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Correspondence relating to editorial matters should be addressed to:
Peter Ludlow: ludlowp@gmail.com

Correspondence relating to book reviews should be addressed to:
Patrick Mannion: P.Mannion@ed.ac.uk

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

Katelyn Arac is doctoral candidate in history at Queen's University. Her work focuses predominantly on Canadian immigration and legal history. Specifically, her dissertation looks at the immigration of war criminals into Canada after the Second World War and how reactions to their entry have shaped the national project. Her other research interests include human rights, Indigenous studies, law and justice, and transnational histories.

Luca Codignola is Adjunct Professor at Saint Mary's University and Senior Fellow at the Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism of the University of Notre Dame. His latest books are *Little Do We Know: History and Historians of the North Atlantic, 1492-2010 (2011), and Blurred Nationalities Across the North Atlantic: Traders, Priests, and Their Kin Travelling Between North America and the Italian Peninsula, 1763-1846 (2019).*

Patricia E. Roy, a former editor of *Historical Studies*, is professor emeritus of History at the University of Victoria. Her research and writing has been mainly in the field of British Columbia history. Her most recent book is *The Collectors: a History of the Royal British Columbia Museum and Archives* (2018).

Henry Wostenberg received an AB in Secondary Education (History) from the University of Northern Colorado in 1965, and holds a Certificate of Religious Education from Newman Theological College of Edmonton. He taught secondary social studies at St. Mary's Blood Indian School near Cardston, Alberta, before being conscripted into the U.S. Army. Resuming his teaching career in 1969 with the Canadian Department of Indian Affairs in Alberta, he taught on the Peigan and Hobbema reserves, then with the Red Deer Separate School District until his retirement in 1999. Currently, he is editing his manuscript entitled, *The Tinchebray Mission to Central Alberta, 1904 to 1924.* The journal, *Alberta History*, has published four of the author's articles on the subject of the Tinchebray Fathers.

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Editors' Foreword

With this issue, much of it edited in isolation during a global pandemic that is itself historic, I bring to a close my editorship of *Historical Studies.* It has been an education, and a humbling experience. If the academic, like the proverbial specialist, "knows more and more about less and less until they know everything about nothing," being editor of this journal has taught me that there are many, many things I do not know even about that "less and less." The lesson has made me more reliant even than Blanche Dubois "on the kindness of strangers." Without shared scholarship there can be no journal, but shared scholarship encompasses far more than just our valued contributors. It includes my erstwhile interim associate editor, Rankin Sherling, book review editor Fred McEvoy, the volunteer members of our editorial board, and two under-appreciated academic groups: our book reviewers, who filter new publications for us, and our peer reviewers, who lend their expertise to assess submissions. It may take a village to raise a child, but it takes a scholarly village to raise a journal. Thank you, villagers.

At John F. Kennedy's inauguration, he famously proclaimed that "the torch has been passed to a new generation." So it is with *Historical Studies*. The new generation includes Dr. Peter Ludlow, who takes over as editor, and Dr. Colin Barr, the incoming associate editor. They are uniquely qualified to take on this challenge. Aside from their impressive scholarship, they believe deeply in the importance of our journal to the CCHA and to its legacy. They have plans for *Historical Studies*, intentions that I think will make it a stronger, more flexible, more impactful forum for sharing Canadian Catholic scholarship. They will have more to tell—and show—about this in the next issue.

As for the current incarnation of *Historical Studies*, it begins to break the ground that the new editors hope to sow. Of its four offerings, two, Henry Wostenberg's account of the francophone Tinchebray Fathers in an anglicizing Alberta and Patricia Roy's saga of Catholic education at a resolutely secular University of British Columbia, are standard HS fare. But the other two, Katelyn Arac's re-consideration of how Kateri Tekakwitha, "the Mohawk Saint," has been depicted by her biographers and Luca Codignola's career-spanning review of the work of Canadian Catholic historian Roberto Perin, are more historiographical in scope. This is a departure, but, I hope, a welcome one.

I would like to part from you with two special thank yous. First, with this issue Fred McEvoy concludes his lengthy tenure as book review editor

for, first, our newsletter, and then *Historical Studies*. In matching books to reviewers the courtship is actually conducted by the the review editor, who flatters and persuades, then cajoles and coaxes until the review is in hand. Fred has been an absolute pleasure to work with: stalwart, steady—and occasionally impish. I'm sure he joins with me in welcoming his successor, Dr. Patrick Mannion.

The second thank you is to Father Edward Jackman and Valerie Burke of the CCHA's permanent Secretariat. Over the past several years, I have observed with growing dismay the trend in academic journals towards a pay-as-you-go system. Not only must prospective authors run the usual gauntlet of peer review, but, if successful, they must then pay a fee before being published. The same journals typically then charge ever higher sums for university libraries to acquire access to them. In their defense, the journals plead necessity: the expense of processing submissions from an ever-growing number of academics who must publish or perish, the cost of professional copy-editing (in some cases), the ongoing demands of design and layout, online presence, printing and distribution. Whether or not these escalating charges have more to do with the escalating corporatization of scholarly publication than the cost of scholarship, I leave to the industry analysts. I only say that it is unconscionable. That our Association is spared such choices is entirely due to the ongoing financial support of the Jackman Foundation and the sterling efforts of our Secretariat. Valerie and Father Ed devote many hours to dealing with subscriptions, communicating with the printers, and distributing each issue of the journal once it comes out. For history to fulfill its purpose, furthering our understanding of how present and past intersect, it must be able to communicate its content. The Jackman Foundation and the CCHA Secretariat make that possible, and in making it possible they save the editors from many unhappy choices. So, thank you, thank you both.

And now, thank you all.

Edward MacDonald
Editor

CCHA *Historical Studies*, 86 (2020), 7-24

The Church Triumphant: Roberto Perin's View from Rome

Luca CODIGNOLA

Abstract*: This review article examines all of Roberto Perin's publications in the field of Catholic history (1977-2019). The French-Canadian church, French-Canadian nationalism, and Rome's role emerge as his main objects of interest. Perin's originality consists in his sympathetic view of the late nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century French-Canadian ultramontane church leaders and in his systematic use of Roman sources. In Perin's interpretive framework, three elements are of crucial significance. The first is the vital role played by the Catholic Church in expressing and protecting the French-Canadian distinctiveness. The second element is Ultramontanism, which Perin views as an attempt to entrench French-Canadian minority rights in the province of Québec and in the rest of Canada, as guaranteed by the British North America Act (1867). The third is Rome's role. This was of such significance, Perin maintains, that it is appropriate to describe Rome as the "third metropolis of Canada." In the end this role proved to be disastrous, in that by favouring the more compromising faction of the French-Canadian clergy against the Ultramontanes, in the end the Holy See alienated the French-Canadian clergy, favoured the extinction of the Catholics' religious and linguistic rights in the Canadian West, and decisively eroded French-Canadian and Catholic rights in Canada. Throughout his writings, Perin's own personality has played a decisive role. First, in his courageous choice of the church as his topic of research in the midst of the Quiet Revolution. Second, in his appreciation of the firm morality of his ultramontane protagonists, as opposed to the more compromising attitudes of their opponents. Third, in the unwavering consistency of his interpretation; the few changes in his vocabulary mainly reflect his attention to current events, but do not alter its substance.*

Resumé : *Cet article fait le bilan de toutes les publications de Roberto Perin dans le domaine de l'histoire catholique (1977-2019). L'église franco-canadienne, le nationalisme franco-canadien, et le rôle de Rome émergent comme les objets principaux de son intérêt. L'originalité de Perin tient à son point de vue compatissant par rapport aux chefs de file de l'église ultramontaine franco-canadienne de la fin du dix-neuvième et du début du vingtième siècles, et son emploi systématique de sources romaines. Dans la théorie de Perin, on compte trois éléments de signification primordiale. Le premier est le rôle crucial joué par l'église catholique dans l'expression*

et la protection d'une différence franco-canadienne. Le second élément est l'ultramontanisme, que Perin voit comme une tentative d'entériner les droits minoritaires franco-canadiens dans la province du Québec et dans le reste du Canada, tels que garantis par l'Acte de l'Amérique du Nord britannique (1867). Le troisième est le rôle de Rome. Celui-ci était d'une telle importance, selon Perin, qu'il convient de décrire Rome comme « la troisième métropole du Canada ». Ce dernier élément est significatif, soutient Perin, mais aussi désastreux, puisqu'en favorisant la faction plus souple du clergé franco-canadien contre les ultramontains, le Saint-Siège aliéna en fin de compte le clergé franco-canadien, promut l'extinction des droits religieux et linguistiques des Catholiques dans l'Ouest canadien, et mina de façon décisive les droits des franco-canadiens et des Catholiques dans tout le Canada. Dans tous ses écrits, la personnalité de Perin joue un rôle décisif. En premier lieu, par son choix courageux de l'église comme sujet de recherche pendant la Révolution tranquille. En deuxième lieu, par son appréciation de la moralité solide de ses protagonistes ultramontains, à la différence des attitudes plus souples de leurs adversaires. En troisième lieu, par la constance inébranlable de son interprétation, qui va au-delà de quelques changements de vocabulaire, et qui reflètent surtout l'attention qu'il fait à certains événements d'actualité, mais qui ne modifient en rien sa substance.

* * * * *

As early as 1977, when he published his first article in the first issue of the official publication of the British Association for Canadian Studies, Roberto Perin addressed two of the three issues that have been central to his publications on the history of the Catholic church in the years to follow, namely, nationalism and the French-Canadian church in the nineteenth century.[1] The third issue, the role of Rome, had already been a fundamental element of his doctoral dissertation, defended two years earlier at the University of Ottawa (1975).[2] The dissertation was never published as such, although it formed the core of Perin's latest book on the Catholic Church,

1. In 1975-77 Roberto Perin taught at the University of Edinburgh, where he remained until he accepted a position at York University in 1977. An earlier version of this article was read at the conference "Identity, Community and Diversity: A Conference in Honour of Roberto Perin," organized by Glendon College of York University, Toronto, Ontario on 27 September 2019). Except where otherwise noted, all publications mentioned are Perin's.

2. *Bourget and the Dream* (1975): in spite of its length, the dissertation was chronologically limited to the 1860s—the decade of Canadian Confederation, Italian unification, and the American Civil War; "Nationalism and the Church" (1977): this was an edited version of the paper Perin read at the First Annual Conference of the British Association for Canadian Studies, which had taken place in Birmingham, in England, on 7-9 April 1976.

a full-length biography of Ignace Bourget (2008), who was the bishop of Montréal for thirty-six years in the mid-nineteenth century.[3]

Between 1977 and 2019 Perin authored some forty publications in the field of Catholic history—two principal books, a magisterial synthesis co-authored with Canadian historian Terrence Murphy, a number of research articles and chapters, as well as five lengthy entries for the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* and several shorter entries for other reference works. In the early 1980s Perin added ethnic and migration history to the scope of his interests, so that in some of his later writings (which will not be touched on in this article), these new elements overlap with—but also move away from—his initial interest in Catholic history. Taken as a whole, Perin's writings strike the reader for the originality of his research, the consistency of his perspective, and the moral stance that permeates his portrayals of those nineteenth-century characters, mainly members of the upper echelons of the French-Canadian church that he had come to know so well and respect so much during the decades he devoted to them.

* * * * *

Perin's research is original on two counts. The first is his systematic exploration of Roman sources, which he has used alongside Canadian archives, such as, among others, the Archives of the Archdiocese of Montréal. As early as 1971--72, on his own impulse and before the final framing of his doctoral dissertation, he had spent a year in Rome in order to work at the archives of the Sacred Congregation *de Propaganda Fide*, which was until 1908 the Holy See's department in charge of missions, including Canada. He was not the first Canadian historian to do so. Indeed, a number of French-Canadian historians had used the Roman archives in the past, from Étienne-Michel Faillon (1800-70) in the mid-nineteenth century to Lucien Lemieux and the Jesuit Lucien Campeau (1914-2003) in the mid-twentieth century. These, however, were mostly priest-historians whose interpretive angle originated from within the church itself and who were mostly interested in the early days of the Canadian church.[4] On the contrary, Perin

3. *Ignace de Montréal* (2008).

4. For an overview of Canadian and American historians who had made use of the Roman archives, see Luca Codignola, *Guide to Documents Relating to French and British North America in the Archives of the Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide" in Rome, 1622-1799* (Ottawa: National Archives of Canada, 1991), 40-61; Codignola and Matteo Sanfilippo, "Archivistes, historiens et archives romaines," in *L'Amérique du Nord française dans les archives religieuses de Rome 1600-1922: Guide de recherche*, ed. Pierre Hurtubise, Codignola, and Fernand Harvey (Québec: Éditions de l'IQRC and Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1999), 29-52, revised as "Des Canadiens à Rome à la recherche de leurs racines ?," in Codignola, *Little Do We Know: History and Historians*

brought to his Roman research the perspective of a lay historian—actually the perspective of a historian who was somewhat critical of the Holy See's role in the development of French-Canadian Catholicism. Furthermore, whereas Lemieux, the more "modern" of the group, had started off with an institutional approach and had not gone further than the 1840s, Perin had begun where Lemieux ended, that is, in the years of Pius IX in Rome and of Bourget in Canada, a period that is usually referred to as the triumph of the ultramontane church.

Perin's first visit to Rome, and those that followed over many years, made him experience—and better understand—the feelings his ultramontane priests had experienced a century earlier: "In the antechamber of power they discovered the importance of patience, perseverance, concise argument, quick rebuttal, and gratuities …. These agents also learned not to rely on the good words of Vatican officialdom who, it is well known, liked to please. They had to persist, even at the risk of importuning people, knocking often at the same door, constantly repeating the same arguments, and seizing upon chance encounters to make their point."[5] In the same fashion, twenty-three-year-old Perin, "a dû, tel que [Mgr] Bourget, perfectionner l'art de la diplomatie, de la patience, du silence même, afin de naviguer … sur les méandres de la bureaucratie vaticane."[6]

As for his historiographical approach, he described his first book, *Rome in Canada* (1990), as "partly institutional and partly intellectual history."[7] In fact, this binary description does not do real justice to the contents of the book. Should we not describe this approach as "prosopographical" (that is, investigating the common features of a group of historical individuals) instead of "institutional"? Perin admits that "personalities … as much as the issues" played a major role in historical developments. In fact, rather than institutional developments, what Perin was really looking for in the Roman documents was the intricate web of personal relations and background features that connected – and, more often than not, pitted one against the other in their "litiges"[8]—the protagonists of Catholic history on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean.[9]

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of the North Atlantic, 1492-2010, ed. Matteo Binasco (Cagliari: CNR-ISEM, 2011), 179-217; Codignola and Sanfilippo, "A Key Tool for the Study of American Catholicism," in Binasco, *Roman Sources for the History of American Catholicism, 1763-1939*, ed. Kathleen Sprows Cummings (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2018), 1-23.

5. *Rome in Canada* (1990), 42; also "Nationalism (1977): 35; "Rapporti" (1985): 75.
6. *Ignace de Montréal* (2008), 20.
7. *Rome in Canada* (1990), 7.
8. "Pierre Savard" (2002): 33.
9. "Rome as Metropolis" (1991): 30.

As for intellectual history, the "limelight of public discussion"—an element that usually characterizes that historiographical approach—is not among the main motivations that brought Perin to the Roman archives. On the contrary, he wanted to "prob[e] behind the scenes," to search for opinions "such as might be expressed in private correspondence,"[10] and to investigate conflicts that took place behind the closed doors of the Holy See. For example, one of his main characters, Bishop Bourget, a "man of action who had little patience with delay and subtle thinking,"[11] never offered an "exposition systématique" of his nationalist and ultramontane ideology.[12] Consequently, his thoughts and actions, together with his exchanges with the Roman bureaucrats, are to be found not in his printed writings or public discussions, but rather, in the voluminous manuscript papers he left behind. These papers could only be exploited through painstaking archival sifting and intellectual assessment. Evidently enough, in the early 1970s Perin was hoping to find in Rome the "untapped"[13] evidence that he later used for his first book and that he continued to find and use in the years to follow.

The second aspect of Perin's originality is his sympathetic view of the French-Canadian ultramontanes, an attitude that, in his own words, is now only shared by "intégristes catholiques"[14] (that is, the most rigid and doctrinarian representatives of the Catholic church). In an era that was dominated by "les analyses marxistes orthodoxes du passé," when all—liberal, nationalist, and Marxian historians—"[held] the church responsible for the deficiencies of French-Canadians as a North American people," Perin had instead developed "un goût assez particulier pour les ultramontains." He found himself in good company, however. When he returned from Rome in September 1972, he discovered that Pierre Savard (1936-98), a young professor at the University of Ottawa, who was only twelve years older than him, shared his curiosity about the ultramontanes and emphasized their popular appeal and dimension.[15] (Neither, one must immediately add, could be accused of Catholic integrism.) Over cups of cappuccino or Italian coffee,[16] Savard introduced Perin to his ultramontane priests "comme s'ils avaient été ses amis intimes."[17] They agreed that those men valued and protected their national culture, but, at the same time, they were also part

10. "Clerics and Constitution" (1989): 34.
11. *Ibid.*: 35.
12. *Ignace de Montréal* (2008), 21.
13. *Rome in Canada* (1990), 8.
14. *Ignace de Montréal* (2008), 17.
15. "Pierre Savard" (2002): 33 (quotations); "Rome as Metropolis" (1991): 2.
16. "Pierre Savard" (1999): 3; "Pierre Savard" (2002): 33.
17. "Pierre Savard" (2002): 34.

of an international and "formidable culture universelle."[18] Savard also introduced Perin to the process of Romanization that was taking place in the Québec church under Bourget's inspiration.[19] Savard and Perin also shared the view that the ultramontanes of the nineteenth century and the members of the recently-founded Parti Québécois shared a number of psychological features, such as "un goût prononcé pour le dogmatisme et l'intolerance" and "un profond attachement à leur culture."[20]

Quite naturally, Savard accepted to supervise Perin's doctoral dissertation on Bourget, the quintessential ultramontane, and convinced him to make the most of the Rome documents that he had uncovered. Perin, who had already been captivated by Rome, "centre de pouvoir politique et de génie artistique, symbiose parfaite du spirituel et du matériel,"[21] needed little prompting. The dissertation was completed and defended in 1975.[22] When it became a book, thirty-three years later, Perin dedicated it to the late Savard, "fureteur d'ultramontains."[23]

* * * * *

Perin's writings also show a consistency of perspective that he solidified through his constant research, and did not substantially alter over the years, despite the increase in basic documentation, new historiographical fashions, or changes in the political atmosphere. The three main tenets of his interpretive framework are Anglo-Saxon oppression, French-Canadian Ultramontanism, and the role of the Holy See.

First of all, his writings portray an overwhelming, and ever growing, presence of a dominant "Anglo-Saxon" culture. This somewhat old-fashioned (and historically incorrect) term includes all post-Conquest (1760) and especially post-Union (1841) English-speaking and Gaelic-speaking Canadians of English, Scottish, or Irish origin, be they Catholic or Protestant, Conservative or Liberals. Perin has little good to say about these non-

18. *Ibid*. On Pierre Savard and his fascination with Italian culture, see Codignola, "Pierre Savard et l'Italie," in *Constructions identitaires et pratiques sociales. Actes du colloque en hommage à Pierre Savard tenu à l'Université d'Ottawa les 4, 5, 6 octobre 2000*, ed. Jean-Pierre Wallot, Pierre Lanthier, and Hubert Watelet (Ottawa: Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa and Centre de Recherche en Civilisation Canadienne-Française, 2002), 361-376, revised in Codignola, *Little Do We Know*, 107-127.

19. "Clercs et politiques" (1980): 173. The reference is to Savard, "La vie du clergé québécois au XIXe siècle," *Recherches sociographiques*, 8, no. 3 (1967): 259-273. The idea of Romanization is already in "Nationalism" (1977): 30, 37.

20. "Pierre Savard" (2002): 34 (quotations).

21. Ibid.: 33.

22. *Ibid*.: 34.

23. *Ignace de Montréal* (2008), 7.

French-speaking Canadians and never hints at the harsh history of Catholic oppression within a Protestant British Empire. These "Anglo-Saxons" are usually depicted as smug chauvinists, determined to protect their ascendancy, aggressive nationalists who "sought to fashion a nation out of [their] own likeness," scheming politicians constantly harassing the French-Canadian church and exploiting its divisions in order better to suppress it.[24] Yet Perin's critique must not be construed as nationalistic hostility towards all who were not of French-Canadian descent. Rather, his critique is aimed at all political and religious leaders who opposed or tried to silence the open expression of an autonomous French-Canadian culture.[25] In fact, in Perin's opinion, Liberal Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier (1841—1919) was particularly prominent in this regard, and so were his numerous and vociferous friends and political allies. They included almost all ecclesiastical leaders of non-French-Canadian descent, but also several French-Canadian prelates, such as Elzéar-Alexandre Taschereau (1820-98), the Oblate Alexandre-Antonin Taché (1823-94), and Louis-Nazaire Bégin (1840-1925), who had unwisely put their faith in the Confederation compact and had overestimated the politicians' loyalty.[26] In the early days, neither *Patriote* leader Louis-Joseph Papineau (1786-1871), before the Rebellions of 1837-8, nor the Parti Rouge after that, had managed to protect the colonial Catholic church against British harassment.[27] In fact, only Bishop Joseph-Octave Plessis (1763-1825), "by proclaiming its total loyalty to Britain,"[28] had somehow succeeded in laying the foundations of "the triumph of Ultramontanism"[29] on which Bishop Bourget was later able to stand.[30] Plessis and Bourget, distant in time as they were, rejoiced at the realization that no other country in the world had been so favoured by Providence than "notre Canada, puisqu'il est encore en droit de jouir de toutes les libertés religieuses et civiles."[31]

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24. "Troppo Ardenti" (1980): 303 (quotation); *ibid.*, 302; "St-Bourget" (1980-1): 53; "La raison" (1983): 117; "'Una furia" (1994): 62; "Langevin" (1998): 600-601 ("smug assertions," smugness); "Papineau" (2003); "Gavazzi Riots" (2004): 254; "Bégin" (2005): 72; "Rome, les relations" (2013): 185.

25. "Bégin," 72.

26. "Taché" (2004); "Bégin" (2005).

27. "Rapporti" (1985): 80; "Papineau" (2003). Perin has no sympathy whatsoever for the *Rouges*, whose policies he described as "ambiguous and idealistic," "artisans of their own downfall" in that their only solution was annexation to the United States ("Nationalism" [1977]: 28, 31).

28. "Plessis" (2003).

29. *Ibid.*

30. "Troppo Ardenti" (1980): 304.

31. "St-Bourget" (1980-1): 44.

And yet this apparently unrestrainable British ascendancy, in Perin's words, "se heurta au Canada à la lutte des ethnies."[32] Ethnic conflict took place throughout British North America. It mainly consisted in an asymmetrical opposition of English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians in an international context of institutional dependence on London and Rome. It was at this time that French-Canadians found a way to express their distinctiveness, particularly so in the province of Québec. In this crucial process, in his opinion, "the Catholic church played a vital part,"[33] in that it provided French-Canadians with an ideology and a vehicle that stitched together all the main elements of their distinctiveness: their language, their laws, and their national sentiment.[34] Such a distinctiveness is indeed the first element in Perin's interpretive framework. The Québec church was "la seule à avoir une vision cohérente de la place des catholiques au sein de la Confédération."[35] Yet historians born in the secularizing age that immediately followed the Second Vatican Council (1962-5) and the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s[36] have focused on only one of these three elements. In doing so, Perin maintains, they have forgotten that in the nineteenth century people mainly expressed themselves through a religious idiom, acknowledged the centrality of the church in society, and made religion an instrument of "rassemblement."[37] In the case of Bourget, the natural leader of the French-Canadian church,[38] whose popular influence had "triggered the institutional revolution that lasted until the Quiet Revolution and made Québec unique in North America,"[39] it is then the historian's duty to decipher his religious idiom "to discern its true meaning."[40]

French-Canadian Catholicism was thoroughly ultramontane, and Ultramontanism is the second element in Perin's interpretive framework. The main idea behind Ultramontanism—which was the main intellectual push that had sent him all the way to Rome as a young student—was to recreate a Catholic community based on strict Catholic precepts and on an idealized reproduction of Roman ways. Far from being "a bid for theocratic

32. *Ibid.*: 53. On the relationship between ethnic conflict and immigration, see also *Immigrants' Church* (1998).

33. "French-Speaking Canada" (1996): 257.

34. "Clerics and Constitution" (1989): 36-38; "French-Speaking Canada" (1996): 197; "Elaborating a Public Culture" (2001): 92.

35. "Rome, les relations" (2013): 194.

36. "Clerics and Constitution" (1989): 34; *Rome in Canada* (1990), 9; "Rome as Metropolis" (1991): 29;"Elaborating a Public Culture" (2001): 88.

37. "Ultramontanisme et modernité" (2002): 319 (quotation); also "Clerics and Constitution" (1989): 35-36; "Rome as Metropolis" (1991): 29;"French-Speaking Canada" (1996): 258.

38. "Clerics and Constitution" (1989): 36.

39. "Bourget" (2004): 82 (quotation); also, "Clerics and Constitution" (1989): 36.

40. "Clerics and Constitution" (1989): 36.

control,"[41] Ultramontanism was an attempt to organize and delimit a French-Canadian public space, especially in the province of Québec, where provincial autonomy allowed the Church to do so.[42] It must be noted that the Québec church never attempted to curtail the rights of the Protestant minority in the province, whereas the Catholics' minority rights outside the province were progressively eroded in spite of their firm entrenchment in the *British North America Act* (1867).[43] According to Perin, Bourget was at the forefront of the ultramontane church, although he never was the idealistic and fanatic Don Quixote that others liked to depict.[44] In fact, that slur had been introduced by the archdiocese of Québec, where Archbishop Taschereau, a man "tormented by indecision"—but not Bégin, his successor—was thoroughly opposed to Bourget's confrontational ways.[45] In describing the ultramontane church, Perin is keen in emphasizing two factors. The first is that the whole of the Québec church fully shared an ultramontane ideology that left little room for Gallicanism or Catholic liberalism, and that in the Pius IX era there never was such a thing as a battle between Church and State in the province, only different opinions on the practical solutions to adopt in the political struggle.[46] The second factor is that, such an overall consensus notwithstanding, the French-Canadian church was far from being a monolith. Its protagonists were deeply divided on "the degree of autonomy that should be enjoyed by the Canadian church, its leaders, and its members, in relation to state structures dominated since 1867 by English-speaking Protestants."[47]

As for the role of the Holy See, the third element of Perin's interpretive framework, his research in Rome transformed his initial curiosity about ultramontanes into the full-fledged thesis of Rome as "third metropolis of Canada." (Paris and London were the other two.)[48] The Holy See's influence over Canadian history had always been significant, but in the nineteenth century the progressive Romanization of the ultramontane Canadian church made this spiritual and institutional relationship even more crucial. This development took place in spite of the fact that, in Rome's diplomatic eyes, Canada played a very minor role within the larger agglomerates of

41. "Elaborating a Public Culture" (2001): 92, 101; also "St-Bourget" (1980-1): 46.

42. "Elaborating a Public Culture" (2001): 92.

43. "Troppo Ardenti" (1980): 303; "St-Bourget" (1980-1): 43; "Pierre Savard" (2002): 34; *Ignace de Montréal* (2008), 266.

44. "St-Bourget" (1980-1): 43, 53. The Don Quixote trope is also used in "Clercs et politiques" (1980): 179, 187.

45. "Bégin" (2005): 73 (quotation); also "Troppo Ardenti" (1980): 300; "La raison" (1983): 100.

46. "Nationalism" (1977): 34; "Clercs et politiques" (1980): 171, 173, 186, 189.

47. "Nationalism" (1977): 35; "Bégin" (2005): 72 (quotation).

48. *Rome in Canada* (1990), 7; "Rome as Metropolis" (1991).

the British Empire and the North American continent.[49] On the one hand, Canada's role within the British Empire favoured the Roman bureaucrats' erroneous tendency to equate Ireland and French Canada. Yet equal they were not. French Canada's real challenge was not to achieve Catholic emancipation, but to protect and guarantee what had long and satisfactorily been entrenched in law.[50] On the other hand, increasing migrations and the growing international stature of the United States convinced the Holy See that North America was destined to be an English-speaking continent in which English would have been the language of its conversion.[51] Consequently, Rome refused the French-Canadian concept of "langue gardienne de la foi" and in the end it pragmatically applied the criterion of territoriality in allocating ethnic jurisdictions—a criterion modified, where necessary, by the creation of ethnic parishes.[52] In this way, Perin explains, the Holy See fully espoused an "Anglo-Saxon perspective,"[53] which made it scold the French-Canadian clergy whenever these, with their self-interested and inward-looking attitudes, hindered the progress of Catholicism in the rest of North America.[54]

Fearing that accusations of clerical interference might provoke a Protestant backlash in the British Empire or in North America,[55] Holy See bureaucrats favoured a "form of discreet Catholicism"[56] and a style of quiet diplomacy,[57] conducted as much as possible on a person-to-person basis "in the ante-chambers of power without public scrutiny and comment."[58] In Canada, this attitude went along with the compromising attitude personified by the "obdurate procrastinating manner" of Archbishop Taschereau;[59] the Sulpicians' "obsessive fear of offending the British";[60] the "smug assertions"—in Perin's words—of the English-language prelates;[61] and the

49. "Rome, les relations" (2013): 185.

50. "Troppo Ardenti" (1980): 296, 303. Although Perin's does not specify it, this legal entrenchment could be dated back to four fundamental documents: the Articles of Capitulation of Québec (18 September 1759), the Articles of Capitulation of Montréal (8 September 1760), the Treaty of Paris (10 February 1763), and the *Quebec Act* (22 June 1774). All these documents are published in *Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada 1759-1791. Second and Revised Edition*, ed. Thomas Shortt and Arthur George Doughty (Ottawa: J. de L. Taché, 1918), I: 1-36, 91-163, 570-576 (the earlier edition of vol. I, published in 1907, is less reliable than the 1918 edition).

51. "La raison" (1983): 116.

52. "Rome, les relations" (2013): 193.

53. *Rome in Canada* (1990), 227.

54. "La raison" (1983): 116-117; "Bégin" (2005): 74-75.

55. "Troppo Ardenti" (1980): 284; "La raison" (1983): 100.

56. "Elaborating a Public Culture" (2001): 19.

57. "Ultramontanism" (2004): 628.

58. "Troppo Ardenti" (1980): 304 (quotation); also 303.

59. "Duhamel" (1994), 299 (quotation); also "Rome, les relations" (2013): 186.

60. "Elaborating a Public Culture" (2001): 91.

61. "Langevin" (1998): 600.

Liberal politicians' "aspirations for a submissive church."[62] Consequently, Rome lashed out against French-Canadian Catholics leaders who, mixing "religion, politics, and ethnic interests,"[63] made it more difficult to negotiate ecclesiastical advantages. Bourget and his ultramontane friends were, of course, at the forefront of this "intemperate"[64] cohort. Interestingly enough, Perin so explains the atypical attitudes of the Apostolic Delegates, the Flemish Cistercian Henri Smeulders (1826-92) and the Polish Miecislaus Cardinal Ledóchowsky (1822-1902): these prelates did not condemn the French-Canadians' all too frequent interference in national politics on account of their own personal origin in "minority cultures struggling for survival." Ledóchowsky had, in fact, unsuccessfully advocated religious instruction in his native Polish language under Bismarckian Prussia, just like French-Canadian Manitobans were then doing in their own province.[65]

In conclusion, Perin shows that the relationship between the Holy See and the Canadian church did indeed matter. He also contends that Rome's influence was thoroughly negative—"néfaste" is the words he employs.[66] By sharing the so-called "Anglo-Saxon perspective" and supporting Archbishop Taschereau, the Holy See unwittingly broke the church's institutional continuity between Bourget and Bégin;[67] hampered the efforts of French-Canadian bishops;[68] alienated the French-Canadian clergy, who felt oppressed by their political leaders and abandoned by Rome;[69] and favoured the extinction of the Catholics' religious and linguistic rights in the Canadian West,[70] as well as "the erosion of French and Catholic rights" in Canada.[71] Ultimately, in Perin's words, the Holy See "contributed to the triumph of the Anglo-Protestant chauvinist vision."[72] Given its own overall vision of North America as an English-speaking continent, one is left to wonder whether for the Holy See the sacrifice of the French-Canadian Catholic community was not the explicit price it could afford to pay in view of a greater good.

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62. "Troppo Ardenti" (1980): 302.
63. "Bégin" (2005): 73.
64. "Troppo Ardenti" (1980): 302.
65. *Rome in Canada* (1990): 69 (quotation); also *ibid.*, 226; "Una furia" (1994): 53; "Rome, les relations" (2013): 192.
66. "La raison" (1983): 100.
67. *Ibid.*
68. "French-Speaking Canada" (1996): 223.
69. "La raison" (1983): 117.
70. *Ibid.*, 100.
71. "French-Speaking Canada" (1996).
72. "Una furia" (1994): 62.

A review of Perin's writings also confirms the firm moral stance through which he passes judgment on the persons of the past as living members of the human community of all times. They can be condoned for their errors of judgment, but must be called to task for their moral failings. Except for Bourget, Louis-François Richer, *dit* Laflêche (1818-98), of Trois-Rivières, the Oblate Louis-Philippe-Adélard Langevin (1855-1915) of Saint-Boniface, and very few others, most ecclesiastical leaders, with Rome's full agreement, adopted the view that the conversion of the Protestant world "would be effected by emulating, not fighting them, indeed by surpassing them in their own strength and so winning their admiration." This attitude, in Perin's opinion, shows a "mentality typical of minority groups, with their delusions of grandeur founded on what are perceived to be the majority culture's qualities."[73]

Indeed, Perin is contemptuous of those English-speaking politicians "qui croyaient pouvoir tout accaparer ou récupérer avec le patronage et l'influence;"[74] and of the alleged liberalism of the members of Québec's Institut Canadien. For all their pronouncements on "freedom of thought and expression," not one among the *Institut's* associates had enough courage to say, "Here I stand!"[75] Whereas he lashes out against Archbishop Paul-Napoléon Bruchési (1855-1939), who "cultivated the politically powerful,"[76] Perin praises Bégin for retaining "the modest ways of his humble beginnings" despite "the honours he accumulated in the course of his life,"[77] and Father Albert Lacombe (1827-1916) for holding on to "the simple lifestyle of an early Prairie missionary" throughout his many encounters "with the rich and powerful."[78] As for Bourget, even his many ecclesiastical enemies "recognized his rectitude and purity of purpose."[79] These people were "earnest in a period of public cynicism … men of conviction amidst sordid compromises … informed by a generous sense of practical tolerance and accommodation," which, "allied with a strong sense of identity, is perhaps their more lasting legacy."[80]

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Almost half a century – 1977—2019 – has gone by between Perin's first and last publication that can be directly attributed to the field of the

73. *Rome in Canada* (1990): 227.
74. "Clercs et politiques" (1980): 189 (quotation): 190.
75. *Ibid.*, 10 (quotation); "Rome as Metropolis" (1991): 30; also "French-Speaking Canada" (1996): 225.
76. "Bruchési" (2004): 93.
77. "Bégin" (2005): 76.
78. "Lacombe" (2004).
79. "Clerics and Constitution" (1989): 35.
80. *Rome in Canada* (1990): 10.

history of the Catholic Church. He began his career at a time of mounting nationalisms—both in Québec and in Canada—and later witnessed a new, overall trend towards multi-ethnicity and diversity. Raised in a family of multiple Italian origins, he was educated as a francophone in Montréal, but then pursued his doctoral studies in bilingual Ottawa and spent all his professional career in anglophone surroundings—except for his years in Rome. *Rome in Canada* (1990) was written in English, *Ignace de Montréal* (2008) in French—the latter completing a quest that he had begun forty-four years earlier with his PhD thesis, written in English (1975).

By and large, reviewers—in French and English – have liked his books,[81] but seemed to experience some uneasiness about placing them, or their author, in a well-defined historiographical context. Was Rome the books' main theme? Or was it the Ultramontanism of the Québec church? Or was it the suppression of minority rights in the Dominion of Canada? Perin's insertion of the Holy See as one of the dominant factors in the history of French Canada was acclaimed by all as an original contribution and as evidence of his scholarship. The other two elements, minority rights and Ultramontanism, were often conflated, but they were not one and the same thing. In Perin's view, minority rights were first and foremost constitutional rights. For several decades after Confederation, minority rights coincided with those of the French-Canadian people. These could not be sold in the name of political compromise. By opposing such a compromise, the ultramontane church was *de facto* upholding the rights of the French-Canadian people.

Perin has never been one who followed the fashions of the times. In the immediate post-Quiet Revolution era, when the new Québec society could not think of a quicker shortcut to emancipation than to dismiss its Catholic heritage entirely, Perin chose to study the Catholic Church. Furthermore, he put forward a reappraisal of its ultramontane leadership as if it were the one and only protector of the French-Canadian nationhood. Had his *Ignace de Montréal* been published immediately after his 1975 thesis had been defended, Perin would have been pilloried as one of the last remnants of the pre-Quiet Revolution obscurantist church both in French and in English. Undoubtedly, he could easily have been accused of never hinting at what, in his ultramontane protagonists, amounted to personal authoritarianism and ideological dogmatism. And yet Perin was not unaware of what was going

81. The only outright negative review seems to be Québec's political scientist René Castonguay's in *Bulletin d'histoire politique*, II, 1-2 (automne 1993): 72. Castonguay accuses Perin of not having pursued a long-term analysis of Canada's "question nationale" and of focusing instead on the "alliance clérico-nationaliste." In conclusion, Castonguay argues, "Perin, en ne faisant ressortir que Rome, manque, à mon avis, complètement le bateau."

on around him. His vocabulary, for example, changed with time. In Perin's writings one notices his use of different words to express concepts that overlapped, qualified, or completed with each other, but whose substance went unchanged. For example, when he wrote that the church was left "as the sole institutional bulwark of French-Canadian culture,"[82] would the meaning of that sentence be altered if the word "nation" were to replace the word "culture"?[83] Is there any real difference between the two words, or do they simply reflect contemporary usages? Furthermore, Perin's emphasis on "minority-majority relations," by which he describes the main motivation behind his 1999 book *Rome in Canada*,[84] seems to reflect the debate on constitutional protections rather than a shift in his main focus. There again, one notes that Perin's use of the concept of Québec as a "distinct society" is chronologically very close to the debates surrounding the Meech Lake and Charlottetown Accords of the late 1980s and early 1990s. In sum, were it to be done, any analysis of Perin's use of words and concepts would prove that he was a keen observer of current political and intellectual debates, but that these did not alter either the overall consistency of his interpretation of historical developments, or his unflinching interest in his main object of reflection, that is, the way the French-Canadian church fought—and eventually lost—its century-long battle for supremacy and survival.

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82. "French-Speaking Canada" (1996): 225.

83. In his first article, Perin uses the word "nation" in a sentence that reflects the spirif of the times: "[T]he Church played a determining, if all too underestimated, role" in the "*survivance de la nation canadienne*" ("Nationalism" [1977]: 29, French and italics in the original).

84. *Rome in Canada* (1990), 9; also "Clerics and Constitution" (1989): 31-32.

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"Something new in Canada": The Coming of Catholics to the University of British Columbia

Patricia E. ROY

Abstract: *From the 1920s to 1952, Catholics sought a presence on the campus of the University of British Columbia (UBC). Their quest throws light on relationships among the church, UBC and the provincial government. This paper's main themes, however, are the determination of the ever optimistic Archbishop William Mark Duke to have a Catholic presence on campus, the support of President Norman MacKenzie of UBC, the lobbying of some laymen, and the diplomacy and scholarly credibility of Father Henry Carr, CSB. Along the way well-known models—a self-standing university or college or a college affiliated with the provincial university—were considered, but the end result was, in Carr's words, "something new in Canada," Catholic priests teaching as regular faculty members in a non-sectarian university.*

Resumé : *À partir des années 1920 jusqu'à 1952, les Catholiques recherchèrent une présence sur le campus de l'University of British Columbia (UBC). Leur quête illumine les rapports entre l'église, l'UBC, et le gouvernement provincial. Dans cet article, il s'agit principalement de la détermination du très optimiste archevêque William Mark Duke d'avoir une présence catholique sur le campus, du soutien apporté par le Président Norman MacKenzie de l'UBC, des sollicitations de certains laïcs, et de la diplomatie et intégrité scolastique du père Henry Carr, CSB. Au fil du temps divers modèles – une université ou un collège indépendants, ou bien un collège affilié à l'université – furent considérés, mais le résultat final était, selon le mot de Carr lui-même, « quelque chose de nouveau au Canada » : des prêtres catholiques faisant partie du corps professoral au sein d'une université non confessionnelle.*

British Columbia has a reputation of being irreligious; the history of the origins of a Catholic presence at the University of British Columbia (UBC) suggests a need to modify this interpretation.[1] The story of how the Catholic

1. Lynne Marks, *Infidels and the Damn Churches: Irreligion in Settler British Columbia* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017) and Tina Block, *The Secular Northwest: Religion and Irreligion in Everyday Postwar Life* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2016). In *Not Quite US: Anti-Catholic Thought in English Canada since 1900* (Montreal and

Church came to UBC suggests that in the first half of the twentieth century, religion, in the form of non-sectarianism, was a factor in provincial life. The quest of Catholics to come to campus throws light on relationships among the church, UBC and the provincial government. This paper's main themes, however, are the determination of the ever optimistic Archbishop William Mark Duke to have a Catholic presence on campus, the support of President Norman MacKenzie of UBC, the lobbying of some laymen, and the diplomacy and scholarly credibility of Father Henry Carr, CSB.[2] Along the way well-known models—a self-standing university or college or a college affiliated with the provincial university—were considered, but the end result was, in Carr's words, "something new in Canada."[3]

The provincial act creating UBC in 1908 declared that it was to be non-sectarian with a provincial monopoly of granting degrees except in theology. When UBC moved to its present campus in 1925, the Anglican and United Churches opened theological colleges on the five-acre parcels that the government set aside for each of the major Christian denominations, including Catholics. *The Monthly Bulletin,* the archdiocesan magazine, which earlier asserted that Protestant universities could not serve the very different "ideas and ideals" of Catholics,[4] predicted that in the future there would be a Newman Hall and dormitories for Catholic students. However, the Newman Club, formed in 1926, met off campus.

In 1928 William Mark Duke came from his native New Brunswick as coadjutor for the ailing Archbishop Timothy Casey. Duke feared that a secular institution could compromise the faith of Catholic students, whose formation extended beyond the classroom, and felt that "the Catholic Church has something substantial to contribute to the well being of the Province."[5] Even before succeeding Casey in 1931, Duke began a quest for a Catholic

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Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019), 12, Kevin Anderson suggests that anti-Catholics elsewhere portrayed British Columbia with its relatively small Catholic population as "an idealized province, escaping from the sectarian divides of Central Canada."

2. I wish to thank Jennifer Sargent, the archivist of the Archdiocese of Vancouver and her predecessor, Jennifer Pecho, for their assistance in making the archdiocesan records available to me.

3. Carr to Communion Breakfast of Medical Guild, 23 March 1956, Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Vancouver (hereafter ARCAV, box 403/10). The standard history of Catholic Higher Education in Canada is Laurence K, Shook, *Catholic Post-Secondary Education in Canada: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1971).

4. *The Monthly Bulletin,* 12 February 1926; Robert F. Phelan K.C., "Our Universities: Some Thoughts on Catholic Educational Needs," *The Monthly Bulletin,* November 1920, 7.

5. Only after Carr assured him that attending summer school for graduate studies would not corrupt teaching sisters, did he permit some sisters to attend UBC. Henry Carr to W.M. Duke, 10 February 1947 and Duke to Carr, 28 February 1947, (hereafter ARCAV, box 403/1). Plan for conference of 14 March 1941,

college. He informed Archbishop Neil McNeil of Toronto (archbishop of Vancouver from 1910-1912) that UBC was anxious to have Catholics take up the land set aside for them. He asked about the Basilian colleges at Toronto and Saskatoon and thought he could get help for either "a straight Catholic College such as St. Joseph's at Memracook [New Brunswick] or St. Francis Xavier at Antigonish or a college in connection with the University." McNeil rightly warned that a "scarcity" of professors and funds meant many years would pass before a college could become part of a university federation. For the present, McNeil suggested only putting a resident chaplain, a chapel, and a Newman Club on the site.[6]

Meanwhile, the English Canadian Jesuits under Provincial Superior Father W.H. Hingston, were considering opening a college in Vancouver.[7] They inquired about leasing the theological college land despite uncertainty about Rome permitting a theological college to affiliate with a university and about UBC allowing a college to provide dormitories for other than theology students. The next year the Jesuits paid $1,000 an acre for 35.5 acres adjacent to the University Endowment Lands and just beyond easy walking distance of the campus.[8] The realtor who sold the land said they had "wonderful plans" for a college, but did not want it publicized.[9] Little more was heard of it in Vancouver.

The Jesuits were not the first to think of a Catholic college in Vancouver. Before UBC moved to its Point Grey campus, Rev. C.E. Evans, the chaplain to the Convent of the Sacred Heart[10] and to UBC students, organized a St. Thomas Aquinas Club with separate branches for male and female students, but with similar goals. While practising the art of public speaking, members would learn how to answer objections made by non-Catholics to "religious truths" and to correct misunderstandings of Catholic history and teaching. Father Evans believed the Club could be "the germ of a future Catholic college." When students found that researching and preparing

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6. Duke to Neil McNeil, 19 February 1930; Duke to E.J. McCorkell, 19 February 1930; McNeil to Duke, 25 February 1930, ARCAV, box 402/10.

7. Terence J. Fay SJ, "The Jesuits and the Catholic University of Canada at Kingston," *Historical Studies,* 58 (1991), 57-77.

8. The land formed a triangle bounded by King Edward Boulevard, 29th Avenue, and Camosun Street.

9. L.G. McPhillips to Rev. W.H. Hingston SJ, 4 November 1930, ARCAV, box 403/7; McPhillips to Duke, 20 November 1930, ARCAV, box 402/10; E.W. Monk to L.G. McPhillips, 30 October 1931, ARCCAV, box 403/8.

10. Several Catholic high schools taught Senior Matriculation, the equivalent of UBC's first year. The Convent of the Sacred Heart at times offered two years of university level instruction. UBC refused automatic transfer credit, but at times allowed individual students to gain such credit. The Sacred Heart saga can be traced through the UBC Senate Minutes. Evans had a M.A. from Cambridge University. Little else is known of him.

speeches for Club meetings was a burden on top of their regular university work, Evans arranged for the Franciscans to offer lectures every Friday afternoon on Christian Doctrine and "'difficulties' for young Catholics attending a non-Catholic educational centre" at their chapel. That programme too appears to have been short-lived.[11]

In an undated draft, however, Evans outlined his ultimate goal, a college to "protect and fortify our Catholic students against the secularist and non-religious influences of a Western University." All Catholic students would register in it, take lectures in Religious Knowledge and in subjects offered for their degrees, and attend the late Sunday Mass, when a special sermon would be given. Evans expected that $100,000 from private donors and a $100,000 grant from the Carnegie Foundation would provide for a building with forty rooms for male students and staff, a chapel, three lecture rooms, and a library. Tuition and residence fees and interest from an endowment would cover costs. Catholic university graduates would seek university lectureships and, if unmarried, live in the college. The archbishop would direct a board of management that included staff.[12]

Given the Depression that began in the fall of 1929, donations were not forthcoming.[13] When approached about discussing the matter of a Catholic college with President L.S. Klinck, Chancellor Robert E. McKechnie said such a meeting was pointless.[14] Those factors put the subject in abeyance, but as the Depression lifted, Duke had reason for optimism. At a civic reception during the 1936 Eucharistic Congress, Klinck referred to land set aside for Catholics and the "age-long tradition of close association between the University and the Church." Moreover, G.M. Weir, the Minister of Education, had sought ideas from Duke about nominees for the board of governors. Neither of Duke's suggestions was named, but Weir chose a Catholic, Mr. Justice Denis Murphy.[15]

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11. *The Bulletin,* 12 June and 17 October 1924 and 30 January and 6 February 1925.

12. Rev. C.E. Evans, M.A., "Catholic College at BC University," n.d., ARCAV, box 403/1.

13. McPhillips to Hingston, 29 October 1931, ARCAV, box 403/7. One prospective donor, likely Mrs. L.A. Lefevre, the widow of Dr. John M. Lefevre, lost interest when a family member lost money on an investment. Dr. Lefevre came to Vancouver in 1886 and invested in public utility companies and real estate. She died childless in 1938. In a eulogy Archbishop Duke mentioned her interest in UBC. (*BC Catholic,* 22 and 29 October 1938.)

14. In a history of the issue given to Father Carr in May 1956, ARCAV, box 402/10.

15. G.M. Weir to Duke, 29 September 1937, ARCAV, box 402/10. L.S. Klinck, "Address of Welcome delivered before the Eucharistic Congress on the Occasion of the Civic Reception given at the Hotel Vancouver on June 12th 1936, UBC Archives, Klinck Fonds, box 5. Klinck, a native of Ontario, belonged to the United Church and was active in the Student Christian Movement. (Catherine Gidney, *Long Eclipse: The Liberal Protestant Establishment and the Canadian Unversity, 1920-1970* [Montreal

Before asking UBC for affiliation, Duke sought advice. A Jesuit, Father E.G. Bartlett, noted that affiliated colleges were a proven "asset to the students, a help to the universities and a source of satisfaction to the Catholic population." Bishop Gerald Murray CSSR of Saskatoon explained how he secured approval for affiliation from Rome and that Father Henry Carr CSB had negotiated with the university. Drawing on Murray's advice, Duke secured permission from the Apostolic Delegate in Ottawa to arrange with UBC for an affiliated college to be operated by the Basilians, subject to "a special clause" for teaching philosophy, history and other subjects "intimately connected with the Catholic faith." Admitting non-Catholic students would require special permission from the Holy See.[16]

Before securing permission from Rome, but after consulting with the province's other three bishops,[17] in a letter that drew liberally from Bartlett, the archbishop asked the senate for affiliation of a college along the lines of the Catholic colleges at the Universities of Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba, and in Ontario. It would offer "certain," but unspecified, Arts courses. Taught by "competent teachers," they "would be equivalent in extent and standards" of admission, curriculum, and examinations to those offered by the university. Students would receive UBC degrees. By attracting more Catholic students, he expected the college to be "a valuable addition" to the university.[18]

When the senate committee studying the matter moved slowly, the archbishop suggested it should meet someone familiar with affiliation arrangements. McKechnie agreed. The archbishop wrote to Henry Carr, who he had met at the Eucharistic Congress, explaining that if the Basilians "were anxious" to take up the work of an affiliated college, he would like him to come to Vancouver and meet McKechnie and others at UBC. With his long association with St. Michael's in Toronto and his work at St. Thomas More College in Saskatoon, Carr was an excellent choice. After seeing Klinck over lunch, Carr advised Duke to ask for what existed in the other western provinces.[19] Bishop Murray suggested that a "straight Catholic college" was

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and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004], 9.) Murphy had served on the Board from 1917 to 1935.

16. Fay suggests that the archbishop's slowness in making a permanent arrangement discouraged the Jesuits. ("The Jesuits and the Catholic University," 63.) Duke to J. Cody, 14 January 1938; E.G. Bartlett SJ to Duke, 8 January1938; Bishop Gerald Murray CSSR to Duke, 16 December 1937, Duke to Most Rev. Idebrando Antoniutti, 15 November 1939 and Antoniutti to Duke, 27 December 1939, ARCAV, box 402/10.

17. Nelson and Victoria. Prince Rupert was a vicariate.

18. Duke to UBC, 21 January 1938, UBC Senate, box 35 and ARCAV, box 410/10.

19. In addition to St. Thomas More at the University of Saskatchewan, St. Paul's College was affiliated with University of Manitoba and St. Joseph's with the University of Alberta.

ideal, but when the provincial university had a monopoly and the Catholic population was "neither strong numerically nor financially," an affiliated college was good.[20]

Shortly after Carr's visit, the archbishop met McKechnie and Klinck who indicated that a senate committee was considering an arrangement akin to that with the Anglican and United Church theological colleges which offered their own degrees. UBC allowed its students who planned to study theology to take one course at a theological college as an elective each year. The archbishop, then creating Christ the King major seminary,[21] had no need for an institution to train clergy and so explained that he did not want a theological college.[22] A theological college, however, was all the senate would consider. The archbishop reapplied a year later and got the same answer; the senate could not extend privileges to one church and not to others.[23]

The archbishop thought of putting "a regular Catholic College" on the site of the former junior seminary at Ladner,[24] but then, there was a glimmer of hope. At the blessing of the new major seminary, Klinck remarked that a theological college could have facilities "for the cultural, scientific or professional education for other classes of students." After consulting the other British Columbia bishops, Duke asked Weir for a meeting with representatives of the government and the university. Weir consulted Klinck and arranged an informal one chaired by S.J. Willis, the provincial superintendent of education. The university prepared by collecting information from Canadian universities with affiliated religious colleges. Two university deans,[25] the archbishop, and Carr, who had warned that the Basilians could not take on the financial responsibilities for a college, attended.[26]

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20. Duke to Carr, 24 September 1938, Duke to Cody, 21 October 1938, and Murray to Duke, 8 November 1938, ARCAV, box 402/1.

21. See Sck.ca/about-sck/history/the-full-story of Christ the King Seminary. <accessed 31 March 2019>.

22. "Correspondence, Reports and Memoranda arising out of the Application of His Grace W.M. Duke, Archbishop of Vancouver for the Establishment of a Roman Catholic College in Affiliation with UBC," UBC Archives, Senate, box 35.

23. UBC, Senate, Minutes, 21 December 1938, 20 December 1939, and 8 May 1940.

24. Duke to Cody, 11 October 1940, ARCAV, box 402/10. A memo of 7 January 1942 in ARCAV, box 402/11 referred to a college at Ladner. It suggested the Basilians would be consulted, but the Holy Cross fathers (CSC), who operate Notre Dame University, South Bend, Indiana, wanted to open an English-language college in Canada and were interested in Vancouver.

25. J.N. Finlayson, Dean of Applied Science and Daniel Buchanan, Dean of Arts and Science. Buchanan made notes for Klinck who was ill.

26. "Brief address delivered by L.S. Klinck on the occasion of the Blessing of Seminary of Christ the King at New Westminster [sic – Burnaby], on November 20th,

The archbishop wanted to co-operate with the government and the university to give the church "some part in the education of Catholic students" through a college teaching some subjects. Because the university had misunderstood his earlier requests, he repeated that he did not want a theological college teaching Arts; what he desired was an Arts college teaching parallel courses in philosophy, political science, economics, history, Latin, and perhaps, English, French and Spanish. Its students would rely on the university for mathematics and the sciences. The instructors would be equal to teachers of the same subjects in the university. If the university wished, they could teach its students. He claimed that the other denominations did not want Arts colleges. Much time was spent on the practical issue of allocating tuition fees, including those of non-Catholic students who might take a course at the college. When asked how a college could operate with fees from only eighty students, the archbishop replied that unpaid priests would do the teaching. A meeting the next week with Klinck went over much of the same ground. The archbishop thought that Klinck was "inclined to favour the plan." The university representatives now understood what was wanted and suggested reapplying. After consulting with Klinck, the archbishop reapplied.[27]

A senate committee met the archbishop in December 1941. Again, the courses to be taught, the qualifications of the instructors, their appointments, finances, and the possibility of Catholic professors teaching non-Catholic students were discussed. Senators were friendly but argued that other denominations would want the same and questioned the desirability of denominational colleges. Evelyn Farris, a graduate of the Baptist Acadia University, seemed opposed because of the friction caused by denominational colleges in Nova Scotia. When asked if the university's attitude made a Catholic college necessary, the archbishop replied that he only wanted a role in educating Catholics and that affiliated colleges worked well elsewhere.[28]

Though admitting that persuading the committee to see even "the best case imaginable" might be impossible, Carr returned for a senate committee meeting on 13 January 1942. According to an unsigned memo, possibly prepared by Carr, Duke planned to say that he desired to use university

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1940, UBC Archives, Klinck Fonds, box 5; Duke to Weir, 4 December 1940 and Weir to Duke, 20 December Carr to Duke, 6 March 1941, ARCAV, box 402/11.

27. "Buchanan's statement to Klinck, 19 March 1941 following meeting of 14 March 1941," UBC Archives, Senate, box 35; Memorandum of the meeting held March 14, 1941at the Courthouse; Duke to Klinck, 8 April 1941, ARCAV, box 402/11.

28. Meeting at the University, 10 December 1941 and Duke to bishops of BC, 16 December 1941, ARCAV, box 402/11. According to her biographer, Farris believed that churches should support universities. Sylvie McClean, *A Woman of Influence: Evlyn Fenwick Farris* (Victoria: Sono Nis, 1997), 84, 222-223.

classrooms but could construct a building on campus. He reduced the list of courses to philosophy, history and economics and possibly other humanities including languages; reiterated that academic standards would be those of the university; and agreed that the Board of Governors would have to approve faculty appointments. The college would pay its instructors, but UBC would collect and control tuition fees and rebate a proportion.[29] What Duke and Carr actually said is not recorded, but Klinck reported that the committee was confused because the archbishop's message seemed to have changed. Without indicating the difference, Klinck agreed with the full senate's rejection of "the affiliation of a Roman Catholic Arts College, offering certain subjects only."[30]

In the meantime, the archbishop had played a political card. Without any evidence, he told Weir, the minister of education, that Catholics had done much to re-elect the Liberals in 1937. During the October 1941 election campaign, Duke asked Catholic organizations to write the premier and cabinet seeking assistance for Catholic schools and an affiliated Catholic college. He also urged Catholics to vote without specifying for whom.[31] Weir replied that the college was a matter for the university.[32]

The implication of the archbishop's election message was to vote Liberal, But, even if Catholics followed the hint, they were too few to have much effect on the results For a variety of other reasons including opposition to Premier T. D. Pattullo's outright rejection of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations (the Rowell-Sirois Commission), the Liberals lost their majority and Weir, his seat. The new government was a coalition of Liberals and Conservatives, who coalesced to keep the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) out of office.[33] John Hart, the new premier was a Liberal. He was also a Catholic. Seeking to take advantage of that, the archbishop asked Bishop John Cody of Victoria

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29. Carr to Duke, 29 December 1941; "Understanding of what Archbishop Duke desires…," 7 January 1942, and Notes on meeting of 13 January 1942, ARCAV, box 402/11.

30. UBC, Senate, Minutes, 18 February 1942; L.S. Klinck to H.G. Perry, 1 April 1942, British Columbia Archives (hereafter, BCA), Premiers' Papers, GR1222, box 38/2.

31. Duke to Weir, 25 April 1941 and Duke to Mrs. G. Colson, 11 October 1941, ARCAV, 401/7. He sent similar letters to the presidents of the CYO, the Holy Name Society and Knights of Columbus. *Vancouver Daily Province,* 20 October 1941. Premier T.D. Pattullo, whose government was defeated, thought the archbishop was indiscreet to advise Catholics "to vote for the man and not the party." (Pattullo to W.L.M. King, 14 November 1941, Library and Archives Canada, W.L.M. King Fonds, #264801).

32. Weir to George Bruce, 17 October 1941, ARCAV, 401/7.

33. The Liberals under T.D. Pattullo won 21 of the 48 seats in the December 1941 election; the CCF, 14; Labour 1; the Conservatives, 12. The Liberals rejected Pattullo as leader and formed a Coalition with the Conservatives.

about having Carr meet the new premier and H.G. Perry, the new minister of education. Cody expected "the University clique," presumably the senate, to use the new situation "to avoid if possible any concession to us," but optimistically observed that the new government was not obliged to follow its predecessor's policies and might put pressure on UBC. Nevertheless, with "urgent war legislation" overwhelming the government, Cody thought it unwise for the archbishop to come to Victoria, but that having Carr, an occasional visitor, see Hart and Perry on behalf of the bishops would be "highly advantageous."[34]

The well-informed Hart was sympathetic. Likely through his private business, a real estate and investment firm with offices in Vancouver and Victoria, Hart was aware of the Jesuits' purchase of land for a proposed college. When assured that the Jesuits would cause no problem, presumably because they were not pursuing the idea of opening a college, and that the college did not need government funds, Hart had Carr meet Perry. Perry worried about money, but had no prejudices against Catholics—his son was married to one. Carr concluded that Perry understood that "a little quiet pressure in the right quarters of the Senate," not an act of parliament, was needed.[35]

In thanking him for seeing Carr, Duke hoped that Perry could prevent a negative answer from the UBC senate. As he would do again, Perry warned of his limited influence on the university.[36] Appealing to political sensibilities, Duke argued that an affiliated college would "offset the socialist and leftist propaganda now so extensively propagated in the province and. . . effectively at the University where our youth are gathered," and by many "non-Catholic ministers."[37] Perry offered to advise Klinck that a Catholic college would not cost the university anything and might ease enrolment pressure. It was too late; before Perry could write to Klinck, the senate rejected the college.[38] Cody suggested abandoning the college for the time being and using Perry's sympathy to press for assistance for parochial schools. Though disappointed,

34. Duke to Cody, 14 January 1942 and Cody to Duke, 15 January 1942, ARCAV, box 402/1.

35. Carr to Duke, 22 January 1942, ARCAV, 401/7.

36. Duke to Perry, 23 January 1942 and Perry to Duke, 28 January 1942, ARCAV, 401/7; Perry to Duke, 19 February 1942, ARCAV, box 402/11. When the CCF attempted to change the University Act on another matter, Perry told the Legislature that under the University Act, the government "could not require the university to do anything, not even to report to the House on how the grant was expended." *Victoria Colonist,* 4 February 1942.

37. Duke to Perry, 16 February 1942, ARCAV, box 402/1. In addition to J.S. Woodsworth, the late national leader, a prominent CCF MLA was Rev. Robert Connell, a member for Victoria City and a retired Anglican clergyman.

38. UBC Senate, Minutes, 18 February 1942.

Carr expressed confidence in Cody, urged Duke to persist, and advised, "it is a matter of diplomacy, where & when & how to strike."[39]

The archbishop did not surrender. At a meeting with Perry in late March, where he was accompanied by Cody, he said that if the government could not reverse UBC's decision, he would seek a university charter, an idea that Carr had earlier suggested as a fall back. That would require an amendment to the University Act. The archbishop left the meeting thinking that Perry, who had studied the university's file on the college, would support the request for a charter. His optimism was misplaced. Perry told Klinck that the request for a university charter seemed "fairly reasonable," but he had reminded the bishops of his limited influence on the university, that the Anglicans and the United Churches would likely seek similar concessions, and that the college might drain the university's financial resources.[40]

Having heard no more from the government, the archbishop advised Perry in mid-July that he wanted a private bill introduced at the next legislative session. Perry explained to Hart that the Catholics did not want a theological college, but desired to teach other subjects, an impossibility under the existing act. Six months later the archbishop, having only been told that the matter was "under advisement," asked Cody to contact Hart. Hart favoured granting a charter for a Catholic university but temporized; given the war and a fear of controversy especially since the government had recently lost a by-election, it was inopportune to change the University Act. While appreciating that, the archbishop warned that he planned "to go ahead on my own," since nothing is more needed "at the Coast than an institution of higher learning for our young men and as soon as we can for our young women." Despite the unfortunate delay, Carr conceded that "in the end it may be all the better."[41]

In explaining strategies for presenting a private bill, Perry warned that granting a charter would create enemies for the government. Nevertheless, the archbishop had Carr and Father E.J. McCorkell CSB draft a private bill. Their bill asked "for more than we are likely to get," including power to offer degrees in such subjects as household science and nursing in order to allow for "subtractions" during negotiations. The proposed university would have

39. Perry to Duke, 19 February 1942, Cody to Duke, 28 February 1942; and Carr to Duke, 9 March 1942, ARCAV, box 402/11.

40. Memo visit of Duke and Cody to Perry, 23 March 1942, ARCAV, box 402/11; Perry to Klinck, 25 March 1942, BCA, GR1222, box 38/2.

41. Duke to Perry, 18 July 1942, ARCAV, box401/7; Perry to Hart, 22 July 1942 and Perry to Duke, 24 July 1942, BCA, GR 1222, box 38/2; Cody to Duke, 10 December 1942, Duke to Hart, 16 December 1942, and Duke to Cody, 16 December 1942, ARCAV, box 402/10; Duke to Carr, 23 January 1943, and Carr to Duke, 29 January 1943, ARCAV, box 402/11.

a board of trustees as "a good means of getting prominent laymen interested in the project." In the end, however, the draft legislation missed the deadline for submitting private bills.[42]

While dealing with the government, the archbishop also planned the staffing of the college. Because they were "better equipped," had "better contact with the government and [were] anxious to go to BC," the Basilians were his first choice. When they indicated that they would come to an independent university or to a college affiliated with UBC, but that affiliation with another university "would hurt their standing," the archbishop considered the Holy Cross Order, who wanted to have an English-speaking college in Canada that could affiliate with one of their francophone colleges in Moncton or Montreal, or with Laval or the University of Ottawa.[43]

Being unable to present a private bill may have been a blessing in disguise; the situation at UBC changed. Klinck retired effective 1 August 1944. His successor, Norman A. MacKenzie came to UBC from the University of New Brunswick. Earlier, he had taught International Law at the University of Toronto, where he knew Father Carr and other Basilians. MacKenzie had grown up in a Presbyterian manse in a small town in Pictou County where Presbyterians and Catholics got along well. According to Peter Waite, his biographer, MacKenzie would "concede much to the Catholic Church, so long as it could be on campus under the broad U.B.C. umbrella."[44]

MacKenzie inquired about the working of affiliated colleges elsewhere.. During a visit to Edmonton and Saskatoon, he asked about the Catholic colleges there. In Saskatoon, he told Carr that he wanted "to give Catholics their own college as here" unless other denominations raised "insuperable objections." He did not expect that, but warned that it must not become a public issue. Carr believed an arrangement could be made on generous financial terms and would not depend on the participation of the Basilians.[45]

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42. [Duke] Interview with Perry, 29 January 1944, ARCAV, box 402/10; *BC Catholic,* 9 December 1943, editorial. McCorkell to Duke, 1 and 6 March 1944 and Duke to McCorkell, 8 March 1944, ARCAV, box 402/11. The bill could have been submitted later but that would require the unanimous agreement of the legislature, which was unlikely.

43. Handwritten memo [by Duke?] at Ottawa, 14 October 1942, Duke to Carr, 23 January 1943, [Duke] Interview with E.J. McCorkell, 28 December 1943, ARCAV, box 402/11; Interview of Duke with Perry, 29 January 1944, ARCAV, box 402/10.

44. Mr. Justice Murphy chaired the search committee. H.T. Logan, *Tuum Est: A History of the University of British Columbia* (Vancouver: UBC, 1958), 172; P.B. Waite, *Lord of Point Grey: Larry MacKenzie of UBC* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1987), 4, 142.

45. Notes on the History of the Congregation of Priests of Saint Basil – Collected by Robert Joseph Schollard, CSB, vol. 24, Toronto, 1964-65 (hereafter Basilian Notes), http://archive.org/details/historicalnotesc24scoluoft/page/n7?q=scollard <accessed 20 June 2019>; Carr to Duke, 13 March 1945, ARCAV, box 402/11.

The archbishop was optimistic about the renewed prospect of a Catholic college. In opening a fund-raising campaign for parochial schools, he noted how the new university administration and the provincial government had "considerably" advanced plans for an affiliated college. When Hart confirmed that UBC was reconsidering affiliation, the archbishop postponed plans to apply for a private bill.[46]

The senate committee on affiliation, reconstituted on MacKenzie's request,[47] drew on information gathered on affiliated denominational colleges elsewhere in Canada, and prepared a plan that "might seem possible and reasonably satisfactory from the university point of view."[48] At a full senate meeting, Alexander R. Lord, principal of the Vancouver Normal School and, like MacKenzie, a Presbyterian from Nova Scotia, explained that the Catholics wanted a liberal arts college, not a theological seminary, and seemed to have the necessary funds. Lord observed that the Catholics could secure a provincial charter for a degree-granting institution; affiliate with a degree-granting institution in another province; or co-operate with UBC on mutually satisfactory terms. The senate agreed to resume informal negotiations.[49]

MacKenzie suggested a meeting of Carr or someone else, the senate committee, and the registrar. Two days before this gathering he met Carr, the archbishop, the registrar, and George Curtis, the dean of law. They agreed that the college would teach philosophy, history, and economics, and share tuition fees.[50] The full committee had some hard questions. Sherwood Lett, one of the first graduates of UBC and a lawyer, asked the basic one: why was an affiliated college necessary? Carr replied that Catholics considered education, particularly religious education, to be "of the highest importance," and an affiliated college would encourage more Catholics to attend university and study in all faculties. The college would only teach philosophy, history, and economics, with philosophy and medieval history being offered at first.[51]

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46. *B.C. Catholic,* 29 March 1945; Duke to A.H. J. Swencisky, 14 November 1945, ARCAV, box 402/11.

47. UBC, Senate, Minutes, 24 October 1945 and 19 December 1945. Members were Deans D. Buchanan, J.N. Finlayson, F.M. Clement, George Curtis, Prof G. Sedgewick, Mr. A.R. Lord, Mr. A.E. Lord, Mrs. Kenneth Beckett, and Mr. F.J. Burd.

48. UBC, Senate, Minutes, 20 February 1946. A memorandum summarizing these reports is in UBC Senate Records, box 35/12.

49. UBC, Senate, Minutes, 4 April 1946.

50. MacKenzie to Duke, 9 April 1946, ARCAV box 402/11; Basilian Notes, 7 May 1946.

51. The specific courses were Philosophy 1 (Introduction); Phil 2 (Ancient and Medieval); Phil 6 (Ethics); Phil 8 (Logic and Scientific Method); Phil 9 (Social and Political); Phil 20 (Philosophy of Mind). That all of these courses would be taught at any one time was unlikely. According to the UBC Calendar for 1946-47, the combined

Except in philosophy, the courses would parallel those in the university as would exams and grading. The appropriate department head and the board of governors would approve all appointments at the rank of assistant professor and above, and appointees would be members of the appropriate university department and faculty. Although not fully satisfied with the tuition arrangements, Carr accepted them. Catholics would not be required to register in the college and non-Catholics could attend. Carr was pleased, too, that the college could use university classrooms.

In the aftermath of the meeting, MacKenzie told Carr that despite opposition and his inability to predict the actions of the senate or board, he was confident that affiliation would be approved. Carr thought this meant that the "Catholic College was an assured thing."[52]

While the university situation seemed promising, staffing the college posed a problem. The archbishop had hoped that by September 1947, the Basilians would have a man to teach philosophy and possibly another to look after the Newman Club, which, despite no physical presence on the campus, was active. He met the Basilians' request for a temporary residence near the campus with a chapel, a small library, and possibly a basement hall that might include a cafeteria for students. Since tuition fees would not meet the whole cost, the archbishop promised to underwrite the costs so that Father McCorkell's only task would be to find suitable staff. That was not easy. McCorkell implied that the archbishop should not proceed until the Basilians could supply the required staff. "If second or third-class professors would be good enough for Vancouver," McCorkell noted, "we could accelerate the program," but "only the best will meet the requirements there." He would not have a philosopher until 1948 and a historian and economist until 1949. Yet, a Catholic presence on campus was in the offing. That summer the senate committee discussed the textbooks to be used in the college.[53]

Despite that apparent progress, the college was not assured. At the senate's May 1946 meeting, MacKenzie reported informally on a meeting with the archbishop and Carr. Because the minutes and additional information from Carr had not been circulated, the senate did not deal with the matter until

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department of Philosophy and Psychology had a total staff of seven of whom one was on leave; another and two part-timers had only taught in the previous year. In History, the courses were Hist 4 (Medieval Europe) and Hist 15 (Europe 1815-1914). In Economics, Econ 1 (Principles); Econ 3 (Labour Problems and Social Reform) and Econ 9 (History of Economic Thought). The latter two were taught in alternate years.

52. Notes on meeting of 9 May 1946, ARCAV, 401/11 and Minutes of Committee on Affiliation, 9 May 1946, Senate, box 35; Carr to Duke, 28 May 1946, ARCAV, box 402/11.

53. McCorkell to Duke, 8 June and 2 July 1946,;Duke to McCorkell, 26 July 1945, ARCAV, box 402/11; Minutes of Committee on Affiliation, 26 July 1946, UBC Senate, box 35.

August, and then postponed discussion until a special meeting in October when, after a "frank discussion," it tabled the motion to affiliate a Catholic college. Aware of potential controversy, senators agreed to canvass outside opinions informally and to avoid newspaper publicity or action making the question "a public issue."[54]

The mainstream press was silent, but the *Pacific Tribune,* a Communist newspaper, reported that the senate had approved the creation of an affiliated Catholic college whose staff would teach English, philosophy, psychology, history, and science, and grant its own degrees. That, especially the comment about science, was much exaggerated. Nevertheless, the Alumni Association's "Education Standards Committee" sent a "confidential" despatch to non-Catholic alumni, but refused to send it to Catholics.[55] Robert W. Keyserlingk, a recent convert to Catholicism, received a copy. The alumni committee admitted that despite some factual errors, the *Tribune's* story had "a certain truth," and that a "cross-section of Alumni opinion" should be consulted on the matter.[56] MacKenzie confided to Duke that the alumni representatives elected by Convocation and forming a third of the senate were the main opponents of affiliation.[57] Many were also faculty members. In addition, the *ex officio* representatives of the Anglican and United Church theological colleges indicated that they would seek any privileges given to Catholics. Saying that only some educational work could be done at present, MacKenzie recommended letting the matter lie rather than risk a negative decision.[58]

The senate's special meeting, however, went ahead. Considerable discussion followed MacKenzie's reading of the *Pacific Tribune* article and letters from several alumni and their Association against an affiliated sectarian Arts college. In the end, the senate declared its opposition to a sectarian institution or to courses in religion except in theological colleges.

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54. UBC, Senate, Minutes, 23 August and 8 October 1946.

55. Despite being non-sectarian, UBC asked students to state their religious affiliation when they registered. Denominations could obtain the names of students of their faith. Occasionally, the university published statistics on students' religious affiliations.

56. *Pacific Tribune,* 26 November 1946; Paul D. Murphy to Duke, 15 April, 22 May, and 13 June 1947, ARCAV, box 403/1. From 1948 to 1956, Keyserlingk was editor and publisher of *The Ensign,* that aspired to be a national Catholic newspaper. Frank J.E. Turner, to Branch Groups, 7 December 1946, copy ARCAV, box 403/1. Turner graduated from UBC in 1939 and was a paid employee of Alumni Association.

57. *Ex officio* members such as Deans of Faculties and representatives of interested organizations such as the British Columbia Teachers' Federation dominated the Senate.

58. Duke, Memo, 12 December 1946, and MacKenzie to Duke, 18 December 1946, ARCAV, box 402/1.

The minutes did not record the details, but the Vancouver *News-Herald*[59] reported that senators feared that other denominations would seek the same and create a system as in the Maritimes with many small, inefficient institutions. It also said the college would teach "Catholic philosophy, the Roman Catholic version of history with special attention to the Reformation, and economics with the Catholic interpretation of Marxism." In addition, the Catholics would establish a "Newman Hall" that would be "like a fraternity as a social, rooming, and dining centre for Catholic students and turn Vancouver College, an elementary and secondary school for boys, into a university with power to grant bachelor's and master's degrees. Upset by this "leak," MacKenzie warned senators that such incidents made "relations with the Press, the Government, and the public, more difficult than they might otherwise be."[60]

The comment about Vancouver College likely arose from the reporter's imagination, but Newman Hall was not far off the mark. For his part, Mackenzie championed the Newman Club. He believed it "helps our Catholic students to be true to their Christian faith and principles, it helps them to be good students, good citizens, and members of our university community."[61] At a Communion breakfast, he told members "to consult him on any matter in which he might be able to help." He also gave practical assisance: space for a club room, and, in1947, a former army hut conveniently located near the library and Brock Hall, the student union building.[62]

After the senate's rebuff, MacKenzie encouraged Duke to consult Mr. Justice J.M. Coady, a graduate of St. Francis Xavier University, who had recently replaced Denis Murphy on the UBC board of governors.[63] Coady advised the archbishop to work with the Anglican and United Churches, and relayed MacKenzie's belief that although nothing could be done at present, building a social centre for Catholic students on the land set aside for them

59. The *News-Herald* had the lowest circulation of Vancouver's three daily newspapers.

60 UBC, Senate, Minutes, 29 January 1947; *News-Herald,* 31 January 1947; MacKenzie to Senate, 31 January 1947, UBC Senate Records, box 35/22.

61. The original message, dated July 1950, is in MacKenzie's own handwriting (UBC, Norman A. MacKenzie Fonds, box 104/9/18.) The message was published in the *BC Catholic,* 10 September 1950.

62. *BC Catholic,* 6 March and 18 September 1947 and 8 September 1948; Brown to Harold Foley, chairman Archdiocesan School Fund Committee, 28 August 1948, ARCAV, box 403/1. Jewish students and some religious groups also received accommodation. In 1948, the Diocese of Victoria established a Newman Club at Victoria College, a branch of UBC, that offered the first two years of UBC courses in Arts and Science.

63. Murphy died on 1 May 1947 and was buried from Holy Rosary Cathedral.

might lead to recognition and financial assistance. Duke thought over this advice and consulted Carr.[64]

Likely on his own initiative, not advice from Carr, the archbishop wrote to G.M. Weir, who, as a result of the 1945 provincial election, was again the minister of education. After claiming that "the desperate situation of Catholic education" frustrated Catholic supporters of the government, he expounded on his concept of liberalism: "the liberty to take all possible and permissible means to attain the greatest amelioration of the life of the people," and to liberate people from ignorance and poverty. Exploiting the Red Scare, he declared that "the most powerful rampart" against the growing threat of communism was not condemning it but "the comfort and happiness of the people." He sought financial support for Catholic schools (the main subject of the meeting), complained of the actions of the alumni association, and noted that while other churches accepted theological colleges, Catholics had nothing.[65] Although sympathetic, Weir warned that a solution would take time. Subsequently, the archbishop told Weir that if there were no progress on the college, he would have a bill for the charter of a Catholic university presented at the legislature's next session.[66]

Realizing that Catholics needed to be more articulate in presenting their cases, the archbishop now turned to the laity. He recruited some Catholic alumni, who in turn elected a committee consisting of David Steele, a prominent physician; Joseph Brown, the proprietor of a large wholesale and retail florist firm and very active alumnus; Angelo Branca, a noted criminal lawyer; Paul D. Murphy, a lawyer and son of Denis Murphy; and Elizabeth Hughes. the president of the Newman Alumni. The mandate of this British Columbia Catholic Education Association (BCCEA) was "to negotiate with the proper authorities to obtain their consent to the establishment of an affiliated Roman Catholic College at UBC." In December 1947, the senate agreed to receive a BCCEA delegation at a "suitable date." A few days earlier, articles supporting an affiliated college at UBC that appeared in *Le Devoir* and *The Calgary Herald.* boosted morale but had limited influence in British Columbia.[67]

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64. Duke, memo on interview with Judge Coady, 28 February 1947, ARCAV, box 402/11; Duke to Carr, 28 February 1947, ARCAV, box 403/1.

65. On the schools see Patricia E. Roy, "The Maillardville, B.C. School Strike: Archbishop W.M. Duke, Catholic Schools, and the British Columbia Election of 1952," *Historical Studies*, 80 (2014), 63-88.

66. Duke to Weir, 28 March and 6 June 1947, Weir to Duke, 8 and 15 April 1947; and Duke interview with Weir, 26 April 1947, ARCAV, box 403/1.

67. *BC Catholic,* 20 November and 31 December 1947; Draft letter of Duke to Committee members, 28 October 1947, ARCAV, box 403/1; UBC, Senate, Minutes, 17 December 1947; *Le Devoir,* 9 December 1947; *Calgary Herald,* 15 December 1947.

As part of its campaign, the BCCEA and its allies sought to raise the Catholic profile on campus. The Newman Club sponsored public lectures by such speakers as Father J.T. Toner of St. Martin's College, Lacey, Washington, an authority on organized labour; Kurt von Schushnigg, the controversial former chancellor of Austria; and John A. Fleury, an industrial psychologist with the B.C. Electric Railway Company. A Catholic, E. Davie Fulton, the Progressive Conservative Member of Parliament for Kamloops, was elected to senate. Meanwhile, the BCCEA "had many discussions with numerous people interested, and otherwise," and informed every senator about what was wanted. Despite no tangible results, "the keener appreciation being shown by so many of the deeper thinking peoples" encouraged the BCCEA.[68]

On 24 February 1948, a BCCEA committee and Carr met MacKenzie and the senate committee primarily to discuss courses in history and economics, and especially philosophy. A Catholic student residence was a separate issue. The university's record of the meeting makes no reference to an affiliated college.[69] The nature of the Catholic request had changed.

Ten months later, before the full senate received the BCCEA representatives, MacKenzie explained to senators that the BCCEA did not seek a separate college, but wanted UBC to appoint qualified Basilians to teach a limited number of courses in economics, history, and philosophy that would be open to all students and compulsory for none. Then, with Angelo Branca and Joe Brown present, Dr. Steele read the brief.[70] Prepared without input from the archbishop, who was out of town, the brief tactfully attributed the failure of previous discussions to misunderstandings. Defining themselves as alumni and tax-payers, they believed in the importance of instilling "the principles of Christian Democracy" in Catholic youth. Recognizing UBC's non-sectarian nature and the need for unity to build a great provincial university, they had persuaded the archbishop to delay plans for an independent Catholic university, which would be a "heavy financial burden" on Catholics and draw students from UBC, whose enrollment was declining as the veterans graduated. Nevertheless, they warned that if no arrangement could be made, an independent Catholic university was

68. *BC Catholic,* 11 March and 8 April 1948; Brown to Duke, 30 August 1948; Duke to Carr, 6 October 1948, and Brown to Duke, 30 August 1948, RCAV, box 403/1.

69. MacKenzie to Duke, 19 December 1947, ARCAV, box 403/1; Committee on Request of BCCEA, Meeting, 24 February 1948, UBC, Senate Records, box 35/20.

70. According to his biographer, Branca and the laymen on the BCCEA wanted an affiliated college on the UBC campus while Duke insisted on a Catholic university. At a meeting "Branca stamped out of a meeting with the archbishop saying 'Where the hell are you going to get the money?'" The date of this meeting is not given. Vincent Moore, "*Gladiator of the Courts": Angelo Branca* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1981), 78.

inevitable. As MacKenzie had explained, they specifically asked for courses in philosophy, history, and economics to be taught by Basilians. They also desired to pay for a residence to house out-of-town students, the instructors, and the Newman Club.[71]

After considerable discussion the delegates withdrew. Subsequently, the senate circulated copies of the brief to its members, and formed a committee, including Fulton, and chaired by H.F. Angus, a political economist and dean of graduate studies, to consider the educational and financial implications of the BCCEA proposal. Before the senate committee met, some of its members met Carr to discuss "in a preliminary way" the educational desirability of the proposed courses and the potential monetary cost to UBC. Committee members also consulted the concerned departments. For their part, the departments of philosophy, history, and economics saw no educational problems with the new courses, but, like other departments, had different priorities for new appointments. In view of those sentiments, members of the senate committee observed that such appointments would harm faculty morale and might hurt public relations. The committee also suggested that specifying the Basilians would limit the options of the Board of Governors and noted that the principals of Union College and the Anglican Theological Colleges, *ex officio* members of senate, had indicated that their faiths would seek similar privileges. As for finances, the committee left that to the board of governors.

The committee concluded that neither the senate nor the board would accept the BCCEA proposal unless it was modified. Thus, the committee invited the BCCEA to a dinner meeting. Believing that the university was favourable to an affiliated college, the archbishop asked Carr to return to British Columbia. After this meeting, an "overwhelming majority" of the committee gave "tentative…but somewhat reluctant approval" to the proposal. Reluctance came mainly from concerns about religion being divisive[72] and higher priorities for new appointments.[73]

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71. Brown to Duke, 24 November 1948 and Presentation to the Senate of the University of British Columbia a committee of the B. C. Catholic Education Association, 20 October 1948, ARCAV, box 403/1.

72. That led to dropping the plan for a Catholic residence.

73. UBC, Senate, Minutes, 20 October 1948; First Meeting of the Committee to Consider the Request of the Higher Education Committee of the BCCEA, 10 November 1948; Angus to Brown, 17 November 1948 and Angus, "Report of the Chairman of Senate Committee on Catholic Education," [c. early December 1948], UBC Senate Records, box 35/20; Basilian Notes, 12 December 1946; Duke to Brown, 27 November 1948 and Carr to Duke, 20 November 1948, (handwritten) ARCAV, box 403/1; Duke to Hill, 23 November 1948, ARCAV, box 402/9.

The main features of the modified proposal were the introduction of courses in Aristotelian and Thomistic philosophy; early church and medieval history; and Thomistic ethics in economics. If appointments in history and economics could not be made immediately, philosophy was the priority. In addition the courses must be open to all qualified students; the university was not obliged to continue the courses; the board of governors would make appointments in the usual way; and the BCCEA reserved the right to establish a separate institution, although it no longer expected that to be necessary. Angus reiterated that the content of the courses and method of instruction must conform to UBC's non-sectarian status. The BCCEA concurred generally and recognized the university's desire to avoid a division of students based on religion.[74]

In presenting the report to the full senate, the committee made no definite recommendations. It did note concern about other denominations wanting their own colleges and while suggesting that more courses might be sought later, it expected the five listed would likely forestall plans for a "separate institution." The senate discussed the report but postponed a decision to a later, special meeting.[75] Based on information from Fulton, the BCCEA suspected that senate was split three-ways: 14 in favour; 14 against, and 14 on the fence.[76]

At the special meeting, a "full and frank discussion" revealed "a good deal of opposition" to favouring one sectarian group as well as concerns that adherents of a particular faith might violate the University Act by teaching dogma. Someone suggested that a Catholic teaching Philosophy courses would teach it "as nearly as possible as the original philosopher himself would have taught it." Given the opposition, however, MacKenzie, who wanted British Columbians to be "united in support of the University," sought to avoid public controversy. The senate tabled the BCCEA proposal and called for a study of courses that would give "students a fuller and more accurate understanding" of religion. In Brown's words, "they did not turn us down—nor did we succeed." MacKenzie confidentially told Brown that compromise meant delay, but having academic departments, not a "sectarian group," propose courses would avoid controversy.[77] While giving qualified support to the three appointments, the heads of philosophy, history, and economics thought that with enrolments falling as the veterans graduated adding courses was not financially possible. They also worried about public reaction. Further action was thus put on indefinite hold. In the meantime,

74. Angus to Brown, 25 November1948, ARCAV, box 403/1.

75. Angus, "Report of the Chairman"; UBC Senate, Minutes, 15 December 1948.

76. Undated memo in ARCAV, box 403/1.

77. UBC Senate, Minutes, 11 January 1949; Phone message, [c 12 January 1949] and MacKenzie to Brown, 12 January 1949, ARCAV, box 403/1.

President MacKenzie encouraged the BCCEA to explain its plans to the public.[78]

In the fall of 1949, the archbishop convened a meeting of his recently formed Lay Council, composed of representatives from various Catholic organizations, including the Newman Club Alumni, to discuss strategy in dealing with the provincial government. In December, a Council delegation met Byron Johnson, who had become premier after Hart retired, and George Straith, the minister of education. Johnson said that he would not deal with the college, "but would not be embarrassed by any concessions" UBC might make.[79]

At the same time, the archbishop had A.H.J. Swencisky, a Catholic lawyer, arrange for the presentation to the legislature of the private bill to incorporate a Catholic university. Given UBC's monopoly and the limited financial resources of the Catholic community, an independent university was unrealistic, but the bill's advocates reasoned that the UBC senate might accept an affiliated college as a lesser evil than a new university. When, for technical reasons, the bill was not presented at the1950 session, the archbishop proposed to have a bill incorporating what he named Holy Rosary College or University submitted in 1951. Holy Rosary would provide instruction in all branches of the liberal arts and sciences and useful branches of knowledge other than medicine, dentistry, law, agriculture, forestry, mining, applied science, and engineering, and it could affiliate with UBC or any other university. If a charter was forthcoming, the archbishop planned to ask the Jesuits to take it on.[80]

During a visit to Toronto, the archbishop saw Father John L. Swain SJ, Provincial of the Jesuits' Upper Canadian Province. Swain said an affiliated college "would be too limited,'' but the Jesuits could establish a coeducational university, presumably on their own land. By drawing on staff from Seattle and Gonzaga Universities and their California universities, they could begin teaching in Arts and Science in the fall of 1952. The archbishop kept Carr informed and suggested that the Basilians take on a proposed new high school. Speaking for himself, Carr warned that a Jesuit institution would complicate the situation for the Basilians and an affiliated

78. UBC Senate, Minutes, 10 May 1949; Brown to Duke, 5 April 1949, ARCAV, box 403/1.

79. Meeting of Lay Advisory Council, 13 October 1949, ARCAV, 374/12; Duke to Bishop Hill and other bishops, 12 January 1950, ARCAV, box 402/8. Later, the government announced that it would not aid the schools. (*Vancouver Sun,* 8 February 1950.)

80. Swencisky to Duke, 21 September and 6 October1949; Duke to Hill and others, 23 September 1949; Carr to Duke, 27 September 1949; Duke to Carr, 1 September 1950, and Duke to Swencisky, 31 October 1950, and Memo, October 1950 in ARCAV, box403/1.

college. Carr's fellow Basilian, McCorkell, said his councillors would not likely accept a high school.[81]

Meanwhile, the BCCEA continued its work. In January 1950, Brown and Steele met with UBC's H.F. Angus, who promised to discuss the matter with MacKenzie and to have the BCCEA's request for courses in economics, history, and philosophy presented to senate, but Angus correctly warned of opposition. The senate referred the request only to the head of philosophy. After consulting interested parties on campus, MacKenzie told the senate that, if it agreed, he would recommend that the board of governors permit the department of psychology and philosophy to add a member, and that the department consider appointing a Roman Catholic, either a priest or a member of a religious order, who was competent to teach scholastic philosophy and other courses. The senate did not approve.[82]

A surprised MacKenzie told the archbishop that the real opposition came from Chancellor Eric Hamber, who feared embarrassing the government. MacKenzie noted that a new senate would be elected in the spring of 1951. The BCCEA nominated six candidates for the fifteen Convocation seats. Fulton, the only active Catholic on senate, was re-elected. Of the BCCEA candidates, only Mrs. Frank Mackenzie Ross (formerly Phyllis Turner, née Gregory) was elected. Although Brown had recently received the Great Trekker Award, presented to an alumnus who was eminent in his field and who had served the community and university, he was defeated along with Steele, Swencisky, and two others.[83]

Despite these setbacks, MacKenzie continued working for the Catholic cause. While in Toronto, he told McCorkell that he would be pleased to have a Basilian college on the campus. To demonstrate Catholic scholarship, he invited Etienne Gilson, the noted philosopher at the Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, to give a public lecture on medieval studies in universities.

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81. Interviews with Father Swain, SJ by Duke, 20 October and 3 November 1950 and Carr to Duke, 27 September 1950 and memo by Duke, 17 November 1950, ARCAV, box 403/1. In 1954 the Oblates of Mary Immaculate showed interest in opening a high school in Vancouver that might become a junior college. Neither MacKenzie nor the Basilians objected to a high school but opposed a junior college. (Carr to Duke, 2 and 20 November 1954, ARCAV, box 403/3).

82. Brown to Duke, 14 January 1950, ARCAV, box 403/1; UBC, Senate, Minutes, 15 February and 9 May 1950.

83. The archbishop was aware of Hamber's opposition but was surprised because Hamber had "always been a great friend of Vancouver College." (Duke to Brown, 15 January 1950, ARCAV, box 403/1.) Brown to Duke, 16 February 1951, ARCAV, 403/2. Alumni of UBC were convocation members. Duke to Carr, 6 October 1949, ARCAV, box 403/1; *BC Catholic,* 9 November 1950; UBC Senate, Minutes, 24 August 1951. The other candidates were Thomas Dohm, a young lawyer, and Bruce McCurrach, a New Westminster businessman.

Along with Father McCorkell, who accompanied him, Gilson discussed with senior university officials how the courses desired by the Catholic community and courses on comparative religions could be taught within the university's non-sectarian mandate. McCorkell interpreted comparative religions as MacKenzie's attempt to "get Religion into the University by the back door." The university also organized a round table panel on "Liberty of Thought and Imposed Truth." MacKenzie informed senate that Gilson's visit was "very interesting." For his part, McCorkell thought the visit helpful, but that the university would likely prefer lay instructors to priests.[84]

MacKenzie had already told the archbishop that he could find space for a Catholic chaplain, who might teach a course, if the archbishop provided his salary. The presence of the "right man" in such a post might reduce opposition to an affiliated college. The archbishop offered the salary of "an assistant" and accommodation at the cathedral if the Basilians would supply one, preferably Carr. The Basilians obliged. What would Carr teach? MacKenzie's offer was not specific; Carr expected it would be Philosophy. Late in August after making inquiries, he learned that he would be a special lecturer teaching Latin and Greek.[85]

Carr actually met his first class before the board of governors confirmed his appointment. The Board embarrassed MacKenzie by refusing immediate approval unless Carr wore lay dress. Carr was reluctant to do so until he realized that priests living in Mexico or playing golf wore lay clothing. With the help of Dr. Steele, he borrowed a business suit and secured a shirt and tie. Already, he had made a favourable impression on campus. In reporting his "defrocking," the *Ubyssey,* the student newspaper, commented on his "high reputation" for studies of ancient and medieval classics.[86]

Despite Carr's appointment, the archbishop still worked for Holy Rosary University in case UBC did not grant affiliation. He wanted a charter before the Jesuits sold their Vancouver property because of their

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84. Duke, Interview with MacKenzie, 29 September 1950, H.F. Angus to E.J. McCorkell, 6 November 1950, and McCorkell to Duke, 11 November 1950, and Note [by Archbishop Duke?] on "Lecture by Etienne Gilson, 17 November 1950 at UBC," ARCAV, box 403/1; UBC, Senate, Minutes, 13 December 1950.

85. Duke, Interview with MacKenzie, 29 September 1950, ARCAV, box 403/1; Duke to McCorkell, 17 January 1951, ARCAV, box 403/2. James Hanrahan, CSB, "Father Carr in Vancouver," *Canadian Catholic Review,* December 1985, 417. This article draws on Carr's correspondence and Archdiocesan records but does not cite sources. Because he was part-time and past the normal retirement age, Carr was not given a regular faculty appointment.

86. At the Senate's October meeting, George Curtis, Dean of Law, asked that the minutes record that the Senate had nothing to do with the matter. (Senate, Minutes, 17 October 1951); Hanrahan, "Father Carr in Vancouver," 417-18; *Ubyssey,* 5 October 1951; *Vancouver Daily Province,* 6 October 1951.

interest in establishing a university. Legal notice of the bill was published in late November. Swencisky, told the press that the university would not be affiliated with UBC, would offer degrees "in every conceivable branch of learning," and would likely be in Greater Vancouver. MacKenzie, who saw a draft, thought it might help the cause of the affiliated college since a college, not a university, would fit his ideal of having all the institutions of higher education in the province under one roof.[87]

Provincial politics then intruded. Before the spring session opened, the coalition government fell apart. In reply to a request for advice about having influential Catholics attend Liberal meetings to promote the university bill, H.G.T. Perry, although no longer in the legislature, warned that the government was not sympathetic but, in the circumstances, might respond to pressure. The government, however, only held a short session to pass essential measures before dissolution. On behalf of the archbishop, Swencisky withdrew the bill.[88]

The 1952 provincial election produced a Social Credit government under W.A.C. Bennett. Retrospectively, the *BC Catholic* suggested that Catholics had voted "quite heavily" for the Socreds.[89] The archbishop privately considered it "a blessing for Liberalism that the former outfit were turned out of office," and hoped to work with the new government. At an interview chiefly concerned with government support for Catholic elementary and high schools, Premier Bennett told Duke that he doubted that his minority government could pass the private bill for a university charter.[90]

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87. Duke to Swencisky, 18 October 1951, ARCAV, box 403/2; *Sun,* 22 November 1951; *Province,* 26 November 1951. Duke, Interview with MacKenzie, 29 September 1950, ARCAV, box 403/1.

In 1950, Bishop Martin Johnson opened Notre Dame College in Nelson, BC. The Senate rejected Notre Dame's request for affiliation. After the University of Ottawa inquired, the Senate agreed to grant credit on an individual basis. (UBC Senate, Minutes, 15 May and 12 December 1951). The Senate also created a committee to recommend measures that "might be influential in preventing the development of a denominational university." Fulton moved the motion, but the recorded wording was incorrect. It was amended "to read that a committee consider the requests" of the BCCEA as may be "appropriate and desirable under the circumstances." (UBC Senate, Minutes, 17 October and 12 December 1951). Notre Dame secured affiliation with Gonzaga, the Jesuit university in Spokane, Washington. (*The Prospector,* 14 September 1951.)

88. Duke to Perry, 21 January 1952 and Perry to Duke, 2 February 1952, ARCAV, box 403/2; Swencisky to Duke, 21 February and 25 July 1952, ARCAV, 403/3.

89. During the June 1952 provincial election campaign, the archbishop, who was primarily concerned about government assistance for Catholic elementary and high schools, suggested that Catholics should not follow party lines, but vote for the candidate in their constituency who was most likely to support Catholic schools. For details see, Roy, "The Maillardville School Strike," 78-87.

90. *BC Catholic,* 9 April 1953; Duke to Perry, 14 August 1952, ARCAV, box 403/2; Resumé of conversation between Duke and Bennett, mid-December 1952, ARCAV, 375/1.

A Catholic university, however, soon became less necessary. In February 1952, a new senate committee reconsidered the BCCEA proposals of January 1949, whereby philosophy, history, and economics would offer certain courses. The committee, which included Fulton and Mrs. Ross, reported favourably; the senate approved unanimously. Carr regarded this startling development as "nothing short of a miracle."[91]

In 1952-53, Carr taught a new course, Philosophy 300 (Thomas Aquinas), which the board of governors approved that spring.[92] The history department already offered medieval history, so added no new courses when Father James Hanrahan CSB, a graduate of the Pontifical Institute, was appointed to a tenure-track position in the fall of 1954. Similar tenure-track appointments followed. In 1955, Father Elliott B. Allen replaced Carr in philosophy, although Carr taught in classics for another year. In 1958, Father Gerald McGuigan, a former president of the UBC Newman Club, joined the economics department to teach economic history. All three ministered to Catholic students through the Newman Club and the saying of noon-hour Lenten Masses in the Newman hut on the campus.

Why did it take so long? Despite the sympathy of MacKenzie and other non-Catholics, anti-Catholicism was present in the province, though less blatant than in other provinces,[93] likely because of the relatively small Catholic population that rose only from 12.7 per cent in 1931 to 14.4% in 1951.[94] As in the campaign for government support for Catholic schools, much opposition to an affiliated college was couched in the argument that in a non-sectarian society, no religious group should have special privileges.

Why did the senate change its mind? One reason was a change in personnel. About a third of its members in the fall of 1951 were new. The senate minutes rarely reveal individual opinions, but the newcomers undoubtedly brought new perspectives. Moreover, Eric Hamber, who opposed an affiliated college, retired as chancellor.

A second reason was interest in offering courses about religion. In 1949, while rejecting the Catholic request, the senate undertook to consider offering courses to give students a better understanding of religion. The

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91. UBC Senate, Minutes, 13 February and 13 May 1952; Report of "Committee of Senate on Catholic Education," 4 March 1952 and Carr to Duke, 10 June 1952, ARCAV, box 403/2; Hanrahan, "Father Carr in Vancouver," 49.

92. UBC Senate, Minutes, 27 August 1952.

93. The most public example was an attempt in 1946 by the Canadian Protestant League to prevent a procession through Victoria streets to a Mass at a city park honouring the centennial of the diocese. (*BC Catholic,* 18 July 1946).

94. Statistics from Jean Barman, *The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia,* 3d ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 433.

school of social work wanted courses in religious knowledge for students planning to work for church agencies. Although only twenty per cent of the eligible students participated in a plebiscite sponsored by the student council, they voted 910 to 348 in favour of the university offering "religious centred" courses for credit. Fewer than two-thirds of the 910, however, would take such a course.[95] Alumni sentiment had also changed. In denying an allegation that UBC had become "almost pagan," the editor of the *Alumni Chronicle* observed that despite its non-sectarian character, UBC had many denominational and interdenominational clubs, and there had been calls for courses in comparative religions and for courses in certain departments that would parallel existing courses, likely a reference to the Catholic requests.[96] In response to a faculty request for a course on the history of Christianity, the senate unanimously accepted a recommendation to introduce "courses concerning the nature of religion, studied in terms of philosophy and psychology, and/or courses on religious literature and/or courses on religious ideas, movements and institutions, studied in terms of their effects upon society and the evolution of historical processes."[97]

While sympathy for religious studies was important, the key for Catholics was MacKenzie's support. Carr attributed success in large part "to the tenacious, personal efforts of the President, often in the face of keen opposition."[98] Yet, much credit must also be given to the determination of Archbishop Duke, the diplomacy of the scholarly Father Carr, and the lobbying of the Catholic laity. The presence of Fulton and Mrs. Ross on the senate helped the cause. The result was neither an independent Catholic university nor an affiliated college, but what Carr called "something new in Canada," not an affiliated college, but the presence of priests as regular members of the faculty. He noticed the anomaly: that British Columbia, "which has always been looked upon as the most unreligious of all the provinces, should be the only Province where non-Catholic students have to take lectures from Catholic priests."[99]

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95. *Ubyssey*, 23 February 1951.

96. Ormonde J. Hall, "Religion and UBC," *Alumni Chronicle,* 6: 2 (June 1952), 13. Although it is primarily concerned with Protestants and the entire country, Gidney, *Long Eclipse,* has passing references to UBC and to the Catholic presence there.

97. MacKenzie to Brown, 12 January 1949, ARCAV, box 403/1; UBC Senate, Minutes, 15 February 1950 and 12 December 1951; An Alumni Association committee later considered introducing courses as at the State University of Iowa where clergy taught courses on their own faiths. (UBC Senate, Minutes, 12 May 1954; *Time,* 2 June 1952).

98. Carr to Duke, 20 November 1954, ARCAV, box 403/3.

99. Carr to Communion Breakfast of Medical Guild, 23 March 1958, ARACAV, box 403/10. Father Hanrahan taught one of two sections of about 300 students each in the introductory course in Canadian history and an advanced course in Medieval History. Father Allen taught general Philosophy and an upper year course in Thomistic philosophy although in one year the latter course was in danger of being dropped because

Postscript

The appointment of the Basilians to the faculty at UBC marked the end of the first stage of the story. With a Catholic presence established on campus, the archbishop began promoting the establishment of a theological college, as a way of providing Catholic undergraduates with credit courses in religion, and the construction of a residence for Catholic students. The result in 1956 was the incorporation by the provincial government of St. Mark's College and its formal affiliation with UBC. Despite many challenges, including financial problems and the departure of the Basilians in 2005, St. Mark's has survived as a theological college and is closely associated with Corpus Christi, a two-year liberal arts college founded in 1996. Corpus Christi is in many ways the fulfillment of Archbishop Duke's hopes for Catholic higher education in British Columbia.

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only one student (not a Catholic) enrolled. One year, by waiving pre-requisites, Father Allen recruited four Newman Club members, including myself, to make up the minimum enrolment of five. As an undergraduate, I registered in a second-year Economics course on the Economic History of Canada because of interest in the subject and was pleasantly surprised to find that the professor for a class of about 100 students was Father McGuigan. (Personal recollection).

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From Hagiography to Historiography: Reclaiming Kateri Tekakwitha

Katelyn ARAC

Abstract: *Kateri Tekakwitha, canonized as a saint in 2012, is a figure through whom we can understand the complexities of colonial encounter and how historians write about the past. Her journey in literature from hagiography to biography shows the complex intermingling of cultures that was taking place in North America in the seventeenth century. Through her we can read the colonial encounter as a renegotiation of place and space in which alien cultures interacted and mixed. The recent historiography of Nancy Shoemaker, Allan Greer, Andrew Newman, and others has re-considered the hagiographic interpretations of Tekakwitha and challenged their assumptions by presenting her actions in light of her Kanien'kehake identity. By tracing these historiographical narratives, we can see how Tekakwitha was able to find areas of expression that were understood by the Catholic missionaries, but more importantly, made sense as expressions of Kanien'kehake culture. Kateri Tekakwitha is thus a figure of transfiguration; she transcended the understandings of European invaders and combined the narratives presented to her by the Jesuits into opportunities to gain access to power. An examination of how she has been represented over time allows an in-depth look into the complexities of contact that the current literature has only begun to explore.*

Resumé : *Kateri Tekakwitha, canonisée comme sainte en 2012, est une figure au moyen de laquelle on peut comprendre les complexités de la rencontre coloniale et la façon dont les historiens* écrivent *à propos du passé. Son* évolution *en littérature, de l'hagiographie à la biographie, démontre le métissage complexe de cultures qui eut lieu au dix-septième siècle. À travers sa vie on peut lire la rencontre coloniale comme une renégociation du lieu et de l'espace dans lesquels des cultures disparates se comportaient et se mélangeaient. L'historiographie récente de Nancy Shoemaker, Allan Greer, Andrew Newman, et d'autres a servi à remettre en cause les interprétations hagiographiques de Tekakwitha et à questionner leurs parti-pris en présentant ses actions à la lumière de son identité Kanien'kehake. En examinant ces récits historiographiques, on voit comment Tekakwitha a pu trouver des moyens d'expression que les missionnaires catholiques* étaient *à même de comprendre, mais plus important encore, qui correspondaient à des expressions de la culture Kanien'kehake. Kateri Tekakwitha se présente ainsi comme une figure de transfiguration; elle transcenda les préjugés des envahisseurs européens*

et transforma les récits qui lui furent présentés par les Jésuites en des occasions de gagner accès au pouvoir. Nous proposons d'examiner les diverses représentations dont elle fut l'objet au fil du temps afin de donner un aperçu approfondi des complexités de contact que les études *récentes n'ont fait qu'entamer.*

In 1656 a girl was born to a Haudenosaunee[1] man and his Algonquian wife. Four years later, smallpox left the girl orphaned and partially blind. The girl was raised like any other Haudenosaunee child in the care of her extended family. She gathered food and wood and learned the skills needed for daily life from her relatives. She even added beading to her clothes and hair for decoration, like any other Iroquois girl. But this girl was not just any Haudenosaunee girl. Her name was Kateri Tekakwitha and today she is revered as a Catholic saint, known for her holiness and adherence to the religion brought to the Haudenosaunee people in the seventeenth century.

After being baptised, Tekakwitha left her village and relocated to Kahnawake, a Christian settlement near present-day Montreal. Here, according to the hagiographic accounts of her life, she deepened her practice of Catholicism. She participated in the Mass, engaged in self-flagellation and acts of penance, and even attempted to establish a nunnery. After her death in 1680, her hagiographers say that her smallpox scars disappeared, and she shone with beauty.[2] This was the first of several miracles attributed to the holiness of Kateri Tekakwitha. In 1943, Kateri (or Catherine) Tekakwitha was declared venerable by the Roman Catholic Church, and on 22 June 1980 was beatified. On 21 October 2012, Pope Benedict XVI acknowledged a miracle attributed to her and she was elevated to sainthood, the first North American Indigenous person to be canonised.

What prompted Tekakwitha's conversion to Christianity? As an adopted member of her uncle's family, she held a place in the longhouse. Her position within her kin group might even have increased with an advantageous marriage. Why then did Tekakwitha choose to go against her uncle's wishes and be baptized as a Christian? Why would she move hundreds of miles away from the only kin she knew?

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1. Throughout this paper, I refer to Tekakwitha as Haudenosaunee and Kanien'kehake, unless the scholarship I am discussing refers to her otherwise. In recent scholarship terminology has shifted to the terms used by the peoples themselves. The Haudenosaunee were known as the League of the Iroquois by the French during the early colonial period and as the Five Nations by the English. These terms have been used a great deal in the literature. One of the nations within the Haudenosaunee were the Kanien'kehake, or Mohawk, people. Tekakwitha was a member of this nation.

2. E.J. Devine, *Kateri Tekakwitha: The Lily of the Mohawks, 1656-1680* (Toronto: Catholic Truth Society of Canada, 1916).

Kateri Tekakwitha's[3] story is a remarkable one. But it can tell us much more than a hagiographical account of how Catholicism changed her life. Tekakwitha's biography shows the complex intermingling of cultures that was taking place in North America in the seventeenth century. For that reason, several historians have used Tekakwitha's history since there is literature available about her and the Jesuit missions. In tracing her progression in memory from hagiography to historiography, Tekakwitha's emerges as a powerful story, though for very different reasons. In the hagiography, Tekakwitha's life is considered as a path towards sanctity. In the historiography, however, Tekakwitha's Catholic faith is deconstructed, and the duality of her identity is revealed.

Tekakwitha lived in a space of encounter between Indigenous peoples and European invaders. The Europeans brought with them their own cultural understandings of the world around them, as can be seen in the hagiographical accounts of Tekakwitha's life.[4] Tekakwitha's adoption of the Catholic faith is emblematic of the flexibility employed by Indigenous peoples in including the European other into the well-established and complex societies present across the Americas.[5] In the cultural space where Indigenous peoples first interacted with European invaders, Tekakwitha's identity encompassed aspects of both her Catholic faith and her Kanien'kehake understanding of the world. This duality—not often included in the religious hagiography—challenges how the colonial encounter is understood and necessarily

3. From here on I will refer to Kateri/Catherine Tekakwitha as Tekakwitha, her only known Indigenous name, though I switch between Kateri Tekakwitha or Catherine Tekakwitha in convention with the historical work that I am discussing.

4. The major hagiographical works that I use here are Claude Chauchetière *La vie de la B[béni] Catherine Tegakouita, dite à present La Saincte Sauvagesse* (Manate: De la Presse Cramoisy de J.P.M Shae, 1887) and Pierre Cholenec's "La vie de Catherine Tegakouita, première vierge Iroquoise," in *The Position of the Historical Section of the Sacred Congregation of Rites on the Introduction of the Cause for Beatification and Canonization and the Virtues of the Servant of God, Katherine Tekakwitha, the Lily of the Mohawks* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1940). These works are discussed in depth in Allan Greer, *Mohawk Saint: Catherine Tekakwitha and the Jesuits,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). Greer uses his extensive knowledge about the history of the Jesuits in North America to define their work as colonizers in this period. He shows how Kateri Tekakwitha challenges the idea of a simple patriarchal colonization, and instead helps to illustrate the complexity of this time period.

5. Various works discuss the ways in which various Indigenous communities incorporated aspects of the European other into their societies. One such example of this process, in Meghan C.L. Howey, "Colonial Encounters, European Kettles, and the Magic of Mimesis in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Century Indigenous Northeast and Great Lakes," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* (September 2011, vol 15, Issue 3), 329-357, shows how Indigenous communities mimicked useful aspects of the European culture and materiality to assert control in colonial encounters. I argue that Tekakwitha employs a form of this paralleling.

complicates recollections of the interactions between Jesuit missionaries and the Indigenous people with whom they came into contact.

Through Tekakwitha we can read the colonial encounter as a renegotiation of place and space in which alien cultures interacted and mixed. Tekakwitha's journey towards sainthood is emblematic of how the Kanien'kehake people absorbed European invaders into their own worldview and engaged in a process of "creolization,"[6] whereby both groups were changed by an encounter with the other. Traditional cosmologies allowed space for the Kanien'kehake people to incorporate the other into their worldviews, connecting with aspects of the other's culture. Effectively, the Kanien'kehake people were able to incorporate aspects of the Jesuits' Catholicism that most closely resembled aspects of their own spirituality and understandings of the world. Tekakwitha adopted Catholicism as a set of practices that gave her as a Kanien'kehake woman access to recognizable power structures. This positioning is the perfect lens through which to unpack the complicated narrative of contact and address the multilateral intersections of cultures. If we understand Tekakwitha's adoption of the cultural practices of the Catholic missionaries through Kanien'kehake cultural practices, we can see how Tekakwitha amalgamated aspects of the European Catholicism that granted her power in her Kanien'kehake community. She found areas of expression that could be understood by both the Catholic missionaries and by the Kanien'kehake people. She transcended the understanding of both European invaders and her Kanien'kehake community in a way that allows for an in-depth look into the complexities of contact.

In this essay, I will trace the recent historiography about Tekakwitha. From Nancy Shoemaker's 1995 article, "Kateri Tekakwitha's Tortuous Path to Sainthood," republished in two collected works, to Allan Greer's 2005 monograph *Mohawk Saint*: *Catherine Tekakwitha and the Jesuits*, Tekakwitha's biography is renegotiated to allow the Kanien'kehake perspective to be incorporated into the narrative of contact. I argue that throughout the recent historiography about Tekakwitha, she can be understood as a figure of transfiguration. As the works of Shoemaker, Greer, and Newman point out, Tekakwitha adopted aspects of Catholicism as a set of practices that gave her as a woman in the seventeenth century access to power, thus transfiguring the two cultures of which she was a

6. James Carson, *Making an Atlantic World: Circles, Paths, and Stories from the Colonial South,* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2007), 100-102. Carson defines creolization as a middle ground of contact, whereby the groups meeting become changed. Effectively, creolization is a form of social formation in which racial categories are supplanted by a more complex understanding of the merging of peoples. Carson draws on the work of E.K. Braithwaite, Joyce E. Chaplin, Walter Mignolo, Gary Nash, and others to formulate his concept of creolization.

part.[7] By negotiating the changes taking place around her in a space of colonial encounter between Indigenous people and European invaders, she gained access to a way of life from which she otherwise would have been excluded. This is not to say that she did not have a strong devotion to her Catholic faith. Rather, her faith cannot be assumed based upon our modern constructions of faith and sainthood.

Kateri Tekakwitha's life has been documented quite extensively, particularly in religious biographies. The two most famous are Claude Chauchetière's *La vie de la B[béni] Catherine Tegakouita, dite à present La Saincte Sauvagesse,* published in 1887 though written in 1697, and Pierre Cholenec's *La vie de Catherine Tegakouita, première vierge Iroquoise*, published in 1696.[8] These hagiographies were written by the Jesuit priests who knew Tekakwitha from the mission in Kahnawake and provide a general narrative about Tekakwitha's life, which then found their way into many other such hagiographical works.[9] In these hagiographies and in the plethora of other writing about her, the focus remains her importance as the patron saint of the environment and Indigenous people, her intervention to be called upon in cases of illness, and the life of holiness she led in the seventeenth century. Current historiography has sought to renegotiate this narrative, not to detract from Tekakwitha's position as a Catholic saint, but to illustrate that her indigenous identity, and the cultural understandings of her culture, played a central role in how she engaged with the Jesuits' Catholic religion and lived it in her daily life.

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7. Within the context of this article, I use the term power as a signifier of status, privilege, and position. In her own time period, Tekakwitha could obtain status through specific actions recognizable by the Haudenosaunee, but also through actions that were recognizable to the Catholic missionaries. These actions allowed Tekakwitha to symbolize specific positionalities in the two cultures and granted her specific place and privilege. These systems of power with which Tekakwitha engaged in her own time period exist within the hagiographic and historiographic arguments made around her as well. Various authors write about Tekakwitha's privilege and place, so her power shifts over time as her narrative is recounted in different places for different purposes.

8. Claude Chauchetière *La vie de la B[béni] Catherine Tegakouita, dite à present La Saincte Sauvagess*, provides an idealistic version of Catherine Tekakwitha. Chauchetière clearly has great respect for the spirituality of Catherine and explains in great detail aspects of her apparent sanctity in an attempt to see her canonized as a Roman Catholic saint. Pierre Cholenec's "La vie de Catherine Tegakouita, première vierge Iroquoise," provides a less-idealized account of Tekakwitha, though he still positions her biography to argue her cause for beatification.

9. There are over three hundred different hagiographical works about St. Kateri. A few examples include Edward Lecompte, S.J., *Glory of the Mohawks: The Life of the Venerable Catherine Tekakwitha* (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1944); Henri Béchard, S.J., *L'Héroïque Indienne: Kateri Tekakwitha* (Ottawa: Fides, 1967); and, E.J. Devine, *Kateri Tekakwitha: The Lily of the Mohawks, 1656-1680* (Toronto: Catholic Truth Society of Canada, 1916).

Much of what we know about Tekakwitha's life is through the hagiographic accounts written by the Jesuit priests at Kahnawake, but it is important to recognize that these accounts were written with specific political intentions: to promote Tekakwitha's cause for beatification and to show evidence of the success of the mission. Furthermore, hagiography has a long and fluctuating history. In Richard Kieckhefer's *Unquiet Souls*, he explains how the lives of fourteenth century saints[10] were recorded and how we can interpret those hagiographies. The fourteenth century was a time of intense change and turmoil, as can be seen in the early writing of saints of this time period. From Catherine of Siena, Henry Suso, and others the autobiographical and the biographical narratives present extreme expressions of faith, self-mortification, and materialistic abstinence. When taken individually, Kieckhefer shows, these individuals may have been considered mad – certainly their behaviour today would warrant medical attention. When contemplated together, common patterns emerge that can shed light on the reasons for writing hagiography.[11] Early in the fourteenth century, hagiography became a substantial part of Church records. As the Church worked to formalize processes of canonization and took full control over dictating who could become holy, writings about individual holiness became more prevalent. The hagiography is composed of *vitae* (narratives of their lives) and *processus canonizationis*, canonization proceedings of a quasi-judicial nature to support the cause of canonization.[12] These writings follow traditional models in terms of the details included but fracture from earlier texts in several important ways. First, the hagiography of the fourteenth century presents the reader with a theological understanding of why the person should be venerated.[13] Earlier works position God as working through the saint, allowing His work to influence society more broadly. From the fourteenth century onwards, God is shown as working *for* the saint, specifically intervening in their life.[14] Hagiography of the fourteenth century also tends to shift its thematic structure with "a tendency to accent the darker side of earthly life."[15] In many of the hagiographies of this time period, there is a preoccupation with the passion of Christ and his suffering that is not balanced by attention to the resurrection.[16] Further, more attention is paid to sinfulness and mystical states without balancing them with concepts

10. In Kieckhefer's work, "saint" refers to individuals who are granted the status of holy even if they have not been recognized by the Church.

11. Richard Kieckhefer, *Unquiet Souls: Fourteenth Century Saints and Their Religious Milieu* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 2.

12. Kieckhefer, *Unquiet Souls*, 4-5.

13. Kieckhefer, *Unquiet Souls*, 9.

14. Kieckhefer, *Unquiet Souls*, 10.

15. Kieckhefer, *Unquiet Souls*, 11.

16. Kieckhefer, *Unquiet Souls*, 12.

of redemption or the sanctity of normal life.[17] The hagiographers present extreme actions in the lives of fourteenth century saints, indicating a shift in the narrative structure of hagiography and a new intensity in defining sanctity, though one not entirely devoid of centuries-old traditions of monasticism.[18]

While Kieckhefer is writing specifically about the hagiographies of fourteenth-century saints in Europe, I think we can apply his analysis to the hagiography written in the seventeenth century about Tekakwitha. Her hagiographers used their writing to further her cause to holiness within the political structure of the Roman Catholic Church. Like the hagiography of the fourteenth century, that surrounding Tekakwitha was also intended to display the "exemplars of saintly ideals,"[19] showcasing how Tekakwitha, like the "saints" before her, was affected by disquietude or was "ill at ease with the world and with [herself]."[20] While the hagiography contends that "the very form of the vita thus lends itself to expression of a particular view of sanctity,"[21] perhaps in Tekakwitha's life the disquietude can best be explained through understanding the clash of cultures taking place in her moment of contact.

By addressing the intentions of these hagiographies, various recent works have provided a more nuanced understanding of Tekakwitha's adoption of Catholicism, demonstrating how her actions can be perceived through the prism of Kanien'kehake cultural understandings. Allan Greer's *Mohawk Saint* shows the importance of looking at hagiographical writings of saints through the culture of the subject. For Tekakwitha, this means understanding the significance of the Kanien'kehake cultural practices. The concept of requickening, self-mortification as a form of spiritual power, and chastity were ways to gain influence as an Indigenous woman because of their similarity to the characteristics of Catholic nuns and saints and their importance in Kanien'kehake culture. It is through these cultural encounters that we can grasp the fundamentals of contact peoples and the collaborative processes in which they were engaged. Tekakwitha's biography shows how aspects of the Jesuits' European Catholicism were adapted and absorbed into the traditional practices of the Kanien'kehake people. Reimagining the hagiographical writings about Tekakwitha alleviates the predisposition

17. Kieckhefer, *Unquiet Souls*, 12.
18. Kieckhefer, *Unquiet Souls*, 14.
19. Kieckhefer, *Unquiet Souls*, 20.
20. Kieckhefer, *Unquiet Souls*, 201. The original quote is "ill at ease with the world and with themselves," reflecting that Kieckhefer is talking about the several fourteenth century saints in his book, including Catherine of Siena, Dorothy of Montau, Peter of Luxembourg, Clare Gambacorta, and others, whose hagiographies position them as being drastically different from the world they lived in.
21. Kieckhefer, *Unquiet Souls*, 8.

to focus on the Jesuits' understanding of events, and allows for the Kanien'kehake perspective to be incorporated into the narrative of contact.

K.I. Koppedrayer's 1993 article, "The Making of the First Iroquois Virgin," supports the rigorous moulding of Tekakwitha's life story into an idealized hagiographic reflection designed to showcase "the trials and rewards of European presence in the New World."[22] However, Koppendrayer's work argues that Tekakwitha was a hagiographic symbol used by the missionaries to show the success of their mission and to demonstrate how missionary work could continue in the New World as an instrument of European advancement and Roman Catholic heritage.[23] What the article fails to address is how working beyond the hagiography can teach us about cultural contact. This early foray into renegotiating the hagiography about Tekakwitha presents a challenge: how to untangle the life of Tekakwitha from the biography written about her. Koppedrayer contends that Tekakwitha's biographers forgot her in their narrative. Her biographers portray her as a passive spectator in the "holy" story of her life. Tekakwitha's biographers turned her into a tool of their missionary movement by appropriating her agency in her own life and decisions.[24]

Nancy Shoemaker's important piece "Kateri Tekakwitha's Tortuous Path to Sainthood," in *Negotiators of Change: Historical Perspectives on Native American Women* (1995), challenged the hagiographical narrative as well as earlier historiography, which argued that missionaries forced native people to adopt patriarchy alongside Christianity.[25] Her work seeks to address the gap in the literature about the Haudenosaunee, as much of the literature on women and religion in New France ignores the position of the Haudenosaunee to focus on other Indigenous groups such as the Montagnais. In her edited collection, *Negotiators of Change: Historical Perspectives on Native American Women,* Shoemaker set out to gather articles on the history of Indigenous women across tribe and time period, from the seventeenth to the twentieth century. As she recounts in her introduction, some potential contributors did not understand her goals for the project and wondered why such a book was needed, because surely this topic already existed in the literature. Shoemaker's collection showed that there was room for much more to say on this topic, and there continues to be, especially in terms of a feminist lens of analysis. Indigenous women

22. K.I. Koppedrayer, "The Making of the First Iroquois Virgin: Early Jesuit Biographies of the Blessed Kateri Tekakwitha," *Ethnohistory 40:2* (Spring, 1993), 277.

23. Koppedrayer, "The Making of the First Iroquois Virgin," 296.

24. Koppedrayer, "The Making of the First Iroquois Virgin," 294.

25. Nancy Shoemaker, "Kateri Tekakwitha's Tortuous Path to Sainthood," in *Negotiators of Change: Historical Perspectives on Native American Women*, ed. Nancy Shoemaker, (New York: Routledge, 1995), 50.

were "crucial participants in the ongoing struggle for the survival of Indian cultures and communities."[26] But women were not stagnant participants in this struggle with colonialism, as Shoemaker shows in her own contribution, "Kateri Tekakwitha's Tortuous Path to Sainthood," which views Tekakwitha through a feminist lens. Shoemaker is interested in Tekakwitha as a woman as well as for her Indigeneity.

The essays in *Negotiators of Change* show that questions about the effects of colonization cannot be answered without understanding power and separating it into its many parts. Shoemaker states that "power is not tangible, measurable, immediately observable and knowable, but instead the many different manifestations of power need to be situated and contextualized to be understood."[27] For example, the appropriation of Christian symbols by Indigenous peoples gave them access to structures of perceived power, particularly empowering women: "the Jesuits made patriarchy explicit in the new social customs they tried to impose at Kahnawake, but they also brought imagery, stories, and rituals that portrayed women as powerful and respected members of European communities."[28] In such ways, the Jesuit missionaries packaged Christianity as a conceptual framework that was familiar to the people with whom they engaged.[29] The way that the Jesuit missionaries presented Roman Catholicism paralleled Haudenosaunee religion beliefs, allowing aspects of the religion to be easily incorporated into the Iroquois belief framework and so allowing Tekakwitha and many other converts to adopt Catholic religious practices, often with an intensity that surprised and even terrified the missionaries.[30]

For Shoemaker, Tekakwitha's marginality helps to explain some of her devotion to the Christian faith. She was marginalized twofold: "from her mother and from her disfigurement from smallpox."[31] The hagiographies all claim that Tekakwitha's mother was Algonquian. Although presumably she was formally adopted as Haudenosaunee, she still strongly identified or was identified by others as Algonquian.[32] The hagiography also claims that Tekakwitha was self-conscious about her smallpox scars and her poor

26. Shoemaker, "Kateri Tekakwitha's Tortuous Path to Sainthood," 2.

27. Shoemaker, "Kateri Tekakwitha's Tortuous Path to Sainthood," 13.

28. Shoemaker, "Kateri Tekakwitha's Tortuous Path to Sainthood," 20.

29. Shoemaker, "Kateri Tekakwitha's Tortuous Path to Sainthood," 58.

30. Within the context of this paper, I chose to use the term Iroquoian religion to denote the increasing amount of attention that recent literature has paid to the importance of understanding Indigenous cosmologies within the history of Kateri Tekakwitha but also in the expanding body of work on the contact period.

31. Shoemaker, "Kateri Tekakwitha's Tortuous Path to Sainthood," 58.

32. Cholenec, as found in Shoemaker, "Kateri Tekakwitha's Tortuous Path to Sainthood," 58.

eyesight. Often, she kept her head and face covered with a blanket.[33] This marginality within her community, suggests Shoemaker, emboldened Tekakwitha to engage with the Christian practices introduced by the Jesuit missionaries.

Shoemaker further asserts that there were several conceptual similarities between Iroquois beliefs and seventeenth-century Catholicism that make Tekakwitha's actions understandable from both her Kanien'kehake culture and from the Jesuit perspectives. As Shoemaker illustrates:

> First, the Iroquois Requickening ceremony and the Christian ceremony of baptism, though conducted through different kinds of rituals, achieved the same kind of renewal through imitation. Second, the Iroquois and the Jesuits employed voluntary societies as an additional level of social organization beyond the family and the political council. Voluntary societies served as an avenue by which individual women and men could acquire prestige, authority, and kin-like bonds within the larger community. And third, Iroquois and Jesuit beliefs about the body, the soul, and power were similar enough to allow for a syncretic adoption of self-denial and self-mortification as spiritually and physically empowering acts.[34]

For Shoemaker, understanding Tekakwitha through these two lenses is important in order to comprehend the ways that Indigenous peoples were absorbing the Jesuits' mission work into their daily lives in a way that gave them access to perceived power. The Haudenosaunee who adopted Christianity did so within a Haudenosaunee cultural framework and did not become Christian the ways that the Jesuits intended, but instead transformed "Christianity into an Iroquois religion."[35]

Shoemaker suggests that there are alternative reasons why the Kahnawake women engaged in these actions of self-mortification other than the adoption of the Jesuits' Catholic teachings (as presented in hagiographic accounts). For the Haudenosaunee fasting, vows of chastity, and self-mortification were ways that individuals, especially women, controlled their own bodies and thus gave them access to structures of spiritual authority.[36] The Jesuit priests' hagiography about Tekakwitha isolates her as a solitary example of remarkable holiness; however, Shoemaker points out that in the Jesuit accounts there were many examples of holiness within the village, as "especially the women, were taking Christianity to an extreme."[37] Greer parallels this point, noting that Chauchetière recounts that there were many examples of holiness among Indigenous men and women still living in

33. Shoemaker, "Kateri Tekakwitha's Tortuous Path to Sainthood," 58.
34. Shoemaker, "Kateri Tekakwitha's Tortuous Path to Sainthood," 60.
35. Shoemaker, "Kateri Tekakwitha's Tortuous Path to Sainthood," 66.
36. Shoemaker, "Kateri Tekakwitha's Tortuous Path to Sainthood," 64.
37. Shoemaker, "Kateri Tekakwitha's Tortuous Path to Sainthood," 57

Kahnawake, though he praises Tekakwitha singularly in his hagiography.[38] Clearly, Tekakwitha was not the only Haudenosaunee convert to engage in Christian practices of self-mortification, indicating that there were motives beyond Christian devotion behind these actions. For Shoemaker, again, the similarities between specific Catholic and Iroquois rituals allowed Iroquois converts, especially women, to access spiritual power.

These actions also held a central place in the narratives of saints' lives told to the Haudenosaunee converts. Tekakwitha received the baptismal name Catherine, after an influential fourteenth-century saint, Catherine of Siena. Her hagiography presents her story as follows. Born in Siena, Catherine decided at an early age that she wanted to devote herself to God. Against the wishes of her parents, she joined the Dominicans, and was quickly regarded as mystical due to receiving the stigmata and having visions. In one of these visions, Catherine was mystically married to Christ, preventing an earthly marriage.[39] As a young girl, Catherine made a vow of virginity and engaged in asceticism – "self-denial, fasting, flagellation, solitude, silence, [and] determination not to marry."[40] Throughout her life she would engage in works of service for the poor, and later embroiled herself in issues of ecclesiastical and civil politics, even influencing Pope Gregory XI through her ministry. By her death at the age of 33, on 29 April 1380, Catherine had attracted a large following. She was canonized a saint and recognized as a Doctor of the Church for her many spiritual writings.

In the life of Catherine Tekakwitha, we can find many similarities between her actions and those of her namesake, Catherine of Siena. Refusal to marry, self-denial, fasting, and flagellation were used by both women as a means to interact with divine authority and to gain earthly authority in a male-dominated system. Catherine of Siena obtained great authority for her actions. In using stories of the lives of the saints, especially those of female saints like Catherine of Siena, the Jesuits inadvertently provided a model for Haudenosaunee women to access power structures.[41] Through her vows of celibacy and her marriage to Jesus, Tekakwitha was able to subvert people pressuring her into an earthly marriage, and her decisions even gave her some power to influence the decisions of powerful figures in her society.[42] Tekakwitha's use of Catherine of Siena as a model for Christian

38. Greer, *Mohawk Saint,* 87.

39. Suzanne Noffke, *Catherine of Siena: Vision Through a Distant Eye* (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1996), 4.

40. Noffke, *Catherine of Siena*, 1.

41. Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 33.

42. Shoemaker, "Kateri Tekakwitha's Tortuous Path to Sainthood," 64.

life is also exemplified in how she engaged in actions similar to those of St. Catherine. To access the power perceived in Catholicism, Tekakwitha used methods familiar to her and paralleled these actions with actions introduced by the European invaders, allowing her to access power through both her Kanien'kehake understandings and the Jesuit instructions of Catholic piety.

Christopher Vecsey's monograph *The Paths of Kateri's Kin* (1997), more fully depicts the missionary work of the Jesuits and the Indigenous adoption of some of their Catholic practices. By emphasizing the missionary work of the Jesuits, Vecsey is able to show how Indigenous groups adopted certain Catholic practices that fit within their pre-established religiosity and spirituality, but, unlike Shoemaker, Vecsey does not provide great detail about what this looked like. Jesuit missionaries in North America studied the Indigenous cultures with which they came into contact in order to more effectively instill Christian devotion; however, the Jesuits did not value the cultures with which they came into contact and saw them as something that needed to be civilized.[43] The Jesuits felt that Indigenous cultures focused too much on materialism and individualism, which needed to be tamed through the mission's installation of French societal structures and Catholic practices.[44]

Kateri Tekakwitha's devotion to the Jesuits' religion made her a figure of devotion. As Vecsey shows, Tekakwitha was a powerful icon for "Jesuit missiology in North America."[45] Her cult spread throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century, reinvigorated by the 1976 Tekakwitha Conference which focused on the relationship between "native symbolism and Christian spirituality."[46] Devotion to Tekakwitha runs deeply, according to Vecsey, who shows that Tekakwitha is viewed by some as "a member of an oppressed people, and they place upon her all sorts of romantic notions."[47] Vecsey argues that for many American Indian Catholics, Kateri is "a human symbol of their hurt humanity" and bears the scars of suffering while being a symbol of divine love.[48] Vecsey's monograph provides an insightful look into the missionization of the Indigenous peoples of North America and shows how the various Indigenous peoples who came into contact with Catholic missionaries were able to adopt aspects of the Catholic faith that best suited

43. Christopher Vecsey, *The Paths of Kateri's Kin*, (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997), 11.

44. Vecsey, *The Paths of Kateri's Kin*, 23.

45 Vecsey, *The Paths of Kateri's Kin*, 99.

46. Vecsey, *The Paths of Kateri's Kin*, 101.

47. Vecsey, *The Paths of Kateri's Kin*, 105.

48. Vecsey, *The Paths of Kateri's Kin*, 106. Here I use the terminology 'American Indian' because this is the terminology that Vecsey uses in his scholarship.

their own spirituality, thus creating "distinctive forms of Native American Catholic tradition over five centuries."[49]

Allan Greer's landmark book *Mohawk Saint: Catherine Tekakwitha and the Jesuits* (2005), addresses many unanswered questions about the intertwining lives of the Iroquoian saint and the Jesuits who ministered to her. Greer was drawn to Catherine Tekakwitha[50] in order to get a better understanding of the native experience of contact and colonization.[51] Though many others before him had written about Catherine Tekakwitha, Greer's analysis sought to challenge standard presentations of her, particularly that of her primary biographer, Claude Chauchetière. Greer positions the life of Catherine alongside the life of Father Claude Chauchetière in order to navigate the turbulent period of contact. As Greer points out, Catherine Tekakwitha, as an Indigenous woman, was supposed to be inferior to the missionaries. By positioning her life against that of Chauchetière's, Greer is able to show that Chauchetière viewed her as spiritually superior, which was "not the way it was supposed to be. He [Chauchetière] was the colonizer speaking to the colonized; it was man to woman, priest to layperson, educated to illiterate, healthy to sick, civilized to savage: every aspect of the encounter urged the Jesuit to see Catherine as his inferior."[52]

Using these two figures as the focus of his study of contact, Greer shows that during this period of contact both cultures changed because of their interaction with one another. Despite the changes that were taking place, Greer repeatedly argues, Catherine Tekakwitha must be "recognized as a Mohawk girl, her existence framed by the life of the Mohawk longhouse, her fate bound up in the vagaries of Mohawk history."[53] While Tekakwitha adopted aspects of Catholicism as a set of practices that gave her as a woman in the seventeenth century access to power, thus transfiguring the two cultures of which she was a part, she gained this power through Kanien'kehake understandings. As stated earlier, the historiography develops an understanding of Tekakwitha that concludes that she gained access to a way of life from which she otherwise would have been prevented by

49. Vecsey, *The Paths of Kateri's Kin*, xi.

50. I use Catherine Tekakwitha or Catherine throughout this section because Greer uses this name throughout his book. Greer contends that Nelly Walworth's 1891 publication *The Life and Times of Kateri Tekakwitha* explained in a footnote that the name Kateri was bestowed on Tekakwitha as it was the Iroquois form of the Christian name Katherine. Walworth's biography, though, stressed Tekakwitha's race and positioned her as an "untamed Indian…. A child of the woods." Greer stresses that Catherine Tekakwitha is more symbolic of the layering of Tekakwitha's identity, thus choosing to present her name in this context. Greer, *Mohawk Saint,* 196-197.

51. Greer, *Mohawk Saint*, vii.

52. Greer, *Mohawk Saint,* 5.

53. Greer, *Mohawk Saint,* 57.

negotiating the changes taking place around her in a space of colonial encounter.

Like Shoemaker, Greer presents possible alternatives to the Jesuits' explanation of events in Catherine's life. Greer begins by challenging the historiography about the time it took Tekakwitha to convert to Catholicism. The hagiography contends that she was an outsider in her community that found solace in Catholicism.[54] Greer points out that another possible explanation for Tekakwitha's delayed baptism could be that "perhaps Tekakwitha was more fully integrated into Mohawk society than her biographers admit, less an outcast, and therefore less predisposed to seek out exotic religions and foreign connections."[55] Tekakwitha's baptism as "Catherine" was an important moment for the future saint. Just as the Jesuit missionaries place great importance on the sacrament of baptism, with its ritual naming of the baptized, Kanien'kehake ceremony also placed great importance on the giving and receiving of names. As Greer acknowledges, "rituals of adoption, requickening, and initiation were solemn occasions to mark an important transition in someone's social identity… and always a new name was conferred on this remade person."[56] In taking on the new name, which itself once belonged to a now deceased member of the community, the person took on the social responsibility associated with their new name. Having been given a baptismal name after St. Catherine of Siena, we can be sure that Catherine Tekakwitha was attentive to the stories told about her namesake.[57]

Greer also considers the life that Catherine Tekakwitha led in the Jesuit mission at Kahnawake. He acknowledges that the hagiography and the writings of Chauchetière comment on the penitential asceticism of Tekakwitha and other women in the community, though the Society of Jesus disapproved of extreme mortification of the flesh.[58] Through stories of the saints, Good Friday, and the suffering of Christ, Greer argues that the Jesuits laid the groundwork for how Indigenous converts would engage with concepts of sin and atonement through their own Mohawk understanding. Iroquoian belief systems did not have preconceived notions of prayer in the Christian sense.[59] Instead, Haudenosaunee justice systems demanded that remedial action occur in response to any transgression. When Catherine Tekakwitha sought power through diverse forms of self-mortification, by

54. Claude Chauchetière *La Vie de la B. Catherine Tegakouita dite a present la Saincte Sauuagesse* (Manate: De la Presse Cramoisy de J.P.M. Shae,1887).
55. Greer, *Mohawk Saint,* 50.
56. Greer, *Mohawk Saint,* 52.
57. Greer, *Mohawk Saint,* 53.
58. Greer, *Mohawk Saint,* 117.
59. Greer, *Mohawk Saint,* 117.

fasting and engaging in self-mortification, she was both strengthening herself and seeking to gain spiritual benefit through her Haudenosaunee customs.[60]

Throughout his monograph, Greer makes a point to understand Catherine Tekakwitha through the lens of her Mohawk identity. He argues that while there were Haudenosaunee converts, they retained their own customs and culture, and during this period of contact, missionaries worked diligently to assimilate Indigenous peoples to their faith and culture. Though there were many converts, there were no Indigenous priests or nuns, as there were no converts who had achieved the level of integration into the Euro-Christian culture required to achieve those sacraments. Greer specifies that "Iroquois Christians were not about to become French; instead, they would explore the potentialities of the new religion in their own way, as Iroquois."[61] In Catherine Tekakwitha then, we see this adoption of aspects of Catholicism in a way that can be understood through both Catholic and Mohawk understandings. Though Tekakwitha's hagiography stands out as "an intriguing unusual colonial variant in the grand hagiography,"[62] she must be understood through the lens of the Mohawk culture in order to truly understand her.

Andrew Newman's article from 2011, "Fulfilling the Name: Catherine Tekakwitha and Marguerite Kanenstenhawi (Eunice Williams)," expands on the importance of naming, using the examples of an Indigenous woman who converted to Catholicism and an English settler woman who became a captive of the Iroquois and eventually married a Mohawk warrior.[63] By paralleling the lives of these two women and focusing on how names were meaningful signifiers of their transformed identities, Newman demonstrates that identity and self are entangled concepts; they form "interconnections [that] span not only synchronically, to form a 'social matrix,' but also through time."[64] Like Greer, Newman focuses on the Haudenosaunee concept of requickening and links its similarities to Christian baptism. In the Catholic tradition, bestowing a baptismal name links that saint to the life of the baptized, as a patron saint and as an example of a holy life.[65] Similarly, the Haudenosaunee practice of requickening links the bestowed name to the person receiving it. However, the Iroquois ceremony links the name more as an example of how to live life. The bestowal of a name inducts the person into the preexisting persona

60. Greer, *Mohawk Saint,* 120.
61. Greer, *Mohawk Saint,* 113.
62. Greer, *Mohawk Saint,* viii.
63. Andrew Newman, "Fulfilling the Name: Catherine Tekakwitha and Marguerite Kanenstenhawi (Eunice Williams)," *Legacy: A Journal of American Women Writers* 28/2 (2011)," 234.
64. Newman, "Fulfilling the Name," 233.
65. Newman, "Fulfilling the Name," 235.

attached to the name, requickening that persona on the newly named person. If Tekakwitha applied the Haudenosaunee understanding of requickening to her baptism, then the life of Catherine of Siena became a template for her to follow in her own life.

Through the requickening ceremony, the lineage of an individual was passed on through the incorporation of certain actions alongside the taking of the name of the departed. Andrew Newman argues that the requickening ceremony placed great emphasis on the deeds of a person and ensured that certain needs in the community were met.[66] The receiver was required to adopt the actions and attributes of the received identity in order to fully take on the received identity. This ceremony resembled the Jesuit priests' use of the lives of the saints to inspire adherence to Church teachings. In Tekakwitha's case, St. Catherine of Siena's identity was bestowed upon her, providing her a template to live out her new identity. Whether Tekakwitha was consciously adhering to the ritual of requickening when she took the name Catherine, we cannot know. However, in understanding the Kanien'kehake principle of requickening, Tekakwitha's devotion to Christianity and her embodiment of various aspects of St. Catherine's life – as mentioned earlier – make more sense.

In his article, Newman challenges "the limits of authorship as a conceptual category, especially for the investigation of the lives of women in colonial America," and raises questions about how authors impose narrative structures in the histories they write.[67] By studying Catherine Tekakwitha and Marguerite Kanenstenhawi together, it is possible to see how the importance of naming is positioned in their early histories as the process of naming was only understood through a European understanding of naming. By studying these two women together, Newman reveals the significance placed on names in the literature and uses a Haudenosaunee framework to delve into the importance of naming. He argues that "the lives, as well as the life stories, of Catherine Tekakwitha and Marguerite Kanenstenhawi were shaped, at least in part, by the stories of their namesakes."[68] In Tekakwitha's fulfillment of her Christian name of Catherine of Siena through her apparent holiness, we are shown an avenue to explain how Marguerite was able to fulfill her Mohawk namesake. According to Newman, the importance of names, and a consideration of the Iroquoian concept of requickening in understanding the naming practices in the lives of these two women, can help to "bridge the gap between the Native life and the European writing."[69] In the ways that narrative frames are imposed, "shaping and arranging representations

66. Newman, "Fulfilling the Name," 241.
67. Newman, "Fulfilling the Name," 235.
68. Newman, "Fulfilling the Name," 235.
69. Newman, "Fulfilling the Name," 250.

of historical actors" and altering the lives of historical figures, we can see how Indigenous and European cultures collide. In Tekakwitha's example, it created a composite identity that incorporated both the Jesuits' culture and that of the Indigenous cultures present at Kahnawake.

Tekakwitha's biography thus provides an example of the way that Indigenous people were integrating cultural practices and ideologies from the invading Europeans during the early period of encounter. In some cases, the Haudenosaunee integrated European practices into their daily lives; in other circumstances, they refuted the colonial impositions. This was characteristic of the encounter period. For the Indigenous peoples of North America, the European invaders brought with them useful tools and technologies that could make daily tasks simpler. However, the Europeans also brought death and destruction. Disease, warfare, and economic collapse, all tied to the European invaders, ultimately overwhelmed Indigenous people, destroying traditional communities and ways of life.

Collaboration between Indigenous people and European invaders was fundamental in the creation of the mission at Kahnawake. Kahnawake emerged as not just a physical space, but also as a space of moral and spiritual importance.[70] The incorporation of new ideologies by the founding peoples created a site where traditional Kanien'kehake practices merged with Catholic ideology. Tekakwitha is only the most famous example of this mingling of cultures. In a discussion on creolization, historian James Carson argues that founding peoples engaged in a collaborative process to incorporate European perspectives into their worldview, thus fundamentally changing their own society. Carson argues that "First people had always recognized the need to have relationships with outsiders, and as they incorporated the invaders and enslaved people into their landscapes, they extended to them a certain kind of belonging."[71] Tekakwitha's practice of Christianity similarly incorporated the Jesuits into a "certain type of belonging." However, Tekakwitha's canonization also shows how the Jesuits were incorporating the Indigenous culture into their own society, though at a much slower and less successful rate.

The Jesuit presence in North America instigated the construction of a new identity for the people of Kahnawake. The Kanien'kehake society was irreparably altered because of encounters with European invaders.[72] The hagiography compiled about Tekakwitha shows how those changes

70. Carson, *Making an Atlantic World,* 105.

71. Carson, *Making an Atlantic World,* 121.

72. Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992).

occurred. Through the interactions between Indigenous and the Jesuits, both parties altered. They constructed a place that was neither like what had existed previously for the founding peoples nor for the Europeans before contact. Sites like Kahnawake allowed people to adapt to the various changes precipitated by the European invasion.[73] Shoemaker, Greer, and Newman all show that Tekakwitha was able to use Christianity as a means to access perceived networks of power prevalent in her society. Tekakwitha chose to use Christianity as a way of establishing herself in post-contact colonial society because the Catholicism taught by the Jesuits implied a power structure easily accessed by women.[74] The Jesuit hagiography compiled about Tekakwitha demonstrates how she accessed the spiritual power implied in Christian teachings. The hagiography also suggests that Tekakwitha and the Jesuit priests were interacting with a predetermined narrative in understanding their site of contact.[75]

The "cult of saints," to which Saint Kateri belongs, relates as much to the colonial witnesses who added to the hagiography as it does to the subject. The construction of hagiographies is a process that involves both a real and imagined experience.[76] The compilation of these histories has historical merit in the facts that are written into the accounts. In the hagiographies written about Kateri Tekakwitha, for example, there is great value in the presentation of her experiences within the Catholic community in Kahnawake. How Tekakwitha adopted aspects of the Catholic faith, such as self-flagellation, fasting, attendance at Mass, and the importance of chastity, are indicative of her interaction with another culture. Tekakwitha kept her Kanien'kehake culture, but also, she adapted Christianity in a construction of identity that typified the contact period. Jesuit hagiographies give us much material from which to glean information; however, without the work of ethnohistorians like Daniel Richter and historians such as Allan Greer, Nancy Shoemaker, and others, we would not be able to identify to what degree the Indigenous people were adapting to and adopting Christian practices.

Tekakwitha is a product of her time. The great upheaval caused by the introduction of the alien cultural values of European invaders irrevocably changed the way that Indigenous people lived and understood their world. The introduction of European technologies, religious views, and economic systems altered the physical, cultural, and spiritual landscape of North America. Catholicism was just one of the ideological introductions that influenced changes within Haudenosaunee society. Recent historiography

73. Greer, *Mohawk Saint,* 90.

74. Shoemaker, "Kateri Tekakwitha's Tortuous Path to Sainthood," 60.

75. Greer, *Mohawk Saint,* 9.

76. Timothy G. Pearson, *Becoming Holy in Early Canada*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), 19.

shows that for women like Tekakwitha, Catholicism provided a framework to access the perceived power of the European invaders. Women, such as Tekakwitha, identified with the female iconography presented by the Jesuits and used Catholic teachings as a way to access the power shown to them through traditional Kanien'kehake understandings.[77] Through the introduction of such material and spiritual modes, European and Indigenous people mixed, forming new understandings of the world around them. This creolization of cultures is exemplified through the biography of Tekakwitha.[78] We can see how she adopted aspects of Catholicism, but perhaps understood these demonstrations of faith through her Kanien'kehake heritage.

And so, our perceptions of Kateri Tekakwitha have evolved significantly in recent decades beyond the Eurocentric concerns of Christian hagiography towards a more encompassing rendition. In her edited collections, *Negotiators of Change: Historical Perspectives on Native American Women* and *In the Days of Our Grandmothers: A Reader in Aboriginal Women's History in Canada*, Nancy Shoemaker used Tekakwitha to renegotiate the understanding of Indigenous adoption of Catholic practices. Through Tekakwitha's adoption of Catholicism and her fervour in engaging in perceived practices of Catholicism, the Jesuit priests who knew her and, later, the entirety of the Roman Catholic Church recognized her sanctity. However, when you look at those same actions through a Haudenosaunee cultural perspective, as Shoemaker does, Tekakwitha's actions become, not assimilation into the Catholic faith, but instead a way for Tekakwitha to gain spiritual power in a manner that was synonymous with her own cultural and spiritual traditions. Christopher Vecsey employs a more traditional approach, tracing the Jesuits' missionary movements across the entire continent. Using Kateri Tekakwitha as a central figure in his narrative, he shows that despite the intense efforts of the missionaries, particularly the Jesuits, the Catholicism that spread through their missions became a hybridized faith as individuals adopted Catholicism yet retained their own cultural and religious heritage. Kateri Tekakwitha's life and her three-century path toward sainthood serves "as a symbol-model of their two-part cultural identity."[79] Allan Greer expands upon the work of Shoemaker and Vecsey, demonstrating that Iroquois converts to Catholicism retained their Haudenosaunee identity and explored "the potentialities of the new religion in their own way, as Iroquois."[80]

Catherine Tekakwitha has been claimed by many people over the centuries. Today, some of the strongest adherents to her memory are Native

77. Shoemaker, "Kateri Tekakwitha's Tortuous Path to Sainthood," 60; Greer, *Mohawk Saint,* 52.

78. Carson, *Making an Atlantic World,* 121; Greer, *Mohawk Saint,* 113.

79. Vecsey, *The Paths of Kateri's Kin*, xiii.

80. Greer, *Mohawk Saint,* 113.

Americans in the American southwest. Greer comments that "in spite of the long centuries and profound cultural differences that separate the historical Tekakwitha from the Indian women who venerate her today, they do share a common experience as survivors of the trauma of colonization."[81] Anthropologist Paula Holmes' work shows that the recent devotion to Kateri Tekakwitha among various Native American devotees transforms Tekakwitha from "a historically silent figure, bordered by colonial categories, tropes and epithets, into a multivalent intertribal Catholic symbol—a reclaimed Indian saint."[82] Through the hagiography, the historical accounts, and more recent counter-hagiographical writings, we are re-discovering Catherine Tekakwitha, a woman who challenges simple understanding as her story was transfigured over and over again.

Throughout the various interpretations of Catherine Tekakwitha, we are presented with the story of a young woman who lived in tumultuous times. The intermingling of European and Indigenous cultures and the lasting trauma of colonialism has shaped the history of the Americas. Our understanding of Kateri Tekakwitha has changed over the centuries, too. Her early hagiography presents a pious young woman devoted to God. In recent decades, the introduction of ethnohistorical frameworks began to unravel the threads of the hagiographic narrative. Nancy Shoemaker, Allan Greer, Andrew Newman, and others have considered the hagiographic interpretations of Tekakwitha and challenged their assumptions by presenting her actions in light of her Kanien'kehake identity. Tracing the historiographical narratives presented about Tekakwitha, we can see that she was able to find areas of expression that were understood by the Catholic missionaries, but more importantly, made sense as expressions of Kanien'kehake culture. Tekakwitha is thus a figure of transfiguration; she transcended the understandings of European invaders and combined the narratives presented to her by the Jesuits into opportunities to gain access to power. Saint Kateri Tekakwitha's story continues to unfold, and like her image, it will continue to acquire texture. Her history allows an in-depth look into the complexities of contact that the current literature has only begun to explore.

81. Greer, *Mohawk Saint,* 205.

82. Paula E. Holmes, "The Narrative Repatriation of Blessed Kateri Tekakwitha," *Anthropologica 43:1* (2001), 87.

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The Tinchebray Fathers' Evolving Relationships with their Alberta Hierarchy, 1904–1924

Henry WOSTENBERG

Abstract: *This article presents the little known story of the francophone Tinchebray Mission in central Alberta between 1904 and 1924. It examines how demographic and population changes, Vatican policy with respect to the North American Church, and the personalities of the various historical actors determined the fate of the Mission. Under the benevolent regime of French Oblate Bishop/Archbishop* Émile-*Joseph Legal from 1904 to 1920, the Tinchebray Fathers successfully established Catholic institutions in central Albertan communities with noticeable francophone populations. But their relationships with Bishop John T. McNally (1913-1916) of the Diocese of Calgary and Archbishop Henry J. O'Leary (1920-24) of Edmonton, two Irish-Canadian prelates appointed to achieve the Vatican's mandate to anglicize their respective jurisdictions, were increasingly adversarial. After three years of conflict over schools and finances, the Tinchebray Fathers withdrew from Calgary in 1916. Similar conflicts arose in the Archdiocese of Edmonton, where Archbishop Legal's Chancellor, Jean-Charles Bernier, feuded with the Tinchebray Fathers in St. Martin's Parish, Vegreville, and Legal's successor as Archbishop, Henry O'Leary set out to adjust the ratio between francophone regular priests and anglophone secular clergy in his jurisdiction. This campaign of reduction resulted in the withdrawal of the Tinchebray Fathers from Alberta in 1924.*

Résumé : *Cet article présente l'histoire peu connue de la Mission francophone de Tinchebray dans le centre de l'Alberta entre 1904 et 1924. L'auteur examine dans quelle mesure l'évolution démographique et les changements de la population, la politique du Vatican à l'égard de l'Église nord-américaine et la personnalité des différents acteurs historiques ont déterminé le sort de la Mission. Sous le régime bienveillant de l'évêque et archevêque oblat français Émile-Joseph Legal de 1904 à 1920, les Pères de Tinchebray établissent des institutions catholiques dans les communautés du centre de l'Alberta où la population francophone est importante. Mais leurs relations avec l'évêque John T. McNally (1913-1916) du diocèse de Calgary et l'archevêque Henry J. O'Leary (1920-24) d'Edmonton, deux prélats irlando-canadiens nommés pour réaliser le mandat du Vatican d'angliciser leurs juridictions respectives, deviennent de plus en plus conflictuelles. Après trois ans de conflit au sujet des écoles et des finances, les Pères de Tinchebray se retirent de Calgary en 1916. Des conflits*

similaires surgissent dans l'archidiocèse d'Edmonton, où le chancelier de l'archevêque Legal, Jean-Charles Bernier, se dispute avec les Pères Tinchebray dans la paroisse de St. Martin, à Vegreville, et le successeur de Legal, l'archevêque Henry O'Leary, entreprend d'ajuster le ratio entre les prêtres réguliers francophones et le clergé séculier anglophone dans sa juridiction. Cette campagne de réduction entraîne le retrait des Pères Tinchebray de l'Alberta en 1924.

During the summer of 1904, six French Roman Catholic clerics (three priests and three seminarians) arrived in Red Deer, Alberta, to begin the Tinchebray Mission to central Alberta at the invitation of the Bishop of the Diocese of St. Albert. The clerics were members of the French teaching congregation of *L'Institut des Prêtres de Sainte-Marie de Tinchebray,* generally known as the Tinchebray Fathers (PSM) during their Canadian stay.[1] These educators, led by Father Henri-Emile Adolph Voisin PSM, departed from France after the anticlerical government of the Third French Republic closed their school, St. Mary's College of Tinchebray, and suppressed the Congregation of the Priests of St. Mary of Tinchebray in its drive to secularize the government's role in education. They came to an Alberta that was rapidly settling and in dire need of priests.

The Tinchebray Mission zone was situated in central Alberta during its twenty-year residency within the limits of the Diocese of St Albert and its successor jurisdictions, the Archdiocese of Edmonton and Diocese of Calgary (1912-1916). The mission radiated out from Red Deer west to Sylvan Lake, Rocky Mountain House, and Nordegg; south along the Calgary and Edmonton Rail line to Calgary; south and east to Stettler, Castor, and Trochu; and north with a brief interlude in Vegreville. During their residency in central Alberta, the missionaries firmly established the Catholic Church and its institutions in some areas that previously had been unoccupied plains and parkland. At its zenith the Tinchebray Congregation had twelve active priests in Alberta. During their twenty year-mission in Alberta, these missionaries coordinated the construction of fifteen churches and four presbyteries (rectories); founded three convents, two hospitals, a presbytery school, and a short lived apostolic school; and established three Roman Catholic separate school districts.[2] In 1924, the missionaries reluctantly withdrew from the Archdiocese of Edmonton to re-establish their

1. Glenbow M 8145 F 2 1907, Henri Voisin, (Trans. Jane Doe), *Report on the works of the Fathers of Tinchebray*, 1907, Hereafter, Voisin, *Chapter Report of 1907*.

2. Red Deer District Archives (RDDA), Sacred Heart Parish Collection M.G. 451, *History of the Red Deer Parish*, Translated from the original French by Renée Menard-Levesque, Voisin to O'Leary, February 1922, 48-59. (Hereafter, Voisin, PSM Report of 1922.*)*

Congregation in the Diocese of Prince Albert in Saskatchewan under the benefice of Bishop Joseph Henri Marie Prud'-homme.[3]

While in Alberta, the Tinchebray Fathers ministered under the reign of three bishops. One was an Oblate of Mary Immaculate from France. The other two were secular Irish-Canadian anglophone bishops holding negative views on the continued employment of regular French priests in their multiethnic and increasingly English-speaking ecclesiastical jurisdictions. This article will examine how internal and external factors shaped the relationships between the French-origin missionaries of the Tinchebray Congregation and their Alberta superiors during their mission to central Alberta. Internal factors included their history, congregation, language, values, and the individual characteristics of the missionaries. External factors included the appointment of anglophone bishops in Alberta along with the changing ethno-linguistic makeup of the Catholic laity in the parishes of their mission zone. Within this demographic and bureaucratic context, the goals, administrative styles, and personal characteristics of the bishops also strongly influenced the relationships between the priests and their superiors. The experience of the Tinchebray Fathers, a francophone congregation caught up in the ecclesiastical politics of an anglicising society, helps to illustrate the complexity of that process.

The high churchmen who oversaw the ministries of the Tinchebray Fathers included French-origin regular Bishop/Archbishop Émile-Joseph Legal (1904-1920) and Irish-Canadian secular prelates John Thomas McNally, Bishop of Calgary (1913-1916), and Henry Joseph O'Leary, Archbishop of Edmonton (1920-1924).[4] The three Tinchebray provincials who managed the Congregation's relationship with their hierarchy throughout their Alberta sojourn included Fathers Henri Voisin (1904-1913 and 1916-1919), Pierre Jules Marie Bazin (1913-1916) and Adolphe Lucien Leconte (1919-1924). The Tinchebray superiors were caught in a difficult matrix of power relationships. In their formal role they had a direct relationship with their Alberta diocesan authorities, but in addition to their obedience to their local bishop, the provincials also answered to their Tinchebray Superior General in France, that is, A. Legemble (1886-1913) and A. Guibert

3. Red Deer District Archives (RDDA), Sacred Heart Parish Collection M.G. 451, *History of the Red Deer Parish*, Translated from the original French by Renée Menard-Levesque, Voisin to O'Leary, Feb. 1922, 48-59. (hereafter Voisin, PSM Report of 1922)

4. In the period of 1913 to 1916, priests from the Tinchebray Congregation served concurrently both Legal and McNally because some of their previously established parishes and mission stations were originally established within the geographic area of the Diocese of St. Albert, which became the northern section of the new Diocese of Calgary in 1912.

(1913-1931).[5] The Alberta prelates set the parameters and the tone of the relations between themselves and the missionaries in context with their own agendas regarding language, church organization, education, clerical appointments, and lines of authority. Beyond the local prelates, two Apostolic Delegates to Canada also played roles in the conflicts that arose in part out of the Vatican's support of the introduction of English-speaking bishops to Alberta, which hitherto had been the domain of francophone hierarchies.

Early Labours

The relationship between the Tinchebray missionaries and Bishop Legal during most of their sixteen-year association (from 1904 to 1920), not surprisingly, was cooperative and productive from the outset. They shared a common language, experiences, outlooks, and goals, and were professed regular clergy. Bishop Legal, after all, was the one who hired the French-origin priests after they had been recruited by Father Jean I. Gaire, the Saskatchewan missionary colonizer, in 1904.[6] Several of the developing parishes during the Tinchebray era, such as Sylvan Lake, Red Deer, Trochu, and Castor, included significant French-speaking populations during the first two decades of the century. But Legal made it clear to the Tinchebray Fathers and Gaire that priests evangelizing in the Diocese of St. Albert must be able to minister in English if they did not have enough francophone colonists to form a parish.[7]

Fathers Voisin and Bazin, pathfinders for the Tinchebray Mission, landed in Montreal on 10 July1904 to begin organizing for their Canadian mission, with the four other recruits slated to arrive in Red Deer during August. Their first face-to-face meeting with Bishop Legal took place

5. Yves Douguet, Sainte-Marie, *Autrefois - Aujourd'hui- L'Espérance* (Tinchebray, France: MP Lorfeuvre, 2001): 38 (Hereafter, Douguet, Sainte-Marie…) and Timothy P. Foran, "Transcending Language and Ethnicity: Oblates of Mary Immaculate and the Canonical erection of the Diocese of Calgary,1912—1916," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 41, no 82 (November 2008) : 508-9 (Hereafter, Foran, "Transcending Language and Ethnicity") The advantage for a bishop in employing priests from a religious congregation often included a ready supply of priests, independent sources of revenue, and organisational structure. Some disadvantages from the perspective of bishops would include the double obedience to bishop and community, and a certain amount of administrative independence in the realm of parish appointments and discipline.

6. "Établissement de nos Émigrants de l'année 1904," *Le Défenseur: Catholique & French Organe de l' Œuvre de la colonisation Catholique au Canada*, 3me Série, No 7, (*janv.,* févr., mars, 1905): 17.

7. ARCAE Bishop Legal's Letter Book #4 (1903-1905), Legal to Gaire, 3 *février* 1904.

in Winnipeg on 17 July.[8] The priests and Bishop discussed the general goals and broad operational guidelines for the new mission, including the potential establishment of an agricultural colony along the south side of Battle River as a way to provide revenue to help fund the mission through land speculation. The Bishop and the Tinchebray Fathers agreed in principle that the Congregation would provide ministerial services in the Diocese of St. Albert with the exact location of the mission to be decided after further discussions.[9] Continued and increasing Roman Catholic settlement into the region would also help to determine future locations of missions throughout the expanding Tinchebray mission zone.

Red Deer was the intended headquarters of the embryonic Alberta Tinchebray mission, but their immediate goal in the summer and fall of 1904 was to set up the agricultural colony some 160 kilometres southeast of Wetaskiwin along the Battle River, as suggested by Legal. The development of a colony had four primary objectives: speculation, education, acculturation, and evangelization.[10] Father Bazin would tutor the seminarians in theology so that they could be ordained in about a year's time. Meanwhile, a roughly built log cabin completed in the fall with the assistance of Tail Creek Métis served as their residence, chapel, and the Congregation's first mission school in Alberta.[11]

In the period of 1904 through 1919 Bishop Legal actively supported the expansion of the Tinchebray mission, providing official diocesan support in the form of technical and legal advice, material and moral support, reference statements, and official blessings. Legal encouraged the expansion of the mission stations in the zone along with institutional facilities such as convents, schools, hospitals, and presbyteries in cooperation with other congregations such as the Oblates and Daughters of Wisdom.

Legal's response to a conflict in Red Deer Parish is an early example of the Bishop's strong support for his new servants. When Rev. Father Hippolyte Leduc OMI, the Diocese's Vicar General, arranged the transfer of the Oblate missions of Sylvan Lake, Innisfail, and Red Deer to the Tinchebray Fathers in November 1904, some French-Canadian parishioners demanded Father Armand Gendre as pastor because of his business connection to wealthy

8. Voisin, "Débuts des Prêtres de Sainte Marie de Tinchebray du Canada", *Bulletin de N-D De La Bonne Mor*t : *Organe de Missions des Prêtres de Ste-Marie de Tinchebray au Canada* : *Mission Du Canada, Année No.8 (sept. – oct. 1909): 7*. (Hereafter: *Bulletin de N-D: Mission du Canada*) The Oblates had moved their mother house from France to Belgium to avoid forced closure.

9. *Ibid.*

10. Voisin, *Chapter Report of 1907, 5.*

11. *La Survivance*, "*Les Prêtres de Sainte-Marie dans Alberta: Une belle page de notre histoire religieuse* (1904-1921)," 5 *mars* 1952, 2.

French settlers. Leduc said no – the parish priest would be Voisin or nobody. The "clique," as Voisin characterized the parish holdouts, chose nobody and for the moment, mission headquarters was reassigned to Innisfail, a town with few Catholics, French or otherwise.[12]

Father Voisin, however, did not give up on Red Deer because the town was key to his vision of the Tinchebray mission to central Alberta. He envisioned a mission complex complete with a large presbytery, which would serve as mission headquarters, along with a church, convent, and schools.[13] The denial of the Red Deer pastorship to Voisin was only a temporary setback to his plans. He initially asserted his authority in Red Deer by surreptitiously celebrating Christmas mass of 1904 in a store-shelter constructed by Father Gaire.[14] A year later in January 1906, Bishop Legal confirmed Voisin as Red Deer's rightful pastor.[15] He symbolically reinforced his decision by blessing Voisin's newly constructed Sacred Heart Church of Red Deer in the presence of ninety area Catholics on 10 June 1906.[16]

While these events unfolded, Fathers Voisin and Chauvin began the day-to-day operation of the Tinchebray Mission from their temporary headquarters in Innisfail. Voisin conducted parish censuses in the environs of Red Deer and Innisfail on the back of a cantankerous pony, enrolled new parishioners, and scheduled locations and times for Sunday masses, as well as initiating subscription campaigns for church construction in the two towns. In the meantime a small building was purchased in Innisfail for use as a presbytery and chapel with funds acquired from a creditor in France.[17] Chauvin, a former seminary professor of ten years at Pont-Levoy in France, instituted the mission's second educational endeavour – a presbytery school for the elementary education of boys who expressed interest in the priesthood.[18]

With the Bishop's blessing, Father Voisin conducted a six-month recruitment and funding campaign in France between August 1907 to February 1908. He was able to recruit more priests from his Congregation, and garnered a commitment from the Daughters of Wisdom to send six sisters to Red Deer along with an agreement to establish a convent in Red

12. Voisin, PSM Report of 1922. 1.

13. Emile Hermary, PAA, ACC 71.220 B. 21 f 5379, History of the Red Deer Parish,1932; and Voisin, Chapter Report: 1907, 14-15.

14. Voisin, *PSM Report of 1922,1.*

15. *Ibid,* ARCAE, Legal LB # 5, Legal to Gendre, 26 *janvier* 1906, 267 & ARCAE, Legal LB # 5, Legal to Voisin, 26 *janvier* 1906, 273.

16. Voisin, *PSM Report of 1922, 3.*

17. ARCAE, 7.3.74 (Innisfail File), Voisin to Légal, 12 *mars* 1905.

18. Voisin, "Rev. P. Paul (sic) (Jean-Marie) Chauvin, RDDA, Juillet de 1868-1906 10 *aout."*

Deer.[19] Despite his expressed pleasure at the sisters recruitment, the Bishop declined to sign a loan note for the construction of the proposed convent on the grounds that he could not assume responsibility for loans aimed at projects in parishes of the Diocese. He would be willing, he said, to sign a letter to be shown to prospective lenders, stating his belief that the loan could be paid back by the congregations.[20] Voisin had to content himself with that.

After arriving in Red Deer on 8 October 1908, the sisters quickly established a private school in the convent, enrolling fourteen students by the end of the year.[21] On petition of Legal, Voisin, and local Catholic ratepayers, the ministry of Education proclaimed the North Red Deer Roman Catholic Separate School District No. 17 on 8 January 1909.[22] At its first meeting, on 28 January 1909, the Catholic Separate School Board, with Voisin as its Secretary-Treasurer, agreed to lease space in St. Joseph's Convent as its school. English-speaking Ontarian Sister Marie-Aimée, under the authority of an Alberta temporary teacher's permit, began with twenty-seven students early in February.[23] Miss Irene Kelly, the other teacher, also taught at the convent for several years.[24]

Red Deer's example became the general pattern for Catholic educational development in Trochu and Castor, towns with substantial francophone populations. The Tinchebray Fathers' *raison d'être* in nineteenth-century France centered on education, and that continued to resonate in their twentieth-century mission in central Alberta. It was reflected in their ongoing cooperation with Bishop Legal, as communities of sisters and parishioners led to the establishment of two additional Catholic schools and the introduction of hospitals in the mission zone.

Considering its population composition and history, the francophone settlement of Trochu Valley, served by the Tinchebray Fathers starting in 1905, was an ideal community for the development of Catholic institutions.[25]

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19. ARCAE, 7.3.122, Voisin (Tinchebray, France) to Legal (St. Albert), 1 *novembre* 1907.

20. ARCAE, LB#---, Legal (St. Alberta) to Voisin (Flers, France), 14 *octobre* 1907, 135.

21. ARCAE 7.3.122 (Red Deer File) Voisin to Legal, 22 dec.1908.

22. *The Alberta Gazette*, Vol. 5, No.1, Edmonton, January 8,1909, 5 & RDDA, NRDRCSS Minutes 1909-1924, 25 January 1909, 2.

23. The Call of Wisdom 1904-1984, 6-7.

24. Alberta Teachers' Association, Red Deer District Local, Schools of the parkland; N. W. T., 1886-Alberta 1967, 225.

25. Voisin, *PSM Report of 1922,* 14 and Sheilagh S. Jameson, "Early Settlement: The Ann ranch and Trochu Valley," in Ned Dodd, ed., *Remember When: The History of Trochu and District* (Trochu: History Book Committee, 1975): 5 (hereafter, Jameson, "Early Settlement"). The depth of the residents' Catholic faith was exemplified by settlers such as Roger de Beaudrap and Léon C. Eckenfelder, who had previously resigned

Prominent members of the francophone community, along with Voisin, organised the financing and construction of the parish church in 1907, but Catholic residents let their priests and diocesan authorities know that they desired more than just a parish church in their community.[26] In 1909, at the urging of the Chancellor, Father Leduc, Bishop Legal recruited the Sisters of Charity of Our Lady of Evron from France to establish a convent, hospital, and schools in Trochu. (Evron was Leduc's birthplace.) Voisin's successor as pastor, Father Pierre Bazin, along with Fathers Eugène Alphonse Marie Ciron PSM, and Léon J. Anciaux PSM, displayed their carpentry skills when they converted two granaries in the coulee on the south edge of Trochu into a makeshift hospital for the Sisters of Charity shortly after their arrival in the fall of 1909. In June 1910, Father Bazin, at his own expense, built a small two-story wooden building that was used as a private school by the sisters before it later evolved into a separate school.[27] St. Mary's Convent and Hospital of Trochu were opened in 1911, while Pontmain Roman Catholic School District Number 20 was officially proclaimed on 26 August 1912 after it had already been in operation for a year.[28]

The combination of convent, Catholic hospital, and Catholic school development evolved next in the "mushroom town" of Castor, which sprang up in 1910 where previously only a beaver dam existed. Once again, the combination of a parish priest, a French population element, a community of French sisters, and a supportive bishop played their familiar parts in this institutional development episode, along a with new element – a city council composed entirely of Protestants.[29] The Castor Town Council in 1911 reached out to Father Leconte PSM for his assistance in finding a community of sisters willing to build and staff a hospital in the rapidly growing town.[30] After unsuccessful negotiations with other congregations, the Bishop and Tinchebray Fathers settled on the Daughters of Wisdom, who had a house already established in Red Deer.[31]

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promising military careers in France, rather than take part in the suppression of religious communities of sisters and priests.

26. Jean Pariseau, *90 Years of Service to the Poor: Sisters of Charity Notre-Dame D'Évron in Canada, 1909-99* (Ottawa: Delta Publishing Ltd., 2001), 25. (Hereafter, Pariseau, *90 Years of Service.*)

27. RDDA, "Pontmain Roman Catholic School # 20."

28. Art Knievel, "Pontmain School," in Ned Dodd, ed., *Remember When: The History of Trochu and District* (Trochu: History Book Committee, 1975), 98–9.

29. Voisin, *PSM Mission Report, 1922*, 49.

30. RDDA PSM (MG 462) Leconte to O'Leary, 1921 Report, "Quelques mots sur le trot aux des Prêtres de Ste Marie depuis les arrivée", 1921, 4. (Hereafter Leconte, Quelques mots…)

31. Voisin, *PSM Mission Report, 1922*, 49.

The Town Council proposed that patients at the sisters' new hospital would be free to choose their doctors, and that ministers of all denominations could visit their patients at any time day or night. In return for a grant of $3,000 towards construction, the hospital would accept the town's indigent and the sisters would refrain from soliciting subscriptions in the town for eighteen months. Afterwards, the town was free to provide an annual grant of $500 to the sisters to maintain the arrangement for the impoverished. The plebiscite of Castor ratepayers held on 26 May gave a resounding vote of confidence for the hospital plan with a vote of 103 to 14 in favour of the proposal.[32] At a special meeting on 29 May, Town Council approved the proposed grant to the Daughters of Wisdom, setting in motion the necessary contracts and other activities to begin hospital construction.[33]

Repeating the pattern in Red Deer and Trochu, the Daughter of Wisdom in Castor also opened private and boarding schools that eventually evolved into a provincial separate school. Sister Marie-Aimée, who had begun teaching in 1909 in Red Deer under a permit from the Department of Education, had subsequently obtained the appropriate Alberta teacher certification and was transferred to Castor in February 1916, which enabled Father Leconte and Catholic notables Tony Wiart and John Barnes to petition government.[34] In due course, Theresetta Roman Catholic Separate School District Number 23 was proclaimed by a ministerial order dated 4 December 1917.[35]

And so, under the guidance of Bishop Legal, the Tinchebray Fathers made considerable progress in the rural communities of Central Alberta, expanding south from Red Deer to the doorstep of Calgary by 1910. There they would administer their urban parish under the watchful eyes of two bishops.

The Tinchebray Fathers in Calgary

In spring 1910 Bishop Legal pressed the Tinchebray Fathers to take over St. Ann's Mission in Calgary from the Oblates, who were suffering personnel shortages, rather than see it transferred to a secular priest, since all Calgary parishes at the time were staffed by regular clergy.[36] As Legal informed

32. ARCAE 7.3.28, Leconte to Legal, 6 *juin* 1911.
33. "Town Council", Castor Advance, 1 June 1911.
34. Dickison, *Theresetta*, 4.
35. ARCAE 7.3.28, Leconte to Legal, 7 *novembre* 1917 & Alberta Department of Education, Theresetta Roman Catholic Separate School District No. 23.
36. ARCAE 7.3.122, Legal to Voisin, 20 *avril* 1910; and PAA, 1910-1913 Priests in Calgary region.

Father Voisin, it would be a good "foot on the ground" to establish the Tinchebray Fathers in the city.[37]

Concerned over the security of their placement in anglophone Calgary, the Tinchebray Congregation requested that Legal recommend the status of *titulo perpetuo* for the parish to the Holy See.[38] If a bishop were to remove a religious community from a parish held under that designation, he must show cause, whereas the dismissal of a secular priest from a parish was absolutely at his discretion.[39] As early as 1907, Legal himself had cautioned Father Voisin to incorporate his congregation in Alberta as a society, manage parishes well, and seek perpetual title for certain parishes, stating, "You have to render your position unassailable for the future … and I will assure, there, canonical possession so that you won't be at the mercy of a less favorable bishop!"[40] The acceptance of St. Ann's Parish by the Tinchebray Fathers on the basis of the Bishop's recommendation thus appeared to be mutually advantageous to both parties, but there was a hint of trouble for the future.

Bishop Legal could not have missed the rumblings of change emanating from the anglophone hierarchy of Canada in Ontario and the Maritimes, who were seeking the appointment of English-speaking bishops for the dioceses of western Canada.[41] His 1907 caution to the Tinchebray Fathers clearly shows that Legal was aware that changes to the longstanding francophone dominance of hierarchical positions in the west were afoot fully three years before Archbishop Francis Bourne of Westminster, England, asserted that English was the language best suited for the evangelization of English-speaking and other non-Francophone Catholics in North America outside of Quebec.[42] At the Twentieth-first World Eucharist Congress held in Montreal in September 1910, the soon-to-be Cardinal Bourne declared:

> If the mighty nation of that Canada is destined to become in the future is to be won and held to the Catholic Church, this can only be done by making known to a great part of the Canadian people in succeeding generations,

37. ARCAE 7.3.122, Legal to Voisin, 20 *avril* 1910.

38. ARCAE, LB # X, 524. Legal (Edmonton) to Legemble (Tinchebray), 22 déc. 1912.

39. DCA 993021621, Stagni to McNally, September 3, 1915.

40. Voisin, Mission Report of 1907, 17 & 1909 Chapter 35 An Act to Incorporate Les Reverends Pères de Sainte Marie de Tinchebray, Feb. 25, 1909, 295. The title was granted to four other churches under the care of religious communities in the Diocese of Calgary prior to McNally's enthronement on 27 July 1913. The Calgary parishes were St. Mary, St. Benedict, St Ann's along with St. Patrick's of Medicine Hat. (Byrne, *From the Buffalo to the Cross*.)

41. Raymond Huel, "The French-Irish Conflict in Catholic Episcopal Nominations: The Western Sees and Domination within the Church," Canadian Catholic Historical Association, *Study Sessions* 42 (1975): 57.

42. McGowan, *The Waning of the Green*, 245.

> the mysteries of our faith through the medium of our English speech.[…] Until the English language, English habits of thought, English literature —in a word the entire English mentality is brought into the service of the Catholic Church, the saving work of the Church is impeded and hampered.[43]

Bourne's position was widely published and supported in English-language Catholic newspapers across Canada at the time,[44] and the Tinchebray missionaries would soon feel the full impact of these sentiments.

Bishop Legal and the Oblates were confronted with a growing demand for clergy in Calgary and southern Alberta due to rapid population growth during the first decade of the century. East Calgary was one of several districts of the city receiving an influx of population. The process of establishing St. Ann's Parish had begun in earnest in 1908 with a request from Catholics living east of the Elbow River for a chapel. Until 1908, when the decision was made to begin establishing missions and chapels in the outlying parts of the city, St. Mary's was the only Roman Catholic Church for the entire city of Calgary.[45] Oblate priests from St. Mary's Church traveled on Sundays to celebrate mass for a small but growing core of Catholics in East Calgary. Several existing venues were rented along 9th Avenue in sequence to serve as temporary chapels before a small, wood-framed church (50 × 30 ft) was erected at 8th Avenue E. and 15th Street E., shortly before the Tinchebray Mission assumed possession of the parish. St. Ann's Parish was canonically erected on 16 December 1910 and was entrusted *titulo perpetuo* to the Tinchebray Congregation on 22 December 1911.[46] St. Ann's Parish Annual Reports in 1910 and 1911 reveal a continued rapid increase of parishioners by 1911 in the parish from 337 to 548 persons, mostly of Irish and Scottish origins with only 31 of French Origin.[47]

In considering staffing for the new parish, Mgr. Legal observed, "Naturally it would be necessary to place a Father there who speaks English sufficiently well."[48] The consideration of Father Louis S. Forget PSM as pastor for the multiethnic, English-speaking, working-class district of East Calgary was therefore surprising, considering his imperfect English and

43. Cited in Robert Choquette, *Language and Religion: A History of English-French Conflict in Ontario* (Ottawa, University of Ottawa Press, 1975), 91.

44. McGowan, *The Waning of the Green*, 245.

45. PAA OMI, 73.248 71.220/2135, *History of St. Ann's Parish, 1965*, 3.

46. DCA 999003301, Extract "Parishes and Missions," Legal 16 Jan. 1913, 6. Canonical erection makes the church a civil corporation under the administration of a bishop and a board of elected parish trustees under Alberta Legislation.

47. DCA, *Rapport Annuel: Paroisse ou Mission de Ste Anne,* Calgary 1910 & 1911 & PAA OMI, 73.248 71.220/2135, *History of St. Ann's Parish, 1965*, 7. Mr. & Mrs A Ciron and Family were included in the census list.

48. ARCAE 7.3.122, Legal to Voisin, 20, *avril* 1910.

difficult personality.[49] Father Voisin, however, had observed growth in Forget's ministry while he was assigned to the English-speaking Parish of Carstairs. "He actually did very well in Carstairs," Voisin wrote Legal, "and there enjoys a great influence even on the Protestants. I am persuaded that he can make the greatest good in this working-class environment of Calgary."[50]

While Forget was actually credited with good relations with parishioners, it was not the case with his fellow religious.[51] When Father Voisin appointed Father Paul Renut PSM as an assistant to Forget in June of 1912, he lamented to Bishop Legal, "I hope he will not make life impossible for the third assistant as he did for the previous two."[52] Father Renut would reside in the Carstairs Rectory while commuting by rail to Calgary to avoid conflicts.

The move to St. Ann's Parish, its one and only urban parish in Alberta, was a rocky experience for the Tinchebray Congregation, especially for Father Forget.[53] St. Ann's parish institutions were evolving even before the Congregation's arrival in the community, including the creation of a separate school in the parish. Calgary Roman Catholic Separate School Board No. 1 had existed in the city since 1885, setting policy, financing, hiring, and overall management of its schools.[54] In Red Deer and Trochu parishes, where they established the first schools and guided their development, the Tinchebray Fathers exerted considerable influence over separate school boards. In Calgary, the board was more independent.

Forget and his first assistant, Father Eugène Ciron PSM, had high hopes of developing the anglophone parish, including St. Ann's Separate School. Although a lay teacher, Ethel MacDonald, had been employed by the board since the school's establishment in 1909, Forget sought to recruit a congregation of sisters to serve as teachers and to provide parochial services in the parish.[55] He saw a need for nursing services, home visitors, perhaps a hospital, as well as the establishment of a convent with a boarding school. Since it would be difficult to find suitable roles for francophone sisters in an anglophone parish, Forget wanted sisters who could communicate well

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49. PAA OMI, 73.248 71.220/2135, *History of St. Ann's Parish, 1965*, 5. In 1964, the former French Army Dragoon was quoted as having said, "If I were dangerous as a seminarian, how much more dangerous would I be in a time of war." See Sister Rhonda Brown DSMP, *Saint Patrick Parish: A Century of Faith in the Heart of Mount Pleasant: 1910-2010* (Vancouver: Saint Patrick Parish, 2010): 22.

50. ARCAE 7.3.122. Voisin to Legal, 6 *juin* 1910.

51. *Ibid.* 7.

52. ARCAE 7.3.122, Voisin to Legal, 3 *juin* 1912.

53. Forget's assistants from 1910 to 1912 were Fathers Anciaux, Renut, and Ciron.

54. Sheila Ross, "Bishop J. T. McNally and the Anglicization of the Diocese of Calgary: 1913-1915", *CCHA Historical Studies* 69 (2003): 89.

55. PAA OMI, 73.248 71.220/2135, *History of St. Ann's Parish, 1965*, 6.

in English. After negotiating with several communities of sisters, Bishop Legal and Forget selected the Daughters of Wisdom. Four sisters of the Congregation arrived on 18 September 1911, joining Sr. Marie-Aimée, who at the time was residing in the Grey Nun's Convent while attending the Calgary Normal School in order to obtain the required Alberta Teacher Certificate.[56]

In January 1911, the Congregation of Religious in Rome had authorized the Daughters of Wisdom in Canada to borrow up to $20,000 and to find a lender for the Calgary project.[57] The sisters' mother house was responsible for constructing convents, while the community of sisters was expected to be self-supporting, financed through their provision of gainful services. Boarding schools thus were ideal institutions for sisters; they provided religious environments for students and also brought in revenue by collecting fees for feeding and housing residential students. In addition, convents frequently offered music, art, and language lessons to the general public to materially support their lives in a parish.[58]

Financial difficulties involving the purchase of land were a major factor in the Daughters of Wisdom's decision to withdraw from Calgary after less than a year. The approval by Church authorities for the Daughters of Wisdom to seek loans for their Calgary foundation did not guarantee they could be procured in Canada. Not being incorporated as a civil society in Alberta until January 1912 was an impediment for the sisters when they dealt with local banks, which wanted known Alberta guarantors, and the value of the Congregation's Red Deer property was not sufficient to be used as collateral for Calgary expansion.[59] The litany of financial difficulties facing the sisters in Calgary was formidable, as the Daughters of Wisdom were also investing considerable resources in their concurrent Castor expansion. In the end, options and down payments to buy city lots were arranged with local land agents, using money that was borrowed from St. Ann's Parish and the Tinchebray Fathers.

The lack of capital funds was compounded by meagre revenues. The employment of Sister Marie-Aimée as a teacher at St. Ann's School during the winter term of 1912 helped to augment the meagre incomes of her colleagues at St. Ann's, where they also received some income from related parish work. However, in April 1912, the Separate School Board declined

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56. Simone Re, *The Daughters of Wisdom in Western Canada 1904-1993* (Edmonton, AB, s.n., 1993), 37. (Hereafter, Re, *The Daughters of Wisdom.*)

57. *Ibid.* 35.

58. "Red Deer Convent: Getting Ready for Pupils, Teachers for English and French, *The Alberta Advocate*, 28 Aug. 1908, 1.

59. Re, *The Daughters of Wisdom,* 36, 38.

Father Forget's request that the board pay the sisters $70 per month to teach preschool children in East Calgary.[60] And the plan to build a convent with a boarding school did not get off the ground, thus eliminating another potential source of revenue.

The tense relationship between Father Forget and Mother Théophile, Calgary Superior of the Daughters of Wisdom, was another issue during the sisters' short stay in Calgary. The conflict centered on the issues of language, personalities, and age. As Mother Théophile noted in a letter to Superior General Cécile de la Croix, "[Forget] is upset that the sisters do not speak good English; they hardly speak it at all."[61] Sr. Théophile and Father Forget were in concurrence regarding the need for a boarding school, Sister Marie-Agathe, the Superior in Red Deer, wrote Sister Cécile, "However, the priest and Sister Théophile often ruffle one another."[62] Adding to this personality conflict, both Fathers Voisin and Forget felt that a younger superior for the Calgary Congregation was needed. Sister Théophile was 55 at the time, in poor health, and frequently depressed over the progress of the Calgary foundation, the rude accommodations, and attitudes of some people in the city. She commented, *"Ici, on déteste les Français!"* ("Here, one hates the French!") Voisin did at least acknowledge that Forget's manners at times could be "brusque."[63]

The Bishop and the Tinchebray Fathers were disappointed but not surprised when the Daughters of Wisdom announced in June 1912 their decision to leave Calgary. The stated reasons for the sisters' departure centered around their inability to finance the project and to provide the needed English-speaking sisters for Calgary. When Rev. Father Henri Rondet PSM, procurator for the Tinchebray Fathers, asked Sister Cécile if the transfer of Forget from St. Ann's might reverse their decision, she diplomatically refused to blame the priest.[64]

Between the summers of 1912 and 1913 a number of crucial events occurred that would seal the fate of the Tinchebray Mission in the Diocese of Calgary. Perhaps partly in consequence of the sisters' withdrawal, Forget also decided to call it quits, and departed Alberta .[65] At around the same time, the Diocese of St. Albert was reorganized; John T. McNally was appointed Bishop of the newly created Diocese of Calgary, and Father Voisin was

60. Calgary Catholic Separate School Board (CCSSB) -1912-17, 15 April 1912, 1.
61. Cited in Re, *The Daughters of Wisdom,* 40.
62. *Ibid.*
63. *Ibid.*
64. *Ibid.,* 45.
65. ARCAE priests' biographies, Stanislaus Louis Forget and Sr. Rhonda Brown, *Saint Patrick Parish: A Century of Faith in the Heart of Mount Pleasant* (Vancouver: SFU Document Solutions, 2010), 22-23.

replaced by Father Bazin as the provincial of the Tinchebray Congregation in Alberta. The relationship that developed between the new Bishop and the missionaries would be short and not very sweet. Bishop McNally had a larger agenda on his mind rather than cultivating a smooth relationship with a small band of exiled French monks. Thus, when Father Ciron was appointed as pastor of St. Ann's Parish late in 1912, replacing Forget,[66] he was not in a strong position to deal with a "less favourable bishop."

Bishop McNally and Anglicization

This division of Catholic Alberta meant that the Tinchebray Mission zone was also divided at Township line 30 with the bulk of the mission zone and missionaries remaining north of the line under the jurisdiction of Legal, who now became Archbishop of Edmonton. The northwest section of the Diocese of Calgary included Carstairs with St. Agnes Church and rectory, the Mission of Crossfield, and the station of Airdrie, all situated adjacent to the C&ER line leading to Calgary. St. Ann's Parish also fell within the jurisdiction of the new diocese. The northeast section included the missions of Munson and Carbon, which continued to be served by Father Armand Eugène Robveille PSM from Trochu while Father Laconte from Castor continued to serve the mission posts east of Hanna along the Canadian National Rail line.[67] The Tinchebray Priests who fell under the direct authority of Bishop McNally abruptly changed from serving a bishop who shared common perspectives and valued the utility of religious communities, to a bishop who looked upon religious communities with suspicion. Not surprisingly, the relationship that developed was characterized by mistrust.

In the eight-month interregnum before the arrival of the new bishop, Archbishop Legal made the administrative decisions for the Diocese of Calgary, adding to the complexity of the final jurisdictional transfer and relationships for all concerned. Meanwhile, the unresolved finances and school developments in St. Ann's Parish left by the withdrawals of Father Forget and the Daughters of Wisdom added fuel to potential conflict between the missionaries and their new bishop. McNally's emerging agenda, administrative style, his personality, and his relationships with other Calgary clergy would all have consequences for the Tinchebray Fathers struggling to maintain themselves in the new environment.

Bishop McNally, who was born in Hope River, Prince Edward Island, in 1871, was fluently multilingual, including French, English and Italian,

66. ARCAE, Priests' Biographies, Ciron, Eugène Alphonse Marie, PSM

67. DCA, 993023301 Notes and Missions, 17, PPA, PR1971.220, Lamort to McNally, 26 August, 1913.

with an impressive history in terms of education and clerical experience. His educational resumé included undergraduate designations from Canadian institutions as well as doctoral degrees in philosophy and theology earned in Rome between 1892 and 1897. In 1904, he returned to Rome for an additional two years of study.[68] After his ordination in Rome in 1896 he held a number of church posts in Ontario, Oregon, and Quebec that added to his understanding of the workings of the Canadian Church and enhanced the ecclesiastical networks started during his school days in Canada and Rome. He served as secretary to Archbishop Alexander Christie (1900-1904) of Oregon, and in 1909, as notary to the first Plenary Council of Canada's Catholic Bishops in Quebec. His priestly formation occurred in an era of bitter French-English church conflicts in the Maritimes and Ontario, and as Robert N. Bérard reports, beginning in Calgary and throughout the remainder of his career, McNally frequently found himself in conflict with the French-speaking clergy under his authority.[69]

Bishop McNally came to Calgary in July 1913 with an agenda, support from his superiors, and strong opinions, along with a willingness to act forcibly to achieve his goals. Moreover, he had been specifically selected by Rome for the office in order to begin an anglicization policy for Catholic Church hierarchal jurisdictions across the Prairie West.[70] Authoritarian and outspoken, he set out to ensure that his authority was respected by all diocesan employees, including the Oblates and the Tinchebray Fathers.[71]

McNally's beginning set the pattern for what followed. He sternly rebuked Father Richard D'Alton OMI, Rector at St. Mary's Church, for what he considered to be a poorly organized reception at his installation as bishop on 27 July 1913: he and his entourage had been picked up at the CPR rail station with two ordinary taxicabs that morning.[72] A few days later, D'Alton was replaced as Rector by Father A. Bernard Macdonald, a secular priest

68. Byrne, *Buffalo to the Cross,* 114.

69. Robert Nicholas Bérard, "A Cardinal for English Canada: the Intrigues of Bishop John T. McNally, 1930-1937" *CCHA, Historical Studies*, 63 (1977), 81-100, 82. (Hereafter, Bérard, "Intrigues of Bishop John T. McNally.")

70. Sheila Ross, "Bishop J. T. McNally and the Anglicization of the Diocese of Calgary, 1913-1915," *CCHA Historical Studies* 69 (2003), 86. (Hereafter, Ross, "Bishop J. T. McNally and the Anglicization…")

71. DCA 993022301, McNally (Rome) to Hetherington (Calgary), 2 February 1916.

72. Foran, Timothy. "Transcending Language and Ethnicity: Oblates of Mary Immaculate and the Canonical Erection of the Diocese of Calgary, 1912–1916," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 41, no. 82 (November 2008): 519-21. (Hereafter: Foran,"Transcending Language and Ethnicity…")

and friend of the Bishop.[73] Later historians would note this preference for employing secular priests over regular priests.[74]

Timothy Foran has argued that McNally's prime motive for opposing religious communities in the diocese early in his reign was that he did not want his authority limited by their autonomy.[75] At the time of McNally's arrival in Calgary there were nine regular priests residing within the city limits: six Oblates, two Benedictines and one Tinchebray Father, but not a single secular priest. Indeed, there was only one secular priest out of thirty-seven priests in the entire new Diocese of Calgary.[76] Among the regular clergy of the Diocese, twenty-eight were Oblate priests, two were Tinchebray priests (Carstairs and Calgary), and the rest were members of other congregations, mostly of French origin but not exclusively so.[77]

Starting immediately, McNally introduced anglophone secular priests for parishes in Calgary from the Maritimes, Ontario, the United States, Ireland, and England. His clerical appointees, were of similar mindset as their Bishop.[78] They included his secretary, Father Arthur Hetherington, and Father A. Bernard Macdonald, a professor from Charlottetown's St. Dunstan's College, who was appointed Superintendent of the Calgary Roman Catholic Separate School Board on 12 January 1915 on the recommendation of His Lordship.[79] Fathers Hetherington and Macdonald, along with the Catholic School Board, soon became involved in issues arising from the management of St. Ann's Separate School.

The Bishop's direct interaction with the Tinchebray Fathers in the Diocese of Calgary flowed from his responsibility to oversee the Tinchebray Fathers' administration of the parishes of St. Ann in Calgary, St Agnes in Carstairs, and missions under their charge in the northwest district of the diocese. The missions of the northeast, which had been served by Tinchebray missionaries from the Archdiocese of Edmonton, were transferred to secular priests from the Diocese of Calgary in March 1914.[80] The management of the remaining parishes, especially St. Ann of Calgary, presented some unique challenges because of the diverse actors involved, including Archbishop Legal, Bishop McNally, the Tinchebray Fathers, the Sisters of Charity, and the parishioners.

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73. *Ibid*, 521.
74. Bérard, "…The Intrigues of Bishop John T. McNally," 82.
75. Foran, "Transcending Language and Ethnicity…," 506.
76. DCA, 993023301 Legal, "Notes about Parishes…." 5,6 13.
77. DCA, 993023301 Legal, "Notes about Parishes…"
78. Ross, "Bishop J. T. McNally and the Anglicization…", 99.
79. Ross, "Bishop J. T. McNally and the Anglicization…." 92.
80. PAA, OMI, Acc. 71.220 Box 50, File 2134 (71.220/50/2134), Bishop's Secretary to Bazin, 25 March 1914.

The Sisters of Charity at St. Ann's Parish

Shortly before McNally's arrival in Calgary, St. Ann's Parish Council on 15 June 1913 passed a resolution stating, "It is the feeling of this meeting that the control of the school (St. Ann) should be secured at the earliest possible convenience of the Sisters [of Charity of Our Lady of Evron]…."[81] At the same meeting the church trustees agreed to build a presbytery for the parish priests, estimated to cost about $10,000, to be located near the proposed new site for the church building near the newly constructed, four-room brick St. Ann's Separate School at 21st Ave S.E. Meanwhile, the Sisters of Charity had purchased four lots with the intention of constructing a convent near the school building, "accepted to take charge of the Separate School, erected for the said parish of St. Ann."[82] The apparently coordinated maneuver by Legal, Ciron, and the St. Ann Parish trustees gives the appearance of handing a *fait accompli* to McNally upon his arrival in Calgary.

McNally had no intention of rubber-stamping their decision. Throughout his Calgary tenure, he displayed a keen interest in education, attending board meetings on a regular basis. He especially wanted to ensure that the separate school graduates were on par and competitive with those of the public schools. Shortly after his arrival in Calgary, he met with separate school board members so that the trustees could "learn his views and receive his suggestion."[83]

Whether as a result of McNally's intervention, subsequent decisions by the Calgary Separate School Board thwarted Ciron's and Legal's intention to have Sisters of Charity of Our Lady of Evron replace the Daughters of Wisdom at St. Ann's separate school. At its 5 July 1913 meeting, the board had tabled a request from Ciron for a kindergarten in East Calgary to be operated by the Sisters of Charity.[84] Six months later, on 10 January 1914, the Board resolved:

> … that it is the sense of this Board, … that they disapprove of the engaging as teachers, the Sisters of different Orders, as they deem this policy to be for the best interest of the Separate Schools. And, inasmuch as the Board had been advised that it is the intention of a certain Order of Nuns to come into St. Ann's Parish to become members of the Teaching staff of the Calgary

81. DCA 2008130, Ciron to Legal 17 *juin* 1913.

82. DCA 999023301, Legal to McNally, "Notes about Parishes and Missions…" 31 *juillet* 1913 6.

83. Ross, "Bishop J. T. McNally and the Anglicization…," 91

84. Calgary Catholic Separate School Board: minutes' book 1912-17, 5 July 1913, 61.

> Separate schools, that the Chairman (John Burns) be delegated to interview Father Ciron, and make known the actions of the Board in this regard….[85]

After Burns met with Father Ciron on 12 March, he submitted a report to a special meeting of the Board held on 18 March 1914 specifically regarding the decision not to hire "French teaching Nuns" from Trochu as teachers in Calgary Separate Schools.[86] The Board reaffirmed and elaborated on the resolution of 10 January. In an explanatory letter to Ciron, Board Secretary Treasurer J. Connolly echoed McNally's educational philosophy, reiterating the Board's view that an order of French teaching nuns would not be "in the best interest of the various schools, throughout the city," and could not "achieve the measure of success" required, though neither he nor the Board said exactly why.[87]

The Bishop's direct relationship with the Sisters of Charity had begun shortly after his arrival in Calgary, when Archbishop Legal gave him the transfer documents containing detailed information about the churches and missions of his new diocese. The Sisters of Charity had already committed considerable funds toward their installation in the parish, including the $4,000 cash payment to the parish for the purchase of four lots and an offer of $6,000 toward the cost of the relocation of the St. Ann's Church building.[88] In all, they would spend a total of $11,259 on their Calgary project before it collapsed.[89]

Despite Legal's earlier permissions, Bishop McNally opposed the Sisters of Charity's plans for St. Ann's Parish.[90] The change in attitude came as a rude shock to the Sisters' provincial, Mother Recton, on her return from France in the spring of 1914, having arranged there financing for the Calgary project. When she advised McNally on 7 April that construction of the sisters' convent in St. Ann's Parish would begin in two weeks,[91] the Bishop's secretary, Father Hetherington, informed her that the bishop now

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85. Calgary Catholic Separate School Board minutes, 10 Jan 1914, 83-85; see, too, DCA 20081301, Ciron à Legal, 17 *juin* 1913.

86. DCA 993040406 (Sisters of Charity N.D. d'Evron, St Ann's Calgary), Connolly to Ciron, [copy] 20 March 1914.

87. *Ibid.*

88. PAA OMI, 73.248 71.220/2135, History of St. Ann's Parish, 1965, 9. The church building was moved to the Mills subdivision in the summer of 1913.

89. DCA 993022301 McNally (Rome) to Hetherton(Calgary), 2 February 1916. The original St. Ann's Church was more than twelve blocks distant from the school and the planned convent, and the sisters wanted the convenience of church, convent and school within easy walking distance of each other.

90. DCA 993021621 (McNally Letter file) H. Leduc to McNally, 3 May 1914. Father Leduc, born in Evron France along with Legal, strongly supported the recent foundation of the same sisters in Trochu.

91. DCA 993040406, Recton to McNally, 28 *novembre* 1913.

felt that there was not much scope for the Sisters' activities in the city. As a consequence, he "…expects that…you will abstain from making any further arrangements for opening a new foundation in Calgary, until such time as he will feel justified in granting his written authorization."[92] The only recourse left to the Sisters of Charity in the Diocese of Calgary was to withdraw and find a way to recoup their losses.

McNally versus the Tinchebray Fathers

Even as he blocked the Sisters of Charity, McNally turned his direct attention to problems of administration in St. Ann's Parish. On several occasions, concerned parishioners interviewed Fathers Ciron, Chauvin, and Bazin regarding parish issues and subsequently reported their findings to the Bishop. In one example, parishioner James Sleemen, writing on the Bishop's own stationary, complained about Father Ciron's management of the parish and his non-payment of a debt of $12,000 to Patrick Burns. Burns had paid a note signed two and a half years previous by Father Forget, the St. Ann Trustees, and Burns. Sleemen and parishioners felt leaving the prominent and generous Catholic on the hook for parish debt was, to say the least, "unkind."[93] He also complained about the makeup of the parish council, stating, "Out of about One hundred & twenty families in the parish only eight are French and yet two of the four trustees are chosen from these Eight families."[94]

Bishop McNally provided a loan of $2,000 from the Diocese to help St. Ann's Parish reimburse Burns,[95] but even with the Bishop's loan, Father Ciron and the parish had trouble coming up with the funds to cover Burns' generosity. It took a combination of three increasingly stern letters from the Bishop and his secretary to get the issue resolved.[96] In the following months, McNally would continue to seek financial and legal status information about St. Ann's Parish.[97] Meanwhile, in early 1915, Father Chauvin of Sylvan Lake reluctantly replaced the exhausted Father Ciron as pastor, though Chauvin preferred to remain in the Archdiocese of Edmonton.[98]

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92. DCA 993040406, Hetherington to Mother Provincial, 16 April 1914.
93. James Sleemen, Statement, PAA PR1971.220, Box 50 F, 2134, c.1914.
94. Ibid.
95. 1914 1/15 PAA PR1971.220, Item 2134, Loan Receipt, 15 January 1914.
96. PAA PR1971.220, Item 2134 Letters of 2, 27, 30 May 1914.
97. PAA PR1971.220, Item 2134 Bishop's Sec (A. H.) to Ciron, 30 May 1914. He requested documents regarding the Congregation's contract with the diocese and about acts of canonical erection of St. Ann Parish and missions so that the Bishop could complete his status report of the diocese to Rome.
98. DCA Acc 200801301 Chauvin to Legal, 6 *juin* 1915. In a letter to Archbishop Legal that June, Chauvin wrote, "Getting use[d] to Calgary but regret leaving Edmonton diocese and your paternally sound judgment."

Bishop McNally's push to dislodge other regular communities from their protected parishes in Calgary was a growing concern for the Tinchebray Fathers in the city. In 1912 the English Benedictines of Ampleforth had assumed possession of St. Benedict's (St. Joseph) Parish, with the blessing of Bishop Legal under the designation of *titulo perpetuo*.[99] They intended to establish a college in Calgary,[100] but became the first community of regular priests to give up their permanent status by voluntarily withdrawing from their parish when they came to the full realization in 1914 that their its autonomous teaching style could not be made to work under the daily oversight of the authoritarian Bishop McNally.[101]

McNally's well known dispute with the Oblates over their eviction from Calgary's Sacred Heart parish, which the Oblates believed they held by *titulo perpetuo*,[102] is revealing about both his methods and his attitude towards regular, particularly regular French-origin clergy. *En route* to Rome early in January 1916 to defend his actions in a hearing before the Sacred Consistorial Congregation in the Vatican, McNally wrote his secretary, Father Hetherington, "The enemy has appealed the case of Lethbridge to Rome, which has cabled to prevent the "supulsion."[103] He coined the term "supulsion" in place of the French and English words "expulsion" or "suppression," giving the appearance of mocking the accented speech of the Oblate Provincial, Father Grandin. He further noted that Grandin, who had been in New York the previous week, had spread untruths, including a claim that the "district" taken from the Tinchebray Fathers was currently without priests or service.[104] In a later letter to Hetherington, McNally complained that the French Canadians claimed that, "I drove the Benedictines out of Calgary." McNally drew the Tinchebray Fathers and the Sisters of Charity into the ecclesiastical dispute as well, noting that the "Evron sisters have through the Oblates called [on] me to either admit them to the diocese or hand over $11,259." McNally's tone was militant. "The fight is on with those people," he declared, "and it is a fight, not alone for my existence personally as a bishop, but for the cause of religion under present conditions as against a dead and useless past." With an eye to developments in Calgary during his absence, he instructed Hetherington, "Try to keep a line on the

99. Byrne*, from the Buffalo to the Cross,* 156.

100. Ross, "Bishop McNally and the Benedictine of Ampleforth," CCHA, *Historical Studies,* 64 (1990): 119.

101. Ross, "Bishop McNally and the Benedictines of Ampleforth," CCHA, *Historical Studies,* 64 (1990): 130.

102. DCA 993021621, Stagni to McNally, September 3, 1915.

103. DCA 993022301 McNally (Rome) to Hetherington (Calgary) 18 January 1916.

104. Ibid.

comments of the enemy there, and to let me know at once of any untoward occurrence or effects."[105]

Already, Father Macdonald had informed the Bishop of just such an "untoward occurrence" involving the Tinchebray Fathers.[106] On 31 January, a parish delegation consisting of A. J. Barry, Patrick Foley, P. V. Burgard, and William King had met with Father Bazin to discover the reason for St. Ann's high debt and why Bazin had castigated parishioners during the Sunday Masses the day before. Bazin explained that the financial problems were associated with the withdrawal of the $6,000 pledge made by the Sisters of Charity after Bishop McNally repudiated his verbal commitment to allow the sisters to reside in Calgary (as previously noted).[107] According to the delegation's later statement, Bazin had harshly rebuked the parishioners for their poor treatment of their Tinchebray pastors, one of whom, Bazin said, was on his deathbed in Trochu owing to hard work. The delegation thought it inappropriate that a priest from another diocese should speak that way at St. Ann's: "They think that if such things need to be said they should come from him who is appointed by the Holy See to care for the welfare of the diocese."[108]

Earlier in January, two St. Ann's parishioners Thomas Galvin and J. A. Barry (who was part of the 31 January delegation) had complained to the Bishop about comments that Father Chauvin had made in St. Ann's rectory the previous March. According to them, Chauvin had declared, "Your Lordship … had not been appointed in the right way but had been put in by the Papal Delegate—if Father Jan were here as bishop things would be different. At the same time, he made the statement that your Lordship would not be here long."[109] They ended, "Trusting these few facts may enable Your Lordship to see the animus of our pastor."[110]

More evidence of the Tinchebrays' alleged "animus" came from Hugh J. McSweeney, an Irish-Canadian Catholic from Calgary, who wrote McNally about a conversation he had with Father Bazin on 16 February while traveling

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105. DCA 993022301 McNally (Rome) to Hetherington (Calgary) 28 February 1916. He also requested documents regarding the Benedictines as well as financial returns from St. Ann's and Medicine Hat.

106. PAA PR1971.220, MacDonald (Calgary) to McNally (Rome), 5 February 1916. McNally noted in his letter to Hetherington that Father Bazin had "let loose" on the parishioners during Sunday Masses on 30 January.

107. PR1971.220, Interview of Fr. Bazin at St. Ann's Rectory, 31 January 1916 by A. J. Barry & Patrick Foley, et. al., 2 February 1916.

108. *Ibid.*

109. 1916 1/6 PAA PR1971.220, Barry to McNally re March 1915 Interview of Chauvin, January 6, 1916.

110. DCA Acc 200801301 Chauvin to Legal, 6 *juin* 1915.

on the Canadian National Railway from Rocky Ford to Munson.[111] As McSweeney recalled that August, Bazin began:

> 'Your Bishop is now in Rome. He was called to Rome.' This was the beginning of our conversation, which lasted about one hour and a half. He then mentioned the fact that your Lordship had tried to deprive Father Lépine of his parish and the French priests had written Rome complaining of this persecution. Your Lordship had been called, and he then added: 'It is not likely he will ever be back here.' He proclaimed openly that, 'they, i.e. the French priests, would yet put the Bishop out' … I sincerely hope that he does not talk to every stranger he meets with the same freedom as he talked to me.[112]

Clearly, Fathers Bazin and Chauvin had shown a lack of discretion.

On 22 March, McNally advised Hetherington to be on guard if he went to Edmonton, "the hotbed of the enemy," to get Holy Oils for Easter services. Repeating the imagery of his February missive, he added, "This is a fight for life, and we must not let the enemy gain any advantage. Their ways are dark and devious, as I have had too many proofs, and it is well to be always on guard and circumvent any attempt at trickery."[113]

This letter and those cited above show that McNally feared for his position in Calgary, but, more importantly, he feared for the program of change he brought to Calgary. The old regime of the "dead and useless past" was delivered primarily by French Oblates originating in the missionary era, while McNally's appointment was ushering in a new era in Calgary, delivered by English-speaking secular priests. The Tinchebray Fathers and the Sisters of Charity of Our Lady of Evron, it would seem, were included in the dead past. Ill-advised actions by Tinchebray Fathers, especially Bazin, merely reinforced the Bishop's intentions to reduce the presence of French regular clergy in the city of Calgary.

McNally rendered a harsh report on the Tinchebray Fathers' administration of St. Ann's Parish to the Sacred Consistorial Congregation during his 1916 sojourn in Rome that the Very Rev. Father A. Guibert, Tinchebray Superior General in France, characterized as a "virtually an indictment."[114] Cardinal Gaetano De Lai, Secretary of the Sacred Consistorial Congregation, informed Rev. Father Henri Rondet, the Tinchebray

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111. PAA, OMI, 71.220/50/2134, McSweeney to McNally (copy), 23 August 1916. To make matters even worse, a non-Catholic in the next seat even joined in the conversation during the two-hour journey.

112. PAA, OMI, 71.220/50/2134, McSweeney to McNally (copy), 23 August 1916.

113. DCA 993022301 McNally (Rome) to Hetherington (Calgary) 22 March, 1916.

114. RDDA, MG462, PSM, Guibert (France) to *Monseigneur* (Edmonton), 19 *août* 1916.

procurator residing in Rome, that they would not prevail in a counter suit against McNally.[115] With the stated intention to preserve peace in Calgary, the Tinchebray Superior General decided to withdraw from the Diocese "voluntarily" despite St. Ann's designation of *titulo perpetuo* given to the Tinchebray Congregation. However, the Congregation wanted it recognized that the decision to leave the Dioceses was on its own initiative. Rondet noted that the Tinchebray Fathers did not have an anglophone priest and that a bilingual francophone regular priest would find it impossible to work well in the environment of anglophone secular priests of Calgary.[116] In some face-saving cover to the one-sided compromise settlement, the agreement stipulated that McNally would attach a letter to his report of St. Ann's Parish deposited in the Vatican Archives. The letter would acknowledge that the missionaries did good work during their stay in Calgary. In addition, the missionaries were to be given sufficient time to retreat from their parishes, and all parish debts they accumulated during their tenures would be assumed by their former parishes.[117] In the end, however, the Bishop got what he wanted—the removal of the French religious community from Diocese and City of Calgary.

What were the reasons for the Bishop's three-year hostility toward the Tinchebray Congregation? After the reinstated Provincial, Father Voisin, informed McNally of the Tinchebray's withdrawal from the Diocese, McNally replied, blaming the deterioration of his proclaimed good relationship with the Tinchebray Fathers entirely on the actions of some of its members. The Bishop declared:

> In the beginning, three years ago, most cordial relations existed between your Fathers and the new Bishop of Calgary, but gradually, by no means and in no measure through the fault of the latter, disagreeable events began to occur, and succeeded one another, until they have reached the present unhappy culmination.[118]

He added that he held documentary evidence of the undeserved "vilification and denunciation" he had endured publicly and semi-publicly from the former Provincial, Father Bazin, and Tinchebray parish priests in Calgary and Carstairs.[119] McNally alleged that Bazin had never shown the proper respect to his office and person, and, certainly, the Bishop's files record incidents of indiscreet comments by Bazin and Chauvin that were aimed at the Bishop and recorded in semi-public settings. Bazin, like McNally, had

115. PAA, OMI, 71.220/50/2134, Rondet (Rome) to *Sacra Congregation Consistorialis* (Rome), 22 *juillet* 1916.

116. Rondet to Sacra Congregation, *juillet* 1916.

117. Rondet to Sacra Congregation, 1916.

118. PAA, PR1971.220/2134, McNally to Voisin, 7 November 1916.

119. PAA, OMI, 71.220/50/2134, McNally to Voisin, 7 November 1916.

a reputation for being outspoken and excitable.[120] For his part the Bishop's correspondence with Hetherington contain petty comments about religious communities that might be considered anti-French.

After the death of Archbishop Legal on 10 March 1920, Bishop McNally expressed his stand in support of anglicization in western Canadian episcopates, in a letter to Cardinal Sbaretti, the Perfect of the Sacred Congregation of the Council in Rome,[121] Regarding the selection of the next archbishop of Edmonton, McNally asserted that the archdiocese was known as the "French Church," and as such was out of touch with the realities of Alberta, an English-speaking province with only six percent of its population being persons of French descent. He noted that as long as there was a French bishop at the head of the Archdiocese his effectiveness as head of the Church would be minimal. He stated, "The thought of this should give pause to the deliberations of the Sacred Congregation … when French names are presented for succession to the See of Edmonton, or, indeed, to most of the Western Sees when they become vacant…."[122] McNally's statistics were selective in that he cited Alberta population data, but did not include the statistics for the Catholic population of the Archdiocese of Edmonton, which showed that about forty-seven percent of its laity were of French origin.[123] While his supporting data might be misleading, McNally' sentiments were crystal clear.

Vegreville

After serving three years in Calgary under the hostile anglophone administration of Bishop McNally, Tinchebray Fathers Chauvin and Renut retreated back to the safety and support of the Archdiocese of Edmonton under the charge of the like-minded but aging Archbishop Legal and their old friend, Chancellor Leduc. Leduc again would offer the Tinchebray Fathers an opportunity to expand, this time to a parish that lay outside their traditional mission zone but seemingly shared values common to the missionaries and the Archbishop alike.

The predominantly French-speaking and developed parish of St. Martin in Vegreville was offered to the Congregation and accepted in 1917. St. Martin's pastor, Father Jean-Charles Bernier, assumed the mantle of the

120. ARCAE 7.3.28, Leconte to Legal, 1 *janv.* 1920.

121. McNally to Sbaretti, 27 March 1920; cited in Byrne, *From the Buffalo to the Cross*, 122.

122. Cited in Byrne, *From* the B*uffalo to the Cross*, 122-23.

123. ARCAE, Louis-Joseph-Amédée Derome, ed., *Le Canada ecclésiastique, almanach annuaire du clergé canadien pour l'année 1920* (Montréal: Librairie Beauchemin limitée, 1920), 279.

archdiocesan chancellorship from the ailing Leduc while Father Bazin became the new parish pastor.[124] In the same year, Legal requested that both the Tinchebray presbytery school and Father Paul Lamort PSM, school director in Trochu, be transferred to Vegreville.[125] The request was actualized in the fall of 1918, but, regrettably, Lamort died shortly after the move, in November 1918, a victim of the Spanish Flu pandemic.[126]

In the last year of the Legal episcopate, the relationship between the Tinchebray Congregation and the Archbishop soured, largely due to the influence of Chancellor Bernier, a French-Canadian secular priest who had a less favorable view of the French-origin congregation than did his superiors. Bernier had become St. Martin's Parish first resident priest in 1904, and until 1917 was largely responsible for initiating the development of its institutions, which included a presbytery, church, convents, hospital, and separate school. He owned the presbytery, which was unusual for a secular priest, due to the fact that he had taken out a large personal loan for its construction because St Martin's Parish Council at the time was strapped for money. Leduc had strongly supported Legal's choice of the Tinchebray Fathers to administer the parish when Bernier was elevated to the chancellorship in 1917.[127] Bernier was skeptical of the Tinchebray Fathers' ability to manage the large parish and its missions, given their existing over-commitments and their problematic history, but at the time Leduc's perspective trumped Bernier's doubts.[128]

After 1917, Bernier expressed growing dissatisfaction with the amount of rent he was receiving from the Tinchebray Fathers for his presbytery as well as the price the St. Martin's Parish Countil offered for its purchase. The presbytery school students housed in the residence, with their high energy levels, were another concern. Bernier blamed Father Bazin for his financial woes, and after two years of frustration over his financial claims, the Chancellor aired his grievances with the Archbishop. The seven-page report Bernier delivered personally to Legal in mid-November 1919 reviewed at length his considerable sacrifices and achievements at St. Martin's to justify his desire to recoup some of his financial investments there, and presented a litany of complaints against Father Bazin as pastor.[129] In his own defense, Father Bazin claimed that Bernier viewed his chancellorship

124. ARCAE, 7.3.122, Émile-Joseph Legal, 11 *septembre* 1917 (Copy 27 *janvier* 1921).

125. ARCAE, 7.3.122, Voisin to Émile-Joseph Legal, 27 août 1918.

126. RDDA MG462, Guibert (Flers, France) to *Cher Pères,* 7 October 1919.

127. Bernier Report of 1919, 6.

128. ARCAE 1.5.B.59 (Bernier File) *Report Regarding Bazin in Vegreville,* Bernier to Legal, (?) *novembre* 1919, 5. (Hereafter, Bernier Report of 1919)

129. Bernier Report of 1919, 6.

as a temporary appointment, alleging that the new Chancellor intended to return to St. Martin's at the end of his term in the hierarchy.[130]

Bernier couched his criticisms of Bazin within a larger indictment of the overall poor performance of the Tinchebray Mission throughout its time in Alberta. He asserted that the Congregation was not as successful as French-Canadian secular priests had been in a comparable district north of Edmonton because of their poor record in the development of parishes, institutions, and colonization along with their alleged disdain for the secular clergy of the country.[131] He proclaimed that the short-lived St. Mary's Apostolic School in Red Deer (1909-1916) was too ambitious and ill-conceived—factors that led to the school's failure. He accused the Tinchebray Fathers of being more interested in the good of their Congregation than the parishes they served,[132] and strongly argued as the Archdiocesan Chancellor that the Tinchebray Congregation should not be offered St. Martin's Parish under designation *of titulo perpetuo,* as in Red Deer and Trochu, because in his opinion they were poor managers. "Their colonization has failed," he added, "and this is probably because the P. P. (Tinchebray) have always kept away from the diocesan clergy and could not gain any experience of the country,"[133]

The Archbishop called Bazin to the city and read the report to the St. Martin's pastor in his office, allowing no questions. The Congregation members were greatly offended at the treatment of their brother priest, and the Tinchebray Alberta Superior, Father Leconte, strongly objected to the Bernier Report in private conversations with the Archbishop as well as in several letters to His Grandeur.[134] Leconte, in his official capacity, investigated the situation in Vegreville, concluding that Bernier had instigated the conflict with Bazin.[135] Afterwards, the Alberta Tinchebray Council passed a resolution demanding a canonical investigation into Bernier's semi-public report. (He had shown the report to several priests in Edmonton before taking it to the Archbishop.[136]) The investigation never took place.

Leconte wrote a more conciliatory letter to the Archbishop on New Year's Day 1920, admitting that Bazin had his faults: he was a man of sensation and did not always measure his words carefully. Nevertheless,

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130. Pierre Jules Bazin, "Exposé de ma gestion à Végréville depuis 1917, pour répondre aux accusations lancées contre moi par le Rev. M. Bernier", ARCAE (Vegreville File) Bazin to O'Leary, (Vegreville, Alberta : n.p, 15 février 1921), 2. (Hereafter Bazin, Exposé, 1921.)

131. Bernier Report of 1919.

132. Bernier Report of 1919.

133. Bernier Report of 1919,7

134. ARCAE, 7.3.28 (Castor), Leconte to Legal, 26 *décembre* 1919.

135. ARCAE, 7.3.28, Leconte to Legal, 26 *décembre* 1919.

136. ARCAE, 7.3.28, Leconte to Legal, 26 *décembre* 1919.

Leconte asked Legal to destroy the report or at least pen his disclaimer on it before filing the document in the archives.[137] Legal did neither before he died in March 1920, leaving the situation to be dealt with by the Episcopal Council at a later date.[138]

Archbishop Henry Joseph O'Leary, 1920–24

Edmonton's new archbishop, Henry J. O'Leary, arrived in Edmonton on 7 December 1920 with a plan to introduce an English-language administration for the Archdiocese that would have drastic consequences for the Tinchebray Fathers who had laboured in Alberta for nearly two decades. Like McNally in Calgary, O'Leary intended to introduce English-speaking secular priests in English-speaking and mixed language parishes to replace French regular priests wherever circumstances allowed. He did not attempt to eliminate French clerical and institutional presence in his domain to the extent that McNally had done earlier in Calgary because the French element comprised the largest single linguistic group in the diocese. This population expected to regularly hear sermons in French from native-born French speakers and to have access to French language institutions.

A week after his arrival, O'Leary articulated his intention to change the French-English ratio of clerics in a letter to his brother Louis, who had succeeded him as Bishop of Charlottetown: "But oh the state of the diocese! The clergy is all French. Quebec has nothing on it." He added, "For God sake see that we get some English priests…. I am going to appeal to various Bishops for English speaking priests and students. I am already receiving many applications from French Priests…. Kindly pray for me and this diocese and try to send all the boys you can even at a sacrifice."[139]

As he had indicated to his brother, Archbishop O'Leary immediately embarked on a campaign to recruit English-speaking priests from the east, especially the Maritimes, and to reduce the number of French-speaking priests in his domain.[140]

While O'Leary's limited goals in Edmonton were similar to McNally's in Calgary, O'Leary was outwardly more respectful, congenial, and diplomatic in his relationship with his clergy and French flock.[141] He was fluent in French as he had grown up in New Brunswick, graduated from

137. ARCAE, 7.3.28, Leconte to Legal, 1 *janvier* 1920.

138. Bernier Report of 1919.

139. ADC, Bishop Louis O'Leary Papers. Henry to Louis, 15 Dec. 1920.

140. Peter McGuigan, "Edmonton, Archbishop Henry O'Leary and the Roaring Twenties," *Alberta History* 44, no. 9 (Autumn, 1996), 9.

141. ARCAE, 7.3.122, Hermary to O'Leary, 15 *août* 1932.

the Grand Seminary of Montreal, and earned three graduate degrees in Europe between 1901 and 1905, including one in French Literature from the Sorbonne in France.[142] He would have been well aware of the Tinchebray Congregation because he lodged in their residence near the Vatican while completing his graduate studies in Rome.[143]

Father Voisin believed O'Leary's public persona was a false show: it, was, as he put it, "Camouflage."[144] In the case of the Tinchebray Fathers this perception rang true. O'Leary's relationship with the Tinchebray Fathers was essentially adversarial. As Father Voisin asserted, the Archbishop was patiently looking for opportunities to find fault with these French missionaries so that he could pounce to reduce the number of parishes in their charge.[145]

Archbishop O'Leary's initial contact with the Tinchebray Fathers in Canada was congenial enough. The sisters and students of St. Joseph's Convent in Red Deer greeted the new Archbishop and his retinue as his train paused at the CPR Station to pick up Fathers Leconte and Voisin in December 1920.[146] When the entourage reached their destination later that afternoon they were greeted by a large gathering of the faithful and others.[147] O'Leary observed with satisfaction, "My reception here was wonderful. The French were delighted that I could speak French so easily."[148] The Archbishop had not been in Edmonton for more than two hours, however, before he began to hint at changes regarding French religious communities, declaring to Voisin, "There are too many communities of women in this diocese." Voisin later asserted that O'Leary in truth was referring to francophone sisters because shortly after taking office he began offering employment to anglophone female congregations.[149]

Little more than a year into his episcopate, O'Leary began reducing the parishes assigned to the Tinchebray Congregation, beginning in Vegreville, where the festering issue between Fathers Bazin and Bernier over St. Martin's Parish exploded into an incident that gave the Archbishop an opportunity.

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142. Father Art O'Shea, *The O'Leary's Two*, Diocese of Charlottetown, 1995, 5. (Hereafter, O'Shea, *The O'Leary's Two*.)

143. Editor, Prospectus, *Tinchebray Institute History*, *Au Canada,* ca.1930, 73.

144. Henri Voisin, U. of A. Bruce Peel Special Collections Bx 1423 21 V897 1924, *Rien qu'un coin de sa politique francophobe.* [Alberta (?): s.n.], 1924, Letter – Oct 14, 1924. Voisin to O'Leary, 7. (Hereafter: Voisin, *Rien qu'un*, 1924.)

145. ARCAE, 7.3.28, Leconte to O'Leary, 23 *septembre* 1924.

146. "Reception to Archbishop O'Leary," *Red Deer News*, Red Deer, Alberta, 15 Dec. 1920, 7.

147. *Red Deer News*, Red Deer, Alberta, 15 Dec. 1920, 7

148. ADC, Bishop Louis O'Leary Papers, Henry to Louis. 15 Dec. 1920.

149. Voisin, *Rien qu'un*, 1924, 2.

Father Bazin unwisely confronted Dr. J. F. Bélanger in his office at the hospital because of his role in circulating a petition demanding Bazin's removal as pastor.[150] Bazin readily admitted that he slapped the doctor; the doctor said it was a punch,[151] and the affair became known in the Archdiocese as the *"coup de poing*."[152] As Bazin later recounted, "I have been dragged in the mud by the combination of Belanger-Bernier; Belanger for five years has been accusing me of the most abominable things."[153] Archbishop O'Leary declared that he had supported his harassed priest up to that point, but this incident left him no choice other than to accept Bazin's resignation, which Bazin offered on 13 February 1922.[154] O'Leary's ostensible compassion is questioned by the fact that the Archbishop had already informed Tinchebray Provincial Father Leconte on 17 January, nearly a month earlier, that he was considering taking back St. Martin's Parish from the Congregation.[155]

From this point, O'Leary's reduction of the Tinchebray Mission accelerated. The Red Deer District of the Tinchebray Mission, stretching along the CPR line from Blackfalds to Olds, was reduced in November 1922. In the English-speaking parish of Olds and its missions of Innisfail and Didsbury, French Fathers Renut and Chauvin were replaced by an anglophone secular priest who lasted only two weeks in his new post.[156] The two departing priests retreated to the Castor District, leaving Voisin as the sole Tinchebray priest in the Red Deer District. By the summer of 1924, Renut and Chauvin had departed Alberta altogether.

Additional changes occurred in Red Deer during 1923 when Hebridean Scottish Catholic immigrants, along with their chaplain, Father John MacMillan, were lodged and provided agricultural training at the decommissioned Indian Industrial School located within the boundaries of the Red Deer Parish. The settlement scheme was enthusiastically supported by O'Leary, who saw it as a potential source of more English-speaking Catholics in the district and Archdiocese.[157] Father Voisin, who had not been informed of the move in advance, complained that placing a parish within a parish was contrary to Canon Law.[158] Ignoring the question of legalities,

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150 ARCAE, (Vegreville file), Bazin to McGuigan, 18 May 1922.

151. ARCAE (Vegreville file), Bélanger to O'Leary, 19 Jan. 1922.

152. Voisin, *Rien qu'un*, 1924*,* 6.

153. Bazin to James C. McGuigan, 18 May 1922. Bazin regarded McGuigan as his friend among the Edmonton hierarchy.

154. ARCAE, (Vegreville File), Bazin to O'Leary, 13 Feb. 1922. Voisin, *Rien qu'un*, 1924, 1924, 5.

155. Voisin, *Rien qu'un*, 1924, 6.

156. ARCAE, 7.3.28, O'Leary to Leconte, 24 *novembre* 1922.

157. R. A. MacDonell, "British Immigration Schemes in Alberta," *Alberta Historical Review*, Spring 1968, 5.

158. Voisin, *Rien qu'un*, 1924, 3.

Archbishop O'Leary informed Leconte on 19 July 1924 that he wanted Voisin removed from Red Deer as soon as possible, as he wanted to place an English-speaking secular priest at the head of the mixed parish to better facilitate the Scottish immigration program and to coordinate Red Deer with his anglophone secular priests in the region.[159] Father Leconte agreed that such administrative decisions were the Archbishop's prerogative as the Ordinary. In the name of peace, he was willing to surrender the parish's designation of *titulo perpetuo.* However, the Tinchebray Provincial urged that, in recognition of his long service, personal sacrifices, and contributions to the development of the Church in Alberta, Voisin should be offered a comparable position elsewhere in the diocese.[160] Most of the Red Deer parishioners signed a petition requesting the retention of their pastor of twenty years.[161] O'Leary was not swayed. Nor did he offer Father Voisin a comparable position.

The Archbishop did offer the francophone parish of Beaumont in the Edmonton region to the five remaining Tinchebray priests during the summer of 1924, gratuitously advising that the move would restore to them a community life as a religious congregation. On first glance, it appeared to be a reasonable consolation offer, as Beaumont was a French-language parish, after all, but Voisin described it as "death by strangulation."[162] Beaumont's 135 families plainly could not support five priests. It is clear that the offer of Beaumont was cover for the Archbishop's plan to squeeze the Tinchebray Fathers out of their mission districts, and Father Leconte respectfully declined the offer.[163]

In the meantime, Leconte manoeuvred to protect his Alberta Congregation. With the help of Rev. Father François Blanchin OMI, Alberta Oblate Provincial, he quietly negotiated a transfer of the Tinchebray mission to the Diocese of Prince Albert in Saskatchewan, which was administered by a francophone bishop. In September 1924, Leconte accepted Bishop Joseph Henri Jean Marie Prud'homme's offer of missions in the Star City district of the diocese.[164]

O'Leary expressed surprise when Leconte announced that the Superior General and Council of the Tinchebray Congregation in France had ordered a general withdrawal of all of the Tinchebray Priests from the Archdiocese of

159. ARCAE, 7.3.28, Leconte to O'Leary, 19 *juillet* 1924.
160. ARCAE, 7.3.28, Leconte to O'Leary, 19 *juillet* 1924.
161. ARCAE, 7.3.122, Red Deer Parish Trustees to O'Leary, 25 *juillet* 1924.
162. Voisin, *Rien qu'un,* 1924, 5.
163. Leconte to O'Leary, 12 *mai* 1924.
164. PAA, OMI, PA, - Tinchebray Fathers 1924-1943, 84.400/9/349, Blanchin to Leconte, 9 *septembre* 1924.

Edmonton, effective by the middle of October.[165] He should not have been. It was the logical outcome of his attrition campaign against the Tinchebray Fathers.[166]

As early as August 1924, O'Leary had begun to replace regular Tinchebray Priests in the mission zone with secular priests. He appointed Father Wilfrid Patrick McNabb of *Rivière-Qui-Barre* to Trochu and anglophone Father Ernest Battle to the mixed-language parish of Stettler, responding to Father Leconte's request for the appointments because of staffing shortages.[167] Bilingual priests were appointed to Castor and Trochu because French-speakers made up more than a third of the parishioners in each of the parishes.[168] However, Red Deer received anglophone Father Joseph MacDonald, a cousin to O'Leary, even though French-speakers constituted a third of its Catholic population.[169] The appointment became a festering issue that was not resolved until 1932.

As for the foregoing appointments demonstrate, O'Leary's four-year relationship with the Tinchebray Fathers was hostile in the sense that his intention was to reduce their presence in the Archdiocese, if not to remove them altogether, as part of his overall strategy to appoint secular priests to parishes rather than regular clergy and establish a clergy that was more balanced in terms of the French-English equation. Some of the secular priests were bilingual French and English-speaking priests, depending on the perceived needs of the parish as seen by the Archbishop.

Conclusion

Under the positive and supportive tutelage of Archbishop Legal, the Tinchebray Mission to central Alberta thrived and expanded for most of its sixteen years. Catholic institutions that served all Catholics were firmly established throughout central Alberta. Under their dedicated guidance, the separate schools and hospitals managed by English-speaking francophone sisters were especially welcome in rural parishes that had a noticeable francophone component among the parishioners. Overall, these institutions were the lasting legacies of the Tinchebray Fathers in the region. The appointment of Father Jean-Charles Bernier as Chancellor in 1917, however,

165. ARCAE, 7.3.28, Leconte to O'Leary, 23 *septembre* 1924.

166. "I regret losing you especially, dear father Leconte," O'Leary wrote. ARCAE, 7.3.28, O'Leary to Leconte, 25 *septembre* 1924.

167. ARCAE 7.3.28 O'Leary to Leconte, 19 August, 1924.

168. ARCAE 7.3.28, O'Leary to Peter Hepp, 16 October 1924. Germans in the Castor area had requested a German-speaking priest but none were available at the time.

169. ARCAE, Nelligan to O'Leary, 11 Aug. 1932 & Parish Committee, *A History of Sacred Heart Parish Red Deer, Alberta 1906-2006*, 13.

soured the positive relations between Legal and the Tinchebray missionaries because of the Chancellor's personal ambitions, financial interest, and dim view of the French-origin Tinchebray Congregation.

The appointment of John Thomas McNally to the Diocese of Calgary was an even more serious blow to the interests and hierarchal relationships of the Tinchebray Congregation. Prior to McNally's appointment, Legal had sought to secure the Tinchebrays' tenure in Calgary by granting them their parish in perpetuity, as he had with the Oblates and Benedictines. But McNally's determined opposition made their position untenable.

Bishop McNally had good reasons to mistrust the Tinchebray Fathers, some of whom were openly critical of his administration, but his claim that the initial good relations between himself and the Tinchebray Fathers deteriorated through no fault of his own is only partially true. His strategy was clearly to remove the regular clergy from their canonically protected benefices, take the parishes back, and replace them with secular, anglophone clergy according to a policy of anglicization that was endorsed by the Vatican. He used the incidents of disrespect shown him by the Tinchebray clergy and their troublesome parish financial management to justify his preordained resolution to replace the regular clergy serving St. Ann's Parish with a secular, anglophone administration.

McNally's relationship with the Tinchebray Fathers was also coloured by his need for complete control of his clergy in light of the double obedience of religious communities. Regular priests answered to their superior general and provincial, and through them, to the local bishop. Secular priests answered only to their bishop. However, there was also an element of anti-French bias in his relationship with the Tinchebray Father as evidenced in letters he wrote during his Roman sojourn in 1916, and in his 1920 letter of gratuitous advice to Cardinal Sbaretti regarding the selection of a replacement for the late Archbishop Legal. Archbishop O'Leary's more moderate approach to anglicization in Edmonton was out of practicality more so than principle because he had a larger French-speaking population in his jurisdiction than McNally did in Calgary, where most laity spoke English as a first or second language. The appointment of French-speaking secular priests as replacements for Tinchebray priests was a consolation to the French elements in Trochu and Castor, though not in Red Deer. Thus, the overall relationship between the Tinchebray Congregation and their Alberta hierarchy fundamentally changed with the implementation of the policy begun with McNally and followed with O'Leary.

Finally, all three of the Alberta bishops during the era under study got what they wanted when they had the support of the Vatican – especially the outspoken and authoritarian first Bishop of Calgary. Anglicization could be

policy in Alberta only because it was also Rome's policy for North America. Faced with Rome's preference and episcopal opposition, the Tinchebray leadership chose to withdraw rather than fight.

Personalities also played roles in the relationships between the Tinchebray Congregation and the prelates throughout the twenty-year period the missionaries worked in Alberta. Bishop McNally was a sensitive, authoritarian leader expecting strict compliance from his subordinates. Father Bazin, who his Tinchebray superiors described as spontaneous, thoughtless and hotheaded, had poor relationships with all three of his bishops, while Father Forget's difficult personality created unnecessary issues that mitigated against the retention and placement of francophone sisters in St. Ann's parish. Overall, the Tinchebray Fathers maintained a positive relationship with Archbishop Legal, with whom they shared a common language, culture, and objectives, while adversarial relationships developed quickly with the anglophone bishops (not surprising, given their anglicization agendas). All of these factors, local circumstances, larger Church politics, and personalities ultimately conspired against the Tinchebray Mission in Alberta. After two decades of service, the Tinchebray Fathers were coerced to abandon Alberta and subsequently moved their missionary ambitions to the Diocese of Prince Albert in Saskatchewan.

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REVIEWS

A Land of Dreams: Ethnicity, Nationalism, and the Irish in Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Maine. Patrick Mannion. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2018. xv, 332 pages. $120 cloth; $39.95 paper.

As the title suggests, this work is a comparison of Irish communities in St. John's, Newfoundland, Halifax, Nova Scotia, and Portland, Maine. It is a response to Kevin Kenny's call for comparative and transnational approaches to the study of the Irish diaspora and builds upon the example of excellent comparative works by William Jenkins and Malcolm Campbell. It is thus part of a larger movement within the historiography of the Irish diaspora. Moreover, Patrick Mannion's first book does several other things of serious historiographical consequence. First, it reinforces the idea that the Irish diaspora was varied—and includes Protestants. While the work does not focus on Irish Protestant communities, crucially, it includes Irish Protestants, conceptually, in the consideration of a much larger, world-wide Irish diaspora that was variable and fluid over time and space.

This may seem a small thing, but it is a far cry, historiographically, from Lawrence McCaffrey's *The Irish Diaspora in America*, published in 1976, which purported to deal with all the Irish in the United States, but only painted with broad strokes Irish Catholics in large cities. The Irish, according to the traditional view espoused by McCaffrey, were working class heroes who battled prejudice in their rise from squalid ghettos like the infamous Five Points in New York City to lace-curtained, suburban respectability. They were largely unified in their characteristics over space and time, especially regarding issues like identity and nationalism. That *was* the Irish diaspora. McCaffrey's book became a classic. It was the standard text on Irish America and was even re-issued in 1984 by the Catholic University of America Press. By 1997, however, it was revised and the title was changed to *The Irish-Catholic Diaspora in America*. Its complete lack of consideration of Protestant Irish in the United States made such a title change necessary. Even since then, the historiographical fight to include the study of Protestants in the Irish diaspora has been both constant and thankless. Mannion's inclusion is a victory on that front.

A second powerful difference between Mannion's conclusions and the traditional historiographical school of the Irish in the diaspora, but especially

in the United States—epitomized by McCaffrey and by Kerby Miller's *Emigrants and Exiles* (1984)–is that it emphasizes the fact that *even within the Irish-Catholic diaspora, very significant differences existed*. For a long time, the stereotypical, urban experience of the Irish in the United States was taken as the typical experience throughout the entire Irish diaspora. Irish Catholics—particularly scarred by the Famine experience—had certain characteristics. Foremost among them was a hatred of Britain and the British Empire. Unwilling exiles from their homeland, they were natural republicans, and hated empire and the oppression associated with it.

However, even between the somewhat similar northeastern port cities of St. John's, Newfoundland, Halifax, Nova Scotia, and Portland, Maine, Mannion demonstrates that the Irish Catholic communities there differed significantly, even regarding their relationship or attitude toward Britain. In Portland, Maine, the Irish community was filled with more recently arrived immigrants who were Irish-born and who would have experienced the Great Famine. They were much more pro-nationalist and republican in their outlook than their equally Catholic and Irish counterparts in Halifax, Nova Scotia, and St. John's, Newfoundland. The loyalism of the Catholic population in St. John's is notable for St. John's is often considered to be quintessentially Irish. For example, in his own book on the worldwide Irish diaspora, historical journalist Tim Pat Coogan wrote of Newfoundland: "outside of Ireland itself, there is probably no more Irish place in the world than Newfoundland" (*Wherever the Green is Worn: The Story of the Irish Diaspora*, 2000). Coogan, a staunch republican, would no doubt be shocked to read Mannion's research, which clearly demonstrates that in St. John's, the undisputed capital of the Newfoundland Irish, the community was proudly Irish and also thoroughly loyal to Britain and the British Empire. Upon this issue, Mannion's conclusions reinforce – indeed they are nearly identical to – the controversial findings of Mark McGowan's recent *The Imperial Irish: Canada's Irish Catholics Fight the Great War, 1914-1918* (2017). Irish Catholics in the diaspora, in this case in Canada, were keenly aware and proud of their ethnic and religious heritage and identity, yet were loyal to the British Empire even after the Easter Rising of 1916. They saw themselves as Irish and Catholic and yet saw no contradiction whatsoever between their loyalism and their Irish-Catholic identities. For many years, such a conclusion would have been inconceivable to a historian of the Irish diaspora.

Thus, even the Irish-Catholic diaspora was much more varied than previously thought, even including the twin shibboleths of nationalism and republicanism. But, while it is important to recognize these differences within the Irish-Catholic diaspora, this is not to say there were not general similarities. And here we see another important function of Mannion's

work. While simultaneously demonstrating that the Irish diaspora—as represented in his sample of St. John's, Halifax, and Portland, ME—was greatly varied, Mannion's research, treatment, and conclusions reinforce the idea that the Irish diaspora was also interconnected. Through newspapers, the minutes and publications of Irish associations like the Ancient Order of Hibernians, and through their clergy, Mannion demonstrates that Irish Catholics in each city remained in contact with the old homeland and with Irish migrants throughout the diaspora, even as they "re-invented" their Irish identities abroad. Because every individual and communal diasporic identity is shaped both by local events, attitudes, and mores and by those in the homeland, Irish identity and ethnicity in each of the communities Mannion examines was varied, but the continued connection with Ireland united those three communities with each other and with communities of Irish migrants scattered to the ends of the earth.

Mannion is well aware of where his findings fall within the often complicated web of diaspora, identity, ethnicity, and immigrant-experience theory. He is particularly keen to explore how Irish ethnicity and identity were transmitted from generation to generation and from place to place, and his examination of the publications of Irish associations such as the Irish National League, Friends of Irish Freedom, the Charitable Irish Society and nearly twenty others, helps him do so, for those writings allow him access to the ways in which different organizations in different towns wrote about "Irishness." He then compares those historical expressions of identity with famous theories of immigrant identity espoused by scholars such as Rogers Brubaker, Kathleen Conzen, and Herbert Gans, which in turn provides a slight corrective to Gans's idea of symbolic ethnicity—at least in the case of the Irish in these three cities.

Mannion's use of association publications also allows him access to class and gender distinctions within the Irish communities of Halifax, St. John's, and Portland. He finds that while most written expressions of Irish identity were masculine, there was an important female presence, not least because several females were leaders in the larger Irish communities and because women were actively involved in Irish associations like the Ladies' Land League in Portland, Maine. Similarly, class distinctions are also discernable. Mannion found that public engagement with Ireland and Irish issues in Halifax and Nova Scotia was largely middle class. Only in Portland, Maine, did an Irish-Catholic association exist that primarily served the laboring class: the Portland Longshoreman's Benevolent Society, which actively worked to maintain the occupational niche of the longshoremen for Irish Catholics.

This is a bold and important new book that provides fresh detail and nuance to the existing historiography. Historians of the Irish experience

and of diaspora, ethnicity, and identity in general will find it both helpful and enlightening.

Rankin Sherling
Marion Military Institute:
The Military College of Alabama

Apostles of Empire: The Jesuits and New France. Bronwen McShea. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2019. xxix, 331 pp. $60.00 USD cloth; $60.00 ebook.

When this book came out last year, the author was a fellow of the James Madison Program at Princeton, having taught history at Columbia and the University of Nebraska. Just as I began to read her book, I had the chance to hear her speak at a Boston College Jesuit Studies Café, where she presented a summary of her research and fielded our questions. Privileged with this insider introduction to her work, I was better able to prepare this review of a densely but well-written revisionist history, aimed at correcting the hagiographical tendencies found even in current representations of the Jesuits in New France.

In summary, the author demonstrates that the Jesuits devoted a significant amount of energy to the secular, transatlantic expansion of the absolutist-era Bourbon state. They also actively participated in the importation of elite, urban French culture, in a *mission civilisatrice*, which included French conceptions of aesthetics and charitable works in hygiene, housing, medicine, and food. They especially fostered trade and military partnerships with indigenous peoples and, in extremis, pressed for the French conquest of the Iroquois. The Jesuits failed, however, to create French-Catholic fortresses and a pan-tribal Catholic belt around an expanding French empire pushing into North America.

The book is divided into two sections, roughly dedicated to the Jesuit mission's rise in "Foundations and the Era of the Parisian *Relations*" and its fall in "A Longue Durée of War and Metropolitan Neglect." The first four chapters, "A Mission for France," "Rescuing the "Poor Miserable Savage," "Surviving the Beaver Wars and the Fronde," and "Exporting and Importing Catholic Charity," are individual studies, each chapter standing on its own. The final chapters, "Crusading for Iroquois Country," "Cultivating an Indigenous Colonial Aristocracy," "Losing Paris," and "A Mission with No Empire," chronicle the decline and fall of the Jesuits in New France and around the world. McShea also presents fine biographies of individual, often-overlooked Jesuits who worked in New France just before and after

the Conquest. The Conclusion is particularly good in restating the themes of the book and can be recommended to all readers who do not wish to read the entire work.

McShea answers the following questions:

> What do the sources reveal about Jesuit attitudes and agendas with respect to secular themes—government, warfare, trade, material culture, medicine, charity, aesthetics, the conditions of ordinary life—both in their own right and as they related to Christianization? How did the Jesuits view not only the progress of their mission and French expansion, but also the relationship of their endeavors to political developments, wars, commerce, and cultural trends across the Atlantic? (xxv)

Before pursuing these questions, the author gives perhaps the fullest justification for the American historiographical tradition's continued use of Thwaites' edition rather than Campeau's edition I have ever come across. This has forced me to re-evaluate one of my criticisms of Blackburn's *Harvest of Souls: The Jesuit Missions and Colonialism in North America, 1632-1650* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000). In a seminar, I would recommend pairing McShea's book with Carole Blackburn's *Harvest of Souls*, or the works by Allan Greer and Dominique Deslandres which also looked at transatlantic connections, just to have students see the differences and the evolution of interpretation available with almost identical sources.

One theme McShea insists upon and which I found very intriguing is that the Jesuits gradually adapted their mission and their message to serve French imperial interests not just the Gospel. They did not wish to assimilate indigenous people to European Christianity too much, not out of respect for indigenous ways of life, but to avoid losing their war-like savagery and their usefulness in France's imperial wars in North America (190). Such an insight will have major consequences in the way scholars will look at the Chinese Rites controversy and on the Reductions of South America. She also gives some space and credence to anti-Jesuit writers, such as Lahotan, speculating whether those pushing for the suppression of the Jesuits actually had a few crumbs of truth and right on their side.

McShea's intertwined arguments are fascinating, and she develops them while demonstrating the transatlantic French intellectual and religious networks in which the Jesuits participated, but while many of the details and new perspectives were acceptable and appreciated, the overall argument —that the actions of the Jesuits were really about Empire, trade, and other secular concerns rather than or even at the same time as the expansion of Catholic Christianity at the expense of Protestantism, then tied to England— was unconvincing. Nor does she adequately address the question of why the Jesuits switched their imperial loyalty from France to Spain or to

England once New France was lost, although she even-handedly presents the biographies of those who made the transfer. There is also some reliance on anti-Jesuit doggerel in her mining of anti-Jesuit sources in support of her thesis (231). No matter how amusing it may be, there is no need to overstate the argument. It merely weakens it.

The author concedes very fleetingly, in the conclusion, "To be sure, soul-saving Catholic worship of the Triune God, with the moral and spiritual fruits engendered by it, was the first and last goal of the Jesuits' mission." After so many arguments about the secular nature of the Jesuit mission, this struck me as an insincere nod to the majority of works about the Jesuits in New France, all of which now discount the traditional sources, *the Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, for their biases and practical function as propaganda to curry imperial favour and funds. McShea, instead, accepts and thoroughly exploits these elements within the Jesuit *Relations* as "salient, useful features that help illuminate some of the understudied history of the pre-Revolutionary French empire and its religious culture" (xxiv). The exercise was worthwhile even had it remained thus circumscribed, rather than argue that the Jesuits themselves were mainly "apostles of empire."

McShea's work is supported by fifteen pages of notes, a magnificent bibliography divided into archives, early print sources, additional primary (published) sources, and secondary sources, and a full index. Six pages of black and white illustrations, including the traditional image of the martyrdom of Father Isaac Jogues were inserted, but while appreciated, it would have been better to scatter the images, and more of them, throughout, to alleviate the text and to reinforce some of the points made.

The book is in the *France Overseas: Studies in Empire and Decolonization* Series edited by A.J.B. Johnston, James D. Le Sueur and Tyler Stovall, who have done an excellent job in presenting a work that can be recommended to upper-year undergraduate students, to graduate students of New France, and to all students of French imperial history.

Paul Laverdure
University of Sudbury

*Blurred Nationalities Across the North Atlantic: Traders, Priests and Their Kin Travelling Between North America and the Italian Peninsula, 1763-*1846. Luca Codignola. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019. xxvii, 519 pages. $ 93.75 cloth.

My own knowledge of the "Italian" contribution to the history of North America began in elementary school with a lesson on the "Columbus of the North," explorer John Cabot (Giovanni Caboto). He was portrayed to eager

young minds as an Italian mariner who (for reasons unexplained) made his way to England, obtained a patent from King Henry VII to organize a northern expedition, and then discovered Newfoundland. While the story seemed straightforward, everything was, in fact, blurred. Not only was Cabot's historical context distorted by the anglicization of his name, even his nationality was problematic. The various states that comprised the Italian peninsula in Cabot's time were not unified until 1861, and it is more likely that the explorer considered himself a citizen of his birthplace—which could plausibly be one of three locations—or a Venetian (he was a citizen of Venice since 1476). In other words, he was "a man of many origins" (6).

According to Luca Codignola, who has written a fascinating new book about the links between the Italian peninsula and North America in the years 1763-1846, the narrative of John Cabot demonstrates that the peninsula, extending from the Southern Alps in the north to the central Mediterranean Sea in the south, was a space where goods, ideas, and people were constantly on the move. Identities were multifaceted, and by the time of the American War of Independence, the linkages with North America were ever expanding. The problem, however, is that migration historians have not (for various reasons) sufficiently explained these intricate connections, human experiences, and exchange of ideas.

As an Italian "icon," the story of Cabot discovering Newfoundland was "easy" for historians to communicate, and he (along with others) became the poster child for the Contribution School that sought to highlight those Italians who played notable roles in the "good" events of the North American narrative (American War of Independence, Canadian Confederation, et cetera). So, while Cabot was worthy of study, thousands of other "non-illustrious" citizens of the Italian peninsula with links to the United States and British North America – and most especially the scoundrels—"need not apply" (17).

On the other hand, by the 1950s an Enlightenment School – which considered the Contribution School to be outdated and filiopietistic – sought linkages between the Italian peninsula and the United States (they were less interested in British North America) in the context of the spreading of Enlightenment ideas. So, characters like Philip Mazzei (1730-1816), a Florentine merchant, surgeon, and horticulturist who befriended Thomas Jefferson through business connections, became heralded for influencing the Virginia farmer's political thinking, and was thus partially responsible for the American Declaration of Independence. Unfortunately, like the Contribution School, the Enlightenment School had little time for the "non-illustrious" and especially those connected with the religious "superstition" of the Roman Catholic Church.

In Codignola's view, both of these schools are deeply flawed, as the networks and exchanges between the Italian peninsula and North America

were far more numerous and complex. To make his point, Codignola uses new archival sources (many of them ignored by historians) to examine the migration and mobility triad: people, goods, and ideas. Refreshingly, he does not offer baseless claims about numbers (migration or otherwise) that cannot be substantiated. There are, for example, no reliable records of American ships calling at the ports of the Italian peninsula in the period under study (passenger and crew lists are very rare), and so we cannot adequately determine how many people "stayed on and quietly became indistinguishable citizens of the New World or fully welcomed and integrated citizens of one of the several states on the Italian peninsula" (217).

What he does present, is evidence of the "international" port cities of Leghorn and Genoa importing codfish from Newfoundland after 1776, American entrepreneurs such as Samuel Carson searching the northern Italian peninsula for business opportunities, the diplomatic experiences of folks such as the Boston-born Thomas Appleton, who spent 42 years as the US consul at Leghorn, and actors from Lombardy who gave theatre performances in New York, Philadelphia, and Montreal. In other words, by 1815 people were habitually shuffling between North America and Leghorn, Genoa, Naples, Rome, Sicily, Piedmont, Lombardy, Venice, and Trieste.

By offering readers an opportunity to move beyond the catalogue of famous "early Italians" or "early Americans," Codignola shifts the focus to personal and mercantile networks, and is better able to explain the motivations and strategies of the people involved. We find, for instance, that the business networks between the merchants Antonio and Filippo (F & A) Filicchi and the wealthy Seton-Bayley family of New York morphed into personal friendships, and Filippo was partially responsible for the conversion to Catholicism of Elizabeth Ann Seton, who would go on to found the Sisters of Charity in Emmitsburg, Maryland. Incredibly, while Antonio had networks across the Atlantic and Filippo was made the American consul at Leghorn by American President George Washington, both the Contribution and Enlightenment Schools "were quite simply not interested—and did not look for the two brothers" (144).

Chapter by chapter, Codignola emphasizes "the blurred nationalities" and multiple allegiances that characterize these exchanges (51). Ironically, as it is so often overlooked, this is most clearly evident in Rome, the spiritual center of global Catholicism." Before 1780, there was little evidence of physical exchange between Rome and any of the British provinces of North America, but by 1800, as North American Catholics began arriving for study, meetings, and sojourns, Rome became the most international city on the Italian peninsula. By the 1830s, visitors from New York or Quebec travelling to the Eternal City for both business and pleasure often expressed an interest in being introduced to the Pope and left accounts of Rome's physical appearance and ecclesiastical life.

Within the Catholic Church, ethnicity and allegiances were also blurred. Some clergy from the Italian peninsula went to America to spread the faith. Others, from places such as Ireland and Scotland, often spent years in the city of the caesars before beginning their missions across the Atlantic. St. Isidore's College in Rome, for example, trained generations of Irish Franciscans who went on to organize the North American Church. In fact, the first three Irish-born vicars apostolic of Newfoundland (O'Donel, Lambert and Scallan) had spent considerable time at the College. In other words, these clergymen were both Irish and Roman, but also, Newfoundlanders; three different identities unified by a single faith.

Later, the prestigious Urban College, with its missionary focus, trained generations of North American seminarians who returned to their far-flung parishes changed by their experiences in the Piazza di Spagna. This exchange of people, information, philosophy, and faith influenced all corners of Catholic North America. I once read a remarkable collection of letters written by Bishop John Cameron of Antigonish, Nova Scotia (1827-1910), penned during his days at the Urban College in the 1840s. They spoke of events, personalities, and foods that absolutely astonished his Gaelic-speaking father (whose replies also exist). Cameron may have left for the Italian peninsula as a backwoods boy from colonial Nova Scotia, but he returned (and was forever described) as "Roman." As late as 1900, he still referenced the 1848 revolution in the Papal States when confronting political opponents.

According to Codignola, this romanization "meant to regard the ways of the Holy See as an ideal to be followed and reproduced as much as possible in one's new surroundings" (140). Yet in the hay fields and forests of eastern Nova Scotia, it also meant experience, education, and, unquestionably, elitism. Urban College graduates were expected to send updates back to Rome every two years, and this gave them tremendous power over their colleagues. In other words, the Italian peninsula was never far off, and it is among these Roman educated clergy that we find "the most explicit examples of blurred nationalities and multiple allegiances." It is not surprising then, that St. Ninian's Cathedral in Antigonish was built in the Romanesque style. A design of the Italian peninsula that became the *Tigh Dhe* of Scottish emigres in Nova Scotia really emphasizes Codignola's argument.

Blurred Lines Across the Atlantic is a meticulously researched piece of transatlantic history that is accessible and packed with notes. Codignola is careful, critical, and always interesting. Most importantly, I think, the book will become a departure point for many new studies.

Peter Ludlow
St. Francis Xavier University

The Many Rooms of This House: Diversity in Toronto's Places of Worship since 1840. Roberto Perin. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017. 440 pp., ISBN: 978- 1487520174. $95.00 cloth; $42.95 paper; $32.21 eBook.

Roberto Perin takes an original approach to the historical study of religion as lived and experienced by ordinary people by looking at places of worship and their congregations as agents within their surrounding social context, the city of Toronto's old West End. The choice of city and of this particular neighbourhood is significant. As Canada's manufacturing capital, Toronto's social and urban landscapes were shaped by the massive transformations inaugurated by industrial capitalism. Toronto, Perin remarks, has always been an immigrant city and, as he further observes, that is particularly so of the city's West End. It remained a home for a succession of immigrant groups long after other parts of the city ceased to be so.

Any visitor to Toronto before the Second World War would have been struck by that fact that despite the proliferation of factory smokestacks and commercial buildings, it was very much a city of churches, so much so that church spires defined the city's sky line. Their physical presence mattered, and they did so because ordinary people valued religion. Religious services were "well attended." People gave generously of their resources, time, and labour to build and furnish places of worship and to support clergy, musicians, custodians, and others. Congregations offered a place to connect and make friends, where one could create community and avail oneself of support in time of need. Religion also provided Torontonians with a moral vision and sense of common purpose which was anchored in the transcendent and which enabled congregations to function as important social centres in their neighbourhoods and, for more prominent places of worship, in the city as a whole. The aim here is to capture the "collective experience" of congregational life; to examine how the religious life congregations molded society; and how they in turn were formed by broader social forces, such as industrialization, imperialism, and consumer culture. By focusing on congregations and their places of worship in one particular part of the city, Perin is able to trace how their roles changed over time as a consequence of social change and how they functioned in particular social groups.

To trace these dynamics, Perin's study is accordingly divided into four parts, each of which corresponds to a phase in Toronto's economic and social development. In the first phase (1840-1880), Toronto went from a colonial outpost to an industrial city. Industrialization resulted in high immigration: in 1871 one in two inhabitants had been born outside Canada. While Toronto remained an overwhelmingly Protestant and British city, Irish Catholics accounted for a quarter of the population. Church building took off in the downtown core and West End alike, thanks both

to wealthy patrons and to popular support. In the following period (1880-1920), residential neighbourhoods became increasingly defined by class and ethnicity. Places of worship proliferated, with some 115 of them in the West End alone. Even while Jews and Italian and Polish Catholics began to arrive in significant numbers towards the end of nineteenth century, Toronto was even more self-consciously a British city as the dominant, mainstream Protestant denominations cultivated devotion to Crown and Empire. While non-institutional forms of religious expression were notable, as with the *stiblach* or home-based synagogues among Jewish immigrants or the Plymouth Brethren with their rejection of ordained clergy, the general trend in this era saw the embellishment of places of worship – stained glass windows were especially favoured – and the formalization of worship, with choirs backed by large (and expensive) organs providing ever more elaborate musical accompaniment. Congregations themselves also became much more complex in organization. They now aimed to cultivate the whole person, and not just on Sundays. A full-orbed form of congregational organization emerged to offer a rich associational life. Congregations not only developed robust Sunday school programs, but also competed to offer a wide array of social associations such as athletic teams or literary clubs as well as specifically religious organizations such as Christian Endeavour and the Children of Mary, the latter illustrating the degree to which Roman Catholic congregations also adopted the same model. Women played a key role in creating this rich and diverse social life, for without the reserve army of women volunteers none of this would have been possible.

In the next period examined (1920-1960), congregational life became even more elaborate. For example, Timothy Eaton Memorial opened a kindergarten, and – it being Timothy Eaton Memorial with its upper class membership – tennis courts and lawn bowling greens. Even the Roman Catholic working-class parish of St. Patrick's provided indoor bowling and wrestling for its male youths. Seventy-two new places of worship opened in this period, and existing places of worship were repurposed as new immigrant groups, such as Ukrainians, Hungarians, and Portuguese, moved in. Others were greatly augmented after World War II, as was the case with Italians and Jews. Meanwhile, many places of worship associated with mainstream Protestant denominations closed or amalgamated as Canadians of British origin moved to the suburbs. As a result of these shifts in population, Roman Catholics accounted for nearly two-fifths of the city's population by 1961, and immigrants from central and southern Europe over a third. Toronto's Roman Catholics became truly multiethnic, while mainstream Protestantism, such as the United Church, struggled to come to terms with the "new face" of Toronto as new flows of immigration to the West End changed the city. Though often treated as second class citizens by Torontonians of British origin (including, it must be stressed, by the local leadership of the Roman

Catholic church), immigrant congregations further developed the prevailing model of full-orbed Christianity, adapting it to their own distinct purposes – offering language classes, mutual aid societies, and credit unions – so that they could mark out their own paths to integration into Canadian society. Meanwhile, among mainstream Protestant and long-established Roman Catholic congregations, the full-orbed model was being undermined by the emergence of social agencies run by professionals who could offer services much more effectively than their religious counterparts, a displacement that Perin terms "incipient secularization."

In the years that followed 1960, this "incipient secularization" would be overtaken by full-blown secularization. Torontonians – even those who belonged to ethnic groups in which there was a strong association between religion and ethnic identity – disengaged from organized religion and stopped attending regularly. Consumerist culture took hold, and its ethos of individual self-fulfillment loosened traditional ties. Postwar prosperity made possible the unprecedented exercise of individual choice in a wide range of social activities, including worship, as religion became viewed as a private matter. As part of this cultural shift, religious leaders lost their standing as public figures in the wider society and, thus, their ability to speak to the pressing issues of the day. The full-orbed congregation disappeared as women – its former "mainstay" – entered into the paid labour force, and second-generation Torontonians lost interest in their old country's culture and religion. Nevertheless, new religious groups such as Buddhists, Muslims, and Taoists opened places of worship in the West End, and invariably they adopted the prevailing congregational model for their community life. In response to the wider cultural changes taking hold in society, most notably in the areas of gender and sexuality, some existing congregations created openings for women's leadership (for instance, First Narayever Synagogue) and some others became affirming congregations to welcome gays and lesbians. Others held firm to traditional ways (as with St. Francis and its annual Good Friday procession in Little Italy). What changed for all of them is that congregations no longer functioned for most people as building blocks for the wider community – even if they remained important sources of fellowship for their now dwindling and aging members. With diminishing support, congregations were unable to sustain a "vigorous community life." Neither liberal accommodation nor conservative traditionalism "have succeeded in bringing back the disaffected." Church demolitions and the repurposing of places of worship (mostly into condos) have left many neighbourhoods without local congregations and have, Perin regrets, "impoverished the landscape" as the community space once offered by congregations is replaced by privately owned spaces. This loss to society is part of a broader process of consumer capitalism's reshaping of culture.

As Perin notes, "Some observers have wryly suggested that the shopping centre has replaced the church as the focal point of community."

Congregations, Perin convincingly argues, contributed to the formation of class, gender, and ethnicity, but there are times when these social constructs could themselves be unpacked further. Why, just to take one example, was wrestling thought to be a supremely appropriate past-time for church-going young males in the early twentieth century? What understandings of what it was to be a man, and in the case of St. Patrick's parish, which offered this program, to be a young Catholic, German immigrant man, were at play here? Why did it not occur to congregations affiliated with other ethnic groups or religious traditions to offer anything like this? That said, this is a work that all social historians of religion should read. By focusing on one locale, Perin is able to trace the interplay of social dynamics and religious expressions in their specificity and complexity over time. We get to see how religious groups used material culture and drew on cultural repertoires to create their own communities of faith and to shape their neighbourhoods; how and why religion became integral to the fabric of civic and social life; why it made such a difference to society and to people's lives; and how and why it is now marginal. In looking at period spanning 160 years, Perin's study is rare in its ambition, and the payoff is commensurate: this study is unique in charting the rise, development, and elaboration of a specific form of institutional religion—the full-orbed congregation—and its eventual decline with its implications for congregational vitality and religion's place in society. Finally, this study embraces both the broad sweep of social and religious change and what that looks like in close-up portraits of individual congregations. Those acquainted with them will recognize how faithfully Perin has captured their distinct ethos and their interplay with wider currents.

Brian Clarke
Emmanuel College
Toronto School of Theology