

Historical Studies

2019

VOLUME 85

The Journal published by
The Canadian Catholic Historical Association

A National Society for the Promotion
of Interest in Catholic History
(founded June 3, 1933)

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HISTORICAL STUDIES

Historical Studies is a peer-reviewed publication of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association that publishes articles on the history of Catholicism in Canada or on topics having a connection with the Catholic Church in Canada.

Historical Studies is published annually. Subscriptions are available through the Membership Director, Canadian Catholic Historical Association, 81 St. Mary Street, Toronto, Ontario, M5S 1J4. For mailing addresses in Canada, the amount is \$50 per year; for U.S. mailing addresses – \$50 (USD) per year; for international addresses – \$60 per year; for students – \$30 per year. Copies of most back issues can be obtained from the same address at \$25 per volume, postage and handling \$5 in Canada and \$15 for international addresses.

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The CCHA's homepage may be accessed at the following URL:

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CCHA *Historical Studies* is indexed in the *Canadian Periodical Index*, the *Catholic Periodical and Literature Index*, *Ulrich's International Periodicals Dictionary*, *ABC-Clio's America: History and Life*, and the *Canadian Historical Review's "Recent Publications Relating to Canada."*

ISSN 1193 B 1981

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Editors' Foreword

“Once again with the tide she slips her lines/ Turns her head and comes away.” A journal is a little like a ship. Not that I’m comparing *Historical Studies* to the fabled *Bluenose* (or even the replica invoked in the foregoing lyric). And I am certainly not claiming to be the editorial equivalent of the song’s author, the legendary Stan Rogers. But, please bear with my metaphor. Both vessels are the work of many hands. Both involve meticulous craftsmanship in their construction. Both require significant research. Both are bound up in both obvious and subtle ways with what has gone before. Both require a certain amount of navigation. The first *Bluenose*, when it wasn’t racing, went fishing for cod; we go fishing for the past.

And so, we launch this frail bark of history, the 85th edition of *Historical Studies*. It carries a mixed cargo, much of it bound for foreign parts. Therein lies one of the salient continuities on its manifest, for each article in this issue has an international dimension. Now and then the executive of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association has debated the scope of our journal’s mandate. Since our subject involves a universal church, should our papers be constrained by the physical boundaries of Canada? Is that too restrictive? The essays in this issue are firmly rooted in Canada, yet each one demonstrates that the local, the national, and the global are inextricably entwined. Case in point: Robert Dennis examines the attempt to reconcile the Catholic faith on the Prairies with the distinctly Canadian brand of international socialism that developed in Saskatchewan with Tommy Douglas’ Cooperative Commonwealth Federation. Terrence Murphy, the doyen of Maritime Catholic history, tells a different sort of international story: the somewhat fractious, triangular relationship in the mid-19th century that tied together the Archdiocese of Halifax, the British government, and the tiny, often transient Catholic community in the Crown colony of Bermuda. Two other articles focus their disciplinary lens on the missionary experiences of Canadian women religious in Latin America during the turbulent Sixties and Seventies. As their experience reveals—often poignantly, the inescapable (for them) intersection of lived faith and social justice jeopardized their mission to Latin America, trapped as it was between brutal dictatorships there and the uncomprehending conservatism of their own hierarchies back in Canada. Finally, during the same general period, there is the genuinely global outreach represented by Rev. John Veltri SJ, of Loyola House, in Guelph, Ontario, charismatic advocate of a new format for an old spirituality, the Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius Loyola.

In every one of these essays, we are reminded, too, that, while Catholicism might be universal, lived faith is also intensely personal. It represents the working out of a nexus of relationships, not just between the human and the divine, but between historical actors in real time. Ideas matter, but so do personalities. Whether Catholics seeking spiritual renewal, missionaries navigating among the powerful and the powerless, or community leaders trying to square their religion with their politics, each of these articles highlights—as history must—the human drama of history.

Relationships lie at the heart of our “ship’s crew,” too. As always, we are grateful to our contributors, without whom we would have nothing to print, and to the peer reviewers whose volunteer duty is so often diplomatic as well as academic. The book review department, a relatively recent addition to the journal, involves a under-appreciated amount of administrative work, and we are lucky to have Fred McEvoy as our Reviews editor. To our bookish reviewers, a word of thanks as well. We are indebted, too, to the continuing benevolence of the Jackman Foundation for financially supporting the journal, and to the logistical genius of Father Edward Jackman, OP, and Valerie Burke of the CCHA’s Secretariat for making sure it reaches our subscribers.

The press of duty as the newly appointed Dean of Arts at the University of New Brunswick-Saint John has forced Heidi MacDonald, my talented and generous associate editor, to relinquish her duties (although for many months now she has continued to be a valued source of advice and—like the Canadian Senate—sober second thought). In the interim, Rankin Sherling, the CCHA’s Vice-President, has agreed to double as interim associate editor, a characteristically collegial gesture.

“Does she not take wing like a living thing, / Child of the moving tide? / See her pass with grace on the water’s face / With clean and quiet pride.”
Issue number 85 may not take wing like the *Bluenose*, but we do launch it with clean and quiet pride, and we hope that it will provide you comparable pleasure and edification.

Edward MacDonald
Editor

Faith on the Prairies: Social Catholics and the CCF in the Generation Before Vatican II

Robert H. DENNIS

Abstract: *An examination of Saskatchewan in the generation before Vatican II—home to Canada’s first social democratic government in 1944—offers fertile ground to examine how “social Catholics” saw their changing relationship to the economic and political order. Animated by a commitment to Catholic social teaching, many of these social Catholics, such as Basilian priest Eugene Cullinane and Catholic CCF MLA Joe Burton, believed that the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation represented the best expression of their social and economic views within the Canadian political landscape.*

Resumé : *Une étude portant sur la Saskatchewan de la génération d’avant le IIe Concile du Vatican – patrie du premier gouvernement socio-démocrate en 1944 – terre fertile qui permet d’examiner comment les « Catholiques sociaux » évaluèrent leur rapport changeant à l’ordre économique et politique. Animés par un engagement vis-à-vis de l’enseignement catholique social, nombre de ces Catholiques sociaux, tels que le prêtre basilien Eugene Cullinane et le membre de l’assemblée législative pour le parti CCF Joe Burton, crurent que la Co-operative Commonwealth Federation représentait la meilleure expression de leurs opinions sociales et économiques au sein du paysage politique canadien.*

In the opening pages of *The Social Passion*, the late Richard Allen writes:

The social gospel, properly speaking, was a Protestant phenomenon, but an analogous social Catholic movement covered approximately the same years. While it would be tempting to try to weave the social gospel and social Catholic movements in Canada into one account, the winds of ecumenism had not yet, in 1914, begun to blow Canadian Catholics and Protestants together, and despite certain similarities in development, the two movements ran on parallel, but largely unconnected, lines.¹

1. Richard Allen, *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914–1928* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), xxiii.

“Social Catholicism” may indeed be treated as a form of Christianity parallel to the Protestant Social Gospel, and, while the two movements were largely separate at the onset of the Great War, there is evidence that Social Gospellers and Social Catholics had drawn together twenty years later.

This article explores the relationship between Roman Catholics and the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) in Saskatchewan during the 1930s and 1940s. In the wake of the CCF’s formation, a key outcome of the Canadian Social Gospel, the institutional Church came to change its mind about the party after a long period of apprehension; however, even before this moment came to fruition, “social Catholics” had found a home in the CCF. This group of Catholics found a clear expression of their faith within the social doctrine of the Church and a commitment to the dignity of the human person found in the social and economic realities of their lives.

In the generation before Vatican II—and reification of Catholic engagement with modernity—consideration of the CCF’s appeal to social Catholics does much to illuminate how this group re-imagined themselves politically in the decades leading up to the Council.² An examination of Saskatchewan, home to the first social democratic government in Canadian history, offers fertile ground for such explorations. How did Saskatchewan Catholics see their relationship to the economic and political order, the relationship between Church and the wider community, and, fundamentally, what it meant to be politically-engaged Christians? A survey of lay and clerical voices, such as Eugene Cullinane, CSB and Catholic CCF MLA Joe Burton, helps us understand why many social Catholics believed that the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation appropriately represented their social and economic worldview; one often formed by the institutional Church and rooted in its social teachings.

Within the historiography, the Catholic Church’s relationship with the CCF in Saskatchewan has been dominated by institutional considerations, particularly in the hierarchy’s condemnation of the CCF and eventual tacit acceptance of it.³ In Gregory Baum’s *Catholics and Canadian Socialism*,

2. For an excellent study on Catholics engagement with modernity, see James Chappel, *Catholic Modern: the Challenge of Totalitarianism and the Remaking of the Church* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2018).

3. Gregory Baum, *Catholics and Canadian Socialism: Political Thought in the Thirties and Forties* (Toronto: James Lorimer, 1980), 147-174; Murray G. Ballantyne, “The Catholic Church and the CCF,” *CCHA Report* 30 (1963): 33-45; Bernard M. Daly, “A Priest’s Tale: the Evolution of the Thinking of Eugene Cullinane CSB,” *CCHA Historical Studies* 65 (1999): 9-27; Robert H Dennis, “Beginning to Restructure the Institutional Church: Canadian Social Catholics and the CCF, 1931-1944,” *Historical Studies* 74 (2008): 51-71; Terrence J. Fay, *A History of Canadian Catholics* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2002), 215-220; George Hoffman, “Saskatchewan

for example, he argues that the Canadian Bishops who condemned the CCF based their position on a particular reading of papal doctrines; members of the episcopate in other countries, such as Great Britain, for example, did not find cause to oppose comparable social democratic movements. My own 2007 *Historical Studies* article reconsiders the slow process of persuading the Quebec bishops to accept the CCF as a legitimate political option and its meaning for the development of the Canadian Church. Peter Meehan's excellent article on the negotiation between CCF (Premier Tommy Douglas) and Church leadership (Bishop Philip Pocock) on the question of hospitalization has done much to illuminate how the hierarchy was able to advance the Church's interests in the wake of the 1943 decision to open up to the party by the Canadian Catholic Conference.

Less attention has been given to considerations of how the CCF represented a legitimate vehicle for the political aspirations of Catholics in the pews or clerics standing in the pulpits or behind cloistered walls. Baum attempts to move his discussion beyond considerations of the institutional Church to examine Catholics who, as he terms them, "swam against the stream."⁴ George Hoffman and Sr. Teresita Kambeitz in their respective analyses of Catholic reaction to the CCF in Saskatchewan emphasize how segments of the Catholic community were open to the party as early as the mid-1930s. In each of these cases, though, what is less apparent in the historiography is the extent to which many Catholics and CCFers found common ground—despite how thoroughly lay Catholics grasped the philosophical and theological issues raised by social Catholicism and social democracy respectively. This article hopes to help begin filling this gap.

The case for Roman Catholic support of the CCF should not be oversold. Even during the 1944 election, Saskatchewan Catholics still primarily voted for the Liberal Party.⁵ Demographically, multiple ethnic cleavages existed within the province's Catholic community. There were in 1931 about 47,121 Catholics of German origin and 44,680 Catholics of French origin in the province. German Catholics, primarily based in rural areas, had

Catholics and the Coming of a New Politics, 1930-1934," in *Religion and Society in the Prairie West*, ed. Richard Allen (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1974); Sr. Teresita Kambeitz, "Relations Between the Catholic Church and the CCF in Saskatchewan, 1930-1950," *CCHA Study Sessions* 46 (1979): 49-69; Peter Meehan, "'Purified Socialism' and the Church in Saskatchewan: Tommy Douglas, Philip Pocock and Hospitalization, 1944-1948," *CCHA Historical Studies* 77 (2011): 23-40.

4. Gregory Baum, *Catholics and Canadian Socialism*, 8.

5. David M. Quiring, *CCF Colonialism in Northern Saskatchewan: Battling Parish Priests, Bootleggers, and Fur Sharks* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), 8.

eclipsed the French-Canadian Catholic population by almost 3,000 people.⁶ In the Muenster area, many German Catholic families had emigrated from rural American states such as Montana, Nebraska, and Minnesota—in part because of ethnic tensions following the Great War and in part because they were pursuing prosperity. Often such new Catholic residents relocated in Catholic areas near schools and churches.⁷ German Catholics (along with their French-Canadian counterparts) tended to resist the appeal of the CCF. The CCF's Catholic support came primarily from "Anglo-Saxons."⁸ Yet with all these qualifications, the argument that Saskatchewan Catholics shifted in a pro-CCF direction has merit. In *Agrarian Socialism*, Seymour Martin Lipset rather surprisingly found a positive Catholic/CCF correlation in 1934 and 1944, in marked contrast to a negative United Church/CCF correlation in the same years.⁹ Such data reveal a slight Catholic propensity to favour the party—one that, in closely-contested ridings, could make a significant difference.

A number of political factors also converged to make the CCF a viable alternative in Saskatchewan. One was the influence of the Ku Klux Klan on the Conservative Party after the party came to power at the close of the 1920s. The educational reforms of James Thomas Milton Anderson's coalition government, formed in the wake of the 1929 provincial election, were also unpalatable to Roman Catholics—particularly those that entailed the removal of crucifixes and other religious symbols from all schools and prohibitions on religious garb on the part of teachers.¹⁰ These reforms, sometimes ignored by determined religious sisters,¹¹ came on the heels of the Conservative Party's decision the previous year to exclude Roman Catholics from positions on its Executive.¹² Although voting patterns had already begun to divide along ethnic-religious lines in Saskatchewan, these

6. George Hoffman, "Saskatchewan Catholics and the Coming of a New Politics, 1930-1934," in *Religion and Society in the Prairie West*, ed. Richard Allen (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1974), 83, n.11.

7. Sister Aquinas Shulte, OSU interviewed by George Hoffman, Bruno, Saskatchewan, 11 July 1973, "German Catholics and the CCF," Oral History Project, Saskatchewan Archives Board (hereafter SAB), A208

8. Seymour Martin Lipset, *Agrarian Socialism: The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation in Saskatchewan, a Study in Political Sociology* (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1968 edition), 210.

9. In a subsequent table, Lipset also shows that support for the CCF among Catholic farmers stood at 38.1%. See *ibid.*, 204, 220.

10. Raymond Huel, "The Anderson Amendments and the Secularization of Public Schools in Saskatchewan," *CCHA Study Sessions 44* (1977): 61-76.

11. Sister Aquinas Shulte, OSB interviewed by George Hoffman, Bruno, Saskatchewan, 11 July 1973, "German Catholics and the CCF," Oral History Project, SAB, A208.

12. George Hoffman, "Saskatchewan Catholics and the Coming of a New Politics, 1930-1934," 67.

actions, along with the influence of anti-Catholic rhetoric emanating from the United States during Al Smith's failed Presidential bid in 1928, made Depression-era religious and political tensions particularly acute.¹³

In the years following this election, these policies not only caused lay Catholics to search for new political possibilities, but the pervasiveness of an anti-Catholic right-wing in Saskatchewan also caused the local hierarchy, in contrast with its counterpart in Ontario and Quebec, to approach the CCF more openly, if cautiously. While the Liberal Party remained the popular political alternative for Catholics, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation was neither tainted by its position on the Anderson reforms—having formed as a party in the early 1930s after they were enacted—nor, despite its roots in the Protestant Social Gospel, with the aura of Anglo-Protestantism ostensibly associated with the Conservative Party. Cautious optimism marked early statements from the hierarchy. Archbishop James McGuigan reminded the priests and laity in his charge that the Church would oppose any suggestions for the social order deemed irreconcilable with a Christian understanding of the world.¹⁴ Though this language was open to interpretation, his actions in the following months suggested the pronouncements of CCF leaders in Saskatchewan did not fall within the category of anti-Christian teachings. After Father Athol Murray, the well known educator at Notre Dame College in Wilcox, Saskatchewan, expelled two students for becoming members of the Young People's CCF study group, McGuigan wrote Murray and cautioned against such actions. The position communicated to Murray was arrived at after McGuigan assured the provincial CCF leader, M.J. Coldwell, that the Church in his jurisdiction would not oppose an individual's political affiliation to the CCF.¹⁵

The traditional alliance between the Liberal Party and the Roman Catholic Church (and, by extension, the Roman Catholic voting public) was predicated not only on the conversation between the Laurier Government and the Church on the definition of "liberalism" at the close of the nineteenth century, but also, upon the function of private property in Saskatchewan within a liberal society (remembering, of course, that it is a precondition for liberty). In Saskatchewan, many of the German Catholic immigrants, arriving either from overseas or via the United States, benefited from the homesteading policies of the Liberal Party, and thus felt indebted towards

13. Ibid.

14. James C. McGuigan, Archbishop of Regina, *Joint Pastoral Letter on the Christian World*, no. 51, 2 February 1934. James C. McGuigan papers, Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Regina [ARCAR].

15. Sr. Teresita Kambeitz, "Relations Between the Catholic Church and the CCF in Saskatchewan, 1930-1950," 58; Peter McGuigan, "The CCF and the Canadian Catholic Church," *Catholic Insight* (January 2004): 36-41.

it.¹⁶ This Catholic/Liberal connection was also sustained on an institutional level. Land had been given to the institutional church—for example, to build, St. Peter’s colony in Muenster. As one respondent said with a touch of hyperbole, “the Church and the Liberal party were the same.”¹⁷ At times the Church could be quite insistent in its support for the Liberals. Father Bruno Doerfler, Abbot of St. Peter’s colony in Muenster, Saskatchewan, actually asked one parishioner to relinquish his post as collection-taker at Mass because he supported the Conservative Party.¹⁸

The radical early programme of the CCF, with its ill-defined position on private property, was problematic for many Catholics (and the major source of contention with the institutional Church). However, under continued conditions of economic depression, social Catholics began to reflect critically on classical “liberalism’s” principle of private property, particularly as capitalist processes concentrated wealth in the hands of relatively few. Such Catholics, despite a traditional allegiance to the Liberal Party and its homesteading policies, began to anticipate the Keynesian economic reforms of the post-war period with a refined view of social ownership in the economy.¹⁹ This view, in turn, challenged possessive individualism, as collective provisions, such as family allowances, became critical facets of the state’s duty. They tallied amiably with neo-Thomism’s understanding of natural law—but pragmatically were a world removed from classical liberal poor laws. They implicitly drew upon the ideological position that favoured a co-operative commonwealth.²⁰

Many Catholic MLAs were part of the Liberal Opposition in the early 1930s. Other prominent Catholics, such as Joseph Burton, were dismayed at the Conservative government’s apparent corruption, but choose a different

16. Multiple respondents recall their families receiving 160 acres for \$10.00 through the homesteading policies. See John Becker interviewed by George Hoffman, Carmel, Saskatchewan, 11 July 1973 and Harry Ford interviewed by George Hoffman, Humboldt, Saskatchewan, 12 July 1973, both found in “German Catholics and the CCF,” Oral History Project, SAB, A212.

17. Father Augustine Nenzel, OSB interviewed by George Hoffman, St. Benedict, Saskatchewan, 13 July 1973, “German Catholics and the CCF,” Oral History Project, SAB, A209.

18. Joe Hinz interviewed by George Hoffman, Humboldt, Saskatchewan, 11 July 1973, “German Catholics and the CCF,” Oral History Project, SAB, A210.

19. Dissenting voices did arise of course: in George Hoffman’s interview with John Becker, Becker expresses great apprehension about unemployment insurance, welfare, unionization, and other provisions of the welfare state. This view, expressed in the 1973 interview, reflects the Chicago school of economic thought so influential a decade later in the neo-liberal policies enacted in Canada, Great Britain, and the United States. John Becker interviewed by George Hoffman, Carmel, Saskatchewan, 11 July 1973, “German Catholics and the CCF,” Oral History Project, SAB, A211.

20. *Ibid.*

path based on a faith-based approach to their political values. Burton twice attempted to win a seat for the CCF in provincial by-elections. In 1934, he was soundly defeated by Liberal James C. King in the Humboldt area (113 kilometers west of Saskatoon), receiving only twenty-seven per cent of the popular vote: three years later, however, he won a narrow victory in the riding over Liberal Charles Dunn, by a margin of 138 votes, becoming the first Catholic CCF member elected to the Saskatchewan legislature.²¹ Several years before the CCF formed government, he became one of the party's elected members, giving Burton a substantial role in policy positions. Many Humboldt-area Catholics had obviously defied the still-resistant hierarchy to elect Burton.²² As his widow recalled forty years after his election, "People who worked on the railroad were threatened with losing [their] jobs unless they supported the Liberals."²³ For a Catholic such as Burton, a two-time Grand Knight of the Knights of Columbus, the CCF became a home that reflected his social Catholic values. Some clergy ministering in the province echoed this feeling. As Benedictine Augustine Nenzel mused, the CCF was "closer to Christ's own programme."²⁴ He went on, in first-person terms, to explain the turn to the CCF: "banks wouldn't loan money," he decried, "[there was] injustice there. No one has the 'right' to all this money when people are starving. [There] needed [to be] a fundamental change with a focus on human beings."²⁵ He concluded, "If anyone knew socialism, it was Christ. The CCF was trying to put into practice some of the doctrines of Christ."²⁶

From 1935 to 1942, prior to Joe Burton's election as a federal member, Harry Raymond Fleming, a Catholic Liberal, had held the Humboldt riding. Fleming elicited one of the most honest responses to Catholic support for the CCF from the Catholic hierarchy. Fleming worried that Catholics in Saskatchewan had been given permission by the Church to vote CCF if they desired. Basing himself on McGuigan's pronouncement in 1934, M.J. Coldwell had intimated as much. In private correspondence with

21. Elections SK, accessed 13 April 2011, <http://www.elections.sk.ca/constitutivevotesummaryarchive.php>.

22. One of George Hoffman's respondents explains that Catholics did not like James King stepping aside to provide a safe seat for Charles Dunn, who had previously lost in Yorkton, and thus opted to support Joe Burton in the 1937 by-election. Joe Hinz interviewed by George Hoffman, Humboldt, Saskatchewan, 11 July 1973, "German Catholics and the CCF," Oral History Project, SAB, A210.

23. Mrs. Marjorie Burton (and Mr. Basil Cannell) interviewed by George Hoffman, Humboldt, Saskatchewan, 12 July 1973, "German Catholics and the CCF," Oral History Project, SAB, A206.

24. Father Augustine Nenzel, OSB interviewed by George Hoffman, St. Benedict, Saskatchewan, 13 July 1973, "German Catholics and the CCF," Oral History Project, SAB, A209.

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Ibid.*

McGuigan, after the Bishop had been appointed to the Toronto See, Fleming asked whether McGuigan actually held this position. In a letter that McGuigan asked not be cited further, he candidly told Fleming that he had been caught off guard in the 1934 campaign and had replied to the inquiry in question rather hastily. However, there was indeed no official condemnation of the party, and he believed that Catholics could freely offer their support for the CCF. While he respected the views of prelates who actively opposed the CCF, such as Cardinal Villeneuve of Quebec City, he refused to believe that their position could claim universality. Fleming would likely have been disappointed with this response particularly since his correspondence had offered McGuigan a measured *quid pro quo*: “if there... there is anything you would like me to take up for you in Ottawa... I will only be too pleased to do so.”²⁷ The correspondence thus reveals a delicate balance: the changing Church had secularized its stance, effectively allowing its laity a far greater degree of freedom, but it also carried with it longstanding Liberal ties that were not likely to disappear overnight.

Joe Burton made the transition from provincial to federal politics, following a by-election victory on 9 August 1943. Re-elected in 1945, Burton faced the same questions about faith and politics that he had confronted in Saskatchewan’s Legislative Assembly years earlier. In the House of Commons, Lawrence Skey, a one-term Progressive Conservative member for the constituency of Trinity, asserted that socialism violated human nature, substantiating his opinion with a bevy of carefully selected quotations from Jeremy Bentham, Herbert Spencer, as well as Popes Leo XII and Pius XI, among others. Such representations were commonly faced by Catholic socialists and social democrats. Burton was familiar with opponents turning Catholic doctrine or the pronouncements of Church leaders against him and his party.²⁸ He defended himself with no less conventional arguments. Yet, more interestingly, he also crafted arguments on behalf of both the Church and the CCF. In 1946, for example, the federal budget included a provision imposing tax on (not-for-profit) co-operatives. Naturally, defence of the co-operative movement was important to the CCF, but it was equally significant for Catholics across the country, particularly in Nova Scotia, who sought to live otherwise.²⁹ Opponents suggested that Moses Coady did not oppose the legislation.³⁰ Burton, who knew Coady personally and was

27. Brian Hogan, private collection.

28. For a good treatment of how Joe Burton defended his support for (and position within) the CCF based on both Catholic principles espoused in papal encyclicals and/or scriptural tradition see Gregory Baum, “Joe Burton: Catholic and Saskatchewan Socialist,” *Ecumenist* (July-August 1976): 70–77.

29. Canada, House of Commons *Debates*, 18 July 1946 (Joseph Burton).

30. Canada, House of Commons *Debates*, 17 July 1946 (Moses Elijah McGarry).

influenced by the work of the Antigonish movement,³¹ thought otherwise. He believed the proposed policy would have adverse effects on the families that had benefited so greatly from the work of St. Francis Xavier University's Extension Department. Similarly, Burton's emphatic anti-Communism was a piece of this party's hardening line. As he proclaimed in 1946, "I take this opportunity to say that in my opinion no political party in Canada has gone as far as we have in the CCF, and this is especially true of Saskatchewan, in our endeavours to prevent the infiltration of communists into the party."³² Yet, it was also shaped by his sense of the Church's position. While he was one of many voices that helped pacify the radicalism of the early CCF, Burton was also in a space "in between" his socialist colleagues and socially-minded co-religionists. He reconciled these perspectives amicably, by advocating the "social ownership" of property—an idea that brought hope to many on the prairies and across the country who were harshly affected by the conditions of the Great Depression as well as difficulties on the home front during wartime.

Joe Burton, a seasoned defender of the concept of "social ownership," defended the CCF's position on private property *vis-à-vis* Catholic social teaching. Throughout his political career, he maintained that the popes had advanced the idea of socialization—and an equitable distribution of goods required both public and private ownership. The key questions remained focused on what areas of the economy required public involvement. Unregulated private ownership could have sinister implications for the private property rights advanced within the Catholic intellectual tradition. Large-scale capitalist development in farming, for example, might be no better for the family farm than the collectivization of agriculture. Private property rights needed to be restricted in spheres where they created conditions for the exploitation of one group of individuals by another. The goal of the CCF, argued Burton, was for more, not less, private property ownership diffused throughout Canadian society. Public property, in turn, was not to be conflated with centralized ownership by the state. Those inspired by the principles of co-operation aimed to create greater control over those sectors of the economy that carried disproportionate influence on the individual lives of citizens. (Here one senses the influence of the Antigonish Movement.) In Saskatchewan, public, collective entities, such as credit unions, were necessary if Canada was to transition away from being a classic liberal project. Burton did not envision this move as one towards state socialism.

31. Canada, House of Commons *Debates*, 18 July 1946 (Joseph Burton).

32. Canada, House of Commons *Debates*, 18 July 1946 (Joseph Burton).

He hoped, rather, that the entire nation might emerge from the turmoil of the 1930s and 1940s as a “co-operative commonwealth.”³³

After being defeated federally in 1949, Burton returned to provincial politics in the 1950s. The CCF no longer a fringe party—it had come to power in 1944—the bishops of Saskatchewan sought particular aid from Catholic members of the Douglas government, such as Joe Burton and I.C. Nollett, provincial Minister of Agriculture from 1946 to 1964, on matters that affected the Church. Once again private property became a contentious issue. Bishop Philip Pocock, for one, looked to Catholic cabinet ministers in the CCF for policies reflecting Catholic teaching. In December 1947, the Separate School Board of Saskatoon attempted to purchase land known as the Mayfair Football Grounds in order to house schools for Catholic students in the Mayfair, Westmount, and Caswell Hill districts, only to have the request denied by Woodrow S. Lloyd, Minister of Education (1944–1960).³⁴ The decision was tied to the government’s broader desire to rationalize the education system by reducing the number of educational districts in the province, an aspiration that would not play out fully until the 1950s.

Bishop Pocock interpreted the Mayfair Football Grounds decision as an attack on minority education rights, firmly established by law in the province. He also considered it to be the result of sectarian, political posturing after local residents organized a petition to block the establishment of separate schools in this area.³⁵ Before making his case public through the Catholic press, a powerful organ of the Church, Bishop Pocock wrote to Nollett, copying Joe Burton, along with the Bishops of Gravelbourg and Prince Albert, the Abbot at Muenster, and the President of the Catholic School Trustees Association. It is interesting that Bishop Pocock felt comfortable in approaching Catholic cabinet ministers who otherwise had little involvement with this issue. The institutional Church had adopted a more secular approach to the rights and responsibility of the laity on voting; yet the hierarchy was clearly more hesitant to distance itself from exerting influence, or at least

33. Gregory Baum, “Joe Burton: Catholic and Saskatchewan Socialist,” *Ecumenist* (July-August 1976): 76.

34. Woodrow Lloyd, succeeded Tommy Douglas as Premier of Saskatchewan in 1961. For an account of Lloyd’s time in Saskatchewan politics see A.W. Johnson, *Dream No Little Dream: A Biography of the Douglas Government of Saskatchewan, 1944–1961* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004); C.B. Koester (ed.), *The Measure of the Man: Selected Speeches of Woodrow Stanley Lloyd* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1976); Dianne Norton, “Woodrow S. Lloyd,” in *Saskatchewan Premiers of the Twentieth Century*, ed. Gordon L. Barnhart (Regina: University of Regina, Canadian Plains Research Center, 2004); Brett Quiring “The Social and Political Philosophy of Woodrow S. Lloyd,” *Saskatchewan History* 56, no. 1 (Spring 2004): 5–20.

35. Bishop Philip Pocock to I.C. Nollett, 15 December 1947, Joe Burton Papers, SAB.

seeking help, from lay Catholics in positions of political authority when it suited its needs. Education (along with health care reform) would continue to be key battlegrounds between the Church and the CCF over the party's twenty years of governance, but it was one on which the Church gained considerable concessions—evidenced by the exemption of separate schools from the *Larger Schools Unit Act* in 1953.

Among the factors that fostered Catholic support for the CCF in Saskatchewan was the influence of a unique blend of journals and newspapers. They provided intellectual capital for the religious and social thought of politically-engaged Catholics. The *Western Producer*, which was aimed in its early years at promoting the Wheat Pool, and the *Grain Growers Guide*, with its strong ties to the co-operative movement and the Social Gospel, were both widely-read secular sources of news and opinion.³⁶ Also influential were prominent American periodicals: the *Catholic Worker* from New York City and *Orate Fratres*, the organ used by Dom Virgil Michel and the Liturgical Movement, which provided the intellectual stimulation to growing numbers of Catholics interested in personalism in the United States.³⁷ Father Michel exclaimed, “Is there any surprise that Christian ideals could find no place in this life and that social justice has become a completely unknown entity?”³⁸ The ideas of socially progressive (yet not necessarily left) American Catholics, such as Monsignor John A. Ryan,³⁹ also influenced Saskatchewan Catholics.⁴⁰ Closer to home for these prairie Catholics, the *Prairie Messenger*, a weekly newspaper published by the Benedictine Monks at St. Peter's Abbey in Muenster, Saskatchewan, was sympathetic to the CCF. Much of this support came over two decades from its editors, Father Wilfred Hergott and Father Augustine Nenzel, who were sympathetic to the social gospel. The paper also benefitted from lay contributors such as [Bob] F. Von Pilis, a veteran of the Antigonish movement, who became chair of

36. Mrs. Marjorie Burton (and Mr. Basil Cannell) interviewed by George Hoffman, Homboldt, Saskatchewan, 12 July 1973, “German Catholics and the CCF,” Oral History Project, SAB, A206.

37. Father Augustine Nenzel, OSB interviewed by George Hoffman, St. Benedict, Saskatchewan, 13 July 1973, “German Catholics and the CCF,” Oral History Project, SAB, A209.

38. Quoted in Mark and Louise Zwick, *The Catholic Worker Movement: Intellectual and Spiritual Origins* (Mahwah, New Jersey: Paulist Press, 2005), 62.

39. Monsignor Ryan wrote voluminously on all topics that he deemed connected to social justice. For example, see John A. Ryan, *The Christian Doctrine of Property* (New York: Paulist Press, 1923); John A. Ryan, *Capital and Labour* (New York: Paulist Press, 1931); and John A. Ryan, *Attitude of the Church towards Public Ownership* (New York: Public Ownership League, 1932).

40. Father Augustine Nenzel, OSB interviewed by George Hoffman, St. Benedict, Saskatchewan, 13 July 1973, “German Catholics and the CCF,” Oral History Project, SAB, A209.

the national CCF's farm committee in the 1950s and editor of the *Union Farmer*.⁴¹ On the prairies, the Roman Catholic audience for these periodicals tended to represent a particular demographic—the well-educated Catholics, who saw many of their own convictions embodied in CCF policies. In all of these instances, attempts at a “practical Christianity” were also inspired by the encyclical thought emanating from the Holy See.⁴²

According to Ida Shulte, who journeyed north from the United States with her family as a child, and later became Ursuline Sister Aquinas Shulte, some Catholic farming families in rural Saskatchewan looked with fear upon aspects of CCF radicalism, especially those that dealt with farm issues in the 1930s. Her father, a pig and corn farmer, saw the formation of the Wheat Pool and co-operatives as steps towards the collectivization policies of the Soviet Union.⁴³ Despite the apprehensions of Shulte's father that the co-operative movement would lead to “more radical measures,” her brother-in-law was inspired by it and saw in it a chance for a fairer deal for farmers. By the 1930s, Sister Aquinas had shed the concerns of her parents and was directed by Father Henry Carr to study economics with Father Eugene Cullinane and English literature under the direction of Carlyle King, future CCF party president, at the University of Saskatchewan.⁴⁴ Co-operative ideas began to creep into university curricula, with the classes offered at St. Thomas More College by Father Eugene Cullinane, CSB being a prime example.⁴⁵ The

41. Father Augustine Nenzel, OSB interviewed by George Hoffman in St. Benedict, Saskatchewan, 13 July 1973, “German Catholics and the CCF,” Oral History Project, SAB, A209; Walter D. Young, *The Anatomy of a Party* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 200.

42. Mrs. Burton recalls her husband, Joe, attending CCF meeting with copies of *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno* in hand. After reading from them, he asked the crowds, “Who do you think wrote this?” A common reply was “Mr. Woodsworth.” That ideas emanating from the Pope could be thought to be those of the very Protestant Woodsworth was telling. See Burton and Cannell, Hoffman interview, SAB, A206.

43. Sister Aquinas Shulte, OSU interviewed by George Hoffman, Bruno, Saskatchewan, 11 July 1973, “German Catholics and the CCF,” Oral History Project, SAB, A208

44. Sister Aquinas acknowledged Professor King as “the brains behind the CCF.” Carlyle King was elected to the provincial executive of the CCF in 1939, ran unsuccessfully for the party leadership a year later, and was party president from 1945 to 1960. The experiences of King Carlyle during the 1930s, when he was forbidden by the University of Saskatchewan's President, James Thompson, to make political public speeches on the grounds that they were seditious, bears remarkable similarities to the censure imposed on Eugene Cullinane a decade later. This juxtaposition is evidence that support for the CCF encountered hostility from the powerful, institutional elite both inside and outside the walls of the Church. See Carlyle King, “Recollections, the CCF in Saskatchewan,” *Western Canadian Politics: The Radical Tradition*, ed. Donald C. Kerr (Edmonton, Alberta: NeWest Institute for Western Canadian Studies, 1981), 31–41.

45. Sister Aquinas Shulte, OSU interviewed by George Hoffman, Bruno, Saskatchewan, 11 July 1973, “German Catholics and the CCF,” Oral History Project,

work undertaken by the Antigonish movement also became increasingly well known, which suggests an important intersection between different streams of Canadian social Catholicism.⁴⁶

An examination of Eugene Cullinane's time in Saskatchewan, 1945–1948, sheds new light on Catholicism's engagement with the left. Inspired by the CCF, he changed his Catholic University of America doctoral topic from "The Function of Catholic Priesthood as a Basic Element in the Social Order" to "The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation: A Sociological Analysis of its Origins and Ideology" under the direction of sociologist Paul Furfey. Cullinane toured Canada, visiting each province where he met with local groups, became close to CCF leadership, and spent extended time at the CCF's national office.⁴⁷ For Cullinane, the CCF represented a new and powerful force of renewal in the Canadian political sphere—in a moment when the universal Church was also beginning to experience renewal from a diverse range of sources, which would culminate in the Second Vatican Council.

Cullinane's reputation as a supporter and scholar of the CCF became well known, and he began to receive unsolicited requests from CCF leaders—Madeline Sheridan, a prominent Catholic from Montreal and member of the CCF National Council—to help engage Catholics in "social revolution." In her case, she wanted Cullinane to help her build a pan-Canadian, Christian, social democratic option along the lines of the British Labour Party or the *Mouvement Républicain Populaire* in France.⁴⁸

In the CCF, Cullinane saw a spirit of personalism necessary for Catholicism to engage modernity politically, as well as a practical avenue for Catholics to participate in the reorientation from a Canadian project predicated on classic liberalism to one based on social democracy. Cullinane called the CCF revolutionary precisely because he considered it to be Thomistic.⁴⁹ His reading of the CCF was clearly inspired by the personalism of Jacques Maritain, "because Maritain has brought, more than any other thinker of our times, such clarity and insight into the analysis of these forces. I believe that you cannot possibly understand the CCF in its entirety without

SAB, A208. This point is further corroborated: Joe Burton also notes that Fr. Cullinane used copies of his parliamentary speeches, as source material for his political science lectures. Joe Burton to Fr. Wilfred Hergott, OSB, 16 April 1947, Joe Burton Papers, SAB.

46. Father Augustine Nenzel, OSB interviewed by George Hoffman, St. Benedict, Saskatchewan, 13 July 1973, "German Catholics and the CCF," Oral History Project, SAB, A209.

47. Fr. Eugene Cullinane to Fr. Henry Carr, 10 July 1945, Fr. Eugene Cullinane Papers, Saint Thomas More College Archives (hereafter STMCA).

48. Madeline Sheridan to Fr. Eugene Cullinane, 7 April 1947, STMCA.

49. Fr. Eugene Cullinane to Fr. Henry Carr, 1 May 1945, STMCA.

Maritain.”⁵⁰ Following the economic and social upheaval of the 1930s and early 1940s, Cullinane accepted Maritain’s premise that the modern world was in a moment of “convulsion” and “liquidation.”⁵¹ The Catholic Church did a disservice to itself by keeping its distance from the CCF because the party offered a way to harness the “constructive” and “creative” forces necessary for the regeneration of society.⁵² The inner nature of the CCF, Cullinane posited, represented a “renewal of the most profound energies of the religious conscience surging up into temporal (Canadian) existence.”⁵³ While Protestants found the spirit of the Social Gospel in the CCF, Cullinane thought Catholics might find there a radical interpretation of the spirit of neo-Thomism and hailed the new political moment as one that held out the potential of renewing Roman Catholicism. A grasp of Maritain was, for him, central to grappling with contemporary political and economic questions.

Cullinane also perceived a divide between priests and middle-class Catholics *vis-à-vis* farmers and industrial workers (a dichotomy not unfamiliar to the social democratic left). Part of the remarkable success of the Catholic Church, traditionally, has been its ability to maintain unity between its intelligentsia and common peoples. The latter group—the “proletarian Catholics”—who, Cullinane recognized, would not have the same access to Maritain, would have to discover the merits of the CCF experientially.⁵⁴ As a priest formed in the Basilian tradition and upholding its devotion to education, Cullinane saw the CCF as a means for personalist renewal — for Canada, for Catholicism, and even Western Civilization.

Based on his doctoral research in the 1940s, Cullinane wrote a pamphlet called “The Catholic Church and Socialism,” which was published and widely disseminated by the CCF (Saskatchewan section). Much of the pamphlet’s interest lies in Cullinane’s subtle reflections on the very meaning of the term “socialism.” As was standard for Catholics on the left during this period, Cullinane parsed the term to distinguish “old revolutionary socialism” from “new democratic socialism.” The former had been condemned under Church doctrine. The latter represented a political form with the highest potential to embody Gospel values.⁵⁵ As a voice of the CCF, Cullinane

50. Fr. Eugene Cullinane to Fr. Henry Carr, 26 April 1945, STMCA.

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid.

53. Fr. Eugene Cullinane to Fr. Henry Carr, 1 May 1945, Fr. Eugene Cullinane Papers, STMCA. Here Cullinane quotes Jacques Maritain, *The Twilight of Civilization* (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1943), 31–32.

54. Fr. Eugene Cullinane to Fr. Henry Carr, 15 June 1948, Eugene Cullinane Papers, STMCA.

55. Gregory Baum points out that semantic difficulties transcended religious boundaries within the CCF on this general issue. *The Commonwealth*, Saskatchewan’s weekly CCF periodical, regularly needed to publish editorial sections on “What is

developed an argument consistent with other lay social Catholic leaders, such as Henry Somerville and Murray Ballantyne. His separation of distinct strands of socialism worked not only to secure political freedom for the Catholic voting public, but also to the political advantage of the CCF.⁵⁶ His approach persuaded many people: Joseph Charbonneau, the Archbishop of Montreal, even offered his *imprimatur* should Cullinane wish to publish his doctoral research as a monograph.⁵⁷ Cullinane's work also received support from the Dominican Georges-Henri Lévesque—the very man whose scathing critique of the CCF for the Quebec bishops had set the party back in the 1930s, before he came to appreciate its spiritual depth and consistency. Both men warned Cullinane that his work would come under assault from Jesuit Nationalists and the Order's *École sociale populaire*. They would view Cullinane's findings as a challenge to their objective of a social order based on the corporatism advanced by Pope Pius XI.⁵⁸ Each of these instances illustrates different and competing forces within Canadian Catholicism. First, Cullinane's subtle etymological argument—so sharply contrasted with those presented by the likes of Fr. Charles Coughlin—implicitly validated an intellectually developed approach to the question. Second, with respect to the anticipated opposition from the Jesuits, one sees evidence of a battle between different intellectual currents within the Church—one corporatist and nationalistic, the other personalist and social democratic. Here were two readings of Catholic social thought entailing contrasting visions of Canada's social order.

An element of “passive revolution” also existed within Cullinane's attempt to promote the merits of the CCF. Social democracy, by safeguarding private property, offered a way to respond to, and ultimately to remove, the threat of Communism in Canada. “Unlike Communism,” he writes, “the New Democratic Socialism does not deny that a man has a right to private ownership of property. On the contrary it strengthens this right by aiming at a more equitable distribution of the nation's wealth, by attacking greed—the

Socialism?” Emphasized within its pages was the idea that the CCF, in the British tradition, advanced a “moral,” rather than “scientific,” socialism, rooted in the Christian tradition of the Social Gospel. Revolutionary socialism was merely a euphemism for Communism, while the new democratic socialism was a political reality in the British, Australian and New Zealand Labour parties, as well as the social democratic and Christian democratic parties that had emerged in post-war Western Europe. See Gregory Baum, “Joe Burton,” 74.

56. Fr. Eugene Cullinane, C.S.B., “The Catholic Church and Socialism,” STMCA, Fr. Eugene Cullinane Papers.

57. Fr. Eugene Cullinane to Fr. Henry Carr, 10 July 1945, STMCA, Fr. Eugene Cullinane Papers.

58. *Ibid.*

root cause of Communism....”⁵⁹ The relationship between the greed for private property and the desire for social ownership of property was a close one. The social democratic option would divert the radical impulse within the left, and thereby strengthen government ownership of key industries. Even the more radical wings of the party had shied away from talk of a planned economy, recognizing in it the risk of totalitarianism. Based on the European experience, Cullinane believed, the CCF held a passion for democracy and the preservation of human liberty.⁶⁰ Yet, though the CCF was moving in the right direction, it still required Catholic leadership. Without it, the party, notwithstanding its implicit personalism, ran the risk of appropriation by forces on the radical left with aims antithetical to the Catholic worldview. Undirected, the new humanism might pass sterilization laws, liberalize divorce, and promote contraception. It might lead to the politicization of production, distribution, finance, consumption, medicine and surgery, hospitalization, education—indeed “the whole of everything.”⁶¹ Clearly such dire outcomes would hold implications for Canadian Catholicism: “the new humanism will do all this unless we Catholics have the vision and courage and generosity to join with the builders of the New Order to help them in this work of constructing a more humane world.”⁶² Rather than compete with this project, as the corporatists in Quebec wished to do, Eugene Cullinane counselled Catholics to cooperate with it. He saw a Catholic voice in the CCF as the most effective means to Christianize a social order clearly in transition.

One of the more unusual relationships that Cullinane maintained was an intellectual friendship with Harold Winch,⁶³ ardent socialist and long-time provincial leader of the CCF in British Columbia—and, who, after the 1943 statement on a Catholic’s freedom support to support the party, took the opportunity to make a series of statements about the revolutionary nature of CCF socialist doctrine generally and about its anti-clericalism specifically.⁶⁴ Cullinane, however, saw Harold Winch as a visionary: “Through the depression he fought a heroic battle against overwhelming odds

59. Fr. Eugene Cullinane, CSB, “The Catholic Church and Socialism,” Fr. Eugene Cullinane Papers, STMCA.

60. Fr. Eugene Cullinane to Fr. Henry Carr, 26 April 1945, STMCA, Fr. Eugene Cullinane Papers, STMCA.

61. Fr. Eugene Cullinane to Fr. Henry Carr, 1 May 1945, STMCA, Fr. Eugene Cullinane Papers, STMCA.

62. *Ibid.*

63. Though Peter Campbell describes Harold Winch’s mother, Linda, as being a spiritualist, Harold, not unlike his father Ernest, was not overtly religious—and, in fact, demonstrated hostility towards the Catholic Church, adding to the precariousness of this friendship. See Peter Campbell, *Canadian Marxists and the Search for the Third Way* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1999), 57.

64. Kambeitz, “Relations between the Catholic Church and CCF in Saskatchewan,” 50.

in defence of persecuted and suffering humanity... when and if Canadian history is properly written, Harold Winch will be numbered amongst those who have won the distinction of being truly great Canadians.”⁶⁵ Winch, in turn, demonstrated affection for Cullinane, driving the Basilian out to New Westminster to spend an evening with his father, Edward Ernest Winch,⁶⁶ pioneer of the socialist movement in British Columbia and long-time parliamentarian for the CCF.⁶⁷

Cullinane made no mistake about the radical nature of the CCF in British Columbia, noting their inspiration came from the writing of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, and V.I. Lenin.⁶⁸ These influences made the CCF in British Columbia markedly different from its counterpart in Saskatchewan. A mutual antagonism existed between the British Columbia CCF and the province’s hierarchy, notably Archbishop William Duke of Vancouver (1931–1964). The archbishop had earned the nickname the “Iron Duke” for his disciplinary-style following his appointment as coadjutor bishop in 1928, and the sobriquet was apt to describe his doctrinaire opposition to Marxism during his 33-year episcopacy. The British Columbian socialists also created divisions within the CCF as a movement: its eastern sections did not see a reflection of their politics in those of their west coast counterparts.

Through his friendship with Winch, Cullinane came to appreciate some of the roots of CCF/Catholic division. He sensed the lingering Protestant hostility to Catholicism of some of its members and even leaders.⁶⁹ Internationally, many segments of the CCF took exception to Rome’s tacit support of Mussolini’s conquest of Abyssinia (Ethiopia), of Franco in the Spanish Civil War, and of the *Estado Novo* in Portugal.⁷⁰ In a philosophical sense, the Marxist influence on the CCF was clear to Cullinane. As the world’s largest property-owning entity, the Roman Catholic Church was an integral part of capitalism and thus was perceived by many CCFers

65. Fr. Eugene Cullinane to Fr. Henry Carr, 26 April 1945, Eugene Cullinane Papers, STMCA.

66. For an excellent treatment of Ernest Edward Winch, see Peter Campbell, *Canadian Marxists and the Search for the Third Way*, 31–72.

67. Fr. Eugene Cullinane to Fr. Henry Carr, 6 May 1945, Eugene Cullinane Papers, STMCA.

68. Fr. Eugene Cullinane to Fr. Henry Carr, 15 April 1945, Eugene Cullinane Papers, STMCA.

69. Allen Mills discusses J.S. Woodsworth’s apprehension of Roman Catholicism particularly as it was manifested in his *Strangers Within Our Gates*. See Allen Mills, *Fool for Christ: The Political Thought of J.S. Woodsworth* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 56–57, 229.

70. *Ibid.*

as a force of exploitation and reaction.⁷¹ Catholics who sensed, as he did, the personalist element of CCF doctrine also confronted evidence of the hierarchy's acute ambivalence with respect to the party.⁷² Winch interpreted a pre-election directive from Archbishop Duke as one that, without naming the CCF, nonetheless condemned left-wing political parties in 1945. (The "Iron Duke," it should be recalled, was autonomous within his own episcopal jurisdiction and exercised this authority from the pulpit when he preached an anti-left message in his homilies).⁷³ The *B.C Catholic* refused to run CCF electoral advertisements, while accepting ones from the Liberal and Conservative parties. Cullinane feared this anti-CCF attitude was pervasive throughout much of the hierarchy. These acts were perceived to be ones of bad faith—and did little to create trust on the part of the CCF. The winds of change blowing in Roman Catholicism were difficult to parse for CCF leaders who were not conversant with the stance of Saskatchewan Catholics, let alone with the progressive possibilities of personalism or with Cullinane's neo-Thomism.

Developments leading to the termination of Eugene Cullinane's membership and active participation in the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (and his eventual departure from the Diocese of Saskatoon) came to a head 1948. In the course of his ministry, Father Cullinane saw "part of his vocation to be in the CCF."⁷⁴ Often, he remarked that his involvement with the CCF "appears to be the most strategic apostolate handed to any one priest in our time."⁷⁵ The Church's most important work in the post-war world lay could be found in the politico-economic sphere.⁷⁶ Cullinane's vision of a postwar world reconstructed in part by the CCF clashed sharply with that of the hierarchy when the propriety of having a priest, diocesan or religious, so closely aligned with a political party was brought into question. Put another way, Cullinane's overt politicization was deemed a problem by his local Superior, Henry Carr, Provincial Superior, Edmund McCorkell, and Philip Pocock, Bishop of Saskatoon.

Bishop Pocock asked Eugene Cullinane not to speak publicly about the Church and socialism following a series of talks that Cullinane offered

71. Fr. Eugene Cullinane to Fr. Henry Carr, 1 May 1945, Eugene Cullinane Papers, STMCA.

72. *Ibid.*

73. Fr. Eugene Cullinane to Fr. Henry Carr, 10 July 1945, Eugene Cullinane Papers, STMCA.

74. Fr. Eugene Cullinane to Fr. Henry Carr, 5 June 1948, Eugene Cullinane Papers, Madonna House Archives (hereafter MHA).

75. Fr. Eugene Cullinane to Fr. Henry Carr, 10 July 1945, Eugene Cullinane Papers, STMCA.

76. Fr. Eugene Cullinane to Fr. Henry Carr, 31 July 1946, Eugene Cullinane Papers, STMCA.

in Edmonton. Strictly speaking, Cullinane, as a priest of a religious congregation, did not owe a vow of obedience to the Bishop, but to his provincial superior. Nonetheless, he served in the Diocese of Saskatoon at Pocock's pleasure and thus had a *de facto* obligation to respect his directives.⁷⁷ Cullinane had respected this 1946 directive. Yet two instances of his activism especially offended Bishop Pocock.⁷⁸ First, Father Cullinane had agreed to re-edit a copy of his Edmonton speeches for publication in the *Commonwealth*. Cullinane did not see this act as a violation of the Bishop's wishes because the views expressed in the edited article had previously been disseminated. Second, and more egregious for Pocock, was a letter that Cullinane had sent in April 1948 as a response to an inquiry from H.O. Hanson, Member of the Legislative Assembly for Wilkie, Saskatchewan about the acceptability of the party under Catholic teachings.⁷⁹ In a four-page response, Cullinane distinguished his views as a priest from those he held as a private citizen. In both capacities, he defended his stance with respect to "democratic citizenship" and argued passionately for the CCF as an instance of "purified socialism," one which represented a just and humane political vision for Canada. Cullinane even revealed that he had a "heart and soul" commitment to the CCF and claimed "a more thorough and comprehensive knowledge of the movement than anyone else in Canada."⁸⁰ Pocock saw the letter as an act of disobedience when it became widely publicized a few months later. The Bishop issued a directive against all priests serving in his diocese from holding membership in a political party—an act clearly directed at Cullinane. Cullinane swiftly, though distraughtly, complied in June 1948.⁸¹ Much to the chagrin of the vicar general of his province, Hubert

77. Peter Meehan has explored the pragmatic circumstances surrounding Pocock's position (namely the tenuous position that the Saskatchewan Church found itself in as prelates negotiated a role for Catholic hospitals in the mid-1940s amidst proposals for North American's first scheme for universalized health care). See Peter Meehan, "'Purified Socialism' and the Church in Saskatchewan: Tommy Douglas, Philip Pocock, and Hospitalization, 1944–1948," *Historical Studies* 76 (2010): 23–40.

78. Fr. Cullinane to Fr. Henry Carr, 15 June 1948, Eugene Cullinane Papers, STMCA.

79. Fr. Eugene Cullinane to H.O Hanson, 5 April 1948, Eugene Cullinane Papers, STMCA.

80. *Ibid.*

81. Fr. Eugene Cullinane to J. Cummings, 14 June 1948, Eugene Cullinane Papers, STMCA; A.O Smith to Fr. Eugene Cullinane, 15 June 1948, Eugene Cullinane Papers, MHA. Upon receiving word of Cullinane's resignation, A.O. Smith, the CCF's provincial secretary in Saskatchewan, wrote to Cullinane expressing deep regret at the termination of Cullinane's membership, adding, "I hope you have felt you have belonged to perhaps the world's greatest democratic people's movement dedicated to bringing a better social order based on genuine Christian principles to common people."

Coughlin, Cullinane then was appointed to teach at Toronto's St. Michael's College in the fall of 1948.⁸²

Eugene Cullinane's role in the CCF was a high profile case of Catholic participation in the party. Catholic-CCF interaction in Saskatchewan received attention well beyond the province's borders. To cite one instance, Tommy Douglas received letters from socialists in Wisconsin, who were keen to make sense of the inroads that the Saskatchewan CCF had made with the Catholic community. Noted for having a sizable Catholic population, a substantial industrial base, and a socialist party founded at the close of the nineteenth century, Wisconsin was a battleground for the U.S. left. Socialists there were attempting to make inroads in municipal elections and looked to Tommy Douglas and the CCF for advice. In response, Douglas turned to I.C. Nollet, a Catholic cabinet minister, and Fred Williams, editor of the Saskatchewan *Commonwealth*. He directed them to provide statements by the Canadian hierarchy on the compatibility of Catholicism and social democracy.⁸³ Progressives within the Canadian Church also depicted Saskatchewan as a laboratory for social democracy. In the 1948 Christmas issue of *America*, an American, Jesuit-run journal, high praise was offered for the moderate measures taken by the Douglas government, a far cry from any frightening radicalism. Praise was also offered for the CCF's transformation of the provincial economy. The party had widened the province's agricultural base and diversified its natural resources sector. Sixteen new Crown corporations, the expansion of Saskatchewan hydro, a public insurance scheme, and, of course, Canada's first socialized hospital insurance programme, all indicated a new direction. Each of these measures was lauded for how it moved Canada away from free enterprise, promoted equality, and substantially raised the standard of living for its citizens, only a decade removed from the abject conditions of the Great Depression.⁸⁴

One consequence of international developments within Catholicism—both in terms of encyclical thought and advances in Catholic philosophy—is that they forced some Catholics to evaluate their political choices in light of their religious convictions. The connection between the Liberal Party of

82. Although Father Eugene Cullinane was the best known clerical supporter of the CCF in this period, other priests, social Catholics in their own right, supported the formation of co-operatives and credit unions in Saskatchewan. Often commitment to these institutions naturally led to support for the CCF, as evidenced by Benedictine priests Wilfred Hergott and Augustine Nenzel. Other priests in Saskatchewan, such as Fr. Francis Lommer, despite having earlier apprehensions, also grew sympathetic to the party.

83. William Osborne Hart to Tommy Douglas, 1 March 1948, Tommy Douglas Papers, SAB; Tommy Douglas to I.C. Nollett and William Osborne Hart, 18 March 1948, Douglas Papers, SAB; Tommy Douglas to Fred Williams, 18 March 1948, SAB.

84. E.L. Chicanot, "Socialism in Saskatchewan," *America* 25 December 1948, located in Tommy Douglas Papers, SAB.

Canada and a Roman Catholic voting electorate had been longstanding, arguably since Sir Wilfrid Laurier co-opted Vatican support for his interpretation of “liberalism” in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.⁸⁵ Thus, the Liberal Party had become palatable to the leaders of the Church.⁸⁶ Socialism, affiliated in many minds with atheism and attacks on private property, loomed much larger than liberalism as a threat. Very few social Catholics favoured the outright abolition of private property. Other social Catholics likely realized that within the CCF there were a number of stances with respect to private property, with the *Regina Manifesto* itself embracing a diversity of property-forms. Yet more social Catholics may not have cared particularly about official articulations of party positions with respect to property, because they were more attracted by the CCF’s overall vision. Besides, the Saskatchewan CCF had gone to great lengths to distance itself from any notion of its programme as one that envisaged a comprehensive nationalization of property. Through much of the 1940s, it remained quite friendly to the interests of small business.⁸⁷

Among the social Catholics surveyed, Bob and Andrée Von Pilis provided an important link between the social Catholicism of the east and one burgeoning in the west. With geographic ties to Nova Scotia, Ontario, and Saskatchewan, they had intellectual ties to Moses Coady and the Antigonish Movement, Catherine de Hueck, as well as the CCF. Bob and Andrée Von Pilis’ long-standing friendship with Moses Coady prompted them to send their daughter, Barbara, to St. Francis Xavier University. During this same period, they developed strong connections to Madonna House in Combermere, Ontario (progeny of the Catherine de Hueck’s Friendship House movement and perhaps the most enduring example of a social Catholic community’s attempt at “living otherwise”) with Andrée spending the summer of 1953 there in “blind obedience.”⁸⁸ The Von Pilises acted as

85. See J.R. Miller, *Equal Rights: The Jesuit Estates Act Controversy* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1979); Rainer Knopf, “The Triumph of Liberalism in Canada: Laurier on Representation and Party Government” in *Canada’s Origins: Liberal, Tory, or Republican*, ed. Janet Ajzenstat and Peter Smith (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1995).

86. One should not forget the anxieties that the international Church had about “liberalism” in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, or the conflict ensuing between liberals and the Quebec Church in the 1870s following the death of Joseph Guibord. On the implications of the Guibord Case, see Rainer Knopff, “Quebec’s ‘Holy War’ as ‘Regime’ Politics: Reflections on the Guibord Case,” *Canadian Journal of Political Science/Review canadienne de science politique* 12, no.2 (June 1979): 315–331.

87. On this point, see Peter Sinclair, “The Saskatchewan CCF: Ascent to Power and the Decline of Socialism,” *Canadian Historical Review* 54 (December 1973): 419–433.

88. F. Von Pilis to Dr. Moses Coady, 5 July 1953, St. Francis Xavier University Archives (hereafter SFXUA), RG30.21/1/4261.

a bridge between the Basilian-inspired spirituality of the Friendship House movement and the social action of the Antigonish Movement.

At the invitation of Bob Von Pilis, Moses Coady was scheduled to visit Madonna House in July 1954. Though the trip was cancelled due to Coady's poor health, he was prepared to meet with credit unions in the region and with the Bishop of Pembroke during "Rural Week" in the diocese. For Von Pilis, Father Coady's presence in Combermere would symbolize the direct connection that he saw between devotional practice and the spirit of co-operation.⁸⁹ Von Pilis took the call of *Quadragesimo Anno* seriously for reconstruction of the social order: papal documents provided a manual, rather than a blueprint, for how to build a Christian social order.⁹⁰ Local conditions dictated how this vision was to be achieved. The CCF, he reasoned, was the most suitable vehicle for blending deep spirituality with pragmatic political change. Von Pilis wanted to develop the co-operative movement in Ontario through the CCF, but he also wanted the CCF to be influenced by the thought of the Antigonish movement. He arranged, for example, to have co-operative literature from Nova Scotia reach the offices of T.D Thomas, a CCF MLA for Durham, Ontario during the 1940s and 1950s.⁹¹

After accepting a job as "correspondent on co-operatives" with the *Western Producer*, Bob Von Pilis and his family came to reside in Saskatoon in August 1956.⁹² Though he had often sent Moses Coady socially progressive editorials from the *Prairie Messenger* ("the sons of St. Benedict are catching the same spirit as the sons of St. Francis Xavier," he exclaimed),⁹³ it was Coady who provided an *entrée* for Von Pilis to key figures in the co-operative movement and the CCF in Saskatchewan.⁹⁴

Journalism became the full-time vehicle for the politicization of Von Pilis's social Catholicism in the west. Amidst farming and farm activism in Ontario, Von Pilis wrote a column on "Land and People" (a title at once

89. During the "family rosary crusade" held in the Diocese of London, Ontario, Von Pilis requested that Moses Coady write an editorial on connections between the recitation of the family rosary and the spirit of co-operation. See F. Von Pilis to Dr. Moses Coady, 7 May 1956, SFXUA, RG30.2/1/4280.

90. F. Von Pilis, "For Further Information Inquire at the Rectory," *Catholic Register*, undated, SFXUA, RG30.2/1/4286.

91. F. Von Pilis to Dr. Moses Coady, 2 December 1951, SFXUA, RG30.21/1/4257. In turn, Von Pilis also passed along audio tapes of Tommy Douglas's speeches to Moses Coady. See F. Von Pilis to Dr. Moses Coady, 11 January 1955, SFXUA, RG30.2/1/4271.

92. F. Von Pilis to Dr. Moses Coady, 9 July 1956, SFXUA, RG30.2/1/4288.

93. F. Von Pilis to Dr. Moses Coady, 22 February 1945, SFXUA, RG30.2/1/4243.

94. For example, Coady introduced Von Pilis to B.J Arnason, CCF deputy Minister of Co-operation and Co-operative Development (and recipient of an honorary degree from St. Francis Xavier University). See F. Von Pilis to Dr. Moses Coady, 4 September 1956, SFXUA, RG30.2/1/4293.

suggesting traditional liberal assumptions tempered by a dose of personalism) for Henry Somerville's *Canadian Register*. In Saskatchewan, his audience was clerical and lay, religious and secular. As Von Pilis transitioned into a new part of his career, his work reached increasingly larger audiences—with one speech to a group of Saskatchewan trade unionists picked up by the National Catholic Welfare Conference's publication, "Social Action Notes for Priests," and disseminated widely to thousands of priests and seminarians across the United States.⁹⁵ Thus, as a Catholic member of the CCF, Von Pilis operated with greater freedom than had many of his co-religionists of an earlier period. In his writing, a portrayal of "Christ as labourer" resonated well beyond Canadian borders, reaching many in the United States.⁹⁶

Into the 1960s, liberalism came to pervade Von Pilis's social democratic view of Canada. His transition to a more liberal posture paralleled that of the CCF itself. With the *Winnipeg Declaration* in 1956, the party was cast within both the Canadian left's "planning formation," but also, arguably, the penumbra of the liberal order's second-wave.⁹⁷ The *Winnipeg Declaration* replaced the *Regina Manifesto* as the guiding document of the party. It promised to extend public ownership, break private monopolies, and advance human need and enrichment as society's fundamental mission. Where it was more moderate than the principles established a generation earlier, however, was in moving away from language about nationalizing modes of production and exchange. "Those who had drafted the Declaration," writes Ivan Avakumovic, "were influenced by the fact that the mixed economies of the Western world displayed by the mid-1950s far greater resilience... than the battered capitalist system in the early 1930s."⁹⁸ Canada exemplified this pattern after the Depression: the Canadian liberal order demonstrated resilience derived in part from its leaders' appropriation of certain leftist notions of planning along with co-opting a number of its erstwhile left-wing critics.

95. Patrick J. Sullivan, "Catholic Social Thought on Labour-Management Issues, 1960–1980," chapter x. <http://archives.nd.edu/psl/psl017.htm> (Accessed: 17 May 2011). "Social Action Notes for Priests" was issued monthly by the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference—known today as the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops—from 1940 to 1968. The periodical was spearheaded by Chicago's "Labour Priest," Monsignor George G. Higgins. For an assessment of Monsignor Higgins's contribution to social Catholicism in the United States, see the various essays written in his honour in the *U.S Catholic Historian* 19, no. 4 (Fall 2001).

96. For a good treatment of how this imagery was used in radical social Christianity (and, more generally, the role of religion in the labour movement of the early twentieth century), see Melissa Turkstra, "Constructing a Labour Gospel: Labour and Religion in Early 20th-Century Ontario," *Labour/Le Travail* 57 (spring 2006): 93–130.

97. Ivan Avakumovic, *Socialism in Canada: A Study of the CCF-NDP in Federal and Provincial Politics* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978), 162–64.

98. *Ibid.*, 162.

With the rise of the welfare state, social provisions became *de facto* rights within Canada's new liberalism. With the CCF government of Tommy Douglas advancing Canada's first system of socialized medicine, the Catholic Church was also affected. Care for the sick, a traditional charge for Christians, had become accompanied in Quebec (and English Canada) by a network of Catholic hospitals that blurred the boundaries separating the spheres of religious/secular, lay/clerical, and church/state. In Saskatchewan, enlarging government's role in health care meant negotiation with the Catholic hierarchy. It also prompted social Catholics to re-evaluate how the prescriptions of the Canadian left—in this case with respect to universalized health care—could be reconciled with Christian duty. For Von Pilis, prescriptions such as universalized health care were just measures properly instituted by the public authority, with social provisions inextricably tied to providing for the well-being of the "Mystical Body." With regard to the 1962 doctors' strike in response to the *Medical Care Insurance Act*, Von Pilis argued that physicians and health care providers bore a special responsibility. Their role in society elevated their profession from one of "office" to "ordination."⁹⁹ Doctors were as obliged as priests to serve publicly without concern for economic interest or their own (narrowly-construed) civil liberties. Privileging the latter degraded their position. Von Pilis delivered this message shortly before doctors were set to strike in Saskatchewan. He articulated it clearly as a lay Catholic and not on behalf of the Church, but with the imprimatur of the Bishop of Saskatoon, Francis Klein, and with a declaration that it was free of moral or theological error. Thus Von Pilis's social Catholicism suggested ways to bridge the gap between theology and politics. He suggested that the Douglas government's vision of universal health care, with all it suggested with respect to the rights and duties of citizens, was compatible with the social implications and obligations of his faith.

Until leaving Saskatchewan to retire on a piece of land near Catherine de Hueck's Madonna House in Combermere, Bob Von Pilis remained active within the CCF. Von Pilis continued to demand that his social Catholicism (and the Church) remain accountable for and responsive to the social needs of a country founded on Christian principles. The topics of his editorials and public talks expanded from traditional concerns about farming families and small-scale agricultural development to the rights of workers and a Christian attitude towards labour in Canada's industrial landscape.¹⁰⁰ The right to organize workers within labour unions was more than "morally necessary"—it was a

99. F. Von Pilis, "Medicare and Christian Responsibility," Presentation to a public meeting at Sacred Heart Auditorium, Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, 27 June 1962, SFXUA, RG20.3/16/1862.

100. F. Von Pilis, "The Collectivization of Agriculture," Presentation to the Priests' Institute, Kerrobert, Saskatchewan, 18 April 1961, SFXUA, RG30.3/6/5134.

“Christian duty.”¹⁰¹ This fusion of social democracy and social Catholicism was more than hopeful advocacy, he argued. Its failure would signal the loss of a Christian Canada to the exigencies of secularism and capitalism. He drew a stark contrast between the division of church and state (which he praised) and the separation of religion from society (which he feared). The privatization of religion and its concomitant process of “de-Christianization” meant the erosion of a Christian basis for social life. And so, Social Christianity needed to retain a public voice. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, Von Pilis’s voice was one amongst many within the Canadian left that sought to draw agricultural and industrial workers closer together. As the CCF gave way to the New Democratic Party, the fusion of social Catholicism and a social democratic vision for the country became ever stronger. And now, the windows of the Church were beginning to be thrown open across the Atlantic.

Of Antonio Gramsci’s writings on the Roman Catholic Church, Polish intellectual Leszek Kolakowski writes:

In the search for forms in which the new class, striving to dominate social life, might or should organize its own culture, Gramsci frequently addressed himself to the history of the Roman Church. He seems to have been impressed by the ideological strength of Christianity, and he laid particular stress on the care taken by the Church at all periods to prevent an excessive gap developing between the religion of the learned and that of simple folk, and to preserve the link between the teaching imparted to the faithful at all levels.¹⁰²

As the CCF developed from a movement into a political force in Canada, provincially and federally, such Roman Catholics as Von Pilis forcefully articulated an approach to politics that brought intellectuals and ordinary people together. At the same time, they were confronted with a Church in which the university-educated and theologically-adept reformers ran the risk of alienating rank-and-file believers. One theme stressed in the responses that George Hoffman received during his interviews with participants in the era was the proclivity of some educated Catholics to gravitate towards the CCF, in good moral conscience, despite the various anathemas coming from many sectors of the institutional Church. For these Catholics, sympathetic to the Social Gospel, moved by the Christian underpinnings of the CCF, and on their own parallel course developing social Catholicism as a form of “practical Christianity,” support for this movement was an important and welcome expression of faith on the Prairies during the decades leading up to the Second Vatican Council.

101. F. Von Pilis, “Would Christ be a Trade Unionist?” Presentation to the Saskatoon Religion-Labour Committee, 22 January 1964, RG50.1/1/11725.

102. Leszek Kolakowski, *Main Currents of Marxism* (New York and London: W.W. Norton and Company, 2005 edition), 979.

Bermuda Triangle: *Propaganda Fide*, the Archdiocese of Halifax, and the British Government: 1836-1863

Terrence MURPHY

Abstract: *In the middle decades of the nineteenth century, the approximately 10000 civilians resident in the small colony of Bermuda included fewer than 100 Roman Catholics. However, Bermuda was both a major British military base and, from 1824, the site of a large convict establishment with several hulks moored offshore. The result was to bring hundreds of additional Catholics into the colony at least temporarily. Although Bermuda resembled the West Indies culturally and politically, its distance from the Caribbean and important military ties to Nova Scotia convinced the Holy See to place it under the jurisdiction of the Vicariate Apostolic of Nova Scotia (subsequently the Diocese of Halifax). The fact that most of the colony's Catholics were under the direct control of the Protestant British State raised key questions about their religious rights. Bishop William Walsh of Halifax, who from 1842 sent a series of missionaries to Bermuda, was determined to assert these rights, a goal he pursued at the cost of considerable friction with the colonial authorities. Over the course of two decades, a pragmatic accommodation of Catholic demands was achieved not so much by confrontation between bishop and government as by the credibility and good will built up by clergy who served in the colony and by the policy of practical tolerance adopted by the majority of colonial officials. The modus vivendi achieved in Bermuda, though coloured by unique local circumstances, reflects the growing accommodation of Catholics throughout the Protestant British Empire.*

Resumé : *Pendant quelques décennies au milieu du dix-neuvième siècle, les quelque 10 000 citoyens résidant dans la colonie des Bermudes comptaient moins de 100 Catholiques romains. Par contre, les Bermudes furent une importante base militaire britannique, et, à partir de 1824, virent l'emplacement d'un grand établissement de détenus avec plusieurs pontons amarrés sur ses côtes. Par conséquent, plusieurs centaines de Catholiques supplémentaires furent amenés à la colonie, ne fût-ce que provisoirement. Bien que les Bermudes ressemblaient aux Antilles au niveau culturel et politique, leur éloignement par rapport aux Caraïbes et leurs liens militaires forts à la Nouvelle-Écosse convainquirent le Saint-Siège de les placer sous la juridiction du Vicariat apostolique de la Nouvelle-Écosse (devenu par la suite le Diocèse d'Halifax). Le fait que la plupart des Catholiques de la colonie tombaient sous le contrôle direct*

de l'État protestant britannique soulevait des questions percutantes à propos de leurs droits religieux. L'évêque William Walsh d'Halifax, qui à partir de 1842 envoya des groupes de missionnaires aux Bermudes, fut déterminé à faire valoir ces droits, but qu'il poursuivit au prix de difficultés considérables avec les autorités coloniales. Au cours de deux décennies, un compromis pragmatique fut réalisé par rapport aux revendications catholiques, moins en vertu de confrontations entre évêque et gouvernement que de la crédibilité et bonne volonté démontrées par les membres du clergé qui servirent dans la colonie et aussi par la politique d'une tolérance pratique adoptée par la majorité des responsables coloniaux. Le modus vivendi obtenu aux Bermudes, bien qu'influencé par des circonstances locales uniques, reflète l'esprit de compromis grandissant vis-à-vis de la présence de Catholiques dans l'Empire protestant britannique.

The history of the Roman Catholic Church in Bermuda is a story about a tiny mission in a small colony. In the period under consideration in this paper, there were few resident Catholics in Bermuda's total population of approximately ten thousand. According to a tally conducted in 1843, the civilian Catholics, including disbanded soldiers and children over the age of six, totalled sixty-five people. However, Bermuda was both a major British military base and, from 1824, the site of a large convict establishment with several hulks moored offshore. The result was to bring hundreds of additional Catholics into the colony at least temporarily, although numbers fluctuated depending on the regiment stationed there and the ethnic composition of the prisoners at a given time.

By the middle decades of the century, over one third of the British army were Irish Catholics, and in regiments such as the 20th (East Devonshire), stationed in Bermuda in the 1840s, the proportion was much higher. In 1843 there were a reported 350 Catholic soldiers and family members in the colony.¹ The percentage of Catholics in the Royal Navy was much lower than in the army—according to one estimate approximately nine percent²—but Catholics still formed a significant minority. No figures are available for the number in Bermuda; and the fact that they were scattered among various ships rather than clustered on land as part of the garrison makes them less visible as a distinct group. An estimated 140 Catholic convicts were on board the prison hulks in 1846. In the immediately ensuing years, this number rose sharply in the midst of the Famine as Irish Catholic convicts were transported

1. Archives of the Archdiocese of Halifax [hereafter AAH], St. Mary's Cathedral Fonds, Warden's Minute Book, fol. 128.

2. Waldo E. L. Smith, *The Navy Chaplain and His Parish* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1967).

to Bermuda, where they were employed as forced labour in the dockyard. By 1848, approximately 800 of Bermuda's 1,500 convicts were Irish.³

Bermuda was not a penal colony in the sense that Australia was. Prisoners were not dispersed into the community and assigned to private masters as many in Australia were, nor were they expected to remain in Bermuda as settlers when their sentences expired. They resembled more closely the convicts incarcerated in hulks in the Thames.⁴ Like the soldiers stationed in Bermuda, they were there for a limited duration, and like the soldiers they fell directly under the authority of the state.

However transient the presence of Catholic prisoners and soldiers in Bermuda was, Catholic authorities were called upon to provide them with a measure of ecclesiastical oversight and basic pastoral care. A foundation for understanding how this task was accomplished was laid some years ago by John McCarthy and Robert Bérard.⁵ However, nothing has been done thus far to build on this foundation. A serious limitation of both McCarthy's and Bérard's works is that they are based almost exclusively on records in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Halifax. The result is that they treat events in Bermuda and Halifax as essentially a local story instead of setting them against the wider background of changes in the policy of Rome towards North America and of the evolving position of Catholics in the British Empire. The following paper, which focuses on the first two decades of the Bermuda mission, complements the Halifax records with documents in the Archives of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide and Colonial Office papers preserved in the National Archives of the United Kingdom. More than merely adding details, these sources furnish a fuller and richer perspective on events, allowing one to see their wider significance. Records of correspondence and formal proceedings in the Archives of Propaganda

3. The National Archives of the United Kingdom [hereafter TNA], CO37/122/250, Charles Elliot to Earl Grey, 21 September 1848, as cited in Jerome Devitt, "Fenianism's Bermuda Footprint: Revolutionary Nationalism in the Victorian Empire," *Eire-Ireland*, 51:1&2 (Spring/Summer 2016).

4. The clear distinction between the situation in Australia and Bermuda is stated categorically in an 1835 circular from the Colonial Office, which read in part: "Bermuda is not, and was never intended to be a Place of Transportation in the correct sense of that Word. Certain public works being in progress there some Convicts have been sent from this country to labour upon them, precisely in the same manner as others were employed in the Hulks at Woolwich or in the Dockyard at Plymouth." Bermuda Archives, Despatches from the Colonial Secretary, CS 301/9 (1835-1836), no. 8 as quoted in C.F.E. Hollis Hallett, *Forty Years of Convict Labour: Bermuda 1823-1863* (Bermuda: Juniperhill Press, 1999), ix.

5. John McCarthy, *Bermuda's Priests: the History of the Establishment and Growth of the Catholic Church in Bermuda* (Halifax, 1954); Robert Bérard, "The Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Halifax and the Colony of Bermuda, 1832-1953," *Collections of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society*, 42 (1986):121-38.

yield a clearer and more exact understanding of when and why Bermuda was placed under the jurisdiction of Halifax. More important, they show that the decision was not an isolated administrative change, but part of a comprehensive reorganization of the North American church in the post-revolutionary era.⁶ At the same time, the relevant Colonial Office records chart closely the interactions between Catholic clergy and colonial officials in the early years of the Bermuda mission. McCarthy and Bérard identified many of the conflicts which flared up between them, but failed to recognize them as symptomatic of unresolved issues pertaining to Catholic rights in the United Kingdom and British colonies in the post-Emancipation era. Finally, they did not see that the pragmatic manner in which these differences were resolved was a reflection of a wider, on-going accommodation of Catholic subjects by the Protestant British state. These themes will be pursued in the pages that follow.

In the nineteenth century the Holy See was forced to make sweeping changes in the ecclesiastical governance of the North American church. The separation of the American colonies from the British Crown and the increased size and ethnic complexity of North America's Catholic population meant that the jurisdictional map of the continent had to be redrawn. Rome could no longer assume that English-speaking Catholics would fall neatly under the Diocese of Baltimore (established 1789) and French-speaking Catholics under the Diocese of Quebec (established 1674). New dioceses and vicariates, reflecting the new realities, were created in both the United States and British North America.

In the United States, the process began with the erection in 1808 of four new Dioceses, of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Bardstown, and the promotion of John Carroll of Baltimore to archbishop (1811). Two more dioceses were created in Charleston and Richmond in 1820. In the English and Gaelic-speaking regions of British North America, vicariates apostolic were created in Newfoundland (1796) and Nova Scotia (1817), and vicars general with episcopal character were named in Upper Canada and Prince Edward Island in 1819. Over the course of the next few decades, all of these arrangements evolved into dioceses—Kingston (1826), Charlottetown (1829), Halifax (1842), and St. John's (1847). Meanwhile, a new diocese of Toronto was separated from Kingston in 1841 and the diocese of Fredericton (soon renamed Saint John) was created in 1842 through a division of the diocese of Charlottetown. In 1844, Halifax was divided to create the dioceses

6. For an authoritative discussion of this process of reorganization, see Luca Codignola, "The Policy of Rome towards the English-speaking Catholics in British North America, 1750-1830," in *Creed and Culture: the Place of English-speaking Catholics in Canadian Society, 1750-1930*, ed. Terrence Murphy and Gerald Stortz (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 100-25.

of Arichat (later Antigonish) and Halifax. In 1851, Halifax was elevated to arch-episcopal status with jurisdiction over all the dioceses of the British colonies of the Atlantic region except Newfoundland.

Changes were also called for in the West Indies. Before the French Revolution, pastoral services in the colonies of the Caribbean had been provided largely through a variety of “prefectures,” mostly associated with European religious orders. This method of furnishing missionaries for the region had proved unsatisfactory, partly for lack of resident bishops to oversee the affairs of the church. As a result, the idea had emerged in the eighteenth century of transforming these prefectures into vicariates apostolic.⁷ The turmoil and disruption caused by the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars prevented the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide from implementing such a plan immediately. As soon as peace had been restored, however, Propaganda began to restructure the West Indian missions. The first step was to establish a vicariate apostolic in Trinidad with jurisdiction over a large number of colonies, most of which were under British rule. When the vicariate apostolic proved too large to manage, it was divided by the creation in 1836 of two new vicariates apostolic, British Guyana and Jamaica.⁸

The relationship of Bermuda to these new vicariates apostolic was initially very uncertain. In the eighteenth century it fell officially under the jurisdiction of the Vicars Apostolic of the London District, as did other British colonies, such as Newfoundland, but this arrangement was essentially nominal.⁹ With very few Catholic residents, there was no need for the Vicar Apostolic of London to exercise his jurisdiction over the colony, nor was a prefecture established there. As the requirement for active church government increased in the nineteenth century, the problem was how to situate Bermuda in the evolving ecclesiastical structures of the region. As a British colony with a resident population of white settlers and people of African descent, it belonged culturally and politically to the West Indies. From the outset, however, Propaganda recognized that distance from the Caribbean basin would make it difficult to incorporate Bermuda in one of the vicariates established there. In fact, Bermuda is approximately equidistant from Nova Scotia and the West Indies, and Nova Scotia had been erected as a vicariate apostolic one year before Trinidad. Furthermore, an important link between Nova Scotia and Bermuda was provided by the British fleet, which until 1819 was stationed in Halifax but regularly spent the winter in

7. Valentino Macca di S. Maria, “La primavera delle Chiesa nelle Antille,” in *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum 1622-1972*, III/1: 1815-1972, ed. J. Metzler (Rome, Freiburg, Vienna: Herder, 1975), 675.

8. Macca di S. Maria, “La primavera della Chiesa,” 679-680.

9. Codignola, “The Policy of Rome,” 105.

Bermuda. After 1819, the situation was reversed, with Bermuda serving as the principal station and several vessels spending the summer in Halifax. Propaganda officials were aware of this link and cited it in favour of placing Bermuda under Nova Scotia.¹⁰

Accordingly, the Prefect of Propaganda informed Edmund Burke, who had been appointed Vicar Apostolic of Nova Scotia, that he intended to place Bermuda under his jurisdiction, at least provisionally. Burke resisted this proposal, which he saw as too great an extension of his district. He offered only to try to send a priest to visit the island once a year, a promise that he never managed to keep.¹¹ Bermuda's status, meanwhile, remained somewhat confused. Burke seems to have argued at one stage that both Bermuda and the Bahamas were under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Baltimore,¹² a claim that Propaganda rightly rejected, as they had no intention of assigning a British colony to an American diocese. When the vicariate apostolic of Trinidad was created in 1818, Bermuda was included in its jurisdiction, another arrangement which seems to have existed more on paper than in practice. When the vicariate apostolic of Jamaica was separated from Trinidad in 1836, consideration was given to placing Bermuda under its authority. In very short order, this plan was abandoned in favour of giving Jamaica responsibility for the British Honduras. Finally, on 8 February 1836, a General Congregation of Propaganda revived its original plan, this time making a firm decision to attach Bermuda to Nova Scotia.¹³ Bishop William Fraser, who had succeeded Burke in 1827, was informed of the decision in a letter from Cardinal Fransoni, Prefect of Propaganda, dated 1 March 1836.

The placing of Bermuda under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of another British colony was not unique to Roman Catholics. When Charles Inglis was appointed in 1787 as the first Anglican Bishop of Nova Scotia, with jurisdiction over all of British North America, his diocese included Bermuda. In 1839, Bermuda was included in the newly created Anglican Diocese of Newfoundland, with Aubrey George Spencer as its first bishop.

Before 1836, Bermuda's Catholics were completely without the services of clergy. A self-appointed lay leader, Robert Higgs, concerned about the welfare of Catholic troops serving in the colony, organized Sunday prayers in his house for the benefit of a handful of soldiers and their wives, while his daughters offered catechetical instruction to about two dozen children.

10. Archives of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide [hereafter APF], *Scitture Originali Riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali* [hereafter SOCG], vol. 917, fols. 59-70, Litta to the Congregation, 1817.

11. APF, SOCG, vol. 917, fols. 331-33, Burke to Litta, 11 October 1816.

12. APF, *Lettere*, vol. 297, fols. 365-66, Litta to Burke, 21 December 1816.

13. APF, *Acta*, vol. 199, fols. 2a-2d, 13 February 1836.

Higgs was also involved in an unsuccessful attempt to have Catholic soldiers assemble in the barracks for readings from the Missal by a sergeant; and he tried without result to persuade Catholic soldiers to subscribe to the Halifax diocesan newspaper, *The Cross*, as a means of religious instruction.¹⁴ Higgs was inclined to attribute their lack of response to these initiatives to a fear of anti-Catholic backlash. Whether religious prejudice in the army or religious indifference among Catholic troops was the issue, there is no evidence that rank-and-file soldiers showed initiative in seeking opportunities to practice their religion or to obtain the services of a priest. Examples from other colonies indicate that such initiatives were often led by officers or by NCOs who were responsible for discipline and morale among the men.¹⁵ Higgs clearly had the cooperation of at least one sergeant, though to little avail. In 1837, Lt.-Col. Roderick MacDonald, a Catholic Highlander stationed in Bermuda, had written to Bishop Signay of Quebec, seeking his help on behalf of both the Catholic soldiers and lay people of Bermuda.¹⁶ Signay referred him to Fraser but nothing came of this intervention. Higgs, as well as a few other resident laymen such as John Walsh, subsequently appealed directly to the church authorities in Nova Scotia for help, stressing the limitations of their efforts among soldiers and the impossibility of providing for their own spiritual welfare or that of the troops without outside help.¹⁷

The assignment of Bermuda to the jurisdiction of the Vicar Apostolic of Nova Scotia was meant to improve the situation, but it had little immediate effect. William Fraser had few resources and little motivation to address the situation. After a disastrous and short-lived appointment of a wandering, alcoholic priest named William Quinn, he appealed to the government for financial support. Although the preliminary response to his petition was favourable, the aid was not forthcoming, and Fraser sent no more clergy to Bermuda. The most that can be said was that he was the first to broach the topic of a government subsidy for the Bermuda mission, thus introducing one of the major themes in the ensuing story.

The situation improved only in 1842 with the arrival of William Walsh, a priest from the Archdiocese of Dublin, as Fraser's coadjutor. By this time, Fraser had been named Bishop of Halifax, but Walsh was given *de facto* responsibility for Halifax and its environs and for Bermuda. In 1844, when

14. AAH, St. Mary's Cathedral Fonds, Higgs to Walsh, 30 November 1843.

15. See Oliver P. Rafferty, "The Catholic Church, Ireland, and the British Empire," *Historical Research* 84, 224 (May 2011): 297; Michael Snape, *The Redcoat and Religion: The Forgotten History of the British Soldier from the Age of Marlborough to the Eve of the First World War* (London: Routledge and New York, 2005), 169.

16. A. A. Johnston, *A History of the Catholic Church in Eastern Nova Scotia*, 2 vols. (Antigonish: St. Francis Xavier University Press, 1960-1971), 2, 173.

17. *The Cross*, I, 20 (14 July 1843), 29 May 1843.

the diocese was divided, Walsh succeeded Fraser as Bishop of Halifax, while Fraser became Bishop of Arichat (later Antigonish). Walsh saw the situation in Bermuda as directly tied to circumstances in Halifax itself. Halifax was the capital of the province and a major garrison town, with two British regiments stationed there along with detachments of the Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers. When Walsh arrived in the city, Catholic soldiers and their families totalled 750, approximately ten percent of the town's Catholic population. The Royal Navy retained a strong presence in Halifax harbour, notwithstanding the transfer of naval headquarters to Bermuda. Walsh was determined to assert the rights of Catholics in his dealings with the military authorities. His efforts were shaped by his combative temperament and his tendency to celebrate every advance as a personal triumph. Since the situation he faced was confronted in one form or another by bishops in many other military stations throughout the Empire, he saw himself as champion of a broader cause.

The situation that Walsh faced in Bermuda must be seen against the complex and ambiguous relationship of Catholicism to the British Empire.¹⁸ Though defining the Empire as fundamentally Protestant, imperial authorities had to adapt to the growing inclusion of Catholic subjects whose loyalty they wished to secure. Partly this was the result of military victories that brought new territories with majority Catholic populations under British rule. The conquest of Quebec was the landmark case, as its citizens were guaranteed not only religious freedom but legal and financial support amounting to virtual establishment. Similar concessions were subsequently extended to Grenada (at least briefly), Malta, Minorca, and Trinidad.¹⁹ In Ireland itself, following the 1798 rebellion and the formation of the United Kingdom, the government attempted to woo the support of moderates by subsidizing the new national seminary at Maynooth. The Maynooth grant was substantially increased in 1845 in the midst of the agitation for Repeal of the Union. Government assistance, however, was not restricted to majority Catholic countries. In New South Wales, aid was provided for Catholic chaplains, churches, and schools, especially after the arrival in 1831 of Governor Richard Bourke, a liberal Irish Protestant. Bourke's 1836 Church Act superseded the system of *ad hoc* support by making regular subsidies for churches and chaplains available to Catholics and Protestants on a proportionate basis.²⁰ In English-speaking and Gaelic-speaking regions

18. Rafferty, "The Catholic Church, Ireland, and the British Empire," 288-309.

19. Jessica L. Harland-Jacobs, "Incorporating the King's New Subjects: Accommodation and Anti-Catholicism in the British Empire," *Journal of Religious History* 39, 2 (June 2015): 203-23.

20. Colin Barr, *Ireland's Empire: The Roman Catholic Church in the English-speaking World, 1829-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), forthcoming.

of British North America, arrangements were on a case-by-case basis, but salaries for clergy were common.²¹ Meanwhile, Catholic Emancipation (1829), driven in large measure by the need for thousands of Irish Catholic recruits to fight in the American and French wars,²² removed the last major civil disabilities and opened the way for Catholics to participate in political and professional life. In jurisdictions such as Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and New Brunswick, where anti-Catholic statutes had been enacted by local legislatures, elected assemblies adopted relief measures that followed the example of the imperial parliament closely.²³ In fact, Nova Scotia anticipated events by admitting a Catholic to its assembly without requiring the oath against transubstantiation in 1823.²⁴

Notwithstanding the support and freedom afforded Catholics in many parts of the Empire, barriers also remained. Anti-Catholic prejudice was still a powerful force and concessions to Catholics were often granted or withheld according to the disposition of local officials. In India, where Catholic chaplains were initially accredited to the East India Company, modest salaries for priests often went partly or entirely unpaid. Catholic orphans initially received only a fraction of the allowance paid for their Protestant counterparts; and when Lord Dalhousie, Governor-General of India, ordered that they were to be provided with the same level of support, Lord Harris, the local Governor of Madras, refused to implement the new policy.²⁵

Moreover, Catholic Emancipation, momentous as it was, left some issues unresolved, not least of which were the rights of Catholics in public institutions, such as the armed forces, prisons, orphanages, and workhouses, where the Established Church enjoyed precedence or exclusive rights. The plight of Catholics in such institutions was characterized by lack of access and financial support for their chaplains, compulsory attendance at Anglican worship, no provision of religious instruction and reading material for Catholics, and the absence of suitable space for worship. Catholics suffered spiritual neglect and constant exposure to the proselytizing efforts of Protestant clergy. Attempts to remedy the situation were greatly complicated

21. Terrence Murphy, "The Emergence of Maritime Catholicism, 1781-1830," *Acadiensis* XIII, 2 (Spring 1994): 42; J. E. Rea, "Alexander Macdonell," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, VII, online edition, accessed 26 April 2019, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/mcdonell_alexander_7E.html.

22. R. K. Donovan, "The Military Origins of the Roman Catholic Relief Act Programme of 1778," *Historical Journal* 28, 1 (March 1985): 79-102.

23. Terrence Murphy, "Catholic Emancipation," in *The Oxford Companion to Canadian History*, ed. Gerald Hallowell (Oxford University Press, 2004), 120.

24. R. J. Morgan, "Kavanagh, Laurence," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, VI, online edition, accessed 19 May 2019, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/kavanagh_laurence_6E.html.

25. See Michael Clifton, *The Quiet Negotiator* (London, n.d.), 116-17.

by overlapping civil and ecclesiastical authority. Chaplains appointed to the military or public institutions were essentially servants of the state and subject to the authority of colonial governors, commanding officers, or wardens. Church of England clergy, meanwhile, were accorded precedence or even exclusive rights, and often tried to assert control over Catholic priests, limiting or blocking their access to their co-religionists. When chaplains of the Established Church felt that their prerogatives had been violated, they were quick to complain to governors or other civil authorities, often placing the latter in an awkward position between the contending parties. Colonial governors generally aimed to preserve stability and calm in the regions for which they were responsible, and most did not want the peace to be disturbed by religious controversy.

When William Walsh arrived in Halifax in 1842, there was no Catholic chaplain assigned to the garrison. Catholic chaplains had been officially recognized by the British army in 1836, and were in many cases paid a stipend in recognition of their services. But the provision of Catholic chaplains was by no means universal, and the stipends paid to them were purely discretionary. The right of Catholic soldiers in Halifax to attend Mass as an alternative to Anglican worship (first granted in 1811) was respected by commanding officers; but they had to rely on local priests for the administration of the sacraments, visits to the sick, and funerals. These local clergy received no compensation for their services. In Bermuda, there was neither priest nor church, thus no means of providing even a minimal level of pastoral care. Walsh quickly identified the lack of support for Catholic clergy as a *cause célèbre*. Even before he left Ireland, he had vowed to secure two military chaplains, one for each of the two colonies entrusted to his care.

As soon as Walsh reached Nova Scotia, he began to promote his agenda vigorously. He lobbied the governor to recommend stipends to compensate clergy serving the troops and evidently won his support.²⁶ During a visit to London in 1844-45 he pursued the issue in person with senior officials. "I kept up a brisk fire when in London," he wrote to Paul Cullen in Rome, "and since my arrival here [I have] besieged the various authorities with documents and applications."²⁷ His timing was opportune. The 1840s saw growing provision for the spiritual welfare of British soldiers, reflected in the appointment of the Reverend George Gleig as Chaplain General and the expansion of the chaplaincy service under his leadership.²⁸ In the first

26. AAH, Walsh Fonds, 1, 72, Walsh to Kirby, Feast of Purification [2 February] 1843, typed copy of the original letter in the Archives of the Irish College Rome [hereafter ICRA].

27. ICRA, Cullen Papers, CUL/1032(2), Walsh to Cullen, undated (1846).

28. Sir John Smyth, *In This Sign Conquer: the Story of the Army Chaplains* (London: Mowbray, 1968), 63-68; Snape, *Redcoat and Religion*, 88-90.

instance this expansion benefited the Church of England but it paved the way for incremental gains for Catholics and Nonconformists as well. In 1846, Walsh was informed that a stipend of £50 per annum was awarded for a Catholic chaplain in Halifax. Similar allowances were evidently provided for several British North American stations, including Saint John, Fredericton, Quebec, and Montreal, an achievement for which Walsh claimed credit. “Thus even my friends in Canada,” he bragged, “are indebted to my humble exertions.”²⁹ Although the amount granted for Halifax was less than he thought fair, he regarded the stipend as a moral victory. Bermuda was not yet included in the provision of stipends, but Walsh had no intention of letting go of that issue.

In the meantime, Walsh had sent two Halifax priests, one in 1843 (Edward McSweeney) and the other in 1846 (James Kennedy), on short missionary and reconnaissance trips to Bermuda. These missionaries administered the sacraments to soldiers and their families as well as civilians, but were effectively refused admission to the prison hulks by the requirement that they gain the permission of the Anglican chaplain, a condition that they refused to accept. This denial of access to Catholic prisoners became a second major complaint for Walsh alongside the lack of support for Catholic clergy to serve the troops. A breakthrough occurred in the fall of 1846 when the British authorities agreed to a suggestion by Governor William Reid that Catholic clergy could board the hulks by obtaining permission from the Overseer of the convict establishment rather than the Anglican chaplain.³⁰ The priest serving in the colony at that stage was Michael Hannan, a future Archbishop of Halifax, the third clergyman sent by Walsh. Hannan remained in the colony for six months, much longer than his predecessors. Combined with the access he gained to Catholic convicts, his tour of duty formed a bridge to a more permanent mission.

More progress occurred in 1847 when John Nugent arrived to replace Hannan. Not satisfied with gradual improvements, he set out an ambitious and comprehensive plan to put the Bermuda mission on a sound footing. As he told Bishop Walsh, his aim was to “introduce something in the shape of a system as regards convicts, soldiers, chaplaincies etc.”³¹ a goal that required further redress of Catholic grievances. Shortly after his arrival, accompanied by Hannan, he called upon the new governor, Charles Elliot. Nugent raised a number of concerns, including the burial of Catholics according to the rites of the Church of England, the requirement that Catholic convicts attend Anglican worship, and the lack of private space where priests could

29. ICRA, Cullen Papers, CUL/1032(2), Walsh to Cullen, undated (1846).

30. TNA, CO 37, 114/33, fols. 312-314, Reid to Earl Grey, 18 October 1846.

31. AAH, Walsh Fonds, 1, 70, Nugent to Walsh, 10 June 1847.

offer spiritual counsel or hear the confessions of prisoners.³² His assertive demeanor during what was intended only as a courtesy interview reflected the influence of Bishop Walsh.

Elliot, though cautious, nevertheless proved willing to accommodate his requests, provided he could not be accused of overstepping his jurisdiction. The results of the governor's subsequent interventions and official inquiries were that Catholic convicts were no longer compelled to attend Anglican services, and a room in the dockyard was provided for the use of Catholic clergy.³³ Catholic clergy were granted access to a hulk to conduct services and provide the Catholic prisoners with spiritual care. The granting of access to the hulk enjoyed the support of Admiral Sir Francis Austen, who applied to the Admiralty to approve the arrangement,³⁴ very likely encouraged to do so by Elliot. Elliot's cooperation with Nugent's requests reflected a conviction, soon voiced by Earl Grey himself, that instruction in their own faith would make an important contribution to the good conduct and rehabilitation of convicts. In advocating the concessions, he wrote: "I am sensible that great good must ensue from their participation in the reformation efforts so urgently recommended by Her Majesty's Government."³⁵ This pragmatic accommodation of Catholic requirements held promise for the future, but considerable turbulent water had to be navigated before a true *modus vivendi* was achieved between Catholic clergy and colonial officials in Bermuda.

The two biggest issues threatening agreement were the question of financial support for Catholic chaplains and the relationship between the jurisdiction of the bishop and the authority of the governor of the colony. After Nugent, on Walsh's behalf, pressed the demand for a Catholic chaplain's salary, a government allowance for service to the military was eventually approved; but while Halifax was to receive £50 per annum, Bermuda got only £20.³⁶ This "derisory" sum, as Bishop Walsh described it, was especially problematic because, unlike Halifax, Bermuda lacked a large population of civilian Catholics to contribute to the support of clergy, and the cost of travel to and within the distant colony was high. From the government's point of view, however, there were few Catholic soldiers in the 42nd (Black Watch) regiment currently stationed in Bermuda, and, therefore, there was limited benefit to gain from the services of a chaplain.

32. *The Cross*, new series, 3, 29 (17 July 1847), printed copy of letter of Nugent dated 23 March 1847.

33. TNA, CO 37, 119, fol. 208, Philippe to Stephen, 3 May 1847; TNA, CO37/119, note appended to Office of Ordinance (signature illegible) to Hawes, 12 July 1847

34. Richard Blake, *Religion in the British Navy: Piety and Professionalism*, (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press), 147.

35. TNA, CO 37/116/23, fols. 230-38, Elliot to Earl Grey, 11 March 1847.

36. AAH, Walsh Fonds, 1, 72, Phelan to Walsh, 5 February 1852.

Walsh and Nugent complained that the authorities took little account of the much larger number of Irish Catholics in other regiments, such as the 20th, who had preceded the 42nd, and of regiments which were likely to follow.³⁷

When substantial government funding for a priest in Bermuda was finally provided, it was not in recognition of services to the military, but to support a chaplain to the Catholic convicts; and the impetus came, not from Walsh or his clergy, but from the imperial authorities. In 1847, at the height of the Irish Famine, a plan was developed by the Home Office in cooperation with the Colonial Office and Dublin Castle to send 450 additional Irish convicts to Bermuda to be used as labourers in the naval dockyard and other public works. Many of these prisoners were young and guilty only of theft, no doubt committed to cope with extreme hardship.³⁸ The plan called for a dedicated hulk (the *Medway*) to be employed exclusively for Catholics and for a priest to be appointed for their spiritual care.³⁹ Benjamin Hawes, Parliamentary Under-Secretary for the Colonies, framed the provision for a priest as follows:

Regarding the Religious Instruction of the Prisoners, both public and private, as one of the most essential parts of a good system of convict discipline and considering the [presence] of a large number of Irish Convicts, [Earl Grey] is of the opinion that it has become absolutely necessary to appoint a Priest of the Roman Catholic Faith to take the spiritual charge of the Convicts at Bermuda. ...⁴⁰

Instructions were also given by the Colonial Office to place on board the *Medway* a supply of books, “which, considering the religion of the convicts, may be expected to be chosen so as to be available for the use of Roman Catholics.”⁴¹ A salary of £200 was approved and a housing allowance of £40 per annum was subsequently added.

While the allocation of this support was a significant victory for Catholics, the implementation of the plan brought sharply into view the threat of conflict between civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Earl Grey proposed choosing the prison chaplain from the United Kingdom rather than relying on priests appointed in the colonies, thus giving the government

37. AAH, Walsh Fonds, I, 70, Nugent to Walsh, 10 June 1847.

38. Devitt, “Fenianism’s Bermuda Footprint”:148.

39. TNA, CO 37/119, fol. 235, LeMarchant to Stephen, 10 September 1847; TNA, CO 37/119, fol. 237, Hawes to LeMarchant, 20 September 1847. The original number of convicts was to be 300, but to the dismay of officials in Bermuda it was increased at the instigation of the Irish government to 450 (425 civilian and 25 military prisoners). TNA, CO 37/119, fols. 300-01 and fol. 310, Hawes to LeMarchant, 18 November 1847, and Philippe to Merivale, 2 December 1847.

40. TNA, CO 37/119, fols. 288-289, Hawes to Trevelyan, 6 January 1847.

41. TNA, CO 37/130, fols. 7-9, Hawes to Waddington, 25 January 1847.

more control over the selection of the candidate.⁴² Blissfully unaware that such an appointment would cause a jurisdictional conflict with Bishop Walsh, he instructed his officials to consult Cardinal Wiseman about suitable candidates for appointment.⁴³ Wiseman himself showed little sensitivity to the issue of jurisdiction and limited familiarity with the current state of church governance in Nova Scotia or Bermuda. On his recommendation, an Irish priest named Henry O'Shea applied to the government for the post.⁴⁴ A protracted negotiation with the Home Office broke down when O'Shea insisted that a second priest be assigned duties in Bermuda so that he would not find himself isolated without a clerical colleague. It was only when O'Shea withdrew his application that Earl Grey relented and authorized the selection of a clergyman by the Bishop of Halifax,⁴⁵ thus averting an immediate confrontation. Walsh quickly named his appointee (William McLeod) and travelled to Bermuda in person the same year, a visit of which there is, strangely, no detailed record.⁴⁶ His presence, however, no doubt served to emphasize both his authority over, and commitment to, the Catholic mission in Bermuda.

Conflicts between civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the colonies were by no means restricted to Catholics. In 1844, Francis Nixon, the Anglican Bishop of Tasmania, clashed with Lieutenant-Governor Sir John-Eardley Wilmot by refusing to ordain or grant licenses to chaplains assigned to the convict establishment because they could be appointed, dismissed, and re-instated without his approval or permission, thus placing them exclusively under civil jurisdiction. Wilmot circumvented the problem temporarily by designating these chaplains as "religious instructors," and declaring that their ordination was not a requirement for this role. After further negotiations, a workable compromise was reached when it was agreed that the governor would submit appointments and removals of convict chaplains for the bishop's consent.⁴⁷

The tensions engendered by this case were fresh in the minds of Colonial Office officials when a similar issue arose involving Edward Feild, the Anglican Bishop of Newfoundland, whose jurisdiction extended to Bermuda. The dispute in this case was sparked by the arrival of a clergyman

42. TNA, CO 37/119, fols. 286-287, note by Earl Grey on a memo prepared by T. F. E(Illiot), 26 December 1847.

43. Archives of the Archdiocese of Westminster, Wiseman Papers, ABU, Correspondence 1850-64, 67.

44. TNA, CO/37/124, fols. 276-7, O'Shea to Earl Grey, 2 March [1848].

45. TNA, CO 37/124, fols. 294-5, Hawes to Wiseman, 30 May 1848.

46. McCarthy, *Bermuda's Priests*, 31.

47. "Nixon, Francis Russell (1803-1879)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, 2, online edition: adb.anu.edu.au/biography/Nixon-francise-russell-2509, accessed on 19 March 2019.

named Campbell to assume the position of chaplain to the colony's naval dockyard without being placed under Feild's control.⁴⁸ In the prolonged correspondence that ensued between Bermuda and London, the focus shifted to the authority over chaplains to the prison hulks. While the government quickly conceded that no clergyman should be entitled to provide spiritual care to the convicts without license from the bishop, it maintained its absolute right to regulate the times, frequency, and length of a chaplain's visits with prisoners and to interfere on any occasion when the conduct of the chaplain "militates against order, discipline and good conduct among the convicts."⁴⁹ At least for the time being, the dispute resolved so far as the Established Church was concerned by distinguishing between spiritual and secular powers.

For Catholics, however, the question of mixed jurisdiction over the Catholic prison chaplain continued to bedevil relations with the government. A fresh controversy erupted in 1850 when Governor Elliot received a complaint, almost certainly from the Anglican chaplain, Robert Mantach,⁵⁰ that the new Catholic chaplain, Thomas Lyons, had read the banns of marriage between a civilian couple on the hulk, and had done so "with others but prisoners in his congregation,"⁵¹ thus treating it as a place of public worship rather than a prison chapel. In a sharply worded communication, Elliot informed Lyons that "The Hulks are places appointed by law for the confinement of the Prisoners of the Crown in Bermuda and you had no authority to publish the Banns of Marriage between the persons mentioned on board the hulk Medway," and that as a result he was withdrawing permission for Lyons to minister to convicts.⁵² Lyons' offence was exacerbated in Elliot's eyes, and no doubt also in the eyes of Mantach, when it became known that he had subsequently conducted the marriage ceremony only after the bride was received into the Roman Catholic Church (the groom had already been converted).⁵³ Catholic proselytism was thus added to Lyons' alleged violations of the terms of his appointment. While disavowing any intention of wrongdoing and asking to be re-instated as chaplain, Lyons did not hesitate to claim that he enjoyed jurisdiction from the Bishop of Halifax and the permission of His Majesty's government and that this permission

48. TNA, CO 37/113/12, fols. 155-157, Feild to Gladstone, 20 March 1846.

49. TNA, CO 37/113/12.

50. AAH, Walsh Fonds, 1, 72, Lyons to Walsh, 6 December 1850.

51. TNA, CO 37/133, Kirkham to Elliot, 30 November 1850 and sworn affidavit by Kirkham, 2 December 1850.

52. TNA Co 37/133, Elliot to Lyons, 30 November 1850.

53. TNA Co 37/133, Elliot to Earl Grey, 6 December 1850.

included all members of the Catholic Church “both military and civi[an], as well as Convicts.”⁵⁴

Elliot’s dismissal of Lyons was followed by a protracted exchange of correspondence involving Elliot, Lyons, Earl Grey, Home Secretary Sir George Grey, Bishop Walsh, and even Sir John Harvey, governor of Nova Scotia.⁵⁵ A remarkable feature of the exchange is that Elliot and Lyons never failed to express their high regard for one another (although Lyons told Walsh that Elliot was sometimes a blunderer). Due to Elliot’s testimony that Lyons had carried out his duties to his “entire satisfaction” apart from this one “grave mistake,” it was eventually decided that Lyons could resume his ministry on the hulk in return for an assurance that he would not repeat the offence of treating it as a place of public worship. Walsh characteristically crowed that he had scored a triumph over the governor,⁵⁶ but the reinstatement of Lyons owed much less to his intervention than to the pragmatic and increasingly positive working relationship which had developed between Catholic clergy in the colony and British officials.

This positive relationship stood in sharp contrast to the interactions between Bishop Walsh and the civil authorities. Deeply influenced by the Papal Aggression controversy in England, Walsh adopted an increasingly antagonistic attitude toward government officials at home and abroad. This attitude was evidenced in an unnecessarily testy letter that he wrote to Earl Grey following a slight delay in effecting the reinstatement of Lyons.⁵⁷ Elliot, for his part, had come to distrust Walsh. In March 1851, he wrote to Grey complaining of frequent changes in the missionaries assigned to Bermuda (four in the last three years) and also accusing Walsh of taking for himself a portion of the stipend paid by government for their support.⁵⁸ There is no direct evidence to support this charge, but, if it was true, Walsh would no doubt have defended it as a legitimate use of the *cathedraticum*, a tax paid by parishes or missions for the support of the bishop. This long-established requirement under canon law was formalized in the ecclesiastical province of Halifax by the first provincial synod in 1857 in the form of an annual collection, appropriate for a region with no ecclesiastical benefices

54. AAH, Walsh Fonds, I, 72, Lyons to Walsh, 6 December 1850. CO 37/133, fols. 301-02, Lyons to Elliot, 3 December 1850.

55. TNA, CO 37/133, fols. 304-05, fols. 288-292, fols. 221-22, fol. 220, Elliot to Lyons, 5 December 1850; Elliot to Earl Grey, 6 December 1850; Walsh to Sir George Grey, 11 December 1850; Hawes to Sir John Harvey, 12 January 1851; and CO 37/138, fol. 60-62, Walsh to Sir George Grey, 16 January 1851; AAH, Walsh Fonds, I, 72, Lyons to Walsh, 6 December 1850.

56. Archives of the Archdiocese of Dublin, Cullen Papers, 39/2/18, Walsh to Cullen, Feast of St. Catherine [27 July] 1851.

57. TNA, CO 37/138, fols. 60-62, Walsh to Earl Grey, 16 January 1851.

58. TNA, CO 37/135, fols. 152-154, Elliot to Earl Grey, 8 March 1851.

or endowments,⁵⁹ but it was very likely implemented in practice before then. In making his complaints against Walsh, Elliot stressed that he had no further difficulty with Lyons and was content to have him continue in his role. But he worried that Walsh could not be relied upon to appoint a suitable successor. In light of this concern, he revived the idea of appointing a priest from home—or, as he put it, a “temperate and judicious Roman Catholic Minister of English birth.”⁶⁰ Taking Elliot’s advice to heart, Earl Grey issued a despatch on 18 June 1851, ordering that the appointment of the next chaplain to the convict establishment would be made from London.⁶¹ Elliot informed Lyons of this decision a month later.⁶²

The return to the idea of the imperial government appointing chaplains from the United Kingdom threatened to raise once more the potential conflict between the authority of the Crown and the jurisdiction of the bishop. In this case, there seems to have been a wish to exclude Irish clergy, the implication being that they might be “intemperate” political agitators, a concern that was not evident in the proposed appointment of Henry O’Shea (perhaps because he had Wiseman’s support), nor in other correspondence surrounding the renewed proposal to have London make the appointment. The implicit concern that emerges from the despatches seems to point more to Bishop Walsh’s contentious and uncompromising disposition and the risk that this would be reflected to one degree or another in the missionaries he appointed. Although peace had been restored between Lyons and Elliot, Lyons remained adamant in defending episcopal authority over priests serving in Bermuda, to which Elliot replied that the Government was not likely

to relinquish the right to appoint Chaplains to their Prison Establishments any more than to Regiments or to the Queen’s ships however willing and anxious I am sure they would always be to consult proper Ecclesiastical authority in the selection of such persons, and to respect any internal regulations of Church discipline, so far as they might be consistent with the complete rights and authority of the Crown over Public Establishments.⁶³

The matter was put to the test in the wake of Lyons’ death by yellow fever in 1853. Lt. Col. Montgomery Williams, acting governor after the departure of Elliot, wrote to the Duke of Newcastle, the new Colonial Secretary, that

59. “Cathedraticum,” *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, online edition, accessed 17 February 2018, <http://www.catholic.org/encyclopedia/view.php?id=2668>.

60. TNA, CO 37, 135/21, fols. 152-154, Elliot to Grey, 8 March 1851.

61. This despatch, which was marked “Separate,” appears to have been removed from other relevant documents in CO 37/135 and 136. There are, however, clear references to it in later correspondence. See TNA, CO 37/144/40, fols. 228-31, Elliot to Newcastle, 21 November 1853; and CO 37/146/73, fols. 327-33, Williams to Newcastle, 28 June 1854.

62. TNA 37/136/30, fols. 237-241, Elliot to Earl Grey, 22 July 1851.

63. TNA, CO 37/144/40, fols. 228-31, Elliot to Newcastle, 21 November 1853.

“I trust the intention expressed in the despatch of the Secretary of State dated 18 June 1851 is in the course of fulfilment.”⁶⁴ In other words, he hoped that the Colonial Office would follow through on the decision to appoint the next Catholic chaplain from London rather than leaving it to Walsh.

In the event, the Papal Aggression controversy discouraged officials from acting on the policy, as tensions between the government and Catholic hierarchy convinced them that it would be impossible to procure a recommendation from an English bishop.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, Newcastle insisted that any future “selection” of a chaplain by the Bishop of Halifax must be subject to the approval of the governor and colonial secretary, and that such chaplains must give their undivided attention to the spiritual care of the convicts. On the assumption that the policy of choosing candidates from home might yet be implemented when conditions allowed, the acting governor Williams (1854) and the new governor Freeman Murray (1854-1859) appointed priests sent from Halifax as chaplains only provisionally.⁶⁶ These provisional appointments remained the norm until fundamental changes in circumstances at the end of the decade rendered the matter moot.

An issue that raised grave concerns among Bermuda’s Catholic clergy in the early 1850s was the guardianship of Catholic orphans. In one case, two Catholic children whose parents died of yellow fever were seized by a zealous proselytizer, Mrs. Trott, with the help of some Protestant soldiers. Despite the protests of the current chaplain, Patrick Phelan, the garrison’s commanding officer refused to intervene. Another example involved four daughters of a couple who died intestate. Attempts by Phelan to secure Catholic homes for the girls were dismissed by the acting governor, Williams.⁶⁷ A requirement that Catholic orphans be placed in the care of Protestant guardians, once included in the penal code, had long since been abolished, and at this stage was not official policy let alone law.⁶⁸ What transpired in these two cases arose from pure sectarian bias and from arbitrary decisions on the part of the individuals in charge at the moment.

64. TNA, CO 37/146/73, fols. 327-33, Williams to Newcastle, 28 June 1854.

65. This obstacle is flagged in notes by T. F. Elliot appended to TNA, CO 37/144/40, fols. 228-31, Elliot to Newcastle, 21 November 1853.

66. TNA, CO 37/147/9, Williams to Sir George Grey, 14 August 1854; and CO 37/160, fol. 464, Murray to Undersecretary of State for the Colonies, 20 June 1857. These provisional appointments applied to P. L. Madden (1854) and James Rogers (1857). Phelan wrote to Archbishop Walsh that after Lyons’ death, Elliot told him that he would appoint him “pro tem.” AAH, Walsh Fonds, I, 78, Phelan to Walsh, 6 December 1853.

67. AAH, Walsh Fonds, I, 75 and 88, Phelan to Walsh, 22 April 1853, typed transcript; Regimental Commander, 56th regiment, 15 October 1853, typed transcript; Bérard, “Archdiocese of Halifax and the Colony of Bermuda,” 123.

68. In Nova Scotia, for example, it had been introduced in 1758 and repealed in 1826. Nova Scotia Statutes, 32 George II, cap. XXVI; 7 George III, cap. VIII.

Though deeply frustrating and vexatious for Catholic clergy, the controversy over the orphans did not loom as large in Bermuda as questions of access and support for chaplains or of episcopal jurisdiction versus the authority of the Crown. Nor did it reflect accurately the prevailing direction of relations between Catholic clergy and colonial officials in Bermuda. For every hostile military officer or governor, there were more who came to appreciate the good intentions and trustworthiness of the missionaries, and as most, if not all, of the major Catholic grievances were resolved, the missionaries learned to highlight their positive contributions rather than their complaints. There are even signs that the relationship between Catholic and Anglican clergy was improving, though much depended on the individuals involved.

Evidence of this growing *modus vivendi* was evident in several instances. When a proposal was made to appoint a second Church of England chaplain to the prison facility at Boaz Island, where convicts had been gradually transferred from the hulks and where half the inmates were typically Roman Catholics, Governor Elliot advised against it on the grounds that it would greatly upset the Catholic priests.⁶⁹ The new Anglican chaplain at the prison, J.M. Guilding, evidently a man of different temperament than his predecessor, Robert Mantach, renewed steps (first ordered by Earl Grey when the *Medway* sailed for Bermuda but neglected in the intervening years) to ensure that Catholic prisoners were supplied with Catholic bibles and devotional literature.⁷⁰ The new Governor, Harry St. George Ord, gave £40 to the Catholic missionary (James Rogers, future Bishop of Chatham, New Brunswick) to purchase appropriate books.⁷¹ When a shipment of books for Catholics arrived containing the controversial Clifton Tracts, written by two converts from the Church of England, Rogers chose not to distribute them.⁷² Violent conflict between English and Irish prisoners broke out in 1859 but it is unclear what role, if any, religion played in the confrontation.⁷³

The small stipend paid to the Catholic priest for services to the military was cancelled by the authorities in London in 1853, a decision which Lyons viewed as mean-spirited and ungrateful, especially after the risks he had taken (ultimately at the cost of his life) to console victims of the recent yellow fever

69. TNA, CO 37/146, fol. 23. Elliot to Newcastle, 20 January 1854. Elliot had earlier hesitated to build a chapel in the prison facilities because it might cause difficulties among religious factions. TNA, CO 37/137, fols. 27-30, Elliot to Earl Grey, 16 September 1851.

70. TNA, CO 37/166, fols. 307-08, Guilding to Murray, 28 October 1858. See also, AAH, Walsh Fonds, 1, 111, Rogers to Walsh, 29 January 1858, where Rogers reports the support of the Anglican Chief Schoolmaster for this same cause.

71. TNA, CO 37/177/45, fols. 403-07, Ord to Colonial Office, 13 April 1861.

72. TNA, CO 37/166, fols. 307-08, Guilding to Murray, 28 October 1858

73. TNA, CO 37/170, fols. 167-69, Murray to Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, 13 June 1859.

epidemic. But acting-governor Oakley, who had first-hand knowledge of the services rendered by Lyons and his successor, Patrick Phelan, appealed to the home government to reverse the ruling.⁷⁴ Meanwhile, the recurrent injunction that the Catholic chaplain should devote himself exclusively to the convicts was honored as much in the breach as the observance. While careful not to go too far, Rogers, building on the efforts of his predecessor, Philip Madden, worked with the civilian Catholics to develop a viable congregation with a chapel of their own.⁷⁵ Catholic clergy also continued to minister to soldiers and their families when called upon to do so.

Despite the strength of the British fleet in Bermuda, sailors did not figure prominently in the work of Catholic chaplains until at least the late 1850s. Catholic naval personnel were subject to much greater restrictions than soldiers, and these restrictions lasted much longer. They were not formally exempted from the requirement to attend Anglican worship until an Admiralty circular to that effect was issued in 1859, almost a half century after the same concession was granted in the army.⁷⁶ The first civilian Catholic navy chaplains in the empire were appointed to three stations in England in 1856, and even then they were allowed on board ship only when called to attend seriously ill seamen. The prison chaplain remained for the rest of the decade the only Catholic clergyman in Bermuda. It is possible, though by no means certain, that Catholic seaman might have rowed ashore under the supervision of an officer to attend Mass in the dockyard. The practice was at this point implemented only at some naval stations,⁷⁷ usually in ports with a Catholic church, and there is no clear evidence one way or the other for Bermuda in the 1850s. In 1858, an officer aboard the HMS *Indies* named Kerr attended Mass and received communion a couple of times. But when he applied for the use of the schoolroom in the dockyard so that a significant contingent of Catholic sailors of lower ranks could do the same, permission was refused.⁷⁸ While it is not clear whether the refusal was related to Catholic seamen coming ashore for worship or to the use of that particular room (Kerr had requested it because it was larger than the room normally used for Mass), the overall impression is that little was done

74. AAH, Walsh Fonds, 1, 80, Phelan to Walsh, 11 January 1858.

75. AAH, Walsh Fonds, Rogers to Walsh, 85, 5 June 1858, typed transcript.

76. Smith, *The Navy Chaplain*, 76; Clifton, *The Quiet Negotiator*, 106-07.

77. See AAS, Grant Papers, B53, printed copy of a Memorial presented to the late Government respecting the Treatment of Catholic Sailors in the Royal Navy, 11 February 1860: "As the Protestant has his religious service performed on board his ship every Sunday morning, let the Catholic be landed, and marched to Divine Service, under an officer invested with proper authority, to the Catholic church of that port. The Practice has been already carried out in many ships. ..."

78. AAH, Walsh Fonds, I, 85, Rogers to Walsh, 5 June 1858, typed transcript.

during this period to accommodate the religious needs of Catholic sailors in Bermuda.

In 1859, fundamental changes began in the circumstances of the Catholic mission in Bermuda. Philip Holden, the Halifax priest who had recently arrived as prison chaplain, urged the British government to appoint a Catholic military chaplain for Bermuda. Declaring that he was unable adequately to serve the troops if only because of the distance between the convict establishment and the military base, he urged the government to see the beneficial effects that the services of a priest would have on the conduct of the soldiers. “A good Catholic,” he said, “is one of the best and a bad Catholic is one of the worst of Soldiers. . . .”⁷⁹ Holden’s appeal enjoyed the strong support of Lt. Colonel and acting governor A. J. Hemphill of the 26th (Cameronian) Regiment, then stationed in Bermuda,⁸⁰ another example of mutual support between Catholic missionaries and many colonial officials. It also came at the right time, for in 1859 a change of policy in the British army allowed Catholic clergy to receive commissions as chaplains. Bishop Thomas Grant of Southwark, appointed by the English hierarchy in 1853 to negotiate with the government regarding Catholics in the military, was instrumental in achieving this change. An important step had been taken during the Crimean War when Grant answered an appeal from the War Office by arranging for twenty-one salaried, albeit temporary, Catholic chaplains to be sent out to the scene of conflict.⁸¹ Their contributions to the war effort, together with the exemplary service in Crimea of the Sisters of Mercy, paved the way for the new policy. Sixteen Catholic chaplains were commissioned in 1859. Four years later Grant assumed responsibility for all Catholic army chaplains outside Ireland.

The introduction of commissioned Catholic chaplains coincided with the erection of the first Catholic chapel in Bermuda and the opening of a separate Catholic burial ground (though the congregation still barely exceeded 100 people)⁸² and with the final days of the convict establishment. By the late 1850s, the practice of sending Irish convicts to Bermuda had been discontinued, partly to avoid further conflict between English and Irish inmates and partly because they seldom had the skills now deemed

79. TNA, CO 37/170, fols. 352-59, Holden to Hemphill, 29 June 1859.

80. According to Holden, the 26th regiment, though one of the least Catholic in the army, included 200 “Irish and English” Catholics in its ranks. Holden also argued that an army chaplain would “also suffice for the sailors and [civilian] inhabitants.” AAS, Grant Papers, B57.3, Holden to Hemphill, 29 June 1859.

81. Snape, *Redcoat and Religion*, 171.

82. McCarthy, *Bermuda’s Priests*, 49.

necessary for public works in Bermuda.⁸³ No new prisoners of any kind were accepted after 1861, and those who had not completed their sentences in 1863 were transported to Australia.⁸⁴ The effect of all this was to shift the focus of the Catholic mission primarily to the military. A military chaplain, Holden argued, could combine service to the few civilians with his duties to the troops.

The transition took a few years to accomplish. Holden remained in Bermuda until 1863, at which time he was placed on the superannuation list for the convict establishment along with the Church of England chaplain, the prison surgeon, chief medical officer, schoolmaster, and many others.⁸⁵ John Higginbotham, a priest who had come to Halifax from the United States, arrived in 1860 to serve the soldiers and civilians, but he left in 1861.⁸⁶ The first commissioned army chaplain reached Bermuda the same year in the person of John Vertue, the future Bishop of Portsmouth. His appointment coincided with a build-up of forces in Bermuda because of the perceived threat of war with the United States. In 1865, the local government approved a modest grant for the support of a Catholic clergyman (Presbyterians and Methodists already received such an allowance),⁸⁷ and this seems to have prompted Archbishop Walsh's successor, Thomas Louis Connolly, to send one of his priests, W. J. Donaghue, to minister to the lay congregation. Donaghue also served the naval hospital, for which he was paid £20 per annum by the Admiralty.⁸⁸ Donaghue left in 1870 and a decade passed before another priest, Philip Walsh, was sent from Halifax. In the interim, Bermuda's lay Catholics had to rely solely on army chaplains.⁸⁹

Bermuda remained under the jurisdiction of the Archdiocese of Halifax until 1953, when it was finally established as a separate apostolic prefecture. Between 1880 and 1953, Halifax sent one priest at a time to minister to the civilian congregation, which grew chiefly due to Portuguese immigration

83. TNN, CO 37/170, fols. 168-9, Murray to Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, 13 June 1859. "I would urgently point out how very desirable it is that the practice of sending only English Convicts to this Colony should be continued."

84. *Bermuda Online: Bermuda's History from 1800 to 1899*, 30, accessed on February 7, 2017, <http://www.bermuda.org/history/1800-1899.html>.

85. TNA, CO 37/183/80, fols. 577-583, Ord to Newcastle, 22 December 1862.

86. McCarthy, *Bermuda's Priests*, 150, lists Higginbotham as military chaplain from 1861-62. But the Bermuda Parish Register lists baptisms performed by him in 1860 and includes the following note by John Vertue: "The Rev. J. Higginbotham left September 5, 1861." AAH, McNally Fonds, XVII, 2574, Bermuda Parish Register, fol. 29.

87. An account of this provision is contained in AAH, McNally Fonds, XVII, 2575, Bermuda Parish Record Book, fol. 22, where the grant is described as "a tardy and niggardly concession to justice."

88. AAH, McNally Fonds, XVII, 2575, Bermuda Parish Record Book, fols. 26-27.

89. McCarthy, *Bermuda's Priests*, 51; Bérard, "The Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Halifax and the Colony of Bermuda," 124.

from the Azores, leaving military personnel to the care of commissioned chaplains, British until the early twentieth century, followed by Canadian and subsequently American padres. That long phase in the history of Bermuda Catholicism therefore stands in sharp contrast to the early years of the mission.

If seen through the eyes of Archbishop Walsh, these years were characterized by a hard-fought struggle against entrenched prejudice and persistent injustices. The prevailing trend, however, was toward pragmatic accommodation between civil authorities and Catholics. The spirit of “no popery” was by no means dead. The backlash against the Syllabus of Errors (1864) and the definition of the dogma of papal infallibility (1870) lay just ahead, evidenced not least of all by William Ewart Gladstone’s denunciation of the “Vatican Decrees.” The plain fact, however, was that through conquest, migration, and military service, Catholics had come to occupy too large a place in the Empire for any policy other than practical tolerance to be possible. Catholics for their part increasingly recognized the opportunities and advantages open to them as participants in the imperial enterprise. Against a much wider background, the small but strategically important colony of Bermuda offers an example of the increasing accommodation of Catholics in the Protestant British world.

Encountering social change at a time of rapid radicalization of the national Church: The Missionary Oblate Sisters in Brazil

Rosa BRUNO-JOFRÉ

Abstract: *This paper offers a micro-history of the abrupt ending of the pastoral work of the Missionary Oblate Sisters, members of a missionary group from St Boniface, Manitoba, who went to Sao Paulo, Brazil, in 1962. The Sisters' experience is contextualized at the intersection of the social and political configuration characterizing the global 1960s and the efforts of the Holy See and the hierarchy of the North American Catholic Church to secure the Church's place and influence. It is argued that the training at the Center for Intercultural Formation in Petrópolis (founded by I. Illich with support from H. Câmara), the field experience in Brazil, the theological ideas of H. Câmara and P. E. Arns, the coup d'état that took place during their time in Brazil, along with related repression and resistance, put the Sisters in touch with a new kind of social commitment and a new way of thinking about the pastoral work. However, there was a gap between them and the administration of the congregation where residual elements—old way of doing things—still held weight.*

Resumé: *Cet article propose une micro-histoire de la fin abrupte du travail pastoral des Sœurs oblates missionnaires, membres d'un groupe missionnaire de St. Boniface, Manitoba, qui se déplacèrent à Sao Paulo, Brésil, en 1962. Nous contextualisons l'expérience des Sœurs au carrefour de la configuration sociale et politique qui caractérise globalement les années 1960 et les efforts du Saint-Siège et de la hiérarchie de l'église catholique romaine de l'Amérique du Nord pour solidifier la place et l'influence de l'église. Nous soutenons que la formation donnée par le Centre de formation interculturelle à Pétrópolis (fondé par I. Illich avec le soutien de H. Câmara), l'expérience sur le terrain au Brésil, les idées théologiques de H. Câmara et P.E. Arns, le coup d'état qui eut lieu pendant leur séjour au Brésil, tout cela exposa les Sœurs à une nouvelle façon de concevoir le travail pastoral. Cependant, il y avait une différence entre elles et l'administration de l'assemblée des fidèles selon laquelle des éléments restants – l'ancienne façon de faire – avaient toujours du poids.*

Introduction

Microhistory is an important tool for examining human interaction, as it reduces the scope of observations and puts emphasis on contextualization. In this paper, I first provide a brief overview of the social and political configuration characterizing the long 1960s in the global western arena. I will then focus on the Latin American setting and the efforts of the Holy See and the hierarchy of the North American Catholic Church to secure its place and influence. I will close by engaging in a microhistory that examines a particular experience of the Missionary Oblate Sisters, members of the Manitoban St. Boniface missionary group who went to Sao Paulo, Brazil, in 1962. This particular microhistory unveils the weight of matrixes of perceptions and actions from the past, habitus in the Bourdieu sense,¹ during the process of early rebuilding of the “social imaginary”² of the Missionary Oblate Sisters of the Sacred Heart and Mary Immaculate, a Canadian diocesan congregation. It traces how theological changes and critical views of the Church’s politics, in this case, in Brazil, and its impact on apostolate work, were encompassed by a profound transformation of the missionaries’ idea of the self. This micro example exposes the tension between a divided leadership and the lived experience of a small group of Oblate Sisters engaged in a social apostolate in the radicalized Catholic setting of mid-1960s Brazil.

First, a word about sources. I encountered a major limitation with the sources available for this examination of the experience of the Missionary Oblate Sisters in Brazil and the inner workings of the conflict with the governance of the congregation. The congregation did not keep a record and I relied on the narrative of Sister Dora Tétreault, m.o., who had carried on a regular correspondence with her biological sister Thérèse (Sister St. Damien), a member of the Oblate team in Sao Paulo. Sister Dora burned the letters sent by Thérèse, who, along with Sisters Marguerite Pouliot and Lucienne Delaquiés, had left the congregation at the time over differences

1. “A system of lasting, transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks, thanks to analogical transfers of schemes permitting the solution of similarly shaped problems.” Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 82–83.

2. Expression taken from Charles Taylor: “I speak of ‘imaginary’ (i) because I am talking about the way ordinary people ‘imagine’ their social surroundings, and this is often not expressed in theoretical terms, it is carried in images, stories, legends, etc. But it is also the case that (ii) theory is often the possession of a small minority, whereas what is interesting in the social imaginary is that it is shared by large groups of people, if not the whole society. Which leads to a third difference: (iii) the social imaginary is that common understanding which makes possible common practices, and a widely shared sense of legitimacy.” Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2007), 171–72.

regarding their work in Brazil. The fourth sister, Patricia Joubert, who was older, did not leave the congregation and returned to Winnipeg. Interviews with the Sisters involved in the mission were not a possibility. However, *Les Cloches of Saint-Boniface* provided an important source since it followed the activities of the St. Boniface missionary pastoral team in Brazil, of which the Missionary Oblate Sisters were a part, and discussed the Church's situation in Brazil. *Les Cloches* also published the letters written by Superior Jeanne Boucher about her visits to the congregation. The interview with Father Edward Banville, who was part of the team and worked closely with the Oblate Sisters, provided a voice to further contextualize the micro-history at the field level.

Disrupting old lines of thought: The Holy See, the national churches, and the crisis in Latin America

The long 1960s in the Western world brought a cultural revolution and civil movements that would lead to ethical shifts, expressed in new values, attitudes, and flexible notions of the self. Anti-systemic movements took various shapes along with increasing opposition to racial, patriarchal, and economic exploitation.³ There were overlapping political *conjonctures*⁴ that included the Cuban Revolution, the Vietnam War, the Algerian War, and processes of decolonization intersecting with the various movements referenced above. The axes connecting the social movements, including the women's movement, the civil rights movement, and the student movement, along with acts of transgression and protest, were the questioning of external authority, including the church and bureaucratic structures, and the awareness of a restrictive, unjust world, depending on the particular setting.⁵ The scenario was global, reaching even beyond the Western world, although the marks of regional and national contexts and memories generated different issues and ways of experiencing the momentum.

In Latin America, there were overlapping ideological configurations. These configurations denote figurative spaces taken up by constellations of

3. The literature on the 1960s is extensive. See Richard Ivan Jobs, "Youth Movements: Travel, Protest, and Europe in 1968," *American Historical Review* 114, no. 2 (April 2009): 376-404; Arthur Marwick, *The Sixties. Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); Julian Bourg, *From Revolution to Ethics, May 1968 and Contemporary French Thought* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2nd ed., 2017).

4. Concept coined by Fernand Braudel to tackle convergences of medium time-length developments. Fernand Braudel, *On History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

5. Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau (eds.), *The Sixties and Beyond. Dechristianization in North America and Western Europe, 1945-200* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013).

ideas and historical phenomena, capable of coexisting even if in opposition. These spaces were taken by a religious crisis, pluralism, and secularism at the intersection with the Vatican II Council, while national forms of Protestantism expanded; the ideals of the Cuban Revolution (1959) and the emergence of revolutionary utopia in Latin America; and the development of a theology in which the notion of liberation acquired strong political and educational meanings.⁶ The opening of a centre (that became a network of centres) by Ivan Illich in Cuernavaca in 1961, with a counterpart in Anápolis and, from 1962, in Petrópolis, Brazil, to form prospective Catholic missionaries, both lay and religious, is relevant here because the delegation from St. Boniface, Manitoba, that went to Brazil was trained at the Center in Petrópolis. Bishop Sergio Mendez Arceo had made of Cuernavaca a field of Catholic experimentation even before Vatican II, and Illich's centres were a hub of transformative ideas, some very radical, coming from Latin American, North American (US), and European intellectual, religious, and political leaders. The convergence in Cuernavaca of Illich, Bishop Sergio Mendez Arceo, social psychoanalyst Eric Fromm, and Gregorio Lemerrier, Prior of the Benedictine Monasterio of Santa Maria de la Resurrección and an advocate of psychoanalysis, made of the place an exhilarating field, and the centres in Cuernavaca and Petrópolis became beacons of experimentation with ideas.⁷ The overall configurative space was characterized by the Cold War and US projects of modernization, along with the responses from the South, as well as processes of radicalization, including the full articulation of liberation theology.

Bishops in the South contested the approach to Latin America taken by the North American Church and the Vatican as early as 1959, at the First Inter-American Conference (2-4 November 1959) called by the Holy See. It was held at the School of Linguistics, Georgetown University, and presided over by Cardinal Cushing of Boston. Hélder Câmara, who was at the time Auxiliary Bishop of Ríó de Janeiro and would help Ivan Illich to organize the centre in Petrópolis, responded to Cushing, who was obsessed with countering the communist threat. Câmara talked of “the scandal of the twentieth century: [that] two-thirds of humanity remain in a state of want and hunger.” He also said, “the task ahead of us is not to mobilize alms.

6. Christian Smith, *The Emergence of Liberation Theology: Radical Religion and Social Movement Theory* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Greg Grandin, *The Last Colonial Massacre: Latin America in the Cold War* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

7. Rosa Bruno-Jofré and Jon Igelmo Zaldívar, “The Center for Intercultural Formation, Cuernavaca, Mexico, its Reports (1962-1967) and Ivan Illich's Critical Understanding of Mission in Latin America,” *Hispania Sacra* 66 (Extra II) (2014): 457-487; Lya Gutiérrez Quintanilla, *Los Volcanes de Cuernavaca: Sergio Méndez Arceo, Gregorio Lemerrier, Ivan Illich* (Cuernavaca: La Jornada Ediciones, 2007).

Our first object is to lead public opinion to understand that raising the under-developed world is a much more serious and urgent problem than the East-West conflict itself.”⁸ Câmara embodied a Brazil that was an ebullient social setting where the Catholic Church was a strong protagonist.

In 1960, the diocese of St. Boniface had sent priests Edouard Banville and Léo Verrier to Brazil, where both would remain for twenty years.⁹ Banville explained that the mission was within the framework of the mutual missionary help that emerged from Pius XII’s encyclical *Fidei Donum*, published in April 1957.¹⁰ This encyclical called for a missionary commitment in order to encourage collaboration between the dioceses of ancient tradition and regions of more recent evangelization, with particular reference to Africa but within the framework of the needs of the Church.¹¹ Meanwhile, the Holy See aimed at building Pan-American cooperation and mobilizing resources from Canada and the US to strengthen the Church in Latin America in response to the Cold War-related crisis there: “the advance of communism.”

The spread of Protestantism was no less important. The Church hierarchy, in conjunction with US plans for Latin America, took a top-down, centralized perspective, while a number of bishops in Latin America had taken a regional approach to deal with issues of poverty and injustice and to support people’s participation, often in the form of popular developmentalism. One of the scenarios was Brazil, where there was a rapid process of radicalization and counter-attack from the right. It has been argued that the crisis of articulation of all the “national classes” in a common program led to right-wing criticism on one hand and to radicalization on the other.¹²

8. Helder Câmara, quoted in James F. Garneau, “The First Inter-American Episcopal Conference, November 2-4, 1959: Canada and the United States Called to the Rescue of Latin America,” *The Catholic Historical Review* 87, no. 4 (2001): 662-87, quotation on p. 680; Helder Câmara, *Revolution through Peace* (New York: Colophon Books, 1972).

9. Écho du Brésil, Letter from Fathers Edouard Banville and Léo Verrier to Archbishop Maurice Baudoux, Bello Horizonte, 5 November 1960, *Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface* 54, no. 12 (December 1960): 266-69.

10. Pius XII, Encyclical Letter, *Fidei Donum* (On the Present Condition of the Catholic Missions, Especially in Africa), April 21, 1957, accessed on 17 May 2018, http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xii_enc_21041957_fidei-donum.html.

11. Father Edouard Banville, “Missionary Experience in Brazil 1960-1980,” interview and translation by Sister Dora Tétreault, Missionary Oblate Sister, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 16 and 20 August 2013, located in the Archives of the Missionary Oblate Sisters, AMO, Winnipeg.

12. Joseph Comblin, “La Iglesia Latino Americana desde el Vaticano II,” *Contacto X* 15, no. 1 (February 1978), reproduced in ALAI and the Centre de Documentation

In 1960, the Pontifical Commission on Latin America approved the Papal Volunteer for Latin America (PAVLA), an apostolate program for lay people, and on August 17, 1961, Pope John XXIII made his appeal to religious congregations to send missionaries to Latin America. It was the same day that John F. Kennedy launched the Alliance for Progress, a modernizing program to transform Latin America while keeping it under US influence.¹³ Monsignor Ivan Illich started the centers in Cuernavaca in 1960 and started receiving missionaries in 1961. Between 1961 and 1965 (inclusive), 130 missionaries from Canada attended the Center for Intercultural Research (CIC) in Cuernavaca, and missionaries from Canada going to Brazil attended the Center of Intercultural Formation (CENFI). Illich resignified, very early on, the understanding of mission based on his notion of a missionary for the Church as “She,” as the repository of tradition and the living embodiment of the Christian community that he contrasted with the Church as “It,” a self-serving worldly power.¹⁴ Missionaries were expected to incarnate themselves in the culture rather than to act as agents of their own culture, trapped in political agendas. Illich believed in the need for a new pastoral theology and a critical view of the institutionalization of Christianity to avoid palliative measures, which impede actual change.¹⁵

In a conversation with Sister Dora Tétréault, m.o., Edouard Banville, who would work together with the St. Boniface team that was sent in 1962, showed great familiarity with the centre in Cuernavaca and its counterpart in Petrópolis as well as with Ivan Illich. Banville had gone to Brazil in October 1960—before the centres were opened—and had taken a course on interculturalism and religion at the University of Sao Paulo as well as private lessons in Portuguese.¹⁶ Interestingly, and this reveals something about Brazil, when the Canadian priests took charge of the first parish in the French quarter in the north of Sao Paulo, Santa Joanna d’Arch (Jeanne d’Arc), an industrial place with around 35,000 inhabitants, the Mass was already in Portuguese. This was in August 1961.¹⁷ The two priests, Banville and Verrier, chose Santa Joanna d’Arch because the Church had not been

d’Amérique Latine-SUCO, Documentación Política no 7; La Tercera Conferencia del CELAM (1). Montreal 1978, 119-23.

13. A. Casaroli, “Appeal of the Pontifical Commission to North American Superiors, 1961,” Appendix in G. M. Costello, *Mission to Latin America: The Successes and Failures of a Twentieth-century Crusade* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1979), 273-81.

14. Rosa Bruno-Jofré and Jon Igelmo Zaldívar, “Ivan Illich the Critique of the Church as It: From a Vision of the Missionary to a Critique of Schooling,” in *Catholic Education in the Wake of Vatican II*, ed. Rosa Bruno-Jofré and Jon Igelmo Zaldívar (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), 135-52.

15. Bruno-Jofré and Igelmo Zaldívar, “The Center for Intercultural Formation.”

16. Banville, “Missionary Experience in Brazil,” 2.

17. Banville, “Missionary Experience in Brazil,” 2.

completed and had an adjoining rectory with two bedrooms. Behind the Church were other small huts that could be transformed into five bedrooms to accommodate visitors and newcomers, since the “new tiny motel” was expected to serve as a welcoming center for new priests from abroad before they went on to the Intercultural Centre (CENFI, in Petrópolis) and settled in parishes.¹⁸ After six months, Banville was also assigned to Notre Dame de Fatima, four kilometres from Santa Joanna d’Arch, close to the *favelas* (that is, Brazilian shantytowns). He worked with the Sisters of the Holy Names in other parishes in the northern region of Sao Paulo, but the poorest sectors were in the eastern region, where, in 1966, then Auxiliary Bishop of Sao Paulo, Dom Frei Arns, asked him to form new basic communities.¹⁹ The two priests, Banville and Verrier, opened the way for the St. Boniface Pastoral Team that would join them in 1962, two years after their own arrival in Sao Paulo.

Encountering social change in Brazil at a time of rapid radicalization of the indigenous Church

In July 1962, the Missionary Oblate Sisters of the Sacred Heart and Mary Immaculate went to Brazil as part of the St. Boniface Missionary Pastoral Team from Manitoba, responding to John XXIII’s August 1961 call for religious congregations to send ten percent of their membership, over ten years, on missions to Latin America.

The Pastoral Team of 1962 consisted of two priests, along with two Sisters from each of the following congregations: the Missionary Oblate Sisters of the Sacred Heart and Mary Immaculate, the Grey Nuns, the Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary, the Filles de la Croix, and the Chanoinesses Régulières des Cinq Plaies du Sauveur.²⁰ The Oblate Sisters were Sister Marie-de-l’Enfant-Jésus (Marguerite Pouliot) and Sister St. Damien (Thérèse Tétreault), who were later joined by Sister Thérèse-du-Carmel (Patrice Joubert) and Sister Marie-Régina (Lucienne Delaquis). They attended the Centre for Intercultural Formation in Petrópolis (near Rio de Janeiro) to learn the Portuguese language and receive formation in inculturation. *Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface* registered that on 13 April, Father Joao Vogel, OFM, who was in charge of CENFI in Petrópolis and who worked closely with Câmara and Illich, had gone in preparation to St. Boniface to meet Archbishop Maurice Baudoux and the Superiors of

18. Banville, “Missionary Experience in Brazil,” 2.

19. Banville, “Missionary Experience in Brazil,” 13.

20. “Décisions, Nominations et Obédiences pour l’équipe apostolique du diocèse à São Paulo,” *Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface* 61, no. 5 (May 1962): 140-41.

the sending female congregations, as well as the ten Sisters who were the “future apostles of the diocesan team of Sao Paulo.”²¹

The Missionary Oblate Sisters, founded in 1904 in the aftermath of the Manitoba School Question, had previously taught in Residential Schools for Indigenous Children, and in parish, public, and private schools in Canada, playing a role in the preservation of a French-Canadian identity in Manitoba.²² The congregation was unaware of the development of constellations of critical social practices and ideas within the Brazilian Church in line with emerging social and political movements in Latin America. The Church of the North (North-America) and the Church of the South appeared by and large to have different positionings in the political configuration of Latin America.

In Brazil, well before the openness generated by Vatican II, important sectors of the Catholic Church had undergone a process of radicalization that went well beyond what Vatican II would later call for. Elements of radicalization were expressed in regional episcopal conferences, held by Brazilian bishops from the 1950s on; the Basic Education Movement (Movimiento de Educación de Base), which was supported by the bishops; the agrarian leagues; the early stages of the convergence of Christianity and Marxism among Christian Academic Youth (Juventude Universitária Crista); the work of Christian student youth; and Popular Action. There were also early attempts at articulating the Christian faith in conjunction with Marxist politics.²³ When Banville and Verrier arrived in 1960, they very quickly noticed the prevalent illiteracy as well as the unequal distributions of resources and income with consequent dramatic social inequality.²⁴

As previously stated, before their arrival, the first two Oblate Sisters and the two who followed were not aware of the Vatican’s policies toward Latin America, which were in line with US interventionist policies, which, in turn, were seriously questioned in the South. Nor were they aware of the differences between some bishops in the South, such as Dom Hélder Câmara, Archbishop of Rio de Janeiro, and the ecclesiastical hierarchy from North America (mostly US, with a Canadian presence). The latter was allied with the US project for Latin America and fully embraced the rhetoric of the Cold War. Banville, in his conversation with Sister Dora Tétreault, shared

21. *Les Cloches*, “Décisions, Nominations et Obédiences,” 141.

22. Rosa Bruno-Jofré, *Missionary Oblate Sisters, Vision and Mission* (McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2005).

23. Michael Löwy and Claudia Pompan, “Marxism and Christianity in Latin America,” *Latin American Perspectives* 20, no. 4 (1993): 28-42.

24. The views are published in the form of letters in *Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface*. For example, Leo Verrier and Edouard Banville, “Sao Paulo, Brazil, 29 December 1960,” *Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface* 60, no. 2 (Jan-February 1961): 55-56.

that when he and Léo Verrier arrived in 1960, ideas about Basic Christian Communities were already spreading, and people had gathered to form communities. The parishes would become networks of small communities of twenty to thirty people each. Banville mentioned that they were started by Leonardo Boff, a Franciscan, and a young Dominican, Carlos Maesters; also involved was Gérard Cambon, a Canadian missionary in Brazil for thirty years, who later became bishop of Sherbrooke, Quebec.²⁵

Banville, who had worked with Boff, recalled that his teaching was mostly about how to use one's own life experiences to discover the experience of the Gospel in one's life. He said, "So we always started with our life experience to discover how to connect it with Jesus' experience as shown in the Gospel."²⁶ This was in line with liberation theology and with the work and method of Catholic pedagogue Paulo Freire, who had also worked with the Movement for Grassroots Education (MEB) promoted by, and attributed to, Hélder Câmara. In the Basic Communities, Banville said, one cannot possess control; it is the Holy Spirit that controls, and it is not easy to let go.²⁷ Despite the Sisters' initial ignorance of the politics of the Church, it is noteworthy that, before they began their apostolate, the Sisters received training at the Centre for Intercultural Formation (CENFI) in Petrópolis. CENFI was one of the missionaries' formative centres founded by Ivan Illich, with the help of Hélder Câmara and Father Vogel, who ran the Centre. Petrópolis was the place where, in 1964, Illich organized an informal meeting with a select group of critical intellectuals, who met to search for the meaning of Christianity in the context of poverty and oppression in Latin America. In that meeting, theologian Gustavo Gutiérrez presented a paper in which theology was conceptualized as "critical reflection on praxis." The central ideas of liberation theology were discussed at this meeting.²⁸

When their training in Petrópolis was over, the missionaries continued to receive reports from Illich's Center for Intercultural Documentation (CIDOC) in Cuernavaca, reports that became radicalized and open to transformative currents in Latin America and Europe from 1964. One of the first Oblates in Brazil, Thérèse Tétreault, who would later leave the congregation, kept Illich's books full of notes until late in her life as a secular person. In addition to being introduced to Illich's notion of the missionary as incarnated in the people and their lives, Illich's distrust of modernity, and the critique that he developed over time of the Church and its involvement in the US-sponsored

25. Banville, "Missionary Experience in Brazil," 8.

26. Banville, "Missionary Experience in Brazil," 8.

27. Banville, "Missionary Experience in Brazil," 10.

28. Rosa Bruno-Jofré and Jon Igelmo Zaldívar, "Monsignor Ivan Illich's Critique of the Institutional Church, 1960-1966," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 67, no. 3 (July 2016): 568-86.

development project, the Oblate Sisters ended up working under the direction of then Auxiliary Bishop (from 1966) of Sao Paulo, Paulo Evaristo Arns. Arns was known for his progressive stances in a rapidly radicalizing milieu, and his promotion of more than 2,000 Basic Communities.²⁹ The midnight Mass of the team's first Christmas in Brazil was celebrated in the parish S. Rose de Lima, in a chapel that had a partial roof and an altar prepared by four men; the celebrants could not kneel because of the mud. During the evening, they had a delicious supper in the parish house at Joanna d' Arch. They had music, short plays, and lots of wine.³⁰

Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface (1902-1984), the magazine of the archdiocese of St. Boniface, is a barometer of the changes that missionaries such as Banville went through, from their observation of a dramatically different culture grounded on residual elements and awareness of the long-term consequences of slavery and exploitation to a political understanding that emerged from their own praxis. We read in *Les Cloches*: "It is impossible to close the eyes to this extreme poverty, overwhelming and unworthy of a human being. Sao Paulo, city of five million, is not exempt of this kind of misery."³¹ The team, including visitor Antoine Hacault, later the Archbishop of St. Boniface, had spent a day and a night with the poor and worked in the *favela* Vergueiro. The team's understanding of social reality in Sao Paulo was sharpened by Câmara's and Arns' stands on social issues and by discussions that had taken place during Vatican II sessions, and, later, by the analysis of its documents.³² The poverty the team witnessed affected them profoundly. One of the Oblate Sisters wrote for *Les Cloches* that the poor in Canada did not actually know what misery and hunger was; the visits to families plunged them into the painful reality of their conditions of life.³³

Of course, they had to go through, along with the members of the Basic Communities (grassroots communities), the repression after the *coup d'état* that put an end to the left-leaning government of President Jao Goulart. The coup was a response to the peasant and labour movements.³⁴

29. Thomas Bruneau, *The Political Transformation of the Brazilian Catholic Church* (London, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1974); Paulo Evaristo Arns (Cardeal), "Brasil: desafios e perspectivas," *Estudos Avançados* 14, no. 40 (Sao Paulo, 2000): 42-50, 26 June 2019, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S0103-40142000000300005>.

30. "Premier Noël au Brésil," *Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface* 62, no. 2 (February 1963): 53.

31. Antoine Hacault, "Relation du voyage de S. Exc. Mgr l' Archevêque en Amérique Latine," *Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface* 61, no. 1 (January 1962): 31.

32. Banville, "Missionary Experience in Brazil."

33. Irmã (Sister) Maria-de-Jesus, m.o., "Le tourment de la faim," *Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface* 62, no. 4 (April 1963): 97.

34. Joao Roberto Martins Filho and John Collins, "Students and Politics in Brazil, 1962-1992," *Latin American Perspectives* 25, no. 1 (1998).

As Banville narrated, it was hard to do pastoral work in such circumstances. The community often held political meetings during the Mass, which the priest would sometimes shorten, but when the Mass was longer, they would have their meeting anyway. It was like a shared homily. The military always went to watch the meetings in the church. However, there was a military headquarters in the parish, and some of the military there gave the parish leaders a police dog for protection, in case other military officials decided to come and interfere with their meetings and start a fight. At the time, Banville recalled, two Dominicans were arrested and disappeared. Many lay people also disappeared, including several of their leaders, and their families did not know where they were. This was terrible for the families. Banville noted that some local priests said to the missionaries, “It is easy for you to take risks with the military because you can leave; the military will expel you. But for us, if we do that, they will get rid of us.”³⁵ Later on, in the late 1960s and 1970s, several bishops became very bold in their reclamation and supported strikes, even cancelling Mass to allow people to go to demonstrations. Dom Frei Evaristo Arns asked Banville to work in the *favelas* and develop Christian communities amongst the families, something he did for fifteen years, over which time he formed thirty-nine Basic Communities. Sisters from the St. Boniface team often accompanied him.³⁶

The Oblate Sisters, the subject of the microhistory here, closed the mission in 1966 in the midst of a crisis with the General Council of the Congregation. The Church environment played a formative role in their own conception as missionaries and their sense of selfhood. Members of the team had the opportunity to meet Dom Hélder Câmara in encounters and at retreats; he had been at the core of CENFI. Câmara’s influence was powerful in Brazil, and he was often in open conflict with members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. His critique of the Church as institution, its hierarchical bureaucratic structure, its separation from the workers and the poor, and its rich lifestyle was close to that of his friend Ivan Illich. The document he issued at the Vatican II Council, “An Exchange of Ideas with Our Brothers in the Episcopate,” was powerful and recalls Illich’s “The Vanishing Clergyman” or “The Seamy Side of Charity.” However, unlike Illich, Câmara was heavily involved in social action; he actually conducted powerful social reforms, such as the Basic Education Movement and MEB (Grassroots Education Movement). He also had moved people from *favelas*, created the Bank of Providence in Rio, filling it with clothing and used

35. Banville, “Missionary Experience in Brazil,” 12.

36. Banville, “Missionary Experience in Brazil,” 13.

furniture, and made sure that professionals provided free services to those in need.³⁷

The Oblate Sisters completed their training and learning of Portuguese at CENFI and were expected to work in the parishes of Santa Joanna D'Arch and Notre-Dame de Fatima. Fathers Verrier and Banville were waiting for the group of Sisters coming from St. Boniface to organize catechism classes in the six schools of the two parishes (religion was taught in public schools); they were also to do social work with the poor and help in the formation of teachers who would teach catechism. Their duties, of course, evolved.³⁸

Banville related that he never saw a catechism manual there; they had catechism teaching, especially based on the Gospel of Mark.³⁹ The parishioners studied themes related to life, baptism, commitment, property, death and resurrection, meaning of life, love and family, mutual help, and healing. He added that the Gospel of St. Mark contains many accounts of healing (by Jesus), and is also linked with reconciliation and acceptance of others. The message was powerful: Jesus accepts people as they are. As soon as the Vatican Council documents were published, the team and the parishioners "would study them, digest them and assimilate them so much that changes followed almost naturally."⁴⁰ This happened, Banville continued, in all areas in religious education; there were family conferences and gatherings of family household teams. And there were many initiatives to guide religious life and human development. The Vatican II documents *Gaudium et Spes*, *Lumen Gentium*, the Decree on the Apostolate of the Lay People (*Apostolicam Actuositatem*), and the Encyclical *Populorum Progressio* by John XXIII were used in these study sessions.⁴¹ Banville made an interesting pedagogical comment when he recalled that in the moments of prayer and of contemplation after reading the Gospel, the moments of silence were strong. Silence, in his view, is a powerful tool that brings us to dialogue in order to help us accept one another and grow together.⁴² He then recalled one person saying that they often spent their time demolishing walls to allow the word of God and the Holy Spirit to lead them.⁴³

37. David St-Clair, "The Battling Bishop of Brazil Dom Helder Câmara—The Man They Called 'The Electric Mosquito,'" *Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface* 64, no. 2 (February 1965): 86-92; Mary Hall, *The Impossible Dream: The Spirituality of Dom Helder Câmara* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1980).

38. Edouard Banville and Leo Verrier, "Écho du Brésil, São Paulo, 12 February 1962," *Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface* 61, no. 3 (March 1962): 99-100.

39. Banville, "Missionary Experience in Brazil," 15.

40. Banville, "Missionary Experience in Brazil," 15.

41. Banville, "Missionary Experience in Brazil," 20.

42. Banville, "Missionary Experience in Brazil," 10.

43. Banville, "Missionary Experience in Brazil," 10.

The members of the Pastoral Team, including the Oblate Sisters, were exposed to a new way to relate to God and to a strong sense of social justice that was related to their own missionary experience and to the ideological milieu. This influence, judging by the circumstances and shared memories, seemed to prompt them to spontaneously revisit the dimension of their own self, which included the way of treating and seeing their body in the midst of the mission, the way of connecting to people, and the way to attend to their own consciousness and develop a set of values that gave the small group of Oblates their collective identity as missionaries in Brazil.⁴⁴ The formation at Petrópolis, following the centre's programs and Illich's thought behind them, was guided by a strong sense of authenticity that was influenced by existentialism and that relied on the notion of a simple spirituality rooted in the community (as in early Christianity) and embedded in reality and in the life world.⁴⁵ The Basic Communities mentioned earlier would further nourish this initial formation as would the thinking and actions of Câmara and Arns.

"Liberation theology would give," Father Banville said, "an orientation to the Basic Communities, for people to take their own responsibility and [as a result] to define for themselves the *raison d'être* of their own mission and evangelization. At that time we sang: 'Every baptized person is a missionary.' This is part of their identity, so it was very powerful."⁴⁶ In Banville's view, a number of Council documents were inspired by what the Church was already experiencing in Latin America.⁴⁷

The Sisters had been constrained by an "emotional regimen" grounded in assumptions regulating their bodies and minds and setting expectations around how to feel and express or contain emotions, and how to relate to the "world" and to the people in that world of sin. Suddenly, they were immersed in a Catholic world that challenged all those assumptions and the hierarchical order itself. The teams became very familiar with Hélder Câmara's critique of the Church and worked with Arns, the progressive-minded auxiliary bishop of Sao Paulo.

44. Jerrold Siegel, *The Idea of the Self: Thought and Experience in Western Europe since the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), Chapter 1. Siegel identifies three dimensions when analyzing the basis of selfhood: the bodily or material dimension, involving the physical, corporeal, existence, needs, inclinations, and ways of seeing and treating our body; the relational dimension, which develops from social and cultural interactions, the connections that give us our collective identity, shared orientations, values, idioms, and specific languages; and the dimension reflectivity, that is, the capacity to make the world and our existence objects of our observation, to attend to our own consciousness, and to create a distance with our own existential conditions.

45. Bruno-Jofré and Zaldívar, "The Center for Intercultural Formation."

46. Banville, "Missionary Experience in Brazil," 8. Narration provided by Sister Dora Tétrault, m.o., who burned the letters sent by her biological sister.

47. Banville, "Missionary Experience in Brazil," 8.

Meanwhile, with the election of Sister Jeanne Boucher as General Superior in 1963, the Missionary Oblate Congregation in Winnipeg had just started to move into what is known as “the therapeutic phase” of the congregation.⁴⁸ This phase was characterized by a rapid change in perceived obsolete customs and traditions that affected the Sisters’ daily life that, in the view of many Sisters, fostered immaturity and inequality. The “therapeutic” process that reached a high point in 1968–69 began during the time of the sessions of Vatican II (1963–5), after the intense denial of change by the previous Superior Mother, Jean-de-la-Croix, who wanted to maintain the status quo, thereby failing to respond to the signs of the time.⁴⁹ Although Mother de-la-Croix, who had sent the Sisters to Brazil in 1962, was no longer in charge, her powerful influence on three of the councillors remained. The change generated, in older Sisters, tensions and fears around setting aside old ways. These can be described as lasting transposable dispositions, conceptualized by Bourdieu as *habitus*.⁵⁰

The new missionary experience and its context and the transitional situation at the motherhouse explain why the Oblate Sisters’ work in Brazil did not end well. The new Superior, Sister Jeanne Boucher, visited the mission more than once and had some understanding of the situation. The organization of the apostolate, the new ways of communicating with the people in the parishes and grassroots communities, the climate, and emerging practical considerations demanded adaptations much beyond the practice in Canada, as well as a more substantial change to the habit (light grey colour, different fabric, shorter, a simpler head dress). Another key issue or bone of contention between Bishop Arns and the Oblate Sisters’ missionary team on one side, and the majority of the Oblate leadership team in Canada on the other, centered on the formation of prospective Brazilian recruits (young women who had asked to join the Oblate Congregation). The leadership team wanted them to be trained in Canada, while Bishop Arns and the Sisters in Sao Paulo, for obvious reasons, insisted that formation should take place in Brazil.

During one of her visits, Superior Jeanne Boucher gave verbal permission regarding the formation of recruits and modifications to the Sisters’ habit and lifestyle. When she returned to Winnipeg and reported to the Council, the approval was denied by the majority; the Superior had to withdraw the

48. Lawrence Cada, et al., *Shaping the Coming Age of Religious Life* (New York: Seabury Press, 1979).

49. See, for example, “Lettre Circulaires de Soeur M. Jeanne-d’Arc (Soeur Jeanne Boucher),” m.o., Supérieure Générale, 24 August 1968. At the time when the document was consulted in 2005, it was located in the Archives of the Missionary Oblate Sisters, AMO, Winnipeg.

50. See footnote 1.

permission. Arns told the Sisters in Sao Paulo that this was not acceptable and that the Council knew nothing about their working conditions. He asked them to go to Winnipeg to talk to the Council personally. When the Sisters wrote to Winnipeg, the response was, “Do not come, we are not giving you permission.” Arns maintained they should go. In addition, the Sisters had developed a new vision, a new mentality, a way to think of themselves differently, and a way of building connection. Two of them, Sisters Pouliot and Delaquis, decided to go home to Winnipeg, hoping they would be better understood in person. They wore their new version of the habit. On their way, they sent a telegram from New York advising the General Administration of their arrival. They soon found out that they were not welcome and that open dialogue was impossible. The Council members were divided three against two in rejecting the request for changes, which was rendered as a matter of obedience, or in this case, disobedience. The locus of signifiers, the habit being one of them, and uniformity remained the ideal of the past, to which the Sisters in Brazil were expected to conform. Consequently, they were sent back to Brazil empty-handed. Once in Brazil, under such duress, three of them decided to leave the congregation.⁵¹ As a result, the Oblate mission was terminated in 1966. In Brazil, the question of the habit thus became a peculiar detonator in a particular crisis, in which the Sisters’ rebuilding of the self as missionaries intersected with a new theological and political frame of reference in the field and within a congregational leadership in transition.

Conclusion

The CENFI training center, the missionary experience in Brazil, the theological ideas of Câmara and Arns, and the *coup d'état* with its repression and resistance, were the first contacts the Oblate Sisters had with a historical context that demanded from them a new kind of social commitment and openness to the world—a new sense of being religious. The Brazilian context was suffused with effervescent social movements and a Church already in the process of change. As the conversation Sister Dora Tétréault had with Father Edouard Banville made clear, a transformative notion of social justice and mission had permeated the way of thinking of the Pastoral Team from St. Boniface and remained throughout the various facets of their process of change.

The abrupt ending of the Oblate Sisters’ mission in Brazil is an example of the weight of residual elements, *habitus*, from the past in early processes of change, and of the transformational impact that emerges from the interaction with a changing setting. The local radicalization of the Church in Brazil,

51. Narration provided by Sister Dora Tétréault, m.o.

nourished by an emerging theology that led to a contestation of the political positioning of the US Church in Latin America, and to imagined new forms of education, also created ways to deal with missionary work that were far from the reaches of the imaginary of the Oblate leadership at the time.

Beyond their Mission: Solidarity, Activism and Resistance Among Ontario-based Women Religious Serving in Latin America

Christine GERVAIS and Shanisse KLEUSKENS

Abstract: *As the mission priorities and practices of women religious in Latin America shifted towards, or at least involved, Vatican II-inspired advocacy and liberation theology-oriented activism from the mid-1960s onward, they had to contend with controversial and sometimes dangerous encounters involving considerable risks and serious repercussions. Within this context, this article sheds light on the experiences of eight Ontario-based, Canadian, current and former women religious in Latin American missions. Building on scholarship that examines the roles played by women religious in advancing Vatican II and liberation theology-based reforms, this article brings to light the risks and repercussions associated with both their social justice efforts and resistance tactics. In so doing, we illuminate the voices of oft-hidden women religious and the extent to which those featured herein were willing not only to innovatively counter such resistance, but also to endanger themselves as they advocated both with, and on behalf of, the people they served.*

Resumé : *À mesure que les priorités et les pratiques en matière de missions chez les religieuses de l'Amérique latine s'accommodaient de la philosophie du IIe concile du Vatican et de l'activisme inspiré par la théologie de la libération à partir des années 1960, elles devaient affronter de nombreuses situations controversées et parfois dangereuses qui comprenaient des risques considérables et des répercussions sérieuses. Dans ce contexte, cet article se penche sur les expériences de huit religieuses, certaines à la retraite, certaines toujours en service au sein de missions en Amérique latine. Prenant comme tremplin les recherches examinant les rôles joués par les religieuses dans l'avancement des réformes proposées par le IIe concile du Vatican et la théologie de la libération, cet article met en lumière les risques et répercussions associés à leurs efforts pour obtenir la justice sociale ainsi que leurs stratégies de résistance. Ce faisant, nous donnons la parole à ces religieuses souvent contraintes au silence et nous soulignons la mesure dans laquelle les femmes ici étudiées étaient prêtes à s'opposer de façon innovatrice à cette résistance, mais aussi à se mettre en péril en défendant les gens qu'elles servaient.*

Introduction

Women religious have been establishing and maintaining foreign missions throughout the world for centuries. The original purposes of such missionary work were essentially proselytic and charitable. While they predictably faced various operational obstacles as they offered pioneering support in socio-economically disadvantaged and under-serviced circumstances, some of the contexts that women religious encountered have led them onto complex and often volatile political, social, and economic terrains—and arguably ones that were far beyond, albeit related to, their immediate educational, health care, and social welfare priorities. As a result, for many women religious working in such settings, their attention was inevitably drawn to the broader structural conditions generating such precarious backdrops—ones upon which, as they realized, charitable efforts would have limited sustainable impact.

As the practices of women religious shifted towards, or at least also involved, Vatican II-inspired advocacy and liberation theology-oriented activism from the mid-1960s onward, they contended with controversial and sometimes dangerous encounters involving serious threats and considerable consequences. Situated within this context, this article sheds light on the experiences of eight Canadian women religious who served in missions in two Latin American countries from the mid-twentieth century until the early twenty-first century. Building on scholarship that examines the roles played by women religious in advancing Vatican II and liberation theology-based reforms, and by extension in activist or politically engaged movements in missions abroad,¹ this article brings to light the risks and repercussions associated with both their development efforts and resistance tactics. In so doing, we illuminate the extent to which the women religious featured herein were willing, not only to innovatively counter such resistance, but also, to endanger themselves as they advocated both with, and on behalf of, the people they served.

1. Rosa Bruno-Jofré, “The Missionary Oblate Sisters: Renewal and the Tortuous Journey of the Prophetic Feminist Vision of Alice Trudeau,” in *Vatican II and Beyond: The Changing Mission and Identity of Canadian Women Religious*, ed. Rosa Bruno-Jofré, Heidi MacDonald, and Elizabeth M. Smyth (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2017): 55–105; Rosa Bruno-Jofré and Ana Jofré, “Reading the Lived Experience of Vatican II—Words and Images: The Canadian Province of the Sisters of Our Lady of Missions in Peru,” *CCHA Historical Studies* 81 (2015): 31–51; and Catherine Foisy, “Des Québécois aux frontières : dialogues et affrontements culturels aux dimensions du monde. Récits missionnaires d’Asie, d’Afrique et d’Amérique latine (1945-1980)” (Ph.D. diss., Concordia University, 2012).

A Note on Methods and Ethics

The eight women featured in this article consisted of seven women religious and one former woman religious from two distinct Ontario-based religious congregations.² Sisters Ella, Edna, Nellie, Noreen, and Penelope belong to the same congregation, which established their mission in Peru in 1964, while Sisters Josephine, Shannon, and former Sister Judith were part of the same congregation, which established their mission in the Dominican Republic in 1951. All of these women recounted a profound interest in carrying out missionary work abroad. Sister Noreen's reflection on how her calling to religious life was intertwined with the appeal of foreign missions echoed the sentiments of all the women herein:

I wanted to become a sister ... why did I, really, God had always been very significant in my life, so it was the idea of giving oneself completely and in the back of my mind was, the epitome of that was missionary work, becoming a missionary, that seemed to embody the total self-giving ... for God, you know to drop everything and go somewhere.³

To preserve the informants' anonymity, pseudonyms are used and the names of congregations and their specific geographic locations both in Ontario and within the Latin American countries are omitted. While this concealment of identity is unusual in traditional historical writing, the women only agreed to participate in the broader study⁴ on the condition of anonymity due to concerns pertaining to their gendered experiences within the Roman Catholic Church.⁵ Despite the loss of historical and geographical specificity resulting from this ethical agreement between the researcher and the participants, the women's verbatim accounts, paired with the dates, ages, locations and duties documented in Table 1, provide credible and illuminating

2. Of the thirty-two women who were interviewed by the authors in their study and who were members of eight Ontario-based congregations, eleven served in three countries in Africa, two countries in Asia, and four countries in North (inclusive of the Caribbean) and South America. This article only features the accounts of the women who served in two Latin American countries. The women's accounts were recorded during semi-structured interviews and written questionnaires, as well as through participant observation between December 2008 and September 2013 as part of a broader study of current and former women religious in Ontario, Canada. For a profile of each current or former sister's year and age at entry into the congregation, total years as a Sister, date of interview and age at interview, and mission years and duties, please consult Table 1.

3. Interview with Sister Noreen, 13 April 2011.

4. See Christine Gervais, *Beyond the Altar: Women Religious, Patriarchal Power and the Church* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2018).

5. See Joan Chittister, *Called to Question: A Spiritual Memoir* (Oxford: Sheed & Ward, 2004); Elizabeth A. Johnson, *She Who Is: The Mystery of God in Feminist Theological Discourse* (New York, Crossroad, 2002); and Sandra Schneiders, *Buying the Field: Catholic Religious Life in Mission to the World* (Mahwah: Paulist Press, 2013).

sources of oral history and counter narratives that are otherwise fated to be unspoken and subsequently lost to the past.

Our ethically minded methodological sensibility is consistent with recent historical literature that argues for the validity of oral history while protecting informants' identities, particularly in research settings fraught with political tensions and past traumas.⁶ While naming participants and providing identifying details lends credibility to historical research participants' accounts, such an approach was regrettably not employed in this study due to the aforementioned risks.⁷ The provision of anonymity necessarily offered a safe space for the women interviewed to share "unspoken or hidden narratives"⁸ that they otherwise may not have divulged if identified out of fear of reprisal or compromise to their safety, providing in return a nuanced understanding of the history of the Catholic women's religious orders featured herein. As such, and contrary to Rolph's contention that anonymity results in "condemning participants to remain hidden,"⁹ the use of anonymity provided safe conditions to *unhide* the historical experiences and accounts of women religious that are "notably absent from the androcentric Catholic tradition"¹⁰ and that traditional historical methodologies risk losing. And so, at the cost of losing a measure of historical specificity, these women's previously hidden narratives are brought to light.

Beyond Charity and Towards Solidarity

While originally engaged in what many would refer to as evangelization and Christianization projects, sisters were also heavily involved in humanitarian service—feeding the poor, caring for the sick, educating the children—support that was very similar to what they contributed within the Canadian and American domestic health care, education, and social work sectors.¹¹ However, given the political and economic contexts in which many of them

6. See, for example, Erin Jessee, "The Limits of Oral History: Ethics and Methodology Amid Highly Politicized Research Settings," *The Oral History Review* 38, no. 2, (2011): 287–307; Caitríona Ní Laoire, "To Name or Not to Name: Reflections on the Use of Anonymity in an Oral Archive of Migrant Life Narratives," *Social & Cultural Geography* 8, no. 3 (2007): 373–90.

7. Ní Laoire, 376–77.

8. Ní Laoire, 377; see also Jessee, 288–89, 297–99 on the use of anonymity to protect research participants from potential negative repercussions.

9. As cited in Joanna Bornat and Polly Russell, "Conference Reports," *Oral History* 32, no. 1 (2004): 33.

10. See Gervais, 13; and Johnson, 61.

11. See, for example, Carol K. Coburn, "The Selma effect: Catholic nuns and social justice 50 years on," *Global Sisters Report*, 9 March 2015, accessed on 29 June 2018, <https://www.globalsistersreport.org/news/selma-effect-catholic-nuns-and-social-justice-50-years-21201>.

Historical Studies
Participants' Profiles
(Details as of the date of the interview or questionnaire)

Pseudonym	Year of Entry	Age at Entry	Mission Location	Mission Years	Mission Duties	Years as Sister	Interview Date	Age at Interview
Sr. Edna	1954	18	Peru	1969-1983	Teacher Pastoral Care Worker	55	11 May 2009	73
Sr. Ella	1953	18	Peru	1979-1984	Formation Director	56	17 March 2009	74
Sr. Josephine	1952	19	Dominican Republic	1963-1975 1986-2000	Teacher, Principal	57	25 March 2009	76
Judith	1951	17	Dominican Republic	1958-1970	Teacher, Principal	20	17 August 2009	76
Sr. Nellie	1947	19	Peru	1964-2004	Teacher, Superior Parish Worker, Catechetical Director	63	11 May 2009	81
Sr. Noreen	1963	20	Peru	1974-1988	Teacher, Local Superior, Formation Director, Pastoral Care Worker	48	13 April 2011	68
Sr. Penelope	1965	18	Peru	1980-2003	Teacher, Pastoral Care Worker, Formation Director	44	20 April 2009	62
Sr. Shannon	1937	17	Dominican Republic	1958-2006	Teacher, (Elementary and Adult) Catechetical Programs	72	4 February 2009 (Questionnaire)	91

served while abroad, the sisters found themselves addressing a variety of other complex and intersecting social, political, and economic issues. While some have remained involved in parish and catechetical (that is, religious and spiritual endeavours) projects, many have concentrated the majority of their efforts on working in solidarity with marginalized people. Contrary to popular presumptions, such feminist and social justice work is now most often undertaken without evangelization conditions attached.

The sisters in this study proudly recalled that when they carried out humanitarian work, their efforts were aimed towards the most vulnerable populations. They continue to provide a range of educational, medical, and social services to the most economically impoverished, culturally marginalized, and geographically dislocated populations in their surrounding areas. They offer alternative schooling, housing, and working arrangements for children and adults who depend on landfills and the streets for their survival. They prioritize relief for those who are most in need in the aftermath of natural disasters, including hurricanes and earthquakes. They work both charitably for, and in solidarity with, ostracized populations (including indigenous groups and refugees, as well as physically and mentally challenged people) in order to provide both short-term respite and long-term sustainability aimed at improving their dignity and well-being.

Given the complex contexts in which the women religious serve, it is difficult to distinguish between where their humanitarian help ends and their social justice advocacy begins. Such is certainly the case in the realm of education, where their endeavours have involved educating marginalized people about their human rights.¹² In so doing, women religious are not only providing greater access to education, but also, they are establishing educational opportunities that generate awareness about justice and empower marginalized people to effect human rights-oriented progress for themselves and their communities. Such wider advocacy and education-based efforts are consistent with a combination of social justice-oriented approaches that many sisters doing missionary work have embraced, including Gustavo Gutiérrez's liberation theology and Paulo Freire's critical pedagogy.¹³

12. Despite these positive contributions, it is essential to acknowledge the past abuses perpetrated by women religious in the context of education, such as their complicity in the harms against Indigenous children in Canada's residential school system. For more information on the residential school system, see Alvin Finkel, *Social Policy and Practice in Canada: A History* (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2006), 72.

13. See Gustavo Gutierrez, *A Theology of Liberation*, translated by Sister Caridad Inda and John Eagleson (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1973); and Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed (30th Anniversary Ed.)*, translated by Myra Bergman Ramos (New York: Continuum, 2005).

Inspired by Liberation Theology and Vatican II Priorities

As lived and described by the women featured herein, the role of Catholic women religious in Canada and elsewhere underwent a significant shift during the mid-to-late twentieth century, when many actively sought involvement in political and social justice-oriented activities that deviated from their traditional charitable roles.¹⁴ In particular, the gradual embracing of liberation theology among some Church leaders and the foundation laid by Vatican II catalyzed the shift in women religious' meaning of mission into one of working in solidarity with and for the poor and their struggles rather than a mission of evangelizing and charitable assistance.¹⁵ Such a social justice orientation rippled into the future domestic and international endeavours of women religious aimed at dismantling systemic injustices alongside, and in solidarity with, the oppressed of their communities.¹⁶

Bruno-Jofré and Jofré note that mission work in Latin America (and arguably around the world) and social justice activism in such contexts require an understanding of its growth “at the intersection of Vatican II, the Peruvian Revolution, Medellín (Colombia), and later Puebla (Mexico), and in the cradle of liberation theology,”¹⁷ particularly emerging from the

14. This is not to insinuate, however, that religious orders, and the sisters and priests who worked within them were devoid of political opinions or action prior to Vatican II. See Margaret Susan Thompson, “Sisters in the public square: Persuasion, politics and prayer,” *Global Sisters Report* 30 June 2018, accessed 29 August 2018, <http://www.globalsistersreport.org/column/justice-matters/trends/sisters-public-square-persuasion-politics-and-prayer-40711>; and Michael James O’Hearn, “The Political Transformation of a Religious Order” (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1983).

15. The Vatican II documents *Gaudium et Spes*, *Lumen Gentium*, and *Perfectae Caritatis* were particularly influential in sisters’ mid-to-late 1960s reconsiderations as they responded “to the call by Pope John XXIII for a renewed mission in Latin America.” See Bruno-Jofré & Jofré, 39. See also, Rosa Bruno-Jofré, “The Process of renewal of the missionary oblate sisters, 1963–1989,” in *Changing Habits: Women’s Religious Orders in Canada*, ed. Elizabeth M. Smyth (Ottawa: Novalis, 2007), 247–73; Thompson, para. 21; Sandra Schneiders, “Why they stay(ed),” *National Catholic Reporter*, 17 August 2009, para. 8, 28–32, accessed 29 August 2018, <https://www.ncronline.org/news/global-sisters-report/why-they-stayed>; Foisy; Mary Ann Foley, “Prophets on the Bus? Women Religious’s Self-Understanding since the Second Vatican Council,” *New Theology Review* 28, no. 1 (2015): 12–19, accessed 29 May 2019, <http://newtheologyreview.com/index.php/ntr/issue/view/76>; and Carol Garibaldi Rogers, “Overlooked Narrators: What Women Religious Can Contribute to Feminist Oral History,” *Frontiers* 19, no. 3 (1998): 157–70, see 158–59.

16. See, for example, Amy L. Koehlinger, *The New Nuns: Racial Justice and Religious Reform in the 1960s* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 23, 145, 227; Ryan Murphy, “Promises unfulfilled: American Religious Sisters and Gender Inequality in the Post-Vatican II Catholic Church,” *Social Compass* 61, no. 4 (2014): 599; and Thompson.

17. Bruno-Jofré & Jofré, 41.

work of Father Gustavo Gutierrez in Peru in the 1970s (see *A Theology of Liberation* by Gutierrez, published in 1973).¹⁸ His philosophy questions the hegemonic understandings of the Church's role in traditional charitable and evangelical work, and refocuses the "meaning of Christian living" to one committed to working in solidarity with the poor for the end of the social and economic inequalities as the conditions of their suffering, rather than the short-termed mitigation of the signs and symptoms of poverty.¹⁹ Ninety-one year old Sister Shannon, who started her nearly fifty years of service in the Dominican Republic in 1958, conveyed the intersecting influences:

The documents of Vatican II did stir us up for many who saw need for changes. Added to that were the Documents of Medellin. Many religious felt the call to live more closely with the poor and a number of members of different Communities did so with various reactions from more conservative members.²⁰

Importantly, liberation theology harnessed the existing political sentiments among some Catholic leaders and laypersons already involved with community activism—the philosophy itself was present in the Catholic Action movement of the early 1900s, which was "concerned with the plight of workers and the living conditions produced by capitalism."²¹ Despite this movement within the Catholic Church, both the employment of liberation theology and the social justice activism of women religious were not unanimously embraced nor, in some cases, even tolerated, by the clergy or laity.²²

Many of the women, and particularly Ella, Edna, Noreen, Judith and Penelope, reflected on how their learning about, and embracing of, liberation theology manifested in their social justice practices while serving in their respective mission countries, be it through boycotts of companies deemed corrupt, protests against state repression, or outreach and advocacy for racial and gender equality. Sister Edna, who served as a teacher in Peru from 1969 to 1983, fondly recalled her introduction to liberation theology and how

18. For a historical exploration of this movement, see Christian Smith, *The Emergence of Liberation Theology: Radical Religion and Social Movement Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975).

19. See, Milagros Peña, "Liberation Theology in Peru: An Analysis of the Role of Intellectuals in Social Movements," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 33, no. 1 (1994), 37. See also, Bruno-Jofré & Jofré; Theresa Keely, "Reagan's Real Catholics vs. Tip O'Neill's Maryknoll Nuns: Gender, Intra-Catholic Conflict, and the Contrasts," *Diplomatic History* 40, no. 3 (2016): 530-58; and Michael O'Kane, *Beyond our Vision: Journey of a Married Priest* (Ottawa: Tomiko Publications, 2003).

20. Questionnaire response by Sister Shannon, 4 February 2009.

21. Peña, 39.

22. As noted by Bruno-Jofré & Jofré, 41, 43, 45; and Keeley, 533, 535.

its ideals influenced the social justice work in which she and her religious community engaged:

Oh yes. Oh yes. That was our life ... I remember Gutierrez, he brought the scripture part. [...] I went to my first ... liberation theology [class]; it must have been 1970 ... and I brought a teacher with me ... then we bought books and then with the parish priest, we asked for a half-day off in our school ... to dialogue once a month on this liberation theology with the teachers. You know it was a reflective way and that was great, and then it was that year that we had a teachers' strike and as a result of that we looked at it in our gathering and what we would do.²³

Equally inspired, Sister Ella exclaimed her enthusiasm for practicing liberation theology in her formation work with novices—a duty that she was sent to Peru to fulfill in the early 1980s: “I lived it in Peru! “Oh ... it was so Gospel! It was so right! ... Yes! Yes! ... We fostered it everywhere we could.”²⁴ Sister Noreen, who also served in Peru in education and formation in the 1970s and 1980s, attributed her familiarity with the philosophy to its popularity in the hemispheric region where she served: “Yes I do ... well of course, coming from Latin America, it was a big thing there.” While she admits that her activism has slowed down in her retirement years in Canada (“I’ve lost a bit of my zip for that”), she enthusiastically recalls her more intense engagement in earlier years: “In Peru, this is where I did my best... social activism.”²⁵

Although she was less enthusiastic about the radical and activist aspects of the philosophy than Sisters Edna, Ella and Noreen, Sister Nellie, who worked as a teacher, local superior, catechetical director and in parishes, “very much”²⁶ enjoyed attending liberation theology courses and events with Gutierrez during her forty years in Peru from 1964 to 2004, and she subsequently coordinated a community breakfast program and participated in letter writing and boycotts pertaining to the cost of living and inadequate wages. She also noted that the liberation philosophy positively influenced her teaching at the primary school level and her communication with the people she served.

Among all the women who referred to liberation theology, there were none more outwardly passionate about it than former Sister Judith, who spent twelve years as a teacher and principal in the Dominican Republic from 1958 to 1970.²⁷ Yet, her enthusiasm was thwarted as a result of a hurtful rebuff

23. Interview with Sister Edna, 11 May 2009.

24. Interview with Sister Ella, 17 March 2009.

25. Interview with Sr. Noreen, 13 April 2011.

26. Interview with Sister Nellie, 11 May 2009.

27. While Judith’s teaching career was decided by her religious order’s superior general, as was common in the pre-Vatican II era, it was a vocation that she embraced wholeheartedly.

by her religious community, when she sought to educate her fellow sisters in Canada about the emerging approach. Her zeal was made retrospectively evident, as she tearfully recalled how she was coldly disregarded after her attempt to render a rights-oriented liberation theology paper accessible to her peers before one of their chapter meetings in the late 1960s:

At that time too ... I was reading voraciously about Vatican II as it came along! ... But there was nobody to talk to about it ... and that was frustrating for me. Ah! I was in such turmoil! And I took the Medellin document ... I heard Gustavo Gutierrez ... speak ... it was dangerous ... I was on dangerous ground ... But it was too exciting! ... I couldn't forget that from that time. But the beginning of the document ah you know the hopes, the dreams ... it is SO BEAUTIFUL! So promising! Maybe that's the way it always is with theory you know and putting it into practice is ALWAYS something harder... I knew this special chapter [a governance-based meeting of her community of women religious] was coming up and I wanted the nuns to consider this Medellin thing. I took one of the documents and translated the whole thing and ... had copies made. I said to all of them [travelling back to Canada] "take it." There were 45 copies; there were 45 people. And I sent this begging letter saying, "Please read this!" I only got one answer [crying]: 'You spelled the word reflection wrong' [crying]. I didn't hear from one single person ... not a comment ... there was nothing. I mean I wanted comments on the document, not on me!²⁸

The deep sense of rejection that Judith experienced all those decades ago was still ever-so-present through her tears and pauses during our conversation. Such an emotion-filled account is indicative of the extent to which Judith, like many sisters during the Vatican II era, was genuinely hopeful about liberation theology because she felt it resonated with, and promoted, a profound mutuality between the inclusive spirituality and social justice activism that they sought to advance.

As we show next, sisters' interests in and intentions to implement liberation theology were not only curbed by apathy (or at least varying degrees of acceptance) within their religious communities early on, but also, and more concernedly, by serious risks of state-based harm from authoritarian regimes angered by their "interference," and Church-based control motivated by an internal backlash against the sisters' too-public activism.²⁹ Such risks were prevalent within the mid-to-late twentieth century context in which women religious' employment of liberation theology and their activist ethos had shaken the Catholic Church and its members' sense of identity and role as Catholics; their activism often drew criticism and sexist remarks by Catholic leaders and laypersons, who deemed the women's actions to

28. Interview with Judith, 17 August 2009.

29. As noted by Bruno-Jofré and Jofré, 44-45; and Keeley, 535, 538-39, 557.

be meddling in political affairs and deviating from their traditional role as apolitical servants of the Church.³⁰ Importantly, as we show next, women religious, including the ones featured herein, have consistently countered such backlash through their ingenuity and resilience.

Risk and Resistance: Sisters' Courage and Innovation in the Face of Repression

At different historical moments over a sixty-year period from the mid-twentieth to the early twenty-first century, sisters encountered repressive state rule in Latin America that placed them, as humanitarian workers, at great risk of state-based harm. Sister Shannon's recollection of the oppressive constraints under Rafael Trujillo's dictatorial rule in the Dominican Republic, where she served for almost fifty years (from 1958 to 2006), illustrates the alarming backdrop.³¹ As she "observed how people were coping with the reality of the dictatorship," she shed light on the magnitude of the inherent risks:

[Y]ou never say in public what you really think; you participate in all the public activities and shout the slogans regardless of recent tragedies in your own family brought on by the ruler. One senses a dark cloud hanging over all. It became a way of life, even children learn very young not to talk to strangers who might question them as to what was being said in their homes.³²

The effects of such state-based control and imposition also challenged sisters' capacities to conduct social justice work in these settings, often as a result of the muzzling effects such threats had on their religious communities and parishes. All the sisters who served in Latin America spoke of moments when their safety was jeopardized as a result of the oppressive control. Similar to their counterparts from both other parts of Canada and the United States whose mission settings were defined by conflict or war, some became victims of verbal attacks or physical violence, while others even encountered death threats and were forced to leave the countries in which they were working as a direct consequence of their activism and advocacy for the betterment of vulnerable populations.³³ However, many spoke of the strategic ways in

30. See, for example, Keeley, 532, 539, 557.

31. Trujillo's thirty-one year dictatorial regime extended from 1930 to 1961 and was known to be one of the most brutal dictatorships in Latin America, involving torture, human rights violations, abductions, and disappearances. See Juan Isidro Jimenez-Grullón, *Una Gestapo en América: Vida, Tortura, Agonía y Muerte de Presos Políticos bajo la tiranía de Trujillo* (Santo Domingo, Sociedad Dominicana Bibliófilos, 2003).

32. Questionnaire response, Sr. Shannon, 4 February 2009.

33. For examples of this, see Dianna Ortiz, *The Blindfold's Eyes: My Journey from Torture to Truth* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2002); see also, Bruno-Jofré & Jofré; Coburn; and Keeley.

which they accomplished their humanitarian work by avoiding or challenging military personnel who enforced dictatorial rule.

While safety was a concern for all of the women religious within such stifling surroundings as those recounted by Sister Shannon, their strategies for handling the threats varied widely, demonstrating their mobilization of a range of innovative and strategic approaches to cope with, as well as resist, the oppressive regimes and conditions in solidarity with the people for whom they advocated. As demonstrated in the subsequent sections, some sisters chose to resist such injustice discreetly yet defiantly; others took it upon themselves to directly confront state agents responsible for government repression. Within this spectrum, the sisters' and former sisters' resistance included protest against the unjust conditions that they witnessed, as informed by liberation theology, as well as against the antagonism encountered from their own church communities towards liberation theology and the revolution this philosophy presented to the ethos of the Roman Catholic Church. Regardless of their approach, however, all sisters demonstrated acute awareness of the situations they navigated and convincing courage both in standing up to the oppressors and standing beside the oppressed.

Quiet Yet Mighty: Discretion and Defiance in the Face of State and Church Domination

“You don’t ... brandish any flag,”³⁴ remarked Sister Noreen, about how she navigated the twin shoals of state and Church domination in the midst of her ministry. Given the complex and often precarious context in which Sisters Ella, Edna, Nellie, Noreen, and Penelope found themselves in Peru from the mid-1960s onward, they had to cautiously and simultaneously negotiate multiple sources of risk, including those from state, counter-state, and religious entities. Although Sister Nellie, who was much less engaged politically than her colleagues, did not feel at risk of repression, her more activist peers certainly did. For example, while Sister Ella recalled feeling “unsafe ... in our time because of ... [the] Sendero Luminoso ... the terrorist groups”³⁵ active in the country, she also pointed out the risks deriving from Church-based constraints as they sought to practice liberation theology: “Oh! [It was] ... not so much political as ecclesiastical. It was even worse!

34. Interview with Sr. Noreen, 13 April 2011.

35. The English term for *Sendero Luminoso* is “Shining Path”; it is a Maoist organization founded in the late 1960s by Abimael Guzmán Reynoso. It was considered to be the largest and strongest of the insurgent organizations in Peru, engaging more actively in insurgency tactics, including violent campaigns in the 1980s and early 1990s. See Maritza Felices-Luna, “The Pacification of Peru and the production of a Neoliberal Populist Order,” *State Crime* 6, no. 1 (2017): 156-74.

You know ... there were pockets of the Church in Peru that would be SO anti-liberation 'cause they're attached to Rome."³⁶ As the women's accounts reveal, given the multiple and interconnected Roman Catholic Church layers in Latin American countries, including both the wider institutional Church and the local parishes, all of which held varying degrees of affiliation with liberation theology, the sisters often had to be discreet to greater or lesser extents, as they excitedly embraced the emerging philosophy.

While Sister Penelope, who spent twenty-three years as a teacher and formation director in Peru, did not feel unsafe politically under the repressive state ("No, no."), she did feel compelled to exercise caution vis-à-vis the Church's surveillance over religious members' engagement with liberation theology:

Yes some of them did [lose their lives]. No, in the environment in which I was, no. But in Lima ... through the religious conference center we felt as a formation director we were often told ... by the cardinal that a certain line of teaching ... wasn't accepted, and so courses would be thrown out that we would have had liked to have programmed for the young people being trained in religious formation.³⁷

As she was acutely aware of how some social justice-oriented activist priests and nuns across Latin America had been tortured and/or assassinated, Sister Penelope qualified her sense of relative safety, and in so doing described the multiple strategies that she, along with several representatives from other religious communities, employed in order to embrace liberation theology while mitigating potential risks:

You had to be careful because we didn't want to lose the religious conference center and that was the risk ... of bringing in programs that were not approved by the hierarchy ... you could lose [it] altogether ... and to what benefit? ... At least by having the religious conference center there you had a framework out of which to be able to work with the youth ... and to lose that framework would have been very [detrimental].³⁸

Not wishing to lose the religious education complex as a vehicle for sharing liberation theology with the youth of the country, Sister Penelope describes how she and other members of the religious community cheekily skirted the constrictions placed upon them by the religious hierarchy:

Well the only way we felt safe in rebelling was for the teachers [who] were there to take the courses. Like if we couldn't bring Gustavo into the formation program ... as a speaker to the young students ... we [formation

36. Interview with Sr. Ella, 17 March 2009.

37. Interview with Sister Penelope, 20 April 2009.

38. Interview with Sr. Penelope, 20 April 2009.

directors] could go listen to his courses and bring his trend of thought into it.³⁹

As Sister Penelope's colleague, Sister Nellie, points out, their discreet and cautionary practices yielded positive outcomes, at least for members of their particular congregation: "We went into courses in Lima and with Gutierrez ... we tried to put it into practice but we didn't die ... [chuckles]."⁴⁰

As Sister Edna echoed her counterpart's concerns and strategies, which were focused primarily on Church-based constraints, she illustrated the risks associated with the omnipresent and intimidating state surveillance in Peru:

We had to be very careful what we said. In fact in the parish when we ... used to have teachings and go to different parts of the parish ... we had to be very careful what we said because it would be reported. And sometimes there'd be one guy sitting back there with a gun in his arm. So you had to be very careful.⁴¹

Given the pervasive state and church surveillance, Sister Edna and her peers (Sisters Ella, Nellie, Noreen, and Penelope) learned how to be innovative so as to render their liberation theology practices as inconspicuous as possible, and to thus avoid repressive repercussions:

Well we did in [a rural town in Peru]. You see in [town], I felt it more. They were really liberation people. They were very, very active and they used to say our parish was not ... involved in liberation theology. But we were but in a different way ... with the people and working with them in the protests ... they recognized we were very much involved but in a different way. We were not ... militant and the ones who were ... militant you see they were they were on a list and if they left the country they wouldn't be back. And they used to always say, "Are you following liberation theology?" And I said, "Well, come and see...." They came to recognize that we were involved in liberation theology.... We used to go to the classes and learn more about it but it's how you [put it into action].⁴²

As Sister Edna's account illustrates, on the one hand, her congregation was feeling pressured by more staunch advocates of liberation theology to engage with it more actively, yet on the other hand, they were also shielding themselves from the potential repression. Her intentionally evasive answer to the question "Are you following liberation theology?" in public demonstrates the cautionary and clever ways in which they continued to practice the theology they so fundamentally believed in, while avoiding being "listed"

39. Interview with Sr. Penelope, 20 April 2009.

40. Interview with Sr. Nellie, 11 May 2009.

41. Interview with Sr. Edna, 11 May 2009.

42. Interview with Sr. Edna, 11 May 2009.

and thus labelled as problematic by the state and banned in the future from re-entering the country to continue their work.

As Sister Edna's peers, Sisters Ella and Penelope, attest, their cautious approaches, coupled with an accommodating parish priest and diocesan bishop, provided them with both the spatial and relational conditions necessary to embrace liberation theology to the degree to which they felt comfortable doing so.

“Well we had a pastor in our area ... and a bishop that was pretty supportive of all those things so we were lucky.” (Sister Ella)⁴³

No ... our community, as such, [was] never under question. Some communities were but we were never forward enough to and I guess we were never in the position where we had to go against [anyone/anything] because we always had active ... ahead of their time people leading our church in [the rural Peruvian town]. Like the [Canadian-based male religious order] were ahead of their time and Father [from that male religious order] was ahead of his time and his thinking in the church and so there was always that freedom to be able to take on the role that we felt comfortable with in the church. (Sister Penelope)⁴⁴

In addition to their keen awareness and the innovative tactics they employed to embrace liberation theology discreetly and thus more safely, these Ontario-based women religious serving in Peru also drew upon their own aptitude for preparedness in order to carry out liberation-informed social justice endeavours—sometimes not so subtly.

In contrast to the caution that the sisters exercised as they engaged in liberation theology, often in somewhat clandestine gatherings, Sister Edna shed light on how she was also active in risk-filled public protests “in the shanty towns of Lima [where there were] bigger populations, bigger problems closer to the government and the army.” Her account is a testament to the mixed and multiple forms of activism in which sisters have engaged. Sister Edna's involvement in “lots” of public marches in Peru was underscored when she exclaimed emphatically and proudly: “Oh yes we protested!” She clarified the issues they were protesting about: “...well there it was violence. People were killed innocently and then there was ... the repression that the people were feeling in that area. So there was lots of those.” When asked if she thought she had risked her life by engaging in political protests, she replied affirmatively: “Oh definitely, definitely.” But she felt that the risk was worthwhile given the cause, and she was proud of her courageous efforts: “I thought that was pretty brave.”⁴⁵ When asked if she had feared

43. Interview with Sr. Ella, 17 March 2009.

44. Interview with Sr. Penelope, 20 April 2009.

45. Interview with Sr. Edna, 11 May 2009.

potential repercussions from her participation in long marches, sometimes over two hundred kilometers from her mission town to the capital city of Lima in the late 1970s, she did not recall any major concerns, and she seems to have drawn strength from the organizational capacity of the fellow sisters, teachers and parishioners:

No we did it as teachers ... I remember in my early years there ... oh often ... we used to march ... from [the town] to Lima in protest and ah we had in our parish ... in 1978 where there was a national strike and several people were killed. Oh yes we protested! ... [But] I felt we were well prepared. We prepared as Christian communities ... several parishes would participate ... we had the ... facts correct. We had somebody from the Catholic university come out and explain to us. Every fifteen days we'd have a debriefing with somebody to explain the facts from a theological point of view. So ... we were prepared. So we didn't just make a decision off the top of our head.⁴⁶

The actions of Sisters Noreen, Edna, Ella, and Penelope are a testament to their capacity to organize and generate solidarity amongst their congregations and communities, and their abilities to mitigate the risks associated with sometimes defiant approaches to social justice activism. Though current and former women religious demonstrate the capacity to quietly and covertly, yet strategically, resist institutional oppression, both from the state as well as religious leaders, as we explore next, they are also willing and able to strongly and directly confront such repression.

Direct Dissent: Repression, Resistance, Risk, and Repercussions

All sisters recounted the blatant and sometimes violent or intimidating repression that they faced in mission settings. As seen above, this meant for some cautiously proceeding with their liberation theology and humanitarian efforts so as to minimize the risk of repression. For others, it involved speaking out against, and directly to, the oppressors themselves. In all instances, however, the sisters recalled what can be described as brave, innovative, and often self-sacrificing or personally risky tactics to resist the oppression that both they and the individuals that they served faced.

In the early 1960s, during a time of post-dictatorial political upheaval in the Dominican Republic, where Sister Josephine served as a high school educator and principal for twenty-six years starting in 1963, she acted defiantly on numerous occasions. It is important to note that Sister Josephine's own outspokenness in these situations stemmed from her desire to protect her activist students from state harm. On one occasion, she

46. Interview with Sr. Edna, 11 May 2009.

disobeyed military police orders explicitly aimed at her and attended the wake of a beloved human and land rights activist who had allegedly been murdered. Sister Josephine describes the ordeal:

Mama [T] – a woman in the campo had been killed ... a lot of people were put off their land ... she was shot by one of the guards and we [students who insisted on ...] decided that we would go to the funeral which is [customary] and the police chief called me up to the office and said that we were not to go. And I said, “Look I’m not a Dominican, but I know some of the customs. It is our duty to go. We will go.” So we hired a poor truck driver [chuckles]. He was kind of nervous. And we went out into the country to the wake—we didn’t go to the funeral we went to the wake—and back.⁴⁷

Although Sister Josephine recognized the risks both to herself (an easily identifiable fully habited, foreign nun) and others in relation to her defiance, she continued to support the students’ activist efforts by helping them find resistance-oriented accessories:

Well just the going out to that [wake], that was considered a protest and what we also did at that point was, I sent uptown for all the black ribbon I could find. And every student who wanted put a black ribbon on their sleeve, [to symbolize the death of Mama T.], and one girl, ah, the black ribbon was ripped off her ... when she was going home from school.⁴⁸

Following the woman’s death, students at the school where she was principal had planned to hold a riot. Out of concern for their safety, she convinced them to instead host a fast, which she allowed to take place on school grounds.

Then ... the students were up in arms. They were going to go on a riot and I said, “No that’s not the way to go. Ah. You’ll only get yourself shot and we’ll have more funerals.” So we agreed with my teachers that we would have a three day fast in the school [for] those who wanted to, and those who didn’t, they simply did not come to school.... So we did that ... the women of the town brought us juice ... and then my teachers ... took those three days to ... give them courses ... on a variety of things that would be related to that.⁴⁹

Despite Sister Josephine’s efforts to help protect her students from potential risks as they engaged in resistance, she could not completely avert state intervention. Nevertheless, when the police stormed onto the school grounds to arrest the students, she courageously confronted the authorities:

On the last day ... we had all the doors closed. The police came to raid the place and catch all these “bad” students. Ah they [students] went out

47. Interview with Sister Josephine, 25 March 2009.

48. Interview with Sr. Josephine, 25 March 2009.

49. Interview with Sr. Josephine, 25 March 2009.

the back doors and over the fence. And ah I went out directly to the ... head of the police ... and I said to him [emphatically], “You are on school property. You have no right to be here. Take your men and get off here!”⁵⁰

To her surprise, they left, but not without inflicting harm nearby:

One poor young policeman, who had been a student of mine, had an open canister of tear gas and didn’t know what to do with it. He threw it into the grade school yard and the poor little kids got ... tear gas in their eyes ... Sister [Madeline] was not happy. She was principal of the grade school at that time.⁵¹

While Sister Josephine herself was surprised at the young man’s reaction, others who knew her well may not be astounded that her reputation as a strict teacher, with what some considered an intimidating personality, could have altered a military intervention in the way that it seemed to have that day.

On another occasion around the same time in the Dominican Republic, Sister Josephine was called by police to a meeting at which she was reprimanded for what was perceived to be counter-state involvement and was warned to stop:

I was up the street and ah I was about to get into my car and a young policeman came down ... he said, “Commandante wants to see you.” So I went up and he said, “You’ve been seen going into ... homes that are anti-government. You are not to do that again.”⁵²

Her response to him was emphatic and unequivocal:

I said, “Listen here. I don’t care if they’re anti-government, pro-government or no government! I will go into every home where I think I have to go. And I will do that and you’re not going to stop me.”⁵³

While Sister Josephine’s defiance and protective impetus posed significant risks to herself and to her religious community, her courageous confrontations eventually and somewhat ironically yielded relatively greater security. Since she continued to receive arrest threats, she rallied support from the people of the town and when the commander realized how the community sought to protect her, he located her one day when she was visiting a protective ally, called her to his jeep, which he did not step out of, and said: “‘Oh Sister, I’m so sorry. I did not know you were so loved in this town ... I won’t be bothering you anymore.’” Later, when he was

50. Interview with Sr. Josephine, 25 March 2009.

51. Interview with Sr. Josephine, 25 March 2009.

52. Interview with Sr. Josephine, 25 March 2009.

53. Interview with Sr. Josephine, 25 March 2009.

being transferred to the border, the commander was reported to have said upon leaving: “I respect no one in this town except Sister Josephine.”⁵⁴

While she found the commander’s comment and departure to be “a relief,” Sister Josephine remained under surveillance, including surveillance by other non-military and non-police state agencies: “In fact I was brought into the Department of Education to explain some things.” One day, state authorities questioned her about “a note here that was typed,” and they insinuated that it had been written on the typewriters at the high school where she was principal. Yet she stood her ground: “And I said, ‘Well I’ve checked it and it’s not on our type writers. It’s none of [mine].’”⁵⁵ When Sister Josephine defended what many would perceive as risky political behaviour, the students’ safety was foremost on her mind. “I’m not into anything [politically] but when there’s necessity, when you’re afraid for the lives of your students then, you know, you act!”⁵⁶

Navigating Repercussions Strategically and Productively

Sister Josephine was not the only woman religious and teacher in her community who acted defiantly and risked her own personal safety during the same politically volatile period and faced repercussions as a result. Former Sister Judith, a fellow educator of Sister Josephine’s, recalled embracing the Dominican Republic’s tumultuous and dangerous political situation rather eagerly compared to her counterparts: “It was a great time to be there! Fascination with Trujillo [the dictator], the invasion, the civil war, all of that ... [chuckles] It was interesting alright!”⁵⁷ Although Judith considered resistance in a foreign country to be “interference” because she felt that “politics are up to the Dominicans,” she did enjoy encouraging activism, given her enthusiastic tendency toward political engagement: “we did like to stimulate the young people ourselves.”⁵⁸ Thus, it is not surprising that she, like Sister Josephine, engaged in resistance tactics along with her students. Again like Sister Josephine, she was also reprimanded as a result:

In the ‘60s ... I took some steps when I was principal in high school and they caught them right away, you know the Ministry of Education. We had a silent march one time ... there was ... a young Czech boy in 1968 who burned himself alive ... in the Czech uprising in ‘68 ... our high school kids were ready for all that. I was also ... one of the coordinators of JEC [Spanish acronym], the Young Christian Students ... So I had boys in the

54. Interview with Sr. Josephine, 25 March 2009.

55. Interview with Sr. Josephine, 25 March 2009.

56. Interview with Sr. Josephine, 25 March 2009.

57. Interview with Judith, 17 August 2009.

58. Interview with Judith, 17 August 2009.

JEC ... that was one thing that my superiors let me do. We had a station wagon and I took ten boys all over the country to meetings of the JEC and it was ... a revolutionary time.... So we decided ... the JEC kids and I, to have a silent march.... So we made big posters about human rights and had a silent march with these posters to the church, and ... I was going blissfully on my way and it REALLY was one with the kids. They still remember that. They were REALLY impressed with that.... [But] I got called the very next day into the capital to the Ministry of Education.⁵⁹

The second time that Judith was censured by the Ministry of Education, she sought a productive outcome out of a difficult situation for the sake of her students by defiantly yet carefully negotiating the politics of the educational system and cleverly employing the Ministry's own language:

Another time too, I invited a speaker. He was a wonderful man but he was running for office ... and he was running for another party, which I didn't even connect. I knew he was but I asked him to speak at the graduation.... We were all thrilled about ... that speaker.... We just were naive ... about the politics.... He was a wonderful speaker and he was a lawyer and he was a human rights person, and he gave a wonderful talk. And the very next day, I got the call to go into the capital. It was a woman then who was ... director of education ... but I stood up to her that time. I wasn't afraid. Ah she said ... "Sister, how could you get someone from outside the family to speak at a graduation?" And I said, "The family?" And she said, "Well we're the ones who do everything for you." And I said, "Well ... I had sent three letters ... I have students sitting on the floor for school ... I need a whole classroom full of desks. They haven't come." I said, "... do you treat people in your family like that?" The very next day, I hardly got home, when the truck load of desks came in.... So I played my cards right that time.⁶⁰

Nevertheless, despite her outward involvement in activism and the apparent lack of fear she conveyed as she confronted the director of education, the stark reality of the political climate remained a heavy cloud under which she still had to navigate cautiously for safety's sake:

But ... I wasn't very daring. I mean it was a time of a lot of militarization ... and I remember ... a young teacher in our school, he and I went to see

59. Interview with Judith, 17 August 2009. Judith is referring to the self-immolation of Jan Palach on 16 January 1969 during the uprisings against the Soviet Union's 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia. Palach died from his injuries three days later on 19 January 1969 (not 1968 as Judith stated). For more information, see Petr Blažek, Patrik Eichler, Michal Ježek, Eva Nachmilnerová, Jáchym Šerých, and Ivo Šulc, Jan Palach Charles University Multimedia Project, n.d., accessed on 15 September 2018, <http://www.janpalach.cz/en/default/index>; in Spanish, the JEC refers to *Juventud Estudiantil Católica*; in English it is known as the Youth Movement of Young Catholic Students; for more information on the JEC within the Catholic Action movement, see Peña, 39.

60. Interview with Judith, 17 August 2009.

a movie ... I was driving and they [police] pulled us over ... and checked the car.... And then after we started up again, I was saying, "I just feel like telling 'em." And he said "I'd be very careful if I were you." He said, "I spent one night in jail and I would not want anything to happen to you."⁶¹

While Sister Judith's reflection of her own perceived lack of boldness is somewhat ironic, given her previous outspokenness against state representatives, it accentuates the degree to which many of the sisters felt that their social justice efforts and ability to freely serve the community were stymied by the political regimes in power. For these sisters, the repercussions that they faced from the powerful were not so much deterrents; rather, such threats fueled their ingenuity and drive to adapt and continue moving forward. In the next section, we examine some sisters' feelings of frustration towards their own religious communities as their innovative efforts and minds were shunned.

Suffering Secondary Repercussions

Although Sisters Josephine and Judith were relatively safe and successful with their courageous confrontations in the Dominican Republic, like other missionary sisters in Latin America they struggled with other losses due to their perceived political engagement.⁶² In the case of Sister Josephine, despite the pride she felt in her ability to divert harm away from her own high school students, whose safety was her main priority, she felt disregarded by her congregation as a result of her efforts:

[It was] the only time I felt that the community did not support me ... in the 1960's.... But I was principal in the high school.... There was a lot of political trouble at that time.... I'm pretty sure my students, some of the boys, were into things that they shouldn't have been against the government and so on. But I was protecting them totally.

At one point I had been told not to go out at night because they [state authorities] were going to pick me up. Another time.... I was told that they were going to take me to the city.... I came home. I told the sisters that. I did not get any support ... for anything. They didn't like what I was doing in the high school.... So I did not feel supported then.⁶³

61. Interview with Judith, 17 August 2009.

62. For more on this subject, see Rosa Bruno-Jofré, "Encountering social change at a time of rapid radicalization of the national Church: The Missionary Oblate Sisters in Brazil," in this issue; and Heidi MacDonald, "Atlantic Canadian Women Religious' Missions to Latin America," paper delivered to the Canadian Catholic Historical Association Meeting, *Congress 2018*, Regina, 30 May 2018.

63. Interview with Sr. Josephine, 25 March 2009.

While she was perplexed that her religious community did not seem to put in place protective measures to ensure her safety, she understood the reasons for their inaction: “they had lived there in Trujillo’s time when there was a body on the road and the kids would come in and not say anything about it. You know so I mean they had their fears.”⁶⁴ While Sister Josephine found solace and solidarity elsewhere (“So I went to the people of the town”), her religious community obliged her to return to Canada.⁶⁵ Yet, since the matter was never discussed, she remains unsure about whether her forced departure was for precautionary reasons or for disciplinary ones or both.

Like Sister Josephine, Judith also felt unsupported by the same religious community as she faced the same risks within the same political climate in the Dominican Republic in the 1960s, albeit across slightly different years. But unlike Sister Josephine, who accepted her religious order’s repercussions and remained a nun, Judith took matters into her own hands. In addition to the above-mentioned rejection that she faced when she attempted to enlighten her congregation in Canada about liberation theology, Judith also faced other tensions as she sought to remain true to the ideals of liberation theology and Vatican II. For example, Judith admits to having been an outspoken, and thus controversial, critic against her religious order at the time. But she felt particularly excluded when she became aware, via another sister, that her political activism was a topic of conversation in the motherhouse and in other convents back in Canada. She felt especially hurt by the gossip, which she perceived was a very personal consequence of her resistance efforts, and these, she thought, were grossly misunderstood because in her view, she was only trying to implement the Church-informed, and thus Church-sanctioned, practices emerging from Vatican II and liberation theology.

Judith went on to disclose how her unwavering commitment to social justice principles left her feeling profoundly conflicted, as her religious community accepted a building from the Dominican Republic’s ruthless dictator at the time, Rafael Trujillo. The gift was almost impossible to refuse, given the potential repercussions of refusing or returning it. Sister Shannon’s description of the building sheds some light on Judith’s concern:

We ourselves were living in a convent built by the Dictator’s government. Trujillo liked spectacular constructions. Because of the way it was built it appeared much more spacious than it actually was within. Much of the space was being used for storage and work in the Dispensary.⁶⁶

64. Interview with Sr. Josephine, 25 March 2009.

65. She returned to the Dominican Republic twice for extended periods of time until the year 2000; her second return to Canada was due to health reasons; the third and final return to Canada was upon her retirement.

66. Questionnaire response, Sr. Shannon, 4 February 2009.

Since Judith could not reconcile her principles with what she perceived as a problematic scenario, similar to other former sisters in missionary settings elsewhere,⁶⁷ she left religious life:

I've had a fundamental argument with the congregation about how we lived in a third world country ... even if there was support there at that time ... there was such fear ... and then the politics like [the Superior General] had gotten that big convent for us from Trujillo! From the dictator!.... And ah it just seemed a reflection on her if we moved over you know ... [But]I thought that we could live more like the people.... Ah I think if it wasn't for that [conflict over the large convent "gifted" by the dictator], I think I'd be there yet.⁶⁸

Judith's willingness to give up her religious sisterhood and to withstand the emotional toll she suffered by leaving her students and teachers without saying goodbye, is a testament to her intense belief in, and unwavering commitment to, her solidarity with the poor and marginalized, a key facet of liberation theology. Her forthright critique against her own religious community was infused with the emerging philosophy's principles: "Where's the community gonna go if it doesn't go forward?... What's the world's use ... with liberation theology?... That was my outlook then."⁶⁹

While Judith and Sister Josephine left their mission in the Dominican Republic due to politically based conflicts, Sister Noreen left Peru due in part to secondary effects resulting from political and economic instability. When she recalled how she had entered religious life because she felt that missionary work was the ultimate expression of her faith in God, and was then asked if her missionary work fulfilled her expectations, Sister Noreen's response clarified the circumstances that led to her return to Canada:

I never dreamt that it was a life commitment. I went down to Peru and ... after x number of years I considered taking Peruvian citizenship because I thought I was there for life you know. And fatigue, I went through a stretch.... [I] became discouraged ... that was the time of the Shining Path; things were being blown up. You know we worked so hard to get people established with electricity, with a house.... I worked for the church but I was very involved in how people managed their everyday lives and I think at some point I lost hope and the moment I did that, all the fatigue ... that had been accumulating and the stress and you can't be there if you lost hope. These people live by hope and so I came home and I just came to realize, "well this is not where I'm meant to be anymore." I no longer had ... whatever you have to have in your heart to be among these people.⁷⁰

67. See Bruno-Jofré, "Encountering Social Change."

68. Interview with Judith, 17 August 2009.

69. Interview with Judith, 17 August 2009.

70. Interview with Sr. Noreen, 13 April 2011.

Sister Noreen's fatigue is telling, not only in terms of the substantial contributions of women religious in mission settings around the world, but also, of the burden and risks that each of the women featured in this article took on to, in their eyes, answer the call of Jesus in their vocation and struggle with the marginalized against various corporate, religious, and political forces of oppression.

Conclusion: Looking Back and Looking Forward

When recalling their earlier work, both in mission countries and after returning to Canada, collectively, the sisters' reflections were diverse. While some of their experiences *looking back* generated feelings of frustration and rejection, their recollections exposed how the ripples of their past work extended into both their futures as well as those of the people they served. They were experiences largely filled with hope.

In these reflections on their missionary years abroad, several of the sisters and former sisters demonstrated their solidarity with the poor, not just in struggling alongside them, but also, in reciprocally learning from them. It was an approach infused with the philosophy of liberation theology, something that went beyond traditional missionary goals. Such openness to mutual learning and understanding is also indicative of the inclusive, and arguably feminist, approach that the sisters and former sisters embraced and modelled when they served in foreign missions.⁷¹ Such high regard for reciprocal inspiration, especially under problematic conditions in Latin America, was conveyed by both Sisters Ella and Shannon, who served in Peru and the Dominican Republic, respectively. Sister Ella shared that:

Oh! ... when you see such poverty and live around such chaos you know ... and yet the people are so beautiful. Some of them are so so gifted and so faith-filled. Their faith is so strong! You know that just inspires. I learnt much more from the Peruvians than I left with them.⁷²

Sister Shannon elaborated on women religious' solidarity-based and empowerment-oriented approach to missionary service, which is more consistent with contemporary people-centered approaches to international development than with past church-imposed evangelization tactics,⁷³

71. Gervais, 2018, 196-97.

72. Interview with Sr. Ella, 17 March 2009.

73. See Gordon Cunningham and Alison Mathie (eds.) *From Clients to Citizens: Communities Changing the Course of their Own Development* (Black Point: Fernwood, 2009).

and which thus underscores the villagers' leadership and organizational capacities:

Our main goal in any activity undertaken is to prepare others to take the leadership role and improve on what was initiated. That this goal has been achieved, in part at least, in the communities where we have worked is evident especially in [mission village]. The Sisters are no longer there but the ministry to education and care of the sick is very evident and are in hands more capable than ours. Each culture has its gifts. Canadian ways of leadership are not ... the only type of leadership, but it can be of service at the beginning⁷⁴.

Judith, a former member of Sister Shannon's religious order, took a similar stance. While she remarked that her experience working with the Dominicans, "[m]akes you want to speak out any place you can"⁷⁵ when it comes to advancing human rights, social justice, and equality, she viewed her social justice engagement as complementary, if not secondary, to the efforts undertaken by local activists, and emphasized the capacity of the local community that she worked alongside, particularly while *looking forward* to the future of their country. Having left the second site of her social justice work in 1980 in the Dominican Republic *after* leaving her religious community in 1970, she reflected on the impetus behind the departure from this site: "That was one of the reasons I think we left too, 'cause they were ... moving more politically, the women, and we weren't the ones who could do that. They had to do that themselves. Choose their political paths."⁷⁶

Interestingly, Judith's account implies that she was ahead of her time, as she applied liberation theology and decentralized leadership practices in the women's empowerment groups that she facilitated in her post-religious life. Yet, as Judith observed, although it took longer than she had hoped, and occurred only after she left religious life (and after her congregation had originally disregarded her promotion of the philosophy), her congregation did move forward with many of the progressive social justice ideas generated through liberation theology in their mission settings. As one who is now closely and positively associated with her former congregation, Judith is impressed with the advancements that have been made, however late they were: "Oh I think it's beautiful what they're doing ... Oh! I'm so proud of them! And their mission statement is SO beautiful!"⁷⁷

Along parallel lines, other sisters who had embraced liberation theology in their social justice work abroad also reflected on how the philosophy,

74. Questionnaire response, Sr. Shannon, 4 February 2009.

75. Interview with Judith, 17 August 2009.

76. Interview with Judith, 17 August 2009.

77. Interview with Judith, 17 August 2009.

which was not initially taken up within their religious communities back in Ontario, gradually seeped into the praxis of these communities years later. For example, Sister Noreen, who kept a distance from Church-based work after returning to Canada from Peru, noted enthusiastically, “Well you see, this was not in the air here, liberation theology. Here, no. Well it did catch up, basic Christian communities, a few years after I came back, all of a sudden this was starting to surface.”⁷⁸

The significance of these former and current sisters’ reflections on the reverberations of their social justice work, both at home and abroad, cannot be underestimated. They provide counter narratives to the public history of Catholic women religious’ contributions to their congregations’ work, and of understandings of the female praxis of Catholicism, particularly in international settings. Their strategic, insightful, courageous, and often self-sacrificing endeavours to stand and protest alongside marginalized or vocal Peruvian and Dominican activists are understood as an ultimate demonstration of their commitment to both the people and to their faith. Importantly, this work often (though not surprisingly) reflected their forward-thinking objectives despite, in some cases, intimidating opposition from political officials seeking to suppress social justice efforts and from religious authorities determined to maintain traditional theological praxis. Against, and often in spite of, such volatile situations and the corresponding repression, and potentially fatal outcomes, they often remained *beyond their mission*, both theologically and strategically, and thus a step ahead, and in some regards outside, of their Church-sanctioned charitable work as they advocated social, gender, and economic justice in solidarity with the people of Latin America.

78. Interview with Sr. Noreen, 13 April 2011.

Bringing People Together: John Veltri, Retreat Renewal, and International Outreach

Terence J. FAY SJ

Abstract: *Beginning in the 1970s, Loyola House at Guelph, Ontario, helped lead a re-discovery and renewal of the Spiritual Exercises of St Ignatius Loyola. First developed in the sixteenth century, the Exercises consist of a program of meditation, prayer, and contemplative practices. They are meant to help give people untrained in the spiritual life a method to learn contact with God through meditation on the Scriptures and dialogue with their neighbours. For many years, Father John Veltri was the active, dynamic, and charismatic director of the Spiritual Exercises at Loyola House. Together with his colleague, John English, Father Veltri made Loyola House a significant centre for flexibility on spiritual renewal, including laity as both directees and directors of the Exercises. This renewed instruction on the Exercises set off a spiritual chain reaction; Loyola House attracted spiritual seekers from other countries and Christian faiths, and Veltri in particular proved adept at using the tools of modern media both to adapt the Exercises to modern times and to reach out to laity and religious in distant communities. Through his modern methods and his own example, Veltri thus exercised a wide influence over the post-Vatican II renewal of the Spiritual Exercises that is associated with Loyola House.*

Resumé : *À partir des années 1970, la Loyola House à Guelph, en Ontario, contribua à faire redécouvrir et renouveler les Exercices spirituels de St. Ignace de Loyola. Élaborés pour la première fois au seizième siècle, les Exercices comprennent un programme de méditation, de prière, et de pratiques contemplatives. Ils sont conçus dans le but d'aider les gens non formés dans la vie spirituelle d'apprendre à connaître Dieu à travers la méditation inspirée par les écrits saints et le dialogue avec leur prochain. Pendant de nombreuses années, le père John Veltri fut le directeur actif, dynamique et charismatique des Exercices spirituels à la Loyola House. De pair avec son collègue, John English, le père Veltri fit de la Loyola House un centre significatif visant la souplesse du renouvellement spirituel, permettant aux laïcs d'être à la fois destinataires et destinataires des Exercices. Ce renouvellement de la formation relative aux Exercices provoqua une réaction en chaîne; la Loyola House attira des gens en quête de spiritualité de divers pays et d'autres confessions chrétiennes,*

et Veltri en particulier s'avéra adepte à employer les moyens des médias modernes pour adapter les Exercices à l'époque moderne et pour atteindre les laïcs et les religieux dans des communautés éloignées. Par ses méthodes innovatrices et sa propre pratique, Veltri exerça une grande influence sur le renouvellement, suite au IIe Concile du Vatican, des Exercices spirituels que l'on associe à la Loyola House.

Spiritual dialogue is an honest way of bringing people together by genuine encounter. Beginning in the 1970s it was rediscovered that an excellent way to encounter people in their lives and the love of God is by undergoing the Spiritual Exercises of St Ignatius Loyola. First developed in the sixteenth century, the Exercises consist of a program of meditation, prayer, and contemplative practices meant to help people deepen their relationship with God. They offer peaceful prayer “to those of us who live busy lives a way to God,” and for this reason Joseph Tetlow has written that “spiritual direction has been gaining greater currency in Christian circles.”¹ According to spiritual directors William Barry and William Connolly, both Protestants and Catholics have found that the Spiritual Exercises are intimately “involved in the growth of Christian spirituality both as directors and directees, and this [is] more than the case in [the] previous century.”² They insist that the Spiritual Exercises can give those untrained in the spiritual life a method to learn contact with God through meditation on the Scriptures and contact with their neighbours through dialogue to mutually share how to navigate the choppy waves of the spirit.³

Loyola House at Guelph, Ontario, has long provided a peaceful location for people seeking to discover the spirit of God in their lives and share the life of the spirit with others. Since the 1970s, Christians have come there from the various continents of the world to encounter the power of the Spiritual Exercises by contemplating the Scriptures. Father John Veltri for many years was an active director of the Spiritual Exercises at Loyola House for those who sought spirituality. Together with his colleague, John English, Father Veltri made Loyola House a significant centre for spiritual renewal. The Canadian Jesuits' instruction on the Exercises set off a spiritual chain reaction. Psychotherapist William Barry reports from Cambridge, Massachusetts, that the Canadian Jesuits, including Fathers John Veltri and John English, directed retreats at Guelph and “had a wide influence on the

1. Joseph A. Tetlow SJ, *Making Choices in Christ: The Foundations of Ignatian Spirituality* (Chicago: Loyola Press, 2008), 2.

2. William A. Barry SJ and William J. Connolly SJ, *The Practice of Spiritual Direction* (New York: Harper One, 2009, 1982), ix-x.

3. I acknowledge the sources for this article include the Canadian Jesuit Archives in Montreal, Jesuit Archives in Rome, tapes and CDs from Guelph, thirty-two interviews with Jesuits and laity, and editor Ruth Hanley, who smoothed out the original text.

way the Exercises were offered through North America.”⁴ For instance, Father Dominic Maruca from Maryland and others were attracted to Guelph to learn the new method of communicating the Spiritual Exercises. Maruca was then invited to “facilitate four weekends at North Andover beginning in the fall of 1970” and to spread retreat renewal elsewhere.⁵ In conjunction with this insight, spiritual director Philip Shano later wrote that Veltri was a “man who would eventually go on to make lasting contributions to the renaissance of the Exercises.”⁶

But how exactly did Veltri (and English) achieve this far-reaching impact? What, if anything, was different about their particular approach? Those who came to Guelph were directed by a Jesuit team prepared to guide them in the renewed Exercises. Lay participants and colleagues Barbara and Peter Peloso knew the work of the Jesuits as directors of the Exercises since the late 1960s, and commented that Jesuits John Veltri and John English “worked together and fed off each other.”⁷ The new participants at Guelph were encouraged to discover through the Spiritual Exercises the presence of God in their own inner lives.

Veltri also developed a flexible approach to the way that the Exercises were experienced. As director of prayer Father Veltri recognized that the delivery of the Spiritual Exercises must undergo renewal. He selected and prepared spiritual directors to guide participants on how to find God in prayer. The directors were educated not to preach but to assist those who sought God in their inner lives. Also, new formats were needed to replace the traditional retreats of three, eight, or thirty days, which for many seekers were difficult to fit into their work schedule. Veltri would encourage those with time to learn about prayer to try a retreat, whereas for those who were working during the week he would suggest a weekend retreat or a one-day retreat, perhaps on Saturdays. For others who were spiritually able, he developed a flexible approach to the way that the Exercises were encountered. Veltri also offered a nine-month annotation retreat, or for those looking for instruction in the spiritual life, a two-week workshop might be considered.

Lay parishioners, along with Christians of other faiths, sought to take advantage of the new formats and desired to learn to pray as one people. Yet, the method alone does not fully account for Veltri’s success; the person mattered as well. John English assured Provincial William Ryan in 1979 that Veltri “is doing a fabulous job in running the weekly School of Spiritual

4. Email Letter, William Barry SJ, Cambridge MA, 24 October 2017.

5. Email Letter, William Barry SJ, Cambridge MA, 24 October 2017.

6. Philip D. Shano SJ, “The Birth and Growth of the Spiritual Exercises,” *Conscience of a Nation*, ed. Jacques Monet SJ (Toronto: Novalis, 2017), 28.

7. Interview, Peter and Barbara Peloso, Guelph ON, 29 August 2017.

Formation of Lay Leaders.”⁸ This article explores the “fabulous job” that Father John Veltri did at Loyola House, his innovative approaches to the teaching of the Spiritual Exercises, and the far-reaching impact of his words and example.

Father Veltri at Loyola House

John Veltri was born at St Boniface, Manitoba, in 1933 to parents of southern Italian heritage. Graduating from the Jesuit St Paul’s High School in Winnipeg, John entered the Jesuit Novitiate at Guelph, Ontario, in August of 1950. After seven years of Jesuit spirituality, Veltri was sent to the Jesuit Residential School at Spanish, Ontario, to teach for one year and then to Regiopolis College in Kingston for four years. His health began to deteriorate, but Veltri with great enthusiasm continued to teach and his students enjoyed his bright presence. After three years of theology at Regis College in Toronto he was ordained in June 1965, and completed his theology and Jesuit spirituality in the following years. Assigned in 1967 to Loyola House at Guelph, he gave retreats and became a colleague and disciple of the Novice Master, John English.⁹ For thirty-four years Veltri was to exercise the retreat ministry at Loyola House until for health reasons in 2001 he moved to Rene Goupil House at Pickering, Ontario, to continue retreat work. He died there in October 2018.

When Father Veltri arrived at Loyola House in Guelph to give retreats, the movement was not a successful enterprise. It was a ministry that needed fresh insights and enthusiasm. In May 1968, Veltri wrote to Provincial Angus J. Macdougall and affirmed

that my letter is a plea to take at least one of our retreat houses seriously [i.e., Loyola House in Guelph], so seriously that it will become a real professional and efficient operation.... Something should be done immediately.... I can be creative if I have a context in which to be creative. But in the context of a dying retreat movement without any contemporaries the likelihood is that I too will slowly die.... But something should be done.”¹⁰

Father Macdougall was sympathetic to this appeal, and encouraged Veltri and the Jesuits at Guelph to initiate the renewal of the retreat movement.¹¹

8. Letter, John English SJ to Provincial William Ryan SJ, 9 September 1979, Archives of Jesuits in Canada (AJC), Box 507-A (Loyola Retreat House).

9. Interview, S. Douglas McCarthy SJ, Toronto, 23 February 2019.

10. Letter, John Veltri SJ to Provincial Office, 7 May 1968, AJC, Box D-507 A #6.

11. Letter, Angus Macdougall SJ to Loyola Retreat House, 31 May 1968, AJC, Box D-507 A #6.

A questionnaire accordingly was sent to the 370 Jesuits of the Province, asking for their views on the future of Ignatian Retreats for clergy and Catholic faithful. Advice was sought for the proper method that retreats should follow, that is, whether the retreatants should be guided to find God in their life, or should be preached at and told what to think and how to pray. The results of the questionnaire reported that “more allowance for spontaneity on the part of the retreatant is proposed. Programming for discovery [by the retreatant] rather than for passive reception (the method of induction rather than transmission) is gaining favour.”¹² Accepting this support, Veltri created a number of retreat formats to make the Exercises more available to a greater number of people and to open the retreat format to other religious communities. At the time he developed a pedagogy for those who made retreats in order to teach them how to direct others in prayer and service. He put together an internship program to direct persons in prayer and a workshop on how to employ the Spiritual Exercises in the different formats.¹³

Retreats for All

The tradition that Veltri and his colleagues were seeking to renew originated in the sixteenth century when Ignatius Loyola directed the first members of the Society of Jesus through a profound spiritual experience. Afterwards, they wished to share this radical spirituality with both laity and clergy. In the next centuries the spiritual exercises were thus encountered by participants in a thirty-day retreat of directed prayer. After the suppression of the Society in 1773 and its restoration in 1814, Jesuits mindful of the impact of the French Revolution in a traditional church again promoted the use of the Spiritual Exercises, but now retreats were preached and retreatants told how to pray and what to think. Preached retreats continued until after the Second World War, when theologians gained radically new insights on Christian spirituality from the recent research on the Scriptures and the writings of the Church Fathers. Theologians Erich Przywara and Karl Rahner in Germany and Gaston Fessard in France promoted the renewal of theology and of the Spiritual Exercises.¹⁴ This meant retreatants in future would directly discover the spirit of God in their lives rather than having it strained through the spiritual insights of others.

12. Notes on a Questionnaire to Ours, ca. 1968-1972, AJC, Box D-507-A #6.

13. John Veltri, *Orientalions*, Guelph: Loyola House, 1979; Tape Recordings at Loyola House: “Discernment” Day 4; Drawer No. 7, Tapes 3, 4, 5; Drawer No. 12, Tapes 1, 4, 6, 10, 15, Guelph: n. d.

14. Interview, Jacques Monet SJ, Jesuit Archives, Montreal QC, 26 September 26, 2017; *The Way of Ignatius Loyola: Contemporary Approaches to the Spiritual Exercises*, ed. Philip Sheldrake (St Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1991), 8.

In 1962 Jesuits C. Mertens of the University of Louvain and P. Henri of the Institut Catholique de Paris visited Canada and promoted the new form of directed retreats to the assembled Jesuits at Regis College in Toronto.¹⁵ The following summer at the end of June 1963, Father William Peters of the Dutch Province came to Regis College to conduct an Institute on the Spiritual Exercises, and to advise the use of directed retreats to assist directees to discover God alive in their lives. Many Jesuits and theological students (including, presumably, John Veltri) attended the presentations. “The response of the participating Jesuits was manifested by the enthusiastic discussions that continued throughout the course.”¹⁶ Father Peters gave a directed retreat in August that was attended by Jesuit faculty and students of Regis College.¹⁷

Meanwhile at St Beuno’s College in northern Wales, Father Peter Paul Kennedy educated Jesuit tertians in their final year of Jesuit spirituality. Among them in the fall of 1962 were Father John English of the Canadian Province and Father Howard Gray of the Detroit Province. Gray wrote that Father Kennedy taught them “how to integrate these emerging theological insights into practice through what we came to know as the directed retreat. Kennedy encouraged a group of the younger Jesuits eager to bring the emerging renewed understanding of the Exercises in practice.”¹⁸ In the same spirit at St Jerome Retreat Centre in Quebec, Father Gilles Cusson instructed Jesuit tertians to guide directed retreatants for the service of the community. With this inspiration, Canadian Jesuits John Belair and Robert Chase opened the Ignatian Spirituality Centre at Montreal, David Asselin at Regis College in Toronto, and John English and John Veltri at Guelph.¹⁹

In the 1970s a team of Jesuits at Guelph prepared the renewed approach for retreats. The group included English, Veltri, John Wickham SJ, and John Haley (Jesuit at that time) who prepared the updated program for retreats.²⁰ Veltri wrote at that time, “we prepared for and trained ourselves by a series of team meetings both before and during the course of that retreat.”²¹ Laity were also invited to learn the method of giving directed

15. *The Jesuit-Letter Upper Canada Province*, Regis College, Willowdale ON, Vol. 36: 4 (July-Aug, 1962), 2.

16. *The News-Letter Upper Canada Province*, Regis College, Willowdale ON, Vol. 38: 3 (May-June, 1963), 1.

17. *The News-Letter Upper Canada Province*, Regis College, Willowdale ON, Vol. 38: 4 (July-August, 1963), 1-2.

18. Email Letter, Howard Gray SJ, Accessed 20 October 2017.

19. *Dictionary of Jesuit Biography: Ministry to English Canada*, Vol. I (1842-1987), 3.

20. Interview, S. Douglas McCarthy SJ, Toronto, 23 February 2019.

21. Shano, “The Birth and Growth of the Spiritual Exercises,” 32-33.

retreats, which would bring people together in peace and harmony.²² This demanded, not academic research, but the recovery of Christian “wisdom by the conversations, collaborative meetings, seminars, and practical workshops ... [in the] oral tradition of Ignatian spiritual directors who have exercised their art in many different contexts.”²³ The directors also received “training in listening skills, made workshops on the Exercises, and were able to guide the Exercises according to a more program-type approach under qualified supervision.”²⁴ Veltri advised directors that “One of the major tasks is to establish rapport with the directee.” He was concerned that directors not neglect the necessities of good human contact: “Don’t forget to exchange names and phone numbers in writing. The atmosphere is one of two equals or friends ‘just talking.’”²⁵ The directors pray with the directee and prepare them to encounter the real presence of God in their experience. Thus, the role of the spiritual guide was to direct and facilitate rather than dictate. Veltri alerted seekers that they should:

Be conscious of your sensations and living experiences of feeling, thinking, hoping, loving, of wondering, desiring, etc. Then, conscious of God’s unselfish, loving presence in you, address God simply and admit: Yes, you do love life and feeling into me.... You are present to me. You live in me. Yes, you do.²⁶

Once the directees are aware of God’s presence in this approach, the spiritual guide can begin assisting how they are being led and responding to the presence of God. Openness between the director and the directee is crucial to discerning the emotional and spiritual direction to be followed in God’s message.²⁷ Canadian Jesuits and those recruited from other countries who wished to participate in this ministry were instructed at Guelph on how to listen to the directees and assist them to be more outgoing toward the community. For their part the directees were encouraged through prayer to discover God in their lives. They discussed their progress daily with their directors. The retreat process also became less gendered as women religious were included in the retreat movement both as directors and directees.

In the 1970s, lay men and women from around the globe were included in the internships, workshops, and institutes at Guelph. In the second year of operation, forty-two persons made the annotation nineteen retreat under

22. *Dictionary of Jesuit Biography: Ministry to English Canada*, Vol. II (1988-2006), 91-92.

23. Veltri, *Orientalions*, Guelph Centre of Spirituality, 1998, Vol. 2A, iii.

24. Veltri, “Prayer Guide,” *Orientalions*, Guelph Centre of Spirituality, 1998, Vol. 2B, 617.

25. Veltri, *Orientalions*, Vol. 2A, 3.

26. Veltri, *Orientalions*, Vol. 1, 2.

27. Veltri, *Orientalions*, Vol. 1, 7.

the guidance of twenty-one guides. The annotation nineteen retreat extends the thirty days of the Spiritual Exercises over an extended period of daily prayer, perhaps for much of the year. In the retreat, the director is a friend for seekers to help them discern the meaning of God's call in their lives.²⁸ Directed prayer is a one-on-one spiritual direction to inspire people to live a life beyond themselves for the service of the community. Philip Shano comments that "Veltri and English supervised all of them. They also had thirty-three others taking a spirituality course." Team dynamics made for a creative ministry, bringing people together for service in the community, but its "major actor was Veltri."²⁹

Pastor John Buttars came to Loyola House seeking a spirituality that could be shared with his parishioners at Harcourt Memorial United Church in Guelph. He encountered Father Veltri, whom he described as "a larger than life character even in the wheelchair that he occupied for decades."³⁰ Buttars describes how he and his wife Barbara were driving up the driveway to Loyola House when they saw Veltri in his wheelchair on the road. Veltri recognized them and "suddenly veered into the centre of the road playing 'chicken' with our car. A huge infectious grin played across his round face."³¹ Besides exposing the playful—even daredevil—side of Veltri's personality, the anecdote suggests something of his common-touch charisma, which made him relatable for all sorts of people. His casual conversation was never pious and could be a bit iconoclastic, but he was always comfortable with himself. No doubt that in turn made others comfortable with him. Other personal reminiscences suggest a man brimming with life and vitality even in his later years.

Veltri had encouraged the Buttars to make the Spiritual Exercises at Loyola House. At the retreat they encountered new spiritual words that they did not understand, such as "contemplation," "daily examen," "discernment of spirits," "finding God in all things," "meditation," and other terms associated with Ignatian spirituality. In 2008, when Buttars was with Veltri in Victoria, British Columbia, giving a retreat, they began to fashion variations for the future to direct prayer in parish setting. A number of different formats surfaced, such as praying three weekends in a row with a month in between each weekend. Or the directees would pray for thirty to forty-five minutes daily, and have an intern as a spiritual director to talk with them about their

28. *Spiritual Direction: An Introduction* (Syracuse NY: Spiritual Renewal Center, n.d.).

29. Shano, "The Birth and Growth of the Spiritual Exercises," 33-35.

30. Veltri was confined to a wheelchair from 1986 due to a form of muscular dystrophy.

31. Rev. John Buttars, *This Mustard Seed Grew! A Personal History of the Week of Guided Prayer* (Guelph ON: Vocamus Community Publications, 2013), 1.

prayer life. Buttars talked about his prayer experience with a prayer group of the Harcourt United Church, and then some participants visited Loyola House to undergo Ignatian spirituality.

In January 1983, Veltri initiated a week of shared prayer at the Harcourt Church, where members of the Protestant congregation opened themselves “to a spiritual practice some were afraid might be—embarrassing” because of its Catholicity. They discovered, in fact, that “prayer is a deep root that we all share.” This spiritual encounter transformed local parishioners, who were then educated to continue Ignatian prayer in a parish format. Buttars tells us that after 1983 members of different faiths formed the Guelph Ecumenical Guild of Ignatian Spiritual Direction, which provided yearly leadership for the Guelph Ecumenical Week of Guided Prayer with workshops and instruction in prayer. As Buttars observes, “Father Veltri’s idea of ‘retreat goes to the parish’ did not take root only in the Guelph area, but in fact it did take root ... [in] New Zealand, Singapore, Australia, Great Britain, Malta, South Africa, the United States of America, and beyond.” The practice of directed retreats spread to Ireland, Scotland, and then back to North America. Buttars continues, that the “idea of ‘retreat goes to parish’ as originally conceived by Veltri has spread around the world is rather remarkable, and it has left a trail of grace where people’s lives have been transformed.” John Buttars quotes Lorraine Dykman to sum up the impact of guided prayer: “having a guide to help me notice what my inner experiences were, helped me [to] validate my inner life, my spirituality, my life in God, and to begin the long process of learning the grammar of the heart.”³² The sharing of Ignatian prayer gathered Christians of different faiths into the union of prayer and fellowship.

Veltri eventually put the insights he gained as director on paper. This stage of his writing was recorded on mimeographed pages, and from these first pages the volume of *Orientations* evolved in 1979. The printed version was produced fourteen years later, and a revised edition was published in 1994. A second volume was published in 1996 in Parts A and B.³³ In this volume, Veltri counselled future directors:

During this and the next few interviews, one of your major tasks is to establish rapport with your directee. This may take even longer than the first two or three interviews, but the process will be facilitated by non-judgmental listening and respect. In this first interview, be careful not to overwhelm your directee with too many instructions. Remember how you felt at the beginning of your own Exercises journey—your fears, anxieties, apprehensions, hopes, and misunderstandings. In addition to a warm,

32. Buttars, 3-20.

33. Interview, Peter and Barbara Peloso, Guelph ON, 29 August 2017.

unhurried atmosphere, you want to establish a context of faith. You are a person of faith; the person you are directing is a person of faith. The essential work is the work of Jesus' Spirit who is present with you during this interview and is working through you.³⁴

Barbara and Peter Peloso made retreats at Guelph where they were schooled in the ability to direct the prayer of other people. Barbara gave her first retreat in 1975 in Monroe, NY, and Peter some years later gave his first retreat at Guelph. Under Veltri's guidance, lay persons learned to provide spiritual guidance to others by becoming directors and helping directees to discover God working in the lives. The lay directors guided directees living around the world, and formed organizations such as the Christian Life Communities (CLC) to foster personal prayer and spiritual lives that would contribute to the community. These faith-based groups offered seekers the Spiritual Exercises to enrich lives through spiritual engagement in the community. Peter and Barbara Peloso were the first presidents of CLC, and believed that Ignatian spirituality would provide a solid foundation of Christian life for parishioners, who would then go out to improve the quality of life around them. They got to know Father Veltri and discovered that he was totally open and honest.

The Pelosos' and Buttars' encounters with Veltri demonstrated the ripple effect that the Loyola retreat experience triggered in all people of religious faith. Another inspired director of souls, Reverend Jean Mitchell of the Anglican Church of Canada, met Veltri for a week of directed prayer in 1986 at the Loyola House, and it had a profound effect on her life. As she underwent the retreat experience "all the dirt came out," and she began to live anew. In the late 1980s, with Veltri's guidance, she helped to initiate directed retreats at St George's Anglican Church and nearby Guelph parishes. At Loyola House ecumenical retreats were initiated, and Veltri prepared fifteen interns to assist in the spiritual guidance of parishioners who wished to make directed retreats over a nine-month period. Each intern would be responsible for the guidance of two parishioners.³⁵

When Veltri was writing *Orientations*, Mitchell reviewed the manuscript and commented that it needed editing. He asked for her assistance, and in the process taught her how to use the computer keyboard to input and edit text, and how to root out destructive viruses discovered in the text. She learned that *Orientations* would be a "valuable resource" for guiding retreatants. Veltri made sections of the text easily available on the internet. They were eagerly downloaded by interested persons and translated into

34. Veltri, *Orientations*, Volume 2, Part A (Guelph ON: Guelph Centre of Spirituality, 1998), 3.

35. Interview, Bernard Carroll SJ, Guelph ON, 27 July 2017.

various languages, including those of Eastern Europe, such as Croatian, Slovenian, Bosnian, and Herzegovinian. She remembers that when at Guelph Father Veltri had ecumenical Eucharistic services in the Taizé style of two communion tables: one for Catholics and a second for Protestants. The two communities thus celebrated a common liturgy of Word and Eucharist, yet the separate communion tables respected the different traditions.³⁶ At the same time, ecumenical retreats emerged in different denominational churches in North America, England, and elsewhere. For instance, Rev. Hilary Alflatt, the pastor of an inner-city Anglican parish in Sheffield, England, initiated in 1989 a “Shoestring Retreat” for evenings of directed prayer that had no cost for the participants.

Even after Veltri moved to Pickering, Ontario, for health reason in 2001, he continued to give spiritual direction and guide retreatants. Jean Mitchell spent days at Pickering, participated in animated discussions on spirituality, and was impressed with Veltri’s retentive memory, creative analysis, and ability to draw clear meaning from complicated circumstances. She states that John had a powerful influence both at home and abroad because of his clear mind, books in print, and articles on the internet. Indeed, one of the hallmarks of Veltri’s outreach was his ability to extend his teachings through the emerging world of the internet.

The renewed Exercises by now were becoming acceptable in parishes of other denominations, and a United Church minister sent a parishioner, Elizabeth Norman, to make a retreat with Veltri at Loyola House. On all occasions she was touched by his frankness, which helped her to cope with her own personal problems. Although confined to a wheelchair since the mid-1980s, he was optimistic about finding ways of overcoming his physical disability and was skillful in the use of his computer. In sum she found Veltri “very kind and spiritual.”³⁷

In the summer of 1996 an American Jesuit from the Weston Theology Center in Boston, Jeffrey Putthoff, arrived at Guelph, looking for new ways of giving the Spiritual Exercises. Under Veltri’s guidance he gave four retreats in various locations and got to know Veltri very well. Putthoff says that what surprised him most about Veltri was that Veltri tested him several times to discover what sort of a director he would make. From his wheelchair, for instance, Veltri dropped a small item to see if Putthoff would pick it up. Puzzled, Putthoff let it lie on the floor, and this pleased Veltri: to be treated as an adult with a disability and allowed to solve his own problems. Veltri

36. Interview, Rev. Jean Mitchell, Guelph ON, 29 August 2017; and Jean Mark Marc Laporte’s biography.

37. Interview, Peter and Elaine Nightengale, Toronto ON, 17 August 2017; story told by Elizabeth Norman.

continued to “aggressively test” Putthoff’s understanding of his supervisory role in directing others. Putthoff says he found Veltri challenging in their discussions and creative in his dramatic presentations.³⁸

Of great interest to Veltri, according to Putthoff, was the annotation eighteen variation of the Exercises, which recommended adjustment of the demands of the retreat for seekers of less potential. In the week before the start of retreat, the directees were taught how to use quiet time, enter into prayer, and recognize the value of their own experience in transforming their lives. To prepare the directees, Veltri used films and music to help them discover God speaking to them in their lives. He also encouraged them to see him once or twice daily to speak of their experience of God in prayer. He would say that directees needed to share with others what Jesus was saying to them, and speak about what was evolving in their spiritual life. Veltri’s goal was to encourage the directees’ conversation with God, and God’s with them.³⁹

Putthoff saw Veltri as being “on the outside of Jesuit tradition as he was continually innovating the Exercises whereas English was on the inside,” following traditional insights on direction of the Spiritual Exercises. Rather than drawing directees back to Jesuit traditions, Putthoff discovered in *Orientations* that Veltri would draw directees away from the methodical prayer of the retreat, and open topics and times for them to generate freedom to pray as they wished, and not to give hard and fast directions. He would introduce veins of psychology without making inferences. He found that Veltri related well with the laity and inspired them to be creative in prayer and in the use of the Spiritual Exercises. Putthoff also found that Veltri used examples taken from the spiritual program of the Enneagram. He conjectured that from the nine figures of the Enneagram used by the program for personal understanding, Veltri himself would be placed as a Number 8—that is, a strong, provocative, active, truthful, impulsive, and “take-over” type of person.⁴⁰ When directing the Exercises, Veltri was not afraid to bring outside contemporary influences into the traditional sixteenth-century Spiritual Exercises.

Father Eric Oland was one retreatant who felt the force of Veltri’s influence. He took the internship to learn the process of directing retreats. The internship for him consisted of making the long retreat and attending monthly meetings over a period of nine months. Having come into contact

38. Interview, Jeffrey Putthoff SJ, Syracuse NY, 24 November 2017.

39. Interview, Putthoff; Annotation 18, *The Spiritual Exercises of St Ignatius: A New Translation*, transl. by Louis J. Puhl SJ (Westminster MD, 1962), 7-8.

40. Interview, Putthoff. The Enneagram is a program for learning about oneself by exposure to nine different personality types.

with the second volume of Veltri's *Orientations* for directors, Oland was inspired, and found they provided him with the "meat" of the Spiritual Exercises. The volume was effectively a handbook for future directors and a manual on how to give the Spiritual Exercises. When directing others over nine months in the annotation nineteen variation of the retreat, Oland found the directions given by the second volume of *Orientations* were most helpful. Oland added that novice masters visiting Guelph from the USA were impressed with *Orientations*, and took copies home with them. Korean, Australian, and English directors also took copies home.⁴¹ Veltri instructed the interns: "What help does my directee need to prepare for the exercises journey?" Veltri answered this question by summing up the qualities one needs to make a solid retreat: imagination in prayer, personal relationship with Jesus, ability to spend a whole hour in meditation, and the skill to articulate one's inner experiences clearly. For Veltri, the key to the journey of the Exercises was to encourage the directee to dispose himself "to notice his interior experiences":⁴²

In general, as this disposition phase continues, you will be helping your directee to articulate and identify his feelings and thoughts about life that are surfacing through his prayer. As these feelings and heartfelt thoughts become more evident, encourage him to express them to God: "Did you talk to God about these feelings? ... Don't be afraid to express how you really feel when you are at prayer." Sometimes it helps to explain the Colloquy as being a two-way conversation with God: "Imagine Jesus sitting across from you. Tell him what is on your mind and what is in your heart. Then be silent and imagine Jesus responding to you. Together you enter into conversation."⁴³

Once the directees have a sense of God's love in their lives, it would further inspire them to look to the religious community, that is, to the kingdom of God, which was being offered to them to motivate their prayer and discernment. Veltri pointed out that the centrality of prayer was entering into the kingdom of God:

The Kingdom Exercise is related to all of the exercises from this point onward. The Kingdom Exercise is connected to the decision-making process and the Election which, in turn, are crucial to the understanding of the perspective from which the Exercises text is written. The Kingdom

41. Interview, Eric Oland SJ, Montreal, 26 September 2017. Annotation 19 allows extra time for educated and working retreatants to learn the preliminary skills necessary to initiate the spiritual exercises.

42. Veltri, *Orientations*, Volume 2A (Guelph ON: Guelph Centre of Spirituality, 1998), 9 and 12.

43. Veltri, *Orientations*, Volume 2A (Guelph ON: Guelph Centre of Spirituality, 1998), 13.

Exercise is the kernel of all the exercises of the Second Week which are cast in the theme of responding to a call to follow Jesus.⁴⁴

Ecumenical Sharing

In 1984 Veltri composed the manual *Directed Prayer in A Church Setting* to communicate parish spirituality for an ecumenical community, including Catholics, Anglicans, the United Church, and other Christians. A suggested week of prayer in a parish included “a half hour prayer daily based on the Scriptures and receiving daily spiritual direction for a half hour. Participants made their prayer exercise at home and came to the parish for direction of 30-45 minutes Monday through Friday.”⁴⁵ The prayer week would conclude with a group session on Saturday afternoon.

Having completed a long retreat, Christian Life Community members Elaine and Peter Nightingale qualified and became directors of prayer. They had firsthand experience of Veltri’s methods. Characteristically, Veltri encouraged the use of the telephone and, later, the internet and Skype to share prayer with spiritual companions in the far corners of the country. The use of prayer by electronics turned out to be helpful for many. CLC member on Manitoulin Island Mary Balfe was trained in prayer through the Exercises and found she could use Skype to relate prayerfully with fellow members of CLC across the country. She used Veltri’s guidance in shared prayer.⁴⁶

Father Charles Pottie also experienced the impact of the renewed Exercises. He contacted the Christian Life Communities in Halifax, Saint John, Winnipeg, and Calgary, and guided them to implement directed retreats and the preparation of directors to guide them. He related that Father Robert Chase in Halifax organized the Atlantic Association of the Spiritual Exercises Apostolate (AASEA) during the 1970s, and educated a team of directors to give retreats. The team presented retreats using Veltri’s *Orientations* as a guide. Pottie pointed out that Veltri, unlike most Jesuits, came to the order from a family originating in southern Italy, and as a result he brought with him to the Spiritual Exercises the affective dimension of art, poetry, music and films that can be associated with Italian culture.

In the same way that Veltri was attuned to modern technologies for sharing information, he was sensitive to the circumstances of modern society when giving the Exercises. In his 1984 article on *Directed Prayer in A Church Setting*, Veltri suggested variations to the retreat format that could be implemented in parishes. He suggested how to make “a directed retreat in

44. Veltri, *Orientations*, Volume 2A, 123.

45. “‘Directed Retreat’ Goes to the Parish,” AJC File 0700-3000.2.12.

46. Interview, Peter and Elaine Nightingale, Guelph, 17 August 2017.

the midst of daily living.” A retreat might begin on Sunday afternoon with a group who prayed over the Scriptures for a half hour each day and received spiritual direction for a half hour. The retreat would close on the following Saturday with a group session. In Veltri’s view, this weeklong experience would teach the directees “to integrate their life and their prayer.”⁴⁷ Through the retreat, the directees learned to pray during their regular workday, experienced the Scriptures as a rich source of their spiritual life, and eventually experienced directing others in prayer. The spiritual experience prepared seekers for a more serious annotation nineteen retreat, spread out over a nine-month period of directed prayer. As this example demonstrates, in Veltri’s view, there were numerous variations to the Spiritual Exercises, which included internship and workshop retreat experiences.⁴⁸

When directees had gotten accustomed to pray daily over the Scriptures, Veltri suggested that they might ponder the Scriptures like “a love letter.” He believed that suitable music might be used to enhance the solitude of prayer and meditation. In spiritual presentations to directees, he suggested that slides or a video might also be helpful to enhance their spiritual understanding. He encouraged sharing through selections from songs and films, which can bring prayer groups together, lift their spirits, and unite them in commitment to spiritual values. Veltri even advocated the use of playdough for creative handmade presentations to express the joy of the heart with one’s hands in regard to the works of the saints and good acts of Christians.⁴⁹

The spiritual methodology that Veltri shared at Loyola House through personal contact with innovative approaches spread its influence across the country. As Father Pottie explains, the retreat ministry following the Guelph program prepared a generation of priests, sisters, and laity to direct retreats. Inspired by the renewed spirituality at Guelph, Father Robert Chase moved to Montreal in 1976 to found the Ignatian Centre for directed spirituality. Fathers John Trainor and Earl Smith, both educated in the renewed Exercises, replaced Chase in Halifax. To cite another example, Father Richard Soo, who had been educated in renewed retreats at Loyola House, brought directed renewal to Winnipeg to prepare lay persons to give directed retreats. In 1997, Father English was sent to Winnipeg as superior of the Jesuit community to spread the ministry of directed retreats for the laity in western Canada. From Montreal Chase travelled to Calgary in 1981 to form the Calgary Association of the Spiritual Exercises Apostolate, and prepare lay people to give annotation nineteen retreats. Father Joseph McArdle followed Chase in directing the ministry in Calgary, and Pottie then replaced McArdle.

47. John A. Veltri SJ, *Directed Prayer in a Church Setting* (Guelph ON: Ignatius College, 1984, 1997), 3.

48. Veltri SJ, *Directed Prayer in a Church Setting*, 4.

49. Veltri SJ, *Directed Prayer in a Church Setting*, 17-18, 21.

All of them continued the method of retreats presented by the laity with the assistance of *Orientations*,⁵⁰ which proved itself to be a useful text for those learning to direct others in retreat. As Veltri explained to directors, the Exercises taught that:

The overall Christian worldview is both incarnational and trinitarian, at once immanent and transcendent. It is a world view basic to Christianity and particularly stressed in Ignatian spirituality. The owning or appropriation of this world view is important for both you and your directees.⁵¹

In a similar manner, books published more recently, such as Joseph Tetlow's *Choosing Christ in the World* and Kevin O'Brien's *The Ignatian Adventure*, inspired directors and directees to embrace the spirit of God and make the world better.⁵²

International Outreach

Veltri's influence spilled over the Canadian border to the Stella Maris Retreat House in Skaneateles, New York, where Sister Marise May made a retreat in 1985 with Father James Rudick and Sister Anne de Porres SSJ. They followed the Guelph renewal to guide the retreatants in the way of the annotation nineteen retreat, offering personally directed retreats and not a preached format. "The Spiritual Renewal Center" subsequently was established near Syracuse, New York, and after her retreat experience Sister Marise joined Jim Krisher in directing retreats there. Catholics sought contact with God, while Protestants sought with the help of meditation and contemplation to learn to pray over the Scriptures.

As May recounts, the directed retreat movement became international, and opened up spiritual growth to individuals and inspired the formation of Christian communities.⁵³ The retreat house in Syracuse incorporated directed retreats in its offerings. To provide instructions for the retreatants the Spiritual Renewal Center initially produced a modified retreat format using photocopies based on Veltri's *Orientations*. Besides *Orientations*, the renewed retreat format laid out by Joseph Tetlow in *Choosing Christ in the World* was also used. With twenty-three trained directors, the Spiritual

50. Interview, Charles Pottie SJ, Toronto ON, 29 July 2017.

51. John A. Veltri, *Orientations*, Volume 2: Part A, 127.

52. Joseph Tetlow, *Choosing Christ in the World: Directing the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius Loyola according to Annotations Eighteen and Nineteen: a Handbook* (St Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1989); Kevin O'Brien SJ, *The Ignatian Adventure: Experiencing the Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius in Daily Life* (Chicago: Loyola Press, 2011).

53. Interview, Sr Marise May, Syracuse NY, 1 September 2017.

Renewal Center provided free monthly spiritual guidance for two hundred people yearly.⁵⁴

The Guelph method of guided retreats also influenced the Mercy Prayer Center of the Sisters of Saint Joseph Spirituality Center in Rochester, New York. They used Veltri's *Orientations* in directing annotation nineteen retreats. Meanwhile, Episcopal priest Tilden H. Edwards of Bethesda, Maryland, sought out the Spiritual Growth Programs at the Jesuit Centre at Wernersville, Pennsylvania, to learn about directed retreats, and brought one-to-one directed retreats to the Shalem Center for Spiritual Formation in Bethesda, Maryland.⁵⁵

At the Center for Religious Development founded in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1971, William A. Barry and William J. Connolly encouraged spiritual growth among the people of the church. Father George Collins relates that when a student at the Weston Jesuit School of Theology in Cambridge, Massachusetts, he became involved in the retreat movement at "The Center for Religious Development." This center trained spiritual directors for the retreat movement, who benefitted from the flexible format coming from Guelph. For instance, Collins read John English's books on the Exercises, and visited Guelph to learn about the program. In this method, the directors were educated to allow the directees the freedom to discover God guiding them in prayer. The directees were inspired to look for the movement of God in their interior life. The Center for Religious Development at Weston Jesuit School of Theology had a strong influence on New England Jesuits who were completing their theological studies at this time and in initiating the direction of retreats.⁵⁶ Although these examples focus on the northeastern United States, the spiritual influence of directed prayer spread also to Los Altos Retreat Center in California.

The influence of the renewal of the Exercises at Guelph reached beyond the shores of North America to many other nations. When returning home, those who came to Guelph for retreats from other countries in the world would often purchase copies of *Orientations*. Many beginners benefitted especially from Volume One. More experienced directors who wished to direct others in the spiritual life studied the second volume and learned how to further communicate the spiritual life with skill.⁵⁷ These self-published volumes went through many editions, and up to 30,000 copies were sold for a

54. Interview, Sr Marise May.

55. Interview, Sr Marise May.

56. Interview, George Collins SJ, Morristown NJ, 9 October 2017; William A. Barry and William J. Connolly, *The Practice of Spiritual Direction* (New York: Harper One, 2009, 1982), xii; email Letter, William Barry SJ, Cambridge MA, 24 October 2017.

57. Interview, Roger Yaworski SJ, Guelph ON, 27 July 2017.

modest price out the kitchen door of Loyola House. The Nightingales pointed out that Veltri was not seeking to make a profit on these publications, but wished to share useful information with those who embraced the Spiritual Exercises and directed others in prayer. Veltri trained many spiritual directors and his recorded talks are still being used.⁵⁸ On continents around the world directors and directees still hear his commentaries on sharing the spiritual life and guiding others to do the same.

Since 1981, Sister Myree Harris has been a member of the Christian Life Community in Australia. She listened to the tape recordings from Guelph, and wrote that “they are still the best teaching tool I have encountered, with many deeply personal insights from both speakers [Veltri and English].” The tapes when in Australia were transferred to CDs, and Sister Myree then sent copies to Loyola House at Guelph and to other interested Canadians. When listening to tape recordings, Sister Myree made the Spiritual Exercises on her own and began directing others in retreat in the late 1970s. She flew to Guelph in 2001 with other Australians and there entered into the Spiritual Exercises at Loyola House. After a year at Guelph, she returned home to Australia with copies of *Orientations* and *Directed Prayer in a Church Setting*. In 2003 she took the internship at Guelph for directing the Spiritual Exercises, and in the process guided directees at Holy Rosary Parish in Guelph. Later, when Veltri was living at Rene Goupil House in Pickering, she renewed her connection with him, spending three hours with him and Erik Oland at dinner. She confesses, “I have never laughed so much and for so long as I did that day. John was a most delightful, gregarious companion.”⁵⁹ At Guelph in 2007, Sister Myree was directed through the Exercises by Oland, and on occasion she met Veltri again when he attended the Masses, talks, and activities.

Back in Australia Sister Myree gave annotation nineteen retreats extending over a nine-month period. For her personal use and for directing CLC members she used the outlines of the meditations as found in *Orientations*. The members of the CLC in Australia continue to be active and since 1969 have used the tapes, published books, and websites on the Spiritual Exercises. Sister Myree fondly remembers her time at Guelph and the opportunity she had to meet its spiritual directors. She writes, “I count it one of the great blessings of my life that I have met and talked for a long time to both of these great men [Veltri and English]. The impact of the Spiritual Exercises Institute on probably thousands of people since 1964 is

58. Interview, Peter and Elaine Nightingale, Toronto ON, 17 August 2017.

59. Email Letter, Sr Myree Harris RSJ, Australia, 8 September 2017.

beyond estimation. Lives have been transformed, and those people have, in turn, affected others.”⁶⁰

Australian Jesuit Noel Bradford might confirm Sister Myree’s assessment. He was at Guelph with John English in 1963-1964, and returned to Guelph in 1982, when he met Veltri. Under the guidance of Bradford, the CLC group in Australia met from 1981 to 1989 every Tuesday night. He writes that in Australia the volumes of *Orientations* were “a very useful resource book for CLC [members] and for directees.” They used twenty tapes from Guelph, which included the voices of both Veltri and English. They proved very helpful for daily life and giving the Spiritual Exercises. To guide the directors, the Australian CLC members went on to compose their own resource book to guide directees—largely taken from Veltri’s *Orientations*.⁶¹

Kyoko Leung was a member of the CLC in Hong Kong, which like other CLCs, promoted retreats for the spiritual growth of its members. To direct retreats and assist in the spiritual formation of its members, CLC invited Father Patrick O’Sullivan from Australia and Father Laurence Murphy from Ireland to visit Hong Kong. Leung participated in the directed retreats in Hong Kong, and after coming to Canada in 2012 continued as a member of the CLC and its many ministries, one more testament to the global outreach of Guelph.⁶²

Testimonies such as these acknowledge the global reach of Veltri’s insights for retreats in the more flexible formats to better suit contemporary life. Veltri received correspondence from around the world.⁶³ His three-volume *Orientations*, manuals such as *Directed Prayer in A Church Setting* and *Spirituality for Gays and Lesbians and Others that Fall through the Cracks*, and other publications continue to be read with great interest at retreat houses in Canada, the United States, England, Ireland, and Australia. His writings are translated into many languages, allowing couples for Christ members and other interested persons around the world to download these works and use them to guide themselves and others in seeking God in their lives.⁶⁴ The website that Veltri created has a “significant impact with an average of 900 or so hits per week.” Jesuit Jean-Marc Laporte, who currently maintains the Veltri website, explains that Veltri’s extensive writings have

60. Email letter, Sr Myree Harris RSJ.

61. Email letter, Noel Bradford SJ, Australia, 10 October 2017.

62. Email letter, Kyoko Leung, Markham ON, 18 September 2017.

63. Veltri John A. SJ, Correspondence, Canadian Jesuit Archives, Montreal, CDA legacy, CDA 397.

64. Veltri John A. SJ, Correspondence, Canadian Jesuit Archives, Montreal, CDA legacy, CDA 397.

been “downloaded from the website about 1000 times,” which indicates his influence in Canada and other places in the world.⁶⁵

Conclusion

And so, although Father John Veltri has passed, his legacy remains. Ignatian scholar Howard Gray reports from Detroit, “Guelph was an important locale for the [Ignatian] renewal.” As principals of the team at Guelph, John Veltri and John English gave leadership to the renewal of the Spiritual Exercises. John English provided the essential understanding for directed retreats, but it was John Veltri who provided the practical applications through his inspirational, sensitive guidance, through his vibrant humanism, and his willingness to wed contemporary methods with the sixteenth-century discernment of spirits. The Spiritual Exercises composed by Ignatius Loyola were stratified in the nineteenth century by Christian anti-revolutionary traditionalism. After the Second World War, the retreat movement renewed the traditional spiritual tools of retreat by prayer on the Scriptures and the Fathers of the Church to encounter the living Jesus Christ. Veltri implemented the renewal to provide Catholics and Protestants formats for retreat that were adaptable, attractive, and made prayer possible. The renaissance of directed retreats in the 1970s brought people of different faiths together—Catholics, Anglicans, United Church—from all over the globe to search for the uplifting and liberating force in their lives. Using art, music, and films, Father Veltri broadened the experience of Ignatian discernment to guide seekers to a personal experience of God. A dynamism of utilizing healing prayer in the international movement of reconciliation flowed from Guelph, and brought people together from around the world in fellowship.

65. Jean Marc Laporte SJ, *Biography and Orientations*, [Jesuits.ca/Veltri obit.htm](http://Jesuits.ca/Veltri%20obit.htm), accessed August 28, 2017.

REVIEWS

Catholic Education in the Wake of Vatican II. Edited by Rosa Bruno-Jofré and Jon Igelmo Zaldívar. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017. 360 pages. \$56.25 cloth.

Catholic Education in the Wake of Vatican II came together as a result of an interdisciplinary symposium in Spain to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the closing of the Second Vatican Council (1962-65). The conference focused on the implications and reception of the Council's dogmatic constitutions, declarations, and decrees on education, in particular the *Declaration on Christian Education (Gravissimum Educationis)*, issued in 1966. The volume's scope is much broader. As with the conference, contributors to the volume include historians, theologians, sociologists, educational theorists, and philosophers from Canada, Chile, France, and Spain. What is at first glance a disparate selection of mostly case studies reads with considerable cohesion as a result of the editors' introduction, which offers background for the dramatic changes in the Catholic Church in the mid-twentieth century, and the opening chapter, which acts as a theoretical framework for the collection, explaining changes to Catholic theology and philosophy in the twentieth century. The chapters that follow—particularly those in parts two, three, and four—can be seen as evidence that supports and demonstrates the editors' interpretation of change in Catholic education in the Vatican II period. The volume also points to new directions in research, particularly the chapters in parts five and six, which focus on the potentialities and limitations of Catholic education rather than on understanding the past.

In their introductory chapter, editors Rosa Bruno-Jofré and Jon Igelmo Zaldívar situate changes in Catholicism and parallel changes in Catholic education over the past five hundred years from the Reformation to the post-conciliar period, in their social, political, theological, and philosophical context. They note developments in the education of women and poor children in the sixteenth century and explain how the education of poor children grew into the education of the upper classes. This occurred with the rise of democracy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Europe and with the shift from Church-controlled to state-controlled education in the nineteenth century, as the Church attempted to carve out space within the modern educational state for Catholic Christianity. This, coupled with

the influence of neo-Scholasticism and ultramontaniam, resulted in religious congregations that reflected Pius XI's anti-modernist and neo-Thomist views of education (as found in *Divini Illius Magistri*, 1929). The editors propose that, although the pluralization of Neo-Thomism and historicized theological approaches had begun in the 1930s and 1940s, many religious congregations did not experience these until Vatican II, when neo-Thomist principles were replaced by a theology that embraced the modern world. The latter resulted in dramatic change for religious congregations. This change was characterized by a return to the inspiration of the communities' founders, often with regard to the poor, a shift from schoolteachers to grassroots community educators, and a decline in power for the Church and its religious communities.

The editors' historical interpretation is given depth through Michael Attridge's opening chapter, "From Objectivity to Subjectivity: Changes in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries and their Impact on Post-Vatican II Theological Education," which provides the volume's theoretical framework. Attridge explains that Neo-Thomism emerged in response to the challenges of Enlightenment systems of philosophy—namely those of René Descartes and Immanuel Kant—that challenged Catholic theologians to determine the relationship between faith and reason. And while Neo-Thomism initially provided an objective, ahistorical, and predictable system of thought for Catholics, this changed over the first six decades of the twentieth century as scholars in general became interested in historical consciousness, subjectivity, and individual experience. Philosophy and theology became distinct fields of study. Attridge posits that the deductive track of Neo-Thomistic thought came to an end with Vatican II, while a second track, characterized by inductive reasoning and starting with the human person, emerged into "a much greater plurality, found in a variety of approaches," (30) which are controlled by the broader theological community, rather than the magisterium.

Though Attridge's and the editors' historical narratives provide important context for understanding changes to Catholic education as a result of Vatican II, their focus on Vatican II causes the volume to omit some significant influences on Catholic education in the mid-twentieth century, namely papal calls for lay involvement in the Church in the 1950s as a result of unprecedented global population growth in the twentieth century, and, of greater consequence, dramatic increases in the levels and types of education of women religious who taught. The sister formation movement—which sought to address the need for professional, intellectual, and spiritual formation among women religious—was arguably equal to the Council in its influence on the trajectory of Catholic education globally in the second half of the twentieth century. As Marta Danylewycz has argued with regard to women religious in Quebec, women religious have had a history and a

chronology that is different from the institutional Church (*Taking the Veil*, 1987). A volume on the topic of Catholic education post-Vatican II would be enriched by acknowledging this.

Nevertheless, the volume offers a wide array of important research. As a historian of education, the highlights came for me in parts two and three. Bernard Hugonnier and Gemma Serrano's chapter on the relationship between Church and state in France asks whether Catholic education has historically been available to children of all social origins. Their historical overview of church-state relations in France yields invaluable insight into the evolution of Catholic education in a country that likely made the greatest contribution toward Catholic schooling internationally in the nineteenth and early twentieth century through religious missionary congregations. Fascinating parallels exist in the history of Catholic education elsewhere, such as in British Columbia, where post-French Revolution ultramontane French Catholic missionaries established and petitioned for decades for government funding for Catholic schools, and where a secular state refused to fund Catholic schools between 1858 and 1977. The following three chapters in part two explore school and community catechesis in Franco's Spain, as well as the ability of religious orders dedicated to teaching to adapt to changing economic, social, and Church contexts, to move beyond the walls of the traditional school, and at times to engage in radical educational change.

Part three, "the process of resignification of missions," opens with a short, engaging chapter by the editors on the ideas and influence of Ivan Illich (1926-2002) on Catholic missionaries. Critical of the institutionalized Church, and with a parallel critique of institutionalized schooling, Illich sought to cultivate in missionaries virtues of love, incarnation, and spiritual poverty. Bruno-Jofré and Zaldívar explain: "influenced by psychoanalysis, Illich pursued authenticity in the vocations." (147) The following three chapters utilize the historical method to examine continuity and change in various communities of Canadian women religious. I was hopeful that one of these authors would analyse the implementation of Ivan Illich's ideas on a specific religious congregation, but none do. Elizabeth M. Smyth traces the work of the Congregation of Sisters of St. Joseph of Toronto in the post-Vatican II period as it diversified and extended to Guatemala, where it became a dangerous and life-changing mission. Heidi MacDonald examines three Eastern Canadian congregations and explains that the state supported their continued work in schools and post-secondary institutions; it was the congregations' declining numbers and shifting priorities, as well as the state's goals, that altered their service. Closing the section, Rosa Bruno-Jofré's study of the *Religieuses de Notre Dame des Missions* / Sisters of Our Lady of the Missions, uses the notion of pluralism (rather than secularism) to provide an insightful explanation for the congregation's process of

deinstitutionalization and differentiation in the “long 1960s” (1958-1974). Their embrace of pluralism led them to take education beyond schooling and “recreate their individual and collective selves” (204). These chapters demonstrate a trajectory that is common among many religious orders from around the world in the 1960s and 1970s; it involves decline, a change in social context, and the redefining of community vision.

On the whole, the chapters of *Catholic Education in the Wake of Vatican II* are well researched, well written, and have the capacity to significantly augment one’s understanding of the permanent and dramatic change that took place in Catholic education in the twentieth century.

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Bayanihan and Belonging: Filipinos and Religion in Canada. Alison R. Marshall. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018. 304 pages. \$63.75. cloth; \$31.95 paper.

Filipinos, after the Chinese and Indians, are the third largest immigrant nationality in Canada, and in Winnipeg Filipinos actually outnumber Chinese and Indo-Canadians. More than 77,000 Filipinos live in Manitoba, according to the 2016 census, women outnumbering men. Tagalog is the second language in Winnipeg and is spoken there by “teachers, nurses, cleaners, clerks, garment workers, domestic help, health-care aids, and meat-packing workers and also ... priests and pastors ... [and] doctors.” (9) Filipinos began to arrive in large numbers in Canada in the early 1960s as nurses and teachers, but often had to accept employment as live-in care-givers or garment workers. In a foreign land they needed the community of fellow Filipinos (*bayanihan*), and they soon joined the numerous Filipino associations in Manitoba to help deal with their need for belonging.

The first Filipinos in Canada were studied by Eleanor R. Laquian’s *A Study of Filipino Immigration to Canada, 1962-1972* (Ottawa: United Council of Filipino Associations in Canada (1973). Looking at employment opportunities, Philip F. Kelly and colleagues published *Explaining the Deprofessionalized: Why Filipino Immigrants Get Low-Paying Jobs in Toronto* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010). Recent studies on *Filipinos in Canada* by Roland Sintos Columa and associates investigated the protocol to gain employment and the “invisibility” of Filipino Canadians (University of Toronto Press, 2012). A recent geographical study of Filipinos in western Canada, *Pinay on the Prairies*, by Glenda Bonifacio (UBC Press, 2014), examined how Filipino women served Canadians in Alberta,

Manitoba, and Saskatchewan, and became transnationals attached to both Canada and the Philippines.

Bayanihan and Belonging: Filipinos and Religion in Canada, by Alison R. Marshall, is the latest study on Filipinos in western Canada and centres crucially on Filipino religious devotion in Manitoba. A professor at Brandon University in Manitoba, Marshall is mainly concerned with the Catholic religion. She visited St Edward's Parish in Winnipeg, as the centre for Filipino Catholic parish devotions, and also home chapels to photograph the images of Santo Nino and Our Lady. These saintly images are also present in Filipino Canadian restaurants to inspire the patrons rather than inebriate them with fine wines. Marshall explores "the religious aspect of that rich [devotional] history ... to arrive at an understanding of Filipino culture in rural and urban Manitoba." (3) She interviewed fifty-three Filipinos in Manitoba, both regular and occasional Catholics, and twice traveled to the Philippines to gain further understanding of how Filipinos practice their religion. Through her ethnographical research and archival studies, the author especially investigated the "underside" (3) of Filipino religious piety, that is, the many undocumented instances of private and household devotion. Simultaneously, Professor Marshall sheds light on those who protest the traditional religious culture, and finds considerable civil admiration for Dr. Jose Rizal, who was executed by the Spanish government for promoting Filipino nationalism. Her investigation also sought out pre-colonial indigenous religions such as the primitive healers called "hilots" and "anting-anting" objects of healing as part of the underside of Filipino religion, which, she points out, have "continued to be a source of spiritual power." (5) She also states that the Filipinos, even if they attend other churches, still honour the "infrastructure and authority" (5) of the Catholic Church, which provides rationality for Filipino *bayanihan*.

In *Bayanihan and Belonging* Professor Marshall offers fresh research on the study of the well-established Manitoba Filipino communities. Despite discrimination in the small towns and at times freezing weather, Filipino Manitobans have maintained a very positive attitude to the opportunities offered in Canada and strong hope for their future there. She notes throughout the study that "a majority of Filipinos in Manitoba remain Catholic, but a growing number are Protestant." (9-12) Among the non-Catholics, she lists some Muslims, Buddhists, agnostics, atheists, and those who are spiritual but not religious. Nevertheless, the conclusion from her study is that "there was little change in Filipino religious self-identification after migration" (12). She writes, "when Filipino migrants were homesick in Winnipeg, they went to mass at St Edward's. In many ways, Catholicism and Santo Nino defined Filipino national identity in Canada." This study of Filipinos in Manitoba is

highly recommended for its scholarly value and as an interesting read about energetic and hardworking new Canadians.

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My Basilian Priesthood, 1961-1967. Michael Quealey. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2019. 216 pages. \$24.99 paper.

When I finished reading the final few pages of Michael Quealey's memoir, I couldn't help but think of Charles Dickens' now classic observation: "It was the best of times, it was the worst of times" The Church struggled with reform and renewal in the 1960s, years when religious and lay alike were torn between what had been and what could be, years when many were reluctant to let go of the old order, while others rushed to embrace the Church of the future and all it promised.

Michael Quealey was ordained a Basilian in 1961 and soon found himself in the maelstrom that was sweeping over the Church and society, generally. It was a time of upheaval in Catholicism, and Quealey was an active participant, influenced by the reform spirit and contributing to it as he worked out his own position as a Catholic and a priest. Finding his way amid the uncertainty is the theme of this brief memoir.

Michael Quealey was an innovator and, as a young priest, was interested in discovering new ways to engage the spirit, to involve the laity more fully in the liturgy, and to profess one's faith actively and without condition. He first experimented at the Thomas More Society, St. Michael's College, and in interaction with the student population soon after his ordination between 1963 and 1965. He felt that Mass should be celebrated in English even before Latin was officially replaced with the vernacular, he encouraged the presence of music (drums, guitars, various instruments), and he encouraged lay participation in every aspect of the liturgy. Quealey was no radical, he was seeking a better way, not only for himself, but for all those who sought a more authentic relationship with the faith and the Church. For a few short years, he followed the same path, and did exactly that as Director of the Newman Centre between 1965 and 1967 on the campus of the University of Toronto. Tensions soon arose between Quealey, his superiors, and Church authority in Toronto. It impacted his health, but never, it seems, his faith. His decision to leave the priesthood in 1967 came as no surprise to his close friends. Amidst all this personal turmoil, he completed a doctorate in Upper Canadian history and enjoyed a long teaching career at York University.

My Basilian Priesthood is a slight memoir, published as a volume in the “Life Writing Series” emanating from Wilfrid Laurier University Press. It is clear that portions were written from contemporary journals or diary jottings, especially for the time Quealey spent in Mexico in 1966, and one wishes there was more. His observations are important for understanding the enormous change that shook the Church and the faithful in the 1960s. In all his actions, in his philosophy and throughout his life, Michael Quealey sought a more authentic spirituality, not only for himself, but for all those who sought a more meaningful Christian faith experience.

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Turning to the World: Social Justice and the Common Good Since Vatican II. Edited by Carl N. Still and Gertrud M. Rompré. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2018. XX, 232 pages. \$34.95 paper.

Scholars have published extensive commentaries on the documents of Vatican II (1962-65), but few studies exist on the impact of these documents on Catholic thought and practice, especially from a Canadian perspective. *Turning to the World: Social Justice and the Common Good Since Vatican II* seeks to fill this gap by bringing together a diverse crosssection of scholars to critically reflect on how the social vision of Vatican II has been understood, implemented, and sometimes resisted over these past fifty years. Rather than providing a comprehensive chronological narrative, this edited volume offers a kaleidoscope of different perspectives and methodologies. The result is an innovative collection of essays that helps the reader appreciate the complexity of the social vision of Vatican II and the challenges in assessing its legacy. As an historian of Catholicism in Canada, I will focus this review on how this book contributes to our understanding of Canadian religious history.

For members of the CCHA, the most helpful chapter is Catherine Clifford’s entry on Canadian contributions to promoting social justice at Vatican II. Clifford highlights the crucial—and often unsung—roles that Cardinal Paul Émile Léger of Montreal and Cardinal Maurice Roy of Quebec played in drafting key portions of *Gaudium et Spes (Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World)*, which shifted the orientation of the church towards justice and peace. After the council, Cardinal Roy was appointed president of the newly created Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace, which was responsible for implementing Vatican II’s social teachings. Clifford also chronicles some of the uniquely Canadian responses to Vatican II’s call for social justice, such as the Canadian bishops’ creation of Development and Peace to promote international development, as well as

the formation of multiple ecumenical coalitions to address specific types of social injustices (later merged into KAIROS). Clifford is to be commended for bringing English and French research on Canadian experiences at Vatican II into one place, but her chapter covers lots of theological and historical ground in a rather short space. My constructive suggestion would have been to divide this single chapter into two: the first would provide a deeper analysis of Léger and Roy's writings from the council (how did they understand social justice? and did how they envision the Church responding?); and the second would provide more details about the Canadian post-conciliar initiatives in Catholic social action (what they did and their impact).

Also of interest to Canadian historians is Gregory Baum's chapter about the uneven reception of post-conciliar Catholic social teaching. In an earlier chapter, biblical scholar Michael Duggan skillfully explains the scriptural origins of the key themes of Vatican II—conscience, freedom, and social justice—and he documents how this “new humanism” of Vatican II provided a new foundation for Catholic social teaching after the council. Whereas Duggan sees a clear line of continuity in papal teaching from Vatican II to Francis, Baum argues that Pope Benedict XVI (2005-13) rejected the “radical” social vision of Vatican II and instead promoted a pre-conciliar model of charity. Baum sees Benedict's teachings as part of a broader, reactionary, “ultra-conservative” current within global Catholicism that wants the church to turn its back on the world and no longer cooperate with others to promote justice. While Baum's arguments are theological, he provides multiple historical examples of how these tensions are evident in the Canadian Church. For instance, he references the recent difficulties that Development and Peace (inspired by the vision of Vatican II) has had with the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops. He also cites pastoral letters from the Canadian bishops that adopt—and others that reject—Benedict's position. Baum's article provides a helpful theological framework for why Vatican II's prophetic social mission has not yet been fully received or implemented in the life of the Canadian church. A minor critique is that these examples are mentioned without context and need further explanation.

More Canadian content is found in the brief prologue by Remi de Roo, bishop emeritus of Victoria, who offers a succinct summary of the teachings of Vatican II. While helpful to someone who is unfamiliar with the importance of the council, De Roo's entry is too short to offer any new insights about the Canadian experience at Vatican II. Historians are better served reading De Roo's more detailed reflection about Canadian participation at the council that was published in *Historical Studies* 75 (2009), 7-20. Interestingly, the chapter by Christopher Hrynkow, which studies the theological development of post-conciliar Catholic social teaching on the topics of peace and care for the environment, makes numerous references to

the writings of Bishop De Roo in its analysis. It is noteworthy that Hrynkow is using a Canadian perspective to interpret papal social teaching.

In her chapter, Mary Jo Leddy offers a philosophical reflection about how our interactions with our physical environment in Canada affect our worldview. Acknowledging Canada's colonial history, which led to a "garrison" mindset that sees people as "other," Leddy challenges Canadians to adopt instead a Vatican II attitude of gratitude (especially in how we share space with the First Nations and newcomers). To illustrate this turning to the common good, Leddy provides poignant stories from her work with refugees at Romero House in Toronto.

Finally, in Archbishop Don Bolen of Regina's epilogue, he points to Pope Francis as providing an important new paradigm of how the papacy is fulfilling the social vision of Vatican II. Bolen concludes that Francis' impact is less from any formal theological statement (although he wisely points to *Laudato Si: On Care for Our Common Home* as an important innovation); rather Francis is revolutionary for how he is using his Petrine ministry to engage Catholic social teaching. Through Francis' urgent and passionate pleas to create a "culture of encounter" and his symbolic actions, he has brought an immediacy and specificity to Catholic social teaching. Bolen serves on the Justice and Peace Commission of the CCCB, which produced the document "A Church Seeking Justice: The Challenge of Pope Francis to the Church in Canada." This reviewer would have liked to hear more about how Bishop Bolen sees Pope Francis specifically shaping the Catholic Church in Canada and how the Canadian Church should respond.

In summary, those historians who read *Turning to the World: Social Justice and the Common Good Since Vatican II* looking for detailed information about how the Canadian church has responded to Vatican II's prophetic call to work for justice will most likely be disappointed. This is understandable given that none of the authors in this volume are trained historians. However, scholars looking for new methods for how to assess the impact of Vatican II—Cynthia Wallace has a thought-provoking chapter on using Catholic literature to gauge the reception of Vatican II; Alisha Pomazon expands the traditional definition of social justice to also include interfaith relations (in this case, with the Jewish community); and Eduardo Soto Para provides a helpful summary of how the Latin American church has responded to Vatican II's call for justice—will be inspired by the creative approaches in this volume.

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