MONIQUE BENOIT
GABRIELE SCARDELLATO

A CALENDAR OF DOCUMENTS OF NORTH AMERICAN INTEREST IN THE SERIES FRANCIA, ARCHIVES OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE HOLY SEE / INVENTAIRE DE DOCUMENTS D'INTERET NORD-AMERICAIN DANS LA SERIE FRANCIA, ARCHIVES DU SECRETAIRE D'ETAT DU SAINT-SIEGE, ARCHIVIO SEGRETO VATICANO

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS/ABREVIATIONS ET SYMBOLES

abp. archbishop (pl. abp.s)

B blank (pl. Bs)

bp. bishop (pl. bp.s)

card. cardinal

cdl. cardinal

CH. cipher/chiffre

DE. document entier

ED. entire document

év. évêque

f. folio (pl. ff.)

IN. internuncio

LS. letter signed/lettre signée

MN. margin note (pl. MNs)

N. nuncio/nonce

NI. nonce intérimaire

NM. note marginale

N.D. not dated

no. number (pl. no.s)/numero (pl. nos)

PF Propaganda Fide

PM. printed material/imprime

pl. plural/pluriel

r recto

S.D. sans date

S.d.S Secretary of State/secretaire d'Etat

v verso

[] editor's interpretation or remark

[?] unknown to the editor or doubtful interpretation

... editor has omitted portion of text which does not contain relevant material

ARCHIVIO SEGRETO VATICANO/VATICAN ARCHIVES

Segreteria di Stato, Francia (Nunziatura di Francia)

INTRODUCTION

This Calendar is the result of a comprehensive survey of the archival series Francia in the archives of the Secretary of State of the Holy See in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano (ASV). The documents calendared here are all those found in the series Francia which are pertinent to individuals and events in French and British North America between 1600 and 1799. The Calendar's starting point is somewhat earlier than that of the calendars compiled by Codignola for the archives of the Holy See's Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide" but its geographical and other criteria are similar.

The documents are relevant to the whole of what is now Canada, the eastern part of the present day United States, particularly Louisiana, the area then called Ohio and Mississippi, and the American west which was, in the period covered by this Calendar, almost exclusively French territory. Documents pertaining to Spanish North America have not been calendared unless they concern regions like Florida which were on the periphery of British and French territory. The chronological limits of the Calendar are almost synonymous with those of the series Francia and ideally the editors would have liked to have surveyed its pre-1600 contents as well. However, given practical considerations like the amount of research time available and the unlikelihood of finding relevant sixteenth-century material we decided to begin in 1600. The series ends shortly after the disruptions of the French Revolution of the late eighteenth century and this is also the closing point for the Calendar.

The selection of the series Francia from the sizeable ASV repository was made on the basis of the limited number of studies on Roman (and other Italian) archives as potential sources for material of North American interest. These and other historical works suggest the importance for North American history of the Holy See's Secretariate of State especially because of the relations between the Holy See and Propaganda Fide, between the Holy See and other European powers, and between those powers and their North American colonies and territories in particular. The series Francia preserves the correspondence (in the broadest sense of the term) exchanged between the Holy See's ambassador in Paris, the papal nuncio, and his superiors in Rome, usually the cardinal Secretary of State. As such it is ample testimony of the relationships outlined above and clearly reflects the workings of the oldest and most elaborate foreign affairs department in Europe and of one of its most important arms, the French nunziatura.

France, of course, was one of the powers which contested for territories in the Americas and we might expect the papal nuncio at the French court to reflect these ambitions if only as a news agent. The papacy, for example, was often involved in peace negotiations between European powers and its (French and other) nuncios oftentimes participated. When New World territories were included in discussions they were usually mentioned in dispatches sent to the Holy See. This reporting was part of a nuncio's responsibility and for the French—nuncio in particular this responsibility coincided with his relationship with the French missionary orders and with the interest of his superiors in territories where the Holy See felt that it had ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

Given the oftentimes confused organisation of material in the series Francia the editors chose to survey its contents archivally: that is, in numerical order according to the nuova segnatura of ASV Indice 1025. This seemed preferable to a chronological or historical survey which would have needlessly complicated the procedure for ordering items for consultation for example, and would also have created reference problems for multi-year items and so forth. Of course, Calendar entries also follow this numerical as opposed to chronological sequence but it is hoped that the cross-references provided will suggest a chronological (and topical) unity for calendared documents.

.

In the Calendar the editors have described a document's archival location according to its "Repository", the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, which is a collection of a number of archives formed as the result of the activities of various offices or institutions of the Holy See. As already indicated the office (under the heading "Unit" in the Calendar) responsible for the documents calendared here was that of the Holy See's Secretariate of State and the series surveyed within this archive was the result of the activities of the nunziatura di Francia, now known simply as the series Francia.

According to the ASV's Indice 1025, "Inventario della Segreteria di Stato", there are 672 items numbered in the series which covers the period 1517 to 1826. However, many of these item numbers are subdivided alphabetically while others are noted in the Indice as "missing". There are, in fact, a total of 727 items in the series and a large majority of these are bound volumes of documents while the remainder are bundles (or mazzi) of documents whose folios sometimes are not numbered. Those items which the editors have surveyed for the Calendar are listed in Appendix B where the series number of either a volume or a bundle of documents is reproduced together with any title which the item has written on it. These numbers are also reproduced in Calendar entries under the heading "Volume" and they obviously correspond to those listed in Indice 1025 according to its Segnatura Nuova or "new numbering". The date(s) in parenthesis after the volume or mazzo number in the Calendar indicate roughly the period covered by that particular item.

In all cases the folio numbers quoted in the Calendar are those which have been stamped in a volume or mazzo on the bottom, righthand corner of the recto of each folio. These numbers, entered under the heading "Folios or pages" in an entry, always describe the exact location of a document (or a portion of a document) which the editors felt was relevant for North American or Canadian history. If only a portion of a document (for example, a passage from a newsletter, Gazette or similar item) is cited then its entire length (DE. or ED.) is noted in square parenthesis at the end of its "Description of document" summary. In Calendar entries a document's date is reproduced, where possible, directly from the document itself but if no date is available and none could be surmised by the editors then this is noted N.D. or S.D. in square brackets: where a date could be inferred then it is noted in square brackets. The place-name entered under the heading "Location" in an entry always refers to either the nuncio's or the Secretary of State's office even though some documents may have

originated elsewhere. Thus, a document dated at The Hague, for example, is described as such in the "Description of document" although its "Location" is given as Paris, the usual site of the nuncio's office. The item in question may well have been composed at The Hague and then routed to Rome via the nuncio's office without modification but the editors have avoided such assumptions. Instead, the provenance of all such documents is noted according to the offices which expedited them.

Calendaring decisions normally were not difficult to make. The researchers followed the geographical criteria outlined above which exclude all references to Central or South America unless individuals (or events) were mentioned which were also known to have connections with North America. Within limits this principle was also applied to individuals known to have been involved with North American events but who were also mentioned in a European context. In all instances the researchers were lenient when doubts arouse about the significance of an item or document. Thus references to "America" were calendared although sometimes it was not possible to establish either in Francia volumes or standard reference works which part of the Americas was intended. Where possible, given references were completed or explained in the "Description of document" portion of a Calendar entry.

For the purposes of the Calendar the correspondence between the nuncio and his superiors can be divided into four categories. first, designated as LS. in the "Description of document" portion of a Calendar entry, consists of signed letters exchanged between Rome and Paris. Less frequently this category also includes letters between either of these offices and individuals who were not, strictly speaking, part of the papacy's ambassadorial system. These signed letters, and especially those written after circa 1650, normally dealt with one topic per letter. However, if only a portion or portions of a letter were concerned with North American affairs the letter has been calendared and the contents of the relevant portion(s) summarized together with a brief description of other matters discussed. Occasionally this letter correspondence was supplemented with memoranda which differ from letters in as much as they were not signed even though they were addressed either to the cardinal Secretary of State for example, or to the nuncio. original these are sometimes styled foglietti or biglietti and in the Calendar they have been described as notes or memoranda to distinguish them from signed letters.

The papacy's foreign service also used number ciphers in its correspondence and this forms the second category of documents calendared here. Occasionally this type of correspondence survives in both its coded (sometimes prefaced with a key for the code employed) and decoded forms but the latter, including its date of composition and of its deciphering, is by far the most common. Technically a cipher, or CH. in the Calendar, is a letter or memorandum which was expedited in code but the editors have separated these from the first category of documents because of their unique format and because they rarely survive with the signature of their author. In all of this correspondence -- be it signed letters, memoranda, or ciphers -- authors and addressees have been described in the Calendar according to an abbreviated formula, "N. to S.d.S." or Nuncio to Segretario di Stato (Secretary of State) and vice versa. The names and other relevant biographical information for nuncios and Secretaries of State can be found in Appendix A in the Calendar where individuals can be traced according to the date of their correspondence. This Appendix also includes similar information for interim or temporary nuncios, abbreviated in the calendar as IN. (Interim nuncios administered the nuncio's office in the interval between the end of one nuncio's term and his replacement's arrival in Paris.)

The third category of documents in the Calendar is a more impersonal type of correspondence which normally was produced only by the nuncio's office in Paris and it was the most obvious product of the nuncio's role as news agent. The news which he or his staff gathered was forwarded to the Holy See in the form of avvisi or manuscript newsletters. These were a type of weekly gazette written in an impersonal style and generally prefaced only with the name of the place where it was compiled (usually Paris) and the date of compilation. Normally avvisi were compiled on a weekly basis and sent with the nuncio's mail-packet and they were sent either in plain (not ciphered) or cipher form or they might be sent in both forms in one week in which case different news items were transmitted in each. By their nature avvisi were rarely devoted solely to one topic and, as with the general or multi-topic letters described above, if a portion of this type of document contains information relevant to North American affairs, then this has been summarized in the description of the document and the precise folio location of the relevant portion has also been noted as well as the length (noted as ED. or DE., entire document, followed by its folio numbers) of the entire newsletter of which it forms part. Given the often extreme diversity of the subject

matter covered by <u>avvisi</u> no effort has been made in the calendar to provide even a brief description of the non-North American news items reported in them. Unfortunately the nuncio's office rarely titled these documents as <u>avvisi</u> and thus it is often difficult to distinguish them from items in the fourth category of documents calendared, a category which can be subsumed under the general rubric, miscellaneous.

This category of documents includes an assortment of material (in both printed or manuscript form) and a large part of that which was sent from Paris to Rome, at least, was also sent as a result of the nuncio's rôle as news agent. Thus if a nuncio felt that an arret du Conseil published in Paris might prove interesting to the Holy See he would send his superiors a copy either in its printed form or in a manuscript version of it which often was only a selection of extracts from the original. A similar procedure was followed by the nuncio's office with regard to printed Gazettes and indeed avvisi often appear to be little more than translated (generally from the French of the original) passages from them. At various times the French nuncios appear to have had correspondents situated in various European centres as well as others who followed various military campaigns or individual battles and their reports were also sent to the Holy See as part of the nuncio's weekly mail-packet. No doubt it is because of these types of sources that the French nuncio was able to report, for example, about the activities of the British parliament. Finally, in this last category of nunziatura documents the editors also include items for which the nuncio only served as forwarding agent, that is, an item like a letter from the bishop of Quebec was given to the nuncio so that he might include it with his mail to the Holy See. Occasionally the nuncio's office made a copy of this type of document before it was forwarded and littles this version of it which appears in the series Francia. The same holds true for documents sent from the Holy See to the nuncio so that, for example, he might then forward them to individuals involved in North American affairs.

Thus in a typical week's packet the nuncio sent to his superiors in Rome: plain or ciphered letters (generally one topic per letter or cipher); that week's avvisi (some of which might also be sent in cipher); and an assortment of documents (either in printed or manuscript form) like arrets du Conseil, printed Gazettes and similar material. The nuncio received a similar packet from his superiors via the regular courier service which in 1675, for example, connected Rome with Paris in about twenty days. Apart from the variety in document types to be found in the series Francia there is also a

variety of forms or versions in which these documents have been preserved.

A document in categories one and three might appear in the series in as many as three forms which include: a minute version (minuta), a register version (registro) and the "original" (originale or LS. in the Calendar) which was the version actually exchanged between Rome and Paris. These versions appear to be the result of a scribal routine in which correspondence was composed first in a rough draft version (minute) from which the "original" or the version which was actually signed and expedited was compiled. Normally, both offices also maintained a record of at least their letter and memoranda correspondence in the form of registers. are volumes of verbatim copies of "original" letters and memoranda without their signatures. The nuncio's registers sometimes also include copies of avvisi or, less frequently, other documents that were sent to the Holy See. Finally, we should also note here that registers or minutes were composed for all of a nuncio's correspondence and not only for that which was addressed to his superiors in Rome. Because of this it is sometimes possible to discover the text of a letter, for example, which he might have written to someone other than his superiors, concerning North American affairs. Cipher correspondence required an extra step in its composition -- the ciphering process itself -- and thus this category of documents may survive in four versions: the three already described and a fourth, the "number" version or cipher proper.

In the Calendar the editors have described and cross-referenced, where necessary, the various versions of a document using its "original" or LS. version as the main referent. Thus the abbreviated formula "Minute of LS. [see no. ...]" describes the version -- in this case the minute or rough draft -- of an "original" letter whose contents are summarized in the Calendar "Description of document". The number in square brackets is the Calendar location of the summary of the LS. or "original". For the sake of brevity no cross-references are noted between an "original" and other versions unless these differ significantly from it and, with the same qualification, no crossreferences are noted between minute and register versions of a document. Where possible cross-references are also given in the course of a "Description of documents" and these direct the reader to the Calendar location of an item mentioned in a document summary. Thus, if a nuncio, for example, refers in a LS. to a document summarized elsewhere in the Calendar then the Calendar location of that summary is given in square brackets.

This system of cross-references is necessary partly because of the various forms in which some documents in the series Francia have survived but also because of the organisation of these documents in the series and the research methodology chosen to survey its contents. The items (volumes or bundles of documents) in the series are generally organised chronologically within blocks whose limits in turn are determined broadly by the provenance of the correspondence which they contain. Virtually all of the material in item numbers 47 to 268 and 487 to 585, for example, with the important exception of some ciphered correspondence, was produced by the nuncio's office. A typical item in one of these blocks is a volume which contains all of the weekly mail packets sent by the nuncio to Rome in the course of a year or, depending on the quantity of the correspondence, those sent in a six-month period: January to the end of June and July to the end of December.

Both of these blocks or groups of nuncio to Secretary of State correspondence include the nuncio's ciphered dispatches. However, these have been removed from their original, weekly mail-packets — probably because they had to be deciphered on arrival in Rome — and are now bound in volumes which are separate from those of plain correspondence. Moreover, because a year's ciphered correspondence was rarely as voluminous as its plain counterpart and because it could be physically compressed when its decoded version was written up, the ciphers from several years could be gathered together in one volume. More importantly, these could also be interspersed with those sent from the Holy See to the nuncio: one year's ciphers from one office followed by those for the same year from its counterpart. Thus, the original titles on some of these volumes often read "Proposte e Risposte de Cifre", for example, and often contain a year or more of this form of correspondence.

The plain correspondence from the Secretariate of State to its nuncios in France is not as clearly organised in the series Francia as is that which was received from the nuncios. Moreover, the survival rate of at least the "original" version of this correspondence is not as high as that of its counterpart. This might be attributed in part to such factors as the willingness of individual nuncios to return to the Holy See — after the end of their terms of office — that correspondence which they had received in their official capacity. Whatever the case, that which was returned to the series Francia is now found between item numbers 269 to 471 and 586 to 649 but never in very long or continuous blocks or groups. Item numbers 322 to 328 for example, are volumes of "original" Secretariate letters

to the nuncio in France for the years 1676 to 1678 but these items are preceded and followed by volumes of material in a variety of forms which are not organised very consistently in chronological order and which can be either Secretary to nuncio in provenance or vice versa. Thus, for example, items number 426 to 440 are volumes of correspondence for the period 1670 to 1675. However, some of these are volumes of "original" Secretary to nuncio correspondence; some are volumes of register versions of that correspondence; some are volumes of its minute versions; while item 317 appears to be a 'stray' volume of register versions of Secretary to nuncio correspondence for the same period. The "original" versions of the nuncio to Secretary correspondence for this period are found in items number 141 to 153 but both its register and minute versions are in volumes in the 426 to 440 block. Obviously, if a calendared document appears in one version in one block of volumes and in other versions in other blocks then a cross-referencing system is necessary in the Calendar and all the more so if these various versions are interspersed amongst other Calendar entries.

Finally, the editors have also compiled an index for the Calendar wherein references are given according to Calendar entries and not to pages. General toponyms like America, Canada, New France and so forth are only indexed if the editors could not determine more precisely which part of North America was intended in a document. In both the Calendar and its index all names of persons appear in their modern recognized form by their surnames only. Full names with additional biographical and other information are provided in index entries. Geographical names are also reproduced in their modern recognized forms unless, as with personal names, the editors could not establish which place (or person) was intended. In the latter case the spellings given are reproduced as found in original documents. An effort has been made to identify individuals, as well as places and dates, when they are not in the original documents. In general, everything between square brackets in the Calendar has been supplied by the editors, everything else is taken from the series Francia.