI 173 175 176 177 178-179 180-181 184 193 281
- Hvar, bishopric of, see Rovetta (1693-1704), Condulmer (1723-1747)
- Hyacinthe de Paris (Kerver), d. 1650, OFM Cap,
 II 33 48
 III 53 56-58 60 62 63-64 66-69 72 74-77 79 163 281 284
 V 36-37

I

- Ignace de Paris, d. 1662, OFM Cap,
 III 87 258 259-261
 IV 371
- Île, see also Îsle
- Île-aux-Chiens (probably the one in the entrance of the harbour of Saint-Pierre, in Saint-Pierre and Miquelon),
 VI 440
- Île-aux-Grues,
 III 499
- Île-de-Bourbon,
 IV 103 341 349
 V 358
 VI 341 466
- Île-de-France (Mauritius),
 IV 103 190 269 341 349
 V 315 346 358
 VI 336
- Île d'Orléans,
 II 125
 III 201 601
 IV 38 44 78
 V 195 197
 VI 104 200

- Île d'Orléans, Jesuit residence at,
 IV 180 185
- Île du Cap-Breton (see Cape Breton Island),
 Île Royale, see Cape Breton Island
- Île Saint-Jean (Prince Edward Island),
 IV 16 49 55 225 252 273 395 400
 VI 188 195 218 319 417 455
- Îles de la Madeleine,
 VI 188
- Illinois, country,
 II 224
 III 681
 IV 37 258
 VI 508
- Illinois, natives,
 III 501
 IV 258
 V 339 343 353 400
 VI 188 194 199 220 223 267 329
- Illinois, river,
 III 705
- Immaculée-Conception (Aquitaine), Recollet province of,
 II 75
 III 268 353
 see also Grégoire d'Elsaury (1651-1654)
- India,
 III 7
 VI 336 499
- Indians, see Natives
- Indies,
 IV 376
 see also East Indies
- Indulgences, see Sacred Congregation of the Indulgences
- Ingoli, Francesco, 1578-1649, PF secretary (1622-1649),
 II 5 89
 III 4-8 11-12 15-19 25 27-30 32-40 41 43-45 47-51 55 60 62 64-65 70-71 73 81 84 86-87 90-102 103 104-107 111-112 114 116 117 119-121 123 132-135 139-141 142 145 147 149 151 153 156-157 161 164-165 167-168 170 245 247 248 252 254 281 283 287-288 289-290 291 293 296 300 314-319 323 330-331 332-335 338 344 347-349 351 354 357
 IV 207 370 419
 V 39
 VI 578
- Innocent X (Giovanni Battista Pamphili), 1574-1655, pope (1644-1655), formerly cdl. (in pectore 30 Aug. 1627, published 19 Nov. 1629), PF member,
 II 31-32 36 42 44 48 57 70 73-74 78 97
 III 24 148
 IV 186 373
- Innocent XI (Benedetto Odescalchi), 1611-1689, pope (1676-1689),
 II 165
 III 437 440 443-445 453 462
 IV 224 226-227 429
 VI 19 20 21-22 50 256 411 580-581
- Innocent XII (Antonio Pignatelli), 1615-1700, pope (1691-1700),
 II 170 190
 III 444-445 449-451
- Innocent XIII (Michele Angelo Conti), 1655-1724, pope (1721-1724),
 III 477-478

- Innocenzo da Caltagirone (Marcinnò), 1589-1655, OFM Cap, general (1643-1650),
 III 158
Inscrutabili divinae providentiae (22 June 1622), bull,
 IV 209
Inter Cætera (3 and 4 May 1493), bull Alexander VII,
 VI 231
 Internuncios, see Nuncios and internuncios
 Ireland,
 II 47 55 101 154 215
 III 184 314-315 335-336 603 661 669-670 723 725
 IV 208 217 294 310 318 320 323 327 336
 V 137-138 211 234 250 278 390 450 455
 VI 234 307 322 352 369 388 411 428 455 461 481 483-486 500 525 529 585
 Ireland, Augustinian province of,
 IV 217
 Ireland, Capuchin province of, see E. Burke (1772-1782), Casimir de Dublin (1788-1800?)
 Irénée, OFM Cap,
 IV 317
 VI 96
 Irish College, Lisbon, see F.A. Fleming
 Iroquois,
 III 167 200-202 204 208-209 211 213 216 231 246 249 276 301 304 401 501
 IV 180-181 185 205
 VI 508 540
 see also Five Nations, Six Nations
 Isidore-de-Crépy-en-Valais, OFM Cap, lay brother,
 III 83 337
 Île, see also Île
 Île-des-saintes, see Les Saintes
 Île-Dieu, Abbot of, see La Rue, Pierre de
 Île-du-Bic,
 VI 143
 Italy,
 III 361

J

- Jacquemin, priest,
 VI 470
 Jacques,
 VI 238
 Jacques de Saint-Martin, OCD,
 II 185-186
 III 470-471
 Jacques d'Orléans, OFM Cap,
 III 78
 Jacrau, Joseph-André-Mathurin, c. 1698-1772, priest,
 V 187
 VI 71 80
 Jamaica,
 II 204
 III 531-532
 IV 61
 VI 263 319 322-323 409 411 419 499 573 575
 James,
 VI 470

- James I, 1566-1625, King of Great Britain and Ireland (1603-1625),
 III 31
- James II, 1633-1701, King of Great Britain and Ireland (1685-1688),
 V 146
- Jannin, Thomas, priest,
 VI 473-474 479
- Japan,
 III 28 64 316
 IV 223 427
- Jaunay, see Du Jaunay
- Jean-Baptiste de Tonnerre, OFM Cap,
 II 92
 III 148 151-152 156
- Jean-Baptiste de Villeneuve de Berg, OFM Cap,
 III 83
- Jean-Baptiste du Thil de Paris, OFM Cap,
 III 83
- Jean de Saint-Jean-de-Luz, OFM Cap, lay brother,
 III 284
- Jean de Troyes, OFM Cap, lay brother,
 IV 371
- Jean-François de Paris (Sevin), OFM Cap, provincial of Paris (1645-1648),
 II 89 92
 III 130-131 146 149-152 156
 V 52 55-56
- Jean-Louis d'Auchey, OFM Cap,
 III 83
- Jean-Louis de Paris, OFM Cap,
 II 61
 III 284 346
 IV 370
- Jean-Marie de Montoloy de Paris, OFM Cap,
 III 83
- Jean-Mathieu de Sainte-Anne, OCD,
 II 185-186
 VI 506 523
- Jefferson, Thomas, 1743-1826, American ambassador to France (1785-1789), president of the United States (1801-1809),
 VI 331
- Jenkins, Austin (Augustinian), 1742-1800, SJ,
 VI 560
- Jersey, England,
 VI 488-489
- Jesuits, see Society of Jesus
- Joachim de Corbeil, OFM Cap,
 II 81-82
 III 87 132 134 137 139-141 144 153 255 256 262 265 284
 V 51
- John, Trevor, English envoy extraordinary to Sardinia (1783-1797),
 VI 148
- Johnson, see Holden
- Jolly, doctor of the Sorbonne,
 VI 60
- Joly de Fleury, Jean-François, 1718-1802, procurator general,
 VI 512
- Jones, Francis, see Jones, James

- Jones, James, c. 1743-1805, OFM Cap, superior of the missions in Nova Scotia (1787-1800),
 II 224
 III 681
 IV 299
 V 333 337
 VI 185 187-189 195 459
- Joseph d'Abbeville, OFM Cap, lay brother,
 III 83
- Joseph d'Angers, d. 1667 or 1677, OFM Cap, lay brother,
 III 277-278
 IV 371 373
- Joseph de Paris, OFM Cap,
 III 83 87 277-278
 IV 371 373
- Joseph de Paris, OFM Cap, lay brother,
 III 83
- Joseph de Paris (François-Joseph Du Tremblay), 1577-1638, called Père Joseph, OFM Cap,
 II 21-23 27-28 30 33-35 37 46 48 50
 III 1-3 4 5 53-56 60-61 62 63-64 66 68 70-71 73 75 78 86 176 280-281 282 283 325
 IV 376
 V 27 31-32 33 34-36 37-41 43
- Joseph de Saint-Charles, OCD,
 II 185
- Joubert, Barthélemy, priest,
 IV 401
- Jourdain, Nicolas, alias Shakearad,
 VI 367
- Juchereau Duchesnay, Antoine, 1740-1806,
 III 601
 VI 200
- Juigné, see Le Clerc de Juigné
- Julie,
 VI 238
- Julien de Rignoro, OFM Cap,
 VI 373
- Juniper, Brother, see Berthiaume
- Just, J., physician,
 III 601
 VI 200

K

- Kaokias,
 VI 267
- Karrison, see Harrison
- Kaskaskia,
 II 221
 III 671 674
 VI 63 267 329
- Kay,
 IV 311
- Kean (Cain), OSA,
 III 576
- Kearney, John,
 III 722 724

- Keating, James,
 III 576
- Keating, Walter,
 III 640 647
- Keller, Joseph Benjamin, 1765-1836, priest,
 III 601
 VI 200
- Kells,
 III 612 615-618 624-627 632 640-644 646-648 650 664-665 667
- Kelly, Michael,
 III 647
- Kennedy, John Anthony, OFM Rec, provincial of Ireland,
 VI 460
- Kentucky,
 III 597
 VI 348
- Keonan, Patrick, priest,
 III 619 667
- Kerver, see Hyacinthe de Paris
- Kierski, Josef, 1706-1783, bp. of Bolina (1736-1768), coadjutor of the bp. of Poznan (1736-1768),
 II 201
 III 525
- Kildalky,
 III 660
- Kildare, bishopric of,
 III 696
- Killala, bishopric of, see Archdeken (1735-1739), O'Rourke (1739-1743)
- Killaloe, bishopric of, see MacDonagh (1739-1752)
- Knab, Sebastian, d. 1690, OP, bp. of Naxivan (1682-1690),
 II 161
 III 435
 V 120
- Königgrätz, bishopric of,
 II 146-147
 III 400
 VI 475
- Konwagalet,
 VI 364 367
- Korycinski, Albertus, d. 1677, bp. of Leopolis (1670-1677),
 IV 234
- Krupski, Daniel, SJ, provincial de Bohemia,
 II 138
 III 371
 V 98

L

- La Barre, see Le Febvre de La Barre
- La Bastie, see Fogasses d'Entrechaux de La Bastie
- La Bernardière, see Gazil de La Bernardière
- La Bissachère, see Lemonnier de La Bissachère
- La Boissière, see Lambert de la Boissière
- La Borde, Anne-Josephine-Pauline de,
 VI 154
- Laborne, Georges,
 II 339 347

- La Bouteillerie, see Deschamps de La Bouteillerie
 Labrador,
 III 501
 VI 396 526
 La Brosse, Jean-Baptiste de, 1724-1782, SJ,
 VI 63 117 540
 La Cailleterie, see De Lisle de La Cailleterie
 Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes,
 IV 129
 VI 119
 La Colombière, Joseph de, 1651-1723, priest,
 VI 31
 La Corne de Chaptes, Joseph-Marie de, 1714-1779, Abbot of L'Étoile (1759-1779), vic. general of the chapter of Quebec (1762-1779),
 III 589
 IV 38 39-42 43-44 52 78 187 393-394 403 405 407-408 411
 V 164 167 182 183 194 195 197 208 221 223 244 248 260
 VI 65 70-71 73 99 107 111 116 118 122 429
 La Croix, Charles-Eugène-Gabriel de, 1727-1801, Marquess of Castries, minister of the Navy (1780-1787), field-marshal (1783-1801),
 V 277
 VI 147 175 446 447 456
 La Croix de Chevrères de Saint-Vallier, Jean-Baptiste de, 1653-1727, bp. of Quebec (1688-1727),
 II 165 169-170 173-176 180-181 184 187 190 206
 III 434 440 446 452-453 456 458 463 464 465 473-474 499 512 540
 V 123-124
 VI 22 24 28 31 48 50 196 255-256 268 400
 La Dauversière, see Le Royer de La Dauversière
 Ladley, William,
 III 647
 La Fayette, Marie-Joseph de, 1757-1834, Marquess of La Fayette,
 VI 322
 La Flèche,
 VI 404-405 407
 La Frezelière, see Frezeau de La Frezelière
 Lagonissa, Fabio de, c. 1585-1653, abp. of Conza (1622-1645), N in Belgium (1627-1634),
 II 20-21
 III 241-242 243
 V 26-27
 Lahaille, Jean-Baptiste, 1750-1809, priest,
 III 585 595 600 602 717
 VI 202 204 228
 La Hève,
 II 34
 III 104
 IV 371 373
 Lahontan, Baron de, see Lom d'Arce de Lahontan
 La Houze, French chargé d'affaires in Rome,
 IV 243-246 248 255 256
 V 158
 VI 265
 Lajus, François, 1721-1799,
 III 592
 Lake Champlain,
 VI 353
 Lake Huron
 VI 554

- Lake Ontario,
 IV 31
 VI 236 364
- La Laze, notary,
 III 389
- Lalemant, Charles, 1587-1674, SJ, superior in New France (1625-1629),
 III 252 303
- Lalemant, Jérôme, 1593-1673, SJ, superior in New France (1645-1650, 1659-1665),
 II 45 94 123 144
 III 237-238 264 334 358 395-396
 IV 65-66 379
 V 101
 VI 562-563
- La Luzerne, Anne-César, 1741-1791, Knight of La Luzerne, then Marquess of La Luzerne, French ambassador to the United States (1779-1784), ambassador to England (1788-1791),
 V 302
 VI 286 297-298 300-303 304 309
- La Luzerne, César-Henri, 1737-1799, Count of La Luzerne, minister of the Navy (1787-1790),
 VI 457
- La Mahotière, Jean de,
 V 381
 VI 364 365-366 367
- La Malbaie,
 VI 143-144
- La Marche, Jean-François de, d. 1807, bp. of Saint-Pol-de-Léon (1772-1801),
 VI 246
- La Marche, Marie de, d. 1805, Poor Clares,
 III 702 705
 VI 376
- Lambert de La Boissière, Nicolas, c. 1634-1666, SME director (from 1664),
 III 182
- Lambert de La Motte, Pierre, 1624-1679, SME, bp. of Beirut (1658-1679), vic. ap. in Cochinchina (1659-1679),
 II 111 114
 III 179 181 183 186 313 381 383 386
 V 75 84
- Lambertini, Prospero, see Benedict XIV
- Lamorinie, Jean-Baptiste de, 1704 or 1705-after 1764, SJ,
 VI 63 540
- La Mothe-Fénelon, see Salignac de La Mothe-Fénelon
- La Motte, see Lambert de La Motte
- La Motte,
 VI 260
- Lamotte, Louis, 1764-1835, priest,
 III 601
 VI 200
- La Motte-Houdancourt, Henri de, d. 1684, bp. of Rennes (1640-1664),
 III 297 306
- Lampugnani, see Feliciano da Piacenza
- Lancioni, Antonio, notary in the Holy Office,
 III 529
- Landergan, see Lonergan
- Landgraf van Hessen-Darmstadt, Friedrich, d. 1682, cdl. (19 Feb. 1652),
 III 416
 VI 4 11
- Landergan, see Londregan
- Landsberg,
 III 369

- La Neufville, see Le Quien de La Neufville
 L'Ange-Gardien-de-Montmorency, parish church,
 VI 151 164
 Langlois, Louis, called Germain, merchant and bookseller,
 III 592
 VI 229
 Langlois, Louis-Antoine, 1767-1810, called Germain, the younger, priest
 III 716
 Langlois, Pierre-Olivier, 1771-1827, priest,
 III 716
 VI 229
 Langres, bishopric of, see Clermont-Tonnerre (1696-1724)
 L'Annonciation-d'Oka, church,
 IV 129
 VI 119
 Lante, Federico Marcello, 1695-1773, cdl. (9 Sept. 1743), PF member,
 IV 117
 V 154
 VI 589
 Lanuvio, Girolamo, priest, PF member,
 II 66
 La Pagerie, see Tascher de La Pagerie
 La Place, Jacques, d. 1668, SJ,
 IV 205 379
 VI 562
 La-Pointe-du-Saint-Esprit, Jesuit mission,
 IV 181
 La Portilla, Francisco, OFM Rec, commissary general,
 II 171
 La Poterie, see Bouchard de La Poterie
 Larissa, bishopric of, see Carafa, P.L. 1677-1755 (1713-1728)
 La Rive, see Gravé de La Rive
 La Rivière, see Poncet de La Rivière
 La Roche Daillon, Joseph de, d. 1656, OFM Rec,
 III 246 249
 La Rochefoucauld, see Le Blond de La Rochefoucauld
 La Rochelle, bishopric and town,
 III 112 120 303 367 449 467
 IV 118 239-240
 VI 91 499
 see also Laval de Bois-Dauphin (1661-1693), Frézeau de La Frézelière (1694-1702), Champflour (1703-
 1724), Brancas (1725-1729), Menou de Charnizay (1730-1767), Crussol d'Uzès (1768-1789)
 L'Arquand, Exupère, OFM Rec, procurator general of the province of Immaculée-Conception,
 II 75
 V 49
 La Rue, comptroller general of Entrées de Paris,
 VI 519

- La Rue, Pierre de, 1688-1779, abbot of L'Île-Dieu (1722-1779), vic. general of the bp. of Quebec (1734-1777),
 II 205
 III 533-535 536-538 539 589
 IV 14 16 38-39 45 46-48 54 60 87 117-118 187 249 251-252 262 265 266-267 269 390-391 393-399 403 404 405
 V 165 166-167 168 178-179 181 185 189 190 192 194 196 198 202-204 205 207 210 212 213 214 218 224 226 227 229 231-232 236 237 239 241-242 243-244 245-247 251-253 254 255-256 259
 VI 2 60 66 68 69 70 73 82 83 88-89 91-96 103 107 110 115 116 122 270 275 423-425 429-435 436 437-441 510-511 513 514-518 519
- L'Assomption-du-Détroit, parish church,
 VI 183
- Latimore, James,
 III 642
- Latour, see Gournay, P.
- La Tour, see Saint-Étienne de La Tour
- La Trémoille, Joseph de, d. 1720, cdl. (17 May 1706),
 II 184
 IV 416-417
 V 128
 VI 32 33 34
- Lau, see Du Lau
- Lauberivière, see Pourroy de Lauberivière
- Laughran, Hugh,
 III 647
- Laughran, James,
 III 647
- Laughran, Matthew,
 III 647
- Laujon, Alexandre,
 VI 470
- Laurent, Nicolas, d. 1759, priest, vic. general of the bp. of Quebec (1754-1759),
 III 536
- Laurents, Antoine-Joseph des, d. 1785, bp. of Saint-Malo (1767-1785),
 IV 121
 V 192 202 205 245
 VI 89 91 93 115
- Lauson, Jean de, ca. 1584-1666, governor of New France (1651-1656),
 III 276
- Lauson de Charny, Charles de, fl. 1652-1689, priest, agent in Paris of the bp. of Quebec,
 III 184
- Lauverjat, Étienne, 1679-1761, SJ,
 VI 63
- Laval, François de, 1623-1708, bp. Petrée (1658-1674), vic. ap. in New France (1658-1674), bp. of Quebec (1674-1688),
 II 104 106-108 110-112 114-115 124-125 128-129 131-132 136 142 146-147 149-150 152-153 155-156 158 160 162-165
 III 179 181 184 195 196-197 198-199 200-204 205 206-213 214 215-216 219 220-221 224 228 230 231-232 236 295 297-299 301-302 304 305-306 308 311 313 364 365 383 386 388 391-394 399-400 412-415 416-417 419 422 423 424 426 427-428 433-434 437 438 440
 IV 64 224 226-227 234 237 381 415 426
 V 72 74 75-76 77 81 82-84 86 87 88-91 94 100 102-104 113-114 116 118 121
 VI 1 6 8-10 11-12 13-16 17-20 21 25-27 29 33 37 39 44-46 50 51 258 402 403 407 524 580-581
- Laval, town,
 VI 406

- Laval du Bois-Dauphin, Henri de, d. 1693, bp. of La Rochelle (1661-1693),
 III 379
- La Valinière, see Huet de La Valinière
- Lavau, Louis-César de, d. 1795, PSS,
 II 232
 III 713
 VI 372
- La Villéon, see Aimé de Lamballe
- La-Visitation-de-Notre-Dame-de-Château-Richer, parish church,
 VI 151 164
- Layborn, see Leyborn
- Lazaristes, see Congrégation de la Mission
- Lebanon,
 IV 217
- Lebeuf, see Debeuf
- Le Blond de La Rochefoucauld, Céleste, fl. 1792-1805, Poor Clares,
 III 702 705
 VI 376
- Le Boesme, Louis, 1632-1709, SJ,
 IV 205
- Le Brun, Eustache, SJ,
 III 558
- Le Camus, Étienne, 1632-1707, cdl. (2 Sept. 1686), bp. of Grenoble (1671-1707),
 VI 256
- Le Caron, Joseph, c. 1586-1632, OFM Rec,
 III 246 248 249
- Le Charon, Antoine, Baron Dormeilles,
 II 87
 III 148 356
 V 57
- Lechassier, François, PSS, general,
 VI 33 47
- Le Claire, Jean-Adrien, 1752-1792, priest,
 III 601 716
 VI 200 229
- Lecler, see Le Claire
- Le Clerc de Juigné, Antoine-Éléonore-Léon, 1728-1811, abp. of Paris (1782-1801),
 IV 26-27 300-301
 V 289 330-331 336 372
 VI 149 169 186 317 353
- Le Clercq, Maxime, d. c. 1688, OFM Rec,
 II 158
 III 431
- Le Comte Dupré, Jean-Baptiste, 1731-1820,
 III 592 601
 VI 200
- Ledru, Jean-Antoine, 1752-c. 1796, OP,
 VI 195
- Leduc, see Ledru
- Leedes, see Courtenay
- Le Faulconier, Nicolas, fl. 1647-1658, SJ, lay brother,
 IV 205
- Lefèbvre, Jean-François-Xavier, 1750-1786, priest,
 III 585 592
- Le Febvre de La Barre, Joseph-Antoine, 1622-1688, governor of Cayenne (1664-1666), gouverneur général de la Nouvelle-France (1682-1685),
 VI 499

- Lefebvre Duchouquet, Charles-Joseph, d. 1817, priest,
 III 602
 VI 202
- Lefèvre, Hyacinthe, OFM Rec, provincial of Paris,
 III 431 432-433
- LeFevre, Nicolas, 1715-after 1764, SJ,
 VI 540
- Le Franc, Marin-Louis, 1716-1776, SJ
 VI 63 117 540
- Le Gault, Ignace, OFM Rec, guardian of Paris,
 III 45
 V 39
- Leghorn (Livorno),
 III 256 262 265 678
 IV 335
 V 313 379 399 401
 VI 330 334 336 351 374 385-386
- Legion del Figso, see Figso
- Le Guerne, François, 1725-1789, priest,
 III 601
 VI 200
- Leinster, Ireland,
 V 375
- Leitmeritz, bishopric of,
 II 146-147
 III 400
- Le Jeune, Paul, 1591-1664, SJ, superior in New France (1632-1639),
 II 49
 III 80 251 299
 V 42
- Le Loutre, Jean-Louis, 1709-1772, CSSp,
 IV 397 398
 VI 511
- Le Maire, Strait of, see Strait of Le Maire
- Lemberg, see Leopoldis
- Le Mercier, François-Joseph, 1604-1690, SJ, superior in New France (1653-1656, 1665-1671), visitor of the
 South American province (1673-1674), superior in Cayenne (1674-1681), superior in Martinique, (1682-1690),
 II 144 157 182
 III 395 396 429 466
 IV 68-69 182 205 379 428-429
 V 101 119
 VI 259 562
- Lemonnier de La Bissachère, Pierre-Jacques, c. 1764-1830, SME director,
 VI 359
- Le Moyne, Simon, 1604-1665, SJ,
 III 202
 IV 205 379
 VI 562
- Leon,
 III 568
- Léonard d'Auxerre, d. 1682, OFM Cap,
 III 254
 IV 371
- Léonard de Chartres, d. 1654, OFM Cap, superior in Acadia (1649-1654),
 IV 371
- Léonard de la Tour, OFM Cap,
 III 15 99 112 116 120

- Léonard de Paris (Faure), 1566-1641, OFM Cap, provincial of Paris (1609-1612, 1615-1618, 1624-1629, 1632-1635),
 II 27-28 30 33-35 37 46 50-51
 III 1 53-55 59-64 66-68 70-72 73 75-79 84 86 280-281 282 283 285 327-328
 IV 376
 V 31 34-37 43
 VI 576-577
- Léon de Courville, OFM Cap,
 III 273
 IV 414
- Léon de Paris, OFM Cap,
 IV 371
- Leopold I (Habsburg), 1640-1705, Roman emperor (1658-1705),
 II 113
 III 188-189
- Leopolis, bishopric of, see Korycinski (1670-1677)
- Lepage, Charles-Joseph,
 VI 470
- Lepantus, see Naupactus
- Le Peletier, Charles-Maurice, 1666-1731, PSS, Abbott Saint-Aubin, superior of the Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice (1725-1731),
 III 499
- Le Prédour, Jean-Jacques, 1722-after 1764, SJ,
 VI 540
- Le Quien de La Neufville, Charles-Auguste, d. 1805, bp. of Dax (1772-1801),
 VI 177
- Lercari, Nicola, 1705-1757, abp. of Rhodes (1753-1757), PF secretary (1743-1757),
 II 203-204
 III 558 561
 VI 416 507 573 575
- Lercari, Nicola Maria, 1675-1757, cdl. (9 Dec. 1726), secretary of state (1726-1733),
 III 529
- Le Roux, Thomas-François, 1730-1794, CSSp?,
 V 308 337
 VI 166 169 188 195
- Le Roy, Maximilien, 1716-1768, SJ,
 VI 540
- Le Royer de La Dauversière, Jérôme, 1597-1659,
 V 103
 VI 407-408
- Léry, see Chaussegros de Léry
- Les Allemans,
 IV 37
- Les Saintes,
 III 23 148 154-155 159-160
 VI 464 572 574
- Le Saulnier, Candide-Michel, 1758-1830, PSS,
 VI 236
- L'Escale, see Pacifique de Provins
- Lesley, William, 1621-1707, PF archivist (1660-1672), agent in Rome of the bp. of Quebec,
 II 127 130 145-146 150
 III 400 402 404 419 460 461-462
 V 89 116
 VI 15-16
- L'Espérance, Charles-Gabriel-Sébastien de, 1725-1791, Baron of L'Espérance, governor of Saint-Pierre and Miquelon (1773-1778, 1783-1785),
 VI 184 449

- Lestrange, Augustin de, 1754-1827, OCSO, superior,
 V 409
 VI 225
- Lestrées, Cistercian abbey of (diocese of Évreux),
 VI 29-30 32 34 36-37 39-46 154
- Le Sueur, Jean, c. 1598-1668, called Abbott Saint-Sauveur, priest,
 III 276
- Le Tonnelier de Coulonges, Jean-Louis-Victor, priest,
 V 381
 VI 364-367
- Lettere americane* (1780), by Gian Rinaldo Carli,
 IV 215
- Lettre [...] pour établir la Religion catholique [...] au Royaume du Turc* (1628?), by Pacifique de Provins,
 V 30
- Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites des missions étrangères par quelques missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jésus* (1703-1776),
 III 488
- Levadoux, Michel, priest,
 III 705
 VI 234 236
- Levantier, Jean-Baptiste, SJ,
 III 554
- Le Vasseur, Jean, notary,
 III 307 310
- Lévesque, François, 1732-1787
 III 592
- Lévis, Charles de, Duke of Ventadour,
 III 20-21 99 113 147-148 168
- Lévis, François-Christophe de, d. 1661, Duke of Damville, viceroy of New France (1644-1660),
 III 23 148
- Levy, see Thubières de Levy de Queylus
- Lewis, John, 1721-1788, SJ, superior in the American provinces (1768-1773),
 IV 413
 V 298-299
 VI 294 296 558 560
- Leyborn (Layborn), priest,
 III 109
- Lézay-Marnésia, Adrien-Paul-François-Marie de, 1769-1814,
 VI 355
- Lézay-Marnésia, Albert-Madeleine-Claude, 1772-1857,
 VI 361
- Lézay-Marnésia, Claude-François-Adrien, Marquis de, 1735-1800,
 VI 355 361
- L'Hirondelle*,
 VI 342
- Libellvs divisionis provinciarvm orbis terrarvm* (1698),
 IV 228
 VI 588
- Liège,
 VI 262
- Ligné, Sir, see Garipault
- Lille, Capuchin province of,
 IV 217

- Lima, bishopric of,
 II 146-147 150
 III 405-406
 V 111
 VI 9
- Limoges, bishopric of
 VI 32
- Lisbon (Lisboa), bishopric and town
 III 684 718
 IV 310 317 321-322 325
 V 403-404 414 427-428 434-435 437 442-444
 VI 217 220 238 246 262 352 369-370 386
- Liseux, bishopric and town
 III 341
 see also Cospeau (Cospean?) (1636-1646)
- Lisle, see De Lisle de La Cailleterie
- L'Île-Dieu, Abbot of, see La Rue
- Lithuania, Jesuit province of,
 II 138
 see also Ciecissewski
- Litta, Alfonso, c. 1608-1679, cdl. in pectore 14 Jan. 1664, published 15 Feb. 1666), PF member
 II 144
 IV 68-69 415
- Livonia,
 II 144
 III 373
- Livorno, see Leghorn
- Lull, Ramón, see Lulle
- Loango,
 V 210-211 237 241
 VI 110 115 270 432 437 516
- Lobb, Emmanuel, see Simeon, Joseph
- Lom d'Arce, Louis-Armand de, 1666-c. 1715, Baron of Lahontan,
 III 567
 see also *Nouveaux Voyages dans l'Amérique septentrionale*
- Loménie, Henri-Auguste de, 1594-1666, Count of Brienne, secretary of state for Foreign Affairs (1638-1663),
 III 295 299
- Loménie de Brienne, Charles-François de, d. 1720, bp. of Coutances (1667-1720),
 VI 4
- Loménie de Brienne, Étienne-Charles de, 1727-1794, abp. of Toulouse (1763-1788), cdl. (15 Dec. 1788),
 V 338
 VI 189
- London,
 II 8
 III 25-31 34-36 39-40 46-51 108 161 314-316 318-324 370 582-583 587 591 669 676 723-726
 IV 2-3 5-11 43 59 61 187 304-305 392-394 398 404 407
 V 163-165 167 183 195 269-270 280 284 287 311 357 380 424
 VI 65 73 78 82 85 99 124-125 130-133 143-144 149-150 152-153 156 159-161 168 173 176 178-179 182 193 203 209 238 241 246 249 257 272 281 297 350 362 368 372 388 419 422 427-428 480-490 495 510-511 521 558
- Lonergan (Landergan), Patrick, 1752-1787, OP (then OFM?),
 III 576
 VI 454 462-463
- Longueville, Jean, d. 1815, CSSp,
 IV 189
 V 279 284 304 322 332 342 354
 VI 147 161 173 449 453 456-457

- Longville, Thomas, 1598-after 1651, priest,
 II 14
 III 39 242
 V 15-17
 VI 569
- Lorenzo da Capranica, OFM Cap, prefect in Georgia,
 II 161
 III 435
 V 120
- Lorenzo di San Prospero, see Giustiniani
- Loreto,
 VI 409
- Lorient,
 VI 286
- L'Orme, see Hazeur de L'Orme
- Lorry, see Couet Du Vivier de Lorry
- Lotbinière, see Chartier de Lotbinière
- Louis, natives,
 II 81-82
 III 129 139-140 257 262 265
 V 51 54
- Louis, OCarm,
 III 558
- Louis XIII, 1601-1643, King of France (1610-1643),
 II 8 22 27 35 38 40
 III 1 44 52-53 54-55 58-61 63 66-68 75 86 94 96-97 121 245 296 356
 V 31 34-35 36 38 40 52 57
- Louis XIV, 1638-1715, King of France (1643-1715),
 II 81 104 106-108 114-115 124 146 152-153 158
 III 129 181 186 194-195 203 207-208 210 214 216 220 227 230 236 269 297-299 301-302 304-305 378 381 383 400-401 410 414 417 422-424 431 434 509
 IV 373 381
 V 75 83 86
 VI 9-10 12 31 32 33-35 39-42 43 45-46 47-49 196
- Louis XV, 1710-1774, King of France (1715-1774),
 II 189
 III 476 556
 IV 243 247 255
 V 131 158-159
- Louis XVI, 1754-1792, King of France (1774-1792),
 IV 18 188
 V 274 277 286 289
 VI 149 154 181 186 300 311
- Louisbourg,
 IV 252
 V 156
 VI 417
- Louis de Champigny, OFM Cap, provincial of Touraine (1637-1640),
 III 82 86 88 281
 V 43
- Louis-François de Paris, OFM Cap,
 II 81-82
 III 112 121 122 139-140 144
 V 51 54
- Louis-François de Vannes, see Duplessis de Mornay

- Louisiana,
 II 158-159 171 185-186 189-191 205 207 211 224
 III 431-433 470 477 479 533-534 536 538-539 593 681
 IV 37-38 155 220 225 258 276 280 283 395
 V 131 151 197 203-204 207 210 381 416
 VI 94 96 122 218-219 230 267-269 319 364-365 376 401 420-421 432 508 515 540 554
 see also Ulloa (1766-1768), O'Reilly, A. (1769-1794)
 Louis-Marie de "Naurajo," OFM Cap, lay brother,
 III 337
 Luçon, bishopric of,
 VI 384
 Lucy, fl. 1787-1788, priest,
 VI 195
 Ludovisi, see Albergati Ludivis, Boncompagni Ludovisi
 Ludovisi, Alessandro, see Gregory XV
 Ludovisi, Ludovico, 1595-1632, cdl. (15 Feb. 1621), PF prefect (1622-1632),
 III 37-38
 V 7-9
 Lulio, Raimundo, see Lulle
 Lulle, Raymond (Llull, Ramòn; Lulio, Raimundo), 1233 or 1235-1315,
 III 95
 Lulworth Castle, Poole,
 III 677
 Luppi, Giovanni, notary in the Holy Office,
 III 397
 Lusitania, see Louisiana
 Lutherans,
 IV 223
 Luzent, Pierre, b. c. 1683, priest,
 III 490
 Lvov, see Leopolis
 Lyon, archbishopric and town,
 II 58
 III 15-18 136 138 186 349-350
 VI 499
 see also Du Plessis de Richelieu (1628-1653), Saint-Georges (1693-1714), Marbeuf (1788-1799)
 Yonne, Martin de, 1614-1661, SJ,
 III 202
 IV 205 379
 VI 562

M

- Mabane, Adam, c. 1734-1792,
 III 592
 VI 163
 Mably, see Bonnot de Mably
 Macaire de Paris, TOR, provincial definitor, guardian of the convent of Nemours,
 II 87 90
 III 356-357
 V 57-58
 Macao,
 V 362 373 394
 VI 334
 MacCormick, James, 1750-1818, OFM, guardian of Collegio San Isidoro (1796-1818)
 VI 187

- MacCormick, Michael, d. 1820, OFM, guardian of Collegio San Isidoro (1782-1783, 1784-1785, 1818-1819),
 II 213
 VI 201 458 469
- MacDavett, Philip, d. 1797, bp. of Derry (1766-1797),
 VI 501-502
- MacDonagh, Patrick, d. 1752, bp. of Killaloe (1739-1752),
 II 201
 III 522
- MacDonald, James, 1736-1785, priest,
 IV 273
 VI 455
- MacDonald of Boisdale, Colin,
 IV 273
- MacDonald of Glenaladale, John, 1742-1811,
 IV 273
- Macdonnell, Henrietta,
 IV 299
- Macdonnell, Joachim Roderick, c. 1756-1806, priest,
 IV 299
 VI 185
- Macé, Catherine, 1616-1698, RHSJ,
 II 132 142
 III 221 224 388
 V 102-103
 VI 407
- Macedonia,
 III 128
 IV 189 328
- MacGuire, see Maguire
- Machon, Vincent, 1594-1662, OM,
 II 80
 III 128 354-355
 V 53
- Macken, Thomas,
 III 647
- Maclean, Donald,
 IV 299
- Madagascar,
 II 76
 III 91 96 253-254
 IV 48 190
 V 22 307 309 315 351 362
 VI 317 331 341
- Madaurus, bishopric of, see Visdelou (1651-1663)
- Maddock, Lewis,
 III 576
- Maddock, Luke, 1750-1813,
 III 722 724
- Madeleine, see Îles de la Madeleine
- Madras,
 IV 189
 V 450 455
- Madrid,
 III 37
 IV 35
- Maere,
 IV 311

- Magellan, Strait of, see Strait of Magellan
 Magellan, Ferdinand (Fernão Magalhães), c. 1480-1521,
 VI 401
 Magellan, Strait of,
 III 29
 IV 223
 Maggiora, Giovanni Antonio, auditor to the nuncio in Belgium,
 VI 276-279
 Maguire, Thomas, 1776-1854, priest,
 VI 240-241 248-250 253
 Mahieu, doctor of the Sorbonne,
 VI 60
 Mai, Angelo, 1782-1854, cdl. (2 Feb. 1838),
 IV 225
 Maigrot, Charles, 1652-1730, SME, Comana (1696-1730), SME agent in Rome (1714?-1730),
 II 190
 III 478 487
 VI 261
 Maillard, Pierre, c. 1710-1762, SME,
 III 536
 VI 69 195
 Maillard, Simon, 1705-1761?, SJ,
 VI 540
 Maillet, Marie, 1610-1677, RHSJ,
 II 132 142
 III 221 224 388
 V 102-103
 VI 407
 Mainz, archbishopric of, see von Erthal (1775-1802)
 Mainz, college in,
 V 380
 Mainz, elector of,
 II 166
 Maizerets, see Ango Des Maizerets
 Malabâr,
 IV 24 34 189 294
 V 302 346-348 363 450 455
 VI 299 334 336 341 437
 Malacca,
 V 302
 Malartic,
 VI 355 361
 Malbaie, see La Malbaie
 Mallus, bishopric of, see Dicconson (1740-1752)
 Malte, Knights of, see Crussol, Des Cars
 Manach, Jean, c. 1727-1766, SME,
 IV 249-250 251 261 399 400
 V 185
 VI 424 507
 Mane, André, OP,
 III 558
 Manfroni, Antonio, PF vice-secretary (1664-1666),
 III 214
 IV 10 381
 Mangan, John,
 III 665

- Manners (Sittensperger), Matthias, 1719-1775, SJ,
VI 558 560
- Manners, Peter (alias Pelcome), 1632 or 1633-1669, SJ,
IV 6 9
- Mannucci, Abbot, PF member,
V 108
- Manuel de Portugal (probably a son of Manuel, son of Antonio Prior do Crato, son of Luis, brother of John III of Portugal),
III 113
- Maquet, Alexis, 1710-1775, SJ,
VI 63 540
- Mara, Michael,
III 722 724
- Marais, Capuchins convent of,
III 157
- Maranhão,
IV 296
- Maraval, François, priest,
IV 328-329 330 331
- Marbeuf, Yves-Alexandre, 1734-1799, bp. of Autun (1767-12 Sept. 1788), abp. of Lyon (15 Sept. 1788-1799),
IV 23 294
V 283 293 298 302 313
VI 149 169 186 286 304 311 316
- Marbois, François, 1745-1837, Marquess of Barbé-Marbois,
IV 413
VI 322 329
- Marcana and Trebinje, bishopric of,
IV 298
- Marcheteau, Jean-Baptiste-Antoine, 1761-1816, priest,
III 602
VI 202
- Marcheville, Count of, see Gournay, H. de
- Marcinnò, see Innocenzo da Caltagirone
- Marco Antonio da Carpenedolo (Galizio), 1599-1665, OFM Cap, procurator general (1650-1662), general (1662-1665),
II 95 101
III 277
V 65
- Marefoschi, Mario, 1714-1780, PF secretary (1759-1770), cdl. (in pectore 29 Jan. 1770, published 10 Sept. 1770),
II 207-208
III 545-546 589 590
IV 14 60 72-86 89-96 117 243-248 253 255-259 260-261 271-272 346 389 391 409 411
V 155-157 158 161 171-177 180-181 184 186-188 189 193 196 199-200 201 205-206 215
VI 66 68 74 76 77 89-90 92 93 157 265 427 434 464-465
- Marefoschi, Prospero, 1653-1732, cdl. (20 Dec. 1724), member of the Sacred Congregation of the Consistory,
VI 37 265
- Marescotti, B., substitute at the Secretariate of Briefs to Princes,
V 446
- Mare Vermejum,
VI 554
see also California, Gulf of
- Marguerite,
VI 238
- Marguerite de Saint-Joseph, OP,
III 269 270-272
- Maria de' Medici, 1573-1642, Queen Regent of France (1610-1614),
IV 183-184

- Mariauchau d'Esgly, Louis-Philippe, 1710-1788, bp. of Dorylea (1772-1784), coadjutor of the bp. of Quebec (1772-1784), bp. of Quebec (1784-1788),
- II 210 214
 - III 575 579 580-581 583 585 586-587 591-592 595-596 599 601
 - IV 36 41-42 44-45 99 101 145 156 299 340 348 352 356
 - V 221-225 229 233 244-245 280 284 287 290 312 317-318 319 320 323-324 326 329-331 333 337-339 353 356
 - VI 107 108 109-110 112 113-114 115-116 142-145 148 150 160 167 173 175-177 179-181 184-186 188-189 191 193-194 198-200 203 207 209 293 437 453
- Mariegalante,
- II 93
 - IV 244 247-248 256
 - V 158
 - VI 418 424 464-465 572 574
- Mario Alvise [family name illegible],
- VI 338
- Marius d'Orléans, OFM Cap, lay brother,
- III 337
- Maronites,
- III 184
 - V 33
- Marquemont, Denis-Simon de, d. 1626, cdl. (19 Jan. 1626),
- II 8
- Marseilles,
- III 7 256
 - V 351
 - VI 102 334 336-337 342 499
- Marseilles, Capuchin province of, see Saint-Louis (Provence), Capuchin province of
- Martial de Paris, OFM Cap, provincial of Paris (1648-1651, 1654-1656),
- II 95
 - III 76 79 273 277 278-279
 - IV 414
- Martin, Calliste, OFM Rec, provincial of Aquitaine,
- II 75
 - III 353
- Martin, Charles-Amador, 1648-1711, priest,
- III 365
 - VI 1
- Martin, Théophile, OFM Rec,
- III 270
- Martin de Vierzon, OFM Cap,
- III 87
- Martineau, Jérôme, 1750-1809,
- III 592
- Martinique,
- II 127
 - III 263 269 275 376 541-542 551-552 559-562 565 572
 - IV 103 185 205 217 244 247-248 254-256 341 349 418
 - V 158 204
 - VI 82 93 117 271 418 423-424 428 434 448 464-467 540 572 574
- "Martyrs, des," Jesuit mission
- IV 181
- Mary I, 1516-1568, Queen of England and Ireland (1553-1558),
- VI 482

- Mary Aloysia (Ann-Theresa Matthews), fl. 1790-1794, OCarm,
 II 221
 III 671 674
 IV 315
 V 398 416
- Mary Eleanor (Susanna Matthews), fl. 1790-1794, OCarm,
 II 221
 III 671 674
 IV 315
 V 398 416
- Maryland,
 II 36 64 66 68 117 120 122 138 151 154 182
 III 13-14 108-110 206 324 329 339 347 382 420 425 466 531-532 593-597 633 674 676 721
 IV 3 5-6 9 11-12 22 61 120 219-221 224 226-227 229 232 291-292 370 413
 V 44-46 48 70 99 115 217-218 250 283 298-299 321 340-341
 VI 109 258 263-264 272-273 294 296-297 302 310 319 325-326 328-329 335 347 384 409 411
 415 419 422 476-478 482 494 496 498 557 560 564 573 575 581
- Massachusetts,
 II 211
 III 593
 IV 293
 V 379
 VI 353
- Massari, see Bonaventura da Recanati
- Massari, Dionisio, PF secretary (1649-1657),
 III 262 265 274
- Massé, Enemond, 1575-1646, SJ,
 III 252
 IV 180 183-185
- Massei, Bartolomeo, 1663-1745, abp. of Athens (1721-1730), N in France (1722-1730), cdl. (2 Oct. 1730),
 II 189 191 195-196
 III 479 487-488 490 495 499-501
 V 131-132
- Massillon, Jean-Baptiste, 1663-1742, bp. of Clermont (1718-1742),
 II 184
- Massimi, Marquess,
 V 350
- Masson, Joseph, 1746-1823, priest,
 V 271-272 275 287
 VI 131-132 137 139 141
- Masson, Pierre, 1609-1695, SJ,
 IV 205
- Massow,
 II 138
 III 373
- Mathevet, Jean-Claude, 1717-1781, PSS,
 VI 122 136
- Mathias de Reims, OFM Cap, lay brother,
 III 337
- Mathon, Louis, d. 1778, SME, procurator in Pondichéry (1743-1774),
 V 228
- Matignon, Jacques, de, d. 1727, bp. of Condom (1672-1693),
 II 184
- Matthews, Ann, see Bernardine de Saint-Joseph
- Matthews, Ann Theresa, see Mary Aloysia

- Matthews, Ignatius, 1730-1790, SJ,
 II 218
 III 606
 IV 412
 VI 296 558 560
 Matthews, Susanna, see Mary Eleanor
 Mattingly, John, 1745-1807, SJ,
 IV 219
 VI 264 273 556 557
 Maubec, see Méobec
 Maubranche, Baron of,
 VI 355 361
 Mauges Bitch,
 VI 470
 Maurice, see Île-de-France
 Maurizio, Genoese sea captain,
 III 148
 Maximilian II Emmanuel, 1662-1726, Duke of Bavaria, 1674-1726
 IV 238
 May, Christopher,
 III 647
 Mazarin, Jules, 1602-1661, cdl. (16 Dec. 1641),
 III 123 186
 McCabe, James,
 III 647 665
 McCabe, John,
 III 647
 McDaniel, Thomas,
 III 647
 McDermott, George,
 III 647
 McDonough, Andrew,
 III 647
 McGaughran, Patrick,
 III 665
 McGuire, Francis, OFM Rec,
 V 310-311
 VI 169 318
 McKenna, William, vic. general of the bishop of Meath,
 III 655
 McManus, John, OFM Rec,
 V 310-311
 VI 169 318
 Meath, bishopric of,
 V 395-396
 see also Plunkett, P.J. (1778-1827)
 Meaux,
 III 61
 Melé, see de-Grand-Dos-Melé
 Melzi, Camillo, c. 1587-1659, cdl. (9 April 1657), PF member,
 II 104 108-110
 IV 64
 Membré, Zénobe, 1645-1689, OFM Rec,
 II 158
 III 431

- Ménard, René, 1605-c. 1661, SJ,
 II 115
 III 200 202
 IV 205 379
 VI 502
- Mendoza Valdereis, João Francisco, 1726-1808, patriarch of Lisbon (1788-1808),
 IV 310 317-318 320-322 325
- Menou d'Aulnay, Charles de, c. 1604-1650, governor of Acadia,
 III 102 104 116 166
 IV 373
- Menou de Chamizay, Augustin-Roche de, 1681-1767, bp. of La Rochelle (1730-1767),
 IV 240
 VI 94
- Méobec (Saint-Pierre-de-Méobec), Benedictine abbey of (diocese of Bourges),
 II 124-125 131
 III 181 201 207-208 210 214 219-220 225 400
 IV 224 226-227 381
 V 86-87 91 289-292 311 323 330-332
 VI 8 13-16 25-27 29-30 32 34 36-37 39-46 149 152-155 163 169 173 175 177 180-181 186 299
 453 475 521 581
- Merici, Angela, 1474-1540,
 IV 86
- Mérinville, see Monstiers de Mérinville
- Mesaucina, see Switzerland
- Mesmes, Claude de, 1595-1650, Count of Avaux,
 III 57
- Messein, see Bailly de Messein
- Metcalf, Peter (alias Nelson?), 1603-1671? priest,
 III 109
- Metellopolis, bishopric of, see Cotelendi (1660-1662)
- Methodists,
 VI 187
- Meur, Vincent de, 1628-1668, SME superior (1664-1667),
 III 182 382
- Meurin, Sébastien-Louis, 1707-1777, SJ,
 IV 258
 V 337
 VI 188 267 540
- Mexico,
 III 239 409 411
 VI 483 526
 see also New Mexico, New Spain
- Mexico, Gulf of,
 III 156
- Mexico, Jesuit Province of,
 VI 540
- Mézy, see Saffray de Mézy
- Miamis, VI 267
- Micheau, Jacques, b. c. 1764 or 1765, priest,
 IV 331
 VI 379-384
- Michel, superior of the seminary of the archbishopric of Bordeaux,
 IV 417 424
- Michel-Ange de Reims, OFM Cap,
 III 83

- Michel de Cron, OM, provincial of Touraine,
 II 153
 III 424
 V 117
- Michigames,
 VI 267
- Micmacs,
 III 536
 VI 60
- Middle East,
 IV 372
 see also Orient
- Milan (Milano),
 VI 481
- Mileto, bishopric of, see Panzani (1640-1662?)
- Millet, François-Amédée, 1664-1744, bp. of Aosta (1699-1727),
 II 173
 III 453
- Millini, Giovanni Gracia, d. 1629, cdl. (11 Sept. 1606), PF member, protector of the Discalced Carmelites,
 II 2 7-8 10
 III 323
 IV 211
 V 1 4 11
- Milo,
 IV 371
- Mimbela, Jaime de, 1666-1739, OP, bp. of Santa Cruz de la Sierra (1714-1720),
 III 492 499
 V 132
- Minelli, Santo (Sante), priest,
 IV 297
 V 313
- Miniac, Jean-Pierre de, c. 1691-1771, PSS, canon of Quebec,
 IV 394 403
- Minim Sisters of the Order of St. Francis de Paula
 II 228
 see also Gérard
- Minorca,
 IV 220
- Miquelon, see Saint-Pierre and Miquelon
- Mirabel, Étienne, OFM Cap?,
 III 256
- Miramichi,
 IV 395
- Mirandola, see Pico della Mirandola
- Miscou,
 IV 371 373
- Mississippi, country,
 II 176 185-186 189
 III 458 501 571 595
 V 131
 VI 189 219 260 310 326 329 506 508 523 540
- Mississippi, river,
 V 343
 VI 196 218 401
- Missouris,
 VI 267

- Mobile,
IV 37
- Mogol,
IV 377
VI 84
- Mohawks,
VI 364
see also Agniers
- Mohilew, bishopric of, see Siestrzencewicz-Bohusz (1783-1826)
- Molyneux, Robert, 1738-1808, SJ, superior in the American provinces (1806-1808),
II 218 222 232
III 606 713
IV 24 105 343 351 354-355 412
V 355 363 364
VI 343 558 560
- Mombareil, see Montgolfier
- Monstiers de Mérinville, Charles-François des, d. 1746, bp. of Chartres (1710-1746),
II 200
III 518
- Montagnais,
III 246 249
- Montbard, Baron of, see Duplessis, Christophe
- Montbareil, see Montgolfier
- Mont-Carmel, Hôpital du,
IV 143
- Montecuccoli, see Antonio da Modena
- Montefiascone, bishopric of, see Garampi (1776-1792)
- Montepulciano, bishopric of, see Ubaldini (1607-1616)
- Montereale, Abbot of, see Vecchi, G. de
- Montgolfier, Étienne, 1712-1791, PSS, vic. general of the bp. of Quebec,
III 583 684
IV 73 187 392-394 396 398-399 401-403 405 406-407
V 163 167 174 176 179 181 317-318 320 323
VI 68-69 177-179 181 217
- Monthieu, Dominique, OP,
III 558
- Monti, Cesare, d. 1650, cdl. (in pectore 19 Nov. 1629, published 28 Nov. 1633), PF member,
II 39
- Monti, Filippo Maria, d. 1754, PF secretary (1735-1743), cdl. (9 Sept. 1743),
II 200-202
V 137-138
VI 492
- Montigny, see Pinguet de Montigny
- Montigny, François de, 1669-1742, vic. general of the bp. of Quebec (1697-1700?), SME director (from 1711) and procurator in Rome (1714-1720),
II 184 196
III 490 495 499 500-501
IV 416 423
VI 34 36 41 196
- Montmagny, see Huault de Montmagny
- Montpezat de Carbon, Jean de, d. 1687, abp. of Bourges (1665-1675),
VI 15-16

- Montreal,
 II 125 132 223
 III 167 194 201 204-205 276 301 304 352 501 600 680 692
 IV 127 142 144 149 152 220 286-288 379 390 392 395 399 402
 V 78 81 102-103 196 198 200 311 369 386
 VI 47 106 119 136 142 149-150 153 194 204 207 218 230 234 236 270 405-406 438 508 521
 540 562
 Montreal, Jesuit residence at,
 IV 295
 Montserrat,
 II 116 203-204
 III 173 531-532
 IV 220
 V 216
 VI 263 271-272 319 409 411 415 419 422 445 573 575
 Morand, Guillaume-François, 1701-1761?, SJ,
 VI 540
 Moreau de Brésoles, Judith, 1620-1687, RHSJ,
 II 132 142
 III 221 224 388
 V 102-103
 VI 407
 Moreri, Louis, 1643-1680,
 III 488
 see also *Grand Dictionnaire*
 Moret, Vincent, OFM Rec, provincial of Paris,
 II 38-39
 III 43 44 246 330-332
 V 39
 Moretti, Paolo, priest,
 III 603-604
 V 352 359
 VI 472 522
 Morguet, Denis, OFM Rec,
 II 158
 III 431
 Moriondo, see Giovanni da Moncalieri
 Morley, Henry, see Rigby
 Mornay, see Duplessis de Mornay
 Morozzo, Giuseppe, 1758-1842, governor of Civitavecchia, cdl. (8 March 1816),
 V 350
 VI 334 338 345
 Morris, Peter, 1743-1783, SJ,
 VI 558 560
 Morrisseaux, François, 1722-1776, called Boismorel, priest,
 IV 79
 VI 87
 Morrogh, Francis, agent in Lisbon of the bp. of Quebec,
 III 684 718
 V 403-404 413 414 427 428 431
 VI 220 227 238 246
 Mosca, Agapito, 1678-1760, cdl. (1 Oct. 1732), PF member,
 V 154
 Mosley, Joseph, 1731-1787, SJ,
 VI 558 560
 Mothais, Jean, priest,
 III 24

Moulins-en-Bourbonnois,

III 389

VI 406

Mountstuart, Baron, see Stuart, John

Mourogne, see Barth Mourogne

Mrkanj, see Marcana and Trebinje

Mr. Smyth's Reasons. To the Right Rev. Dr. Plunkett (1791), by Patrick Smyth,

III 640-641

Muldowny, William,

III 722 724

Munster, Irlande,

V 375

Mureta, see Meurin

Murphy, Morgan,

VI 459

Murray, James, 1722-1784, governor general of Canada (1764-1766),

VI 103

Muslims,

V 30 36

Myra, archbishopric of, see Gualtieri, L.G. (1743-1760)

Myrina, bishopric of, see Pritchard (1713-1750)

N

Nagot, François-Charles, 1734-1816, PSS, superior of the Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice, Paris,

II 232

III 676 713

IV 300 301

V 387-388

VI 372

Nantes, bishopric and town,

II 174

III 22-24 76 147 303

IV 25

V 241 245 283

VI 115 286

see also Turpin de Crissé et Sanzay (1724-1746)

Naples (Napoli),

V 430

Narbonne, archbishopric of, see Dillon (1763-1801)

Natchez,

IV 37

Natchitoches,

IV 37

VI 267

- Natives, American,
 II 49 76 81-82 116 182 188
 III 44 51 104-105 153 197 244-245 251 255-256 277 303 318 329
 361 392 394 411 431 436 439 458 462 466 475 478 485-486 488 498 509 511 535 599
 IV 3 9 11 13 28 31 116 184-185 214-215 223 251 258 373 400
 V 16 23 26 36 42 50 55 99 121 145 147 153 206
 VI 1-2 22 59 80 119 203 230 236 260 405 453 487-489 492
 see also Abenakis, Agniers, Agwelentegwas, Aiaoués, Ajastalate, Akenzas, Alabamas, Algonquins, Andastes, Anthony, Apalachees, Arkansas, Attakapas, Canses, Cayugas, Choctaws, Creeks, Five Nations, Goyogouins, Hagoyownloga, Hannahsodalh, Honnois, Hurons, Illinois, Iroquois, Kaokias, Kaskaskias, Kongawalet, Louis, Miamis, Michigameas, Micmac, Missouriis, Mohawks, Montagnais, Natchez, Natchitoches, Neutrals, Octotatas, Oneidas, Onondagas, Onontagués, Osages, Outaouais, Panimahas, Peorias, Riguronons, Sogoyowntha, Scanandoe, Senecas, Showonjelego, Six Nations, Sorcerers, Tamarois, Tsonnontouans, Tuscaroras, Wabash
- Naupactus, archbishopric of, see Pallavicini (1754-1766)
- Nautier, see Dubois-Nautier
- Navan,
 III 610-611 623 628 652 654 661 670
- Naxia,
 IV 189-190
 V 315
 see also Naxos
- Naxivan, bishopric of, see Knab (1682-1690)
- Naxos,
 IV 371-372
 see also Naxia
- Nazianzo, archbishopric of, see Crescenzo (1739-1743)
- Neale, Benedict, 1709-1787, SJ,
 VI 558 560
- Neale, Leonard, 1746-1817, SJ, bp. of Gortyna and coadjutor of the bp. of Baltimore (appointed in 1795, consecrated in 1800, until 1816),
 II 242 234
 III 713 719 721
 IV 112 163-164 333-336 362 363 364
 V 340 341 421 422-424 438 445 451 456
 VI 276-278 279 378 387-389 394
- Neercassel, Jan, d. 1686, bp. of Castoria (1662-1686), coadjutor of the bp. of Philippi (1662-1663),
 II 119
 III 192
 IV 231
 V 79
- Negroni, Andrea, 1710-1789, cdl. (18 July 1763), secretary of the Secretariate of Briefs to Princes (5 Oct. 1767),
 IV 145
 V 225
 VI 108
- Nelson, see Metcalf
- Nemours,
 III 356
- Nemours, convent of,
 II 87 90
 III 356
 V 57

- Neocesarea, archbishopric of, see Alberizzi (1671-1676); Sforza, A. (1695-1701)
- Nerli, Francesco, 1636-1698, abp. of Florence (1670-1683), N in France (1672-1673), cdl. (12 June 1673), secretary of state (1673-1676), PF member,
 II 152-153
 III 236 422-423
 VI 11 12-16 25-27 475
- Nets, Nicolas de, d. 1646, OSB, bp. of Orléans (1631-1646),
 II 59
 III 340 343
- Neufville, Pierre de, priest,
 II 134 137
 III 361 366 367
 V 92
 VI 3-4
- Neutrals,
 III 246 249
- Nevis,
 III 531
 VI 263 419 445
- "New and Accvrat Map of the World" (1626), printed map by John Speed,
 III 28-29 39 48
- New Batvia, see New Netherlands
- New Belgium,
 III 206
- New Britain,
 VI 554
- New Brunswick,
 VI 168
- New Cayenne, see Nouvelle-Cayenne, Guyana
- New Denmark,
 VI 401 554
 V 15
- New England,
 II 5 21 23 28 95 204 211
 III 26 161 206 242-243 252 277-279 314-316 318 325 329 511 531-532 574 593
 IV 119 213 225 264 330 371-373 376
 VI 199 257 267 319 329 401 409 411 419 483 486 554 573 575
- Newfoundland,
 II 2 134 137 204 209 213 235
 III 242 315-316 361 367 501 531-532 575-578 722-727
 IV 100 113 166-167 225 298 339 347 365-366 368-369
 V 295-297 334-335 375 382 420 425 429-430
 VI 3 201 230 263 319 411 415 419 451 458 460 462 471 494-495 526 554
 see also Avalon, Bacallaos
- New Granada,
 IV 208
 VI 555 581
 see also New Mexico, New Spain
- New Hampshire,
 II 211
 III 593
 V 379
 VI 353
- New Holland, see New Netherlands

- New Jersey,
 II 201 211
 III 531-532 593
 V 218
 VI 263 272 319 329 372 409 411 419 573 575
- Newman, John,
 III 647 665
- Newman, Thomas,
 III 647
- New Mexico,
 III 105 157 329-330 511
 IV 206 223-224 226-227
 V 55
 VI 526 554 581
 see also Mexico, New Granada
- New Netherlands,
 II 88 113 119
 III 187-189 191-192
 IV 67 231
 V 67 73 79-80
 VI 401 565
- New Orleans, bishopric and town,
 II 207
 III 501 536-539 573 696
 IV 37 84 86 276 289-290
 V 150 152 387
 VI 87 89-90 269 423 443 467 508 540
 see also Peñalver y Cárdenas (1794-1801)
- New Scotland,
 II 5 15
 III 252 314-316 318
 IV 213
 V 16
 see also Acadia, Nova Scotia
- New Spain,
 IV 223
 VI 555
 see also Mexico, New Granada
- New Sweden
 III 206
 IV 225
- Newtown,
 IV 219
 VI 273
- New York, bishopric, province and town,
 II 204 211 221
 III 531-532 587 593 595-597 605 671 674 678
 IV 22 225 251 327-328 333
 V 344 352 379 397-398
 VI 163 170 175 263 319-323 326 329 332 339-340 343 347 353 365 375 392 394 409 411 419
 573 575
 see also Concanen (1808-1810), Connolly (1814-1825)
- Niccolò di Santa Genoveffa, SJ?, superior in Greece,
 II 123
 III 237
- Nicea, archbishopric of, see Valenti Gonzaga, S.

- Nicolas d'Amiens, OFM Cap, provincial of Paris (1656-1659, 1662-1665, 1669-1671, 1674-1677),
 II 100 140
 III 374
- Nicolas de Chaumont, d. 1736, OFM Cap, provincial of Champagne,
 II 189 191 197
 III 476 479 502
 V 131
- Nicolas-Joseph de Paris, d. 1757, bp. of Orléans (1733-1754),
 II 201
 III 526
- Nicolet, La Rue's secretary,
 IV 251-252
- Nicolson, Francis, priest,
 VI 262
- Nilopolis, bishopric of, see O'Donel, J.L. (1795-1796)
- Nîmes,
 VI 406
- Nisibis, archbishopric of, see Brancadoro (1789-1801)
- Noailles, Gaston-Jean-Baptiste-Louis de, 1669-1720, bp. of Chalons-sur-Marne (1696-1720),
 VI 474
- Noailles, Louis-Antoine de, 1651-1729, cdl. (21 June 1700),
 VI 474
- Noël, Jean-Baptiste, 1728-c. 1769, SJ,
- Norfolk, Virginia,
 III 597
- Normandy,
 II 108
 III 308 367
 IV 265-267
- Normandy, Capuchin province of,
 II 186
 III 266
 IV 217
- Normandy, Discalced Carmelite province of,
 II 186
- North part of America (c. 1625), map printed by Henry Briggs,
 II 15
 III 40
 V 16
- Notre-Dame, parish church,
 III 449
- Notre-Dame-de-l'Assomption-de-Berthier, parish church,
 IV 83 91
 VI 87 164 183 190
- Notre-Dame-de-la-Visitation-de-Champlain, parish church,
 IV 80
 VI 87
- Notre-Dame-de-Liesse-de-la-Rivière-Ouelle, parish church,
 IV 91
- Notre-Dame-de-Montréal, parish church,
 IV 96 142 144
- Notre-Dame-de-Québec, parish church and cathedral,
 IV 42 45 134 136-137 147
 V 222
 VI 106 109 115 117 121 191 238 438

- Notre-Dame-des-Anges,
 II 125
 III 201
- Notre-Dame-des-Ardilliers, church in Miquelon,
 IV 53
- Notre-Dame-des-Ardilliers, parish church in Saumur,
 IV 53
- Nouveaux Voyages dans l'Amérique septentrionale* (1703), by Louis-Armand de Lom d'Arce de Lahontan,
 III 567
- Nouvelle-Beauce, see Beauce
- Nouvelle-Cayenne,
 VI 424
 see also Guyana
- Nouvelle-Orléans, see New Orleans
- Nova Scotia,
 II 211
 III 531 593 705
 IV 413
 V 333 337
 VI 188 195 230 262-263 319 409 415 419
 see also Acadia, Nova Scotia
- Nugent, Andrew, OFM Cap,
 III 596 605
 IV 22
 V 352 361
 VI 339 347 353
- Nulty, see Casimir de Dublin
 VI 63 540
- Nuncios in Belgium, see Bentivoglio, G. (1607-1615); Guidi di Bagno, G.F. (1621-1627); Lagonissa (1627-1634); Vecchi, G.D. (1656-1665); Airoldi (1668-1673); Falconieri (1673-1674); Spinelli (1721-1731); Valenti, S. (1731-1736); Ghilini (1763-1775); Busca (1775-1785); Zondadari (1786-1791); Brancadoro (1792-1795);
- Nuncios in Cologne, see Sanfelice (1652-1659), Gallio (1649-1666), Bellisomi (1775-1786), Pacca (1786-1794)
- Nuncios in England, see Rossetti (1639), Adda (1665-1688)
- Nuncios in Flanders, see Nuncios in Belgium
- Nuncios in France,
 II 38
 V 283 312
 see also Ubaldini (1607-1616); Bentivoglio, G. (1616-1621); Spada, B. (1623-1627); Bichi (1630-1634); Bolognetti (1634-1639); Grimaldi (1641-1643); Guidi di Bagno, N. (1643-1656); Piccolomini (1656-1663); Vittori Roberti (1664-1667); Vibo (1667-1668); Bargellini (1668-1671); Vibo (1671-1672); Nerli (1672-1673); Bentivoglio, M.C. (1712-1719); Massei (1722-1730); Rota (1730-1731); Elci (1731-1738); Crescenzo (1739-1743); Gualtieri (1754-1760); Pamphili Colonna (1760-1766); Sozzifanti (1766-1767); Giraud (1767-1773); Riva (1773); Doria Pamphili (1773-1785); Dugnani (1785-1791)
- Nuncios in Portugal,
 IV 382
 see Bellisomi (1785-1795), Pacca (1794-1802)
- Nuncio in Savoy, see Sforza, A. (1695-1701)
- Nuncios in Spain,
 IV 382
 see also Sacchetti (1624-1626); Pallavicini (1760-1767); Vincenti (1785-1794); Casoni, F. (1794-1800)
- Nuncio in Vienna, see Garampi (1776-1785)

O

O'Beirne, Thomas, d. 1747, bp. of Ardagh (1739-1747),

II 201

III 524

O'Brien, William D., OP,

III 524

IV 327

VI 339 347 392 393

Och, see Stock

Ochinstown,

III 631

O'Connelly, John, priest,

V 303

VI 307

O'Connor, Brian,

III 631 647

Octotatas,

VI 267

Odescalchi, Benedetto, see Innocent XI

O'Donel, Charles, d. c. 1824, bp. of Capsa (1798), coadjutor of the bp. of Derry (1798),

VI 501-502

O'Donel, James Louis, 1737-1811, OFM Rec, prefect ap. in Newfoundland (30 May 1784-22 Jan. 1796), bp. of Nilopolis (23 Dec. 1795-5 Jan. 1796), bp. of Thyatira (5 Jan. 1796-1 April 1811), vic. ap. in Newfoundland (22 Jan. 1796-1 Jan. 1807)

II 209 213 235

III 575-576 577-578 722 724-725 727

IV 100 113 165-168 298 311 326 339 347 365 366-367 368 369

V 295 296 297 334 335 368 375 376 382 420 425-426 429 430

VI 201 451 454 458-461 462-463 468 469 471 494

O'Donel, Michael, 1724-1790, OFM Rec,

VI 463

Oellers, Jacobus,

VI 388 390

O'Ferrall, Richard, d. 1663, OFM Cap,

IV 376

Ohio, river,

V 374

VI 357 361 373

Oka, see L'Annonciation-d'Oka

O'Kelly, priest,

VI 451

Oliva, Gian Paolo, 1600-1681, SJ vic. general (1661-1664), general (1664-1681),

II 116 138

IV 2-3 5 6-7 427 429

V 62 66 98 101 105

VI 7 403

Olivieri, Fabio, d. 1738, secretary of the Secretariate of Briefs to Princes 24 (from 24 Nov. 1700), member of the Sacred Congregation of the Consistory, cdl. (6 May 1715),

II 489 549

VI 37

Olivieri, Gabriele, priest,

II 174

III 454

Omodei, Luigi Alessetro, c. 1618-1685, cdl. (19 Feb. 1652), PF member,

II 40

- Oneida Castle, New York,
VI 364-365 367
- Oneidas,
V 381
VI 364 365-366 367
- O'Neil, David, priest,
II 56
III 89, 335-336
IV 208
V 20
- O'Neil, Peter,
III 647
- Onesti, see Braschi Onesti
- Onondagas,
VI 364
see also Onontagués
- Onontac, see Onondagas, Onontagués
- Onontagués,
IV 181
see also Onondagas, Onontac
- Ontario, see Lake Ontario
- O'Queely, Malachias, c. 1586-1645, abp. of Tuam (1630-1645),
II 47 55-56
III 89 294 335-336
IV 208
V 20-22
- Oratoire de Jésus et Marie-Immaculée,
II 109
III 240
see also Bourgoing
- Order of Cistercians of the Strict Observance (Trappists),
VI 226
see also Lestrangle
- Order of Cîteaux (Cistercians)
VI 30
see also Besozzi, Lestrées
- Order of Friars Minor (Franciscans),
II 5 158
III 679
VI 394
see also Chrysologue; Cowan; MacCormick, J.; MacCormick, M.; Sormano; van Huffel; Wadding
- Order of Friars Minor Capuchin (Capuchins)
II 21-23 26-28 30-35 37 46 48 50-54 61 63 65 67 69-70 72-73 76 79 81-82 86-88 90-91 93 95
100-101 118 121 140 148 166 181 189 191 194-195 197-198 205 207 221 232
III 1 25-26 145 243 286 288-289 300 354 410-411 536-538 571 594
IV 38 62-63 206-207 217 224 226-227 338 370-373 374-375 376 377
V 13 28 31-32 58 112 197 344 381
VI 267-269 283 365-366 418 421 423
see also Aimé de Lamballe; Alessandro da Poppi; Alexandre; Alexis d'Auxerre; Alphonse de Paris; André de Paris; Ange de Paris; Angélique de l'Isle-sur-Songue; Antoine de Saint-Just; Antonio da Modena; Aquitaine (province); Archange de Fossez; Archangel of Pembroke; Arsène de Paris; Aubré; Augustin de Paris; Augustin de Pontoise; Balthazar de Paris; Baptiste de Château-Thierry; Barberini, A., 1569-1646; Barnabé; Barthélemy de Mantes; Bartholomew; Basile de Paris; Benedikt von Skt. Wendelin, Bernardin de Crépy-en-Valais; Bernardino da Macerata; Bernardino da Sant'Angelo in Vado; Bonaventura da Recanati; Bonaventure de Boulogne; Brittany (province); Callanan; Casimir de Dublin; Cerfoumont; Champagne (province); Charles d'Amiens, Cirillo de Barcelona; Claude "Bollauarensis"; Claude de Bourges; Côme de Mantes; Côme de Senlis; Cork (convent); Dagobert de Longuory; Daniel de Nogent;

Dannally; Denis de Nîmes; Didace de Liesse; Dionigi da Piacenza; Duhamel; Duplessis de Mornay; Elzéar de Beauvais, Elzéar de Saint-Florentin, Emanuel de Villeneuve de Berg, Esprit d'Yvoy, Eusèbe de Paris; Feliciano da Piacenza; Félix de Reims; Ferdinand; Firmin d'Amiens; Francesco da Genova; Francisco de Caldes; François de Cunières; François de Joinville; François "Juniarsensis"; François-Marie de Paris; Gabriel de Joinville; Gabriel de Paris; Georges de Fauquemont; Giacinto da Rovereto; Giovanni Antonio da Firenze; Giovanni da Moncalieri; Giuseppe da Bevagna; Grace; Heilbron, K.; Heilbron, P.; Hilaire de Calais; Hilaire de Genevaux; Hippolyte de Brou; Hippolyte de Magny; Honoré de Cunières; Honoré "Letus"; Hyacinthe de Paris; Ignace de Paris; Innocenzo da Caltagirone; Ireland (province); Irénée; Isidore de Crépy-en-Valais; Jacques d'Orléans; Jean-Baptiste de Tonnerre; Jean-Baptiste de Villeneuve-de-Berg; Jean-Baptiste du Thil de Paris; Jean de Saint-Jean-de-Luz; Jean de Troyes; Jean-François de Paris; Jean-Louis d'Auchey; Jean-Louis de Paris; Jean-Marie de Montoloy de Paris; Joachim de Corbeil; Jones; Joseph d'Abbeville; Joseph d'Angers; Joseph de Paris; Joseph de Paris (Du Tremblay); Joseph de Paris (lay brother); Julien de Rignoro; Léonard d'Auxerre; Léonard de Chartres; Léonard de la Tour; Léonard de Paris; Léon de Courville; Léon de Paris; Lille (province); Lorenzo da Capranica; Louis de Champigny; Louis-François de Paris; Louis-Marie de "Naurajo"; Lyon; Marais (convent); Marco Antonio da Carpenedolo; Marius d'Orléans; Martial de Paris; Martin de Vierzon; Mathias de Reims; Michel-Ange de Reims; Mirabel; Nicolas d'Amiens; Nicolas de Chaumont; Normandy (province); Nugent, O'Ferrall; Pacifique de Provins; Paris (province); Pascal d'Abbeville; Pascal d'Auxerre; Pascal de Troyes; Paul de Paris; Pierre de Paris; Pierre-François d'Amiens; Placidus von Fulda; Prosper; Protais d'Abbeville; Provence (province); Raphaël de Nantes; René de Paris; Rhine (province); Saint-Honoré (convent); Saint-Louis (convent); San Francisco (convent); Séraphin de Bruxelles; Silvère de Reims; Simon de Parey; Simon de Schwyz; Simpliciano da Milano; Stanislas; Sulpice de Fribourg; Symphoriane de Sainte-Menhilde; Tomàs de Mingo; Touraine (province); Toussaint "Bollauarensis"; Valentin; Vincent de Paris; Whelan, C.M.

Order of Friars Minor (Recollets),

II 25 27 38-39 75 87 90 158-159 209 219 221 223
 III 1 4 157 167 245 296 300 349 354 684
 IV 109 151-153 206 224 226-227
 V 13 29 39 55 58 387 400
 VI 106 109 169 217 220 223 230 462-463

see also Aquitaine (province), Archdeken; Baulderon; Berey des Essarts; Bolivar; Causse; Charles de Saint-Maurice; Chartier de Lotbinière; Douay; Dulong; Ewer; Eyston; Fromm; Goetz; Grégoire d'Elsaury; Hennepin; Immaculée-Conception (province); Kennedy; La Portilla; La Roche Daillon; L'Arquand; Le Caron; Le Clercq; Lefèvre; Le Gault; Martin, C.; Martin T.; McGuire; McManus; Membre; Moret; Morguet; O'Donel, J.L.; O'Donel, M.; Oudeard; Paris (province); Patrignani; Phelan; Pons; Power, P.; Pritchard; Ranouil; Reuter; Sagard; Saint-Charles (convent); Saint-Denis (province); Thoury

Order of Friars Preacher (Dominicans),

II 5 151 206 232
 III 203 220 559 565 571
 IV 415
 VI 499

see also Baillet; Bernard; Brémond; Burke, fl. 1785-1801; Collegio San Clemente; Concanen; Connolly; Conway; Fassati; Fleming; Howard; Knab; Ledru; Lonergan; Mane; Marguerite de Saint-Joseph; Mimbel; Monthieu; O'Brien; O'Reilly, W.; Paul; Ryan, J.; Savonarola; Scaglia; Secchi; Soaypa; Tremolet

Order of St. Augustine (Augustinians),

II 5
 IV 335-337
 VI 32

see also Bénévent (abbey), Carr, Collegio San Matteo, Crane, Dublin (convent), Ennis, Kean, Rossiter

Order of St. Benedict (Benedictines),

II 221
 V 283
 VI 493

see also Authier de Sisgau, Champgenêteux (abbey), Didier, Elling, Fröling, Méobec (abbey), Nets, Ratisbonne (college), Walmesley

Order of the Brothers of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel (Carmelites),

II 224

- Order of the Clerics Regular of Somascha (Somaschi),
 III 445
- Order of the Discalced Brothers of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel (Discalced Carmelites)
 II 2-12 14-17 20 24 185-186 189
 V 131
 VI 567
 see also Bede of the Blessed Sacrament, Bernardo Maria di Gesù, Charles de Saint-Alexis, Edmund of St. Martin, Elias of Jesus, Eliseus of St. Michael, England (Province), Giustiniani, Jacques de Saint-Martin, Jean-Mathieu de Sainte-Anne, Joseph de Saint-Charles, Millini, Normandy (province), Paolo Simone di Gesù e Maria, Philippe-Thérèsius de Sainte-Anne, Pierre-Marie de Saint-Thomas, Stock
 see also Paul de Saint-Pierre, Louis
- Ordre of the Minims (Minims),
 II 80 153
 see also Aprest; Aquitaine (province); Corti; Machon; Michel de Cron; Paris (province); Spada, B.; Touraine (province); Verlhac
- O'Reilly, Alexander, 1735-1794, governor of Louisiana (1769-1794),
 VI 96
- O'Reilly, Lawrence Eugene, priest,
 III 642 645 660
- O'Reilly, Michael, d. 1758, bp. of Derry (1739-1749),
 II 200
 III 514
 V 137-138
- O'Reilly, Richard, d. 1818, abp. of Armagh (1788-1818),
 II 220
 III 636
- Orient,
 II 22 63 79 82
 III 4 15-16 53-55 61 63-64 66 70 75-76 78-79 88 130-131 266 274 281 327-328
 IV 375 377
 V 30 52 273
 VI 102 445
 see also Middle East
- Orinoco, river
 III 125 156-157
- Orléans, bishopric and town,
 II 59
 III 340 342-344
 see also Nets (1631-1646), Nicolas-Joseph de Paris (1733-1754)
- Orléans, Duc d', see Philippe II
- Orme, see Hazeur de L'Orme
- O'Rourke, Bernard, d. 1743, bp. of Killala (1739-1743),
 II 200
 III 515
 V 137-138
- Orsini, Domenico, 1719-1789, cdl. (9 Sept. 1743), PF member,
 V 154
- Orsini, Pierfrancesco, see Benedict XIII
- Ortelius, Abraham, 1527-1598, cartographer,
 V 9
 see also *Teatro del mondo*
- Orvieto, bishopric of, see Brancadoro (1800-1803)
- Osages,
 VI 267
- Osogouens, see Goyogouins

Ossory, bishopric of, see Troy (1776-1786)

O'Toole, Andrew, priest,

V 278

VI 500

Ottawas, see Outaouais

Ottoboni, Pietro Vito, 1610-1691, cdl. (19 Feb. 1652), PF member,

II 142 145-147

III 387 399

IV 382

V 108

Oüarabice, river, see Orinoco, river

Oudeard, Antoine, OFM Rec,

VI 260

Ouelle, river

IV 91

Outaouais, natives,

IV 181

Owens, John,

III 647

P

Pacca, Bartolomeo, 1756-1844, abp. of Tamiathis (1785-1801), N in Cologne (24 April 1786-Oct. 1794), N in Portugal (9 April 1794-1802), cdl. (23 Feb. 1801),

III 679

V 428 431 435 442

Pacific Ocean,

IV 31

VI 234

Pacifique de Provins (René de L'Escale), 1588-1648, OFM Cap,

II 26 63 67 70 76 79 81-82 86 91 93

III 4 5 7 9 12 18 19-20 22 23 24 90 91 92 93-99 100 101-102 103 104-105 106 112 113 115
116 119-121 124 127 129 132 134 136 137 139-140 141-143 144 146-147 148 149-152 153
154-155 156-157 159-160 164-168 170-171 244 253 254 255-256 273 338

IV 207 414

V 30 47 50-51 54 55 56

VI 566

see also *Apologie du Bienheureux Raymond Lulle, Lettre [...] pour établir la Religion catholique, Relation du voyage de Perse*

Padua (Padova),

V 448-449 454 460-461

VI 244-245 251-252

Page, John, priest,

III 109

Palestine,

II 51

III 7 142 284 289

IV 62-63 217 338

V 33

VI 576-577

see also Holy Land, Terra Santa

Pallavicini, Lazzaro Opizio, 1719-1785, abp. of Naupactus (1754-1766), N in Spain (1760-1767), cdl. (26 Sept. 1766), secretary of state (1769-1785)

V 162 206

VI 112-113 158 445

- Pallotta, Giovanni Battista, d. 1668, cdl. (19 Nov. 1629), PF member,
 II 48-49 69 117
 III 214
 IV 5 229 379
- Pallu, François, 1626-1684, bp. of Heliopolis (1658-1684), vic. ap. in the Tonkin (1659-1679),
 II 111 131
 III 179 181 184 186 225-226 306-307 313 364 381 383 386 491 494
 IV 233 397
 V 83 89 113
 VI 3 21 261
- Palluau, see Buade
- Palucci (Salucci?), merchant,
 VI 330 351
- Paluzzi degli Albertoni, see Altieri, P.
- Pamphili, see Doria Pamphili, Pamphili Colonna
- Pamphili, Benedetto, d. 1730, cdl.,
 VI 587
- Pamphili, Giovanni Battista, see Innocent X
- Pamphili Colonna, Pietro, 1725-1780, abp. of Colossus (1760-1766), N in France (1760-1766), cdl. (26 Sept. 1766),
 III 590
 IV 132 187 248 249-250 253-255 261 391 392 393 400 401 402 406 409 411
 V 158-159 164 165 166-167 169 182 183 184 185 187-188
 VI 65 70 71 74 75 78 79 80-81 82 265 266-267 419-420 423 424 464-465 510
- Panet, Jean-Antoine, 1751-1815, notary,
 III 585 592
 VI 167
- Panet, Pierre-Méru, 1731-1804, judge,
 III 585 592 602
 VI 167 202
- Panimahas,
 VI 267
- Panzani, Gregorio, d. 1662?, papal envoy extraordinary to England (1634-1637), bp. of Mileto (1640-1662?),
 VI 476
- Paoli, Lorenzo de, c. 1553-1639, SJ, procurator general (1592-1639),
 IV 184
- Paolo Simone di Gesù e Maria (Rivarola), 1571-1643, OCD, general (1623-1626, 1632-1635, 1641-1643),
 II 7
 III 28 34 36 161
 V 1 11
 VI 257
- Paolozzi, Pietro, notary in the Holy Office,
 VI 72
- Paolucci, Fabrizio, 1651-1726, cdl. (in pectore 22 July 1697, published 19 Dec. 1698), secretary of state (1700-1721, 1724-1726),
 II 176 184
 III 457-458 468
 V 124
 VI 28 37
- Papineau, Joseph, 1752-1841,
 III 592
- Paradis, Jean-Baptiste-François, CSSp,
 IV 16 49 53-54 77 261
 V 185 189 197 229 232 254 263 264 279 284 304 311-312 322 332 343
 VI 82 93 110 147 161 168 173 184 332 424-425 432 434-435 440 444 447 449 453 456 515-516
- Paraguay,
 VI 581

- Parent, François-Louis, 1778-1850, priest,
 III 716
 VI 229
- Parent, Jean-Louis-Laurent, c. 1722-1781, priest,
 IV 83
 VI 87
- Paris, archbishopric and town,
 II 23 31 86 109 149 215
 III 1-4 6 8 10 18-22 42-45 54-60 62-64 66-70 72-75 82-85 88 90-95 97-102 104-106 112-135 139-140 142-147 149-153 157-158 163-167 170-173 181 183 186 198 203 220 229 236 246 249 254 265 267 278-279 282 306-308 311-312 325 327-328 377-379 381-382 386 409-415 417 422-423 431 440 446 456 464-465 468 490 499-500 530 536 583 603 675 685 693-695
 IV 15-18 20 23-31 33-34 37-39 42-50 52 55-56 58 60 84 86 118 190 233 235 240 249-255 266-267 269-270 287-288 293-294 300-302 391-406 408 424 428
 V 72 163-164 206 224 278 281 303 309 315 343 369 377
 VI 2-3 12 14-16 24-25 47 50 55-57 60-62 64-67 69-71 73 75 77-78 80 83-85 88-89 91-96 99-103 105-107 110-111 115-116 118 122-123 125-127 133-135 137-139 141-142 144 147 149-156 161 163-166 168-169 173 175 177 180-182 184-186 188-189 192 194 198 206 210-211 217 266 270 274-275 280 286-287 289 291 299-308 311 316-317 324 331-334 336 341 354-359 361 363 366 372 401 407 423-424 429-437 439-442 444-450 452-453 456-457 507 509-511 513-521
 see also Gondy (1654-1662), Harlay de Champvallon (1671-1695), Beaumont (1746-1781), Le Clerc de Juigné (1782-1801), Treaty of Paris, Treaty of Paris-Versailles
- Paris, Capuchin province of,
 II 23 89 92 95 100 118 121 140
 III 71 82-83 87-88 98 104 116 163 176 266
 IV 217 230 371-373
 see also Léonard de Paris (1609-1612, 1615-1618, 1624-1629, 1632-1635), Honoré de Cunières (1639-1642), Silvère de Reims (1642-1645), Jean-François de Paris (1645-1648), Martial de Paris (1648-1651, 1654-1656), Alphonse de Paris (1651-1654), Basile de Paris (1659-1662, 1671-1674), Nicolas d'Amiens (1656-1659, 1662-1665, 1669-1671, 1674-1677)
- Paris, Jesuit province of,
 II 116
 see also Castillon
- Paris, Minim province of,
 III 128
- Paris (Saint-Denis), Recollet province of,
 II 38-39 158
 III 248
 see also Lefèvre, H.; Moret
- Parlement de Paris,
 III 381 386
 VI 64 74-75 101
- Parliament (British),
 II 117
 III 106
 VI 122-123
 see also House of Commons (London)
- Parso, see Black River, Wisconsin
- Pascal d'Abbeville, OFM Cap, provincial of Paris (1618-1620, 1629-1631, 1635-1638),
 II 23
 III 116 120 124
- Pascal d'Auxerre (Brice), d. 1655, OFM Cap,
 III 254
 IV 371

- Pascal de Troyes, d. 1649, OFM Cap,
 II 61
 III 90 102 104 116 166 284 346
 IV 370
- Passionei, Domenico, 1682-1761, cdl. (23 June 1738), secretary of the Secretariate of Briefs to Princes,
 VI 507
- Passy, VI 304 311-312
- Patras, archbishopric of de, see Guidi di Bagno, G.F. (1614-1627)
- Patrignani, Gaudenzio, 1755-1823, OFM Rec, PF consultant (Sept. 1817-15 Jan. 1819), bp. of Ferentino (1818-1823),
 II 227
- Pauger, Adrien de, d. 1726,
 III 470
- Paul III (Alessandro Farnese), 1468-1549, pope (1534-1549),
 III 162 406
- Paul V (Camillo Borghese), 1552-1621, pope (1605-1621),
 II 38
 III 44 246 248-249 300 330-331 406
 IV 184
- Paul, Pierre, OP,
 III 557
- Paul de Paris, OFM Cap,
 III 87
- Paul de Saint-Pierre (von Heiligenstein), OCarm,
 II 224
 III 681
 V 339
 VI 194 198-199 326 332
- Pearson, William Augustus,
 III 647
- Pedemonte & Ardizzone, commercial firm,
 IV 35
- Pegu,
 V 212
 VI 334
- Peignet, Michel, 1700-1781, PSS,
 VI 136
- Peking,
 IV 190
 V 315
- Pelcome, see Manners, P.
- Pélerin, Philippe, fl. 1659-1660, SME,
 III 184-185
- Peletier, see Le Peletier
- Pelham, Henry (alias Warren), 1635-1702, SJ, superior in the American provinces (1664-1676),
 II 117 120 122 138
 III 370
 IV 3 5-6 9 11 229 232
 V 66 70-71
 VI 47
- Pélessier de Féligonde, Jean-François, 1727-1779, PSS,
 VI 136
- Pellentz, Jacob, 1727-1800, SJ,
 II 232
 III 713
 VI 560
- Pembroke, see Archangel of Pembroke

- Peña, Antonio,
 VI 379
- Peñalver y Cárdenas, Luis Ignacio, 1749-1810, bp. of New Orleans (1794-1801),
 IV 314
- Pendrynck, William, see Eliseus of St. Michael
- Penitentiary Apostolic, see Sacred Penitentiary Apostolic
- Penn, William, 1644-1718,
 IV 218
 VI 573
- Pennsylvania,
 II 203-204 211
 III 466 531-532 593
 IV 61 120 218-220 413
 V 217-218 250 283 298-299 321
 VI 263-264 272-273 294 297 310 319 325-326 329 335 409 411 415 419 422 560 573 575
- Pentagouet,
 II 118
 III 104 174
 IV 230 371-373 393
- Peorias,
 VI 267
- Pera,
 VI 7
- Percé,
 II 125
 III 201
- Père Joseph, see Joseph de Paris (Du Tremblay)
- Perge, archbishopric of, see Casoni, F. (1794-1801)
- Pernelle, Julien, 1721-1761?, SJ,
 VI 540
- Perras, Jean-Baptiste, 1768-1847, priest,
 III 592
- Perrault, Jacques-Nicolas, 1750-1812, called "l'aîné,"
 III 592 601 602
 VI 200 202
- Perrault, Joseph-François, 1719-1774, canon of Quebec, vic. general of the bp. of Quebec,
 IV 73 392 394 396 398-399 403 405
 V 174 176 179 181
 VI 68-69
- Perrone di San Martino, Carlo Francesco Baldassarre, d. 1789, Sardinian minister of Foreign Affairs (1777-1789),
 VI 129 148 159 293
- Persia,
 II 26 184
 III 4 73 82 142 237
 IV 180-181 377
 V 55
 VI 490
- Persia, Jesuit province of,
 II 123
- Peru,
 III 330
 IV 206
 VI 581
- Petit, Jean, Cistercian general (c. 1682 or 1683),
 VI 30

- Petit, Louis, 1629-1709, priest,
 III 365
 VI 1
- Petit-Pré, see Houel de Petit-Pré
- Petra, Vincenzo, d. 1747, cdl. (20 Nov. 1724), prefect of the Sacred Penitentiary Apostolic, then PF prefect (1727-1747),
 III 499 504-506 530 560
 VI 53-54 56-57
- Petraea, bishopric of, see Laval (1658-1674)
- Petre, Benjamin (alias White), 1672-1758, bp. of Prusa (1721-1758), vic. ap. in the London district (1734-1758),
 II 203-204
 III 531 532
 IV 241-242 260
 V 142 146 148
 VI 415 421 573 575
- Petroschi, Giovanni, SJ?,
 VI 554
 see also "Societatis Iesv Mvndvm Vnivrsvm"
- Petrucchioli, Francesco, secretary of the Sacred Penitentiary Apostolic,
 III 560
- Pettinger, John (alias Wentworth), priest,
 III 109
- Phelan, Patrick, d. 1800, OFM Rec,
 III 722 724
 VI 459 462 468
- Phelan, William, 1741-1795, priest,
 VI 195 459
- Philadelphia,
 II 221
 III 595 668 671 674 679 721
 IV 35 112 164 323 330 333-337 363
 V 316 339 341 383 397-398 423-424 434-435 442-443 452 457
 VI 109 194 313-315 319-321 326 329 349 352-353 369-370 376 378 388 390 394-395 470 500
- Philip IV, 1605-1665, King of Spain (1621-1665),
 V 36
- Philippe II, duke of Orléans, 1674-1723, regent of France (2 Sept. 1715-22 Feb. 1723),
 II 189
 III 476
 IV 426
 V 131
- Philippe-Thérèsius de Sainte-Anne (Chliffet), OCD, general (1719-1722),
 III 470-471
- Philippi, bishopric of, see Cats (1662-1663)
- Philippines,
 II 5
 III 316
- Piazza, Giulio, 1663-1726, assessor of the Holy Office, cdl. (18 May 1712),
 V 120
- Picart, Pierre, d. 1718, priest,
 VI 31
- Piccolomini, Celio, d. 1681, abp. of Cesaria (1656-1658), N in France (1656-1663), cdl. (14 Jan. 1664), PF member,
 II 105-107 109 114 141
 III 194 198-199 205 230 240 297 298 303 306 313 380-381 391-392 393
 V 63 72 75-76 82 96
 VI 5 410

- Pico della Mirandola, Ludovico, d. 1743, cdl. (in pectore 18 May 1712, published 26 Sept. 1712), PF member,
 II 195-196 198-199
 III 486 487 493 495 503 506
 IV 70
 V 133 135
 VI 261
- Picquet, François, d. 1685, bp. of Caesaropolis (1675-1683),
 VI 499
- Picquez, Bernard, SME,
 III 182
- Pidou, Louis-Marie, d. 1717, bp. of Babylon (1687-1717),
 IV 417
- Pieracchi, Cristoforo, abbot, auditor to the French Nunciature,
 IV 23 300
 V 330 336
 VI 180 186 331
- Pieret, François, SJ,
 IV 57
 V 265
- Pierre, François-Joachim de, 1715-1794, cdl. (2 Oct. 1758), cdl. of Bernis,
 V 286 327-328 409
 VI 140 225-226
- Pierre de Bernis, François de, d. 1802, abp. of Damascus (1784-1795),
 V 409
- Pierre de Paris, OFM Cap, lay brother,
 III 337
- Pierre-François d'Amiens, OFM Cap,
 III 83
- Pierre-Marie de Saint-thomas, OCD, provincial of Normandy,
 II 186
- Pignatelli, Antonio, see Innocent XII
- Pijart, Pierre, 1608-1676, SJ,
 IV 205 379
 VI 562
- Pile, Henry, 1743-1813, SJ,
 II 218 232
 III 606 713
 IV 412
 VI 294
- Pinabel, Gilles-François, priest,
 IV 261
 V 185
 VI 82 424-425
- Pinet, Alexis, d. 1816, priest,
 III 601
 VI 200
- Pinguet, Jean, 1655-1715, priest,
 VI 31
- Pinguet de Montigny, Charles, notary,
 III 592 602
 VI 202

- Pius VI (Giovanni Angelo Braschi), 1717-1799, pope (1775-1799),
 II 209-211 214 218 220 223 229 233-235
 III 580-581 586 592-594 606 638 653 680 695 699 701-702 706 711 720 722 724 727
 IV 17 22 36 41 57 101-113 122-123 155 156-167 189 275-281 283-284 285 289-293 294-295
 296-299 300-301 303-306 307-308 310 311 312-317 320-321 323-325 326-327 328 329 336-
 337 340-344 345 348-352 353 354 355 356 357-359 360 361-362 363 364 365 366-367 368
 369 412-413
 V 249 260-261 265 267 286 287 289-290 296-297 299-300 307 319-320 324 326-327 329 335-
 336 355-356 370 405 416 418-419 423-426 430 449 454 461
 VI 121 124-126 128 135 137 145 159 183 190 191 193 205 232 237 240-241 243-244 246 252
 253 280 286 293 295 296 297 317-318 329-330 343 350 363 364-365 367-368 472
- Pius VII (Gregorio Luigi Barnaba Chiaramonti), 1740-1823, pope (1800-1823),
 VI 242
- Pizarro, Francisco, c. 1476-1541,
 VI 401
- Placentia,
 III 722 724
 VI 319 454 462-463 468
- Placidus von Fulda, OFM Cap,
 II 166
 III 442
- Plante, Charles, 1680-1744, priest,
 VI 31
- Plante, Joseph, notary,
 VI 237 240-241
- Playfair, William, lawyer of the Compagnie du Scioto,
 VI 361
- Plérin,
 VI 103
- Plessis, Joseph-Octave, 1763-1825, bp. of Canatha (1800-1806), coadjutor of the bp. of Quebec (1800-1806), bp.
 of Quebec (1806-1825),
 III 581 588-591 600 602 685-689 717
 V 446 461
 VI 191 200 202 204 211 213-216 224 228 229 238 239 242-244 246-250 252-254
- Plouster, William,
 VI 361
- Plowden, Charles, fl. 1772-1815, SJ,
 III 669 677
- Plunkett, Patrick,
 III 647 665
- Plunkett, Patrick Joseph, d. 1827, bp. of Meath (1778-1827),
 II 220
 III 609 610-612 621-623 627-628 632 634-636 639 641-642 643-644 645 647 652-653 654 655
 657 660 661 662 664 670
 IV 32
 V 395 396
- Plunkett, Robert, SJ,
 II 216 232
 III 713
 V 359
 VI 350
- Plymouth, England,
 VI 144
- Plymouth, Massachusetts,
 III 28

- Poel, Thomas, SJ,
 II 177
 III 459
 IV 114-115
 V 125
- Pointe-à-la-Caille,
 IV 124 286 288
 VI 67 138 190 274
- Pointe-Coupée,
 IV 37
- Poisson, Jeanne-Antoinette, 1721-1764, Marquess of Pompadour,
 VI 66
- Poitevin, Armand, 1635-1682, SME director (1663), vic. general of the bp. of Quebec,
 III 182 210 382
- Poitou,
 III 449 451
- Poland,
 VI 489 585
- Pole, Anthony (alias Rivers, alias Smith), b. 1594, priest,
 II 14
 III 39-40 242
 V 15-17
 VI 569
- Pole, George, 1628-1669, SJ,
 II 138
 III 370
 VI 477
- Polignac, Melchior de, 1661-1742, cdl. (in pectore 18 May 1712, published 30 Jan. 1713), PF member,
 II 192
- Pommereau,
 III 592
- Pompadour, Marquess of, see Poisson
- Poncet de Bretigny, Charles, c. 1610-1644,
 III 125 141
- Poncet de La Rivière, Joseph-Antoine, 1610-1697, SJ,
 IV 379
 VI 562
- Pondichéry,
 IV 23 34 189
 V 219 228 363 394
 VI 334 336 448
- Pons, Pierre, OFM Rec,
 III 45 296
- Pontbriand, see Dubreil de Pontbriand
- Pontoise,
 III 198
- Poor Clares (Second Order of St. Francis),
 III 702 705
 see also La Marche, Le Blond de La Rochefoucauld, Saint-Luc
- Popes, see Sixtus IV (1471-1484), Paul III (1534-1549), Gregory XIII (1572-1585), Clement VIII (1592-1605), Paul V (1605-1621), Gregory XV (1621-1623), Urban VIII (1623-1644), Innocent X (1644-1655), Alexander VII (1655-1667), Clement IX (1667-1669), Clement X (1670-1676), Innocent XI (1676-1689), Innocent XII (1691-1700), Clement XI (1700-1721), Innocent XIII (1721-1724), Benedict XIII (1724-1730), Clement XII (1730-1740), Benedict XIV (1740-1758), Clement XIII (1758-1769), Clement XIV (1769-1774), Pius VI (1775-1799), Pius VII (1800-1823)

- Porter, Francis, SJ,
VI 409
- Porter, James, priest,
III 677
- Portland, Duke of, see Cavendish Bentinck
- Port-Louis,
III 470
- Portocarrero, Joachim Ferdinando, d. 1760, cdl. (9 Sept. 1743), PF member,
V 154
- Port-Royal, Acadia,
II 34 118
III 104 174
IV 180 230 371 373
- Port-Royal, Grenada,
III 572
- Portsmouth, England,
IV 251
VI 487 489
- Port Tobacco,
IV 219
VI 273
- Portugal,
III 113 167 334
IV 225
VI 262 322 401
see also Manuel de Portugal
- Portus Sanctae Mariae, see La Hève
- Poterie, see Bouchard de La Poterie
- Potier, Pierre-Philippe, 1708-1781, SJ,
VI 63 117 540
- Pouget, Jean-Baptiste-Noël, 1745-1818, priest,
VI 190 253
- Poulin, Michel, 1688-1760, canon of Quebec,
IV 394 403
- Poulin de Courval Cressé, Joseph-Claude, 1762-1846, priest,
VI 248-250 254
- Pourroy de Lauberivière, François-Louis de, 1711-1740, bp. of Quebec
(1739-1740),
II 201
III 527
- Powell, William Dummer, 1755-1834, merchant,
V 284 311
VI 147 150 153 521
- Power, James,
III 722 724
- Power, John,
III 722 724
- Power, Patrick, b. 1743, OFM Rec,
III 722 724
IV 168
V 375-376 382
VI 459-461 463 468-469
- Power, Patrick, citizen of St. John's,
III 722 724
- Power, Thomas, d. 1806, priest,
VI 195
- Poznań, bishopric of, Czartoryski (1739-1768)

- Prague,
 III 383 578
- Prairie-de-la-Madeleine, Jesuit residence at,
 IV 181
- Premonstratensians,
 II 175
 III 456
 VI 24
- Presbyterians,
 IV 218
 VI 483 486
- Present State of the Catholic Mission conducted by the ex-Jesuits in North America* (1788), by Patrick Smyth,
 see *État de la mission Catholique*
- Pressiac, member of the Sacred Congregation of the Consistory,
 VI 41-42
- Prevot (Prevost), Louis-Amable, 1757-1820, priest,
 III 601
 VI 200
- Price, Walter, Church of England minister,
 VI 462
- Prince Edward Island, see Île St-Jean
- Prince George,
 VI 264
- Pritchard, Matthew, d. 1750, OFM Rec, bp. of Myrina (1713-1750), vic. ap. in England (1713-1744),
 V 142
- Promontorium Britannicum, see Canseau
- Propaganda Fide, see Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide"
- Prosper, OFM Cap,
 IV 37
 VI 96
- Protais d'Abbeville, OFM Cap, lay brother,
 III 337
- Prouville de Tracy, Alexandre, c. 1596-1670, lieutenant general of America (1663-1667),
 III 201 208 213 216 231
 VI 499
- Provence, Capuchin province of,
 see Saint-Louis, Capuchin province of
- Prusa, bishopric of, see Petre (1721-1758)
- Prussia,
 II 138
 III 373
 VI 489
- Pulati,
 IV 189
- Puritans,
 II 17 20-21
 III 51 241-242
 IV 224 226-227 301
 V 26
 VI 273 581
- Puységur, see Chastenet de Puységur

Q

- Quakers,
 IV 218
 VI 415 486
- Quarry, John,
 III 722 724
- Quebec, bishopric and town,
 II 115 125 131-132 145 159 223-224
 III 1 167 182 196-197 200-202 204-213 215-216 221 224-228 230-236 251 276 301 303-304 364
 372 388 391-394 401 412-417 419 422-423 426-428 432-433 436-437 439 473-474 478 488 499
 501 529 580-581 583-592 599-602 607 684 686-690 692 715-718
 IV 39 41-42 44 51-52 73-75 79 84-86 95-98 109 126 134 136-137 143-144 147 151 181 185 187-
 188 190 205 220 234-236 251-252 264 268 270 299 303 307 346 379 381-382 390 392-396
 399 403 405 407-411
 V 91 94 104 108 111 116 122 151 154 160 163 166-167 173 191 196 201 229 244 268 274 287
 289-290 292 304 306 314-315 330-331 353 366 386 400 430
 VI 1 6 8-10 12-18 20 22-27 30-40 42-49 59 64 66-67 76 80 86-87 90 96-97 103-104 106 109-
 110 113-114 117 121 123 133-136 138-139 141 143 151 154 156 159-163 167-169 175 177
 180 182-185 190-191 194-196 198 200 202-204 207 209 212-218 220 222-224 227-231 236-
 240 246-247 250 253-254 256 263 274-275 297 397 401 403 407 418-419 422 426 431-432
 438 471 508 510 513 516 524 540 554 562
 see also Laval (1674-1688); La Croix de Chevrères de Saint-Vallier (1688-1727); Duplessis de Mornay
 (1727-1733); Dosquet (1733-1739); Pourroy de Lauberivière (1739-1740); Dubreil de Pontbriand (1741-
 1760); Briand (1766-1784); Mariauchau d'Esgly (1784-1788); Hubert, J.-F. (1788-1797); Denaut (1797-
 1806); Plessis (1806-1825)
- Quebec, Jesuit residence at,
 IV 180 185
- Quebec Act* (22 June 1774,
 IV 218
 VI 122-123
- Quen, Jean de, 1603-1659, SJ, superior in New France (1656-1659),
 IV 205 379
 VI 562
- Quenoit, see Denaut
- Quentin, Jacques, 1572-1647, SJ,
 III 252
- Queylus, see Thubières de Levy de Queylus
- Quin, Patrick,
 III 647
- Quirici, Giacomo, d. 1742, pontifical agent in London,
 VI 480-490
- Quito,
 IV 208

R

- Racine, Étienne, 1712-1761?, SJ,
 VI 63 540
- Ragon, Jean, SJ,
 II 59
 III 340 342

- Ragot, Paul, SME,
 II 133
 III 359
 V 93
 VI 402
- Ragueneau, Paul, 1608-1680, SJ, superior in New France (1650-1653),
 III 263
 IV 205 379
 VI 562
- Ragusa (Dubrovnik), bishopric and town
 IV 335
 VI 378
 see also Franchi (1728-1751)
- Raimbault, Jean, 1779-1841, priest,
 VI 248-250 254
- Rama, bishopric of, see Walmesley (1756-1797)
- Ranouil, Jérôme, OFM Rec, procurator general,
 II 159
 III 432 433
- Ranvoyzé, François-Ignace, 1772-1843, priest,
 III 716
 VI 229
- Raphaël de Nantes, d. 1652, OFM Cap, provincial of Brittany (1638-1640),
 III 82 86 88 281
 V 43
- Rashleigh, Robert, see Watson & Rashleigh
- Rasponi, Cesare, d. 1675, cdl. (in pectore 14 Jan. 1664, published 15 Feb. 1666), PF member,
 II 148
- Rassler, Jacob, SJ, provincial of Northern Germany,
 II 138
 III 369
 V 98
- Rastel de Rocheblave, Philippe-François, 1727-1802,
 III 592
- Ratisbon, Benedictine college of,
 VI 493
- Ravara, Giuseppe, 1760-after 1803, Genoese consul in Philadelphia (1791-1797),
 IV 35
- Ravenna,
 III 230
- Razilly, Isaac de, 1587-1635, governor of Acadia,
 II 27 40
 III 1 42
 IV 224 226-227 376
 V 31
 VI 581
- Récher, Jean-Félix, 1724-1768, priest,
 IV 42
 VI 109
- Recollets, see Order of Friars Minor Recollet
- Redman, William, b. 1581, priest,
 III 109
- "Registro delle Prouvidenze" (1798-1800), by Stefano Borgia,
 V 461
- "Regylae et formvlae facvltatvm pro missionaris [sic]" (1637),
 VI 578

- Reilly, Patrick,
 III 647 665
- Reilly, Thomas,
 III 647 665
- Reims, bishopric of,
 III 126
 V 324-325
- Relation du voyage de Perse* (1632), by Pacifique de Provins,
 II 26
 V 30
- Religieuses hospitalières de Saint-Joseph,
 II 132 142
 IV 149 286 288
 VI 106 110 404-408
 see also Macé, Maillet, Moreau de Brésoles
- Renard,
 VI 487
- Renaud (Renault), Pierre-Simon, 1731-1808, prist,
 III 601 716
 VI 200 229
- René de Paris, OFM Cap,
 III 87
- Rennes, bishopric of, see La Motte-Houdancourt (1640-1664)
- Resche, Pierre-Joseph, 1695-1770, canon of Quebec,
 IV 393 403 405
- Restigouche,
 IV 395
- Resurrection of Laurent Ricci* (1789), by Claude-Florent Bouchard de La Poterie,
 III 668
 V 379
 VI 349
- Reuter, Friedrich Caesar, OFM Rec,
 V 447 451-452 453 456-457 458 459
 VI 388-390 391 392 394
- Revolutions, see French Revolution, American War of Independence
- Rezzonico, Carlo, 1693-1769, see Clement XIII
- Rezzonico, Carlo, 1724-1799, cdl. (in pectore 11 Sept. 1758, published 2 Oct. 1758), PF member,
 V 154
- Rhine, Capuchin province of,
 II 166
 III 442
- Rhode Island,
 II 211
 III 593
 V 379
 VI 353
- Rhodes, archbishopric of, see Bentivoglio, G. (1607-1621); Elci (1730-1738); Lercari, N. (1753-1757); Ghilini (1763-1778); Dugnani (1785-1794)
- Riccardi, Francesco, notary in the Holy Office,
 III 491 494
 IV 397
- Ricci, Lorenzo, 1703-1775, SJ? general (1758-1773),
 II 220
 III 538 668
 V 379
 VI 349

- Rice, Charlotte,
IV 320
- Richard, André, 1599 or 1600-1681, SJ, lay brother,
III 202
IV 205 379
VI 562
- Richelieu, see Du Plessis, A.-J.; Du Plessis de Richelieu, A.-L.
- Richelieu, river
IV 38 78
V 195 197
- Richer, Pierre-Daniel, 1682-1770, SJ,
VI 63 540
- Rieti, bishopric of, see Bolognetti (1639-1660)
- Riganti,
VI 375
- Rigauville, see Blaise de Bergères de Rigauville
- Rigby, Lawrence (alias Henry Morley), b. 1603, SJ,
II 17
III 25 47 49
VI 571
- Riguronons,
III 209
- Rimini, bishopric of, see Gallio (1659-1681)
- Rio de Janeiro,
VI 581
- Rites, see Sacred Congregation of the Rites
- Ritter, Johann Baptist, d. 1787, SJ,
III 597
V 349
VI 558 560
- Riva, Stefano, abbot, internuncio in France (April-Sept. 1773),
V 236
- Rivalta, Abbot of, see Vibo
- Rivarola, see Paolo Simone di Gesù e Maria
- Rivers, Anthony, see Pole, A.; Whitehair
- Rivet, Jean-François, d. 1803, PSS,
VI 378
- Rivière, Louis, SJ, prefect in Saint-Domingue,
III 570 571
- Rivière-au-Raisin,
VI 236
- Rivière-du-Chêne,
VI 139 141 446
- Rivière Saint-Jean, see Saint-Jean, river
- Rivieri, Domenico, secretary of the Sacred Congregation of the Consistory,
VI 33 37
- Robert, Antoine-Bernardin, 1757-1826, priest,
III 585 600 602 717
VI 202 204 228 248-250 254
- Roberti, see Vittori Roberti
- Rocco, see San Rocco
- Rocheblave, see Rastel de Rocheblave
- Rochefort,
VI 91
- Roe, John,
III 647 665

- Roe, Thomas,
 III 647
- Roels, Benjamin (Louis Rouse?), 1732-1794, SJ,
 VI 560
 see also Roels, C.
- Roels, Charles (Louis Rouse?), SJ
 VI 558
 see also Roels, C.
- Rosaire, Confrérie du, of the parish church of Notre-Dame-de-l'Assomption-de-Berthier,
 VI 190
- Rosmadedec, Charles de, d. 1672, bp. of Vannes (1647-1671), abp. of Tours (22 Feb.-28 July 1672),
 III 379
- Rospigliosi, Giacomo, d. 1684, cdl. (12 Dec. 1667), PF member,
 VI 498
- Rospigliosi, Giulio, see Clement IX
- Rossetti, Carlo, 1614-1681, abp. of Tarsus (1641-1643), N in England (1639-1641), bp. of Faenza (1643-1676),
 cdl. (13 July 1643),
 II 64-66 68
 III 13-14 108-110 111 347
 V 44-46 48
- Rossiter, John, OSA,
 IV 324
- Rota, Antonio, auditor to the French Nunciature (c. 1729), internuncio in France (1730-1731),
 III 490
- Roubaud, Pierre-Joseph-Antoine, 1724-after 1789, SJ,
 VI 63
- Rouen, archbishopric and town,
 II 133 139 141
 III 359 375-376 378
 V 93
 VI 410
 see also Harlay de Champvallon (1651-1671)
- Rousse, Louis, see Roels, B.; Roels, C.
- Rousselet, Louis, priest,
 II 221
 III 671 674 678
 VI 362
- Roux, see Chabert, Le Roux
- Roux, Jean-Henri-Auguste, 1760-1831, PSS,
 VI 236
- Rovere, Francesco della, see Sixtus IV
- Roverella, Aurelio, d. 1812, auditor and pro-auditor to the pope, cdl. (21 Feb. 1794),
 V 405 406 418 419
- Rovetta, Giovanni Tommaso, 1632-1719, OP, bp. of Hvar (1693-1704),
 II 169
 III 446 447
- Roy, Jean-Joseph, 1759-1824, priest,
 VI 204
- Rueil,
 III 63-64 66
- Rümansfelden,
 III 699
- Ruspoli, Bartolomeo, d. 1741, PF secretary (1724-1730), cdl. (2 Oct. 1730),
 II 194
 III 487 493
 VI 261 480

Russia,		
II	138	
III	373	
Rutheniens,		
V	147	
Ryan, John, OP,		
III	597	
Ryan, Matthew, priest,		
III	605	
V	361	
Ryan, Timothy,		
III	722	724

S

Sabatier, see Esprit d'Yvoy		
Sacchetti, Giulio, 1586-1663, bp. of Gravina (1623-1626), N in Spain (1624-1626), cdl. (19 janv. 1626),		
II	5	
III	37	318
V	7	
VI	584	
Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide,"		
see Albani, Alessandro; Albani, G.F.; Albergati Ludovisi; Alberizzi; Albizzi; Altieri, P.; Antonelli, L.; Antonelli, N.; Argenti; Astalli Pamphili; Azzolini; Baldeschi Colonna; Bandini; Barberini, A., 1569-1646; Barberini, A., 1607-1671; Barberini, C.; Barberini, F.; Bardi, G.; Bentivoglio; Borgia; Borja; Borromeo; Brancadoro; Busca; Caetani; Capponi; Carafa, C.; Carafa, P.L., 1581-1655; Carafa, P.L., 1677-1755; Carpegna; Carpineo; Casanate; Casoni, L.; Castelli; Cavalieri; Celsi; Cerri; Flavio Chigi; Cibo, A.; Cibo, E.; Colonna di Sciarra; Coppola; Corsini; Durazzo; Este; Estrées; Fabroni; Facchinetti; Feroni; Forteguerra; Galli; Gerdil; Ginetti; Ingoli; Lante; Lanuvio; Lercari, N.; Lesley; Litta; Ludovisi; Manfroni; Mannucci; Marefoschi, M.; Massari; Melzi; Millini; Monti, C.; Monti, F.M.; Mosca; Nerli; Ottoboni; Pallotta; Petra; Pico della Mirandola; Polignac; Portocarrero; Rasponi; Rezzonico, C., 1724-1799; Rospigliosi, Giacomo; Rospigliosi, Giulio; Ruspoli; Sacripanti; Santacroce; Sauli; Sforza; Sourdís; Spada, B.; Spada, F.; Spinelli; Spinola; Stoppani; Stuart, Henry; Tamburini; Tempi; Trivulzio; Valenti Gonzaga, L.; Valenti Gonzaga, S.; Valier; Vidoni; von Zöllern; Zacchia; Zondadari		
Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars,		
II	142	
VI	405	
see also Carpegna; Vecchi, C. de; Ugolini		
Sacred Congregation of the Cardinals,		
II	38	
Sacred Congregation of the Consistory,		
II	131-132	145
III	219	222-223 233 364 412-414
V	91	100 108
VI	10	26 30 33 35 37 39-40
see also Albani, Annibale; Casoni, L.; Fabroni, Favoriti; Marefoschi, P.; Olivieri, F.; Paolucci; Rivieri; Tozzi		
Sacred Congregation of the Council,		
III	492	510
V	136	
VI	55	

- Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office,
 II 28 39 60 62 89 94 96 110 123 148 155 160-161 163 165 173 177 180 187 197 200-201 206
 226
 III 264 317 435 512 513 528 554 574 683
 IV 14 64 114 115 116-117 118-119 121 169 170-179 186 196-204 301 391
 V 9-10 22 45 67 79 105 156
 VI 60 68 77 86 398-399 400 413-414 416-417 466 542-553
 see also Antonelli, L.; Assessor of the Holy Office; Bartoli; Buttelli; Cappelloni; Casanate; Lancioni;
 Luppi; Paolozzi; Piazza; Riccardi; Veterani
- Sacred Congregation of the Indulgences,
 II 156
 see also Fassati
- Sacred Congregation of the Rites,
 IV 123
 V 198 200
 VI 231 232 233
 see also Archinto, Coppola
- Sacred Penitentiary Apostolic,
 III 590 595
 V 291
 see also Besozzi, Colloredo, Petra, Petruccioli
- Sacripanti, Giuseppe, d. 1727, cdl. (12 Dec. 1695), PF prefect (1704-1727),
 III 479
 IV 225 422
 V 126
 VI 37
- Sacristan to the Pope,
 II 129
 V 88-90 175 177
- Saffray de Mézy, Augustin de, d. 1665, governor of New France (1663-1665),
 III 207
- Sagard, Gabriel, fl. 1614-1636, OFM Rec,
 III 246 249
- Sagoyowntha,
 VI 364-367
- Saint-Aignan, Collegiate of, in Orléans,
 II 59
 III 340 342 344
- Saint-Antoine, parish church in Canada,
 III 692
 V 369
 VI 207
 see also Saint-Antoine (Richelieu)
- Saint-Antoine (Richelieu), parish church in Canada,
 IV 38 78
 V 195 197
 see also Saint-Antoine
- Saint-Aubin, Abbot of, see Le Peletier
- Saint-Barthélemy,
 VI 418 464-465 467 572 574
- Saint-Barthélemy de Bénévent, see Bénévent
- Saint-Bonaventure, parish church in Annonay,
 VI 260
- Saint-Brieuc,
 VI 103
- Saint-Charles, Recollet convent in Quebec,
 III 246 249

- Saint-Charles-Borromée-de-Charlesbourg, parish church in Canada,
IV 303
- Saint-Charles-de-Bellechasse, parish church in Canada,
IV 154
VI 106
- Saint-Christophe,
II 127
III 89 153 181 263 275 294 335-336 376 531-532
IV 185 205 207-208 418
V 85
see also St. Christopher
- St. Christopher,
II 47 55-56 204
IV 61 220
V 20-22
VI 263 319 409 415 418-419 445 464-465 572-575
Saint-Christophe
- Saint-Cosme, see Buisson de Saint-Cosme
- Saint-Denis, convent in Paris,
III 247
- Saint-Denis, Recollet province of, see Paris, Recollet province of
- Saint-Domingue,
II 206
III 541-542 545-546 548 550-552 554-555 559 561-563 566-568 571
IV 103 188 190 244 247-248 254-256 341 349
V 158 227 315
VI 82 93 282-285 373 424 434 464-465 467 518 540 572 574
- Saint-Étienne de La Tour, Charles de, 1593-1666, governor of Acadia,
III 166
- Saint-Eustache, parish church in Canada,
VI 139 141 446
- Saint-François (Île d'Orléans), parish church in Canada,
IV 38 78
V 195 197
- Saint-François-de-la-Rivière-du-Sud, parish church in Canada,
IV 94
VI 183
- Saint-François-Xavier,
II 125
III 201
- Saint-Georges, Claude de, d. 1714, abp. of Lyon (1693-1714),
VI 474
- Saint-Gérard-de-Montsimpron, parish church in France,
IV 330
- Saint-Germain-des-Prés, abbey and town,
III 386
IV 233
see also Bourbon
- Saint-Germain-en-Laye,
III 52-53 63
see also Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye
- St. Helen's, Baron, see Fitzherbert
- Saint-Honoré, Capuchin convent in Paris,
VI 61
- Saint-Ignace-du-Cap-Saint-Ignace, parish church in Canada,
IV 303

- Saint-Jean, Acadie,
 II 118
 III 174
 IV 230
- Saint-Jean, Canada,
 III 201
- Saint-Jean, Louisiana,
 IV 37
- Saint-Jean, river
 IV 371 373 395 400
 VI 188 218
- Saint-Jean, see Île Saint-Jean
- Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Jesuit mission,
 IV 181
- Saint-Jean-du-Trou, parish church in Santo Domingo,
 VI 282 284-285 373
- Saint-Joachim-de-Châteauguay, parish church in Canada,
 IV 303
- Saint-Joachim-de-Montmorency, parish church in Canada,
 IV 90
 VI 183 190
- St. John of God, Order of, see Hospitaller Order of St. John of God
- St. John's, Newfoundland,
 III 576 722 724
 IV 311
 V 335
 VI 454 460 462-463 468-469
- Saint-Joseph, Jesuit mission,
 IV 181
- Saint-Joseph-de-Beauce, parish church in Canada,
 IV 150
 VI 106
- Saint-Joseph-de-Lauzon-de-la-Pointe-Lévy, parish church in Canada,
 IV 81 303
 VI 87
- St. Kitts, see Saint-Christophe, St. Christopher
- Saint-Laurent (Île d'Orléans), parish church in Canada,
 VI 104
- St. Lawrence, river
 III 167
 IV 311
 V 335
- Saint-Léon,
 IV 37
- Saint-Louis (Provence), Capuchin province of,
 III 11-12 105
 see also Angélique de l'Isle-sur-Songue (1639-1642), Denis de Nîmes (1662-1666, 1669-1671)
- Saint-Louis-de-Gonzague, chapel of the parish church of Saint-Joachim-de-Montmorency,
 VI 190
- Saint-Luc, fl. c. 1792-1794, Poor Clares
 III 702 705
 VI 376
 VI 454 460 462-463 468-469

- Saint-Malo, bishopric and town,
 V 283
 VI 92 286 372 417
 see also Ville-Montée (1659 or 1660-1670), Fogasses d'Entrechaux de La Bastie (1739-1767), Laurents (1767-1785)
- St. Martin,
 IV 185
 VI 418 465 467 572 574
- St. Mary's, parish church in Philadelphia,
 III 721
 IV 112 363
 V 423-424
 VI 415
- St. Mary's, Maryland,
 VI 454
- St. Mary's, Newfoundland,
 VI 454
- Saint-Michel, Jesuit mission,
 IV 181
- Saint-Michel-de-Bellechasse, parish church in Canada,
 V 244 248
 VI 116 118
- Saint-Nazaire, parish church in Nantes,
 III 24
- Saint-Omer, bishopric and town,
 II 177
 III 38 459
 IV 114
 VI 302
 see also Bruyère-Chalabre (1778-1796)
- Saint-Onge, Garreau, P.
- Saint-Pé, Jean-Baptiste de, 1686-1770, SJ, superior of New France (1739-1748, 1754-1763),
 VI 63 508 540
- Saint-Pierre, see Paul de Saint-Pierre
- Saint-Pierre, Martinique,
 III 572
- Saint-Pierre and Miquelon,
 II 235
 III 723 725-727
 IV 16 38 46-47 49-50 53-56 58 77 79 103 113 167 189 244 247-250 254-256 261 274 341 349
 365 368-369
 V 158 185 189-190 196-197 229 231-232 239 242-243 253-254 256-258 262-264 277 279 284 311-
 312 322 332 342-343 354 420 429
 VI 82 93 110 122 147 161 168 173 175 184 230 270 275 332 424-425 430-432 434-436 440 442
 444 446-447 449 452-453 456-457 464-465 467 495 513 515-516 572 574
- Saint-Pierre (Île d'Orléans), parish church in Canada,
 III 601
 IV 44
 VI 200
- Saint-Pierre-de-la-Rivière-du-Sud, parish church in Canada,
 VI 183
- Saint-Pierre de Méobec, see Méobec
- Saint-Pierre-du-Portage-de-l'Assomption, parish church in Canada,
 IV 89 141
 VI 183
- Saint-Pierre-de-Sorel, parish church in Canada,
 IV 303

- Saint-Pol-de-Léon, bishopric of,
 see La Marche (1772-1801)
- Saint-Roch, parish church in Paris,
 III 114-115
 V 374
 VI 361
- Saint-Roch-de-Québec, parish church in Canada,
 VI 151 164
- Saint-Rosaire, Confrérie du, in the parish church of Notre-Dame-de-l'Assomption-de-Berthier,
 VI 164
- Saint-Sauveur, Abbot, see Le Sueur
- Saint-Thomas-de-Montmagny, parish church in Canada,
 IV 124 286 288
 VI 67 138 190 274
- Saint-Vallier, see La Croix de Chevrières de Saint-Vallier
- Saint-Vincent,
 II 93
 see also St. Vincent
- St. Vincent,
 IV 220 257
 V 159-160
 VI 263 271 319 418-421 445 573
 see also Saint-Vincent
- Saint-Yves, province of the Third Order Regular of St. Francis
 II 162 164
 see also Chrysostome de la Passion
- Sainte-Anne, chapel of the parish church of Saint-Thomas-de-Montmagny,
 IV 286-287
 VI 190
- Sainte-Anne-de-Batiscan, parish church in Canada,
 IV 92-93 97 268 270
- Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré, parish church in Canada,
 VI 67
 see also Sainte-Anne-du-Petit-Cap
- Sainte-Anne-du-Petit-Cap, church in Canada,
 IV 125 274 286-287
 see also Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré
- Sainte-Croix, island,
 IV 185
 VI 422
- Sainte-Croix, parish church in Rouen,
 II 139 141
 III 375 378
 VI 410
- Sainte-Genève,
 II 125
 III 201
- Sainte-Lucie,
 IV 103 244 247-248 254-256 341 349
 V 158
 VI 424 464-465 467 572 574
- Sainte-Marie, island,
 II 93
- Sainte-Marie, Jesuit residence,
 IV 379
 VI 562
 see also Sainte-Marie-de-Gannentaa

- Sainte-Marie, parish church in Quebec,
VI 20
- Sainte-Marie-de-Beauce, parish church in Canada,
IV 148 286-287
VI 106
- Sainte-Marie-de-Gannentaa, Jesuit residence,
IV 180 185 205
see also Sainte-Marie, Jesuit residence,
- Saintes, bishopric of, see Beaumont de Gibaud (1718-1744)
- Saintes, Les, see Les Saintes
- Saladin, Geneviève Elizabeth (Marguerite), n. 1757, VHM,
II 229
III 706 709-710 711
V 410
- Saliceto, Natale, priest,
VI 461
- Salier della Torre, Vittorio Amedeo, Marquess of Cordon, envoy extraordinary to England (1774-1784),
VI 159 160
- Salignac de La Mothe-Fénelon, François de, 1641-1679, PSS,
VI 1
- Salleneuve, Jean-Baptiste de, 1708-1764?, SJ,
VI 63 540
- Salucci (Palucci?), merchant,
VI 330 351
- San Augustin,
V 162
- Sanchius, Léonard, see Sankey
- San Clemente, see Collegio San Clemente
- Santæ Mariae, Portus, see La Hève
- Sanfelice, Giuseppe Maria, d. 1660, abp. of Cosenza (1650-1660), N in Cologne (1652-1659),
II 113 119
III 188 190 192
IV 231
V 73
- San Francisco, Capuchin convent in Atienza,
VI 379
- San Giovanni Fiorentino,
III 454
- San Ildefonso,
IV 35
- San Isidoro, see Collegio San Isidoro
- Sankey, Lawrence, 1606-1657, SJ,
VI 564
- San Mateo,
V 162
- San Matteo, see Collegio San Matteo
- San Rocco,
IV 371-372
- San'Abbondio, Abbot of, see Airoidi
- Santacroce, Antonio, d. 1641, cdl. (19 Nov. 1629), PF member,
II 12
- Santa Cruz de la Sierra, bishopric of,
see Mimbela (1714-1720)
- Santiago de Cuba, bishopric of,
VI 443
see also Echavarría (1770-1788)

- Santo Albano, Jesuit college in Valladolid,
 II 177
 III 459
 IV 114
- Sant'Onofrio, cdl. of, see Barberini, A. 1569-1646
- Santo Sisto, cdl. of, see Zacchia
- Sanvaleriano, Massimiliano, TOR,
 II 162
 III 436 439
 V 121
- Sanzay, see Aviau Du Bois de Sanzay, Turpin de Crissé et Sanzay
- São Salvador de Bahia, bishopric of,
 see Botelho de Matos (1741-1761)
- São Tomé,
 III 98
 V 431
- Sappa, bishopric of,
 IV 298
- Sarault, Louis-Pascal, d. 1794, priest,
 III 601
 VI 200
- Sarcelles,
 VI 512
- Sartine, Antoine de, 1729-1801, count of Alby, minister of the Navy (1774-1780),
 VI 447
- Sartori, Giovanni Battista,
 V 416
- Sauli, Antonio Maria, 1543-1623, cdl. (18 Dec. 1587), PF member,
 IV 211
- Saulniers, see Le Saulniers
- Sault-Saint-Louis,
 IV 303
- Saumur,
 IV 53
- Saunders, William, merchant,
 VI 462
- Savoy (Savoia),
 V 275 287
 VI 130-131 139 153
- Savonarola, Girolamo, 1452-1498, OP,
 III 179
 see also *Triumphus Crucis*
- Scaglia, Desiderio, d. 1639, OP, cdl. (11 Jan. 1621), known as cdl. de Cremona,
 II 42-43
 VI 578
- Scanandoe,
 VI 364 367
- Schiatti, see Giovanni Antonio da Firenze
- Sciarra, see Colonna di Sciarra
- Scio,
 III 63
 IV 371-372

- Scioto, river,
 II 221
 III 671 674 705
 IV 26 106
 V 371 373-374 379 398
 VI 354-356 358 360-361 373
- Scuttari,
 IV 189
 VI 346
- Sébate, archbishop,
 see Corti, G. (1654-1670?)
- Secchi, Serafino, d. 1628, OP, general (1612-1628),
 IV 213
- Second Order of St. Francis, see Poor Clares
- Secretariate of Briefs to Princes, see Briefs to Princes, Secretariate of,
 Sedan,
 IV 37
 VI 269
- Seleucia, archbishopric of,
 see Grimaldi, d. 1685 (1641-1643); Cibo, E. (1670-1689); Doria Pamphili (1773-1785)
- Selvaggiani, Paolo,
 VI 461
- Séminaire de Québec,
 II 128 132 136 143
 III 182 211-213 215-216 221 224 231-232 364-365 392 394 427 600-601 607 696
 V 188 275 292 329 369
 VI 1 20 36 41 44 80-81 122 136 139 142 153 185 194 198 200 204 210 230
- Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice (Montreal),
 IV 127 220 390 402
 VI 47 136 153
 see also Montgolfier
- Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice (Paris),
 III 499 501
 IV 28 300-301
 V 224 280 290 309 377 388
 VI 142 317
 see also Couturier, Emery, Le Peletier
- Séminaire des Missions étrangères (Paris),
 II 126-127 129-130 133 135 139 141 176 184 190 196 199
 III 181 211-212 216 221 228-229 231-232 378-381 383-384 386 458 468 477 487 495 499-501
 587 607 692-695
 IV 15 48 233 251-252 268 270 398
 V 88-90 95-96 172 191 283-284 308 377 391 393
 VI 3 20 36 41 58 64 66 74 79 100-101 147 149 179 196 299 402 410 507 509-512 519 521 580
 see also Bernières, Bésard, Boiret, Bongianini, Brigot, Caumont, Combes, Cotelendi, Davion, Davoust,
 Despuyols, Dosquet, Dufau, Edgeworth de Firmon, Fermanel de Favery, Gazil de La Bernardière, Girard,
 Hody, Lambert de La Boissière, Lambert de La Motte, Lemonnier de La Bissachère, Lesley, Maigrot,
 Maillard, Manach, Mathon, Meur, Montigny, Pélerin, Picquez, Poitevin, Ragot, Sorbier de Villars,
 Torcapel
- Séminaire du Saint-Esprit,
 V 190 257 283 337
 VI 110 270 513
 see also Becquet, F., Congrégation du Saint-Esprit

- Seminary of St. Sulpice (Baltimore),
 II 221
 III 673 675 703 705
 V 398 417
 VI 372
- Senecas,
 VI 364
 see also Tsonnontouans
- Senegal,
 IV 103 190 294 341 349
 V 294 315 322
 VI 450 452
- Sens, bishopric of,
 IV 55
- Sentuary d'Epremésnil,
 VI 361
- Séraphin de Bruxelles, OFM Cap,
 II 88
- Serezac, secretary of the abp. of Bordeaux,
 IV 424
- Sérindac,
 III 592
- Sevin, see Jean-François de Paris
- Sewall, Charles, 1744-1806, SJ,
 II 218 222 232
 III 606 713
 IV 24 105 343 351 354-355 412
 V 363 364
- Sforza, Alessandro, 1658-1701, abp. of Neocesarea (1695-1701), N in Savoie (1695-1701),
 VI 474
- Sforza, Federico, d. 1676, cdl. (6 March 1645), PF member,
 II 86-87 89 91-94 118
 III 175 214
 IV 381
- Shakearad, see Jourdain
- Sharp, John, priest,
 VI 262
- Shea, Henry, fl. 1794-1810,
 III 722 724
- Sheldon, Henry, SJ, rector of the English College in Rome (1737-1744, 1750-1756), provincial of England (1744-1750)
 VI 415
- Shorthall, James,
 III 722 724
- Showonjhelego,
 VI 364 367
- Siam,
 IV 190
 V 315
- Siena, archbishopric and town,
 IV 426
 see also Zondadari (1795-1823)
- Siestrzêncewicz-Bohusz, Stanislaus, d. 1826, abp. Mohilew (1783-1826),
 II 231
 III 708
 V 410

- Sigüenza, bishopric and town,
 VI 381-382
 see also Diaz de la Guerra (1777-1800)
- Sillery,
 II 125
 III 201
- Sillery, Jesuit residence at,
 IV 180-181 185 205
- Silvère de Reims, OFM Cap, provincial of Paris (1642-1645),
 III 15
 V 52
- Simeon, Joseph (alias Emmanuel Lobb), SJ, provincial of England (14 Nov. 1667-1671),
 II 138
 III 370
 V 98
- Simoncelli, Giordano, notary,
 IV 427
- Simon de Parey, OFM Cap, provincial of Champagne,
 II 207
 III 573
 IV 37
 VI 269
- Simon de Schwyz, OFM Cap,
 III 87
- Simpliciano da Milano (Visconti), d. 1663, OFM Cap, procurator general (1643-1650), general (1656-1662),
 III 168 170 171 256 257 273
- Singleton, John,
 III 647
- Singleton, Robert,
 III 615
- Singleton, Thomas,
 III 647 660
- Sion, bishopric of, see Burke, E. (1817-1820)
- Sisgau, see Authier de Sisgau
- Sittensperger, see Manners, M.
- Six Nations,
 VI 364
 see also Five Nations, Iroquois
- Sixtus IV (Rovere, Francesco della), 1414-1484, pope (1471-1484),
 III 162
- Skerrett, John c. 1620-after 1686, priest,
 II 154
 III 425
- Skoplje, archbishopric of,
 see Somma (1728-1743)
- Sluse, Johann Walter, d. 1687, cdl. (2 Sept. 1686), secretary of the Secretariate of Briefs to Princes,
 V 102
- Smith, see Pole, A.
- Smith,
 VI 361
- Smith, Patrick
 III 630 647 649 666
- Smith, Ralph, b. c. 1773,
 III 595-597 605 674 705 721
 V 344-351 355 358 379-380 398 402 434-437 441-444
 VI 333-338 341-342 344-347 375-376 385-386

- Smith, Richard, 1566-1655, bp. of Chalcedon (1624-1629),
 II 15 24
 III 2
 IV 222
 V 28
- Smith, Rose,
 III 647
- Smith, William,
 III 647
- Smyrne,
 IV 371-372
- Smyth, Patrick, priest,
 II 220
 III 609-611 613 621 623 626-628 632 633 634-636 639 640-645 647-648 650 652 653-654 655-657 659 661-662 664-665 667-670 676
 IV 32
 V 379 395 396
 VI 362
 see also *Address delivered in the Chapel of Kells, État de la mission Catholique, Extract of an Address, Mr. Smyth's Reasons, Resurrection de Laurent Ricci*
- Soaypa, Pedro de, OP,
 III 330
- "Societas Iesv Mvndvm Vnivrsvm Diffvsa Praedicat[io] Christi Evangelivm," undated manuscript map of the second half of the 18th century, signed by Giovanni Petroschi,
 VI 554
- Société du Mont Carmel, of the parish church of Saint-Pierre-de-Sorel,
 IV 303
- Société Notre-Dame de Montréal,
 III 352
- Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts,
 VI 492 555
 see also Humphreys
- Society of Jesus (Jesuits),
 II 2 5 17 27 44-45 49 59 73-74 77-78 83-85 87 90 94 96-97 115-118 120 122-123 138 144 176-177 182 205 232
 III 1 105 110 162 167 194 197 204 216 221 231 245 249 263 275 276 299 303 349 352 354 392 394 401 427 457-458 466 531-532 534 570-571 676 679
 IV 32 61 180-181 183-184 185 205 219-221 224 226-227 229 244-245 253-254 264 275 335 378 379 380 428
 V 58 81 106 124 134 145 158 234-235 238 250 379
 VI 6 19 28 109 196 230 258 263-265 268 272-273 310 349 353 370 378 388 394 403 409 415 419 421-424 477 496 508 540 554 558 560 562 563 564 572 574 581
 see also Albanel; Albertini; Allemagne (province); Allemagne du Nord (province); Ardilliers; Angleterre (province); Ashton; Assistentia (France); Aubert, J.-N.; Audran; Bagot; Baker; Bailloquet; Baudouin; Beaubois; Beeston; Benon; Biard; Boarman; Bohemia (province); Bolton; Bonnécamps; Bonnemere; Boone; Boursier; Brébeuf; Bressani; Brion; Brouet; Bruel; Canvet; Carafa V.; Carette; Carroll; Casot; Castillon; Charlevoix; Charton; Chastellain; Chaumonot; Ciecissewski; Clark; Connell; Coquart; Courtenay; Dablon; Darby; Demers; Deschamps; Diderick; Digges; Dohen; Druillettes; Du Jaunay; Du Peron; Du Thet; Eudemare; Farmer; Feauté; Feuille; Floquet; Frambach; Frémin; Garreau, L.; Gaubert; Geissler; Germain; Gherardi; Girault de Villeneuve; Glapion; Gordan; Gounon; Gournay, P.; Gouyé; Graessl; Greaton; Greece (province); Grillet; Hallé; Harrison; Huguet; Hunter; Île d'Orléans (residence); Jenkins; Krupski; La Brosse; Lalemant, C.; Lalemant, J.; Lamorinie; La Place; La-Pointe-du-Saint-Esprit (residence); Laverjat; Le Boesme; Le Brun; Le Falconier; LeFevre, N.; Le Franc; Le Jeune; Le Mercier; Le Moyne; Le Prédour; Le Roy; *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*; Levantier; Lewis; Lithuania (province); Lyonne; Maillard, S.; Manners, M.; Manners, P.; Maquet; Martyrs (mission); Massé; Masson, P.; Matthews; Mattingly; Ménard; Meurin; Mexico (province); Molyneux; Montreal (residence); Morand; Morris; Mosley; Neale, B.; Neale, L.; Niccolò di Santa Genoveffa; Noël; Oliva; Paoli; Paris (province);

- Pelham; Pellentz; Pernelle; Persia (province); Pieret; Pijart; Pile; Plowden; Plunkett, R.; Poel; Pole, G.; Poncet de La Rivière; Porter; Potier; Prairie-de-la-Madeleine (residence); Quebec (residence); Quen; Quentin; Racine; Ragon; Ragueneau; Ressler; Ricci; Richard; Rigby; Ritter; Rivière; Roels, B.; Roels, C.; Roubaud; Sainte-Marie (residence); Sainte-Marie-de-Gannentaa (residence); Saint-Jean-Baptiste (mission); Saint-Joseph (mission); Saint-Michel (mission); Saint-Pé; Salleneuve; Sankey; Santo Albano (college); Sewall; Sheldon; Sillery (residence); Simeon; South American Islands; Thorpe; Tidder; Trois-Rivières (residence); Turberville; Vallez; Verney; Villiers; Vimont; Vitelleschi; Walton; Watrin; Well; White
- Society of Priests of St. Sulpice (Sulpicians),
 II 105 115 232
 VI 64 149 198-199 209 230 234 299 318 332 446-447 449 453 521
 see also Bédard, J.-C.; Bergier; Capel; Ciquard; Couturier; Dilhet; Dosquet; Emery; Eudo; Flaget; Garnier; Hingan; Huet de La Valinière; Lavau; Le Peletier; Le Saulniers; Lechassier; Mathevet; Miniac; Montgolfier; Nagot; Peignet; Pélassier de Féligonde; Rivet; Roux; Salignac; Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice (Montreal); Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice (Paris); Seminary of St. Sulpice (Baltimore); Tessier; Thubières de Levy de Queylus; Trouvé
- Sodalité de l'Exaltation de la Sainte-Croix,
 III 67 69 74-76 79
 see also Gérard
- Sogoyownthas,
 VI 364 367
- Soissons, see Chais de Soissons de Frovilles
- Soissons, town,
 III 5
- Somaglia, Giulio Maria della, 1744-1830, cdl. (1 June 1795),
 V 327
- Somaschi, see Order of Clerics Regular of Somascha
- Somma, Michele, fl. 1695-1743, abp. of Skoplje (1728-1743),
 II 200
 III 513
- Sorbier de Villars, François, 1720-1788, superior of the SME (1766-1772), assistant of the SME (1772-1783), procurator of the SME (1783-1788), vic. general of the bp. of Quebec (1777-1788),
 III 587 692
 IV 40-41 44 190 268-269 270 287-288 302-303 401
 V 211 221 266 267 268 275 277 279-280 284 289 290-292 304 306 308 310-312 314 315 317 318-320 323 329 330 331-333 337-339 343 353 367
 VI 85 87 105-106 111 116 120-123 125-127 128 133-139 141-144 147 149-157 161 163-166 168-169 173 175-178 179 180-182 183 184-186 187 188-189 192 194-196 198-199 209 299 318 332 446-447 449 453 521
- Sorbonne,
 IV 393 396 398 404
 V 147 174
 VI 2 60 68
 see also Bruget, Culture, Jolly, Mahieu
- Sorcerers,
 III 242 249
- Sormano, Pietro Marino, 1632-1702, OFM, general (1682-1688),
 II 158
 III 431 436
- Soumande, Louis, 1652-1706, priest,
 III 365
 VI 1
- Sourdis d'Escobleau, François de, d. 1628, cdl. (3 March 1599), PF member,
 IV 211

- South America,
 IV 180-181 185-186 206-207
 IV 427-428
 VI 508
- South American Islands, Jesuit province of,
 II 123 144
 see also Brion (c. 1670), Grillet (c. 1664), Le Mercier (1674-1681)
- South Carolina,
 II 211
 III 531 593 597 605 678
 VI 282 284-285 487 489-490
 see also Carolinas
- South Pacific, sea,
 III 167
- South Uist,
 IV 273
- Sozzifanti, Niccolò, abbot, auditor of the French Nunciature, then internuncio in France (1766-1767),
 V 190-191
 VI 71 85 513
- Spada, Bernardino, 1593-1661, abp. of Tamiathis (1623-1626), N in France (1623-1627), cdl. (19 Jan. 1626),
 PF member, protector of the Minims (1638-1661), protector of the Capuchins (1646-1661),
 II 33 38 41 45-46 48 51-53 57-62 64 67 71-73 76 100
 III 142-143 293 340 348 355
 IV 370
 V 10
 VI 576-577
- Spada, Fabrizio, 1643-1717, cdl. (27 May 1675), PF member, secretary of state (1691-1700),
 II 175
- Spalding, Henry,
 V 321
 VI 328
- Spalding, Mary,
 V 321
 VI 328
- Speed, John, 1552?-1629, cartographer,
 III 28-29 39 48
 V 15
 see also "America with those known parts, "New and Accvrat Map of the World"
- Spinelli, Giuseppe, 1694-1763, abp. Corinth (1725-1734), internuncio in Flanders (1721-1725), N in Flandres
 (1725-1731), cdl. (17 Jan. 1735), PF prefect (1756-1763),
 III 545
 IV 239-240
 V 148
 VI 59-62 541
- Spinola, Giulio, d. 1691, cdl. (in pectore 15 Feb. 1666, published 7 March 1667), PF member,
 II 139
- Spiritains, see Congrégation du Saint-Esprit
- Split, archbishopric of,
 see Cosimi (1678-1708)
- Stainville, Count of, see Choiseul
- Stanford, Edmund, see Edmund of St. Martin
- Stanislas, OFM Cap,
 IV 37
 VI 96
- Stanley, Thomas, priest,
 III 677
- Steinmyer, see Farmer

- Stock, Simon (Thomas Doughty), 1574-1652, OCD,
 II 2-3 5-8 11-12 14-17 20 24
 III 25-35 36-38 39-40 41 46-50 51 65 161 314-321 323
 IV 222 224 226-227
 V 1 4 6 7-8 9-11 13-19 25 26 28
 VI 257 568 581 584
- Ston, bishopric of,
 see Volanti (1710-1741)
- Stonor, Christopher (Kit), 1716-1795, agent in Rome of the English clergy (1748-1790),
 III 532
 IV 59 218 220-221 241 257 259 271 277-278 285 291-292
 VI 272 319 415 420 422 428
- Stonor, John, d. 1756, bp. of Thespieae (1715-1756), vic. ap. in England (1715-1756),
 V 142
- Stoppani, Giovanni Francesco, d. 1774, cdl. (26 Nov. 1753), PF member,
 IV 117 389
 VI 589
- Stridand, priest,
 III 109
- Stuart, Henry, cdl. of York, 1725-1807 (3 July 1747), PF member,
 V 154
 VI 393
- Stuart, John, 1744-1814, Baron Mountstuart, English envoy in Turin (1779-1783),
 V 287
- "Succinta sposizione dello stato della Religione Cattolica" (c. 1743),
 VI 555
- Sulpice de Fribourg, OFM Cap,
 V 282
 VI 282-285 373
- Sulpicians, see Society of Priests of St. Sulpice
- Surdi, see Sourdis d'Escobleau
- Suresnes,
 VI 78
- Surinam,
 VI 400
- Sweden,
 IV 23 26 254
 V 276 289 348 362 384
 VI 293 295 482 520
- Swift, Patrick,
 III 647 665
- Switzerland,
 II 61
 III 2 63-64 346
 IV 370
 VI 585
 see also Mesaucina
- Sydney, Baron, see Townshend
- Symphoriane de Sainte-Menhilde, OFM Cap,
 III 284
- Syra,
 IV 371-373
 see also Syria
- Syria,
 III 142
 IV 180-181 377
 VI 508 540 see also Syria

T

- Tableau de l'état actuel du diocèse de Québec*,
 IV 400
 see also *Tableau général*
- Tableau général des missions du Canada*,
 IV 395
 see also *Tableau de l'état*
- Tadoussac,
 II 125
 III 201
- Talbot, James, 1726-1790, bp. of Birtha (1759-1790), coadjutor of the bp. of Debra (1759-1781), vic. ap. in the London district (1781-1790),
 II 209
 III 576 577-578
 IV 285
 V 297 301 334 335 341 357
 VI 146 281 291 294 296
- Tamarois,
 V 339 341 343 353
 VI 188-189 194 196 198-199 332
- Tamburini, Fortunato, d. 1761, cdl. (9 Sept. 1743), PF member,
 II 205-206
 III 533 545-546 547
 V 154
- Tamiathis, archbishopric of,
 see Spada, B. (1623-1626); Pacca (1785-1801)
- Taraboni, Gian Pietro, abbot,
 III 408
- Tarsus, archbishopric of,
 see Rossetti (1641-1643), Vittori Roberti (1658-1667)
- Tartary,
 II 99
 III 97 191 411
- Tascher de La Pagerie, Joséphine, 1763-1814, Vicountess of Beauharnais,
 VI 355 361
- Taschereau, Gabriel-Elzéar, 1745-1809,
 III 601
 VI 200
- Taschereau, Gabriel-Elzéar, 1773-1822, priest,
 III 716
 VI 229
- Taylor, Thomas, 1724-1795, Earl of Bective,
 III 614-615 647
- Teatro del mondo* (1608), printed atlas by Abraham Ortelius,
 V 9
- Tempi, Luca Melchiorre, d. 1762, cdl. (26 Nov. 1753), PF member,
 V 154
- Terra Santa,
 V 375
 see also Holy Land, Palestine
- Tessier, Jean, PSS,
 II 232
 III 713
- Této, Augustin-Pascal, 1763-1795, priest,
 III 716
 VI 228

- Tetu, F., notary,
VI 237 240-241
- Thabraca, bishopric of,
see Brigot (1755-1791)
- Thayer, John, 1758-1815, priest,
II 221 232
III 605 671 674 678 705 713
IV 25 293 300-301
V 281 309 336 361 380 398
VI 295 317 362 372 393
- Theatins, see Congregation of Regular Clerics
- Thebes, archbishopric of,
see Bargellini (1665-1690)
- Theis, Jean de, priest,
III 313
- Thespiae, bishopric of,
see J. Stonor (1715-1756)
- Thiard de Bissy, Henri, 1668-1737, bp. of Toul (1692-1705), cdl. (29 May 1715),
VI 474
- Thiboult, Thomas, c. 1681-1724, priest, procurator of the chapter of Quebec (1714-1716),
VI 31 33 34
- Thiébaud, Mme,
VI 361
- Third Order Regular of St. Francis,
II 87 90 162 164
III 356-357 436 439
see also Chrysostome de la Passion, Macaire de Paris, Nemours (convent), Saint-Yves (province),
Sanvaleriano
- Thomas,
VI 238
- Thomson, Abbot, procurator of the Scottish missions,
VI 455
- Thorpe, John, d. 1792, SJ, agent in Rome of the English Jesuits (1757-1792),
III 678
IV 22
V 352 359 379-380 398-399
VI 339 362 394
- Thoury, Damase, OFM Rec,
III 268
- Thubières de Levy de Queylus, Gabriel, 1612-1677, PSS,
II 105 115
III 186 198-200 202 204-205 230 362
V 76 78 81-82
VI 407
- Thyatira, bishopric of,
see O'Donel, J.L. (1796-1811)
- Tibet,
V 212 383
VI 370
- Tidder, Edward, 1630-1699, SJ,
IV 6 9 11
- Tierra Firme,
VI 581
- Tilly, see Grasse
- Timothy,
IV 311

- Tobago,
 IV 103 220 257 341 349
 V 159
 VI 263 271 319 418-420 464-465 467 573
- Tomàs de Mingo, OFM Cap,
 VI 379
- Tonkin,
 IV 60 190
 V 315 450 455
 VI 430
 see also China
- Tonnelier, see Le Tonnelier de Coulonges
- Torcapel, Jean, fl. 1659-1660, SME,
 III 184-185
- Torris, Peter,
 VI 470
- Tortuga,
 VI 418 572 574
- Toul, bishopric of, see Thiard de Bissy (1692-1705), Bégon (1723-1753)
- Toulon,
 VI 260
- Toulouse, archbishopric of,
 see Loménie de Brienne, E.-C. (1763-1788)
- Toupin, Pierre, 1762-1825, priest,
 III 716
 VI 229
- Touraine,
 VI 122
- Touraine, Capuchin province of,
 II 121
 III 175-176
 IV 217 375 377
 V 65
 see also Louis de Champigny (1637-1640), Claude de Bourges (1655-1657, 1660-1663, 1666-1669, 1672-1673)
- Touraine, Minim province of,
 see Michel de Cron
- Tours, bishopric and town,
 II 133
 III 71 78 101 276 359 424
 V 93
 see also Rosmadec (1672)
- Toussaint "Bollauarensis," OFM Cap,
 III 83
- Townshend, Thomas, 1733-1800, 1st Baron Sydney, home secretary (1783-1789),
 III 583
 V 318-320
 VI 160-161 176 179
- Tozzi, Alessandro, member of the Sacred Congregation of the Consistory,
 VI 33 37 39-40
- Tracy, see Prouville de Tracy
- Train, notary,
 III 451
- Trappists, see Order of Cistercians of the Strict Observance
- Traves, Abbot,
 VI 129

- Treaty, Secret (3 Nov. 1762),
 V 197 203 381
- Treaty of Paris (10 Feb. 1763),
 IV 218 220 257
 V 162 170
 VI 219 271 280 418 420
- Treaty of Paris-Versailles (3 Sept. 1783),
 IV 188
 V 274 286
 VI 199 445 447 452
- Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye (29 March 1632),
 III 1
- Treaty of Utrecht (11 April 1713),
 VI 415
- Trebinje, see Marcana et Trebinje
- Tremolet, Jean-Baptiste, OP,
 III 561
- Trento,
 III 496-497
- Trequier, bishopric of,
 IV 249 251
- Trevor, John, 1749-1824, English envoy extraordinary to Sardinia (Oct. 1783-1797),
 VI 148
- Trinity Bay, Newfoundland,
 VI 454
- Tripoli,
 IV 189
- Triumphus Crucis, sive de veritate Fidei* (1497), by Girolamo Savonarola,
 III 179
- Trivulzio, Teodoro, d. 1656, cdl. (in pectore 30 Aug. 1627, published 19 Nov. 1629), PF member,
 II 22
- Trois-Rivières,
 II 125
 III 201 301 304 501
 IV 84 86 128 153 379 392
 VI 87 89-90 106 150 156-157 163 562
- Trois-Rivières, Jesuit residence at,
 IV 180 185 205
- Trolii, see Bernardino da Macerata
- Trollope, priest,
 III 109
- Trou, see Saint-Jean-du-Trou
- Trouvé, Claude, c. 1644-1704, PSS,
 VI 1
- Troy, John Thomas, d. 1823, bp. of Ossory (1776-1786), abp. of Dublin (1786-1823),
 II 235
 III 575 577-578 645 657 659 696 723 726-727
 IV 31 113 168 365 368
 V 375 376 382 387 390 420 429
 VI 234 454 460 463 494 495
- Troyes, bishopric of,
 see Barral (1761-1790)
- Tsonnontouans,
 IV 181
 see also Senecas
- Tuam, archbishopric of,
 see O'Queely (1630-1645)

- Tulloch, Francis,
VI 372
- Tunis,
IV 189
V 169
- Turberville, Gregory, 1617-1684, SJ, lay assistant,
IV 6 9 11
- Turgeon, Louis,
III 592
- Turin, archbishopric and town,
V 287
VI 129-130 148 159 293
see also Vibo (1690-1713), Costa d'Arignano (1778-1796)
- Turkey,
III 17 53 130-131
- Turpin de Crissé et Sanzay, Christophe-Louis, d. 1746, bp. Nantes (1724-1746),
II 200
III 517
- Tuscany (*Toscana*),
VI 482
- Tuscaroras,
VI 364
- Tyana, archbishopric of,
Bellisomi (1775-1794)

U

- Ubaldi, see Baldeschi Colonna
- Ubal dini, Roberto, 1578-1635, bp. of Montepulciano (1607-1616), N in France (1607-1616), cdl. (2 Dec. 1615),
IV 184
- Ugolini, member of the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars,
VI 406
- Uist, see South Uist
- Ulloa, Antonio de, 1716-1795, governor of Louisiana (1766-1768),
VI 94 96
- Urbain VIII (Maffeo Barberini), 1568-1644, pope (1623-1644),
II 59
III 3 10 53-54 80 246 249 251 300 329-331 322-323 336 345 352
IV 223
V 1 6 16 31
VI 476 578
- Ursulines,
IV 84-86 95 98 126 128 268 270 303
V 201
VI 67 87 89 90 96 136 156 157 163 183 274 423 426 432
- Utrecht, see Treaty of Utrecht
- Utre luce, shipping agent in Rome,
II 111
- Uzès, see Crussol d'Uzès

V

Valdereis, see *Mendoça Valdereis*

Valence,

III 9

Valenti Gonzaga, Luigi, 1726-1808, cdl. (in pectore 15 April 1776, published 20 May 1776), PF prefect for the economy (1788-1801),

II 223

III 680

Valenti Gonzaga, Silvio, 1690-1756, abp. of Nicea (1731-1738), N in Flanders (1731-1736), cdl. (19 Dec. 1738), secretary of state (1740-1756), PF prefect (1747-1756),

V 145

VI 59 492

Valentin, OFM Cap,

IV 37

VI 96

Valerio, see *Valier*

Valier, Pietro, c. 1524-1629, cdl. (11 Jan. 1621), PF member,

IV 211

Valladolid,

II 177

III 459

IV 114

Vallez, Anselme, n. 1741, SJ,

III 716

VI 229

Valmerano, priest,

II 62

III 348

van der Noot, Philip Eerhard, 1685-1770, bp. of Ghent (1742-1770),

II 179

III 463

van der Patten, Antonius, priest,

III 188 190

V 73

van der Wielen, Eerhard Stalpaes, priest,

II 113 119

III 188-189

IV 231

V 79

van Heemskerk, Laurens, c. 1632-1699, explorer,

II 148

III 411

van Huffel, Jan, fl. 1789-1805, OFM,

II 232

III 713

IV 313

Vannes, bishopric of,

III 470

see also *Rosmadec* (1647-1671), *Bertin* (1746-1774)

Varenes, see *Gaultier de Varenes*

- Varlet, Dominique-Marie, 1678-1742, vic. general of the bp. of Quebec (1717-1718), bp. of Babylon (appointed 1718, interdicted in 1721),
 II 184
 III 468 469
 IV 416-417 422-424
 V 127-130
- Vassy,
 V 285
 VI 146
- Vecchi, Carlo de, d. 1673, abp. of Athens (1667-1673), secretary of the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars,
 V 103
 VI 404
- Vecchi, Girolamo de, internuncio in Flanders (1656-1665),
 II 117
 IV 5
 V 68-69 71
- Venerable English College, Rome, see English College, Rome
- Venice (Venezia),
 III 108
 V 450-453 455-459
 VI 482 487
- Ventadour, Duke of, see de Lévis, C.
- Vérac, Royal Lieutenant of Poitou,
 III 449 451
- Vergennes, Count of, see Gravier
- Verget, see Forget Duverger
- Verlhac, Joseph-Marie, OM,
 IV 328 330 331
- Verneuil, Duke of, see Bourbon
- Verney, Julien de, 1719-after 1764, SJ,
 VI 540
- Verrazzano, Giovanni da, c. 1485-c. 1528,
 IV 180 224 226-227
 VI 401 573 581
- Versailles,
 VI 34 43 66 147 309 311
- Vespucci, Amerigo, 1454-1512,
 VI 401 572
- Veterani, Benedetto, 1702-1776, assessor of the Holy Office, cdl. (26 Sept. 1766),
 V 147 153 155-157
- Vézina, Joseph-Marie, 1752-1819, priest,
 III 601 602
 VI 200 202
- Vibert,
 VI 355
- Vibo, Michele Antonio, 1630-1713, abbot of Rivalta, internuncio in France (1667-1668, 1671-1672), abp. of Turin (1690-1713),
 II 149-150
 III 417
 VI 11 474
- Vichy, Marquess of,
 VI 355
- Vidoni, Pietro, d. 1681, cdl. (5 April 1660), PF member,
 III 214
 IV 381
- Vieille-Cayenne, see Cayenne

- Vienna, bishopric and town,
 VI 281
 see also von Trautson (1685-1702)
- Vienna, archbishopric of,
 see Aviau du Bois de Sanzay (1789-1801)
- Villars, see Sorbier de Villars
- Villars,
 VI 355
- Ville-Marie, see Montreal
- Ville-Montée, François de, d. 1670, bp. of Saint-Malo (1659 or 1660-1670),
 II 134
 III 361 377 379
 V 92
 VI 3
- Villeneuve, see Girault de Villeneuve
- Villiers, John (alias Fitzwilliam), 1635-1665, SJ,
 II 120 122
 IV 3 6 11 232
- Vilnius,
 III 372-373
- Vimont, Barthélemy, 1594-1667, SJ,
 IV 205 379
 VI 562
- Vincennes,
 II 221
 III 671 674
 VI 63
- Vincent de Paris, OFM Cap,
 II 61
 III 90 116 284 346
 IV 370
- Vincent de Paul, 1581-1660, CM,
 III 93
- Vincenti, Ippolito Antonio, 1738-1811, abp. Corinth (1785-1794), N in Spain (1785-1794), cdl. (21 Feb. 1794),
 V 412
- Virginia,
 II 5 34 47 55 66 95 204 211
 III 34 65 67 161 252 277-279 314-316 318 329 335 349 531-532 593 597
 IV 3 5 13 213 223-227 371-373 376 382
 V 20-21 217-218 321
 VI 257 263 272 282 284-285 294 310 319 325-326 358 396 409 411 419 488 492 526 554 573
 575 581
- Visconti, see Simpliciano da Milano
- Visdelou, François, d. 1668, bp. of Madaurus (1651-1663), coadjutor of the bp. of Quimper (1651-1663),
 III 306-307
- Visitandines, see Visitation Nuns
- Visitation Nuns (Visitandines), see Saladin
- Vitelleschi, Muzio, 1563-1645, SJ, general (1615-1645),
 II 44 73-74
 III 80 252 333 334
- Vitrey, see Faulquier Vitrey
- Vittorio Amedeo III, 1726-1796, King of Sardinia (1773-1796),
 V 269-270 287
 VI 124 129 148

- Vittori Roberti, Carlo, d. 1673, abp. of Tarsus (1658-1667), N in France (20 April 1664-April 1667), cdl. (in pectore 15 Feb. 1666, published 7 March 1667),
 II 130-131
 III 181 182 214 225-227 381 384
 IV 233 383
 V 85
- Vivier, see Couet Du Vivier de Lorry
- Volanti, Francesco, 1660-1741, bp. of Ston (1710-1741),
 II 200
 III 521
- von Erthal, Friedrich Karl Josef, 1719-1802, abp. of Mainz (1775-1802),
 V 432 439
- von Heiligenstein, see Paul de Saint-Pierre
- von Hessen-Darmstadt, see Langraf von Hessen-Darmstadt
- von Österreich, Maximilian Franz, 1756-1801, abp. of Cologne (1785-1801),
 V 452 456 457
- von Pfalz-Neuburg, Alexander Sigmund, 1663-1737,
- von Seinsheim, Adamus Friedrich, 1708-1779, bp. of Würzburg (1755-1779),
 IV 57
 V 265
- von Trautson, Ernestus, 1633-1702, bp. of Vienna (1685-1702),
 VI 474
- von Zollern, Itelius Friedrich, d. 1625, cdl. (11 Jan. 1621), PF member,
 IV 211

W

- Wabash, natives,
 VI 378
- Wabash, river,
 III 705
 IV 335
- Wadding, Luke, 1588-1657, OFM,
 V 30
- Walker, George,
 III 647
- Wall, John,
 III 722 724
- Walmesley, Charles, 1722-1797, OSB, bp. of Rama (1756-1797), vic. ap. in Western England (1770-1797),
 III 677
- Walsh, Simon,
 VI 459
- Walsh, Thomas, priest,
 II 215
 III 603-604
- Walton, James, 1736-1803, SJ,
 VI 296 558 560
- Ward, James,
 III 647 665
- Warren, Pelham
- Washington, ville,
 VI 264
- Waterford, bishopric and town,
 III 575-576 578
 VI 463 471
 see also Egan (1771-1796), Hussey (1797-1803)

- Watrin, François-Philipert, 1697-after 1764, SJ,
 VI 267 540
 Watson, Brook, 1735-1807, merchant,
 V 357
 VI 203
 see also Watson & Rashleigh
 Watson & Rashleigh, commercial firm,
 VI 143
 see also Rashleigh, Watson
 Well, Bernard, 1724-1791, SJ,
 VI 63 117 540
 Wentworth, see Pettinger
 Wesley, John,
 VI 187
 Whelan, Charles Maurice, 1741-1806, OFM Cap,
 III 594 596-597
 V 316 344
 VI 170-172 320-322 323 326 329 339 348
 Whelan, Peter,
 III 647
 White, see Petre
 White, Alexander,
 IV 320
 White, Andrew, 1579-1656, SJ, superior in the American provinces (1633-1639, 1642-1643),
 III 324
 White Marsh,
 VI 264
 Whitehair, Anthony (alias Hacket, alias Rivers), priest,
 III 40
 V 16-17
 William III, 1650-1702, King of Great Britain and Ireland and Stadtholder of Holland (1689-1702),
 VI 409
 William IV, 1765-1837, King of Great Britain and Ireland (1830-1837),
 VI 454 463
 William Henry, Prince, see William IV
 Wilmington, Delaware,
 IV 333 335
 VI 378
 Windward Islands,
 IV 188
Wivenhoe, ship,
 III 410-411
 Württemberg,
 IV 57
 Würzburg, bishopric of,
 see von Seinsheim (1755-1779)

Y

- Yale University,
 IV 293
 Yore, see Ewer
 York, see Stuart, H.
 Youville, Charles-Maurice-Madeleine d', 1729-1790, called Dufrost Youville, priest,
 IV 81
 VI 87

Yucatan,
VI 573

Z

Zacchia, Laudivio, d. 1637, cdl. (19 Jan. 1626), known as cdl. di Santo Spirito, PF member,
II 29

Zante and Cephalonia, bishopric of,
see Filippi (1698-1718)

Zelada, Francesco Saverio, 1717-1801, cdl. (19 April 1773), secretary of state (1789-1796),

IV 329 331

VI 380 383

Zollerano, see von Zollern

Zondadari, Antonio Felice, 1740-1823, abp. of Adana (12 Dec. 1785-31 May 1795), N in Belgium (1786-1791),
PF secretary (30 March 1789-1 June 1795), abp. of Siena (1 June 1795-1823), PF pro-secretary (1 June
1795- Aug. 1795), cdl. (in pectore 23 Feb. 1801, published 28 Sept. 1801),

II 223 228 234

III 608 638 680 695 699-702 720

IV 108-111 168 306-308 310-322 325 356 363