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**The Seventy-sixth annual meeting of the English Section
of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association
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CANADIAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

HISTORICAL STUDIES

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Editors' Foreword

We are pleased to present Volume 76 of *Historical Studies*, featuring papers presented at the 2009 annual meeting of the English Section of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association held at Carleton University, Ottawa. Articles contained in this volume focus on challenges to Catholic higher education, devotionalism and masculinity, the Catholic Youth Movement in Toronto, and ethnic history. There is also a historical note on the writings by an Ottawa priest on Canadian expansionism. Papers presented at the 2009 conference but not published here for various reasons (either papers given without a view to publication or not offered to the editors) are listed separately on page 6.

Once again, all of the articles included in this edition of the journal have passed through a rigorous “double-blind” review process, meaning that they have been accepted on the recommendations of at least three assessors. We are indebted to all of the individuals whose cooperation in the writing, assessing and revising of these papers has made this edition of *Historical Studies* possible. The journal and the association continue to be grateful to Fr. Edward Jackman, O.P., Secretary General of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association and the Jackman Foundation for the generous support and encouragement that has made this, along with previous volumes, possible.

Included as well are the submission guidelines for prospective authors which appeared in the last volume. As introduced in Volume 72, full-run back issues of the journal and a detailed bibliography are available for purchase through the Association, either in hard copy form or on CD. The Association continues to make selected articles from the previous years' journal accessible on the CCHA homepage (http://www.umanitoba.ca/colleges/st_pauls/ccha.html).

The journal again acknowledges the support that Saint Joseph's College, University of Alberta is providing Dr. Cuplinskas in carrying out her editorial duties for *Historical Studies*.

Elizabeth W. McGahan
Indre Cuplinskas

**Papers presented at the Annual Meeting
Carleton University, Ottawa 25-26 May 2009
but not included in this volume:**

Emma Anderson, “Nationalist Saint: Jean de Brébeuf and the Politics of Canadian Identity”

Robert Dennis, “‘Going back to the Land’ in the 1930s: The Liberal Order, Lived Religion and Living Otherwise in Toronto”

Jacqueline Gresko, “The Sisters of the Assumption Teaching Japanese Canadians During World War II—Nation, Homeland, Territory”

Gabriela Kasprzak, “Nationalism in a Catholic Weekly?: The Case Study of *Gazeta Katolicka* in Interwar Canada”

Christine Lei, “‘Setting Up Shop’—The Arrival of the Sisters of Social Service in Hamilton, Ontario”

Marilla McCarger, “‘For League Members and Their Friends’” Gender, Ethnicity and Class in the St. Louis Catholic Women’s League, 1924-1945”

Mark McGowan, “J.J. O’Gorman, Ottawa and the Imperial Irish, 1914-1919”

Heidi MacDonald and Elizabeth Smyth, “Public History? Motherhouse Museums in Canada, 1962-2008”

Laura Smith, “‘Nearly all the back township have neglected their Lenten duty’: Lay Initiative and Obstacles to Clerical Control in Nineteenth Century Rural Ontario”

Elizabeth Smyth, “From the Ottawa Valley to the Four Corners of the World: Reconceptualizing the Identity of the Grey Sisters of the Immaculate Conception”

Rooted in the Vision of Vatican II: Youth Corps and the Formation of Christ-Centered Social Activists in Toronto, 1966-1984¹

Peter E. BALTUTIS

Of all the changes that the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) brought to the Catholic Church in Canada, one of the most profound was the promotion of social justice. Vatican II's "Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World" articulated the Council Fathers' desire that religion should not only affect one's private life, but should also inform Catholics' cultural, social, and political engagement with the world.² *Gaudium et Spes* (the document's Latin title) challenged Christians to work for more humane conditions in all areas of socio-economic life and to promote justice as integral to the Church's mission.³ While the Council's desire for faith-based social change was clear, how to implement pastorally this vision into the formation of a faith community was an open question.

While scholars have begun to study the impact that Vatican II had upon the Canadian bishops' understanding of Catholic social justice,⁴ virtually no

¹ The author would like to thank the anonymous reviewers of *Historical Studies* for their insightful comments on the original presentation; Father Tom McKillop who was interviewed twice during this project; Father Patrick O'Dea who was also interviewed; Marc Lerman and the Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto for granting full access to the Tom McKillop and Youth Corps Papers; and the Canadian Catholic Historical Association and the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada for helping to fund this research.

² Vatican Council II, "Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World" (*Gaudium et Spes*), in Austin Flannery, O.P. (ed.), *Vatican Council II: A Completely Revised Translation in Inclusive Language*, (New York: Costello Publishing Company, 1996).

³ David Hollenbach, S.J., "Commentary on *Gaudium et Spes*," in Kenneth R. Himes, (ed.), *Modern Catholic Social Teaching: Commentaries and Interpretations*, (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2005), 266-91.

⁴ Collection of primary source documents: E. F. Sheridan, (ed.), *Do Justice!: The Social Teaching of the Canadian Catholic Bishops, 1945-1986*, (Sherbrook, QC: Édition Paulines; Toronto: Jesuit Centre for Social Faith and Justice, 1987), and E.F. Sheridan, (ed.), *Love Kindness!: The Social Teaching of the Canadian Catholic*

analysis has been done on how the laity (particularly youth) received and responded to this message. To help fill this gap in the scholarship, this article offers the first historical study of Youth Corps, an experimental ministry created by Father Thomas McKillop⁵ in the Archdiocese of Toronto that developed Christ-centered social activists (ages 14-25) through a scripture-based formation of action, reflection and friendship. Rooted in the vision of Vatican II, Youth Corps consciously promoted a Catholicism for young adults that was actively engaged in the modern world. During the years 1966-1984, tens of thousands of Catholic youth were motivated not only to engage in personal or group initiatives of Catholic social justice, but also to serve as Christian leaders who could effectively influence the political, social and cultural world around them. Youth Corps members: showcased the prophetic voice of Catholic social justice activists through highly successful “Events”; nurtured healthy families through Christian Family Peace Weekends; recognized the Christian dignity of the marginalized and neglected of Toronto (the physically handicapped and the imprisoned); and helped Catholics to see Christ in the poor, both in the inner city and around the world. Yet the success of Youth Corps’ social activism would also expose the ecclesiological tensions and struggles over pastoral strategy that challenged the Archdiocese of Toronto—and the entire Canadian Catholic Church—during the 1980s.

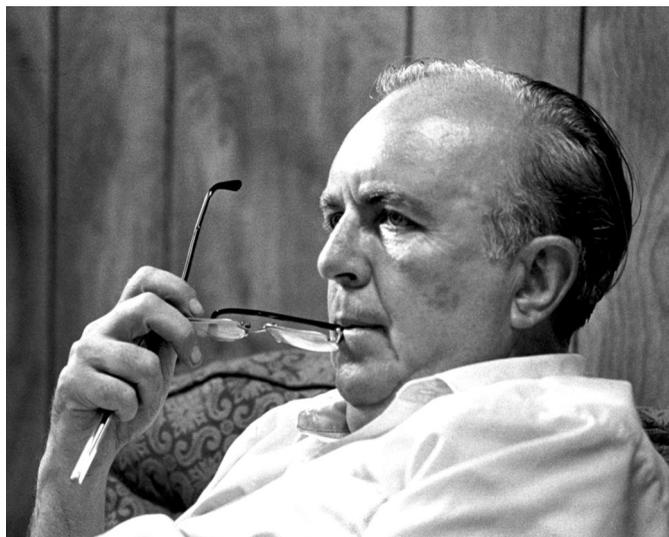
The genesis of Youth Corps dates back to the Second Vatican Council and the promulgation of *Gaudium et Spes* in 1965. The Constitution begins with a firm expression of faith in the presence, purpose and activity of God in the world. Consequently, the Church has the responsibility of reading the situation of the human race today (“the signs of the times”) and “interpreting them in the light of the Gospel.”⁶ This statement, in effect, introduced a new method of theology. Since the Church now looked to the world as a place of God’s continuous revelation, the Council Fathers abandoned the purely deductive approach of applying abstract ethical principles for a more historically conscious and inductive understanding of ethics that

Bishops (1958-1989): A Second Collection, (Sherbrooke, QC: Édition Paulines; Toronto: Jesuit Centre for Social Faith and Justice, 1991). Secondary works: Gregory Baum, *Theology and Society*, (New York: Paulist Press, 1987); Lee Cormie, “Revolutions in Canadian Catholic Social Teaching,” in Robert E. VanderVennen, (ed.), *Church and Canadian Culture*, (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1991), 57-85; and Robert Martin McKeon, “The Canadian Catholic Social Justice Paradigm: Birth, Growth, Decline and Crisis” (Ph.D. diss., University of St. Michael’s College, 2003).

⁵ McKillop considers himself and Jesus to be the co-founders of Youth Corps. Tom McKillop, “Introduction,” in John Howard Griffin and Tommy McKillop, *Friendship & Second Innocence: Two Souls in Conversation*, (Ottawa: Novalis, 2008), 27.

⁶ *Gaudium et Spes*, #4.

was grounded in scripture.⁷ As a result, the dignity of the human person (created in the image and likeness of God) became the new starting point for Catholic social teaching.⁸ While Vatican II's personalism centered on a doctrine of individual rights, it also affirmed the social nature of the human vocation. Since human dignity can only be attained in community with others, the pursuit of equality and justice requires a morality that goes beyond individualism to an ethic grounded in participation in community.⁹ Individuals should harmonize with the genuine good of the human race and allow persons as individuals and members of society to pursue their total vocation. With this goal in mind, *Gaudium et Spes* asserted that the Church lifts its followers from a passive role to an active one in defining and shaping their history in the contemporary world. "The laity are called to participate actively in the entire life of the church; not only are they to animate the world with the spirit of Christianity, they are to be witnesses to Christ in all circumstances and at the very heart of the human community."¹⁰ Unlike the earlier methodology of Catholic social teaching that often led to social idealism, Vatican II brought reason into dialogue with experience, commitment and action.



Fr. Thomas McKillop (undated)

Source: Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto

⁷ Charles E. Curran, *Catholic Social Teaching, 1891-Present: A Historical, Theological, and Ethical Analysis*, (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2002), 21-100.

⁸ *Gaudium et Spes*, #12-16.

⁹ *Ibid.*, #23-32.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, #43.

Upon his return from the Council, Archbishop Philip Pocock of Toronto realized that the action-oriented methodology of *Gaudium et Spes* called for a new orientation to pastoral planning and faith formation. In early 1966 he commissioned the recently-ordained and energetic Father Tom McKillop to develop “dynamic Christian youth leaders.”¹¹ Given his background in organized sports, McKillop was a natural choice. Born in 1928, McKillop had aspirations of being a professional baseball player—he lasted three weeks with a Philadelphia Phillies farm team—before discerning a call to the priesthood.¹² While initially joining the Paulist Fathers, McKillop entered Toronto’s St. Augustine’s Seminary and was ordained a diocesan priest at the “mature” age of 36 in 1964. Wanting to bring a new energy to youth ministry, Pocock appointed McKillop executive director of the diocesan Catholic Youth Organization (CYO). CYO had come to Toronto in the 1930s and ministered to young Catholics through organized sports and recreational leagues, as well as offering instructional courses in the catechism. As recalled by McKillop, Catholics who were part of CYO in Toronto tended to be defensive, there was little openness to those of other faiths, and CYO did not explicitly prepare people for effectively influencing the society in which they lived.¹³ “The tendency at the time was to have our attention on the next world and to remain refrained from this world and its evils.”¹⁴ Enthused by the Vatican II message that youth must be formed to become apostles of this world, McKillop quickly became frustrated by the CYO model, which he claimed was unable to integrate successfully the different needs and desires of young people. In the words of a lifelong friend, McKillop was ready to “to take youth ministry in another direction. His long experience in sports convinced McKillop that young people were hardwired for a much deeper immersion in life. He had grown past the rink and the diamond.”¹⁵

Out of his own admitted failures in working with Catholic youth using the established CYO catechism-recreation program, McKillop invested himself heavily in researching youth ministry.¹⁶ His breakthrough came when

¹¹ Dwyer Sullivan, “Youth Corps: Team Ministry in Theory and Practice” (D. Min. diss., University of St. Michael’s College, 1990), 7.

¹² Ted Schmidt, “Tom McKillop: Order of Canada, ‘Father’ of families, Friend of Jesus,” *Catholic New Times*, 15 January 2006.

¹³ Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto [hereafter ARCAT], ACC 2005-075, Events and Office Files, Reverend Tom McKillop, “Youth Corps,” 1979, 2-3.

¹⁴ ARCAT, ACC 2005-075, Events and Office Files, Rev. Tom McKillop, “Youth Corps,” 1979, 3.

¹⁵ Schmidt, “Tom McKillop: Order of Canada, ‘Father’ of families, Friend of Jesus.”

¹⁶ Loren Lind, “The Father Founds A Youth Corps,” *The Globe and Mail*, 16 September 1967.

he applied the methodology introduced in *Gaudium et Spes*—exchanging “natural law” for a more theologically and scripturally informed approach—to youth formation. While attending a 1966 summer session in Montreal on Catechetics, where he was meeting with different youth ministers, McKillop had the profound insight to create a program of formation of young people that mirrored the way that Jesus formed his apostles.¹⁷ Drawing inspiration from Luke chapters 9 and 10, the formation of the twelve (apostles) and the seventy-two (disciples), McKillop identified a pedagogy of action, reflection, and friendship.¹⁸ First, Jesus commissioned his followers to go out and actively proclaim the kingdom of God as well as perform healings. Upon returning from active ministry, Jesus called them back to reflect and communicate what they had experienced. Using an inductive method of teaching—beginning with the lived experience—Jesus asked questions and used parables to lead his followers to make a personal discovery of “who was their neighbour.” The relationship of Jesus and his disciples reached a climax at the Last Supper, where Jesus washed their feet and called them his friends. Succinctly stated, to form Christian leaders, Jesus led his disciples through an apprenticeship of action, reflection and friendship.¹⁹

The innovation of McKillop was to apply this three-fold process to youth ministry. The first goal of McKillop’s program was to arouse young people “to an awareness of the world of social needs beneath or hidden in an apparent affluence and to motivate them to personal and group action.”²⁰ Once engaged in social action, McKillop encouraged these youth “to develop their capacity to reflect—on what they see and hear, on what they experience, on the action taken and on their own lives.”²¹ Finally, McKillop’s hope was that those involved in this ministry “go beyond doing tasks or reflecting alone and learn to become deeper in relationship with each other to experience a sense of community and in some way to move towards becoming friends.”²² In providing an atmosphere and experience for action, reflection and friendship, McKillop was consciously trying to provide the same process that Jesus used in forming his followers.

Based upon his experiences with youth, however, McKillop slowly realized that the order of action first, followed by reflection and friendship would need to be reversed for young people. He felt that for youth the greatest

¹⁷ ARCAT, ACC 2005-075, Events and Office Files, Tom McKillop, “Youth Corps,” 1979, 3.

¹⁸ Tom McKillop, interview with Dwyer Sullivan, quoted in Sullivan, 9.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 276-77.

²⁰ ARCAT, ACC 2005-075, Events and Office Files, Tom McKillop, “Youth Corps,” 1979, 1.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*

need during their teenage years was friendship.²³ Once in a group of friends, young people ask questions (reflection) and then move to action that flows from their acquired awareness. The movement to action is not imposed upon people but flows from within their own community of friends who reflect together and then move to action. This move is guided by a careful reading of the Scriptures, as well as the social teachings of the Church. As young adults matured, this process would gradually reverse itself.²⁴ From the experience of action, a period of reflection would lead to a more profound sense of community and friendship. It is important to note that while this process was designed to form Christian leaders who acted as Christ-centered agents of social change, these leaders were not expected to act as individuals. Rather the vision of McKillop was to form communities of Christian leaders that worked together as friends and operated as a team.²⁵

As this new paradigm for youth ministry began to take form in the mind of McKillop, he decided to name this new venture Youth Corps. For McKillop the name choice was crucial. "I wanted to have a name that was relevant and because Youth Corps says to a lot of people Peace Corps, they know right away it isn't a club or a recreational group."²⁶ The word "Corps" was meant to give the connotation of being a tightly knit group of young people who would be active in the community. Also, the name "Youth Corps" intentionally did not have the name "Catholic" in it, so that it would be "open to every young person with the realization that the vast majority have not made a personal commitment to the Catholic faith or Christ."²⁷ Further breaking from the CYO model and embracing the openness of Vatican II, McKillop explicitly wanted Youth Corps to cross denominational lines. The initial brochure, which was given to several Protestant denominations, stated "[f]or those of you who are Anglican, Protestant, and Jewish, Youth Corps invites your participation and welcomes your ecumenical spirit."²⁸

After twelve years of lived experience and ongoing intentional reflection, Youth Corps was able to articulate the vision of Father Tom McKillop into an official mission statement (which was used from 1978 until the early 1990s):

Youth Corps strives to co-create communities of Christian leaders, especially among youth, rooted in a liberating faith in Jesus through action, reflection and friendship. With others we seek to overcome the forces

²³ Tom McKillop, interview with Dwyer Sullivan, quoted in Sullivan, 277-78.

²⁴ Tom McKillop, interview with the author, 6 August 2009.

²⁵ Sullivan, 45-53.

²⁶ Loren Lind, "The Father Finds A Youth Corps."

²⁷ ARCAT, ACC 2005-075, Events and Office Files, Rev. Tom McKillop, "Youth Corps," 1979, 4.

²⁸ Loren Lind, "The Father Finds A Youth Corps."

militating against life, through a development of authentic relationships, critical awareness and a Church of justice and love.²⁹

The first sentence of the statement is concerned with how salvation in Christ affects human existence here and now in this world, which leads to actions of empowerment and co-creation. The second sentence focuses on actions of solidarity and co-sponsorship with others.

In June 1966, after consulting with laity, religious sisters, and several priests, McKillop launched Youth Corps under the auspices of CYO. His first class of recruits were 44 young people from 22 parishes.³⁰ The group was first briefed on the purpose and motivation of Youth Corps and then handed a list of 35 places throughout the metropolitan area that would welcome volunteer help. Local priests were also invited to join the experimental movement that challenged youth to serve the community. In September 1966, 69 parishes joined the programme.³¹ During this first year, McKillop noted that the parish priest was *the* determining factor in how successful Youth Corps was in each parish.³² Those priests that took the reflection component of the program seriously and prepared in advance for the parish meetings every two weeks were successful in retaining a high number of students and actually saw an increase in participants. Conversely, those priests that did not adequately prepare for meetings or facilitate a meaningful reflection period had their student numbers dwindle and the programme folded. After 12 months, the number of parishes with active Youth Corps teams dropped to 53 parishes, which comprised an estimated 2,600 youth.³³ Despite this drop in interest by Toronto parishes, McKillop reports that by the end of the first year he received 195 requests from different church groups in North America requesting information on how they could start a Youth Corps in their own dioceses. These requests came from 149 different groups in Canada representing 9 provinces, 44 groups in America representing 19 states, and one request from France and another from Japan.³⁴

The defining moment of Youth Corps' first year was, what McKillop referred to as, "The Event." In 1967, the University College Literary and Athletic Society at the University of Toronto hosted "Perception '67," an "artistic psychedelic experience" that featured various exhibits and panel

²⁹ *Friendship & Second Innocence*, 228.

³⁰ Loren Lind, "The Father Finds A Youth Corps."

³¹ ARCAT, ACC 2005-075, Events and Office Files, "The First Year': A Review and Evaluation of the YOUTH CORPS of the Archdiocese of Toronto for 1966 and 1967 and a projection for 1967 and 1968; Submitted by Reverend Thomas McKillop, Director of Youth."

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*

discussions on the use of LSD and its relation to art and culture.³⁵ This multi-day festival received massive media coverage since it was to be headlined by Dr. Timothy Leary. Leary was viewed by many as the preeminent 1960s countercultural icon due to his promotion of the therapeutic, spiritual and emotional benefits of psychedelic drugs. While Leary was eventually barred from entering Canada due to a drug-trafficking conviction from the previous year, two thousand people crowded into the University of Toronto's Convocation Hall to hear a performance by the poet Allen Ginsberg and a concert with the psychedelic rock group the Fugs. Not only were tickets sold quickly, but many television programs and magazines also were reported to be highly interested in the festival, and a film documentary and book on the festival were also planned.³⁶

In his reading of the "signs of the times," McKillop saw "Perception '67" and its promotion of drugs as a dangerous influence on impressionable youth. As a rebuttal, McKillop gathered together a team of people to organize a major public address by a person who was living the Gospel and would serve as an inspiration to young people and the Church in Toronto.³⁷ Since 1967 was the centennial year for Canada, they asked Canadian Dr. Jean Vanier, the founder of L'Arche communities for people who have developmental disabilities, to be the first speaker. "The Event," as it was advertised, was held in the same venue as "Perception '67" and also sold out (over 1,500 teenagers attended).³⁸ The Event received such a positive response, both from within the Church and the secular media that hosting a prominent spiritual speaker would become an annual Youth Corps event. These witness talks were complemented by youth presentations of music, drama and dance, as well as a chance for young people to ask questions of the speaker. Over the years, Youth Corps Event speakers included: Dorothy Day (Co-founder of the Catholic Worker), John Howard Griffin (social activist and best-selling author of *Black Like Me*), Cesar Chavez (Leader of the United Farm Workers), Mother Teresa (founder of the Missionaries of Charity), Viktor Frankl (founder of Logotherapy), as well as many others. By 1986, 21 events sold over 65,000 tickets.³⁹ Furthermore, audio-visual resources of the Events were made available for rent or purchase.

³⁵ Charles Levi, "Sex, Drugs, Rock & Roll, and the University College Lit: The University of Toronto Festivals, 1965-69," *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* [Online], Vol. 18, no. 2 (1 October 2006).

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ ARCAT, ACC 2005-075, Events and Office Files, "Youth Corps Events: General, 1982."

³⁸ ARCAT, ACC 2005-075, Events and Office Files, "Event 1: John Vanier, 1967."

³⁹ ARCAT, ACC 2005-075, Events and Office Files, "Youth Corps: 20-20 Vision, Celebrate 20 Years!," 1986, 20.



Fr. Thomas McKillop and Jean Vanier at “The Event” (1967)
Source: Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto

Despite the success of the initial Event, the Board of Directors of CYO felt that Father McKillop was focusing too much attention on Youth Corps and was neglecting the other CYO programs. Conflicting visions of youth ministry between the Board and McKillop resulted in such tension that Francis Morocco, Auxiliary Bishop of Toronto, was asked to mediate the situation.⁴⁰ After a series of meetings in early 1968, all sides agreed that it would be best for Father Tom McKillop to resign as Director of CYO,⁴¹ yet McKillop would continue as Director of a now independent Youth Corps. So as not to duplicate services, CYO would be responsible for the youth in the diocese at the elementary school level, whereas Youth Corps would be tasked with the spiritual, intellectual and moral formation of young people age 14-25 through service in the community.⁴² In essence, Youth Corps had replaced CYO as the official Catholic youth ministry at the high school level within the Archdiocese of Toronto.

⁴⁰ Tom McKillop, interview with the author, 13 May 2009.

⁴¹ ARCAT, OC03YP03, General Correspondence. Series of letters between John Stephens, President of the Board of Directors of CYO, Reverend Thomas McKillop and Most Reverend Philip Pocock, 6, 12 and 15 January 1968.

⁴² A. De Manche, “Youth Corps Separates from CYO, Opens New Office,” *The Canadian Register* (Kingston, ON), 17 February 1968.

Newly independent of CYO, Youth Corps continued to work in partnership with individual parishes. Describing Youth Corps' activity in its early years, McKillop stated, "[w]e are convinced that we are in the 'starting' business. We act as a resource to get a group together. We serve as a catalytic force to get the group off the ground and then give them enough room to breathe and survive."⁴³ With new offices in front of St. Michael's Cathedral Parish Hall, Youth Corps established itself as "a centre where priests and youth can come, and where [Youth Corps members] will help evaluate what kind of program is best for their area, varying according to suburbs, inner city, small towns, thus pinpointing particular problems."⁴⁴ Without their attachment to the well-established CYO, Youth Corps saw their numbers drop to 35 active parishes (approximately 1,500 students). After re-examining the parish by parish model, McKillop discerned that 1970-1971 would require a new approach. From this point forward, Youth Corps adopted a "regional or community-oriented" method. Thus, instead of relying solely on parish priests, Youth Corps hired a full-time assistant for Father McKillop (Bob McCarty) and another priest was assigned (Paul Woodcroft).⁴⁵ With these additional personnel, Youth Corps was able to expand its ministry in new directions.

In early 1972, Jean Vanier (who was preparing to speak at "Event 6" with Mother Teresa) challenged the Youth Corps team to discern better ways to reach youth with the Gospel message and to inspire young adults to bring this message into the modern world. Vanier suggested Youth Corps host a festival for youth.⁴⁶ Since youth do not live in a vacuum, it was decided that a festival for families would be more appropriate. This insight reaffirmed the conclusion of Vatican II that the healthy condition of individuals and society depends on stable families.⁴⁷ Beginning that summer, people of all ages and backgrounds (including the mentally and physically handicapped) went to Regina Mundi Farm in Sharon, ON (a residence and retreat centre owned by the Sisters of the Good Shepherd) for the first Christian Family Peace Weekend. The first weekend began with 100 people; the following weekend had 175; the next weekend had 225 people and the final weekend of 1972 (which was attended by Jean Vanier) had 500 people in attendance.⁴⁸ Fearing that the large number of people attending detracted from the intimacy of the gatherings, the organizers decided for future years to limit the experience to

⁴³ ARCAT, OC03YP04, General Correspondence, Reverend Tom McKillop, "A Proposal From Youth Corps Submitted to Select Parishes, 9 May 1971."

⁴⁴ A. De Manche, "Youth Corps Separates from CYO, Opens New Office."

⁴⁵ ARCAT, OC03YP04, General Correspondence, Reverend Tom McKillop, "A Proposal From Youth Corps Submitted to Select Parishes, 9 May 1971."

⁴⁶ Sullivan, 87.

⁴⁷ *Gaudium et Spes*, #52.

⁴⁸ Tom McKillop, interview with the author, 13 May 2009.

a maximum of 200 participants per weekend. A group of adults, youth and families, who soon became known as Sharon Corps, facilitated the weekend retreats that were designed to give young people the opportunity to strengthen both family life and the wider sense of Christian community. The vision of Sharon Corps was for the community “to grow in love, forgiveness and justice, learning this through service and action to enable others to hear the same call. We [members of Sharon Corps] seek to create an atmosphere that can captivate and touch people’s hearts so that this challenge will grow on and beyond the Christian Family Peace Weekends.”⁴⁹ By 1986, over 85 weekends were held with over 20,000 participants.⁵⁰

“Event 7” in 1973 featured Leonard Cheshire as the keynote speaker. Cheshire, a highly decorated British Royal Air Force pilot during World War II, dedicated his post-war life to supporting people with disabilities.⁵¹ In 1948, Cheshire converted to Catholicism and founded The Cheshire Foundation Homes for the Sick as a residential home for disabled ex-servicemen. As the number of homes expanded, so did Cheshire’s mission to provide support to disabled people through a variety of different services including care at home, residential care and training. Cheshire’s message to Toronto’s youth echoed the theme introduced by *Gaudium et Spes* that Christian social ethics begins with recognizing that all men and women have an inherent human dignity because they were made in the image and likeness of God. Inspired by Cheshire’s presentation on the difficulties facing the handicapped population, Youth Corps resolved to help the physically challenged of Toronto by making evening adult education more accessible. Since the City of Toronto did not provide wheelchair transport for evening education, Youth Corps arranged for volunteers to transport handicapped adults to Central Technical School for evening courses. Over 200 Youth Corps volunteers assisted 200 handicapped people during a five year period.⁵² These volunteers also lobbied the municipal and provincial governments to provide additional opportunities for continuing education for physically handicapped adults. In 1975, an interim fund was granted by the City of Toronto to All-Way Transportation Corporation of Toronto to create a para-transit system as a demonstration project.⁵³ This specialized accessible transit service was eventually taken over by the Toronto Transit Commission and continues to operate.

⁴⁹ *Friendship & Second Innocence*, 228.

⁵⁰ ARCAT, ACC 2005-075, Events and Office Files, “Youth Corps: 20-20 Vision, Celebrate 20 Years!,” 3.

⁵¹ Richard Morris, *Cheshire: the Biography of Leonard Cheshire, VC, OM*, (New York: Viking, 2000).

⁵² ARCAT, ACC 2005-075, Events and Office Files, “Youth Corps: 20-20 Vision, Celebrate 20 Years!,” 4.

⁵³ ARCAT, OCYP02, Youth Corps Pamphlet, 1976.

During this same time period, Fr. Joe O’Sullivan, the chaplain at Warkworth Medium Security Penitentiary, asked the Youth Corps team to visit the prison since 85% of the inmates were under 20 years of age.⁵⁴ From this initial visit, Youth Corps grew to sponsor seven different prison visitation groups (at Warkworth, Vanier, Mimico, Maplehurst, Don Jail, Metro East and Metro West Montgomery Centre). Each group functioned as an independent team and assumed their own coordination, while maintaining their contact with Youth Corps. Each prison group prepared a monthly program that included music and discussion, as well as time for informal conversation, building friendship and giving support.⁵⁵ In the words of one volunteer, the experience of prison visitation “became a real challenge for me to all the stereotypes I had ever had about people, prisoners, rules and a discovery of the person behind the image, the crime or the action. I discovered a population of people behind bars in that medium security prison that had one image of being rough and inhumane and much older than I thought, to a bunch of young kids.”⁵⁶ Opening the eyes of young people to see the world in different way was exactly the type of transformative experience that McKillop was trying to provide for all those in Youth Corps.

In 1978, Youth Corps was painfully aware of how removed most people were from the social sufferings that affected their communities. One team member asked:

Why are we as people, who are committed to the poor, working with upper middle class young people in suburbia in churches and schools that are the bastions of this kind of society which continues to inflict on the world its pain and suffering? Why are we not working with the immigrants, the refugees, with the down trodden, the transient, the street youth? Why are we working with the comfortable, the spoiled, the luxury-seeking youth of our time?⁵⁷

In response, Youth Corps offered the Inner City Walk Experience. These guided walks through the urban core of Toronto served to awaken young people to the realities of the poor in their own community and it began the process of social analysis. On each walk, participants witnessed first-hand the burden of poverty, homelessness, addiction, unemployment, and being unwanted. Aware of these problems, the walks also highlighted organizations who were trying to reach out to those in need (such as shelters, soup kitchens, and social agencies). Following the four hour exposure, guided reflection helped uncover some of the root causes of injustice and alienation

⁵⁴ Tom McKillop, Interview with Dwyer Sullivan, quoted in Sullivan, 282.

⁵⁵ ARCAT, ACC 2005-075, Events and Office Files, “Youth Corps: 20-20 Vision, Celebrate 20 Years!,” 9.

⁵⁶ Bob Interbartolo, interview with Dwyer Sullivan, quoted in Sullivan, 304.

⁵⁷ Terry Gallagher, interview with Dwyer Sullivan, quoted in Sullivan, 321.

in society.⁵⁸ Afterwards, participants were encouraged to go out into their communities and make a difference. In the words of one organizer, this Inner City Walk Experience “acts as the bridge for young people to walk over to be in touch with those who are hurting.”⁵⁹ From 1978-1986, over 2,000 people participated in this experience.⁶⁰

Also in 1978, Youth Corps launched the Dominican Republic Experience. This was a six-week opportunity for Canadians to experience the reality of the Third World by living with Dominican families, doing group reflection and issue analysis. Working in co-operation with Scarborough Foreign Missions, the participants examined their own lifestyle and discovered, in a personal and social way, the meaning of the Gospel of Liberation for Christians in the twentieth century.⁶¹ Like the Inner City Walk Experience, this program was envisioned as a springboard to future social justice work. By providing a deep sense of solidarity with a people in another culture, the Dominican Republic Experience “might lead to future commitments: to study as some have, the problems of social injustice at the university level, and even to commit themselves as some have, to going and working for a time in another part of the world in solidarity with those who are suffering.”⁶² After eight years of these trips, Youth Corps had over 100 participants.⁶³ After 1984, Youth Corps also coordinated March Break Experiences for groups to Mexico, Jamaica, and Manitoulin Island. Furthermore, Youth Corps team member Joe Mihevc created the Peru Program for graduate students at the Toronto School of Theology, which was based on the Youth Corps Dominican Republic Experience.⁶⁴ Regardless of the destination (either in downtown Toronto or developing countries in the global south), all of these experiences were designed to lead youth, through education, to come to a conscious and informed commitment to the issues of life, peace and justice.

As the ministries that Youth Corps supported grew in size and diversity, so did the Youth Corps “core team.” No longer two priests and a part time assistant, the Youth Corps team gradually expanded to include eight people: a mixture of men and women, clergy, religious and lay who sought to deepen their commitment to Jesus each week through prayer, reflection, sharing a meal and planning together.⁶⁵ Sixty individuals served on the Youth Corps

⁵⁸ ARCAT, OCYP02, Youth Corps Pamphlet, undated.

⁵⁹ Terry Gallagher, interview with Dwyer Sullivan, quoted in Sullivan, 321.

⁶⁰ ARCAT, ACC 2005-075, Events and Office Files, “Youth Corps: 20-20 Vision, Celebrate 20 Years!,” 11.

⁶¹ Sullivan, 91-92.

⁶² Terry Gallagher, interview with Dwyer Sullivan, quoted in Sullivan, 321-22.

⁶³ ARCAT, ACC 2005-075, Events and Office Files, “Youth Corps: 20-20 Vision, Celebrate 20 Years!,” 5.

⁶⁴ Joe Mihevc, interview with Dwyer Sullivan, quoted in Sullivan, 235-36.

⁶⁵ ARCAT, OC03YP03, General Correspondence, 1982.

Team from 1966-1984.⁶⁶ McKillop never had a specific agenda of what type of activities Youth Corps would be involved in. Rather, the Youth Corps team would, as a group, scrutinize the “signs of the times” to discern how the Holy Spirit was calling them to act.⁶⁷

While Youth Corps enjoyed the support of Archbishop Pocock from 1966 until his resignation in 1978, it had a more turbulent relationship with his successor, Gerald Emmett Carter (who was installed as Archbishop of Toronto in 1978 and elevated to the Sacred College of Cardinals the following year). Cardinal Carter and Youth Corps each had fundamentally different ideologies on how best to help the poor in their midst. Carter subscribed to the “charity model” or giving out of surplus, while Youth Corps and other Catholic social justice initiatives operated in the “transformation model” that supported radical changes in social structures to bring about justice.⁶⁸ The first clash involving Carter over these competing pastoral strategies came in the summer of 1982 when he decided to reduce the money allocated by the Archdiocese of Toronto to the Canadian Catholic Organization for Development and Peace, the official international development agency of the Canadian Catholic Church. Instead of supporting Development and Peace’s socio-economic overseas development projects, Carter used the extra \$600,000 to fund a more traditional catechetical project, the newly formed Toronto Missionary Council.⁶⁹

Another confrontation concerning social justice occurred in early January 1983, when Carter held a news conference to distance himself from “Ethical Reflections on the Economic Crisis,” a statement issued by the Social Affairs Commission of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops (CCCCB). Carter objected to the process within the CCCC which led to approval of the statement and the overly radical content of its economic and ethical analysis.⁷⁰ While there had been strong disagreements among the Canadian bishops over previous Social Affairs statements in the past, it was always done behind closed doors.⁷¹ Carter’s unprecedented public critique of the document sparked a media circus. While previous CCCC statements received only minor media coverage, “Ethical Reflections” became the

⁶⁶ ARCAT, ACC 2005-075, Events and Office Files, “Youth Corps: 20-20 Vision, Celebrate 20 Years!,” 2.

⁶⁷ Tom McKillop, interview with the author, 6 August 2009.

⁶⁸ Michael W. Higgins and Douglas R. Letson, *My Father’s Business: A Biography of His Eminence G. Emmett Cardinal Carter*, (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1990), 212.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 207.

⁷⁰ Tony Clarke, *Behind the Mitre: The Moral Leadership Crisis in the Canadian Catholic Church*, (Toronto: HarperCollins, 1995), 61-64, and Higgins and Letson, 213-19.

⁷¹ Clarke, 22-26.

front-page news item of most Canadian newspapers for several days. The statement, and Carter's dissenting opinion, also received international coverage in *The New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Time* and *Newsweek*.⁷²

Cardinal Carter disapproved of Development and Peace and the Social Affairs Commission because these Catholic social justice initiatives were becoming too political at the expense of Catholic evangelization. This same concern led him to "correct the imbalance" of Youth Corps. In 1984, after 18 years as director of Youth Corps, Father Tom McKillop was reassigned to be the pastor of Holy Name Parish in downtown Toronto. In a meeting with Dwyer Sullivan, the new director of Youth Corps who was recommended by McKillop, Carter explained his rationale for transferring McKillop. "We are very satisfied with the work of Fr. Tom, his gifts and charisma in small groups had accomplished a lot, but anyone after 18 years develops tunnel vision and another point of view is needed."⁷³ This "other point of view" was the charity model of helping the poor and a re-emphasis on Catholic evangelization, not the radical transformation model that was embodied by McKillop. Fittingly, as a tribute to all that he helped build, rather than host "The Event" in 1984, Youth Corps devoted its efforts to hosting a large farewell celebration for Fr. McKillop.⁷⁴ Before assuming his new position at Holy Name, McKillop took a six month sabbatical, spending three months studying Scripture at the Centre for Biblical Formation in Jerusalem and three months at the Institute of Logotherapy in Berkeley, California (during which time he wrote *What It's All About: Youth in Search of Meaning*).⁷⁵

The concern expressed by Carter over Youth Corps' activism at the expense of its Catholicity was not limited to Toronto, but was also being negotiated across Canada and the Church universal. During the 1980s, the Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith strongly opposed certain elements of liberation theology (the major source of inspiration for the "transformation model"), and issued official condemnations in 1984 and 1986.⁷⁶ Prominent theologians Leonardo Boff and Gustavo Gutiérrez were publicly silenced and the Vatican appointed conservative, charity-model bishops throughout Latin America. Within Canada, controversy over "Ethical Reflections" raised

⁷² *Ibid.*, 53-77.

⁷³ ARCAT, ACC 2005-075, Cardinal Carter Correspondence, "Interview with Cardinal Carter and Dwyer Sullivan, (as recalled by Dwyer Sullivan)," 6 June 1984.

⁷⁴ ARCAT, ACC 2005-075, Events and Office Files, "Celebration For Tom McKillop 1984."

⁷⁵ Tom McKillop, *What It's All About: Youth In Search of Meaning*, (Burlington, ON: Trinity Press, 1988).

⁷⁶ Christian Smith, *The Emergence of Liberation Theology: Radical Religion and Social Movement Theory*, (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1991), 222-26.

questions about the consultation and approval process within the CCCB for Social Affairs statements as well as their content. In 1985 the bishops elected Bishop Paul John O'Byrne of Calgary to take over the Chair of the Social Affairs Commission from the high-profile Bishop Remi De Roo of Victoria. Many saw this move as a rejection by the bishops themselves of the radical transformation direction the commission had taken during the 1970s and early 1980.⁷⁷

The legacy of Youth Corps in the Archdiocese of Toronto is mixed. Under McKillop's tenure, 1966-1984, Youth Corps received many accolades. Bishop Thomas Fulton of St. Catharines, a former auxiliary bishop in Toronto, was a great supporter of Youth Corps. Fulton wrote McKillop after the 2002 World Youth Day in Toronto that "your founding of Youth Corps was rooted in the vision of Vatican II. It was Christocentric and designed for community building. It remains valid to this day. It is the answer to the question, 'Where do we go from here?'"⁷⁸ Perhaps the most important endorsement came in 1985 when Professor Michael Warren of St. John's University, NY (the acknowledged expert on youth ministry in North America) was the keynote speaker at the CCCB Religious Educators Conference in Ottawa. During his address, Warren offered the following reflection on Youth Corps:

I have examined youth ministry now in the United States, Australia, New Zealand, Ireland, and Canada and in my judgement Youth Corps exemplifies the thought of Vatican II, of the Roman Synods and the Medellin and Pueblo Conferences. Sad to say I know of no youth efforts in the United States that is as theoretically sound and practically astute as Youth Corps.⁷⁹

Despite this strong endorsement by a ranking cleric within the Catholic Church and a highly respected independent observer, Youth Corps also had several critics.

Cardinal Carter, during his initial meeting with Dwyer Sullivan, mentioned that at a recent meeting of bishops, as well as at a recent meeting of the Priests' Senate, he was told that many clerics were dissatisfied with Youth Corps.⁸⁰ Many of the complaints were that Youth Corps was "elitist" in that it was limited to a few small groups. Carter added that when he visited

⁷⁷ Clarke, 103-06.

⁷⁸ Ted Schmidt, "Tom McKillop: Order of Canada, 'Father' of families, Friend of Jesus," *Catholic New Times*, 15 January 2006.

⁷⁹ Michael Warren, Letter to Dwyer Sullivan, 25 February 1987, reproduced in ARCAT, ACC 2005-075, Events and Office Files, "Youth Corps: 20-20 Vision, Celebrate 20 Years!," 28.

⁸⁰ ARCAT, ACC 2005-075, Cardinal Carter Correspondence, "Interview with Cardinal Carter and Dwyer Sullivan, (as recalled by Dwyer Sullivan), 6 June 1984.

parishes he saw lots of youth but few programs for them. Carter expressed concern that Youth Corps was pulling youth out of the parishes. In contrast, he believed that parishes needed “revivifying,” which needed to begin with youth ministry.⁸¹

In 1987, Cardinal Carter commissioned Terry McCallum from the Board of Catholic Charities to conduct an extensive review of all agencies that were receiving funding from the Archdiocese of Toronto, with specific attention being given to CYO and Youth Corps. After four months of research (October 1987 through January 1988), McCallum concluded that while CYO and Youth Corps represented different approaches to youth ministry, neither was “holistic.”⁸² On one hand, CYO emphasised the role of sports and recreation in its program. Yet, McCallum noted, the Greater Toronto Area already had plenty of excellent sports facilities and CYO did not offer anything distinctly “Catholic” (thus, this service could be eliminated). Youth Corps, on the other hand, provided good resources for youth, but it was too narrow in its focus on social justice (consequently it served only a small part of the Catholic community). McCallum also commented that the lack of accountability of Youth Corps to the Archdiocese was problematic. The report concluded that both groups needed to move toward a middle ground since a large percentage of the Catholic youth population was not being served by either agency.⁸³

In response to the Catholic Charities report, on 16 November 1988, Cardinal Carter (through the recommendation and approval of the Council of Priests) appointed Father Patrick O’Dea to serve as Youth Council Chairman for the purpose of evaluating the current state of youth ministry within the archdiocese. Over the next twelve months, O’Dea conducted extensive interviews with members of Youth Corps and CYO, as well as with youth, clergy, chaplains and youth ministers in Toronto, across Canada (Thunder Bay, Ottawa, Victoria, Saskatoon, Halifax, Antigonish), and around the world (London; Dublin; Buffalo, NY; Rochester, NY; Providence, RI; Birmingham, AL; San Diego, CA; and Bombay).⁸⁴ O’Dea’s report confirmed McCallum’s findings as well as Carter’s concerns. In his interviews with Toronto clergy, many expressed concern about existing diocesan youth structures (CYO and Youth Corps), stating that they lacked proper “faith development” for the young people.⁸⁵ While many praised Youth Corps

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² ARCAT, CAAC22.12C, Patrick O’Dea, “‘Communion’ Towards A Vision of Youth Ministry: Youth Ministry Report,” Submitted to His Eminence Gerald Emmett Cardinal Carter and the Council of Priests, 20 November 1989, 3.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 6.

for its social justice commitment and hoped that this element continued in future diocesan programs, the majority of clergy felt little on-going support from Youth Corps for the parishes. Rather than coming in and helping the priests build up parish life, many felt that there was a tendency for Youth Corps to take youth away from the parish to other events. Furthermore, many of Toronto's priests found Youth Corps' style of ministry "overbearing," which made for a more negative impact than a positive one. In dialoguing with youth ministers, many complained to O'Dea of a lack of common vision and direction from the archdiocese in regard to youth ministry.⁸⁶ A common desire was to bridge the gap between parishes and schools. Many of the youth whom O'Dea interviewed also spoke of a hunger for more relevant religious education.⁸⁷

O'Dea's report ultimately concluded that Youth Corps, while effective in social justice concerns, had too many difficulties with its style and approach.⁸⁸ Due to deficiencies in both CYO and Youth Corps, many Catholic Youth were not being served by either agency. To remedy this problematic situation, O'Dea recommended to the archdiocese that CYO and Youth Corps be dissolved to form a new centralized office of Catholic youth.⁸⁹ To continue what had been effective about CYO (recreation) and Youth Corps (social justice), O'Dea proposed that CYO and Youth Corps members should sit on the board of directors of this new ministry. This new central agency would embody a more comprehensive approach to youth ministry and provide a better link between parishes and schools. In February 1990, the Council of Priests adopted O'Dea's recommendations with a vote of 29 to 1 (the dissenting vote belonging to Father McKillop) and Youth Corps ceased to exist.⁹⁰ After a period of further study and consultation, the new-look Office of Catholic Youth opened in 1994 and continues to operate.

In conclusion, Father Tom McKillop initiated Youth Corps in the wake of Vatican II as a new way of developing Christian leadership. This youth movement inspired tens of thousands of young adults not only within the borders of the Archdiocese of Toronto, but also established teams in the dioceses of Thunder Bay, Kingston, Winnipeg, Ottawa, Hamilton, Regina, London, Peterborough and Sault Ste. Marie.⁹¹ From the beginning, Youth Corps was grounded in the developmental understanding of how

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁹⁰ Patrick O'Dea, interview with the author, 12 May 2009.

⁹¹ ARCAT, ACC 2005-075, Events and Office Files, "Youth Corps: 20-20 Vision, Celebrate 20 Years!," 8.

young people became Christian adults. Using the same inductive approach pioneered by Jesus in scripture and reaffirmed by *Gaudium et Spes*, Toronto's youth were gathered together in small groups and encouraged to grow in friendship with one another. These small groups were then invited to become communities of faith in Jesus. As these communities strengthened and deepened through reflection, they were sent forth to serve the poor through Christ-centered action. Perhaps Youth Corps was most successful in reaching beyond parishes to situations where young people could be found—in the schools and in the streets. At a time when young adults were attending rock concerts instead of Mass, Youth Corps organized major “events” which attracted thousands of young people to hear influential Catholic social activists such as Jean Vanier, Mother Teresa, Cesar Chavez, and John Howard Griffin. In an age when families were disintegrating, Youth Corps attracted over 20,000 people to Family Peace Weekends at Regina Mundi Farm in Sharon, ON. Taking up Vatican II's call to recognize the dignity of the marginalized, Youth Corps members established programs that worked with Toronto's prisoners and the handicapped. Youth Corps brought Catholics on Inner City Walks to encounter the living poverty of Canada and they went to the Dominican Republic to learn from the poor of the third world. At the time of McKillop's departure from Youth Corps, Mary Jo Leddy praised Youth Corps as providing “a bridge between a fuzzy, disembodied Christianity and a soulless, institutional religion.”⁹²

While one can easily point to the large number of people who were involved in Youth Corps programs, it is difficult to measure demonstrably the spiritual effect that these ministries had on their participants. Youth Corps' goal was never to change a whole generation, but to work with smaller groups in depth.⁹³ McKillop empowered the youth of Toronto to create small communities of justice and compassion in the church. The benefits of this approach can only be perceived in ten to twenty years, when those people are working professionals in society. Using this criteria, numerous Youth Corps alumni have gone on to hold leadership positions in a variety of fields: Joe Mihevc (YC 1979-83) serves a Toronto city councillor; Sil Silvaterra (YC 1977-79) works in the Legal Aid Programme at Osgoode Hall; Bob Carty (YC 1969-72) is an award-winning documentary maker on CBC's Sunday Edition; and Rosana Pellizzari (YC, 1978-80) is the Medical Officer of Health at the Perth District Health Unit. All of these individuals credit Youth Corps, and McKillop specifically, with inspiring a kind of “Canadian liberation theology” that motivated them to become

⁹² Mary Jo Leddy, “Editorial: Youth Corps at the Crossroad,” *Catholic New Times*, 6 October 1984.

⁹³ Tom McKillop, interview with the author, 6 August 2009.

strong advocates for social justice.⁹⁴ The accomplishments of Father Tom McKillop were formally recognized on 18 November 2005, when he was invested by Governor General Michaëlle Jean as a Member of the Order of Canada.⁹⁵

Despite these successes, one cannot ignore the thorough studies conducted by Terry McCallum and Father Patrick O’Dea that recommended the Youth Corps be dissolved to form a completely different diocesan model for youth ministry. Specifically, both reports critiqued Youth Corps for being too narrow in its ministry and not providing enough of a “holistic” approach to youth ministry. Furthermore, as O’Dea’s report suggests, the inability of Youth Corps to connect effectively with local parishes and local clergy was an Achilles heel for McKillop’s program that contributed to its ultimate closure in the early 1990s. Equally important, Youth Corps’ termination was also the result of being a Catholic agency that operated in a transformation model of social change while the Catholic Church was shifting into a more traditional charity-based model. However one chooses to interpret Youth Corps and its legacy, it represents a fascinating 18-year period in the history of Canadian Catholicism when the spiritual formation of young adults was intentionally rooted in the social justice vision of Vatican II.

⁹⁴ Schmidt, “Tom McKillop: Order of Canada, ‘Father’ of families, Friend of Jesus.”

⁹⁵ Governor General of Canada, “Governor General to invest 43 recipients into the Order of Canada,” <http://www.gg.ca/document.aspx?id=12024>, accessed on 15 February 2010.

Piety, Purity and Pain: Gérard Raymond and the Ideal of French Canadian Catholic Manhood

Donald L. BOISVERT

About two years ago, I was doing research in the Gérard Raymond papers held in the archives of the *Séminaire de Québec*. These consist mainly of his student writings, most notably his journal, but one also finds several thick files of letters and testimonials from around the world, each attesting to the exceptionally virtuous life of the 19 year-old seminarian, or soliciting special favours through his intervention. One letter in particular caught my eye, primarily because it was so touching. In phonetically broken French, a certain Mrs. Rosaire Doyon, on 16 October 1936, writes asking a seminary priest to intercede on her behalf with Gérard Raymond so that he can ask God to watch over her husband, who, she says, is not frank with her. He drinks and returns home late in the mornings, hides money from her and their six children, and comes and goes as he pleases. She is particularly worried about her eldest 15 year-old son, who may follow in his father's bad footsteps. She herself is not well, and she is also concerned about what the neighbours may be thinking. She asks that, in his response, the priest not mention any details of her difficulties, as this would only worsen things. She also asks for heavenly protection for her husband, and that he be made to see the error of his ways.¹

¹ Versions of this paper were presented at a Concordia University Department of Religion colloquium and at the 2009 annual meeting of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association (CCHA). I am grateful to colleagues and to the anonymous CCHA reviewers for their comments. As well, I thank Ms. Anne Laplante, archivist at the *Centre de référence de l'Amérique française* in Québec City, for her valuable help in accessing the Gérard Raymond papers.

For ease of reading, I have translated the French passages in this paper. The original French text will be given in the notes. As for the specific letter to which I am referring here, I have kept it in the original French because of its unique character: "Cap Madelaine, 16 Octobre 1936. Monsieur le Curé, je vous demande d'entrecédé pour moi au pres de Gerard Remond pour que Dieu veille sur mon mari car depuis quelque temp il nest pas fran avec moi il boit et il arrive tres tard le matin il se cache de de l'argent et je ne sais ce quil en fait il me dit quil a \$15 et \$25 quil as la nuit je cherche et j'ai eus la preuve

Our sensibilities cry out against the injustice of such a situation, where a woman with few options in life finds herself caught in what was undoubtedly a cold and abusive marriage. We also see here, however, a vivid manifestation of faith: an absolute belief and hope that, through the intercession of some exceptionally holy individual—in this case, Gérard Raymond—the trials and tribulations of earthly existence can somehow be made bearable. We have here the beginning of the cult of saints. How can a woman caught in such desperate straits come to believe that a young seminarian who had died only four years earlier could act as a divine intercessor on her behalf, and help bring her husband back to her safe and sound? This woman believes in the power of conversion; it is, perhaps, the one thing that sustains her. Her lonely, heart-wrenching letter may well be addressed to an earthly man, a priest, but her prayer—for that is what it is—goes well beyond this world to another man. This man, who was young, strong, pure and selfless, can empathize with the depth of her pain and suffering, for he too suffered much. She wants to put her longing in the strength of such a man who, rather than ignoring her, will give her the life to which she believes she is properly entitled. Equally important, she is seeking protection—a sort of heavenly peer influence—for her own son. She wants the saintly Gérard Raymond to act as a protective older sibling to this young son, who is far more at risk of straying from the path of goodness because of his age and immaturity.

The Young Québec City ‘Martyr’

Gérard Raymond is not an official saint of the Catholic Church. He has not even reached the first stage of being declared Venerable.² Yet for over seventy years, there has been a small but persistent cult to him. Every year, on July 5th, the anniversary of his death, a mass is held in Québec City to

la semaine passe, moi je ne puis faire comme lui car il me donne jusque ce quil feau pour payé ce que lon doit il retire \$35.00 a \$40, par semaine mais il nous prive pas du nessecaire il mes serd [?] pas car il a une machine il va ou il veut et me dis des messonge je demande au petit gerard que Dieu lui montre que ce quil fait la nest pas bien car jai 6 enfant un grand de 15 ans il senapersoive car sa me fait bien de la paine, il va aller plus loin comme sont père a lui car moi je suis malade dune journe a leautre jen perd [?] cest la faiblesse car je sard pas beaucoup sa me jene les voisin sen apersoive et bien mon père quand vous mecrire parlé pas de rien sa sera pire il ne comprend rien jespere que vous maubliré pas dans vos priere que Dieu le consarve et lui fasse comprendre ce quil fait je demeure Madame Rosaire Doyon 71 St Pierre Cap Madelaine Ouest” (Québec : Séminaire de Québec, Fonds Gérard-Raymond, box 260).

² In the Catholic Church, there are three stages to being declared a saint: Venerable, which attests to heroic virtues; Blessed, which requires one miracle and authorizes a local cult for the person; and Saint, which requires a further miracle and entitles the person to a cult at the level of the universal Church.

ask for the grace of his beatification.³ Pilgrims occasionally still visit the family plot where he is buried. Who was this elusive young man, known almost exclusively through the pages of a journal which was discovered and published after his death, and which still sells, albeit in rather small numbers?

Gérard Raymond was born on 20 August 1912 into a typically modest urban Québec City family, the fourth of eight children. His father, Camille Raymond, was a tramway conductor, while his mother, Joséphine Poitras, as with most Catholic women of that era, maintained the household. Very little is known of his brief life, except for those events recounted in his journal—written during his last four years—and which quite naturally reflect his own selective priorities and interests. In 1924, at the age of twelve, he entered the *Petit Séminaire de Québec* as a day student, where he remained until he was forced to enter hospital in January 1932. Diagnosed with tuberculosis, he died on 5 July 1932, at the age of nineteen. From the seminary archives, we know that he was a bright and diligent student, often finishing first or second in his class. From his journal, we also know that it was his intention to enter the Order of Friars Minor upon completion of his studies. In particular, he wanted to become a Franciscan missionary to China, and he would often express a burning desire and willingness to die as a martyr for the faith. Most of the other details of his short and uneventful life come from the journal, but also from a popular hagiographic text published anonymously in 1932, a few months after his death, with a particularly suggestive title: *Une âme d'élite: Gérard Raymond (1912-1932)*. Its author was undoubtedly Oscar Genest, priest and spiritual director of the students at the seminary.⁴

This text is important for a number of reasons. First, the seminary must have distributed it—together with holy cards of Gérard Raymond—rather widely to religious congregations, parishes and schools throughout North

³ I attended the celebrations of 5 July 2009. There was an anniversary mass said in Gérard Raymond's home parish. Copies of holy cards and a bound collection of his "sayings" were on sale at the entrance to the church. In the sanctuary, a painting of him was on display. In his sermon, the priest, who was visiting, only made passing reference to him, though he was praised as an example of humility and a "manifestation of God's strength in weakness," and as a model for youth. At the end of the service, a prayer was said for Gérard's beatification. Outside, a rented bus awaited those who wanted to visit the Raymond family plot in the local cemetery. About fifty people went. Flowers were placed on his tombstone, and further prayers were said. Several persons touched the tombstone, including a blind woman who traced his carved name with her fingers.

⁴ See *Une âme d'élite: Gérard Raymond (1912-1932)*, (Québec: Séminaire de Québec, 1932); and *Journal de Gérard Raymond*, (Québec: Séminaire de Québec, 1937). This process is similar to that of St. John Bosco, founder of the Salesians, who wrote a life of Dominic Savio, one of his early students. The popularity of this text eventually led to Savio's canonization, and to his being declared patron saint of students.

America, for its archives contain many letters of acknowledgement and thanks. These documents provide the researcher with a uniquely rich look at the particular worldviews of these recipients—clerical for the most part—for they are loaded with luxuriant and nuanced commentaries on the religious meaning and import of the life of the young Gérard Raymond.⁵ Second, *Une âme d'élite* is very much a classic hagiographic text, in the sense that it does two things: it makes a case for the sanctity of Gérard Raymond, and it proposes his life as a compelling model for other Catholic youth. In so doing, it offers much by way of insight into how the French Canadian Catholic clerical culture of this distinctive era understood and defined not only adolescent spirituality, but lay sanctity more generally. Third, and perhaps most significant, the book essentially consists of a prolonged spiritual commentary on Gérard Raymond's own journal. Because it was written by the spiritual director of the seminary, a person directly responsible for the welfare of the souls of the young students, it has much to say about how this clerical authority chose to "construct" Gérard Raymond as a potential saint, by drawing and emphasizing particular elements from his life, and how these might be relevant, in turn, to the lives of other seminary students, both present and future. In this regard, the choice of title is quite revealing: it bespeaks an overriding concern with Christian perfection, particularly for young males, as a task best suited to strong, exceptional or elite types, as might be the case for an athlete or a soldier. There is another sense in which the term "elite" can be understood here. Because they ran a *collège classique*⁶ the priests of the seminary were indeed forming a French Canadian elite of future lawyers, doctors, notaries, politicians or clergy. For the priests, this elite would naturally need to possess the sorts of qualities and virtues

⁵ All the letters from which I will quote in this article are found in box 259 of the Fonds Gérard-Raymond. My focus, in this paper, is specifically on clerical "constructions" of Gérard Raymond's saintly persona, which means that there may well be a disjuncture between Gérard Raymond's "real" life insofar as we can know it, and the ideal put forward and modelled by his clerical guardians. The archives do contain letters from classmates, but these were most often written after his death, and attested to his virtuous qualities. They would have been used in building the diocesan case for canonization. Obviously, future generations of youngsters would have responded to Gérard Raymond's sanctity, since he was held up as a proper Catholic model for youth, at least until the early 1960s. Though Catholic adults, specifically priests and nuns, I would argue, were instrumental in "constructing" his saintly reputation and the modest cult surrounding it, young people played a significant role in its maintenance and propagation. A methodological point about the letters I am using should be emphasized. I selected the passages I quote precisely because they are plausible and significant in terms of my argument. Obviously, they are not meant to provide an unassailable basis for an overall theoretical framework or model.

⁶ Prior to the 1960 Quiet Revolution and the reform of education in Québec, the *collège classique* was a type of private high school run by members of Catholic religious orders, mostly male, which provided a "classical" education geared to future professionals, such as doctors, lawyers, notaries and, of course, priests.

that Gérard Raymond so well embodied if its members were to occupy the rightful place that belonged to them in society and in the French Canadian Church.

Gérard Raymond's reputation for sanctity rests almost exclusively on his journal. The document is exceptional in that it provides the reader with an intimate look at the spiritual development of a young French Canadian Catholic man of the early part of the twentieth century. Its first entry is dated 23 December 1927; its last, 2 January 1932. Published by the *Séminaire de Québec*, it is reminiscent of the remarkably popular auto-biographical spiritual text by St. Thérèse de Lisieux (1873-1897), *Histoire d'une âme* (1898). In fact, Gérard Raymond may have modelled his entries on those of Thérèse. In his journal, he writes about how much he was impressed with her writings and spiritual insights, and he often invokes her as one of his special patrons. It is also important to note that the seminary itself edited and published the journal, and that selective parts of the original manuscript (mostly detailed summaries of sermons heard and recorded by Gérard) were removed from it.⁷ This parallels the process at Lisieux, where the Carmelite convent edited and arranged for the first publication of *Histoire d'une âme*, thereby almost single-handedly being responsible for the spread of the cult of the young Thérèse Martin, who would arguably become the most influential Catholic saint of the twentieth century.⁸

Raymond Lemieux, a scholar of Québec Catholicism, characterizes the major focus of the spirituality of Gérard Raymond, as reflected through the pages of his journal, as: "...a sharp awareness—and sharpened by the institution to which he submits himself—of the distance between daily life and the ideal, an awareness of work always needing to be redone to bridge the chasm, the challenge and necessity of perseverance."⁹ He further delineates

⁷ This raises the intriguing question of what the seminary priests may have chosen to leave out of the published journal. The text is remarkably free of ordinary, non-religious comments on Gérard Raymond's everyday life. Presumably, the journal contained some of these, but they may have been excluded because they were not considered spiritually "edifying" enough. I do not present an extensive exegesis of Gérard Raymond's *Journal*, but rather cull some of its more salient aspects as a way of drawing a summary portrait of the young man. In fact, the *Journal* makes for rather tedious reading; it is repetitious and overly didactic in many parts. I would argue this says much more about the worldviews of its clerical editors than about the spiritual or literary zeal of the young Gérard.

⁸ Such a process is certainly not unusual for religious orders which are intent on having one of their members canonized, thereby benefiting in a variety of ways, directly and indirectly, from the cult which will develop around the new saint.

⁹ Original French as follows: "...une conscience aiguë – et aiguisée par l'institution à laquelle il se soumet – de la distance entre le quotidien et l'idéal, la conscience d'un travail sans cesse à recommencer pour en combler le fossé, le défi et la nécessité de la persévérance." Raymond Lemieux, "Le sourire du martyr: Gérard Raymond (1912-1932)," Gilles Routhier and Jean-Philippe Warren, (eds.), *Les visages de la foi : figures marquantes*

the young seminarian's personality as comprising the threefold aspects of the model student, the pious adolescent and the elite soul.¹⁰ When reading the journal, one is struck by a number of recurring themes: the overriding concern with perfection in all aspects of life, and the consequent guilt which inevitably comes from not attaining it; the emphasis on penance and suffering, whether self-imposed or not, and how this imitates Christ and the tribulations of the martyrs; and the overly punctilious observance of Catholic rituals and devotions. The motto of the young student was: "Aimer, Souffrir, Aimer" (To love, to suffer, to love). The picture of Gérard Raymond that emerges from his journal is that of an exceptionally religious yet determined youth, insecure and often guilt-ridden, who wanted to be perfect in all things, whether his studies, his faith and devotional observances, his home life or his relationships with peers. In psychological terms, he might perhaps be viewed today as a bit of an obsessive-compulsive.

Above all else, however, stood Gérard Raymond's burning desire to be a saint and a martyr: "...as of today, I give myself to you, do with me as you wish, I know that it will be good. Make of me a saint, and if possible a martyr."¹¹ Such an idealistic Catholic ambition for sanctity and martyrdom—much more common in that era than was often admitted—served as a powerful template. In reflecting homogenous Tridentine ideals of Catholic perfection and perfectibility, it provided individuals, particularly youth, with the necessary inspiration, impetus and models for the forging of their fragile identities. In striving for sanctity and martyrdom, Gérard Raymond thereby became both himself and a good Catholic, for the two were seen as indivisible. The ideal of the martyr-saint bridged a chasm between the world and the Church, between this earth and the heavenly promise, between ordinary humans and stronger, more elite ones. What more could any typical adolescent look or ask for?

The Ideal of Heroic, Sanctified Masculinity

Since *Une âme d'élite* and his journal were both officially published by the priests of the Québec City seminary, Gérard Raymond's exemplary youthful sanctity could be said to be a clerical construction. This does not detract from the merits of the youngster's life. Rather, it points to a common process in saint-making: that it is often those with particular vested interests—sometimes very legitimate ones—who are the real advocates of

du catholicisme québécois, (Montréal: Éditions Fides, 2003), 51. Some details of the life of Gérard Raymond are also drawn from this source, 49-66.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 53-54.

¹¹ Original French as follows: "...dès aujourd'hui, je me livre à vous, faites de moi ce qu'il vous plaira, je sais que ce sera bien. Faites de moi un saint, et si possible un martyr." *Journal*, 165.

sainthood for a given individual. The seminary priests were the ones who wrote about Gérard Raymond; who edited and distributed his writings; who had images and holy cards of him printed; who composed prayers in his honour and organized novenas for his canonization; who kept alive his memory; and who proposed him as a model for other French Canadian Catholic youth. They created the saintly and ascetic Gérard Raymond. Without them, it is fairly certain that he would have remained unknown. Why, therefore, did they do it, and what sort of young man were they interested in fashioning?

Gérard Raymond, né à Québec le 29 août 1912, a fait ses études au Séminaire de cette ville et est mort à l'Hôpital Laval, le 5 juillet 1932, en odeur de sainteté.

Son idéal était: Aimer – souffrir – aimer. Son grand désir était de devenir prêtre, missionnaire, martyr.

PRIÈRE

DIVIN COEUR DE JÉSUS, qui, dans votre amour de prédilection pour les jeunes gens, avez accordé à Gérard Raymond la grâce de vous aimer ardemment et lui avez inspiré le généreux désir d'être avec Vous victime d'amour pour les pécheurs et de mourir martyr, daignez glorifier votre jeune serviteur.

Nous vous supplions par le Coeur Immaculé de Marie, de susciter partout dans l'Église des âmes d'apôtre qui aient comme lui, la sainte ambition de passer leur vie dans l'immolation continuelle, pour vous faire aimer et vous donner des âmes. Amen.

Imprimatur: PAUL NICOLE, v.g.
Québec, 16 août 1982.



Gérard Raymond

Holy Card Source: Courtesy of the Author (Printed Québec, 16 août 1982)

The dedication page of the young seminarian's journal, which would have been composed by a cleric from the seminary, provides a revealing perspective in this regard. It reads: "To our dear [French] Canadian youth, particularly those regrouped in specialized movements, we dedicate these pages of Catholic Action from the journal [diary] of Gérard Raymond, proud, pure, joyful and conquering adolescent."¹² Through this dedication, the seminary priests were clearly proposing their own student as a viable model for all youth involved with Catholic groups and organizations under the care of the Church. There was therefore an overarching purpose to their publication of the journal, which was to mold and channel the energies and talents of Catholic youth in the service of the Church's broader religious

¹² Original French as follows: "À notre chère jeunesse canadienne, surtout à celle qui se groupe dans les mouvements spécialisés(,) nous dédions ces pages d'action catholique du journal de Gérard Raymond, adolescent fier, pur, joyeux, conquérant." *Journal*, dedication page.

and secular interests. It is important to underscore that the pages of the text are referred to as an example of “Catholic Action,” in the sense of that early twentieth century movement, particularly prominent in Québec, which sought to transform the everyday secular world through the application of Catholic social ideals and teachings by committed members of the Church’s faithful.¹³ Interestingly enough, while Gérard Raymond did participate in the activities of a number of Catholic youth groups, mostly those of a devotional nature—and while the pages of his journal do make occasional reference to them—they do not constitute a major focus of his intimate writings. The priests here seem to be recuperating Gérard Raymond’s ideal of personal asceticism as an example of Catholic Action, a subtle but significant shift which seeks to extend even further, and ever more intimately, the hold of Roman Catholic institutional hegemony.

It is without a doubt the description of Gérard Raymond as a “proud, pure, joyful and conquering adolescent” that most clearly spells out what the youth ideally represented for his clerical guardians. These are the Christian virtues and qualities that they looked for, and which they actively promoted, in the Catholic boys under their care. This was how they understood and delineated Catholic masculinity: someone who was confident and secure in both his maleness and his faith; who was pure and therefore self-controlled; who was able to offer the world, despite his virtuous ascetic life, the look of a happy, contented and cheerful individual; and who finally was grandiosely heroic in having overcome his natural and sinful bodily urges, and thus willingly resigned himself to an early and painful death. This was the Catholic version of the Protestant ideal of “the muscular Christian,” the soldier-boy/man of Christ and the athlete for Jesus.¹⁴ In proposing the saintly Gérard Raymond as an exemplar for Catholic adolescent boys, the clergy of the seminary were idealizing and sanctifying this masculine standard. The expression “conquering adolescent” may strike one as being odd or slightly out of place. It does, however, reflect, at an individual level, the broader cultural sense, at that time, of an imperial mandate, particularly as this might apply to the British colonial context and experience, and from

¹³ Taking their cue from Leo XIII’s encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, there was a proliferation of Catholic social action organizations in the first half of the twentieth century in Québec. They covered a wide gamut of groups and interests: students, workers, farmers, and so forth. It can be said that these were another way for the Church to extend and consolidate its influence. In the 1950s, in *Vie étudiante*, the magazine of the *Jeunesse étudiante catholique (JEC)*, Gérard Raymond is mentioned three times (15 November 1956, 15 February 1957 and 15 November 1959), but only very briefly and always in connection with the slow progress of his cause for canonization. I am grateful to Professor Indre Cuplinskis for these references.

¹⁴ Clifford Putney, *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880-1920*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003).

which Canada, including Québec, was certainly not exempt.¹⁵ Catholic masculinity was always a masculinity subservient to, and in service of, the Church, an institution defined primarily as the ultimate protector of French Canadian identity and *survivance*. As opposed to Protestantism, which may have placed much more of an emphasis upon perfection for the sake of the individual's own salvation or, more broadly, in the interests of some global colonialist political goal, French Canadian Catholicism understood masculine vigour in an almost ecclesiastical context, i.e., it was concerned with forming strong Catholic citizens whose loyalty was to Rome rather than to a specifically national authority. This, of course, reflects quite well the overarching clerical ideology of ultramontanism which dominated Québec society so powerfully at this time. "Imperial" for the Catholic Church in Québec was therefore not necessarily the British Empire, but rather the imperial and autocratic nature of the Church itself, whose structures were understood as divinely-sanctioned.

In *Une âme d'élite*, another resounding plea is made: "Young people, have the courage to follow him. You owe it to God, you owe it to the Church, you owe it to your country."¹⁶ Gérard Raymond thus leads the way as the perfect man of faith, the perfect Catholic and the perfect citizen. A perfect citizen is one who exhibits, above all, a visible and total sense of discipline and subservience in his personal and religious life. One should understand "country" here as referring to French Canada, in that this concept or idea was the locus of identity for French-speaking Catholics. This re-inscribes the traditional nationalist motif of language and faith as the bulwarks against

¹⁵ I am particularly grateful to Professor Michel Despland for pointing this out. There always was a sense, in the *Pax Britannica*, of the need to turn English boys into proper Christian men for the purpose of helping to administer and govern the Empire. The rhetoric employed in French-speaking countries, however, was slightly different, and the example of francophone Belgium is a case in point. See, in this context, Martin Conway, "Building the Christian City: Catholics and Politics in Inter-war Francophone Belgium," *Past and Present*, 128 (1990): 117-151. In this article, the author discusses Catholic discourses of youthful "perfection" as being essentially anti-modern in tone, an attempt to reassert Catholic political and cultural hegemony in what was seen as a fundamentally secular and materialist society. The following quote from a publication of the Rexist movement, a 1930s ultra conservative movement for youth (which later supported the Nazi occupation of Belgium), is telling in this regard. No doubt Gérard Raymond would have felt perfectly comfortable applying these words to himself: "Ah, beautiful youth! Formed in devotion and self-denial, admirably prepared for the work of men by Catholic action [sic], it constitutes the most fervent, the most generous and the most united army imaginable...A youth that is pure, a youth that is optimistic, a youth that is family oriented, a youth that is patriotic, ready to sacrifice itself for everything that is noble and beautiful." Conway, "Building the Christian City," 141.

¹⁶ Original French as follows: "Jeunes gens, ayez donc la force de le suivre. Vous le devez à Dieu, vous le devez à l'Eglise, vous le devez à votre pays." *Une âme d'élite*, 81.

assimilation, and as the legitimate guarantors of collective survival.¹⁷ Further in the same text, one reads: “Our young people, impacted more and more by a diversity of influences, have an even more pressing need to contemplate and imitate models which will teach them how to resist evil passions, how to hitch themselves forever, to the true and the good.”¹⁸ The long-suffering Québec City youngster is now offered, by his clerical mentors, as a model of resistance to the allures of the world and a saintly guide in the timeless struggle between good and evil, between truth and falsehood, between the safety of the Church and the nefarious pull of the world at large.

Such a sanctified ideal of heroic virtue is quite obviously contingent upon the existence of a “dangerous” and suspect environment outside the secure borders of the Catholic worldview. In this regard, it is particularly illuminating to consider the written reactions of a selection of priests and members of religious congregations to having received complimentary copies either of *Une âme d’élite* or Gérard Raymond’s journal from Father Oscar Genest.¹⁹ On 14 March 1937, a certain F. Manuel of the *Pères du Très Saint-Sacrement* in Montréal innocently writes: “...my heart holds a special attraction for this young man caught up with the ideal of sanctity. In these times of **revolting paganism** and of **exaggerated materialism**, it is good to encounter souls which understand the sublime realities of the afterlife and who live in accordance with their beliefs.”²⁰ On 9 January

¹⁷ A common motif of the clerically supported French Canadian nationalism of this period is the symbiosis of land, language and religion. Historically, the Catholic Church was always seen as the institution best able to defend the interests of French Canadians, and the French language and the Catholic faith were understood as essential markers of their collective identity. Though French Canadian ultramontanism may have looked more to Vatican City than to Québec City as its ultimate source of allegiance, there can be little doubt that French Canadian Catholic ideals of manhood were very much conditioned by a sense of national and religious purpose, for the two were seen to be in a symbiotic relationship.

¹⁸ Original French as follows: “Notre jeunesse travaillée par tant d’influences diverses a de plus en plus besoin de contempler et d’imiter les modèles qui lui enseigneront comment résister au courant des passions mauvaises, comment se fixer à jamais dans la [sic] vrai et le bien.” *Une âme d’élite*, 112-113.

¹⁹ Clearly, the massive distribution of such material to religious congregations across North America points to a conscious and deliberate strategy on the part of the priests of the seminary to construct and propose their pious student as a model for other Catholic youth. At this time, the American Catholic Church, particularly in the Eastern United States, contained large communities of French Canadians who had emigrated there in search of employment.

²⁰ Original French as follows: “...mon coeur a une prédilection spéciale pour ce jeune homme épris de l’idéal qui fait les saints. En ces temps de paganisme révoltant et de matérialisation à outrance, il fait bon d’entrer en contact avec des âmes qui comprennent les sublimes réalités de l’au-delà et qui vivent en conformité avec leurs croyances.” Emphases in this and the following quotes are mine.

1933, the superior general of the *Soeurs de l'Assomption de la Sainte-Vierge* expresses her feelings as follows: "It is indeed a good action to teach youth to elevate themselves to the heights of sacrifice and Christian mortification while everything compels them to remain in the more comfortable domains of **easy and selfish pleasure**—when they are not encouraged to descend even further."²¹ From *Collège de Sainte-Anne* in Sainte-Anne de la Pocatière, an anonymous writer, presumably a priest, states the following in a letter dated 27 March 1936: "**Paganism, egotism, sensualism**: here are the three causes of the present crisis. Is it not true that Gérard Raymond made whatever laid in his power to apply the break to this affliction towards himself? Charity, modesty, mortification, visits to the Holy Sacrament: all these things composed his program. His day-book attests all that." It is interesting that this writer does not specify what is meant by "present crisis" or "affliction." Presumably, they referred to a sense of overall degeneracy about the secular world. Finally, from something intriguingly called The Boy Savior Movement, headed by a certain W.H. Walsh, a New York City Jesuit, come these words dated 28 January 1937: "In these **dreadful days**, when **the efforts of Satan** to draw our youth from God are powerfully aided by the **impure worldly atmosphere** around them, it is lovely and encouraging to have so recent an example of the power of God's grace in one just like themselves and with the same advantages, to put before them." Through these selections, one gets a clear sense of the multi-vocality of Gérard Raymond as a symbol of disciplined, chaste, pious and saintly youth.

What these various representatives of Catholic clerical authority have in common is a shared sense of the dangers inherent to the temporal world, especially when it comes to the perceived innocence of youth. This sharp sense of moral panic was not typically Catholic; rather, it was reflective of a far broader nineteenth and twentieth-century North American cultural concern with the hazards and pitfalls of uncontrolled adolescence, just as adolescence itself was beginning to emerge as a clearly identifiable and identifying age category.²² The wild, untamed bodies of adolescents, particularly those of boys, were perceived as frontiers to be charted and brought under the control of such civilizing forces as religion. This era, for example, saw the birth and rapid growth of the scouting movement. Catholicism too was anxious about subjugating its teenage bodies, hence Gérard Raymond's emergence as the perfectly disciplined and self-controlled

²¹ Original French as follows: "C'est, en effet, une bonne action que d'apprendre aux jeunes à s'élever vers les hauteurs du sacrifice et de la mortification chrétienne alors que tout les sollicite à demeurer dans les régions plus commodes des plaisirs égoïstes [sic] et faciles – quand ce n'est pas à descendre plus bas."

²² Jeffrey P. Moran, *Teaching Sex: The Shaping of Adolescence in the 20th Century*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000).

boy. His was a body on which was written—in fact, carved through a variety of ascetic practices—the wishes and designs of an insecure and apprehensive Church, a Church always anxious to ensure the unquestioned loyalty and continued devotion of its members. Here again, though there may have been many similarities between the Protestant and Catholic views of the dangers associated with adolescence, particularly the widespread perception of the increased “feminization” of young men because of easy or undisciplined living, the distinctiveness of the Catholic perspective—or at least its special salience—may arise more from a sense, if not a sharp and sustained expectation, of the higher morality of “the Catholic way.”

The French Canadian Church at this time was very much a missionary church, and it sent missionaries to all corners of the earth (per capita, the highest percentage of any Catholic country in the world). In that sense, the Church can be said to have had “dreams of conquest,” of wanting to spread the faith well beyond its geographical borders. Gérard Raymond also wanted to be a missionary; his sense of vocation and his ascetic agenda of self-perfection were modelled on those of the martyred Jesuit missionaries to New France. The conquest of the young self through acts of abnegation, always in service to a higher Catholic institutional ideal, therefore mirrored and extended the Church’s own expansionist designs. The two, in fact, were co-extensive.

One strategy in the Catholic pedagogical arsenal for dealing with adolescent boys was that of proposing models of chaste and youthful sanctity for them to emulate, in the hope that these saints would inspire and motivate the boys. The Church offered several such exemplars, drawn mostly from religious orders: Aloysius Gonzaga, a Jesuit novice, was the most popular, as was Dominic Savio, a Salesian student. Both were closely tied to issues of bodily chastity. In fact, more often than not, these boy saints came across as highly ambivalent sexual icons.²³ Gérard Raymond himself was regularly compared to some of these saints, most notably one of his personal favourites, Stanislaus Kostka, a Polish Jesuit novice and a relatively popular saint in French Canada at that time. The unspoken hope was that Gérard would eventually join this illustrious saintly company.

That Ever Elusive (but, Oh, So Important) Purity

The most important virtue hoped and sought for in Catholic youth was that of purity or bodily integrity, also often called chastity. Though it was seldom referred to in explicit terms, the biggest fear by far, particularly in the case of boys, was that they might engage in the hidden practice of

²³ Donald L. Boisvert, *Sanctity and Male Desire: A Gay Reading of Saints*, (Cleveland: The Pilgrim Press, 2004), 124-138.

masturbation, also known as the sin of self-abuse. The nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries had a very different view of this particular sexual act. Seen as a disease by many in the medical profession, masturbation was long understood as contributing to a variety of physical, psychological, moral and even social ills.²⁴ Above all, it was believed literally to sap the manhood out of boys, and engaging excessively in it might even feminize them and make them less manly, hence an almost obsessive concern with its full eradication. Masturbation was understood as an actual threat to masculinity because it denoted lack of proper manly self-control, an inability to dominate one's urges, and hence eventually an incapacity to assume one's proper social role as a dominant male. Of course, the threat of masturbation—also called the solitary sin in the confessional literature—raised the spectre of homoerotic acts, for it was believed that boys, especially younger ones, could be easily subjected to peer pressure, thereby being “forced” by older youngsters to engage in same-sex activities.

Interestingly enough, Gérard Raymond does not really emerge in writings by or about him as a potential “saint of purity,” even though the virtue is often ascribed to him, but almost as an afterthought, as if it were something expected. The assumption seems to be that, because of his self-imposed mortifications, he would be naturally pure. There are a few scattered references in his journal to his struggles with purity, but this is never spelled out in any explicit terms. One can assume that the reference is to so-called impure thoughts, which he counteracts by such ascetic practices as lowering his eyes (“modesty of the eyes”), sleeping on his back or, strangely enough, never crossing his legs (perhaps because this might be seen as a particularly feminine gesture). In the classic religious mode of this time, he understands purity as a perennial struggle against his own sinful body, and as something which is considered essential to his calling as a future priest. With the agreement of his confessor, he will actually take a personal vow of chastity, renewable monthly, at the age of seventeen. The published journal, regrettably, does not tell us how successful he might have been at maintaining it.²⁵

²⁴ Peter Lewis Allen, *The Wages of Sin: Sex and Disease, Past and Present*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), 79-118.

²⁵ As was stated in note 7, there are few comments or observations of a non-religious nature in Gérard Raymond's journal. If this was, in fact, an intimate diary, one can assume that there might have been occasional references to his struggles with temptation, particularly of a sexual nature. Such things would have loomed large in a young boy's mind. But nothing is highlighted, except for those oblique references mentioned in this article. If there were such references, then the seminary priests certainly did a thorough editing job of removing them. Once again, the silence or absence of such incidents speaks rather loudly and eloquently to the control of clerical authorities over the bodies of young Catholic devotees. Sexual references would probably have been seen as occasions of

In the dedicatory pages of his journal, Gérard Raymond is called *pur* by the priests, but this is one in a series of four Catholic adolescent qualities. In the journal's forward, the virtue of purity is elaborated upon in the following words: "**Pure**, of an angelic purity, and entrusting the purity of his heart to the power of the Host, to the maternal protection of Mary, Queen of Apostles, and to the care of a director of conscience; (...)"²⁶ Here, purity is understood as an ethereal, angelic quality, something watched over by Mary, the very symbol of a virginal life. The role of clerical authority in also safeguarding this virtue is emphasized in the person of the director of conscience. Rather unusually, *Une âme d'élite* does not dwell on Gérard's purity, an omission which can perhaps be explained by the fact that some other desirable Christian virtues are highlighted, such as self-mortification, humility and charity. An indirect reference to it is found in a brief passage about Gérard's plans for his summer vacation, which he always circumscribed by a variety of fairly intense spiritual practices: "And even his vacation days were subjected to a severe discipline. For him, piety does not take a break, far from it, during this most dangerous of times."²⁷ Summer vacation was often seen in Catholic schools as an especially risky time for the practice of Christian virtue, primarily because of the fact that children were often on their own, away from the daily supervision of nuns, teaching brothers

temptation in themselves, or certainly as inappropriate to a pious text such as the journal. Gérard Raymond's striving for perfection is therefore not framed in explicitly sexual terms. Such concerns, however, would have loomed large in the minds of his clerical handlers and those who were "recipients" of his story—other clergy and other youth—just as they still do today in certain ecclesiastical circles.

The ensuing discussion in this paper raises the interesting question of how purity, a typically feminine construct in Catholic hagiography, can be used to "bolster" masculinity. First, it should be mentioned that the lily does not exclusively denote female virginity. Rather, it is the attribute of many male saints known to have maintained their bodily integrity. St. Joseph is a good case in point, as he is traditionally portrayed holding a lily in one arm and the Christ Child in the other. Second, the Catholic view of purity is, in a paradoxical sense, "genderless." By that I mean that it is expected of both females and males, especially consecrated ones, or at least those who aspire to sanctity. Though the overarching symbol of purity, Mary, may be female, holy Catholic males should also strive to imitate her virtuousness. In a way, therefore, chaste Catholic males are made feminine through the denial of their natural sexual urges. But, most importantly, they also become more like Jesus, the perfect male, and therefore more truly Christian or Christ-like males. The tradition, of course, understands Jesus to have been asexual. All this raises even more interesting questions about the "sexual identity" of a church dominated by celibate men, and the homosocial or even homoerotic nature of its institutional culture.

²⁶ Original French as follows: "**Pur**, d'une pureté angélique, et confiant la pureté de son Cœur (sic) à la puissance de l'Hostie, à la protection maternelle de Marie, Reine des apôtres, et à la sollicitude d'un directeur de conscience; (...)." *Journal*, 6.

²⁷ Original French as follows: "Et même ses journées de vacances étaient soumises à une discipline sévère. Chez lui, la piété ne vaquait pas, loin de là, pendant ce temps si dangereux." *Une âme d'élite*, 66.

or priests. To counteract this, many parishes would actually set up special in-house camps during the summer months.

It is, once again, the various testimonials received in response to the reading of biographical material about Gérard Raymond that are most interesting because of the ways in which they interpret or frame the virtues exhibited by the young seminarian. Using the traditional image of the lily as a symbol for purity, the authors—priests and nuns for the most part—write eloquently about the importance of this virtue in a young Christian soul. This is a sampling: from a priest of the Fathers of the Blessed Sacrament, writing from Chicago on 3 March 1937: “I have read these colourful pages, where one of the beautiful souls of our century is revealed. A flower who is one of ours, a lily from your rich gardens, a lily on fire;” from *Les Soeurs adoratrices du Précieux Sang*, writing on 4 November 1937: “Beautiful lily whose white assemblage of petals enclosed the virtue of an angel, his odour was pleasing to the divine Gardener and soon enough He transported him to the heavenly gardens;” from a Franciscan priest, writing from Japan on 21 March 1937: “Virtue and youth, it has been said, are two of the most beautiful flowers of humanity. When virtue shines on the brow of a young man, it is the most enticing spectacle that the earth offers. (...) [he has] enough purity to keep chaste innocent souls and to help re-bloom faded lilies;” and finally, from Father Walsh of The Boy Savior Movement in New York City, writing on 30 May 1935: “It is examples like Gérard Raymond that we need today to give courage to our young people in the imitation of the purity and obedience of their model Jesus.”²⁸

Several themes cut across these selections. First, and most obviously, the image of the lily, coupled with colourful gardening references, is omnipresent. In these letters, the flower is also associated with such things as angels, heavenly perfumes and fire. In the Catholic iconography of saints, including that of Mary, the white lily is always used to indicate the purity of the body, and more specifically virginity. Second, purity and beauty are combined. A pure young man is called the most beautiful thing in the world. Youth and virtue are described as one of humanity’s loveliest flowers. Angelic references also underscore beauty. Third, this purity is conceived as exemplary and, even more importantly, as powerful. It can impart courage,

²⁸ Original French texts for the first three quotes as follows: “J’ai lu ces pages si vivantes où se révèle l’une des plus belles âmes de notre siècle. Une fleur de « chez nous, » un lis de vos riches parterres, un lis en feu;” “Beau lis dont la blanche corolle renfermait la vertu des anges, son parfum a plu au divin Jardinier et bien vite Il l’a transporté au parterre des cieux;” “La vertu et la jeunesse, a-t-on dit, sont les deux plus belles fleurs de l’humanité. Quand la vertu brille au front d’un jeune homme, c’est le plus ravissant spectacle que nous offre la terre (...) [il a] assez de pureté pour garder chaste les âmes innocentes et faire reflourir les lys flétris.”

and it can even make fading lilies bloom again. Gérard Raymond has so much purity that its excess can keep other, less holy, souls safe! He was so pure that Jesus himself decided to uproot him prematurely and transplant him to the heavenly garden. Purity acts here as a sort of talisman, safeguarding not only the chaste individual himself, but also all those who may invoke him. These are all ideas, motifs and images commonly found in Roman Catholic hagiographic texts. Sainly individuals are believed to exhibit special graces and powers. Their chasteness and other virtues make of them the elect, and they are considered especially strong intercessors and advocates in the economy of salvation. It was the undiminished hope and belief of the seminary priests that their pious and chaste student would eventually be seen as having joined this heavenly elite. Such an understanding of the power of Christian chastity served to underscore and reaffirm Catholic manliness. It was believed to make good Catholic men out of undisciplined Catholic boys. In a way, it was a mirror image of celibate clerical chastity. If the chaste priest was the Catholic man *par excellence*, then other Catholic men needed to be equally pure in their lives, even if they were not necessarily celibate.

Robert A. Orsi, historian of American Catholic culture, has argued that, prior to Vatican II, the bodies of Catholic children or young people were sites of “corporalization of the sacred,” means by which what was holy could be made really real, not only for the youngsters themselves, but more significantly for Catholic adults.²⁹ He writes:

Children signal the vulnerability and contingency of a particular religious world and of religion itself, and in exchanges between adults and children about sacred matters the religious world is in play. [...] Children’s bodies, rationalities, imaginations, and desires have all been privileged media for giving substance to religious meaning, for making the sacred present and material, not only *for* children but *through* them too, for adults in relation to them.³⁰

The ways in which the chaste body of Gérard Raymond was described and adulated by these Catholic adults, and the words and images that were used to enshrine it, speak far more significantly about their own notions of holiness or sanctity than they necessarily do about those of the young seminarian himself, though he had certainly internalized them. In this way, Gérard paradoxically embodied angelic manliness. His was a masculinity circumscribed by the chaste projections of celibate men and women, hence the apparently exceptional quality of his virtue. If a young man in the prime of his age could succeed in controlling his malleable body in such a

²⁹ Robert A. Orsi, *Between Heaven and Earth: The Religious Worlds People Make and the Scholars Who Study Them*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 73-109.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 77.

heroic way, how much worthier and meaningful, therefore, might the sexual disciplines of Catholic adults, especially men, be?

Conclusion, or How to Die Like a Saint and Become One

Gérard Raymond's last journal entry, dated 2 January 1932, reads in part: "Do with me, good Jesus, everything that you wish. Make me suffer, if that pleases you, [for] I am lazy in obtaining merit otherwise. Already, Jesus, I accept absolutely everything...I unite everything with your sufferings."³¹ *Une âme d'élite*, in commenting on his death, describes the moment in the following words: "His white brow laid back on the pillows, with blood on his lips, he gave the impression of a young martyr of the first centuries of the Church, as an eyewitness stated. His calm and quiet death was the echo of his life."³²

The sanctification of Gérard Raymond had already begun, and it happened in two ways: by the hand of the sick and dying seminarian himself, who took care, over several years, to describe in writing his exceptional spiritual journey; and by his clerical guardians, who framed his death in the language and imagery of the most authoritative of all claims to Christian sanctity, that of martyrdom. A direct filial line is drawn from twentieth century French Canada all the way back to the first centuries of the Christian era. This Roman Church of the New World can have its martyrs too. This young and beautiful (for that too is important) contemporary martyr embodies the classically romantic ideal of the earlier martyrs: proud, fearless, silent in suffering and, above all, willing to die like Jesus himself. The very words of the martyr proclaim it: "...I unite everything with your sufferings." What greater proof need there be?

The saintly fate of Gérard Raymond has yet to be sealed in any official way, yet he continues to be a focus of devotion. No doubt he represents

³¹ Original French as follows: "Faites de moi, bon Jésus, tout ce que vous voudrez. Faites-moi souffrir, si cela vous plaît, je suis si lâche pour acquérir des mérites autrement. D'avance, Jésus, j'accepte tout, tout...et j'unis tout avec vos souffrances." *Journal*, 168.

³² Original French as follows: "Sa tête blanche renversée sur l'oreiller, du sang aux lèvres, il donna l'impression d'un jeune martyr des premiers siècles de l'Eglise, comme le disait un témoin oculaire. Sa mort calme et tranquille fut l'écho de sa vie." *Une âme d'élite*, 106. In the first half of the twentieth century, many youth died from contagious diseases such as tuberculosis, which was seen as a particularly romantic and therefore ennobling or spiritualizing disease (since it was associated with breath or air). Some of these Catholic youth had a reputation for holiness. In that sense, Gérard Raymond does not stand out as a unique example, though he was certainly one of the better known, at least in French Canada.

a certain type of French Canadian Catholicism once triumphant, but now passé. For a contemporary reader, his journal may seem a tad quaint, perhaps frightening and slightly suspect because of his persistent insistence on the daily rituals of self-abnegation. His values seem incredibly old-fashioned, if not downright strange. Yet he is not all that exotic or different from many an adolescent today struggling with their emerging sense of self. He was very much a child of his times. The Catholic Church, in its institutional and cultural strength, gave him the context; he quite naturally grafted his identity and his personality onto it. The question of his “official” sanctity may or may not one day be resolved, but his true importance lies elsewhere.

The making of young Catholic saints always serves a Church-driven agenda. In the case of Gérard Raymond, even though his time may have come and gone, we can see the ways in which the clerical authorities of the Québec seminary, as well as others in their networks, framed and constructed his life so that he came to represent the very best of what young Catholic men should be about. There was a pedagogical strategy. They were forming Catholic faithful, but equally, if not more significantly, they were molding future men: men of privilege no doubt, but also men who stood alone in a fundamentally hostile world. Men who were humble, loving, strong, controlled, courageous, proud, pure and principled. Men like their very own angelic student, Gérard Raymond, the once and future saint.

Catholic Studies in Canada: History and Prospects

Ryan TOPPING

Introduction

Catholic Studies programs first appeared in the United States in 1993 at the University of St. Thomas, St. Paul, MN, and in Canada in 1994 at St. Thomas University in Fredericton, NB. There are seven such programs at present in Canada; an eighth, at St. Michael's College at the University of Toronto, goes by another name though it shares similar aims. Two more Catholic Studies programs are set to be launched this year and the next, St. Thomas More College and at St. Mary's University College, Calgary.¹ To distinguish this subject from the many theological and religious studies courses it shares affinities with, by Catholic Studies I refer to academic programs that are not exclusively theological but which draw upon a range of disciplines in the study of the thought and culture of Catholicism. Although these programs have been subject to both academic and popular debate in the United States,² little notice has been taken in this country. The following investigates the origins of these programs and what their appearance might tell us about the past and future challenges of Catholic higher education in (English-speaking) Canada. As this paper hopes to show, Catholic Studies represents arguably the most dynamic and promising curricular development

¹ Universities and colleges currently with Catholic Studies undergraduate major and minor programs include: King's University College (University of Western Ontario), St. Thomas University, Fredericton, St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish; those with only undergraduate minor programs include: Campion College (University of Regina), St. Paul's College (University of Manitoba), McGill University, Montreal, and the University of Prince Edward Island (in conjunction with St. Dunstan's University Institute for Christianity and Culture).

² An article titled "Catholic Studies at Catholic Colleges and Universities" in the January 3 (1998) issue of *America* was the first national Catholic magazine to cover these programs in North America. A brief history of writing on and debate about Catholic Studies programs in America is summarized by James L. Heft, "Almost No Generalizations: Reflections on Catholic Studies," *Catholic Education: A Journal of Inquiry and Practice*, 12, no.3 (March 2009): 369-372. Heft's article is one of a series on Catholic Studies Programs in the United States in the March 2009 edition of this journal.

in Catholic higher education in a generation. Tracing the history that led up to their rise provides a glimpse into some of the recent struggles suffered by Catholic institutions in Canada; it suggests also why these programs have recently proved to be attractive and even how they might invigorate Catholic education in years to come. The reflections that follow divide unevenly between history and prospects. First is traced the history of the institutional and curricular evolution that led to their establishment; after that, and based on the author's recent survey and interviews of program directors across Canada, are offered reflections on their prospects. The point of entry will be the work of the Canadian historian Fr. Laurence Shook.

The History of Catholic Higher Education in Canada

Since Shook's *Catholic Post-Secondary Education in English-Speaking Canada* (Toronto, 1971) there has been no comparable history of the subject.³ No attempt to make good that deficiency is given here; nonetheless in order to situate the rise of Catholic Studies Programs, offered here are several observations on Shook's handling of his subject, and in particular on his insight into the future decline of the number of Catholic institutions in our country.

Beginning with his final chapter, "Contemporary Directions," Shook offers a series of judgments about the future of Catholic education. In the 1970s anything seemed possible for the Church of the future. The Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) had surely been an epoch making event for all who shared in it. But its meaning was still unclear. Did it inaugurate a new Church? Mark a point of no return? For many, in those years between Paul VI's *Humanae Vitae* in 1968 (which reaffirmed the Church's ban on artificial contraception) and Karol Wojtyla's election in 1978, the answer was: yes. Recalling Hegel's metaphor "the owl of Minerva takes flight at dusk": at the time of Shook's history, in Canada at least the first stars had

³ Most recently, Terence J. Fay, in *A History of Canadian Catholics*, (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2002), treats the origin and development of many Catholic post-secondary foundations. Several institutions, such as St. Thomas More College (Margaret Sanche, *Heartwood: A History of St. Thomas More College and Newman Centre at the University of Saskatchewan*, (Muenster, SK: St. Peter's Press, 1986)), and St. Francis Xavier (James D. Cameron, *For the People: A History of St. Francis Xavier University*, (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1996)), have published their own histories. A recent and concise overview of the number and kinds of Catholic colleges and universities in Canada is given by Michael W. Higgins in a redaction paper of four panel presentations delivered by principals of Catholic institutions in Canada at the Association of Catholic Colleges and Universities (ACCUC) 2007 General Meeting, "The Northern Iteration: Challenges, Successes and Opportunities of Catholic Universities in Canada" *Current Issues in Catholic Higher Education* 26, no.1 (Winter 2007): 109-120.

already appeared in the turn from the Church of Trent to the Church of Vatican II. What strikes the reader forty years on is not, as is so often the case with the predictions of an historian, that Shook was wrong; indeed he saw correctly. What startles, rather, is the serenity with which he appears to have welcomed the tempest. After noting, among other things, the then present trends of priests exiting Catholic schools, and laity rushing into secular ones, Shook anticipates the imminent and dramatic decline in the number of Catholic colleges. As he writes, these “hard facts” do not necessarily point to the total disappearance of Catholic colleges in the country, but first, “to a real and relative curtailment of their operation,” and second, “to the need of transferring their basic functions into the large public university.”⁴ He predicts there will remain only “one or two” English Catholic Universities; colleges that survive will exist only as appendages to the body of their larger provincially-funded host universities;⁵ in addition to these, also standing after the storm will be a few research centres,⁶ presumably like the Pontifical Institute for Medieval Studies (PIMS), of which Fr. Shook was president from 1961-1973.

It will be plain in a moment how thoroughly Shook’s forecast was fulfilled, even beyond his expectations; but to complete our review of his chapter, it is worth noting that among the functions proper to a Catholic college Shook singles out three. They are: fostering a community where Christ is the centre; nurturing an institution where theology and religion flourish—and with them the requisite philological, philosophical, and historical disciplines ancillary to their study; and finally, providing a home “for the truly great scholar in these fields,” by which he means a home for researchers.⁷ In short, in Shook’s view, the vocation of a Catholic college is to nourish a Catholic intelligentsia. It is an institution devoted to the spiritual, educational, and professional well-being of students and professors alike, united in faith.

Well, what happened in history after Shook’s *History*? Catholic institutions did indeed close. In 1968, for example, there were some fifty-seven Catholic colleges or universities outside of Quebec, including junior colleges (offering one or two year programs, not equivalent to a university Bachelor degree).⁸ Over the next few fifteen years this network virtually

⁴ Laurence Shook, *Catholic Post-Secondary Education in English-Speaking Canada*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), 418.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 420.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, 418.

⁸ Including Quebec that number as of 1968 was sixty-three. See E. F. Sheffield, “The Universities of Canada,” *Commonwealth Universities Yearbook*, 1969, 1031-1057, cited in *A Commitment to Higher Education in Canada: The Report of a Commission of*

collapsed. Thus, between 1970⁹ and 1983 twenty-three institutions closed, from forty to seventeen.¹⁰ As of today nineteen belong to the Association of Catholic Colleges and Universities of Canada (ACCUC).¹¹ By any reckoning, the twenty years after the Council were lean for Catholic education in Canada. Looking back, it is true that the number of institutions has held steady over the last quarter of a century. But bear in mind that the surviving colleges are all small, serving (roughly) between 100 and 5000 students, and that these vary in their attachment to their founding identity. When you add to this the increase in Canada's Catholic population since 1983 (by about 2.5 million),¹² this achievement is modest. From a demographic point of view, parents in Canada hoping for their children to study at a Catholic college will likely send them far from home. Canada's relative lack of institutions becomes clearer by comparison: in the United States there is

Inquiry on Forty Catholic Colleges and Universities, February 1970 (Ottawa: National Education Office, 1970), 2. As discussed in the Commission's report, difficulties with classifying and enumerating post-secondary institutions in Canada arise because of the many possible criteria that can be employed, p.1-2. For example, some institutions (e.g. junior colleges such as St. Peter's College, Muenster, SK) only offer one or two years toward a university degree, which then must be completed elsewhere.

⁹ The 1970 federal document, *A Commitment to Higher Education in Canada: The Report of a Commission of Inquiry on Forty Catholic Colleges and Universities*, lists a number of closures of colleges between 1967 and 1970, p.13.

¹⁰ Citing the 1970 federal document *A Commitment to Higher Education in Canada*, Brian Hogan reports that there were forty Catholic post-secondary institutions in Canada at that time. By 1983, however, this number had decreased to seventeen. See Hogan "'The Word' and the University World," 58-72 in John Duggan, SJ and Terry Fay, SJ, (eds.), *Spiritual Roots: Historical Essays on the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto at 150 Years of Age*, (Toronto: Our Lady of Lourdes, 1991) 66-70. As a point of clarification, I note that the author of *A History of Canadian Catholics*, when citing Hogan's article, states that between 1970-1983 "the number of Catholic universities and colleges in Canada has decreased by forty" (p. 276), where this should have read "...decreased from forty."

¹¹ As listed in the *2009 Canadian Catholic Church Directory*, (Montreal: Novalis Publishing, 2009), 54. These numbers do include two recent foundations, Our Lady Seat of Wisdom Academy, Barry's Bay, ON, and Pacific Redeemer College, Langley, BC, which, as far as I am aware, have not sought association with ACCUC. The count of Catholic institutions might also be adjusted when you take into account other juridical and institutional features. For example, we might subtract Assumption University, transferred to the University of Windsor in 1962, which does not provide regular teaching nor does it have a permanent teaching staff; alternatively, we might add Laval University which retains some ecclesiastical connection through its Faculty of Theology.

¹² As of the 2001 National Census in Canada 43.2 % of the population was Roman Catholic (or 12,936,905 persons); in 1981 that figure was 47.3% (or 10,320,024 persons).

one college or university for every 300,000 Catholics; in Canada roughly one for every 750,000.¹³

In respect of the *ethos* of these colleges, as elsewhere on the continent, their identity was shaped, foremost, by the religious men and women who established them. The landscape of religious life changed swiftly after the Council. Taking figures from our neighbours to the South we note how in 1965 there were in America 179,954 religious sisters. Five years after Shook's publication, however, in 1975, there were 135,225 sisters or about twenty-five percent fewer than in 1965.¹⁴ As of a few weeks ago there were less than 60,000, with a median age among these sisters of sixty-six years. Vocations in Canada have suffered similarly. Not needing to rehearse the now familiar story, for those who worked on Catholic campuses through the 1970s to the 1980s the pace of change must have startled. With a glance at one Basilian college in particular, St. Thomas More, Saskatoon, in 1936 there were 39 students who declared themselves members of the college with Fr. Rush, Fr. Anglin, and Fr. Markle lecturing in French, History and Economics, and Scholastic philosophy, respectively.¹⁵ For the first 25 years of the college's history there was roughly one cleric for every forty students. Following the baby boom the influx of undergraduates was not matched by more Basilians. By the mid-1960s there were still twelve priests on faculty (in 1966, eleven Basilian and one Redemptorist), but added to these were some thirteen newly appointed lay teachers.¹⁶ The gap increased through the 1970s and 1980s. By 1990 there were 1054 students for nine religious; in 2005 there were 2661 for three.¹⁷ Of course this college is not unique. The point in recounting this is simply that Shook, writing in 1970, foresaw much of what was to come, even if he might not have seen how quickly the faces of those serving Catholic colleges would age and in many cases disappear altogether.

¹³ Based on the current number of Catholics in the United States (25% of 305 million), where there are approximately two-hundred colleges, and Canada (42% of 33 million), where there are nineteen.

¹⁴ At last count, in 2009, there were 59,601. These statistics are reported on the CARA website (the *Centre for Applied Research in the Apostolate*) at the University of Georgetown, <http://cara.georgetown.edu>, accessed on 7 October 2009.

¹⁵ See Margaret Sanche, *Heartwood*, 68-69.

¹⁶ See *ibid.*, 116.

¹⁷ I record here the number of students who voluntarily list themselves as members of St. Thomas More College in proportion to the number of religious administration or full-time faculty: 1936 (39 students/3 religious); 1940 (60/4); 1946 (100/6); 1950 (175/6); 1955 (180/6); 1960 (390/7); 1965 (790/12); 1970 (820/13); 1975 (780/14); 1980 (780/13); 1985 (1161/11); 1990 (1054/9); 1995 (1246/6); 2000 (1467/4); 2005 (2661/3); 2007 (2316/3). Thanks to Dr. Margaret Sanche, archivist of St. Thomas More College, for providing these figures.

What is surprising, nevertheless, is how little concern Shook betrays. Having marked the ominous horizon, his concluding chapter leaves the reader with an uncanny word of consolation. On the absorption of Catholic institutions into secular ones he writes: "Catholics need no longer fear that such functions cannot and will not be assumed by the secular universities."¹⁸ To remind ourselves, those functions again were three: putting Christ at the centre, teaching theology, and making a home for Christian scholars. What is missing from the historian's account is *how* and *why* one institution would voluntarily assume the functions proper to another. In other words, what reasons did he have to believe that secular campuses would pick up the tab left behind by the disappearing Catholic ones? The only evidence cited was that similar assimilation advanced elsewhere. In this, Shook was partly right. We have to remember that at the same moment that the Church opened her windows to the modern world, the modern world was only too happy to crawl in. In politics, in health-care, in education, by 1971 the planks of the welfare state were then being assembled piece by piece. "After all," Shook continues, "there will be a community of which Christ is the centre if men who love Christ take him there; and Christ can be taken to the public campus as easily as to the Tridentine seminary!"¹⁹

The History of Catholic Post-Secondary Education in English-Speaking Canada anticipates other trends of the future. One could, for instance, mention the adulation the author pours over the then emerging field of Religious Studies, or derision upon "sectarian theology"²⁰ but it is clear enough where our author is heading. Shook's analysis appears to have depended, as did many at the time, on a determined optimism. In 1971 the first stars at dusk already shone. Hope soared for the future *rapprochement* between the Church and the world. On this point some have observed the irony that just when sociologists and political philosophers were discovering again the value of ritual, habit, symbol, and place, for the formation of distinctive communal identities, many in the Church were simply tossing aside the marks of Catholic identity. (Whatever happened to fish Friday?)²¹ In any case, Fr. Shook's expectation was that the secular academy of the present would prove hospitable to the Catholic intelligentsia of the future.

¹⁸ Shook, *Catholic Post-Secondary Education*, 419.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ On this see Aidan Nichols' reflections in *Looking at the Liturgy: A Critical View of its Contemporary Form*, (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1996), 49-59, which, though directed towards questions of liturgy, suitably apply to education. Also helpful for understanding the philosophical resources at hand on the nature and meaning of "culture" by those involved in the immediate reception of the Council, see Tracey Rowland, *Culture and the Thomist Tradition After Vatican Two*, (London: Routledge, 2003).

From Scholasticism to Ethnic Studies to Catholic Studies

But can Christ really be taken to the public campus as easily as to the Tridentine seminary? In the field of education at least, what many after the Council wished to displace was the hegemony of scholasticism over Catholic institutions. Having noted the rapid loss of Catholic colleges in Canada and the decline of religious, the pre-history of Catholic Studies may be completed by singling out three mid-century developments in the history of the curriculum. The concurrent disappearance of scholasticism, establishment of Departments of Religion, and rise of ethnic studies, each in its own way, has contributed to making Catholic Studies Programs in Canada both desirable and possible, for many. But mark this caveat: naming the powers that have aligned minimizes neither the initiative nor the imagination of individuals and their colleges. Nothing happens without people. The claim advanced here is only that the above conditions combined to make the recent trend of the rise of Catholic Studies more likely.

Leo XIII's encyclical *Aeterni Patris* (1879) initiated throughout the Catholic world a renewed advance of scholastic and especially Thomistic philosophy. Thomism had previously enjoyed a privileged status.²² What distinguished the Leonine revival, and was carried forward by Pius X's *Pascendi Dominici Gregis* (1907),²³ was that it self-consciously aimed to achieve a coordinated practical effect. Through a series of reforms, the Church was to equip herself and her young with the educational tools to meet the great heresies of the day, then grouped under the term "Modernism": in politics this was the liberal exaltation of freedom on the one hand, and the socialist denial of responsibility, on the other; in religion this was the Protestant separation of faith from reason; in ethics, the denial of sin; and so forth.²⁴ Leonine scholasticism was as much about the recovery of scholastic philosophy as the defense of Catholic culture. As Fr. Terence Fay S.J. in his *A History of Canadian Catholics* has pointed out, the revival of devotions in Canada such as Eucharistic adoration, holy-hours, and the rosary, in the early part of the 20th century, were fruits of this movement.²⁵ In higher education, its most prestigious edifice in Canada is the Pontifical Institute

²² On this see Romanus Cessario, *A Short History of Thomism*, (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2005).

²³ On the reception and influence of *Pascendi* see Marvin R. O'Connell, *Critics on Trial: An Introduction to the Catholic Modernist Crisis*, (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press of America, 1994), 355-75.

²⁴ See *ibid.*, and for a more critical introduction see Fergus Kerr, *Twentieth-Century Catholic Theologians: From Neo-scholasticism to Nuptial Mysticism*, (London: Blackwell, 2007), 1-17.

²⁵ Fay's preferred terminology is "ultramontane spirituality" in *A History of Canadian Catholics*, 93.

of Medieval Studies (PIMS), founded in 1929.²⁶ But the rippling effects of *Aeterni Patris* were felt not only in Toronto. At St. Thomas More College one of the first acts of the faithful in Saskatoon toward the foundation of their dreamed of Catholic college was to bring to the city and to the University of Saskatchewan its first professor of Scholastic philosophy; this they did in 1926 in the person of Fr. Basil Markle (an amiable, devoted, and by all accounts extremely popular lecturer), priest of the Archdiocese of Toronto and newly graduated with a Roman degree.²⁷

In the larger Catholic world, as at St. Thomas More, deference to scholastic methods, divisions, and doctrines has of course been displaced by an eclectic pluralism. At the same time that Catholics lost confidence in scholasticism as a unifying philosophy of education, Religious Studies was born. In the wake of Kant's critique of metaphysics, Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834), David Strauss (1808-1874), and Rudolf Bultmann (1884-1976), among others, sought a truly scientific and objective approach to religion. Here not revelation but human experience was the object of enquiry; its methods took inspiration from the newly developing social sciences. The consequence of these ideas on institutions took nearly half a century to be realized. But by the 1960s and 1970s the first departments of Religious Studies appeared, rapidly displacing theological faculties throughout the English-speaking world. Notably, in America, the National Association of Biblical Instructors (est. 1909) reinvented itself in 1964 as the American Academy of Religion (which now boasts over 8000 members).²⁸ Lancaster developed the first Religious Studies Department in Britain in 1967. The University of Toronto established its undergraduate Religious Studies Department—it should be noted, alongside the Toronto School of Theology—in 1969.²⁹ The rise of Religious Studies and its conflicts with Theology has been explored numerous times and from a range of secular and

²⁶ See here the official biography of Gilson by Fr. Shook, *Etienne Gilson*, (Toronto: PIMS, 1984), 210-216; and, for the intellectual significance of PIMS in North America, W. Hankey, "From Metaphysics to History, from Exodus to Neoplatonism, from Scholasticism to Pluralism: the Fate of Gilsonian Thomism in English-speaking North America," *Dionysius*, 16 (1998): 157-188.

²⁷ Sanche, *Heartwood*, 39. Even into the 1990s, philosophy at St. Thomas More was consciously modeled on a scholastic course.

²⁸ See D.G. Hart's account of the significance of this change of name in *A Student's Guide to Religious Studies*, (Wilmington, DE: Intercollegiate Institute Books, 2005), 32-36.

²⁹ On this see Donald Weibe's chapter "Alive, But Just Barely: Graduate Studies in Religion at the University of Toronto" in *The Politics of Religious Studies: The Continuing Conflict with Theology in the Academy*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 206, which argues that Toronto's historic and continuing connection with Christian theology—particularly through its federated colleges—has hindered the progress of a truly scientific, and academically respectable, program in the study of religion.

confessional points of view.³⁰ But in the Canadian context, and at the level of university policy recommendations, one government sponsored report on graduate education in Ontario puts the difference rather well. In a Report by the Advisory Committee on Academic Planning of the Ontario Council of Graduate Studies (1974) under the report's "System Recommendations" one finds this clarification:³¹

The study of religion may thus be characterized as concerned with man's relation to the transcendent, to God or the Gods and whatever else is regarded as sacred or holy. Its present-day concern is predominantly descriptive and explanatory and embraces such various disciplines as history, sociology, anthropology, psychology, and archaeology. This is in contrast to the traditional orientation of religion toward truth claims which is properly the concern of theology.

Unfortunate in this report is the juxtaposition between "description" and "explanation" on the one hand and "truth claims" on the other—as though it were possible to explain anything without entangling yourself in claims about the world. The distinction, as it stands, is of course specious. Hiding behind the report's separation of the two disciplines is an assumed though un-argued proposition of skeptical faith lifted straight out of the pages of Immanuel Kant. The author's tacit assumption is this: that empirical science teaches facts about the world, whereas theology—and for that matter philosophy, literature, and ethics—only reflect back to us our values: where the first is a matter of knowledge the second is merely opinion, belief, or worse, superstition. That article of skeptical faith may be well justified. But, at the university at least, it should not be assumed. Demanding as a matter of policy that "truth claims" be excluded from the proper concern of religious study is arbitrary; it is by the exercise of power to turn a dialogue into a monologue. This report, written in the context of Toronto's newly established School of Theology and department of Religious Studies, opens for us a window onto the struggle which Canadian universities have had in conceiving of the peaceful co-existence between Theology and Religious

³⁰ To name just a few, see Timothy Fitzgerald, *The Ideology of Religious Studies*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), Linell E. Cady and Delwin Brown, (eds.), *Religious Studies, Theology, and the University: Conflicting Maps, Changing Terrain*, (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2002), D.G. Hart, *The University Gets Religion: Religious Studies in American Higher Education*, (London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999) and, perhaps most importantly among recent Roman Catholic contributions, Gavin D'Costa, *Theology in the Public Square: Church, Academy, Nation*, (London: Blackwell, 2005).

³¹ J. Yolton, "System Recommendations," in Advisory Committee on Academic Planning, Ontario Council of Graduate Studies, *Perspectives and Plans for Graduate Studies* (Toronto: Council of Ontario Universities, 1974), 6, cited in Weibe "Alive, But Just Barely," 208.

Studies. Among British, American, and Canadian universities, arguably, this more aggressive interpretation of Religious Studies would appear to have advanced with the best success in Canada. Again to draw a comparison, traditional academic theology has in the United Kingdom—as at Oxbridge in the south and Edinburgh and Aberdeen in the north—maintained a strong tie to the churches. This anchoring of tradition meant that newer approaches to religious study have been introduced gradually and made its home alongside the older curriculum. In America, the sprawling network of independent institutions (there are, for example, about 200 Catholic colleges and universities in the US to date) has made it less easy for a single methodology to dominate. By comparison, Canada has lacked both tradition and money. The consequence of this for the study of religion is that there exists now relatively less diversity in Canada than elsewhere. Moreover, for Catholic colleges, since many Religious Studies departments disavow a confessional point of view, they are not usually called upon to carry a college's parochial identity.

The third development, now moving beyond philosophy and theology, concerns the shift within the humanities curriculum more generally. Since Charles Eliot's reforms of Harvard University, of which he was president (1889-1909), there has been a steady movement away from the older European liberal arts model toward the elective system of course selection. Robert Hutchins' Great Books movement was the counter-reform instigated during his tenure as president at the University of Chicago (1929-1951). But in Catholic education, as in the state and provincial schools, defenders of the Great Books approach typically find themselves in splendid isolation—the Don Quixotes of education tilting at windmills. Following trends in the US, throughout the 1960s and 1970s the University of Toronto, for one, saw the creation of a host of interdisciplinary courses, such as, in 1971, Women's Studies.³² In Canada and the United States, after the reforms of the 1960s virtually any semblance of a core of set texts or set classes had been shepherded, with a rough staff, out of the academy. Out were courses on Western Civilization and Victorian Literature, in were courses on Black history and women. Gender Studies, African-American Studies, then Latino, Hispanic, Native, and Judaic Studies flooded the undergraduate market in an ever expanding curriculum. In short, having lost the epistemic confidence that once supported core curricula, North American universities have welcomed multidisciplinary programs without demanding to know how their individual components might relate to the unity of knowledge. A situation now prevails where special interest groups stake their individual

³² On this see, for instance, Martin L. Friedland's chapter "Multidisciplinary Endeavors," *The University of Toronto: A History*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 479-498; on Women's Studies, p.591.

claims upon the humanities, the way that the market has long dictated the university's science curriculum. Thus, it is within the immediate context of the rise of ethnic studies, as the historian of education Anthony Dosen has recently argued, that "the concept of Catholic Studies was born."³³

Has anything been left out? Certainly. Besides these three developments there have been others. A lengthier treatment would speak also to the (delayed) though perceptible impact of John Paul II's 1990 Apostolic Exhortation *Ex Corde Ecclesiae* in Canada, and abroad;³⁴ it would explore the lost prestige that secular approaches to religion have suffered in recent years by the blows of postmodern critique of the so-called 'objective' i.e., doctrinally neutral study of religion;³⁵ finally, some attention would need to be given to the resurgence of religious belief among young people in North America—and that in the face of many of their professors' (now failed) expectation that religion in the modern world was on retreat. But these can only be mentioned in passing.

The Prospects for Catholic Studies Programs

Having sketched the pre-history of Catholic Studies programs, one can ask, next, what are their prospects? How likely is it that these will strengthen Catholic higher education in our time? To help answer this, in addition to reviewing publicly available documents, this writer circulated a survey to all directors of Catholic Studies Programs in Canada enquiring into the nature and origin of their departments.³⁶ Among the relevant findings three are highlighted.

³³ Anthony J. Dosen, "The Development of Catholic Studies Programs in American Catholic Universities," *Catholic Education: A Journal of Inquiry and Practice*, 12, no.3 (March 2009): 364.

³⁴ *Ex Corde Ecclesiae* was made binding for Catholic Colleges and Universities in Canada sixteen years after its original publication. In 2003 the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops promulgated ordinances for the implementation of the document, which came into effect in 2006. More generally on the impact of *Ex Corde Ecclesiae* see the work of Alice Gallin and particularly *Ex Corde Ecclesiae: Documents Concerning Reception and Implementation*, (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 2006).

³⁵ On this see, for instance, the work of John Milbank, *Theology and Social Theory: Beyond Secular Reason*, second edition, (London: Blackwell, 2006) and Gavin D'Costa, *Theology in the Public Square*.

³⁶ Some comment here is offered on the nature and methodology of the research conducted. Without committing to a full-scale research project the author nonetheless wished to gain a sufficiently broad overview of the number and nature of these programs so as to be able to draw some tentative conclusions about their capacity to strengthen higher education in Canada in the near future. To this end seven questions were asked, with data collected from published material and through a survey of each of the directors (except one, at King's University College) of Catholic Studies Programs in Canada. The survey sent out contained these five questions: "when was your program established"; "for what

First, all the programs in Canada except one (at McGill) have been established at colleges or universities with a Catholic foundation. When asked why their programs were founded most directors responded that it was a way of highlighting their institution's distinctive religious identity. In particular, several volunteered that the shift towards Religious Studies away from theology, made some other curricular expression desirable. Few Catholic colleges in Canada are free-standing. In fact, thirteen of the nineteen colleges currently accredited by the ACCUC are in federation with a provincial university. This arrangement no doubt brings mutual advantages. But, as other historians have pointed out, their lack of endowments, their lack of academic independence, and the increasingly secular environment of their hosts, have not always left Catholic Colleges in a position of strength. As Reford and Sanche have argued, when federated colleges encounter opposition to their Catholic identity, they usually cannot influence to advantage.³⁷ To point out what is perhaps obvious, a leading motive for the founding of Catholic Studies Programs, therefore, appears to be fuelled by the desire to stiffen an existing Catholic ethos.

Second, except for one (at King's College), all of the programs are interdisciplinary. That is, requirements for their completion are drawn from multiple departments, especially Religious Studies, Philosophy, Literature, and History. In these cases programs have either a designated Catholic Studies introductory course, or an upper year capstone course, or both. In one interview, a director stressed that Catholic Studies should not be seen as theology by another name; its interdisciplinary nature carries distinct advantages. For one, since Catholicism has been and remains foundational to Western civilization, an interdisciplinary approach to the humanities can initiate students into the tradition of liberal learning. (Where else are you likely to meet St. Augustine, Dante, and Dorothy Day all in 3 credit hours?) With the diminution of required core courses, it is difficult to imagine where else students would find such a broadly humanistic approach. In their advertising literature other colleges promote the relevance of Catholic Studies to employment. For example, at least some Catholic School Boards in Ontario list Catholic Studies as a professional qualification for teachers. Pursuing

reasons was your program established"; "does your program receive non-governmental founding"; "how many students are declared Catholic Studies majors or minors"; and," have you been able to ascertain what attracts students to the program." Responses from program directors included written submissions and two private interviews. Those replies which could be easily quantified are summarized in the appendix.

³⁷ For reflection on the implications of Federation for St. Michael's and St. Thomas More see Alexander Reford, "St. Michael's College at the University of Toronto 1958-1978: The Frustrations of Federation," *Historical Studies* 61 (1995): 171-194, and Margaret Sanche, "A Matter of Identity: St. Thomas More College at the University of Saskatchewan, 1961-1977," *Historical Studies* 61 (1995): 195-214.

similar recognition in other jurisdictions would undoubtedly increase the attractiveness of Catholic Studies Programs to future students.

Third, in terms of demographics, Catholic Studies Programs are small. They appear to attract mostly, but by no means only, Catholic students. Of the figures gathered, student enrolment for the declared minor and major is in all cases modest, ranging from one student (in the minor program at St. Thomas, Fredericton) to about twenty (St. Paul's College). These statistics, it should be pointed out, do not reflect the larger number of students who take Catholic Studies courses simply as electives (the program director at UPEI, for instance, stressed that they easily have over a hundred students who fill up the multiple sections of their introductory course; St. Paul's fills four sections of 60 students in their introductory course). Six of the existing programs are in eastern or central Canada, two in the prairie-provinces. Seven out of nine programs are offered as minors; St Francis Xavier and King's College (and St. Michael's) offer major degrees (St. Mary's University College, Calgary, hopes to do the same). There are at present two Catholic Studies research-related institutes (at St. Thomas in Fredericton and the University of Prince Edward Island). In Canada there are no graduate programs.

With these findings in view, can one anticipate something of the future prospects of Catholic Studies Programs? Taking Shook's three functions of a Catholic college as a jumping off point—making Christ the centre, teaching theology, and promoting research—the following brief remarks are offered.

Starting from the end of Shook's list, clearly, without the establishment of graduate programs, Catholic Studies will not make an appreciable impact on the direction of research. Publishing requires low teaching loads. And, in almost all cases, Catholic colleges and universities in Canada distinguish themselves as teaching institutions by offering small class sizes, more contact with professors, and a welcoming academic community. Students benefit from these conditions, but, quantitatively speaking, research usually does not. Furthermore, since Catholic Studies courses are interdisciplinary by design, professors who aim to excel at *teaching* in these programs will need to cultivate breadth of learning more than depth. To understand the Catholic tradition requires knowledge of its philosophical roots as much as of the fruits these have born in culture, from Aristotle's *Metaphysics* to Waugh's *Brideshead Revisited*. One must consider how many faculty are likely to prefer this path when what tenure and promotion committees reward is specialized and narrowly focused research. Perhaps more Catholic Studies institutes could marginally mitigate this trend.

On promoting theology and its ancillary disciplines, Catholic Studies may here produce more gains; but only if professors can provoke students.

The problem is: how to excite love for the faith within the confines of the classroom? Care must be taken not to present Catholicism merely as one more edifice to deconstruct. As criticism does not produce literature, neither does religious study produce religion. But should it not inspire awe? Physicists love their subject; professors of veterinary medicine usually love theirs: why should not professors in Catholic Studies also love God; or even the Church? Moreover, where the tradition is taken seriously—I do not mean uncritically—the value of philosophy as well as Latin and Greek will also increase in student’s eyes. Additionally, care will have to be taken in the selection of the program’s required and optional courses. For instance, Catholic Studies Programs should include courses that explore the *systematic nature* of Catholic doctrine. The fact that at least some programs in Canada require an integrative capstone course (as, for instance, at St. Paul’s) goes some distance toward realising this end. Nevertheless interdisciplinary programs are weakest when it comes to theory. A temptation for lecturers in Catholic literature or art will be to focus too narrowly on the material of Catholic culture. Catholicism has no doubt generated an explosive diversity. But one would hardly ask students to infer transubstantiation from a church bell-tower. And, apart from a grasp of the unity of doctrine it will be difficult for students to spot the principles that hold together the plurality that is the Catholic faith. Intellectual formation requires something more not less than familiarity with Caravaggio or the Cathedral of Notre Dame.

Lastly, will Catholic Studies put Christ at the centre? On this question Catholic Studies promises at once much and very little. Catholic Studies Programs, by themselves, cannot alter funding structures; they will not convince those indifferent among the faculty to support a Catholic mission; they should not substitute for evangelization. What they can provide, however, and do in many cases, is a *symbolic* gesture. They can plant a flag around which the willing might gather. The modest number of majors that Catholic Studies programs have attracted is not necessarily a liability. Genuine intellectual friendship usually begins and ends within small parties devoted to a common end. This capacity of Catholic Studies Programs to build a community within a collegiate community should not be overlooked. Obviously, no single program can make a college “Catholic.” And yet, having one might—and on the testimony of others can³⁸—offer a constructive place of meeting: the classes, public lectures, and conferences sponsored by such a department might well provide occasions where those devoted to

³⁸ On this see the example of the effects of the Catholic Studies program at St. Thomas University, MN, in Don J. Briel, “Catholic Studies at the University of St. Thomas,” *Catholic Education: A Journal of Inquiry and Practice*, 12, no. 3 (March 2009): 384-398.

the institution's mission, and even those simply of good will, might gather, explore, debate, and, yes, even *celebrate* the Catholic faith.

To conclude: the pre-history of Catholic Studies programs, then, includes both institutional and curricular developments at work since the Vatican Council: the decrease in number of colleges, retreat of the clergy, and the changing fortunes of scholasticism, religious and ethnic studies, all feature in this past. Together these have fostered the conditions favourable to the rise of Catholic Studies in Canada. Whether this unfolding event portends daylight or dusk, faculty, friends, and foes alike are sure to watch with anticipation.

Appendix: Summary of Data Collected

On Catholic Studies Programs in Canada I gathered information to seven questions: When did the program begin; Is it interdisciplinary; What class of program is offered (undergraduate minor/major, or graduate); How many students are declared minor or majors; Does the program receive non-governmental funding; Why was the program initiated; For what reasons do students enrol. Data on questions one to five is summarized below.

College	St. Thomas	STFX	King's	McGill	St. Paul's	UPEI	Campion	STM	St. Mary's
Start Date	1994	1996	Unknown	2001	2001	2005	2006	[2010]	[2011]
Kind of Program	Minor / Major	Minor / Major	Minor/ Major	Minor	Minor	Minor	Minor	Minor	Major
Inter-disciplinary?	Yes	Yes	No.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
			Theology						
How many declared students?	1	Ca. 5	Unknown	9	20	8 – 10	10	NA	NA
Non-Government funding?	Endowed Chair partially by funds from Diocese	Bursaries	Unknown	Bursaries	Bursaries	Some support from St. Dunstan's for library resources	Bursaries	Proposed Endowed Chair	It is hoped that some funding will come through lay groups

Pitching, Pies and Piety: Early Twentieth Century St. Hedwig's Parish Picnics

Joshua C. BLANK

Nestled in the westernmost region of Renfrew County is a small Ontario community¹ founded primarily by Polish-Kashub settlers. Between 1858 and 1900, several small waves of peasants from the northern part of partitioned Poland settled near the present day communities of Wilno and Barry's Bay.² To serve settlers surrounding Barry's Bay, the mission church of the Assumption was founded in 1896 two kilometers west of the community.³ An increase in population, after a few years, demanded the need for a larger parish closer to the settlement. Thus St. Hedwig's Parish was founded on a tract of land overlooking Kaminisseg Lake, in 1914, and blessed the following year. The pastor assigned to the mission church and

¹ Many people deserve thanks for the development of this article especially Mary (Glofcheskie) Blank who always tried to pass along family history and values. Many thanks to Dr. Bruce Elliott, Dr. John Walsh, Dr. James Opp (Carleton University) and Fr. John van den Hengel (Saint Paul University) for their critical and thoughtful suggestions. A considerable amount of thanks also goes to Kim Van Herk who has shown unending moral support. Additionally, I must thank the editors and reviewers of *Historical Studies* for their insightful commentary.

² Starting with the original wave of approximately fourteen families in 1858, several small waves of settlement continued in the 1860s and through the Bismarckian era. The immigrants were groups of peasants from the Lipusz, Kalisz, Wiele and Leśno region of Prussian occupied Poland. In recent years, several authors have labeled these settlers and their descendants—who speak a regional vernacular—of Kashubian descent. See Fr. Aloysius Rekowski, *The Saga of Kashub People in Poland, Canada, U.S.A.*, (Saskatoon: Self-published, 1997). Even though Kaszubian was declared a regional language in Poland in 2005, there is considerable debate questioning whether it is a separate Slavic language or a dialect of Polish.

³ Although the community was not incorporated as the Corporation of the Village of Barry's Bay until 1933, it was known by that name several decades beforehand. From the booklet: *Village of Barry's Bay 50th Anniversary*, (Village of Barry's Bay, 1983), 9. The *Eganville Leader* [hereafter *EL*] confirms this: XXX, no. 43 (16 September 1932).

St. Hedwig's was Peter B. Biernacki, a local resident ordained in 1910 and later designated a Monsignor.⁴

The parish picnic, introduced by Msgr. Biernacki in 1912, evolved in size over the years until its demise in the 1960s. This annual event featured homemade food and tables full of home-baked pies, but the highlight of the day was the baseball game. Usually featuring local teams and competitors, who sometimes traveled a hundred kilometers by train across the county from communities such as Pembroke and Renfrew, the game was an integral part of the programme.

Many authors, including William Makowski, Rev. W. O'Dwyer, Henry Radecki and Benedykt Heydenkorn, Rev. J. Legree and others, have commented on the fervent Catholicism of the Polish-Kashub settlers.⁵ Additionally, John Glofcheskie has analyzed the area's religious hymns and the traditional wedding, among other faith practices, in an ethnomusicology publication.⁶ But beyond mention, little has been written about the socio-cultural activities of the settlers and the parish community. Perhaps the general absence of such socio-religious topics in the professional realm can be attributed to the fact that, in the words of James Opp, there is a "distinct lack of uniformity in methodology and theory"⁷ in Canadian religious history.

In contrast to the works of O'Dwyer and Legree, this study steps out of the cloister—to use Mark McGowan's phrase⁸—and tries to engage religion

⁴ He was invested with the title of Domestic Prelate with the title of Monsignor on 25 June 1936. See Ron Glofcheskie, (ed.), *Saint Hedwig's Parish Festivities 1980*, (Ottawa: MOM, 1980) and also had the distinction of being "the first Canadian priest of the Polish Race" according to the *EL*, XV, no. 45 (24 August 1917). Local pronunciation of the name can be described as "Burr-nat-ski."

⁵ In reference to William Boleslaus Makowski, *History and Integration of Poles in Canada*, (Niagara Peninsula: Canadian Polish Congress, 1967); William Boleslaus Makowski, *The Polish People in Canada*, (Montreal: Tundra, 1987); Reverend William C. O'Dwyer, *Highways of Destiny: A History of the Diocese of Pembroke, Ottawa Valley, Canada*, (Ottawa: Le Droit, 1964); Henry Radecki and Benedykt Heydenkorn, *A History of Canada's Peoples: A Member of a Distinguished Family: The Polish Group in Canada*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976); Reverend Joseph C. Legree, *Lift Up Your Hearts: A History of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Pembroke*, (Kingston: Brown & Martin Ltd., 1988).

⁶ John Michael Glofcheskie, *Folk Music of Canada's Oldest Polish Community*, (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1980); John Michael Glofcheskie, "Folk Music of Canada's Oldest Polish Community" Audio-CD, (Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada, 2006).

⁷ James W. Opp "Revivals and Religion: Recent Work on the History of Protestantism in Canada," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 32, no. 2 (Summer 1997): 183.

⁸ In reference to Mark G. McGowan, "Coming out of the Cloister: Some Reflections on Developments in the Study of Religion in Canada 1980-1990," *International Journal*

in a broader societal role to unpack early-twentieth century culture in a small Ontario community.⁹ Thus, looking at the activities of one Catholic parish provides a glimpse into the social lives of the isolated and working class¹⁰ community of Barry's Bay. Doing so entails the convergence of two very different fields of history—religion and leisure. Piecing together information from oral sources, local newspaper articles, photographs, and secondary literature, this study aims to analyze the convergence of the most important aspect of the settlers' culture—religion—and an annual celebration—the parish picnic. It aims to examine the history of the parish community beyond the pulpit and the recreational history of the settlers beyond their farms. More specifically, it argues two points: first, the parish sponsored event—the picnic—created a commensal sense of belonging among newly arrived immigrant groups in Renfrew County. Additionally, the promotion of sport at the picnics by Biernacki can be perceived as a morally acceptable activity when compared to other forms of unsupervised backwoods leisure.

The Parish and The Picnic: Promoting Communal Relationships in a Multi-Ethnic Area

With a population of around two thousand people, many residents of Barry's Bay trace their roots back to nineteenth century Irish and Polish settlers. The hamlet of Wilno, a few kilometers east of Barry's Bay, is recognized through a Provincial plaque as the first Polish settlement in Canada. Situated in Renfrew County about 200 kilometres west of Ottawa, the Barry's Bay/Wilno area is a rather hilly and heavily forested portion of the Canadian Shield. Prior to the 1850s, sparse groups of Algonkin peoples and lumber camps were present in the area. However, the 1850s colonization road scheme of the government of Canada West sought to open these lands for settlement.¹¹ This process involved the blazing of thirteen colonization

of Canadian Studies, 1-2 (Spring-Fall 1990): 175-202; as cited in Opp, "Revivals and Religion," 183. Lynne Marks also echoes the need to branch out from the parish to understand culture. See: *Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure, and Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Small-Town Ontario*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 4.

⁹ Stepping away from the works of O'Dwyer and Legree, my line of thinking and writing is influenced by the historical approach of Alan Greer, *Mohawk Saint: Catherine Tekakwitha and the Jesuits*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), viii.

¹⁰ Although the farming population of Renfrew County can be considered, in Marxist terms, independent producers, seasonal employment in the wage based forestry sector points towards the population as a working class community.

¹¹ See George W. Spragge, "Colonization Roads in Canada West 1850-1867," *Ontario History*, XLIX, no. 1 (1957): 5; Paul W. Gates, "Official Encouragement to Immigration by the Province of Canada," in *The Canadian Historical Review*, 15, no. 1 (March 1934): 22-38; and also Brenda Lee-Whiting, "The Opeongo Road: An Early Colonization Scheme," *Canadian Geographic Journal*, 74, no.3 (1967): 76-83.

roads out of the wilderness. The most prominent road in the area was the Opeongo Colonization Road. From its origins at the Ottawa River, near present day Renfrew, the road wound through the hills eventually to end at Lake Opeongo in present day Algonquin Park. The road, however, did not progress as far as planned and was abandoned west of Barry's Bay. Large scale immigration ceased in the 1870s, as John Walsh notes, since the fantasies of the colonization scheme "were replaced by the frontier settler fantasies attached to the Prairies and the American West."¹² Nonetheless, groups of Irish, German and Polish settlers settled land along the road—100 acres free to any man over the age of 18.¹³ By 1914, St. Hedwig's Parish accommodated around a hundred and twenty settler families and became the religious centre for the Barry's Bay area. These parishioners traveled for several kilometers, often on foot, from their plots of land for masses of Sunday obligation and extraordinary ceremonies. Yet, the negotiation of identities in a new land was not, by any means, a straightforward process for settlers.

Many variables play into the formation of identities including gender, class and ethnicity. Central to identity formation for many of the settlers of Renfrew County was religion. Several authors comment on the various groups, whether Irish, Polish or German, and their affiliation with their respective denominational institutions. Nonetheless, the hegemonic definition of norms in a host society also played into formations of identity. To the host society of Canada West—Upper Canadian Anglo-Protestants—these new groups of settlers in the Ottawa Valley were the "other" against whom standards of the normal were measured. On the margins of settlement, and in particular, in the rugged hills of the Opeongo Colonization Road, the physical isolation of Polish, Irish and German settlements further contributed to the preservation of certain cultural ways. This preservation, of course, can be viewed through two different lenses: for the recent immigrants it represented success from religious and cultural persecution in their homeland; for the host society the newcomers represented the presence of a primitive, peculiar, and for some, even threatening settlement.

The existence of nativism and ethnic strife are also factors in any account of settlement. Along the Opeongo Colonization Road, several accounts stand out. The South Renfrew election of 1872 between denominational candidates was swayed by the ethnic vote. According to several sources, the arrival of Prussian Polish immigrants shifted the balance in the favour of the candidate

¹² John C. Walsh, "Performing Public Memory and Re-Placing Home in the Ottawa Valley, 1900-1958," in James Opp and John C. Walsh, (eds.), *Placing Memory and Remembering Place in Canada*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010 forthcoming).

¹³ Thomas P. French, *Information for Intending Settlers on the Ottawa and Opeongo Road and its Vicinity*, (Ottawa, 1857), 1.

named O'Reilly. Consternation, from long time residents of the riding over the outcome, was placed on the recent immigrants who were coerced to pronounce their best semblance of "Ho-Reilly."¹⁴ Articles claimed that true residents of the area were "disenfranchised" by the actions of the emigrants. Similarly, inter-ethnic strife was present in several fights in the early part of the century. Tom Murray recalled that "...they try to say the Poles and Irish got along well together, but I'm not so sure. I know one Irishman killed by a Pole in a fight at Wilno, and they killed another in Drohan's Hotel with a cant-hook."¹⁵ On a more general note, Gwen (Billings) Woermke, a Barry's Bay resident, recalls the teasing, chastising and bullying that often took place between ethnicities in the area.¹⁶ In other areas of the nation, "ethnic disesteem"¹⁷ was further prompted by the onslaughts of bigots.

Moving on to the geographical formation of identity, the rugged terrain promoted isolation between settled plots. Because of this, the Polish (and Irish) settlers in the Barry's Bay area were forced to endure more arduous labour for sustenance compared to their eastern counterparts in the Renfrew area. While rectangular fields with decent soil prevailed in the eastern regions of the county, the topography of the Barry's Bay area juxtaposed marginal plots of farming land often across rugged terrain rather than ordered pastures.¹⁸ The plots which the Polish settlers occupied were quite hilly, heavily wooded, and yielded little in agriculture except for the rocks which seemed to multiply every year. Thus the trek to church for masses of Sunday obligation meant traveling several kilometers on foot or by wagon. These treks, especially in the early days to Brudenell from Paugh Lake, took six hours, twelve if you consider the return trip. Needless to say, the Polish settlers religiously followed this routine every week. Settlers did interact with family or close neighbours, but these encounters meant, at times, a trek over rocky ridges. Their common gathering place, however, was St. Hedwig's Parish. Msgr. Ambrose Pick, the longtime pastor of the church and descendant of local settlers recalled, in 1991, that "the thing that kept the community together was the Church...They had no other place to go,

¹⁴ Shirley Mask Connolly, *Kashubia to Canada: Crossing on the Agda*, (Self-published: Doculink, 2003), 165-172.

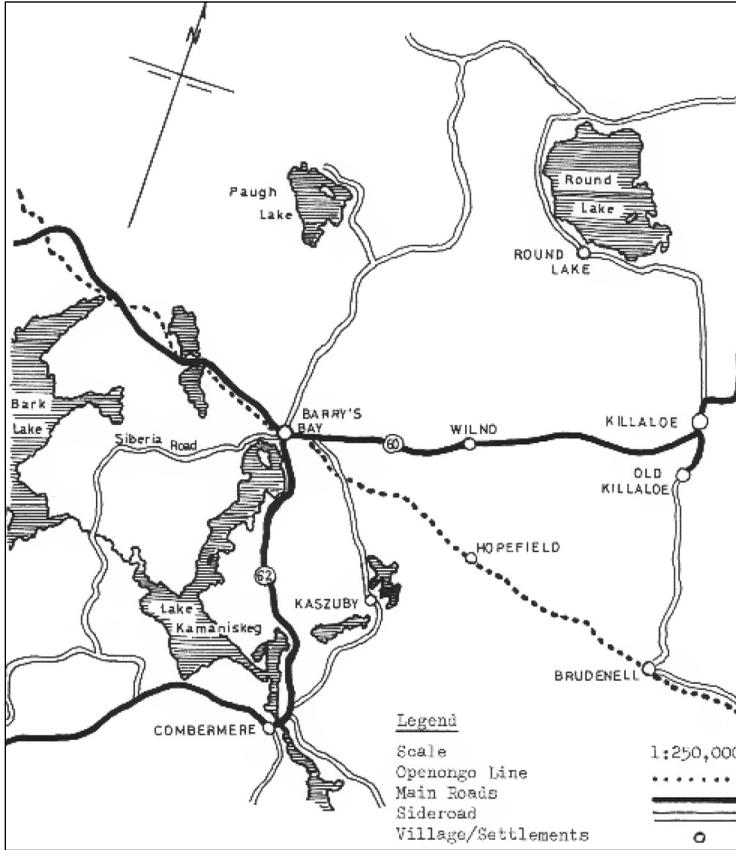
¹⁵ Joan Finnigan, *Life Along the Opeongo Line: The Story of a Canadian Colonization Road*, (Penumbra, 2004), 265.

¹⁶ A former teacher, Barney McCaffery also mentioned to a National Film Board crew that students in his cultural studies course in the 1970s did not want to bring back the animosity once felt between the two groups. See: *Kaszuby*, VHS, Directed by Andre Herman, (National Film Board of Canada: 1975).

¹⁷ Borrowed from Robert Harney and V. Scarpaci. *Little Italies in North America*, (Toronto, 1981), 4.

¹⁸ One monograph whose title sums up the rather unorganized geography of settlement in the region is: Marilyn G. Miller, *Straight Lines in Curved Space: Colonization Roads in Eastern Ontario*, (Toronto: Ministry of Culture and Recreation, 1978).

so their whole life was church-centred.”¹⁹ Needless to say, the church was the spiritual and geographical hub for which exercises of communality were performed. Thus, it makes sense that any parish sponsored event would bring the settlers together.



Map of the Barry's Bay area. Source: Głofcheskie, *Folk Music of Canada's Oldest Polish Community*, 5.

The Church as a Gathering Place

The church as the gathering place is the precise theme which Biernacki expanded upon when he created the “St. Hedwig’s Monster Picnic”²⁰ in 1912.

¹⁹ Oral History Project of the Barry's Bay Public Library, “A Local Pastor: Oral History with Rev. Msgr. J.A. Pick,” (1991), 6, 9.

²⁰ This title was given by Biernacki in a 1918 notebook which outlined the donations and expenses for the picnic in that year. Thanks for the inclusion of these documents goes

Several local residents recall how Biernacki always advocated the mingling of peoples of different descent as well as the respect which he showed towards “others.” They also add that he always encouraged the interaction of peoples both within and beyond the boundaries of the community.²¹ These are confirmed on more than one occasion. The 1918 newspaper advertisement extended the invitation, in Biernacki’s words, to people of all “races and colours.”²² Additionally, Thomas A. Low, one of the respected political speakers whom Biernacki continually invited, from 1912 through to Low’s death in 1931, prominently identified with the United Church in Renfrew.²³ Evidently, the priest was inclusive when planning the parish picnic.

Analyzing some of the picnic notebooks reveals that the invitation was extended to all members of the community. In fact, the surnames of those who donated and attended were not confined to the Polish community, nor were the ethnic backgrounds of the baseball players. Robert Corrigan mentions that because early twentieth century Polish families pooled their resources together to form St. Hedwig’s, alongside a few Irish Catholics, it became known as “the Polish parish.” The remaining Irish Catholics in the area, as a result, formed a mission church which would later become St. Lawrence O’Toole Parish—the “Irish church.”²⁴ However, these ethnic boundaries were not as rigorously defined during the time of the picnics. This, in part, has to do with the communal association over time fostered in part by the St. Hedwig’s Parish picnic. Many Irish settlers who attended the “Irish mission church” in Barry’s Bay were also involved in the picnics at St. Hedwig’s.

Following Biernacki’s beliefs and originating as a social and spiritual gathering for the parishioners mainly of Polish descent, the picnic evolved to include those from other settlements in Renfrew County as well. Before the sod was turned for the church in 1914, picnics were held as early as 1912. Inviting peoples from across the county to the “Polish corner,” for the “Grand Polonia Picnic at Barry’s Bay,”²⁵ Biernacki also procured a band

to Beverly (Flynn) Głofcheskie and Tom Burchat who willingly supplied these treasures. The original picnic, in 1912, was held for the benefit of the new Polish Roman Catholic church to be built in Barry’s Bay.

²¹ Conversations with Zita (Shalla) Głofcheskie, Helen Dombroskie, and Gwen Woermke. Also reflected in Jozef Borzyszkowski, *O Kaszubach w Kanadzie: kaszubsko-kanadyjskie losy i dziedzictwo kultury* (Gdańsk: Instytut Kaszubski, 2004), 160, 169.

²² *EL*, XVI, no. 40 (2 August 1918).

²³ *Ibid.*, XXIX, no. 13 (13 February 1931).

²⁴ Robert C. Corrigan, *A History of St. Lawrence O’Toole Parish*, (1984), 20. These labels, for better or worse, were still present into the 1970s but have dissipated considerably since then.

²⁵ Gleaned from advertisements *EL*, X, no. 52 (18 August 1912) and XI, no. 1 (23 August 1912).

<p>GRAND POLONIA</p> <h1 style="text-align: center;">PICNIC</h1> <p style="text-align: center;">-- AT --</p> <h2 style="text-align: center;">BARRY'S BAY</h2> <p style="text-align: center;">IN MARTIN'S GROVE</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-- ON --</p> <h3 style="text-align: center;">Wednesday, Aug. 28</h3> <p style="text-align: center;">1912</p> <p style="text-align: center;">In Aid of the Polish R.C. Church</p> <h3 style="text-align: center;">2 Baseball Matches 2</h3> <p style="text-align: center;">POLISH GIANTS vs. PEMBROKE COMETS At 10 o'clock a.m.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">BARRY'S BAY vs. DOUGLAS At 2 o'clock p.m.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Keen and Scientific Contests for the Honors of the Diamond Are Promised</p> <h3 style="text-align: center;">Renfrew Band in Attendance</h3> <p style="text-align: center;">Prof. Wm. Murray will execute startling aerial feats on the slack wire</p>	<h2 style="text-align: center;">Addresses</h2> <p>Hon. Geo. P. Graham, M. P.; T. W. McGarry, K.C., M. L. A.; T. A. Low, ex-M. P.; Dr. M. J. Maloney, Dr. Connolly and others will deliver short addresses.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Special G.T.R. Train from Arnprior and Return</p> <table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th style="text-align: center;">TIME</th> <th style="text-align: center;">FARE</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Arnprior.....</td> <td>Leave 7.00 a.m.</td> <td>\$1.50</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Glasgow.....</td> <td>" 7.13 "</td> <td>1.40</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Goshen.....</td> <td>" 7.19 "</td> <td>1.35</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Renfrew.....</td> <td>" 7.30 "</td> <td>1.10</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Renfrew Junct. "</td> <td>" 7.33 "</td> <td>1.10</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Admaston.....</td> <td>" 7.42 "</td> <td>1.05</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Douglas.....</td> <td>" 7.52 "</td> <td>1.05</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Caldwell.....</td> <td>" 7.58 "</td> <td>1.00</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Eganville.....</td> <td>" 8.10 "</td> <td>.80</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Golden Lake.. "</td> <td>" 8.25 "</td> <td>.60</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Kittawa.....</td> <td>" 8.50 "</td> <td>.45</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Wilno.....</td> <td>" 9.25 "</td> <td>.40</td> </tr> </tbody> </table> <p>Returning, Special Train will leave Barry's Bay for Arnprior at 6.30 p.m., making stops at all stations. Tickets good returning, also, on regular trains on the 29th.</p> <h3 style="text-align: center;">Meals and Refreshments on Grounds</h3> <p>A Shantyman's Caboose Under the Management of the Veteran Thomas Dotta of the Madawaska</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Admission to Grounds: Adults, 25c.; Children, 15c.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Meals: Adults, 25c.; Children, 15c.</p> <h2 style="text-align: center;">Rev. P. Biernacki.</h2>		TIME	FARE	Arnprior.....	Leave 7.00 a.m.	\$1.50	Glasgow.....	" 7.13 "	1.40	Goshen.....	" 7.19 "	1.35	Renfrew.....	" 7.30 "	1.10	Renfrew Junct. "	" 7.33 "	1.10	Admaston.....	" 7.42 "	1.05	Douglas.....	" 7.52 "	1.05	Caldwell.....	" 7.58 "	1.00	Eganville.....	" 8.10 "	.80	Golden Lake.. "	" 8.25 "	.60	Kittawa.....	" 8.50 "	.45	Wilno.....	" 9.25 "	.40
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Source: *EL*, XI, no. 1 (23 August 1912).

for the day from Renfrew. They traveled to the event, along with other picnickers, on J.R. Booth's Ottawa, Arnprior and Parry Sound Railway. Some trains, such as the 1916 one, carried upwards of nine coaches filled with picnickers.²⁶ On the way, the trains also stopped at Golden Lake to receive passengers from the parallel line that ran from Pembroke. Once the church was built, the picnics became even larger, both for local residents and outside guests. Lay organizers such as Mrs. John Etmanski, Mrs. Peter Rumleski,²⁷

²⁶ *Ibid.*, XIV, no. 38 (7 July 1916). Also mentioned in an interview with Gwen Woermke, May 2009 and recalled by Art Ritza, "Tally Man: Oral History by Art Ritza," 15. Several poster advertisements from the *EL* provided rates and times of departure for the picnic.

²⁷ Borzyszkowski, *O Kaszubach w Kanadzie*, 159 lists the first picnic as organized by Mrs. John Etmanski and Mrs. Peter Rumleski but does not give the year in which

Mrs. Alex Szola (Elizabeth Shalla), Mrs. John Witkowska,²⁸ Mrs. Anthony Maika, and Mrs. Frank Palubicki²⁹ canvassed the area to receive donations for the picnic. They also extended the welcome to all people. As an extension of the communal invitation, baseball games were held at the picnics.³⁰ These games were designed to bring teams, and their fans, from afar to join in the picnic. The inaugural picnic, on 28 August 1912, saw the Polish Giants play the Pembroke Comets followed by the squad from Douglas on the diamond at Martin's Grove.³¹ Of course, fun was to be had in the process. The event became so popular in the 1930s that the Village council declared it a civic holiday.³² Thus, within the picnic, the baseball game formed a community on the field as well.

The Picnic as a Commensal Event

The picnic itself carried with it commensal characteristics and the involvement of faith. In saying this, the intent is to invoke meaning in the adjective form of the word—eating together. After the breaking of bread during High Mass at 10:00 a.m., the festivities and feasts began. Food was served from around 11:30 a.m. until around 2:00 p.m. After a brief break, it was served again from 4:00 p.m. until 8:00 p.m.³³ Over the years, the food needed for hundreds of plates seemed to multiply into two thousand to feed the festival. Everyone was fed several times over.³⁴ Although residents of the area were quite poor, the collection notebooks for the picnics show that residents, regardless of ethnicity or parish, donated what they could for the event. For example in 1918 Mrs. Mick Sullivan donated a layer cake and two dozen cookies, Mrs. John Yaruszkewicz \$2.00, Mrs. Wallace Ash donated a cake, Mrs. L. Saucier donated 50¢, Mrs. McRae \$1, Mrs. Quilty 1 lb. of tea and two cakes, Herb Soike \$2.00, Miss Clare Kitts four pans of bread, Barbara Etmanski a bag of potatoes, Mrs. John Omernick \$5.00, Mr. Vitkuski 40lbs of beef, Paul Biernacki one sheep, John Minta 8 lbs. butter and

it started. Presumably, this could refer to the inaugural picnic in 1912 or the first picnic after the church was built, 1915.

²⁸ The former two individuals organized the 1918 picnic according to the notebook of Biernacki.

²⁹ Similar to the last notebook, the 1919 notebook lists these two individuals as the organizers.

³⁰ Oral History Project of the Barry's Bay Public Library, "A Local Pastor," (1991), 20.

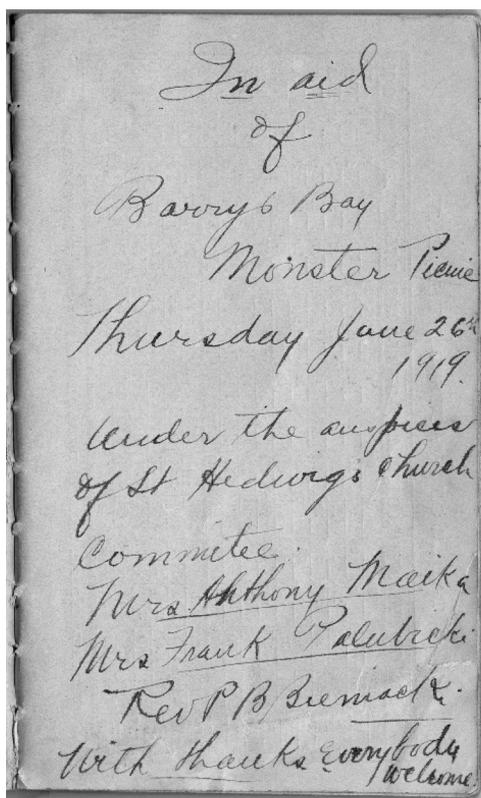
³¹ *EL*, X, no. 52 (18 August 1912) and Vol. XI, no. 1 (23 August 1912) mentions the location as Martin's Grove. The site selected for the church was known as Martin's Grove.

³² *EL*, XXXVII, no. 40 (11 August 1939).

³³ Oral History Project of the Barry's Bay Public Library, "A Local Pastor," 19.

³⁴ Several statements from interviews with Helen Dombroskie, Gwen Woermke as well as recorded oral history from Msgr. Pick, Art Ritza and newspaper articles.

2.5 dozen eggs.³⁵ As Pat Caplan reminds us, "...food is never 'just food' and its significance can never be purely nutritional."³⁶ Similarly, in the words of Mary Douglas, "the ordinary consuming public...works hard to invest its food with moral, social and aesthetic meanings."³⁷ For parishioners, the donation of food—whether grown, raised or baked by their own hands—for such an event was a way in which they could contribute to the community. Being asked to donate was a point of pride since it brought with it a sense of inclusion for the isolated populations outside the town.



Biernacki's 1919 picnic notebook containing donations for the upcoming event.

Source: Collection of Tom Burchat.

³⁵ Biernacki's "Monster Picnic" notebook from 1918.

³⁶ Pat Caplan, "Approaches to Food, Health and Identity," in Pat Caplan, (ed.), *Food, Health and Identity*, (New York: Routledge, 1997), 3.

³⁷ Mary Douglas, *Food in the Social Order: Studies of Food and Festivities in Three American Communities*, (New York: Russell Sage, 1984), 5.

While the picnic always drew numbers in the hundreds and thousands, it also garnered monetary support for the church community and parish improvements. In the absence of attendance figures, the profits, alongside admission fees, hint at the widespread attendance for the picnics. Their continuance, in periods of upheaval, also point to the communal importance attached to the picnics by locals. During the First World War, the picnics drew modest amounts in contrast to the inter-war years. The 1914 event, which was coupled with the blessing and laying of the corner stone, raised \$2,100. Subsequent picnics in 1916 and 1917 drew less profit. However, although the First World War raged in Europe, the organizers fervently maintained the annual leisure event for locals who might not otherwise be able to participate in leisure activities. Special trains to transport people to the event were also prohibited, as were certain feast activities, due to wartime regulation. However, these restrictions did not stop the organizers from putting on a great show. Teams and groups from the Ottawa parishes of St. Patrick's and St. Brigid's were invited in 1916 and 1918, while the Ottawa Voltigeurs traveled to the Bay in 1917 to participate in the events. Attendance increased in the 1920s and profits soared to over \$3,000. During the depression years, the organizers responded to the dire conditions by reducing admission and meal prices in 1932 to assist local and regional families. Admission to the grounds was kept at 25¢ per person, but meal prices were cut from 50¢ per adult and 25¢ per child to 25¢ and 15¢ respectively.³⁸

Wartime conflict was not the only hurdle the annual event had to bound. The weather was a natural force to be reckoned with. Several recollections also contend that even on days when rain clouds loomed ominously over the land, Biernacki's prayers at the morning mass, alongside those of the community, held off downpours. News articles in the *Eganville Leader* also commented on the absence or cessation of rain in time for the picnics.³⁹ In Biblical fashion, the rain was held off for the picnics and none were rained out until the 1960s⁴⁰ after Biernacki had passed on. In the memories of area residents it was believed that the One who gives rain, granted dispensation year after year for the picnics to occur unimpeded.

³⁸ Statistics are gleaned from several stories and advertisements in the *EL* spanning the years 1912-1940.

³⁹ One such example is the picnic of 1916 when rain characterized the days leading up to the picnic. Yet, on the day of the picnic the rain ceased to fall. The front page of the *EL*, XIV, no. 38 (7 July 1916) reports this.

⁴⁰ See Ron Glofcheskie's "As a Matter of Fact" feature from the *Kaminisgek Chronicle*, 1, no. 9 (19 August 1970). Correspondence from Ron Glofcheskie in May 2009 mentions that a few were rained out in the 1960s. The *Barry's Bay Review* [hereafter *BBR*], 8 August 1963 mentions that the picnic was rained on but did not dampen the spirits of the picnickers or the baseball players.



The Renfrew Band at the inaugural picnic in aid of the soon to be constructed St. Hedwig's Church.

Source: Barry's Bay Heritage Calendar, 2008.

Preparation of the feast occurred days in advance and involved members of the community from all backgrounds. In the early years, the caboose shanty style meals were under the direction of Thomas Dotta and Thomas Bonnah.⁴¹ The beans, which were a mainstay at the picnics, were sand baked in large cast iron pots behind the church three days beforehand and were attended around the clock by Paul Coulas and others from the community.⁴² Female members of the parish and the community also worked for days beforehand baking hundreds of pies for the occasion. Several individuals remember these scrumptious pies and the efforts needed to bake hundreds of them. The meals were eaten outdoors on makeshift board tables propped up by primitive sawhorses at first. Since these preparatory stages, techniques and habits became routine in the annual picnic, they acted as a form of what Roland Barthes calls "communication by way of food."⁴³ Regardless of

⁴¹ Assembled from a variety of news articles from the *EL* spanning the years 1912-1940.

⁴² Interview with Gwen Woermke, May 2009. Helen Dombroskie in February of 2009 also mentioned the contribution of Paul Coulas in the cooking of the beans. Interestingly, Paul Coulas is the father of the current parish priest at St. Lawrence O'Toole parish in Barry's Bay, Fr. Mervin Coulas.

⁴³ Roland Barthes, "Towards a Psychosociology of Contemporary Food Consumption," in Elborg Forster and Robert Forster, (eds.), *European Diet from Pre-industrial to Modern Times*, (New York: Harper Row, 1975), 51.

vernacular,⁴⁴ parishioners were able to join in the preparation. The picnics also brought together people of all ethnicities for the served portion of the feast in the same way. Gwen Woermke recalled how families would sit together beside other families regardless of class or ethnicity. By eating together at the long tables, which were not segregated into “areas” at the site, the lay organizers and Biernacki encouraged communality and communication between the groups of people who attended.

Indeed, the visitors and locals at the picnic received food for their soul during the morning mass, and then food for their physical being at the picnics. They, unknowingly at the time, were participating concurrently in a commensal feast and event. Eating together at the same table formed a community and the groups, local and regional, interacted respectfully with one another.⁴⁵ The strategic selection of picnic events and the marketing, on the part of Biernacki, also promoted a sense of ethnic merit. From the “Grand Polonia” picnic in 1912, to the “Polish versus the world” tug-of-war competition in 1913, and the Polish Orchestra and Polish National Dance feature in 1932, the picnics were also a performative staging ground. They were designed to instill a proud sense of ethnic awareness amongst parishioners and external participants. While it is difficult to ascertain what impact it had on residents, it did leave a lasting impression on one politician. The Honourable George P. Graham, M.P. (Brockville, South-Renfrew and later Member of the Senate of Canada), a frequent visitor to the picnics, extolled the Polish people as worthy members of the nation in a 1919 letter to the *Brockville Recorder & Times*. In the face of immigration, war and nativism, Graham declared that he had known the Polish people of Renfrew County to be morally comparable, if not superior to native Canadians.⁴⁶ In fact, such a statement itself speaks to the existence of ethnic biases and ethnic stratification at the time.

The sense of community evoked by the picnics was so widespread, as we have observed, that they also became events public figures encroached upon. Since politicians attempt to represent the interests of their multi-faceted constituents, and their many affiliations, the picnic presented an excellent opportunity to reach all of these rural people at one time. An effective

⁴⁴ Even into the 1920s and 1930s many second and third generation descendants of Polish settlers were unable to communicate well in English. In court cases involving persons of Polish descent, an interpreter, such as H.J. Chapeskie, was used: *EL*, XIX, no. 33 (24 June 1921).

⁴⁵ Enoch Padolsky would place this event in the interactionalist category: “You Are What You Eat: Ethnicity, Food and Cross-cultural Spaces,” *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 37, no. 2 (2005): 19.

⁴⁶ The use of “native” here is in relation to persons born of British descent. His letter is reprinted in the *EL*, XVII, no. 12 (17 January 1919).

debating venue utilized by many politicians since the 1870s, several victories have been attributed to the presence and arguments from politicians. In the economic lull that characterized the decade after Confederation, Sir John A. Macdonald discovered the benefits of such an event and attended many picnics across Ontario to deliver his agenda.⁴⁷ Needless to say, others tried to keep pace.

In Renfrew County it was also an effective debating venue. To accentuate the preferred medium of the time—oratory—Pick recalls that loudspeakers were used so politicians could address the large crowds. As early as 1930, shortly after electricity arrived in the area, Biernacki introduced larger platforms with amplified speakers for the politicians. At times, Pick mentions that the discussions got heated, but the politicians—perhaps God-fearing themselves—were respectful since the priest was always around to mediate and watch over the gathering.⁴⁸ In the early years, the cohort of Dr. M.J. Maloney M.P. (South-Renfrew Conservative), the Hon. Thos. A. Low M.P. (South-Renfrew Liberal), Dr. Bernard G. Connolly (Liberal Candidate South-Renfrew) and the Hon. Thos. Murray M.L.A. (South-Renfrew Liberal and a parishioner) dominated the agenda. While other picnics in the Ottawa Valley also attracted politicians, the St. Hedwig's Picnic always seemed to attract larger quantities of, and more, prominent politicians. Some of the more notable ones to grace the podium prior to the Second World War included: Dr. W.J. Roche (Minister of the Interior, 1913), Hon. E.A. Dunlop (Provincial Treasurer, 1914, 1929, 1930, 1933), Major Watt and Captain Ferguson (Recruiting Officers for Lanark and Renfrew Battalions, 1916), Hon. Senator G.D. Robertson (1930), Hon. Mitchell Hepburn (Premier of Ontario, 1930), the Hon. W.A. Gordon (Minister of Labour, Immigration and Mines, 1933), Dr. Robert J. Manion (Leader of the Conservative Party of Canada, 1938), and Mr. E.J. Underwood (Superintendent of Canadian Postal Services, 1939). Their speeches ranged from their party's intended platforms to conscription and the delivery of electricity to towns. These visits by prominent political persons not only intended to inform local residents of the happenings in the nation but the hospitality shown by the Polish settlers also had direct ramifications in political circles. In 1962, due to many events at the parish, such as plays and community meetings, Msgr. Maika cancelled the picnic for that year. Nonetheless, while he could not attend the picnic, Liberal leader Lester B. Pearson selected St. Hedwig's to visit and speak with the community. Pearson also inaugurated the baseball

47 Donald Creighton, *John A. Macdonald: The Young Politician, The Old Chieftain*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 223-225.

48 Oral History Project of the Barry's Bay Public Library, "A Local Pastor," 19.

season by cracking a few hits from the batters' box.⁴⁹ One can only guess that his selection of venue was due to the fact that the parish still functioned as the gathering place. Thus, political visits confirm both parish and picnic as communal gathering spaces.

**OLD-TIME MONSTER
PIC-NIC**
— AT —
BARRY'S BAY
— ON —
Wednesday, July 20th, '32

ADDRESSES BY
MR. M. F. HEPBURN, M.P.
LIBERAL PROVINCIAL LEADER, AND OTHERS.
MR. THOMAS P. MURRAY, M. L. A.
Will Introduce Mr. Hepburn to His First
Renfrew County Audience.

BASEBALL MATCHES
MADAWASKA vs. KILLALOE
Winners to Play BARRY'S BAY

CALEDONIAN GAMES AND SPORTS
Midway of Amusements and Games Under Cover.

Music With Aid of Latest Electrical Development.
Polish Orchestra With Polish National Dances.

REFRESHMENTS ON GROUNDS
MEALS Served in Spacious Church Hall. Seating Accommodation
ADMISSION to Grounds, 25c MEALS—Adults 25c, Children 15c.

REV. P. B. BIERNACKI, P.P.



Hon. Lester B. Pearson at St. Hedwig's Parish.

Source: *BBR*, 24 May 1962.

Left: Picnic advertisement in the *EL*, XXX, no. 34 (15 July 1932)

As we have seen, the picnic functioned in many ways, not just as a parish event but a community event. While we do not have written or documented affirmation for Biernacki's intentions in modernizing and identity negotiation with the broader community and nation, they become evident through his endeavors. The picnics were promoted as a crucial element of belonging. Not only did they attempt to integrate those of the immediate ethnic community, but also those of the faith community and greater county community. Additionally, when we take into consideration the fact that Biernacki brought moving pictures to the parish in 1920 and talking films in 1933—even showing them on Sundays⁵⁰—one can surmise that his actions were quite progressive considering the era. In fact, Barry's Bay—as

⁴⁹ *BBR*, (24 May 1962): 1. The corresponding pictures are in the next edition: *BBR*, (31 May, 1962): 1, 6.

⁵⁰ Movies were shown, after 1933, on Friday and Sunday evenings at 8:00 pm. Admission was 10¢ for children and 25¢ for adults. Receipts of \$18-20 per week were drawn in 1933 and grew to around \$55 in 1937 when the weekly programme was increased to five shows: *St. Hedwig's 75th Anniversary*, (1990), 8. Interestingly Biernacki's screenings were featured in the American magazine, *Boxoffice: The National Film Weekly*,

ardently conservative and Catholic as it was—was the first community in Ontario to show Sunday films.⁵¹ In essence, his actions render him as an agent of modernization for the community.⁵²

The Picnics as an Acceptable Form of Leisure

In addition to the picnics as socio-religious events, they functioned as leisure activities. The baseball games at the picnics also played a role in the everyday negotiation of identity and were acceptable forms of leisure. In late nineteenth century Canada “the ethos of sport as a field of ‘civilized’ contest” shifted from the upper class to the greater population.⁵³ Additionally, and according to Colin Howell, baseball, in general, developed “at a time of significant social and economic transformation, when class and gender relations were in flux, when new ways of organizing work and play were being put in place, and when new assumptions about...well-being and healthiness” were advanced.⁵⁴ Baseball played an implicit role in the negotiation between the variables of class, gender and ethnicity mentioned earlier. To say that baseball arrived as the early twentieth century sport of choice, in the Barry’s Bay area, is no coincidence either. Contrary to former immigration history orthodoxies—which studied people with the antiquated theories of assimilation or institutional completeness—the area at the time was a space where identity negotiations and formations were developed on a daily basis. This negotiation, on the part of residents, was influenced by their leisure activities at St. Hedwig’s Parish picnics.

According to Frank J. Retza and Thomas Murray, baseball arrived in the Barry’s Bay area during the late 1890s. It was introduced to the new settlers by workers from Kingston who were constructing J.R. Booth’s Ottawa, Arnprior and Parry Sound Railway. At the time baseball was played in an

34, no. 2 (3 December 1938): 79. The magazine reported that he held giveaway draws for kitchenware at some screenings.

⁵¹ As a testament to Biernacki’s proper progressivism, his movies were allowed to be shown in the hall while secular public places, such as the theatre in Barry’s Bay, had to wait until a plebiscite in January 1962 to show movies on Sundays. See the *BBR* (January 1962) for plebiscite coverage. Ron Glofcheskie’s “As a Matter of Fact” feature in the *Kaminskeg Chronicle* Vol. 1, no. 2 (1 July 1970) also affirms the Sunday showings.

⁵² Biernacki also purchased the first automobile in Barry’s Bay. He frequently donated the use of it for ceremonies and events in town. One such event was the wedding of Alex Shalla and Elizabeth Etanski on 10 August 1915. During his tenure, he personally gave lectures, complemented by moving pictures, to educate parishioners about the territory and world outside of Barry’s Bay. See: *EL*, XXX, no. 46 (7 October 1932).

⁵³ Bruce Kidd, *The Struggle for Canadian Sport*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 28.

⁵⁴ Colin D. Howell, *Northern Sandlots: A Social History of Maritime Baseball*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), ix.

open field next to Jim Drohan's Hotel. Though the sport was not played on a regular basis—due to the fact that the field was planted and ploughed for most of the year—it nonetheless became popular among the working class population of the Barry's Bay area. In addition to the fact that little equipment was needed to play—evidenced in the fact that the first game in 1895 was played with makeshift gear⁵⁵—the game appealed to many local residents because it was not specifically “ethnic.”

In the negotiation of identity, which took place in the Barry's Bay area between Irish, Polish, German and already settled British persons, baseball was polyethnic in the sense that it was a form of leisure that all could play. If anything, it seemed more “native,” i.e., British or American, than Polish or Irish. Thus, if any subversive prejudices lay within community members, it did not prevent them from at least trying the game of baseball. Across Canada, at this time, the celebrated sense of “Britishness” was used as the yardstick against which “others” were measured. As Morris Mott illustrates, baseball advanced the celebrated British sense of fair play. Thus, those who participated in such sports, such as minority groups, would be the recipients of the inculcation of proper values.⁵⁶ By virtue of playing baseball in the parish picnics, local residents, in the words of Marks, “promulgated a range of both implicit and explicit values and beliefs.”⁵⁷ They were, in essence, participating in a sport which factored into their identity negotiation in their newly settled area. Enhancing the communal aspect of the picnic baseball also promoted the mixing of peoples. At this point, a local resident might argue that he simply participated in the game of baseball for its leisurely factors. This is certainly true, but by looking at baseball and the picnic as a landscape of history, the St. Hedwig's baseball field is one where class and ethnic identities were negotiated and mediated on a latent level.

The promotion of such an “American” or “British” game—and its inclusion in the parish picnics—came also from the hands of a local resident. Originally interested in the sport from its sparse beginnings in Barry's Bay, O'Dwyer writes that Biernacki was exposed to its moral and physical benefits when he attended the Polish Seminary in Michigan.⁵⁸ After his ordination in 1910, Biernacki returned to minister to the mission church in Barry's Bay and form St. Hedwig's Parish four years later. To promote the sport, he procured

⁵⁵ “Barry's Bay Baseball Club Ottawa Valley Champions,” *BBR*, (1 June 1961).

⁵⁶ Morris Mott, “One Solution to the Urban Crisis: Manly Sports and Winnipeggers, 1900-1914,” in Jeffrey Keshen, (ed.), *The Age of Contention: Readings in Canadian Social History, 1900-1945*, (Toronto: Harcourt Brace, 1997) 135.

⁵⁷ Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks*, 5.

⁵⁸ O'Dwyer, *Highways of Destiny: A History of the Diocese of Pembroke*, 171. A story in the *EL* also echoes his exposure to the benefits of sports while in the seminary in Detroit from 1900-1907. See: Vol. XXXIV, no. 33 (3 July 1936).

property for a permanent diamond to be constructed and continued to play the sport himself, encouraging others to do so.⁵⁹ In promoting baseball as a sport and as an integral part of the picnic, Biernacki also propounded the moral benefits of the game endorsed by its custodians in the U.S.A.

Prior to the introduction of baseball, North American and evangelical reformers tried to inculcate certain values into society—values which they perceived to be upright and moral. As Howell reminds us, these reformers were “...concerned about the rowdiness and drunkenness that accompanied traditional celebrations and carnivals.”⁶⁰ The inculcation of proper “manliness” was one of these cultivating forces in the fight to improve character in a new social order. According to Mott, major components of manliness included physical vitality, courage, decisiveness, clear-headedness, loyalty, determination, discipline, and a sense of charity. Furthermore, it was also implied that this moral strength should be used in service to God.⁶¹ Inherent in many of the Commandments, these attributes of proper character or manliness were endorsed and encouraged by many denominations. In the wake of settlement in certain regions, it was important for advocates of this new social order of upright character to advocate these benefits unto the new population. Returning to the earlier argument of activity for its own worth, the sheer kinesthetic pleasure of hitting a baseball as far as you could also plays into the discourse of manliness. The point was not to deprive men of avenues in which they could exert their strength, but rather to harness it for the greater good. Baseball, as a non-contact sport, attempted to fill this role. Physical contact was minimal on such a large playing field, but if it did happen, the hope was that the moral and upstanding sense of “fair play” would prevail.

As a vehicle of manliness, baseball was also looked upon to improve the moral and spiritual fiber of parishioners and community members.⁶² It was thought that “signs of physical deterioration revealed moral decay that had already reached an advanced state.”⁶³ Thus, exposure to some physical activity was thought to keep the mind and spirit healthy. This was also utilized by other Christian denominations to inculcate proper masculinity. For example, early twentieth century Protestant religious educators wanted to “convince adolescent males that the church and religion were legitimate

⁵⁹ “Barry’s Bay Baseball Club Ottawa Valley Champions,” *BBR*, (1 June 1961).

⁶⁰ Howell, *Northern Sandlots: A Social History of Maritime Baseball*, xii.

⁶¹ Mott, “One Solution to the Urban Crisis: Manly Sports and Winnipeggers, 1900-1914,” 126.

⁶² Colin Howell, quite fittingly, also describes baseball as “a crucible for developing masculinity,” in *Northern Sandlots: A Social History of Maritime Baseball*, 6.

⁶³ Mott, “One Solution to the Urban Crisis: Manly Sports and Winnipeggers, 1900-1914,” 129.

masculine concerns. To do so, they presented an ideal of virility attainable only through symmetrical development of all four aspects of life: the physical, mental, social, and spiritual.”⁶⁴ This belief also adhered to the old Latin saying, *mens sana in corpore sano*, meaning a healthy mind required a healthy body.⁶⁵

Returning to the playing field from the theoretical field, it can be argued that Biernacki encouraged many of these above mentioned concerns and qualities. Biernacki himself as a young priest active in sports exemplified the notion that masculinity and piety could exist together. Furthermore, Msgr. Bronislaus Jankowski, the reform minded pastor of St. Stanislaus Kostka in Wilno, moulded the path of Biernacki in many ways⁶⁶ including Biernacki’s selection of school—Jankowski’s alma mater. After his ordination Biernacki learned from Jankowski in Wilno. Before Jankowski’s arrival in Wilno in 1892, the area received several peripatetic Polish priests and some of the parishioners swayed too far in their leisure activities from the lack of clerical oversight. O’Dwyer wrote that Jankowski promptly clamped down on many backwoods leisure activities, such as drinking and shooting, for their questionable moral qualities. One of the events which Jankowski reformed was the traditional Polish wedding. It was changed from a multiple day affair to a one-day event not intended to last into the night.⁶⁷ Tongue-in-cheek history in the area holds that a large amount of questionable drinking and other activities ensued on the remote farms.

The liquor which was produced in the area at the time was by no means a beverage which held a regulated alcohol content. In fact, much of the home brew was so powerful and intoxicating that it rendered the person “blank” and uncontrollable. Thus, consumption was not always prudent and levels of intoxication not predictable.⁶⁸ However, if they did not adhere to the rules, Jankowski would publicly chastise them from the pulpit; something none

⁶⁴ Patricia Dirks, “Reinventing Christian Masculinity and Fatherhood: The Canadian Protestant Experience, 1900-1920,” in Nancy Christie, (ed.), *Households of Faith: Family, Gender and Community in Canada, 1760-1969*, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2002), 301.

⁶⁵ Howell, *Northern Sandlots: A Social History of Maritime Baseball*, 25.

⁶⁶ The *EL* also states this in several articles: one outlining the completion of St. Hedwig’s Parish XI, no. 37 (4 June 1915) and Jankowski’s Silver Jubilee in the priesthood XV, no. 45 (24 August 1917).

⁶⁷ O’Dwyer, *Highways of Destiny: A History of the Diocese of Pembroke*, 166. Although not normally classified as a leisure activity, the wedding, with its week-long festivities, was the only regularly occurring, upbeat celebration in the Polish community. The traditional wedding, and all of the eating, drinking, dancing and shooting which took place, is described in great detail by Glofcheskie, *Folk Music of Canada’s Oldest Polish Community*, 11-33.

⁶⁸ The *EL* contains an interesting article entitled “Wicked Wilno Moonshine,” which discusses several 1920s liquor violations in the area. See XX, no. 11 (20 January 1922).

of the devout Polish Catholics wanted. Nonetheless, O’Dwyer writes that Jankowski encouraged “activities that called for social effort in a common cause.”⁶⁹



John Cyra, Charlie Murray and Peter Biernacki in 1910 (incorrectly dated as 1907).
Source: Barry’s Bay Heritage Calendar 2007.



Msgr. Biernacki from the collection of Elizabeth Shalla.

Biernacki, in the footsteps of Jankowski, used baseball to “inculcate... all and sundry the Christian attitude of manly sportsmanship.”⁷⁰ This was Biernacki’s way of curbing the unsupervised backwoods leisure that Jankowski chastised. He gave the community not only a sacred space in which to gather, but also a place where acceptable leisure and communality were exercised. Moreover, this space did not include the consumption of intoxicating drinks⁷¹ and it did not welcome dangerous shooting matches or gun competitions, which were popular activities in Barry’s Bay and many rural areas.⁷² Unlike many pastors in the early twentieth century, Biernacki

Additionally, John Glofcheskie points out the frequent consumption of home made liquor at weddings and celebrations: *Folk Music of Canada’s Oldest Polish Community*, 11-33.

⁶⁹ O’Dwyer, *Highways of Destiny: A History of the Diocese of Pembroke*, 166.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 171.

⁷¹ The *EL*, XIII, no. 24 (23 July 1915) remarked that the 1915 picnic “was characterized by order and sobriety from beginning to end.”

⁷² The presence of shooting matches in the Barry’s Bay area were quite common such as the matches hosted by John Dooner (*EL*, 6 November 1908). The dangers of guns were also prevalent through the many accidental deaths. One of these tragic events, during the course of a shooting match, was that of Joseph Pecaskie, a twenty-one year



Players prior to a contest at St. Hedwig's, circa 1930s. Players include M.J. Murray, Henry Nicholson, Isايا Skebo, "Howie" Cybulski and Msgr. Ambrose Maika (back right).

Source: Collection of Elizabeth Shalla.

rejected the lofty parochial hegemony granted to him as an ordained religious leader and set about to do his moral and social work by being a community member.⁷³ In addition to his skills as a pitcher for the Barry's Bay team he was an excellent athlete, according to Murray and Retza.⁷⁴ He used these abilities to administer spiritually and socially to the community. He involved many others from the community in the game, while promoting the acceptable aspects of manliness and moral character. Many locals remember

old who was shot by John Brotton, then aged sixteen or seventeen: *EL*, VII, no. 46 (4 June 1909).

⁷³ Although Msgr. Biernacki retained his honorifics and authority when conducting mass, writing formal letters and newspaper advertisements, locals remember him as a regular caring person away from these settings. In fact, he was quite humbled and felt that a promotion in the church as a Monsignor was not necessary and asked that it not be granted to him. Bishop Ryan, in response, implored him to receive it in honour of Biernacki's work among the Polish people of the Diocese and alongside his predecessor Jankowski. In the words of the Bishop, "I am quite sure that nobody will criticize the appointment upon that score [personal merits]." In closing, Bishop Ryan used another sports analogy to implore Biernacki to take the appointment: "Take your base, Peter." Letter from Bishop P.T. Ryan, Diocese of Pembroke, to Rev. P.B. Biernacki, P.P., St. Hedwig's Parish, Barry's Bay Ontario, 12 December 1935.

⁷⁴ "Murray-Biernacki, Famous Baseball Battery of 1910," *EL*, [date blurred, possibly Vol. 57, no. 32 (16 January 1959)].

him as a priest who always encouraged fair play, honesty and respect for the rules in the game. His presence on the field also helped to regulate or monitor the sense of fair and proper play. Through these actions, Biernacki helped to shape the lives of three more ball players who became priests: Fr. Anthony Słominski (1921), Msgr. Ambrose J. Maika (1932) and Msgr. Ambrose R. Pick (1955). They, along with Fr. Theodore Kulas, continued the promotion of sport among parishioners as an acceptable form of leisure into the 1960s.

Baseball players, regardless of ethnicity, were also cultural and community ambassadors. The actions of the team, especially at the picnics in the “Polish parish” of St. Hedwig’s, contributed to the larger group image in general. Needless to say, Biernacki held his cohort players to a high standard when they traveled—sometimes overnight or by train—to play against other teams in the county such as Renfrew, Eganville, Brudenell, or Maynooth. The railway which brought the sport to the area encouraged its growth by enabling swift transportation to different communities. Even when these matches were part of other parish or community picnics, the Bay teams were always under the watchful, but caring, eye of Biernacki.

In the early part of the twentieth century, the role of female laity in the parish was consigned to a collection of domestic duties. This was, as we know, the prevailing attitude across the nation for several narrow-minded pseudo-scientific reasons.⁷⁵ These gendered roles were also extended to leisure activities, including the realm of baseball. In the 1912 picnic picture, the women in attendance were dressed properly and were spectators. This perception echoes Howell’s claim that “despite the postwar celebration of the image of the ‘athletic’ woman...and the growing involvement of women in sporting activity during the 1920s, the baseball park, like the workplace, would remain characterized by obvious gender segregation.” In its refusal to afford women an active role in the sport, baseball essentially reinforced “traditional stereotypes of women as consumers rather than producers.”⁷⁶ At the time, literature and propaganda from the medical profession backed up this marginalization with a powerful pseudo-biological explanation for restricting physical activity among the female population. Others cautioned of the excessive competitiveness that might, as an 1893 textbook warned, “goad a young girl...to physical harm.”⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Helen Lenskyj essentially argues this in her article entitled: “Femininity First: Sport and Physical Education for Ontario Girls, 1890-1930,” in Morris Mott, (ed.), *Sports in Canada: Historical Readings*, (Toronto: Longmans, 1989), 187.

⁷⁶ Howell, *Northern Sandlots: A Social History of Maritime Baseball*, xiv.

⁷⁷ William Nattress, *Public School Physiology and Temperance*, (Toronto: Briggs, 1893), 178 as cited in Lenskyj, “Femininity First,” 189.

Indeed, the “dictatorship of the ovaries,”⁷⁸ to borrow a term from Ehrenreich and English, prevented women from occupying a place in sport and factored into many communal activities across Ontario. Yet, as the Wesley College newspaper, *Vox Wesleyana* wrote in March of 1907, most of society seemed to have forgotten something promoted by Ancient Greece “... namely that ‘healthful recreation for women’ was ‘essential’ to the ‘physical perfection of the race.’”⁷⁹ For the physical, moral and spiritual benefit of their community Biernacki, assisted by Maika, in 1936 rejected these shibboleths and pseudo-scientific notions promoting the marginalization of women in sport. Playing mainly exhibition tilts, in the beginning, the 1936 St. Hedwig’s White Eagles women’s softball team competed against teams from Renfrew, Killaloe, Bancroft and played at the Orangemen’s picnic in Maynooth. According to the *Barry’s Bay Review*, the females were marvelous and upright ambassadors of the sport and community,⁸⁰ especially considering that they were invited to picnics run by another religious group. The women also played in several parish picnics. The 1939 picnic saw the St. Hedwig’s women host a mini-softball tournament and the following year they played host to a highly touted team from St. Mary’s in Toronto.⁸¹ The rules for women’s softball were identical to men’s baseball with a few exceptions. Namely, the pitcher’s mound and line were closer to home plate and the base paths were shorter.⁸² Members of this inaugural team included Catherine Vitkuskie, Monica Coulas (later Sr.), Ursula Maika, Rita Beanish, Christina Coulas, Eleanor Maika, Tessie Dombroskie, Doreen Vitkuski, Teresita Chippure, Pat Cybulski, Josephine Maika, Rita Cybulskie and Zita Shalla. On a personal note, Zita (Shalla) Gloccheskie often recalled the fun that their team had in those games. She also amended the memory and made sure to mention that it was “good fun.”⁸³ Yet, it seems ironic that the *Review* commended the women’s marvelous sportsmanship.

The agency of these women, in participating in such a progressive venture, is noteworthy. The White Eagles, as Mott would argue, “[announced] to themselves and others that they were ‘modern’ women, not ‘swooning’

⁷⁸ The term, “dictatorship of the ovaries” was originally used by Barbara Ehrenreich and Diedre English in *For Her Own Good*, (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor, 1979) but was borrowed from Lenskyj, “Femininity First,” 195.

⁷⁹ *Vox Wesleyana*, (March 1908): 107 as cited in Mott, “One Solution to the Urban Crisis,” 133.

⁸⁰ “St. Hedwig’s White Eagles—1936,” *BBR*, (26 May 1961).

⁸¹ *EL*, XXXVII, no. 40 (11 August 1939) and XXXVIII, no. 40 (9 August 1940).

⁸² Kidd, *The Struggle for Canadian Sport*, 103.

⁸³ Personal recollections from “Grandma Zita” and also expressed in an interview in 2001.



The St. Hedwig's White Eagles of 1936. Source: *BBR*, (25 May 1961).

females whose type was out of fashion.”⁸⁴ Although this was not the first women's team in the province, since women's softball in Toronto became popular in the 1920s, it was a considerable achievement for a rural Catholic community. These women were making considerable strides along the narrow and gendered base paths.

Early twentieth century St. Hedwig's Parish picnics were more than mere picnics. They brought together sport—pitching—with a commensal nourishment for the physical being—pies—and nourishment for the metaphysical soul—piety. In the gauntlet that is the navigation and formation of identity, many factors jostle against one another as determinants. In the case of the settled parishioners in the Barry's Bay area, the communality fostered by the picnics assisted in forming positive esteem among neighbouring ethnicities. Instead of regarding their Polish, Irish and German neighbours as mere residents, the picnics helped settlers form a more inclusive community created separate by geography. Along the way, the formation of a community was fostered by several remarkable people. From the laity who donated their time, money and efforts for parish activities to the ordained leaders, many individuals contributed to the success of the picnics. The inclusion of baseball at the picnics not only enabled a community to escape their harsh farming routine for a day but assisted, unknowingly, in the formation of moral character on and off the playing field. Needless to say, the community was fortunate to have Msgr. Biernacki, a Catholic

⁸⁴ Mott, “One Solution to the Urban Crisis: Manly Sports and Winnipeggers, 1900-1914,” 134.

priest, who cast aside notions of social hierarchy and became not only the starting pitcher for the team but a social father to the community.

While the St. Hedwig's Parish picnics were not the first in Renfrew County, they were, according to articles from the *Leader*, among the most prominent and well attended. As another point of achievement, while many parishes and community organizations across the county attempted to establish picnics or small bazaars during the 1920s and the 1950s, the St. Hedwig's picnics remained a reliable event for almost fifty years. During the late 1940s and 1950s, the purpose of the picnics shifted slightly. Still forging a sense of community, they raised funds for Biernacki's proposed hospital.⁸⁵ Unfortunately, the 1960s brought with it inclement weather, an increase in smaller, indoor parish events, other community events, and a lack of clerical direction which led to the picnic's demise.⁸⁶ However, the communal environment created and maintained by generations of parishioners has left residents—young and old, male and female, local and regional—with many joyous times and memorable friendships.

⁸⁵ St. Francis Memorial Hospital was completed largely through funds from the parish community and Ladies Auxilliary. Unfortunately, Biernacki passed away on 31 December 1958 and was unable to see it open on 25 October 1960: Ron Glofcheskie, *Saint Hedwig's Parish Festivities 1980*, 12-13.

⁸⁶ For example, the year 1962 saw the hall receive heavy use through ski club meetings, Red Cross blood donor clinics, plays and productions such as "The Heart of Paddy Whack," "The Bat," "The Absent Minded Professor," and the Auxiliary Tea. See *BBR*, (1 March, 10 May, 19 July, 15 November and 6 December 1962). Maika was also involved in coaching the Bay hockey team according to the *BBR*, (28 February 1963). The picnic returned in 1963 but was rained on for most of the day. Other events, held at the newly constructed community centre in Barry's Bay, also brought a new gathering places for events, such as bingos and sporting contests: *EL*, XLIL, no. 4 (6 August 1964).

HISTORICAL NOTE

Father Aeneas M. Dawson and Canadian Expansionism

The latter part of the 1850s saw a movement in the united province of Canada, spurred by George Brown's *Globe*, to begin the full-scale settlement of the North West Territory, long the domain of the Hudson's Bay Company. Although the movement petered out at the time, interest in western expansion was revived after Confederation, with members of the newly-formed Canada First movement prominent among its advocates. One of the founding members of that group was a Roman Catholic priest, Aeneas McDonell Dawson, a prolific author who applied his pen to the promotion of the cause. Settlement of the west, however, did not mean the occupation of a hitherto empty land, for the west, including the Pacific coast, was inhabited by numerous tribes of native peoples—First Nations, in current parlance—and Métis, who combined native and European ancestry. Like most Canadians of his time, Dawson did not have a high opinion of these people and shared the general tendency to ignore their claim to land they had long occupied.

Aeneas McDonell Dawson was one of the most remarkable priests to serve the Archdiocese of Ottawa. A poet, a scholar, a translator, and a noted orator, his abilities combined with his genial personality made him a welcome addition to the small intellectual circle of the Ottawa of the second half of the nineteenth century. His work had an international reputation, favourably reviewed at home and abroad. His treatise on the temporal sovereignty of the pope was, in 1860, the first book to be published in Ottawa. He was the author of many other books including biographies of Pope Pius IX and St. Vincent de Paul, as well as an exhaustive history of Scottish Catholicism from the Reformation to his own day. He was a member of many organizations including the prestigious Rideau Club, whose membership included all the leading politicians of the day. From 1865 until their withdrawal in 1870 he served as chaplain to the British forces stationed in Ottawa, becoming a great favourite in the officers' mess. A frequent guest of governors general, he was invited by Lord Lorne to become a founding member of the Royal

Society of Canada in 1882. He was also known for his cordial relations with non-Catholics, earning him the nickname of the “protestant priest.”¹

He was born in Scotland in 1810, one of nine sons of John Dawson and Anne McDonell. He studied for the priesthood in France and Scotland and was ordained in 1835. The following year his parents and most of his siblings emigrated to Canada, renting a farm in Nepean, a rural area outside what was then Bytown (now Ottawa). Although his brother William made an attempt to bring him to Canada in 1842, it was not until 1854 that he followed his family to Bytown. He was appointed the first pastor of St. Andrew’s parish, the first English-language parish in Ottawa. It was later renamed for St. Patrick, reflecting its predominantly Irish congregation. He was not a great success as a pastor. Despite the winning personality which gained him so many friends in social circles, he was constantly in conflict with members of his congregation and with Bishop Joseph-Eugène-Bruno Guiges, who found his administrative shortcomings exceedingly frustrating. Finally in 1861 the bishop transferred Dawson to the cathedral where he could fully employ his oratorical talents with no administrative burden. In the 1870s he served as pastor in a rural parish, where the difficulties of his first pastorate were repeated. He continued to write extensively until his death in 1894.²

Dawson’s interest in the west was shared by, and possibly derived from, other members of his family. His brothers William and Simon were both deeply involved in western issues, on the ground and in the political arena. In 1841 William was appointed Crown Timber Agent at Bytown. Though dismissed from this position in 1845, by 1849 he was working for the Woods and Forest Branch of the Crown Lands department, becoming superintendent of that branch in 1852. In 1857, with the campaign for the annexation of the North West Territory underway, William prepared a report challenging the Hudson’s Bay Company’s title to its lands, later testifying before a select committee of the legislature. The next year he was himself an elected member and introduced a bill incorporating the North West Transportation and Land Company, of which he became the first president. The company quickly won a contract to deliver mail to the settlement at Red River.³

In that same year the government of Canada, which had now laid claim to the North West but had little knowledge of the territory, appointed an expedition to investigate the area, known as the Hind Expedition. Possibly

¹ Fred McEvoy, principal author, *Enduring Faith: A History of Saint Patrick’s Basilica Parish, Ottawa 1855-2005*, (Ottawa: Saint Patrick’s Basilica, 2006), 18-23.

² *Ibid.*, 6-17.

³ Elizabeth Arthur, *Simon J. Dawson, C.E.*, (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society, 1987), 2-9.

with the help of William's influence, Simon was appointed surveyor of the expedition. His task was to develop an initial link between Canada and Red River.⁴ His eventual report set out an expensive estimate for building such a route, bringing on a strong attack from the *Globe*, despite its previous support for expansion.⁵ Notwithstanding their initial enthusiasm, the politicians balked at the cost. In 1860 William lost his presidency and the company lost its mail contract; it folded the next year. Simon left government service the same year, entering the lumber business in Trois Rivières.⁶

Father Dawson became a staunch supporter of his new country, to which he devoted his literary talents. He attacked those in Britain, such as the Oxford professor Goldwin Smith, who saw the colonies as a burden to be disposed of rather than as a benefit to the mother country. Smith, and those who shared his views, believed the colonies to be an economic liability; those colonies capable of doing so should govern themselves because, in their view, "ultimate autonomy seemed a higher ideal for the colonies than perpetual dependence."⁷ Those who opposed this attitude saw it as unpatriotic. Dawson dismissed Smith as "this minor light of the Oxford firmament."⁸ He argued that the colonies, far from being a burden to Britain, were essential both to its status as a world power and to its prosperity. "This mighty whole," he wrote,

contributes immensely towards, if it does not entirely constitute the commercial and political importance of the British people. They are a rich inheritance which their forefathers have bequeathed to them, and which they and their Sovereign confide to the keeping of their Parliament and their statesmen.[...] They are all intimately connected... with the Colonial system, which, to a state, situated as England is, appears to be essential. To such a state there is nothing more necessary than extensive trade which brings to the doors of Britain proper, the productions of foreign climes.⁹

Nations envious of British power, he believed, would see a Britain "shorn" of its colonies as being on a "downward course" and quickly seek to take advantage of its weakness.¹⁰

⁴ Doug Owrn, *Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West 1856-1900*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 62.

⁵ Arthur, *Dawson*, 10.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁷ Elizabeth Wallace, *Goldwin Smith: Victorian Liberal*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), 188.

⁸ Aeneas M. Dawson, "Our Strength and Their Strength," in *Our Strength and Their Strength. The North West Territory, and Other Papers Chiefly Relating to the Dominion of Canada*, (Ottawa: The Times, 1870), 5.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 32.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 15.

Dawson soon acquired like-minded acquaintances. Between 15 April and 20 May 1868 five young men—George Foster, Charles Mair, George T. Denison, R.G. Haliburton and Henry Morgan—came together in Ottawa where they spent most of their evenings at Morgan’s discussing the state of the young nation. All were in their late twenties except Haliburton who was in his late thirties. With the enthusiasm of youth they made “a solemn pledge to each other that we would do all we could to advance the interests of our native land; that we would put our country first, before all personal, or political, or party considerations[...].” They foresaw a vastly expanded country that would incorporate the western territories of the Hudson’s Bay Company and bring the colony of British Columbia into Confederation, creating a nation that spanned the northern half of the continent. This was the origin of the Canada First movement.¹¹ Dawson, who was approaching sixty, attended at least some of these meetings. A friend of Mair and Morgan, he was drawn to these younger men by a shared interest in literary pursuits and western expansion. At Christmas 1868 Denison and Foster met in Toronto with Morgan and a friend who accompanied him from Ottawa. Referred to as “the old gentleman,” this could perhaps have been Dawson.¹²

With renewed interest in the North West following Confederation, the government decided to proceed with construction of the eastern end of the route previously mapped out by Simon, who in 1867 was appointed superintendent of road construction.¹³ Such a road was a necessity if Canada were to make good its claim to ownership of the North West. The road, which became known as the Dawson Route in honour of its builder, proved its value in 1870 when it was utilised by the military expedition sent to suppress the Red River rebellion led by Louis Riel. In 1871 the Dawson Route, which consisted of both road and water, was open to travellers. It remained the main route to the west until the coming of the railway.¹⁴

It was now possible for Canada to begin the colonization of the west, fulfilling what the members of Canada First saw as Canada’s manifest destiny. The expansionists both exaggerated the speed with which the west could be settled and underestimated the difficulties the colonists would

¹¹ Colonel George T. Denison, *The Struggle for Imperial Unity: Recollections & Experiences*, (Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada, 1909), 10-12; Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism 1867-1914*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 49-51.

¹² Berger, *The Sense of Power*, 51, 54.

¹³ Janet E. Chute and Alan Knight, “Taking up the Torch: Simon J. Dawson and the Upper Great Lakes’ Native Resource Campaign of the 1860s and 1870s,” in Celia Haig-Brown and David A. Nock, (eds.), *With Good Intentions: Euro-Canadian and Aboriginal Relations in Colonial Canada*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006), 110.

¹⁴ Arthur, *Dawson*, 13-6; Owrarn, *Promise of Eden*, 118.

encounter.¹⁵ The literature they produced has been characterized as “an often one-sided and over-enthusiastic picture of the region.”¹⁶ They extolled the fertility of the soil, the beneficence of the climate and the abundance of water resources, ignoring the known aridity of some areas of the prairies.¹⁷ They were overly optimistic in their belief that the area would be quickly settled and developed; the Dawson route, they claimed, was capable of accommodating 1500 immigrants per month, an impossibly high figure.¹⁸

Aeneas Dawson now turned his pen to the promotion of the west to Canadians and potential immigrants. An essay, entitled “The North West Territory,” was published in the *Literary Quarterly* of St. John, New Brunswick and in an abridged form in the *Ontario Gazetteer*. In 1870 he included the full essay as a title piece in a collection of his writing which included his attack on Goldwin Smith.¹⁹ This work followed the general pattern of expansionist literature, though it went beyond it by devoting considerable attention to British Columbia as well as the North West.²⁰

His reason for writing, he stated, was to dispute the view held by some that the North West “will be more an imaginary than a real benefit” to Canada. He stressed that he had consulted publications on the subject, spoken with “distinguished travellers”—a category which presumably included Simon—and examined evidence given before a select committee of the House of Commons.²¹ He described in some detail the great rivers and lakes of the west. Of the Mackenzie River he wrote: “should [it] ever be what nature has adapted it for being, the principal channel through which a great portion of the trade of the western world must flow, there may one day be a dense population even so far north as the junction of its waters with the Arctic Ocean.”²² He praised the climate, fruitfulness of the soil and quality of the produce of the area bordering on Lakes Winnipeg and Manitoba. The territory to the west of the Assiniboine and Red River Valleys he described as “no less fertile, and even more beautiful,” citing Simon’s report to the legislature of Canada on the suitability of the area for agriculture and colonization.²³ He quoted travellers, including Sir Alexander Mackenzie, on the fertility and abundance of the Saskatchewan country and

¹⁵ Owram, *Promise of Eden*, 102.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 105.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 109.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 118.

¹⁹ Dawson, *Our Strength and Their Strength*.

²⁰ *Promise of Eden*, which closely examines the expansionist literature, does not even have an index entry for British Columbia.

²¹ Dawson, “The North West Territory,” in *Our Strength and Their Strength*, 53-4.

²² *Ibid.*, 58.

²³ *Ibid.*, 59.

what would become Alberta.²⁴ He disputed the view that spring flooding made settlement and agriculture impossible, as this only applied to a limited area; in any case, flooding could be harnessed for irrigation, as the flooding of the Nile had been in antiquity. “Who may dare say,” he asserted, “that the vast countries there, which have known no sound as yet save the lowing of wild cattle and the war- whoop of the fierce red-man, shall not rejoice one day in all the blessings of civilisation, and become vocal with the glad accents of millions upon millions of happy beings?”²⁵ Dawson ended this section on the North West by returning to what he saw as the great importance of the Mackenzie River, which provided access to the heart of the land and would bring “the priceless treasures that might be fished up from the inexhaustible depths of the great Arctic Sea. And this will be, one day, the rich possession of the numerous people who will find their homes on the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains, and in the fertile valleys and verdant prairies which end only where the settled country of Canada begins.”²⁶

He now turned his attention to British Columbia, not yet a province of Canada. Though he admitted that “many parts of it can never be inhabited, it is destined, no doubt, to afford homes at no distant period to a numerous and wealthy population.” He compared British Columbia to his native Scotland, so alike in “their rivers and mountains,” expressing regret that its original name of New Caledonia had not been retained. However British Columbia “without any other inhabitant than the aboriginal savage—without any other habitation than the rude tent or the wretched wigwam,” was more akin to ancient Scotland which “had no other inhabitant than the barbarian, whose only clothing was paint.” Just as Scotland was now prosperous and civilized, so would British Columbia be.²⁷ Both the mainland of British Columbia, with its fertility and gold resources, and Vancouver Island, with its fertility and moderate climate, were well adapted to settlement and agriculture. British Columbia “will rejoice ere long in numerous populations, and may even behold the commerce of the world crowding its shores.”²⁸

It is unfortunate that Dawson presented such a stereotyped image of natives and it is clear that he had no knowledge of the highly developed culture of the coastal First Nations, wigwams being a prairie phenomenon. It is also somewhat surprising since his brother Simon, who worked extensively with natives both during the expedition of the 1850s and during the construction of the Dawson route, knew them well and thought highly of them. He found that they “manifested a degree of thought and foresight

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 60, 63.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 61.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 64.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 66.

which I scarcely could have expected of them.”²⁹ He found their assistance indispensable to his work and received many kindnesses from them. He came to regard them with “a blend of admiration and protectiveness.”³⁰ In his later career as a member of the Ontario legislature and of the federal parliament he would defend native interests even at the cost of alienating many of his constituents.³¹ If Aeneas Dawson knew of Simon’s opinion of native people it appears not to have made an impression.

In his conclusion Dawson asserted that access to the North West, far from being “extremely difficult, if not impossible,” as some believed, was in fact shown by recent exploration to be “shorter than has been supposed, and comparatively easy,” citing Simon’s report to the government on the Dawson route in 1868.³² That route, now under construction, would lead to significant trade. “Canada cannot fail,” he wrote,

to recognize her interest in such great public, even national, improvements. Trade, to the value of many millions yearly, would be directed to her borders; wealth would flow to her from the gold mines of the Fraser, the coal fields of Vancouver, the inexhaustible fisheries of British Columbia, and the fertile plains of the Saskatchewan, the Red river [sic] and the Assiniboine. Waters which communicate by means of *portages*, lead all the way to the immediate neighbourhood of Lake Superior.

This would also provide a route to the Far East and south Pacific.³³

Noting that there was talk of a railway linking Halifax or Quebec City to the west coast, he stated that such a route could be easily made “along the plains of the Saskatchewan and the northern passes,” while the Rockies “could be pierced without any serious engineering difficulties” in several places. Such a railway would quickly advance the colonisation process while providing the shortest route to “the remote east.”³⁴ He foresaw the creation of a “highway of the world” which would

with its myriad of leviathan steamboats constantly plowing the placid waters of the Pacific Ocean, traverse the Canadian provinces [and] pass through the valley of the River Ottawa. This is an absolute requirement of the geological structure of the globe.[...] Thus it is manifest that the city of Ottawa, which[...] has become the capital of the Dominion of Canada, must also be, and that at no distant day, a great commercial emporium,

²⁹ Arthur, *Dawson*, 11.

³⁰ Chute and Knight, “Taking up the Torch,” 109.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 117-24.

³² Dawson, “The North West Territory,” 68-9.

³³ *Ibid.*, 70, italic in original.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 71.

a metropolis of business, the prosperous and crowded centre of the trade of both hemispheres.³⁵

Dawson, like other expansionists, saw the west as a hinterland for central Canada, but few would have shared his view of the glittering future of Ottawa as a commercial powerhouse.

However, the west was not settled with the speed and ease envisioned by the expansionists. The Dawson Route, while a great engineering feat of constructing a road under the most difficult circumstances, was not a success as a gateway for immigrants. It involved a long, arduous journey unsuitable for the mass immigration expected, what one immigrant termed “six weeks of hardships such as they had never experienced before.”³⁶ In 1872 a scant one hundred immigrants traversed the route, a poor return on the hundreds of thousands of dollars poured into it. It was apparent that only a railway could suitably link east and west.³⁷

A decade later, with the Canadian Pacific Railway under construction, Dawson believed that “the resources of the west should be studied and made known,”³⁸ publishing a much expanded, book length work on the west. By then some immigration had occurred, including group migration of Icelanders, Mennonites from Russia and Franco-Americans from the New England states.³⁹ Manitoba and British Columbia had entered Confederation, while the future Alberta and Saskatchewan remained under the control of the federal government. “The more that is known concerning the great North-West,” he wrote, “the more will the intelligent public desire to know. As regards British Columbia, so much misapprehension unfortunately prevails, that not only this work, but many more books must be written and widely circulated before the people of the Canadian Dominion learn the true value of this rich and interesting Province.”⁴⁰

Much of the description of the area echoed the earlier work, stressing the moderation of the climate, fertility of the soil and the beauty of the country, an area of such potential that “valuable settlements and happy homes for many millions of the human race will undoubtedly be found, ere long, in the great lone land of the North-West, and the cause of humanity will be more effectually served by well directed efforts to colonize, than

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 72.

³⁶ Owrn, *Promise of Eden*, 122.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 123.

³⁸ Aeneas M Dawson, *The North-West Territories and British Columbia*, (Ottawa: np, 1881), 1.

³⁹ Gerald Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies: A History*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 186.

⁴⁰ Dawson, *North-West Territories*, preface, unpaginated.

it has ever been as yet by any event in connection with the history of our country.”⁴¹ Land, he asserted, could, for the most part, “be made available, and without any extraordinary difficulty, for the uses and wants of civilized man.”⁴² With the advent of the railway and postal and telegraph service “the enterprising spirit of the age has pronounced that the great ‘lone land’ shall be *lone* no more.”⁴³

He gave considerably more attention to First Nations people. Though he recognized that they were “the actual occupants of the land,”⁴⁴ his attitude toward them was one of condescension combined with a naive trust that the government would safeguard their interests. There was, he wrote,

nothing to be apprehended from hostility on the part of the Indian tribes. [...] They have sold their exhausted hunting grounds and are pleased with the price, and well they may, for, not only is it duly paid, but in addition, the children of the forest have been sustained ever since the failure of their game supplies, at great cost to Canada. The Canadian people, with truly cosmopolitan benevolence, are thus purchasing a country not for themselves only, but, also, for all who may choose to live in peace under the Canadian roof tree.

Saved by the North West Mounted Police from the evils of drink and the nefarious American whiskey traders, they were “more tractable than most other tribes of red men” and more willing to adopt a settled life of agriculture.⁴⁵ A considerate government had provided them with agricultural instructors and Dawson believed that missionaries should also be engaged in teaching them farming as “there is nothing that the better Indians will not do in compliance with the wishes of their priestly guides.”⁴⁶ Dawson’s trust in the benevolence of the government was misplaced. Government parsimony, combined with white settlers’ opposition to competition from native farmers, ensured that First Nations people did not receive the supplies and modern equipment requisite to successful farming.⁴⁷

“The Aborigines,” as he called them, “are now so greatly reduced in numbers, that it will hardly be thought worth while to take into account their habits, character or disposition as regards new settlers” although “their position and rights will be scrupulously respected under the new order which

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 11.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 19, italic in original.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 44.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁴⁷ On this point see Sarah Carter, *Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1990).

is designed to promote their prosperity and happiness[...].”⁴⁸ He believed the natives were “peaceable and order-loving” due to their close relations with the settlers at Red River and the Hudson’s Bay Company. As well, “many of them have been gained by the zeal of missionaries to the mild usages of the Christian faith.”⁴⁹ Intermarriage with Europeans had prepared them for “the greater material well-being and happiness of civilization” and they would “offer no impediment” to the settling of their former lands “by civilized man.”⁵⁰

Again he was hopelessly sanguine about respect for native rights. As historical geographer Cole Harris has written about British Columbia, in words that apply equally to the North West,

White immigrants and settlers in British Columbia in the 1860s took it for granted that the land awaited them.[...] with rare exceptions, the proposition that almost all provincial land was unsettled and unused—or used slightly in ways that deserved to be replaced by more intensive, modern land uses—was not debated. Natives were wanderers, primitive people who did not know how to use land effectively.[...] The displacement of [natives] by [white settlers] was inevitable, as the worldwide reach of Europe had shown.⁵¹

Dawson’s own comments on the First Nations in British Columbia were redolent of European superiority. While admitting that “they exercise wonderful foresight in treasuring up supplies of salmon,” he contrasted this to what he considered their usual improvidence.⁵² Likewise, while they showed “wonderful ingenuity” in their methods of fishing,⁵³ he referred to one such method as “the barbarous art of spearing salmon.”⁵⁴ While engaged in this activity, he added, “Red-skin does not paddle his own canoe, but leaves this duty to his squaw. A fleet of canoes may often be seen...impelled by the dusky dames of the tribe, whilst the swarthy Lords sit in the bows[...].”⁵⁵

British Columbia itself he regarded as “the richest British possession on the continent of America,” if not the whole empire.⁵⁶ It was important to Canada as the gateway to the east, while Canada linked the province to

⁴⁸ Dawson, *North-West Territories*, 44.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 45.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁵¹ Cole Harris, *Making Native Space: Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002), 46-7. Attitudes had not changed by the 1880s—see pp. 199-200. See also Jean Barman, *The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 154-8.

⁵² Dawson, *North-West Territories*, 84.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 86.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 92.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 107.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 55.

Britain and Europe. It was destined to become the “emporium of the trade of the Canadian Provinces, of Great Britain, of all Europe, perhaps, with China, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, India even.”⁵⁷ The province was a great addition to Canada, despite the naysayers who regarded it as “an unprofitable wilderness.”⁵⁸

The railway, he concluded, would make all the difference, as it had already done in Manitoba. It would attract colonists and facilitate trade. As it progressed across the west it would attract “a numerous population along its course, and a career of prosperity will have commenced, the height of which, and its wide extent and its glory no man living shall behold.”⁵⁹

While it is difficult to judge the impact of the book, it was certainly well received. The Ottawa *Free Press*, praising Dawson’s “patriotic desire to do justice to the Dominion,” felt he had shown “great facility for grasping and arranging facts and presenting[...] the peculiarities and attractions of our Great North West.”⁶⁰ The Ottawa *Daily Citizen* “confidently” recommended it to anyone seeking knowledge of Canada’s west.⁶¹ The Toronto *Mail* described Dawson as “a man of superior intelligence and attainments” and declared that the book, combined with Alexander Begg’s history of the North-West, “will afford the student all possible means of obtaining accurate information from every point of view on our valuable provinces of the North-West.”⁶²

His work was not particularly original, however, following the pattern of other exponents of expansionism who exaggerated the beneficence of the western climate and underplayed the difficulties facing potential homesteaders. Nor, despite the experiences of his brother Simon, was his attitude towards First Nations either enlightened or insightful, as he exhibited the typical sense of Euro-Canadian superiority to a backward and presumably dying race.

In that attitude he reflected the views of most Canadians of his time. To some of the expansionists the Indians might well be deserving of sympathy; all of them, however, considered their own civilization superior and believed that the development of the vast potential of the west by white settlers was both inevitable and right.⁶³ While some viewed natives with contempt for

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 47-8.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 138.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 140-1.

⁶⁰ 12 May 1881.

⁶¹ 4 May 1881.

⁶² 18 June 1881. The book referred to is *The great Canadian north west: its past history, present condition, and glorious prospects*, (Montreal, 1881).

⁶³ Owsam, *Promise of Eden*, 132.

their supposed “barbarism,” and others romanticized their way of life, all agreed that they were a dying race:

If any single belief dominated the thinking about Canadian aboriginals during the last half of the nineteenth century, it was that they would not be around to see much of the twentieth. Any one who paid any attention at all to the question agreed that Natives were disappearing from the face of the earth, victims of disease, starvation, alcohol and the remorseless ebb and flow of civilizations.[...] Some found the idea appalling; some found it regrettable; some found it desirable. But all were agreed that the Indian was doomed.⁶⁴

Besides, the assimilation of natives into white Christian civilization could only be in their own best interest. Dawson, himself a priest, could have no doubt about that.

Though Dawson produced a vast amount of writing, he was particularly proud that he had revealed through his work “the great North-West and its boundless resources,” which he made a point of stating on the occasion of the presentation of a testimonial to him by the citizens of Ottawa.⁶⁵ Yet his work in this regard was primarily propaganda, not a presentation of an accurate picture of the west, a trait shared with expansionist literature in general. It also propagated the view, shared by so many Canadians, that western land, even where occupied by First Nations peoples, was there for the taking. In this he was truly a man of his time.

Frederick J. McEVOY

⁶⁴ Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture*, (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992), 23. For attitudes in British Columbia see Barman, *The West beyond the West*, 154-8.

⁶⁵ McEvoy, *Enduring Faith*, 19.

THE JAMES F. KENNEY PRIZE

This prize is awarded annually by the Canadian Catholic Historical Association in honour of its founder, James F. Kenney (1884-1946), for the best essay on any aspect of the history of Catholicism in Canada written in a course by an undergraduate student in any university.

Conditions: Entries must be undergraduate essays between 2500 and 5000 words in length on some aspect of Catholicism in Canada. The author must be a part-time or a full-time undergraduate student in a degree program at an accredited university or college in Canada. The essay must have been written to meet the requirement of an undergraduate credit course during the current academic year.

Submissions: Entries shall be submitted by course instructors no later than 1 May 2011. No instructor shall submit more than two entries. Essays must be typed neatly and should not indicate the instructor's comments or grade. Essays may also be submitted electronically. Entries should be sent to the President, Canadian Catholic Historical Association [Dr. Jacqueline Gresko, Corpus Christi College, 5935 Iona Drive, Vancouver, BC V6T 1J7 or jgresko@telus.net].

Adjudication: Entries will be judged by a panel determined by the CCHA. The winner will be announced in the autumn of 2011. There will be no runners-up or honorary mentions. The CCHA reserves the right not to award a prize in a given year should applications not be of sufficient quality.

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Abstracts/Résumés

Peter E. BALTUTIS

Rooted in the Vision of Vatican II: Youth Corps and the Formation of Christ-Centered Agents of Social Change, 1966-1984

Founded by Father Thomas McKillop in 1966, Youth Corps was an experimental ministry in Toronto that developed Christ-centered social activists (ages 14-25) through a scripture-based formation of action, reflection and friendship. Over the next eighteen years, Youth Corps built a diverse network of programs that consciously drew upon the inductive theology of Vatican II that promoted Catholics to be actively engaged in the world. Youth Corps showcased the prophetic voice of Catholic social justice activists through highly successful “Events”; nurtured healthy families through Christian Family Peace Weekends; recognized the dignity of the city’s physically handicapped and the imprisoned; and helped Catholics to see Christ in the poor of the inner city and the global south. While tens of thousands of young adults participated in these ministries, Youth Corps’ social activism would expose ecclesiological tensions over pastoral strategy that challenged the Archdiocese of Toronto—and the Canadian Catholic Church—during the 1980s.

Fondées par le Père Thomas McKillop en 1966, les Brigades jeunesse étaient un ministère expérimental à Toronto qui formaient des activistes sociaux chrétiens (âgés de 14 à 25 ans) grâce à une formation biblique de leurs actions, leur réflexion et leurs amitiés. Au cours des dix-huit ans qui suivirent, les Brigades jeunesse élaborèrent un réseau diversifié de programmes qui consciemment puisaient dans la théologie inductive du Vatican II qui encourageait les catholiques à s’impliquer activement dans le monde. Les Brigades jeunesse mettaient en évidence la voix prophétique des activistes catholiques pour la justice sociale grâce à des « événements » à grand succès, elles encourageaient les familles en santé en organisant des fins de semaines pour la paix dans les familles chrétiennes, reconnaissaient la dignité des handicapés physiques de la ville et des prisonniers, et aidaient les catholiques à voir Christ chez les pauvres de la grande ville et du Sud global. Tandis que des dizaines de milliers de jeunes adultes participaient à ces ministères, l’activisme des Brigades jeunesse dévoilait les tensions

religieuses sur la stratégie pastorale qui mettaient à rude épreuve le diocèse de Toronto – ainsi que l'Église catholique canadienne – durant les années 80.

Donald L. BOISVERT

Piety, Purity and Pain: Gérard Raymond and the Ideal of French Canadian Catholic Manhood

This paper focuses on a specific type of youthful spirituality present in Québec society in the early twentieth century. In particular, it explores the manner in which the persona of Gérard Raymond (1912-1932), a young Québec City seminarian, was “constructed” by the clergy as an ideal of French Canadian Catholic manhood. This is done by examining Gérard Raymond’s own *Journal*, a text edited and published by the seminary, and *Une âme d’élite*, a hagiographic narrative written by the spiritual director of the seminary, as well as a selection of archival letters from priests and religious sisters. The suggestion is made that a variety of Catholic virtues—in particular purity—were constitutive of this unique understanding of Catholic masculinity.

Cet article jette un regard critique sur un mouvement de spiritualité adolescente du début du vingtième siècle. Il examine la façon dont le personnage de Gérard Raymond (1912-1932) a été «façonné» par les membres du clergé comme symbole d’une masculinité catholique canadienne-française. Par l’entremise d’analyses du Journal de Gérard Raymond, ainsi que d’un récit hagiographique écrit par le directeur spirituel du séminaire, Une âme d’élite, et des lettres provenant de prêtres et de religieuses, il est proposé que ces différents textes mettent de l’avant une série de vertus chrétiennes – en particulier la pureté – comme éléments constitutants de cette masculinité catholique.

Joshua C. BLANK

Pitching, Pies and Piety: Early Twentieth Century St. Hedwig’s Parish Picnics

During the colonization road era in Canada West, several immigrant groups came to settle in the area around Barry’s Bay, Ontario. Piecing together information from oral sources, local newspaper articles, and photographs, this study aims to analyze the convergence of the most important aspect

of the settlers' culture—religion—and an annual celebration—the parish picnic. Early twentieth century St. Hedwig's Parish picnics created a commensal sense of belonging among immigrant groups in Renfrew County. By examining the picnic's baseball game as a historical landscape, the playing field emerges as the site where gender, class and ethnicity were also negotiated and mediated.

Pendant l'époque du chemin de la colonisation de l'ouest du Canada, plusieurs groupes d'immigrants sont venus s'installer dans la région de Barry's Bay, Ontario. En rattachant les informations récoltées de sources orales, d'articles de journaux locaux, et de photos, cette étude a pour but d'analyser la convergence de l'aspect le plus important de la culture des pionniers, la religion, et une célébration annuelle, le pique-nique paroissial. Les pique-niques de la paroisse St. Hedwig du début du 20e siècle créaient un sens commensal d'appartenance parmi les groupes d'immigrants du comté de Renfrew. En examinant le jeu de baseball du pique-nique comme paysage historique, nous voyons le terrain de jeu émerger comme l'endroit où le genre, la classe et l'ethnicité étaient aussi négociés et médiés.

Ryan TOPPING

Catholic Studies in Canada: History and Prospects

Catholic Studies represents arguably the most dynamic and promising curricular development in Catholic higher education in a generation. This article charts the origins of Catholic Studies programs and investigates what their appearance might tell us about the past and future challenges of Catholic higher education in (English-speaking) Canada. First, the history of the institutional and curricular evolution that led to their establishment is traced; after that, and based on the author's recent survey and interviews, reflections on their prospects are offered.

On pourrait dire que les études catholiques représentent le développement pédagogique le plus dynamique et prometteur au niveau de l'éducation supérieure catholique en une génération. Cet article fait le graphique des origines des programmes d'études catholiques, et examine ce que leur apparition pourrait nous apprendre au sujet des défis passés et futurs de l'éducation catholique supérieure dans le Canada (anglophone). D'abord, l'article retrace l'histoire de l'évolution institutionnelle et pédagogique qui a conduit à leur mise en place. Ensuite, basé sur le sondage et les entrevues récents de l'auteur, il nous offre des réflexions sur les perspectives de ces programmes.

Frederick J. McEVOY

Father Aeneas M. Dawson and Canadian Expansionism

Aeneas M. Dawson was one of the most prominent Catholic priests in nineteenth century Ottawa. A Scottish immigrant, he was not a success as a pastor but was well known as an orator, poet and author. Of his many writings he was most proud of his work on the Canadian west which he promoted as a potential paradise. However, his attitude towards native people embraced the sense of European superiority held by most of his contemporaries.

Aeneas M. Dawson était l'un des prêtres catholiques les plus éminents à Ottawa, au 19^e siècle. Immigrant écossais, il n'avait pas beaucoup de succès en tant que pasteur, mais il était bien connu en tant qu'orateur, poète et auteur. Parmi ses nombreux ouvrages, celui qui le rendait le plus fier était son livre sur l'ouest canadien, qu'il promouvait comme un éventuel paradis. Cependant, son attitude envers les aborigènes contenait le sens de supériorité européenne, qui se retrouvait chez la plupart de ses contemporains.

SUBMISSION GUIDELINES

Historical Studies

Journal of the Canadian Historical Association

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Published once a year by the Canadian Catholic Historical Association, *Historical Studies* is a fully refereed journal that features articles, critical notes, book reviews and a bibliography aimed at advancing knowledge in the religious history of Canada. The journal accepts comparative and interdisciplinary approaches and welcomes manuscripts from the greatest possible number of researchers, including graduate students. All manuscripts are assessed through a double-blind process that ensures confidentiality. The editorial board considers only unpublished manuscripts and does not consider works of popularization. The journal only publishes English-language articles.

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Manuscripts must be submitted electronically as Word or WordPerfect files. Texts should be double-spaced and should be no longer than 35,000 characters (6,500-8,500 words) or **25 double-spaced pages**, including notes.

Authors whose manuscripts are selected will be required to provide the editors with a revised version of the manuscript in a timely manner following the application of any changes and corrections required.

Articles accepted for publication must be accompanied by an abstract (roughly 150 words) as well as a biographical sketch of the author (no more than 75 words).

Article Selection and Copyright

Submissions are evaluated by the editors of *Historical Studies* and by board-selected external readers. The editors decide whether to publish, reject or request a revision of each article. In cases of conditional selection, the editors will communicate with the author to insure that the conditions for publication are fulfilled. The editors reserve the right to reject articles that, although acceptable in terms of content, will require in their estimation too much revision in order to meet publication deadlines.

Authors whose work has been accepted for publication in *Historical Studies* assign to the Canadian Catholic Historical Association the exclusive copyright for countries as defined in section 3 of the Copyright Act to the contribution in its published form. The CCHA, in turn, grants the author the right of republication in any book of which the author is the exclusive author or editor, subject only to the author giving proper credit to the original publication in *Historical Studies*.

2. Submission Format

As the journal does not possess a secretarial office, we thank you in advance for meeting the following conditions *exactly* so as to help us reduce printing costs and speed up the publication process. The editors reserve the right to reject manuscripts that stray too far from the following formatting rules.

Reminder: Texts must not exceed 25 pages, notes included.

Texts should be formatted for standard dimensions (8.5 × 11). Long quotations and notes should all be **single-spaced** within the text. The first page of the manuscript should contain the title of the article followed by the author's name.

Text should appear in New Times Roman 12 font, with 9 font in the footnotes.

Titles, Tables, Figures and Illustrations

Historical Studies does not normally publish articles with subtitles. All tables, graphics, figures and illustrations should be referred to in the body of the text. They should be numbered in Arabic numerals and include an appropriate title or key. Notes on the source, if any, should follow immediately. Maps (vector processing software), graphics (e.g., Lotus and Excel spreadsheets) and tables (spreadsheet or word processing software) must all be submitted in electronic format.

Photographs must be submitted as jpeg files, and include captions, credits and permissions where appropriate.

Capitalization, Parentheses, Abbreviations, Dates and Spacing

Texts should make as little use as possible of capitalization, parentheses and abbreviations.

Centuries should be indicated in written form (i.e. "nineteenth century").

In text references and footnotes, dates should be indicated as follows: day, month, and year (i.e. 1 April 1966).

Paragraphs should be preceded and followed by a 6-point spacing. Make sure to indent the first line of each paragraph. The period ending each sentence should be followed by one space.

Italics

The use of italics should be reserved for foreign-language terms and titles of books and periodicals.

Quotations

Authors should endeavour to avoid excessively lengthy quotations (more than ten lines). Quotations of more than three typed lines should be placed as a separate paragraph with a five-space indent on the left, no indent on the right and without quotation marks. Omissions or cuts within quotations are indicated by bracketed suspension points [...].

Notes

Historical Studies employs footnotes for the purpose of referencing. Superscript numbers in-text should be offered sequentially in the paper, and should be placed immediately following punctuation marks. Notes and references should be single-spaced and appear at the bottom of each page.

Bibliographical information should be provided in full when books and articles are first cited. Afterwards, only the name of the author, the first few words of the title and the page number need be mentioned. Never use *op. cit.* *Ibid.* is used only when the previous reference is immediately repeated.

Here are some examples:

Books

Robert Choquette, *Language and Religion : A History of French-English Conflict in Ontario*, (Ottawa : University of Ottawa Press, 1975), 161-247.

For subsequent references : Choquette, *Language and Religion*, 9-43.

Edited book

Paul Bramadat and David Seljak, (eds.), *Christianity and Ethnicity in Canada*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008).

Article in book

Mark McGowan, "Roman Catholics (Anglophone and Allophone)," in Paul Bramadat and David Seljak, (eds.), *Christianity and Ethnicity in Canada*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 49-100.

Journal Articles

Elizabeth Smyth, "Congregavit Nos In Unum Christi Amor: The Congregation of the Sisters of St. Joseph in the Archdiocese of Toronto, 1851-1920," *Ontario History*, 84, no. 3 (1992): 230-233.

Archival

St. Francis Xavier University Archives (hereafter STFXUA), Extension Department Papers (hereafter EDP), Moses M. Coady to R.J. MacSween, 24 March 1953, RG 30-2/1/2963.

Dissertation

Heidi MacDonald, "The Sisters of St. Martha and Prince Edward Island Social Institutions, 1916-1982," (Ph.D. diss., University of New Brunswick, 2000), 10-12.

Web Site

Author's name, title of publication, date of publication, <url>, and date accessed.

For example: William Lyon Mackenzie King Papers, MG 26J, Series 13, Diary entry for 10 June 1940, <http://king.collectionscanada.ca>, accessed on 20 June 2005.