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Contributors

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Edward MacDonald is a long-time member of the CCHA, former editor of *Historical Studies* and Professor of History at the University of Prince Edward Island, where he specializes in the social and cultural history of that province. His latest book, co-authored with Alan MacEachern, is The Summer Trade: *A History of Tourism on Prince Edward Island*, which is slated for publication in March 2022.

Ross N. Hebb is an HRA in UNB's History Department. He has degrees from both Kings College (BA) and Dalhousie University (MA) in Halifax and a PhD from Lampeter University, Wales. His dissertation, published by FDU Press in 2004, is titled, *The Church of England in Loyalist New Brunswick, 1784-1825.* This was followed in 2010 by *Samuel Seabury and Charles Inglis, Two Bishops, Two Churches.* In the last eight years, he has edited and published three volumes of original, firsthand accounts of the Canadian Great War experience for his publisher Nimbus of Halifax. The most recent volume is *A Canadian Nurse in the Great War: the Ruth Loggie Diaries, 1915–1916.* His present research interest is with New Brunswick Great War chaplain BJ Murdoch.

Fred McEvoy is an independent scholar living in Ottawa. He has published in the areas of Canadian diplomatic relations, the Irish in Canada and Canadian Catholicism, and is principal author of *Enduring Faith: A History of Saint Patrick's Basilica Parish, Ottawa 1855-2005.* The late **Alasdair Roberts** taught high school in Montreal before returning to his native Scotland. He published extensively on the history of Scottish Catholicism, particularly pertaining to the Highlands. He died in 2021.

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Editors' Foreword

The 2021 issue of *Historical Studies* will long be a part of the institutional memory of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association (CCHA). The COVID-19 lock-down of 2020, which cancelled the 2020 annual conference, interrupted the regular flow of submissions to the journal. These were challenging times for historians as archives and libraries remained mostly closed to researchers. There were also changes to the editorial team as Edward MacDonald stepped aside after many years of herculean service to the association (he was, thankfully, available to provide us with guidance).

In June, the CCHA's long-time Secretary-General Fr Edward J.R. Jackman, OP, passed away after a short illness. Besides the great personal loss to the membership, we had also lost a benefactor and a steady hand on the executive. In September, another veteran of our executive, Fr Terry Fay, SJ, passed away at the age of eighty-nine. Dealing with these deaths, managing changes to our office, and ensuring that we carried out our association's responsibilities, delayed the publication of the journal. We recognized, however, that in this year of loss and great change, it was important to get *Historical Studies* to our membership before the close of 2021.

It is appropriate therefore, that Volume 87 is focused on personal experience, memory and commemoration. We begin, fittingly, with Mark McGowan's very personal reflection on the contributions of the late Fr Jackman. Our readership will not only be surprised by some of the details of Fr Ed's fascinating life, but McGowan's observations about the "wise" individuals who sought the Secretary-General's support will resonate with many of us who benefited from his kindness and generosity.

While Mark rightly notes that Fr Ed will be remembered for the "encouragement, insight and support" that he gave to others, Edward MacDonald's piece on the failed attempts to erect a monument to the Prince Edward Island journalist and Father of Confederation, Edward Whelan, reminds us that historical memory can be fickle. By demonstrating that historical heroes can be castoff or reshaped to fit the requirements of society, MacDonald helps us better understand the uproar over the control of the public square (and its historical markers) in our own age.

While the past exercises a tenacious hold on individual minds, we must be careful to avoid the pitfalls of generalizing experience. As Ross Hebb notes in his article on the veteran chaplain of the trenches of Flanders, Padre B.J. Murdoch, the priest's ability to uncover beauty amid some of the most

brutal moments in human history, challenges the popular disillusionment narratives of the Great War. The experiences chronicled in *The Red Vineyard* demonstrate the complexity of history, and it is the job of the historian to examine these experiences with balance and impartiality. Finally, in their Historical Note on the literary priest, Father Aeneas McDonnell Dawson, Fred McEvoy and Alasdair Roberts demonstrate that human lives are lived in phases. Celebrated in Ottawa's confederation-era intellectual circles, little was known about Dawson's clerical career back in Scotland. Although these early events took place in another country, they are critical to understanding Dawson's outstanding contribution to Canada.

The recognition that Canadian Catholicism was influenced by broader global experiences and events is preciously why we are so encouraged to see a book review section with various titles that are only indirectly related to the Canadian experience. We also believe that articles with a larger scope than we are used to publishing, like "A Song for Edward Whelan," will attract new readers who might otherwise not have picked-up our journal.

In this difficult year, it is great comfort to see familiar names within the list of contributors. There will inevitably be changes to our association in the wake of Fr Jackman's death, however, *Historical Studies* will continue as the CCHA's most visible contribution to the nation's scholarly community and to our membership. It will also continue to bind the CCHA family together. No publication can survive without a dedicated community of scholars who submit articles, write book reviews, or act as peer-reviewers. We are especially grateful to Patrick Mannion who did wonderful work with the book reviews, and to Valerie Burke, who, despite the loss of Fr Jackman, was determined to help with the printing and mailing of the volume.

Peter Ludlow
Colin Barr

CCHA *Historical Studies*, 87 (2021), 7-21

"Wise Men Still Seek Him": Edward JR Jackman, OP, and the Writing of Canadian Religious History

Mark G. McGowan

In 1987, a young graduate student from the University of Toronto approached Father Edward J.R. Jackman, then historian for the Archdiocese of Toronto, with a proposal. They had known each other for over five years and the student knew that "Father Ed," as he was called by most people in history circles, had many projects underway (and even more at a conceptual level). The student's concern was both professional and financial; his government funding for his doctorate had run out after four years, he had a young family to support, and he needed additional work related to his research interests. Recognizing the student's need, and mindful that foundational work was required before much needed histories of the northern dioceses could be started, Fr Ed commissioned the young scholar to prepare an inventory of Catholic clergy, parishes, missions, and stations in Northern Ontario. He insisted that the student travel to the principal centres of the Church in that region—to the Sault, North Bay, Timmins, and Thunder Bay, where Father Ed's friend, Bishop John O'Mara, had planted the idea for this preparatory work.

The project in northern Ontario exemplified many aspects of Father Ed's work as a promoter of historical research. First, it demonstrated his passion for the writing of religious history, particularly of places which he thought professional historians had overlooked. In Father Ed's mind, local history was important and such microhistories laid a broad base for the writing of much more ambitious narratives. Second, the assigned project demonstrated the broad interests that Father Ed had in religious history beyond the Archdiocese of Toronto, where he was busy preparing historical plaques, writing parish histories, and managing large conferences and historical commemorations. Finally, this commission in aid of a student was characteristic of his enormous generosity, his recognition of the "whole person," and his selfless efforts to support young needy scholars. This last point is particularly poignant for me, because I was that young student—one among many who were the beneficiaries of Father Ed's great wellspring of generosity and historical curiosity.

On June 18, 2021, Father Edward Jackman, OP, passed away at the age of 81 at his home in Kleinburg, Ontario. Many of his colleagues had seen

him several weeks before when his beloved Canadian Catholic Historical Association held its first online conference amidst the COVID-19 pandemic. Many on that call were concerned about Father Ed's appearance and cough, prompting his long-time faithful assistant Valerie Burke to send out a general bulletin about his failing health. At the time, no one knew that he was in the final stages of lung cancer. His death has come as a shock to many, both his friends and colleagues, and also to those who knew of his enormous contributions to the arts, music, and the writing of history. The motto that hung above his door as you entered his century-old home in Kleinburg was "Wise Men Still Seek Him," [1] which was a statement of his Christian faith (as reflected in the pilgrimage of the Magi to Bethlehem to pay homage to the infant Jesus). In an ironic way, and one which he might not acknowledge given his own personal humility, the motto also describes the way in which so many scholars, artists, musicians, and educators sought him, looking for his patronage, advice, and support. While Father Ed was a generous and kind benefactor to many in the opera community, local museums, choirs, universities, galleries, seminaries, students, and Church institutions, the reflection at hand focuses on his impact on the writing of history. He himself was not a prolific writer, but he eagerly supported historical projects that engaged primary sources, were grounded in local experience, and unlocked perplexing questions facing the Christian churches, particularly in Canada. In many cases, his choice of projects was conditioned by his own religious journey, by his ancestral roots in England, and by his insatiable interest in things Celtic. Whether it was an assisted migration from Sussex to Upper Canada in the 1830s, or a popular dramatic presentation in late medieval Wales, or the engagement of missionary and Indigenous peoples at Wikwemikong, Father Ed wanted the voices of the voiceless to be heard in historical writing, and he identified the importance of "place" in history as both relevant and significant.

Edward John Rowell Jackman was born in Toronto on February 20, 1940, the second youngest child of four born to Mary Coyne Rowell and Henry Rutherford Jackman, a lawyer and one of Canada's leading businessmen. "Eddie's" family was prominent in many ways, not just within the world of business and finance, but also in politics. His maternal grandfather, Newton Wesley Rowell (1867-1941), had been leader of the Ontario Liberal Party, a cabinet minister in the Union Government of Sir Robert Borden (1917-1920), Chief Justice of Ontario (1932), and the co-chair of a Royal Commission on the dominion-provincial relations, which unofficially bore his name and

1. The motto was mentioned at length in the eulogy offered by the Reverend Malcom Sinclair for Father Ed at his funeral service held at Metropolitan United Church, June 24, 2021. The first service, a funeral mass, on June 22, was celebrated at St. Catherine of Alexandria, Ukrainian Catholic Church, at Bond Head, near Kleinburg.

that of his co-chair (Rowell-Sirois Commission).[2] Rowell was a lawyer, lay preacher, and prominent temperance advocate, and although he barely knew his grandfather, who died when Ed was a year old, he bore his name and evidently inherited his grandfather's commitment to Christianity. The Jackman and the Rowell families were devout Methodists and worshipped at the Metropolitan Methodist Church in Toronto. In 1925, like most Canadian Methodists, the Jackmans became members of the new United Church of Canada, of which Newton Rowell had been a leading advocate. Edward Jackman was baptised at Metropolitan United Church and until the age of six was educated in various public schools in his Rosedale neighbourhood.[3] From 1948 to 1958 he boarded at Toronto's Upper Canada College (UCC), where he excelled in his studies, won several academic prizes, and was a valued member of the UCC football team. In 1958, he followed in the footsteps of other family members and attended Victoria College, at the University of Toronto, where he studied philosophy and history and earned an honours bachelors degree. After his graduation in 1962, he spent a year at the Ontario College of Education, as a preparation for a career in teaching.[4]

Upon graduation, Ed wrote a book in which he reflected on his own philosophical, economic, and political views. Titled *The Principles of Progress and Staticism*, Ed's self-published book was really a scathing attack on the false promises of *physical progress*:

> I became deeply disturbed over all the disruption and chaotic change that physical progress had created…This process of obsolescing seemed unending and I wondered whether there was any real point in continuing the physical progress cycle since every new invention seemed to act as an incentive for more new inventions but yet all mankind seemed little better.[5]

Taking aim at science,[6] technology, and industry among other things, Ed concluded that physical progress had failed humanity and instead advocated for a "static" society which was characterized by "complete adjustment of all parts of the environment to each other so that they may work efficiently."[7] He used several examples of the manorial and feudal systems of medieval Europe, stressed that Staticism offered stability, and was a system closely modeled on his interpretation of Catholic Social Teaching, with its emphasis

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2. Margaret Prang, "ROWELL, NEWTON WESLEY," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. 17, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003-. Accessed 30 July 2021, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/rowell_newtorn_wesley17E.html.

3. Personal Notes, Edward JR Jackman, op, 10 March 2015.

4. Personal Notes, Edward JR Jackman, op, 10 March 2015.

5. Edward JR Jackman, *The Principles of Progress and Staticism* (Toronto: Yorkville Press, 1962), 9.

6. Jackman, *The Principles of Progress*, 50.

7. Jackman, *The Principles of Progress*, 12.

on a "just wage" and a "fair price."[8] In his little tome, Ed revealed a form of conservatism, suspicion of innovation, reluctance to depend on government, the importance of social harmony and stability, and an admiration for the Catholic Church. [9]

On August 25, 1963, Edward Jackman became a Roman Catholic. This conversion was not merely a product of his philosophical training and writing, it was also due to his personal experiences with Catholics. As a student at Victoria College, he served as the College's representative on the University of Toronto Library Board. The representative from St. Michael's College (SMC) was Sam Bianco, who befriended Ed, and invited him to events at the University of Toronto's Catholic College.[10] Through his interaction with the SMC students and priests of the Congregation of St. Basil, who managed the institution, Ed discovered the beauty of Catholic liturgy and the writings of Catholic intellectuals. The splendour of the Latin mass, a Rite soon to be revised and replaced at the Second Vatican Council, appealed to his love of opera, classical music, and the baroque. As a new Catholic, Ed embarked on a brief teaching career at Woodroffe High School in Ottawa, where he met another Catholic teacher, Garfield "Garry" Ogilvie, who became a lifelong friend. In a manner that would become characteristic of Ed's life and work, he supported Ogilvie's writing of poetry and local Irish history.[11] His next teaching placement, in 1964, was at St. Francis Xavier Junior Seminary at Wa, in the Upper Region of Ghana, in Africa.

It was in this period, new in his Catholicism, that Ed decided to become a Catholic priest. In 1965, he entered the Dominican Novitiate (Orders Preachers) at St-Hyacinthe, Québec. Fr Ed's decision to become a Dominican certainly reflected the Order's long scholarly and teaching traditions, the foundations of which were laid by St. Dominic Guzman, St. Albert the Great, and St. Thomas Aquinas, all of whom would have been part of his philosophical formation. In 1966, he moved to Montréalto study philosophy at the Dominican-run St. Albert the Great school, followed by three more years of theological study at the Aquinas Institute, run by the Dominicans of the Chicago Province, at Dubuque, Iowa. His switch to the American Province of the Dominicans was likely motivated by his earnestness to return to the African missions.[12] On May 22, 1971, he was ordained to the Catholic priesthood and was sent to the Dominican missions in West Africa,

8. Jackman, *The Principles of Progress*, 135.
9. Jackman, *The Principles of Progress*, 28.
10. Interview, Monsignor Sam Bianco, with the author, 19 June 2021.
11. Garfield Ogilvie, *Once Upon a Country Lane: A Tribute to a Gaelic Community*, (Newcastle, ON: Penumbra Press, 2005 [originally, 1992]).
12. Email correspondence with Father Darren Dias, OP, 19 June 2021.

where he served only two years (he contracted malaria and had to return to the family home in Rosedale to recuperate).[13]

It was during his period of recuperation in Toronto (1973-1975) that Father Ed discovered the Canadian Catholic Historical Association (CCHA). Founded in 1933 by James Francis Kenney, the assistant Dominion Archivist, the CCHA had promoted the research, writing, and archiving of Catholic history both within the Canadian context and globally.[14] It had two sections, based on the national Church's linguistic divide, and each branch of the Association met in an annual meeting independently of one another. Except for a few joint meetings to celebrate special events or anniversaries, the CCHA represented a microcosm of the national problem of "two solitudes," but within an ecclesial and scholarly context. Father Ed came along at a critical moment in the history of the Association. Historiographical trends had shifted in the 1960s and 1970s, as historians became more interested in new branches of history, particularly the histories of social groups, women, the working class, ethnic groups, and labour unions. Coupled with the secularization of Western cultures, and a bias against "top-down" histories of Caucasian male elites, these new historiographical interests moved away from political, intellectual, and diplomatic history, as well as religious history, unless there was some relationship that could be established between organized religion and a social movement (in Canada, the Protestant social gospel was one of these exceptions).[15]

The CCHA that welcomed this young bilingual Dominican priest appeared to be in steep decline. In 1971, the Association was in severe financial difficulty with many members in arrears of their dues and an executive that could not pay its debt on the annual journal.[16] Membership levels fluctuated annually, with one third of memberships actually coming from institutions, libraries and religious orders.[17] Reflecting their tradition of voluntary service, members of religious orders dominated the Executive and were also well represented among those whose papers were published in its edited, but non-refereed journal, *Study Sessions*. There were also some excellent young lay scholars who worked professionally in university-based history departments and wrote critically and methodically, but generally the essays that appeared in the journal reflected a focus on an institutional approach to "Church," and often from a sympathetic vantage point.

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13. Personal Notes, Edward JR Jackman, 10 March 2015.

14. Glenn T Wright, "James Francis Kenny, 1884-1946: Founder of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association," CCHA *Study Sessions*, 50 (1983), Vol 1: 11-45.

15. Richard Allen, *The Social Passion* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968).

16. Canadian Catholic Historical Association, *Annual Report, 1970-1971*, 4-8.

17. Canadian Catholic Historical Association, *Annual Report, 1973-74*, 8 and *Annual Report*, 1976, 6.

In 1974, there were two events that signaled a crisis in the Association. First, its young lay Vice-President, thirty-six-year-old Professor Stephen Gradish, of St. Thomas More College (University of Saskatchewan), died of viral pneumonia during his term of office.[18] This left the Executive scrambling to replace him on an interim basis, a position eventually filled by his STM colleague Father Alphonse de Valk, CSB. That same year, the Association was faced with challenges from the new format of papers to be delivered at the Canadian Historical Association (CHA), which regularly shared a joint session with the CCHA. At the CHA, papers were trimmed to 15 minutes each, with the expectation that the full paper would be photocopied and made available to registrants to the conference in advance of the session. "While this system," argued the Executive, "may have become a necessity for the CHA with thousands of members all anxious to demonstrate their expertise, it seems unsuited to a small society as ours."[19] It appeared that the CHA and CCHA would be parting ways, and the CCHA recognized they were a small society and shrinking. Enter Father Edward Jackman.

Fr Ed's keen interest in the history of the Catholic Church made his presence in the society unsurprising. We can only speculate that he heard of the association while recuperating in Toronto from his bout of malaria, and it is likely that he joined the Association in 1975.[20] What few members knew at the time, of course, was that over the next forty-five years Father Ed would oversee several of the most important transformations in the Association's history. Although he never published in the Association's journal, and only gave one presentation, [21] he became the single most important agent and facilitator of change as the CCHA shifted from a small group of Catholic scholars and lovers of history, to a professional "learned Society," inclusive of professional and non-professional historians and archivists, with a fully refereed journal. Such change on his watch wass somewhat ironic given his wariness of change and progress expressed earlier in his life in *The Principles of Progress and Staticism*.

In 1978, Fr Ed became the Vice-President of the Association, and he immediately began to shake up the CCHA's administrative structure. The following year, the Executive included a new position of Secretary General,

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18. Canadian Catholic Historical Association, *Study Sessions*, 41 (1974), frontispiece. Gradish died February 19, 1974.

19. CCHA Study Sessions, "Notes and Comments," 101.

20. He is not on the list of members in 1974 but is listed in the 1976 list. Canadian Catholic Historical Association, *Annual Report, 1976*, 10.

21. CCHA *Study Sessions*, 50 (1983), I: 6. The 50th Anniversary journal indicated that he had presented "The Role and Methodology of Local and Regional Catholic Historiography in Canada," at the joint CCHA-SCHEC conference at St. Paul University in Ottawa but did not send it to the journal editor for publication.

an office he held simultaneously while serving as vice-president, president, and president-general, a series of his dual roles that ended in 1984. As Secretary General he completely overhauled the administrative structure of the Association. The position of secretary was temporary dispensed with, as the correspondence, official minutes, mailings, conference organization, and publication details were handled centrally from his office. He also placed the Association on sound financial footing. The CCHA would still acquire revenue from the annual dues of its members, but Father Ed arranged regular financial assistance from a new charitable corporation—Historia Ecclesia Catholicae Canadensis (HECC),[22] which would help support the journals of the CCHA and SCHEC, which were published back-to-back, in a single volume annually. After his father's death in 1979, he "began to play a much larger role in the Jackman Foundation.[23] Established by Henry Jackman Sr, the Foundation was one of Canada's major philanthropic agencies. In 1983, at the 50th anniversary congress of the Association in Ottawa, CCHA President Marianna O'Gallagher, SCH, acknowledged that none of the events leading up to and including that conference could have taken place without the "generous benefactor, the Jackman Foundation, whose Board of Governors has watched over the CCHA/SCHEC with great benevolence."[24]

Father Ed had served as one of the members of the General Organizing Committee of that conference,[25] as he had consistently done for previous conferences and every subsequent CCHA meeting until ill-health prevented him from attending the 2019 meeting in Vancouver. These duties came in addition to his work as historian at the Archdiocese of Toronto where he directed research and wrote on a variety of themes, preparing a history of St. Michael's Cemetery,[26] a two-volume historical prospectus on St. Augustine's seminary,[27] and numerous parish histories. Father Ed was also primarily responsible for the planning, research, and casting of dozens of bronze historical plaques throughout the Archdiocese. Each plaque was meticulously written and placed in front of churches, schools, cemeteries and Catholic institutions of historical significance throughout the Archdiocese of Toronto. His work in Canada's largest diocese outside of Québec also included major commemorative projects. In the period leading up to the

22. HECC had been created in 1976 for both sections of the Association. CCHA, *Annual Report*, 1976, 3.

23. Personal Notes, Edward JR Jackman, OP, 10 March 2015.

24. CCHA *Study Sessions*, 50 (1983), I: 2.

25. CCHA *Study Sessions*, 50 (1983), I: 5.

26. *A Quiet Gentle Surprise* (Toronto: Toronto Catholic Cemeteries Association, Mission Press, 1980).

27. Karen Marshall Booth (ed.), *The People Cry 'Send us priests: The First Seventy-Five Years of St. Augustine's Seminary in Toronto, 1913-1988* (Toronto: St. Augustine's Seminary Alumni Association, 1988).

Archdiocesan Sesquicentennial, in 1991, Father Ed served as a key member of the co-ordinating committee of CATO-150, which organized a three-day historical symposium at SMC and then produced an award-winning anthology titled *Catholics at the Gathering Place: Historical Essays on the Archdiocese of Toronto, 1841-1991*.[28] In addition to this major conference, Father Ed supported an earlier symposium, hosted by the Jesuits at Our Lady of Lourdes Parish in Toronto, to mark the sesquicentennial. At his prompting, the Jackman Foundation was instrumental in the funding of the Jesuit publication, based on that symposium, titled *Spiritual Roots*.[29] With his office located in the archdiocesan archives on Church Street in Toronto, it was only reasonable that he was appointed interim archivist of the archdiocese, when Father James McGivern, SJ, passed away in 1982. Father Ed's tenure lasted only a year, when the Archdiocese appointed Sister Freida Watson, CSJ, the new archivist.

During his years as Catholic historian for the Archdiocese of Toronto, and in the years after, Father Ed was passionate about the researching and writing of Catholic history across Canada. Like the opportunity he offered to this author regarding a history of the Church in Northern Ontario, Father Ed subsidized and developed research projects on a variety of subjects in numerous regions of the country. He hired a young Brian O'Sullivan, later to become a noted educator, to prepare an index to the *Catholic Register*, Canada's Catholic newspaper since 1892; he supported projects in Nova Scotia, including a history of St. Ninian's Cathedral in Antigonish, and later a history of the entire diocese, written by Dr. Peter Ludlow.[30] Ed, himself, wrote several brief diocesan histories of Hamilton and St. Catharine's, while supporting much larger historical commemorative texts on the Hamilton and London dioceses.[31] The latter was penned by gifted stylist and historian Michael Power, who was really one of Father Ed's favourite researchers and writers. "He gets things done," Father Ed once confided to this author, "and he does it well." With Father Ed's support, Michael Power went on

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28. Mark G McGowan & Brian P Clarke (eds.), *Catholics at the Gathering Place: Historical Essays on the Archdiocese of Toronto, 1841-1991* (Toronto: Canadian Catholic Historical Association & Dundurn Press, 1993). This volume won a "Commendation" from the Toronto Historical Board in 1994.

29. John Duggan SJ & Terry Fay SJ, *Spiritual Roots: Historical Essays on the Archdiocese of Toronto at 150 Years of Age* (Toronto: Our Lady of Lourdes Parish, 1991).

30. *Disciples of Antigonish: Catholics in Nova Scotia, 1880-1960* is "in press" at McGill-Queen's University Press as I write.

31. Edward JR Jackman, OP, A Short History of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Hamilton, Ontario, Canada (Hamilton: Diocese of Hamilton, 2006); Edward JR Jackman, A Brief History of the Diocese of St. Catharines (St. Catharines: Diocese of St. Catharines, 1982); *A History of the Diocese of Hamilton* (Strasbourg, FR: Editions du Signe, 2007); and Michael Power and Daniel Brock, *"Gather up the Fragments: A History of the Diocese of London* (London: Diocese of London, 2008).

to produce six volumes of *A Documentary History of Assumption College*, parish histories, a monograph on the early years of the Catholic Church Extension Society, a book on the recipients of the Christian Culture Award, and a major work on the history of the Catholic Church in the Niagara Peninsula.[32] Most recently, in a typically generous fashion, he helped provide monetary support for the publication of Patrick Mannion's comparative study of Irish Catholic communities in St. John's, Newfoundland, Halifax, Nova Scotia, and Portland, Maine.[33] In 2000, to acknowledge his many generous acts to young scholars, his unshakeable service and dedication to the writing of the history of the Catholic Church, and his ongoing support of the Association, the CCHA bestowed upon Father Ed its highest honour, the George Edward Clerk Award.[34]

Father Ed's interests and generosity were not restricted to the CCHA and other related Catholic historical projects. Wise men and women from a variety of institutions, associations, and historical organizations sought out Father Ed's advice and support for their projects. While he probably would not appreciate this twist on his favourite phrase, it is true that Catholics, non-Catholics, artists, writers, publishers, and some charlatans sought him out. His support, however was often contingent on his own personal interest in a prospective project. Father Ed's love of Ireland and the Irish people was undeniable. He was an indefatigable patron of the Irish community in Canada and a key member of Celtic Arts of Canada. He was generous in his support of the Celtic Studies Program at St. Michael's College, University of Toronto, and was a frequent attendee at its lectures, conferences, and special events. He subsidized several courses in St. Michael's Celtic Studies Program, in addition to his gifts to USMC's Faculty of Theology and the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. Father Ed earmarked many of his annual donations to the teaching of the history of the Irish and Scottish communities in Canada. He assisted in the publication of Professor William

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32. Power's sponsored works include*: A History of the Parish Church of Holy Name of Mary* (1983); *A History of the Catholic Church on the Niagara Peninsula* (1984); *A Documentary History of Assumption College*, 6 vols. (1984-2003); *The Christian Culture Award: Biographical Sketches* (2001); *"Gather up the Fragments: A History of the Diocese of London* (with Daniel Brock, 2008); *Singular Vision: The Founding of the Catholic Church Extension Society of Canada, 1908-1915* (2013). For the corpus of his historical contributions, which include more text than those mentioned in this note, Michael Power was awarded the George Edward Clerk Award by the Canadian Catholic Historical Association in 2020.

33. Patrick Mannion, *A Land of Dreams: Ethnicity, Nationalism and the Irish in Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Maine, 1880-1923* (Montréal& Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2018).

34. www.cchahistory.ca/awards/clerk

Smyth's *The Belfast of Canada* [35] and commissioned Kathleen Toomey, a Montreal-based scholar, to research and write the early history of Bishop Alexander Macdonell, the first bishop of Upper Canada (later Kingston), and a historical figure whom Father Ed admired greatly.[36] True to form, Father Ed insisted that Toomey travel to Scotland and encouraged her to study Scottish Gaelic, in order to truly appreciate the pioneer bishops roots and his personal correspondence. His own love of astronomy, the Celts, and liturgy prompted his writing of a little book in which he created a new Celtic Calendar in which he "would combine traditional Celtic elements with the feasts of the contemporary western Christian Church," based on the solar seasons.[37] He described the book as a spiritual journey through a Celtic lens and a means to stimulate discussion. Its publication was eclipsed, however, by his other projects that caught both scholarly and ecclesial attention.

One of Father Ed's most notable ventures was his very generous benefaction of Professor Robert O'Driscoll's *The Untold Story, The Irish in Canada*. This is still considered by scholars of Canada's Irish as a landmark collection of essays, both original and reprinted, on the history of the diverse Irish communities across Canada, and characteristically noted for its binding in orange and green, in a two-volume boxed set. In a rare display of his own writing, Fr Ed penned an essay in the collection titled, "The Irish Holylands of Ontario," a very brief reflection on "little pockets of Catholic Ireland," where the Irish people had been able to "preserve a way of life carried over from the homeland and relatively free from the assimilative tendencies of our ever-growing urban society."[38] In reading of these idealized "Holylands" and pockets of Irish Catholic traditions, one is struck by his earlier musings of the ideal society in *Principles of Progress and Staticism.* In this brief essay, he features St. Edward the Confessor Parish in Westport as one of his unique Irish places. St Edward's was not only one of the "Holylands," it also bore the name of his own patron saint and became the subject of what Father Ed considered his most treasured parish history.[39] On the evening of the *Untold Story*'s launch, at the Royal York Hotel in Toronto, in May 1988, Father Ed showed up at the gala wearing a bright green blazer over an orange clerical shirt. When asked about this sartorial splendour, obviously Irish in

35. William J. Smyth, *Toronto, The Belfast of Canada: The Orange Order and the Shaping of Municipal Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015).

36. Kathleen M Toomey, *Alexander Macdonell: The Scottish Years* (Toronto: CCHA, 1985).

37. Rev. Edward Jackman, op, *A Solar Seasonal Christian Calendar* (Toronto: Celtic Arts of Canada, 1990), 8.

38. Robert O'Driscoll and Lorna Reynolds, eds, *The Untold Story: The Irish in Canada*, (Toronto: Celtic Arts of Canada, 1988), II, 739.

39. Edward JR Jackman, op, *Saint Edward's Parish History* (Westport: St. Edward the Confessor Parish, 1978).

conception, Father Ed referred to the green Catholic jacket as representing the Faith he adopted, simply covering, in part, the orange shirt closest to his skin, which was his Protestant birth and early formation.

Father Jackman never lost a sense of his Protestant heritage and throughout his life pursued and supported projects that would explore Canadian Methodism, English emigration, and specific historic moments that had engaged his own forebearers. He approached each of these broad subject areas with an enthusiasm and personal commitment equal to that of the support he gave to so many Catholic projects. In the 1980s and 1990s, he not only promoted and helped finance the publications of the Canadian Methodist History Society, from 1998 to 1992 he served on its executive committee as Vice-President and then President.[40] In sharp contrast to his practice of not writing articles for the CCHA's, *Historical Studies*, Father Ed published his own essay in the CMHS *Papers*. In 1991, he delivered a paper at the CHMS conference at Sydenham Street United Church in Kingston, which was subsequently published as "The Interaction Between John Wesley and the Roman Catholic Church." In this short essay, Fr Ed identifies the founder of Methodism as having borrowed heavily from Catholic religious orders and the early Church Fathers when constructing his distinctive "method" within Anglicanism. He praised Wesley for being "above" the anti-Catholicism of his day and went so far as referring to Wesley as a "Crypto-Catholic."[41] It has not been recorded how the Protestant audience responded to Father Ed's paper, but he included a section on further reading in the area, suggesting that the ideas he put forth on Wesley were not just a matter of personal whimsy, but something that had already been discussed in scholarly literature. What is more important, however, is that Jackman's passion for the topic was likely motivated by his deep-felt interest in engaging the religious traditions of his family, with those of his adopted faith, and to do so in a generous spirit of ecumenism.

The time spent with scholars of Methodism and the United Church whom he greatly admired—William Lamb, John Webster Grant, and Neil Semple—prompted him to fund the writing of the Methodist Church in Canada. In the mid 1980s, he became part of a steering committee, based at Victoria College, to plan and evaluate the preparation of a comprehensive history of Canadian Methodism (funded through the Jackman Foundation). The Committee hired a professional historian to write the volume and full-time research assistants were hired to lay the foundations of the tome

40. Neil Semple, the editor of the journal acknowledged the support of the Jackman Foundation in *Papers*, Canadian Methodist Historical Society, 8 (1988 & 1990): 2. Email correspondence with Professor Marguerite Van Die, 19 July 2021.

41. Edward J.R. Jackman, "The Interactions Between John Wesley and the Roman Catholic Church," *Papers*, CMHS, 9 (1991): 41-49.

with a thorough examination of primary sources. Father Ed was dismayed by the slow pace of the project and the fact that little had been written in a timely fashion. After considerable anxiety among members of the steering committee, Dr. Neil Semple was retained to pick up the fragments, take charge of the extensive primary source-based notes provided by the research assistants, and proceed with the writing of the volume. Father Ed was very fond of Neil, who had worked in the United Church Archives, and was delighted when the volume appeared, in 1996, as *The Lords Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism*.[42] Despite the happy ending, the whole episode left Father Ed with a suspicion of the "academy" and wariness of those professional historians who fell short of deadlines and expectations.

During the latter stages of the Methodist history project, Professor George Rawlyk of Queen's University (Kingston) reached out to Father Ed, to assure him that religious history was important, could be written in a timely way, and professionally overseen by an established university press.[43] The fruit of their meetings in 1987-1988 was the founding of the McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Religion Series, in which Father Ed, through the Foundation, financially supported several titles annually. The series would be inclusive of all religious traditions and an effort was made to present titles in the series by a diverse group of authors. In 2017, Professor Donald H Akenson, who succeeded Rawlyk as Series Editor, in 1995, after George's sudden death,[44] reflected on the founding moment:

> The long-term goal of the series is to help the history of religion to escape from two ghettos that held it in thrall in the past: one of those was the definition of the field as dealing with only the exotic religious foliage of the Ancient Near East. In contrast we focus mostly on modern topics. We also wish to hasten the escape from a period when religious history of more modern times was mostly confessional: Catholic history was being written by Catholics, Jewish history by Jews, Protestant history by Protestants. Our belief is that the history of religion is too important not to be shared as part of our society's Cultural Commons.[45]

The meetings with George Rawlyk and later Don Akenson, Philip Cercone (Executive Director and Editor, MQUP), and Kayla Madden (Editor), produced a wealth of important monographs, and new energy in the

42. Neil Semple, *The Lord's Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism* (Montréal& Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996).

43. Telephone Conversation, Philip Cercone, Executive Director, MQUP, 28 June 2021.

44. Telephone Conversation, Donald H Akenson, Series Editor, MQUP, 28 June 2021.

45. Donald Harmon Akenson, *McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Religion Series 1988-2017* (Montréal& Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017), front matter.

publication of religious history. In their annual gatherings, the group discussed titles, and Ed's financial commitment to the series, but in no way did Father Ed ever exert editorial influence or view academic assessments of the manuscripts. Father Ed was truly in his element, supporting the publishing of religious history, enjoying the company of friends, one of whom Phil Cercone shared Ed's love of opera, and being satisfied by excellent meals.[46]

In 1988, the first title to appear in the McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Religion Series was Donald Akenson's ground-breaking, but controversial, *Small Differences: Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants, 1815-1922*.[47] It was followed by three titles by William Westfall, Marguerite Van Die, and Michael Gauvreau, all of whom explored themes and persons within Canadian Methodism, which, in its early days, earned the series the nick name "The Methodist Series."[48] In the thirty-three years since its first release, Studies in the History of Religion has produced over 110 titles on a variety of religious groups, issues, and spiritual questions. Quite fittingly, the Series is now commonly referred to as the "Jackman Series." It is somewhat ironic that George Rawlyk, in his 1986 review of the CCHA's 50th Anniversary volumes (1983), referred to Canadian Catholic historical writing as the "caboose" of religious historiography instead of its engine,[49] befriended the Secretary General of the CCHA, and not only engineered a new course for the "train" of Canadian religious historiography, but put Father Ed in the engine.

Father Ed also engaged McGill-Queen's University Press with a project as close to his heart as religious history. The story of the Petworth assisted emigration scheme from England to Canada in the 1830s became a project he pursued with passion because it involved his own ancestral roots in Sussex, England. The team assembled to study emigration from England was impressive and the project engaged several of Father Ed's lifelong interests: genealogy, family history,[50] English history, emigration, and of course the presence of the Jackman family as original migrants within the

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46. Cercone interview, 28 June 2021.

47. Donald Harmon Akenson, *Small Differences: Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants, 1815-1922* (Montréal& Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988).

48. Cercone Interview, 28 June 2021. Titles: William Westfall: *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (1990); Marguerite Van Die, *An Evangelical Mind: Nathanael Burwash and the Methodist Tradition in Canada, 1839-1918*; and Michael Gauvreau, *The Evangelical Century: College and Creed in Canada from the Great Revival to the Great Depression* (1991).

49. George Rawlyk, "Review: Study Sessions 1983," *Canadian Historical Review* 67 (June 1986), 269.

50. He was a member of the Ontario Genealogical Society and all of its local branches across the Province. Jane E MacNamara, "Father Edward Jackman, 1940-2021," *Toronto Tree*, 52 Issue 4 (July/August 2021), 4. Through the Foundation he offered

Petworth Scheme. Father Ed supported a team of scholars to uncover the wealth of local archival materials and prepare publishable works on a variety of aspects relating to the emigration from West Sussex. His generosity extended to the support of dedicated scholars, including Wendy Cameron, Mary McDougall Maude, Brenda Merriman, Sheila Haines, Leigh Lawson, and Alison McCann. Four books have resulted in this massive undertaking, including the culminating works, *Assisting Emigration to Upper Canada: The Petworth Project 1832-1837* (Cameron & Maude) and *English Immigrant Voices: Labourers Letters from Upper Canada in the 1830s* (Cameron, Haines, & Maude).[51] When reflecting on Father Ed's boundless enthusiasm for the Petworth Project, right up until his death, historian Wendy Cameron comments:

> Pursuing genealogical sources proved to be a crucial part of authenticating letters—notoriously tricky in the case of immigrant letters gathered for promotion. Ed understood and encouraged a collaboration that would have been difficult if not impossible to take as far as we did without his financial support. In this respect, the Petworth Project is an example of Ed's willingness to support experiment and his patience in waiting to see how it could succeed. His funding of new approaches or unfamiliar topics in his various fields of interest stands out for me as a source of support and will be sorely missed.[52]

Father Ed's interest in the Petworth project brought him to England several times to see the places from which the Jackman's and other Petworth families originated, and also to lend his support to the researchers who were working in British archives. He also befriended the Duke of Norfolk and, on occasion, attended the Catholic aristocrat's teas at Arundel Castle.

Father Ed also travelled to England frequently in support of a second project, the Records of Early English Drama (REED), which originated with a team of scholars at his alma mater, Victoria College. In 1989, at a luncheon to honour his mother's recent gift to Victoria College, he connected with

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financial support to several of the OGS Toronto Branch projects including an inventory of the graves at St. Michael's Cemetery, Toronto.

51. Wendy Cameron and Mary McDougall Maude, *Assisting Emigration to Upper Canada: The Petworth Project 1832-1837* (Montréal& Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000) and Wendy Cameron, Sheila Haines, & Mary McDougall Maude, eds., *English Immigrant Voices: Labourers Letter from Upper Canada in the 1830s* (Montréal& Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000); Sheila Haines and Leigh Lawson, *Poor Cottages & Proud Places: The Real Life and Work of Reverend Thomas Sockett of Petworth, 1777-1859* (Hastings, UK: The Hastings Press, 2007); Sheila Haines, Leigh Lawson & Alison McCann, *Elizabeth Ilive, Egremont's Countess* (England: Bakehouse Press, 2017).

52. Email correspondence, Wendy Cameron to the author, 20 July 2021.

Professor Alexandra "Sandy" Johnston, then Principal of the College. As Professor Johnston relates:

> During the lunch I learned about his interest in church history and local history, particularly local English history. He asked me about my research, and we found common ground in our interest in ordinary life in England in the past including the religious plays of the late middle ages … I can't remember now how we all got it together but when we did Father Ed was prepared to help us. The Foundation has donated well over $2,000,000 to REED in the 31 years from 1989 to 2020. For the last two years we have received $150,000 each year.[53]

Throughout the years of his patronage, the REED initiative has produced numerous county-based volumes on the popular plays, many religious in theme, in England and Wales. The generosity of Father Ed has enabled the research of serious scholars, who have delved into local archives, and restored to the light of day some of the earliest popular dramas in the English language. In many ways REED has exemplified Father Ed's support for uncovering local history, on the ground, with the interests of average ordinary people in history brought to the fore.

In reflecting on a life well-lived, Father Edward J.R. Jackman did not, by his own hand, produce the ground-breaking studies in Canadian religious history or the sweeping narratives that would help fill the many gaps in the stories of British or Canadian history. His principal contribution was the encouragement, insight, and financial support that he gave to others, who in his words, "got the job done." He was an important patron and shepherd of the humanities in Canada and an influential supporter of so many projects that enhanced our knowledge of Canadian religious history, early English drama, the biographies of Canadians (both lay and religious), and the advancement of the understanding of immigrant cultures, particularly those of the Irish, Scots, and English. Wise men and women did seek him out. He listened and extended a generous hand, and we are all the richer for it.

Requiescat in pace.

53. Email attachment, Professor Alexandra Johnston to the author, 23 July 2021.

CCHA *Historical Studies*, 87 (2021), 23-48

A Song for Edward Whelan: Commemoration, Catholicism, and Classical Liberalism in the Afterlife of a Tragic Hero

Edward MacDonald

Abstract: *Edward Whelan was one of the popular heroes of Prince Edward Island's Confederation-era "golden age": champion of responsible government, Father of Confederation, brilliant journalist and orator. For over a half-century after his tragic death in 1867, a series of campaigns were launched to erect a public monument to his memory. Despite their pointedly non-partisan, non-sectarian trappings, each ultimately failed to generate broad support. The reasons for that failure hold up a mirror to a post-Confederation Island society in need of heroes but divided by its past, while the story of how the monument was variously justified exposes the fluid and contingent nature of public memory as the real Edward Whelan became a convenient vessel in which to place the values and aspirations of his memory keepers.*

Résumé: *Edward Whelan était l'un des héros populaires de « l'âge d'or » de la Confédération de l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard : champion du gouvernement responsable, père de la Confédération, brillant journaliste et orateur. Pendant plus d'un demi-siècle après sa mort tragique en 1867, une série de campagnes ont été lancées pour ériger un monument public à sa mémoire. Malgré leurs pièges ostensiblement non partisans et non sectaires, chacun n'a finalement pas réussi à générer un large soutien. Les raisons de cet échec offrent un miroir à une société insulaire post-confédération qui a besoin de héros mais qui est divisée par son passé, tandis que l'histoire de la façon dont le monument a été diversement justifié expose la nature fluide et contingente de la mémoire publique en tant que véritable Edward Whelan est devenu un récipient commode dans lequel placer les valeurs et les aspirations de ses gardiens de la mémoire.*

> Long may thy Island home
> Look for thy like to come—
> Few may she ever
> Find more deserving trust,
> *Freer from thoughts unjust,*
> Than this heart—in the dust

At rest—and forever![1]

Thomas D'Arcy McGee, "Edward Whelan," 1867

In August 1926, Professor Daniel Cobb Harvey lectured at the Strand Theatre in Charlottetown about one of his heroes, Edward Whelan, Island Father of Confederation, statesman, journalist, orator, tragic figure. The address came partway between the centenary of Whelan's birth in Ireland in 1824 and the 60th anniversary of his death in his adopted home, Prince Edward Island, in the year of Confederation. His mission, Harvey said, was to rescue Whelan from undeserved obscurity. To justify the attempt, he quoted Whelan himself, choosing a passage from a talk that his subject gave in 1864 on "Eloquence as an Art." It was ennobling, argued Whelan, to study the lives of great men. The present generation could learn by example from how "other men triumphed over difficulties—how they won honor and fame, and riches by self-sacrifices, by devotion to the interests of mankind."[2] Whelan, Harvey contended, was just such a great man, who embodied the principles that were the foundation of liberal, democratic society.

But in painting his portrait of Whelan, Harvey might well have considered another passage that he quoted from "Eloquence as an Art." The Irish, Whelan had quipped, were particularly good at remembering the great men of their past: "and the farther the object of their adoration is removed from them by the lapse of time, the more fervently their affections entwine it, and the more romantic are the visions which bathe it in the attractive hues of beauty and excellence." By 1926, Edward Whelan himself had become just that sort of secular saint to praise-singers determined to preserve his memory.

Every society manufactures its own heroes, choosing the raw materials from present or past, selectively molding their images to suit the needs of the current culture. As those needs change, the heroes are either discarded or re-made to fit the requirements of their would-be admirers.[3] So it was

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1. Thomas D'Arcy McGee, "Edward Whelan," *Examiner*, 13 January 1868, 2 (re-printed from *Montréal Gazette*, 30 December 1867). (Unless otherwise noted, all newspapers cited in the notes were published in Charlottetown.)

2. "The Life of Hon. Edward Whelan Subject of Able Lecture, *Guardian,* 10 August 1926, 1. The text of his talk was published as D.C. Harvey, *The Centenary of Edward Whelan*, Souvenir Edition (Charlottetown: Irwin Printing, [1926]). Harvey was quoting from Edward Whelan, "Eloquence as Art," address to the Catholic Young Men's Literary Institute, 1864, re-printed in Peter McCourt, *Biographical Sketch of the Honorable Edward Whelan Together with a Compilation of His Principal Speeches ….* (Charlottetown, 1888).

3. There is an enormous literature about the nature of public memory and how it is concretized through monuments and other forms of commemoration in the deliberate construction of nationalisms, a dynamic involving selections, exclusions, and competing

with the romantic figure of Edward Whelan. At the time of his passing in December 1867 at the age of forty-three, Whelan was one of the most loved and reviled public figures in the colony of Prince Edward Island. The circumstances of his early death—alienated from the Liberal party he had helped create, rejected by the voters whose interests he had long espoused, and apparently abandoned by the Roman Catholic Church that his newspaper had consistently defended—helped ensure that he would pass quickly into legend. On four separate occasions over the next six decades, concerted efforts were made to erect a monument to his memory. Each failed of its purpose. And yet the failed campaigns are revealing in the subtle way the arguments in favour of his commemoration evolved and in the half-glimpsed reasons for their failure. As with many other public figures in Canadian history, a complex and flawed individual became over time a convenient vessel into which could be poured the values and aspirations of his various memory keepers.[4]

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interests at both the elite and popular levels. See, for example, Anthony D. Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); and Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983). A few Canadian examples include Alan Gordon, *Making Public Pasts: The Contested Terrain of Montreal's Public Memories, 1891—1930 (Montréal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001); Brian S. Osborne, notably* David L.A. Gordon and Brian S. Osborne, "Constructing national identity in Canada's capital, 1900–2000: Confederation Square and the National War Memorial," *Journal of Historical Geography* 30, no. 4 (October 2004): 618-642; and Brian S. Osborne and Geraint B. Osborne, "The Cast[e]ing Of Heroic Landscapes Of Power: Constructing Canada's Pantheon On Parliament Hill, *Material History* Review 60 (2004): 35-47. Whether provincial identity can be considered a form of a nationalism is seldom considered, but James Opp and John C. Walsh place particular emphasis on the local (while admitting that local itself is "a fluid and uncertain category") in their edited collection *Placing Memory and Remembering Place in Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2010). Contemporary campaigns to remove statues of newly controversial figures have refocused popular interest in commemoration. In the United States, catalyzed by the Black Lives Matter movement, monuments to Confederate "heroes" of the American Civil War have become highly visible targets, generating a fresh wave of scholarship about the historical context for the monuments. See, for example, Jocelyn J. Evans and William B. Lees, "Context of a Contested Landscape," *Social Science Quarterly* 102, no. 3 (May 2021): 979-1101 (part of a special theme issue on the subject). In Canada, public outcry over the racial injustice embedded in the residential school system and other state policies towards Indigenous peoples has recently been directed against various public monuments, but especially statues of Canada's first prime minister, John A. MacDonald. For the removal of his statue in Charlottetown, see "Controversial Statue Removed," *Guardian*, 2 June 2021, A5.

4. For two cogent Canadian examples of this process, see Alan Gordon, "Heroes, History, And Two Nationalisms: Jacques Cartier," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 10 (1999): 81-102; and Cecelia Morgan, "'Of Slender Frame and Delicate Appearance': The Placing of Laura Secord in the Narratives of Canadian Loyalist

By the time that Harvey delivered his lecture in 1926, only a handful of Islanders remembered Whelan in the flesh. That made it particularly easy to adapt the outline of his actual life (and the romantic legends surrounding it) to the particular concerns of his admirers. With no direct descendants and only a handful of primary sources against which to measure his image, Whelan was especially susceptible to historical air-brushing. D.C. Harvey, despite his academic credentials, was not immune, for Whelan epitomized Harvey's own faith in classical liberalism.[5] The epigraph that fronted the souvenir edition of Harvey's talk succinctly married subject to theme: "Being an account of how a friendless Irish emigrant boy rose to prominence as a brilliant journalist and orator; and by means of these talents did yeoman service in securing Responsible Government, Free Education, and Free Lands for Prince Edward Island."[6]

As Alan Gordon has argued, "Public memory marshals historical events in a bid to guide shared memories into a coherent singular memory."[7] Harvey's public lecture came towards the end of the decades-long effort to memorialize Whelan in stone. Like the other attempts, it failed of its purpose. There would be no publicly funded statue or monument to Edward Whelan in any prominent public space. Yet, the failed quest for a "Whelan Monument" has much to tell us, both about the fluid nature of "public memory" and the complexities of a post-Confederation Prince Edward Island society that struggled with an accordion-like paradox: pulled apart by ethnic and religious divisions, yet pressed together by a shared tendency to use the heroic past as a sop against the economic decline and political inconsequence of the present. Whelan's fate as popular hero in the Island's "myth-history" was to end up suspended between those two see-sawing tendencies while his admirers strove to turn what they feared was fragile memory into what they hoped would be imperishable stone.

Tradition," in Nicole Neatby and Peter Hodgins (eds.) *Settling and Unsettling Memories: Essays in Canadian Public History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 47-66.

5. As defined by his biographer, Ian McKay, Harvey's classical liberalism had five dimensions: religious freedom (that is, freedom of belief with no established church), political and social equality (involving democratic elections and no aristocracy), respect for human cultural diversity (though convinced that it flourished best within a British imperial context), intellectual openness and honesty, and the idealization of freehold property as a pre-condition for the other liberal democratic values. See Ian McKay, "Liberty, Equality and Tourism: D.C. Harvey, Prince Edward Island, and the Power of Tourism/History, 1931-1956," *Histoire Sociale/Social History*, 49, no. 99 (June 2016): 269.

6. Harvey, *The Centenary of Edward Whelan.*

7. Gordon, *Making Public Pasts*, 4.

The Making of a Tragic Hero

Embellished by eulogists and polished by the natural selection of memory, Edward Whelan's life has taken on elements of Greek tragedy.[8] Born in County Mayo, Ireland, in 1824, he arrived in Halifax, Nova Scotia around 1831. A year later, he apprenticed in the printing office of Joseph Howe, influential editor of the *Novascotian*, champion of a free press, Reform party leader, and father of Responsible Government. Later writers would shamelessly exaggerate—and sentimentalize—the connection. "It is related," wrote W.L. Cotton in 1906, "that as Joseph Howe sauntered one evening on a wharf in Halifax, at which lay a recently arrived emigrant ship, his attention was attracted by a bright-looking Irish boy, just landed, upon whose head he placed his kindly hand; and that, after asking the boy a few questions and receiving his widowed mother's permission, Mr. Howe took him at once to his heart, his home and his printing office."[9] Romantic re-imaginings notwithstanding, Howe was clearly a mentor. It was Howe, legend stoutly (and incorrectly) maintained, who recommended his precocious young protégé to Island Reformers seeking a journalistic champion for their cause.[10] When Whelan arrived in Charlottetown in 1843, aged nineteen, "He was then in personal appearance, and in point of fact, quite a boy, with no friend but his pen, and no fortune but his intellect."[11]

Founded in 1847, Whelan's second Island paper, *The Examiner* became the chief organ of the colony's Reform faction, pillorying the "Landocracy" who dominated the Island's leasehold land tenure system and society and championing the cause of Responsible Government. By then the boy wonder of Island journalism had also entered politics, winning a seat in the general election of 1846 as a Reformer in the eastern riding of 2nd Kings, a heavily Irish Catholic district though well leavened with Highland Catholic and Protestant voters. Whelan was a loyal Catholic and an ardent Irish nationalist but his politics were always, as Ian Ross Robertson observes, an "uneasy

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8. The most accurate, most nuanced, and least varnished account of Whelan's life remains Ian Ross Robertson's masterly profile, "Whelan, Edward," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. 9 1861-1870 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976),* http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/whelan_edward_9E.html, accessed 21 August 2021.

9. W.L. Cotton, "The Press in Prince Edward Island," in *Past and Present of Prince Edward Island*, ed. by D.A. MacKinnon and A.B. Warburton (Saint John, NB, 1906), 116. Cotton acquired Whelan's old newspaper, *The Examiner*, in 1873 and by 1906 was well on his way to an antiquarian dotage.

10. For Howe recommending Whelan to Island Reformers, see McCourt, 3. Robertson points out that Whelan himself denied the story.

11. N.P. to Saint John *Globe*, 14 December 1867, reprinted in *Examiner,* 13 January 1868, 2.

synthesis of British liberalism and Irish radicalism,"[12] and as he aged the liberal moderate progressively supplanted the radical.

Whelan emerged as chief lieutenant to the Reform faction's pugnacious leader, brewer George Coles, who was safely Protestant in a majority-Protestant colony fractured by denominational faultlines. Whelan's popularity rallied the colony's Irish Catholics (most of them tenants or squatters) behind the Reform cause, while the *Examiner* articulated and defended Reform policies with notable wit and erudition. He was, as on eulogist put it, "to most intents and purposes the chief organizer and the brainpiece of the Liberal Party."[13] Hagiographers would borrow contemporary Thomas Kirwan's description of Whelan as orator—"brilliant, impassioned, exciting"—and debater—"superb"—but tactfully passed over his somewhat contrarian assessment of Whelan the journalist—"more ready than profound."[14]

The Reformers won office in 1850 and Responsible Government the following spring. Over the next seven years, as the Reformers morphed into a loosely bonded Liberal Party, Coles and Whelan legislated a Free Schools Act (1852), which replaced tuition fees for students with government funding of basic salaries in the colony's public school system; a Franchise Act (1854) that lowered voting qualifications virtually to the level of universal male suffrage; and a Land Purchase Act (1853) that aimed to break the prevailing leasehold system of land tenure through government purchase of proprietorial estates and their re-sale to tenants. That the latter act's ambitions were quickly hobbled by lack of funds and the inability to compel sales or dictate prices fed mounting frustration among the Liberals' core constituency of tenants. But it was the Conservative party's cynical manipulation of anti-Catholic sentiment, stoking the Protestant majority's fears of a Catholic ascendency (while equating Liberalism with Catholicsm) that ultimately ended the Liberal hegemony in 1859 and condemned it to a decade of opposition.

By the time Coles' Liberals finally regained power early in 1867, Whelan found himself on the margins of the party he had once championed. After attending the Québec Conference in October 1864, he had become the only prominent Liberal advocate of Confederation in a colony (and party) that was overwhelmingly opposed to it. At the same time, he alienated many Irish Islanders by ridiculing the Fenian movement, and many others by denouncing as illegal and impractical the Tenant League, a semi-secret protest movement

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12. Robertson, "Whelan, Edward."

13. "Death of Hon. Edward Whelan," *Summerside Progress*, 16 December 1867, 2. A similar judgement appeared in "Death of the Hon. Edward Whelan," *Islander*, 13 December 1867, 2.

14. "Death of Hon. Edward Whelan," *Summerside Progress*, 16 December 1867, 2.

with a reputed 10,000 followers, which promoted resistance to rent payment as a strategy to coerce proprietors into breaking up their estates by selling tenants their farms at affordable prices.[15]

Whelan won his seat with a much reduced majority in the general election of 1867,[16] but after he reclaimed his position as Queen's Printer, parliamentary custom obliged him to resign his seat and seek voters' approval for the appointment. His principal rival was another Irish Catholic Liberal journalist, Edward Reilly, who coveted Whelan's place as the colony's leading Roman Catholic public figure. Reilly's candidacy was allegedly backed by the ultramontane Bishop of Charlottetown, Peter McIntyre, who supposedly preferred a less Liberal and more Catholic ally, even though the *Examiner* had always energetically defended Catholicism against Protestant provocations. Meanwhile, according to Catholic historian Father John C. Macmillan, a whisper campaign in the riding insinuated that Whelan "had grown somewhat indifferent in matters of faith."[17]

Macmillan's early twentieth-century rendition of Whelan's falling out with the ultramontane and aggressive Bishop McIntyre—especially its "lapsed Catholic" element—was probably based in part on oral tradition; Macmillan was raised next door to Whelan's old constituency and perhaps heard stories while growing up about Whelan's fate.[18] But the residue of popular memory was also buttressed by Bishop McIntyre's more public decision on the eve of the 1867 election to replace Whelan's crony, Father Ronald B. MacDonald, as pastor at St. Peters with a priest who was not only more friendly to Reilly but, according to Whelan, actively canvassed on his behalf.

Reading between the lines, one senses that the tension Ian Ross Robertson identifies between Whelan the classical Liberal and Whelan the Irish radical was triangulated by a tension between Whelan's liberalism and his Catholicism, which formed yet another layer of his multiple loyalties. For Whelan the Liberal (and liberal), the Conservative party's calculated stoking of sectarian animosities in the late 1850s had created a dangerous wedge issue for his party. At the same time, Whelan the Catholic (and instinctive champion of the underdog) felt compelled to defend his faith—without

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15. As summarized in Robertson. For more on the Fenian episode, see Edward MacDonald, "Who's Afraid of the Fenians? The Fenian Scare on Prince Edward Island, 1865-1867, *Acadiensis* 38, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 2008): 33-51.

16. For more see, Edward MacDonald,"'My Dear Clark': Edward Whelan and the Elections of 1867," *The Island Magazine*, 52 (Fall/Winter 2002): 19-28.

17. Rev. John C. Macmillan, *The Catholic Church in Prince Edward Island from 1835 to 1891* (Quebec: L'Evenement Printing, 1913), 271.

18. In considering the charge of sacramental indifference, Robertson notes that Whelan's second marriage was performed by a Church of England clergyman.

coming across to Protestant voters as irredeemably Catholic. And so, when Conservative strategist W.H. Pope engaged in an editorial campaign of merciless Catholic-baiting in the early 1860s, it was Whelan's *Examiner*, the nearest thing to a Catholic organ at the time, that counter-attacked and gave space to pro-Catholic polemicists (in this case Father Angus MacDonald, rector of St. Dunstan's College). But in the polarized religious climate of that era, Bishop McIntyre wanted a mouthpiece, not a sympathetic ear. He got it in 1863 with the creation of the *Vindicator* and its less libelous successor, the *Herald*, both published by Edward Reilly, the man who now challenged Whelan in 2nd Kings[19] And so, it would seem, the depth of Whelan's Catholicism, both personal and political, had been tested and found wanting by 1867. Even though both McIntyre and Whelan wanted Confederation, it was for different reasons: McIntyre, to constitutionally entrench separate schools; Whelan, to smash a colonial paradigm that was hobbling reform and so, progress. On other issues, Whelan could not be trusted to put his faith before his competing loyalties. And he set a bad moral example to boot. If Bishop McIntyre did prefer Edward Reilly then, it was with cause.

That April Whelan lost the by-election to his rival by thirty-seven votes. Eight months later, in December 1867, he was dead. Legend would insist that electoral defeat broke Whelan's spirit, and that the multiple betrayals involved drove him to his grave.[20] The official cause of death was dropsy, but that is a symptom rather than a disease, and it is likely that heart failure, not heartbreak, killed Whelan. He was, wrote Thomas Kirwan at the time, "a fast liver, and fast livers do not generally attain to patriarchal age."[21] Kirwan's oblique phrasing conjures images of late nights, smoke-filled backrooms, and too much hard liquor, but it might just as easily describe a man killed by overwork as he juggled public life and the hand-to-mouth realities of operating a newspaper with thin margins. In any case, hagiography preferred the more romantic diagnosis. Broken heart it would be.

The tragic nature of Whelan's end was soon compounded by other tragedies. Whelan's first wife had died in childbirth, along with their newborn child, and two daughters by his second wife died as children, the first in infancy and the second, Annie, as the result of a fall. His only son, Edward Frederick Whelan, was drowned in a boating accident in July 1875.[22] Six

19. As outlined in Robertson, who records that the *Vindicator's* first editorial took pains to point out that the *Examiner* was "not a Catholic newspaper." Whelan's friend, Father Ronald B. MacDonald, subsequently fell out with McIntyre and left the diocese, although that rift might not be related to the events surrounding Whelan's defeat and death.

20. For one of the more fanciful versions, see Macmillan, 272.

21. "Death of Hon. Edward Whelan," *Summerside Progress*, 16 December 1867, 2.

22. "Death by Drowning," *Examiner*, 5 July 1875, 2; "Passing Tribute to Mrs. Edward Whelan," *Guardian*, 30 December 1908, 5.

months later Whelan's home went up in flames, along with his library and all of his personal papers.[23] Fate, it seemed, was bent on destroying Whelan's progeny, both paper and physical. Only his widow, Mary Major Whelan, remained. If Whelan's memory was to live on, then friends, not family, would have to undertake the work.

Acts of Charity

The first monument fundraised for Edward Whelan was more act of charity than rite of remembrance. His death in 1867 left his widow and son near destitute.[24] In response, a pointedly bipartisan, denominationally mixed committee of leading citizens and colleagues launched a public subscription in January 1869 to provide an annuity for his family and erect a "suitable Monument to his memory."[25] As Stephen Swabey complained in a fervid address to the Catholic Young Men's Literary Institute, Whelan's grave remained "as uncared for by the public as the grave of a 'dog,' and the bare existence of his widow and only boy, most heartlessly forgotten."[26]

By April 1869, public events and private canvassing had raised £110. Among the subscribers were the Bishop of Charlottetown, whose animus had helped defeat Whelan at the polls, and Edward Reilly, Whelan's victorious opponent.[27] While some Protestant members argued against the precedent being set, the House of Assembly voted £100 that spring to supplement the private subscription (a "paltry sum," groused the *Examiner).*[28] Six years later, in 1875, the House of Assembly would approve an annual pension of

23. "Narrow Escape," *Examiner*, 10 January 1876, 3.

24. It took until April 1873 for Whelan's trustees to settle his tangled accounts, which wound up £765 in the red. Will of Hon. Edward Whelan, number 84, liber 7, folio 399, Public Archives and Records Office of Prince Edward Island. Whelan's main source of income, his newspaper, was sold less than six weeks after his death. (*Examiner*, 13 April 1868, 2).

25. See, for example, "Monument to the Memory of the Late Mr. Whelan," *Examiner*, 18 January 1869, 3. The fundraising target was not stated in extant newspaper reports, but half the sum raised (minus £50 set aside for Edward, Jr.'s education) was meant to provide an annuity for Mrs. Whelan; the remainder was intended for erection of the "suitable" monument, presumably a gravestone.

26. "Essay on the Late Hon. E. Whelan," *Examiner*, 3 May 1869, 1-2.

27. *Examiner*, 22 March 1869, 3. Fundraising events included, for example, "Mr. Gaffney's Address," Summerside *Progress*, 26 April 1869, 2. Local poet John LePage, the "Island Minstrel," even produced a "simple but touching" monody in praise of Whelan, which was read at a meeting of the Charlottetown Debating Club. (*Islander*, 2 April 1869, 3).

28. "Legislative Grant to the Whelan Fund," *Examiner*, 19 April 1869, 3; "House of Assembly," *Islander*, 23 April 1869, 1; *Royal Gazette*, 13 August 1869, 930.

$200 to Whelan's widow, later increased to $300 (although the government tried to pawn the pension off on the federal government in the mid-1890s).[29]

Meanwhile, the private subscription campaign straggled on. How much was realized is unknown. Nor is it clear when exactly the simple white marble stone that eventually marked Whelan's resting place in the Roman Catholic cemetery on Charlottetown's Longworth Avenue was raised or whether it represented the "suitable Monument" the fundraisers had in mind. The inscription noted that the stone had been erected by "his only son."[30]

In 1876, the year after Edward, Jr.'s death, supporters launched another subscription campaign, at ten cents a head, to erect a monument over the grave "of a man of genius who spent the flower of his life for the public good," but nothing came of it. Later observers blamed lack of leadership rather than lack of support,[31] but 1876 was admittedly not a propitious time on Prince Edward Island to honour dead politicians—especially Irish Catholic Liberal ones. In the general election that fall, a "Free Schools" coalition of Liberal and Conservative Protestants defeated a bloc of largely Catholic separate schools advocates in the final, fierce act of a sectarian drama spanning two decades.

The stillborn monument campaign of 1876 is a reminder that commemoration is very much a matter of context. The actual Whelan had not yet been swallowed up by the mythic one, and his policies, loyalties, and principles remained contested territory. A decade later, when monument enthusiasts tried again, the Island was in a much more retrospective frame of mind.

Remembrance of Things Past

The post-Confederation era was a difficult time for Prince Edward Island. The sudden collapse of the shipbuilding industry in the late 1870s indexed the economic stagnation that by the mid-1880s had launched decades of unchecked out-migration. Provincial pride suffered as Islanders reconciled their political inconsequence within the new Dominion with

29. "House of Assembly," *Examiner*, 5 April, 1875, 2; "Provincial Legislature," *Examiner*, 30 May 1879, 2; "P.E. Island's Claims," *Examiner*, 5 July 1897, 2. The same session that voted a $200 pension to Mary Whelan voted a $500 one to Whelan's political ally, George Coles, who had fallen prey to mental illness.

30. "The Late Hon. Edward Whelan: The Proposed Monument to His Memory," *Examiner*, 21 October 1886, 1. That part of the inscription is now lost.

31. "Monument to the Late Hon. Edward Whelan," *Examiner*, 9 October 1876, 2; "Monument to Late Hon. Edward Whelan," *Examiner*, 18 September 1885, 2. The campaign evidently started in Georgetown, but was turned over to a "central committee in Charlottetown" and subsequently "fell into the wrong hands."

their embarrassing reliance on federal subsidies. Although the *longue durée* was somewhat obscured by mini-trends and stubborn denial, Islanders of the 1880s and '90s might be forgiven for preferring a heroic past to the discouraging present.

And that past was receding rapidly. The vexatious Land Question had been resolved, the frontier had closed, immigration had dried up, and the last of the pioneer generation of European colonists were dying off. All of this fixed the popular gaze on a distant day that could conveniently be re-cast in mythic terms of triumph over physical, political, and social adversity. Advance orders for Duncan Campbell's potted history of Prince Edward Island topped 2,700 copies in 1875.[32] The next year, a group of heritage-minded citizens circulated a historical questionnaire asking Island elders an astonishing ninety-nine questions about pioneer days in the colony.[33] J. H. Meacham & Co.'s lavish *Illustrated Historical Atlas of Prince Edward Island* appeared in 1880, and in 1881, an impressive cross-section of leading citizens founded the Prince Edward Island Historical Society amid a fizz of enthusiasm.[34] That the society soon fizzled did not dim Islanders' interest in their heroic past. Over the next twenty-five years a succession of historical publications played on that historical consciousness, earnestly retrieving a history that was quickly slipping out of reach.[35] Viewed through that lens, Whelan became, not just singularly admirable, but emblematic as well.

The Island's historical sensibility was by no means unique. Across the region, historical societies and museums were taking form for many of the same reasons, and in Ottawa, as across the Western world, there was a deliberate attempt to build collective identity by fashioning (and manipulating) public memory. Monuments concretized those narratives of nationhood, and public historians have wondered at the "statuemania" that characterized the 1870-1914 period. [36] How loudly those trends

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32. Duncan Campbell, *History of Prince Edward Island* (Charlottetown,1875), iv.

33. Alan MacEachern and Edward MacDonald, "Collecting Memories," *Canada's History* Magazine 97 no. 6 (December 2017-January 2018): 50-54.

34. "Historical Society," *Examiner*, 22 November 1881, 2

35. The most important of these included Archibald Irwin's *Prince Edward Island Magazine*, 1899–1905, which specialized in historical articles; D.A. MacKinnon and A.B. Warburton (eds.) *Past and Present of Prince Edward Island (1906)*, a compendium of historical articles and biographical profiles; and Rev. John C. Macmillan's two volume history of the Catholic Church on Prince Edward Island (published in 1905 and 1913), which followed the fortunes of Catholicism in the province from the French regime to the death of Bishop Peter McIntyre in 1891.

36. Within the region the New Brunswick Historical Society was formed in 1874, and the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society in 1878. The New Brunswick Museum, though rooted in an 1840s private collection, took a more modern form when acquired by the province's Natural History Society in 1890. See P.A. Buckner, "Acadiensis II,"

echoed on Prince Edward Island is impossible to measure, but by the late 1800s, a "suitable monument" for a fallen hero required considerably more than a modest gravestone, especially for a hero of mythic stature. "In the history of the Island his name takes a foremost place," the *Examiner* would claim in 1887, "while the old people speak of him with reverence, and the little children lisp his name in praise. Whelan was a man for the people, to the people, and of the people."[37] A generation later, according to the Charlottetown *Guardian,* "his memory is green and his name a household word from North Cape to East Point."[38] Could household words be transmuted into stone?

The Stone Angel, 1886–1889

The next chapter in the monument saga opened in September 1885, when the *Examiner* announced that there was a movement afoot in Whelan's old 2nd Kings riding, spearheaded by local schoolteachers, to erect a monument to him in the district.[39] A year later, Martin Sinnott, president of the newly formed "Edward Whelan Branch" of the Benevolent Irish Society, convened a monument meeting in Morell Rear, the Irish Catholic heartland of 2nd Kings, to drum up support for a subscription campaign. History and hyperbole competed in the endorsements offered by local worthies "That man has not yet lived who did more to promote the extension of civil liberty on P.E. Island than Edward Whelan," declared the Conservative member for 3rd Kings, Cyrus Shaw of New Perth (a Presbyterian Scot), It was through Whelan's efforts, he continued, inaccurately, "that the farmers of this Island were delivered from the galling yoke of landlordism."[40] After the meeting a "handsome," unspecified sum was subscribed towards the monument.

Remarks like Shaw's hinted that, while Whelan's personal charisma might still bind his admirers to his memory, it was his principles that

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Acadiensis 1, no. 1 (Autumn 1971): 3-9. The Newfoundland and Labrador Historical Society dates from 1905. (https://www.nlhistory.ca/, accessed 25 August 2021. For a treatment of Canadian nation-building through commemoration, see Brian S. Osborne and Geraint B. Osborne, "The Cast[e]ing of Heroic Landscapes of Power: Constructing Canada's Pantheon on Parliament Hill, *Material History Review* 60 (2004): 35-47. As they discuss, the term "statuemania" was coined by influential French historian Maurice Alghulhon in 1978.

37. "The Times," *Examiner*, 1 December 1887, 2.

38. "Edward Whelan: His Memory to Be Honored on Monday," *Guardian*, 18 August 1900, 3.

39. "Monument to Late Hon. Edward Whelan," *Examiner*, 18 September 1885, 2; "Benevolent Irish Society at Morell," *Examiner*, 26 March 1886, 3; "Whelan Monument Fund," *Examiner*, 11 October 1886, 1; "Whelan Monument Fund," *Herald*, 13 October 1886, 3.

40. "Hon. Edward Whelan," *Examiner*, 2 February 1897, 2.

justified a monument. A liberal dose of pathos did not hurt either. A few days after the Morell Rear meeting, the *Examiner re-printed a letter from WDT of Annapolis, Nova Scotia, to the Halifax Herald. The initials stood for William D. Taunton, Whelan's nephew, whose vivid personal memories of the great Whelan over the coming decades would sometimes conflict with historical accuracy.*[41] Once again, Whelan's gravesite became a touchstone for memory; Taunton painted a pathetic portrait of Whelan's devoted widow, Mary, there:

> We notice that the graves are kept green and neat, and if we wait we may see the childless widow, all true love and devotion, come and tenderly place some fresh flowers on the graves. She pays her daily visit to the graves where sleep what was once her hope and joy. Summer or winter, rain or shine, she is there; for when the snow has covered the ground with its heavy coat, we find a well beaten path to the graves, and over the plain slabs a green wreath hangs, telling the simple tale of devotion, love and remembrance.[42]

Aside from its wash of Victorian sentiment, Taunton's account is notable for how public memory co-opts the living as well as the dead. Mary Major Whelan outlived her famous husband by four decades, and memory makers regularly put her on display at fundraising events. Never would her voice be heard, neither in print nor in public. Instead, male relatives would offer ritual words of thanks on her behalf while she sat silently in the wings in her widow's weeds. She literally was seen but not heard.

After the Morell meeting a network of subscription committees was formed and the "small" sum collected across the province was deposited in the Merchants' Bank.[43] Another year passed and still the Whelan monument amounted to little more than pious rhetoric. "Anything requiring an appeal to the pocket is pretty sure of falling through on the Island," an *Examiner* editorial reflected late in 1887.[44] It now proposed a new wrinkle. Instead of a single monument to Edward Whelan, there should be *two* monuments, one to Whelan and one to his old party chieftain, George Coles. And they should stand, not in 2nd Kings or near Whelan's grave, but in Charlottetown's Queen Square, the official heart of the province, which was currently undergoing beautification. "A mite from half those who have their acts often on their lips would soon erect to them in the public gardens before the Provincial

41. "Island Born Journalist at Halifax Dies," *Guardian*, 6 August 1938, 1. Among Taunton's published versions of Whelan's career and legacy, see "Hon. Edward Whelan," *Examiner*, 2 February 1897, 2; "Whelan Monument," *Charlottetown Guardian*, 24 December 1934,4. His surname was sometimes rendered as "Tanton."

42. "The Late Hon. Edward Whelan: The Proposed Monument to His Memory," *Examiner*, 21 October 1886, 1.

43. "Monuments to Coles and Whelan," *Examiner*, 7 December 1887, 2.

44. "The Times," *Examiner*, 1 December 1887, 2.

Buildings a shaft worthy of the good efforts they put forth in our interest."[45] The *Examiner did not offer to pass the hat, but it did offer to hold it, and to forward contributions to Conservative Premier W.W. Sullivan (Irish and Catholic), the honourary treasurer of the "Whelan committee."*[46] By mid-December 1887 there was a fresh undertaking to translate good will into stone or bronze.

The Whelan monument now gained its most persistent champions. The most flamboyant was Senator George Howlan of Alberton, a swaggering, polarizing public figure who made friends, but also, enemies, easily. When the Liberal caucus refused to support separate schools legislation in 1870, Howlan (and other leading Catholic Liberals) had crossed the floor to create a "Liberal-Conservative" coalition, and he ended up helping to negotiate the Island's entry into Confederation in 1873. His new crusade in 1886 was construction of a submarine rail tunnel across the Northumberland Strait, but he was ambitious for a Whelan monument. In December 1887, he published in the *Examiner* a year-old private letter to demonstrate that it had been *his* idea to move the proposed memorial from a purely local setting in Whelan's constituency to a more fitting site on Queen Square and to twin it with Coles. "No one knows much better than yourself," he wrote (then quoted himself to the *Examiner*), "that one was the complement of the other; and as both gave the best interests of their manhood to the solution of the great questions of their day, terminating happily in the three F's—Free Lands, Free Schools and Free Franchise—so both, in my opinion, should be equally honored."[47]

Howlan's letter was addressed to J.C. Underhay of Bay Fortune, the sitting member (Liberal) for Whelan's old riding. While the Irish Catholic Howlan was a better friend to the dead Whelan than he had been to the living one, the steadfastly Protestant, teetotaling Underhay and Whelan had been genuinely close. He so admired his friend that he named a son after Whelan and a daughter for Whelan's wife.[48] For the rest of his long life, he would champion Whelan's memory. In doing so, he grappled with the contradiction inherent in the monument campaign: Whelan deserved a memorial because his name was a household word across the province, but a memorial was needed lest he be forgotten. Speaking in 1886, Underhay argued that, while Whelan might not need a monument to his memory, Islanders did:

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45. "The Times," *Examiner*, 1 December 1887, 2.

46. "Monuments to Coles and Whelan," *Examiner*, 7 December 1887, 2.

47. The Whelan Monument Fund," *Examiner*, 13 December 1887, 2.

48. Noted in Emmet J. Mullally, "Hon. Edward Whelan, A Father of Confederation from Prince Edward Island, One of Ireland's Gifts to Canada," *Canadian Catholic Historical Association Report, 1938–39*, 17.

> No marble monument is needed to perpetuate the memory of Edward Whelan in this province. Our free schools, free lands and self government, with the well-tilled fields and comfortable homes, which all over the province have taken the place of the rude structures and neglected farms of the rent-paying era, are all monuments to his memory, more lasting than freestone or marble. But the people of Prince Edward Island need to erect a monument to his memory to tell to future generations that we, who were the immediate recipients of the benefits his patriotic heart, his gifted intellect, and his eloquent tongue procured for us, are not ungrateful for, or forgetful of, the great benefits he was so largely instrumental in securing for this Province."[49]

The conspicuously Protestant Underhay's advocacy underscored the non-sectarian intent of the monument campaign, and when the Whelan Memorial Committee convened a public meeting to submit plans and estimates for a monument, Underhay took the chair. It was Howlan, however, who presented the estimates for two, twenty-foot high white stone or bronze monuments, priced at $1,000 each. And it was Martin Sinnott of the Morell committee who seconded Howlan's motion that two memorials be erected in front of the Provincial Building at a cost not to exceed $2,000. Members of the legislature would form "special committees" in each electoral district, and teachers across the province were asked to participate in the pan-Island canvass.[50] The decision to twin Coles with Whelan had historical merit, but it also suggests a calculation that Coles' name might be needed to rally broad support for a Whelan memorial.

For the next few weeks, the *Examiner* published hopeful subscription updates but they soon dwindled into silence. In November 1888 the Coles-Whelan Memorial Committee called another public meeting, but the only reference to it in the press was a frustrated letter from "Paid Up Subscriber," who castigated the penuriousness of Islanders—"So ungrateful, it would appear, have we grown, that we are no longer mindful of the claims of those who spent themselves in the purchase of these blessings we now enjoy with as little regard as to how they came as if it was ever thus"—and demanded to know what had happened to the campaign so bravely launched a year earlier: "The committee in charge of this work, it strikes me, are slow coaches. What are they doing? Let them work or resign. If this long talked of monument is ever going to come, it is time the committee gave some signs of life. What have they to show since last year's meeting? Where is their report?"[51]

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49. Quoted in Mullally, 16.

50. "The Coles-Whelan Monument," *Examiner*, 23 December 1887, 2; "The Coles and Whelan Monuments," Patriot, 23 December 1887, 2; "The Coles-Whelan Memorial," *Summerside Journal*, 29 December 1887, 3.

51. Letter from "Paid Up Subscriber," *Examiner*, 29 November 1888, 3.

Well, rebutted another correspondent ("Liberal") a week later, there must be some kindly feeling towards Whelan's memory since a recently published volume of his collected speeches had already sold in excess of one thousand copies. "Let the monument remain a little longer in embryo," he counseled, "and in the coming year it will arise."[52] It did not. The Coles-Whelan Monument Committee met one more time in December 1889. "Let a subscription list be opened in every free school district," exhorted the *Examiner* afterwards; "let the free-will offerings of a grateful people be promptly paid in; and let a monument be raised before the sun of 1889 be set." Its editorial ended, "Who will take a leading part in this matter?"[53] No one, apparently.

The book that "Liberal" had referenced was *Biographical Sketch of the Honorable Edward Whelan: Together with a Compilation of His Principal Speeches*, which went to press in the summer of 1887.[54] It was the brainchild of Peter McCourt, yet another Irish Catholic journalist who had learned his trade in Whelan's printing office before launching his own newspaper career as publisher and editor. His biographical sketch was the most detailed to date. Like later hagiographers, McCourt pillaged Whelan obituaries for superlatives about his subject's virtues and achievements (though not his failings), embellished with hearsay details, including the apocryphal story of how Joseph Howe anointed Whelan to champion the Reform cause on Prince Edward Island. Although there is no indication that any of the proceeds went towards the monument campaign, McCourt's admiration for Whelan was deep and abiding. When the slumbering memorial campaign stirred to life, McCourt would play a leading part.

The Whelan Demonstrations, 1899-1907

In 1896, W.D. Taunton, Edward Whelan's Nova Scotian nephew, paid another visit to his uncle's grave. He found it shamefully lost in the long grass. A new Roman Catholic cemetery had opened in 1884, and the abandoned graveyard on Longworth Avenue was now overgrown and neglected.[55] There was a movement afoot in Halifax to erect a statue to Joseph Howe, Taunton noted, but nothing yet had been done to memorialize

52. "Whelan Monument," *Examiner*, 6 December 1888, 3.

53. "Monument to Coles-Whelan," *Examiner*, 3 January 1889, 2.

54. "Life of Whelan," *Examine*r, 4 July 1888, 3; "Whelan's Biography," *Examiner,* 15 September 1888, 3.

55. "Hon. Edward Whelan," *Examiner*, 2 February 1897, 2 (excerpted from an article in the Halifax *Herald*); "Longworth Avenue Roman Catholic Cemetery,"*Canada's Historic Places,* accessed 31 August 2021, https://www.historicplaces.ca/en/rep-reg/place-lieu.aspx?id=6315.

Howe's remarkable protégé. Previous attempts "all bloomed and blossomed for a short season and then died." Hopefully, the *Examiner* commented, the Whelan monument was not yet dead, but it took fifteen months for Whelan's old newspaper to poke the sleeping dog. A July 1898 editorial titled "The Fathers of Confederation" listed Whelan and D'Arcy McGee as the two great orators of Confederation. "Surely the day has arrived," it continued, "when a pointed shaft or his own sculpted form in enduring marble shall attest the admiration and the love of the people of Prince Edward Island."[56]

What might have been happening behind the scenes remains undocumented, but within months the Whelan monument found new life. In January 1899, "Vindex" urged Islanders not to let another year go by without raising a proper monument to "the memory of the silver-tonged orator, the unflinching advocate of the rights and liberties of the people, the broad-minded, the warm-hearted Edward Whelan."[57] Why not a statue, asked "Vindex," quarried from the same stone as the proposed statue to Joseph Howe, and he called upon some benefactor to "place the breathing marble, life like and beautiful, in the sunlight."

If it was leadership that was lacking, Charlottetown's Benevolent Irish Society (BIS) volunteered to provide it. Founded in 1825, the BIS was dedicated to poor relief, the cultivation of Irish national sentiment, and the promotion of "unity and friendship among the Irish and their descendants."[58] Initially, its leadership was liberally sprinkled with scions of the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy class, but over time it had become overwhelmingly Catholic in orientation.[59] The BIS considered Irish Catholic Edward Whelan, who had once been its president, one of its own. Within two weeks of Vindex's letter, the Charlottetown branch of the BIS pledged itself to raise $2000 to erect a monument to Whelan before the end of 1900 "in view of the services rendered by the deceased for the common good of all classes and creeds," and offered itself as treasurer for any funds raised. A committee was duly struck to consult with other branches as well as "leading men throughout this Province, Canada and the United States to solicit their co-operation and

56. "Fathers of Confederation," *Examiner*, 28 July 1898, 1.

57. "The Whelan Monument," *Examiner*, 30 January 1899, 1.

58. "Benevolent Irish Society," *Memory PEI*, accessed 1 September 2021, http://www.gov.pe.ca/paroatom/index.php/benevolent-irish-society. The Society spawned transient branches in Emerald, Lot 22, Souris, and Morell.

59. For more on the Catholicization of the BIS, see Brendan O'Grady, *Exiles and Islanders: The Irish Settlers of Prince Edward Island* (Montréal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004): 177-9.

assistance in this movement."[60] The committee's most active member was Peter McCourt, who may well have suggested the involvement.

McCourt's weekly newspaper, *The Watchman*, tracked the progress of the latest subscription campaign over the course of 1899, booming its prospects like a penny ante stock and editorializing about Whelan's significance. Whelan as liberal reformer and people's tribune remained in view, but his spirited advocacy of Confederation, once considered an unfortunate foible, was now cast as a visionary act of rare bravery:

> At once with all the ardor and vigor of his restless mind, he championed the cause with pen and tongue. This step cost him his life. He faced the scowl of his old-time friends, the storm of fierce opposition with which he was assailed, the outcome of misrepresentation and malice. The forces against him proved too strong; the once popular tribune of the people's rights and liberties suffered defeat; his sensitive mind bowed beneath the stroke and it may be said with truth, he was the first martyr in behalf of the cause of Union."[61]

Thus was the hero matched in memory with a cause worthy of his prodigious talents.

Soon a network of authorized fundraisers had been organized across the countryside.[62] Up in Tignish, lobster packer A.F. Larkin put up $500 of his own money in case the campaign fell short of its objective—so long as the monument was erected there (an unlikely prospect).[63] Even Charlottetown's *Patriot*, which had distanced itself from previous monument campaigns (supposedly because its longtime owner, Protestant Liberal David Laird, had been a Whelan adversary), came round and endorsed the monument project.[64]

As the summer wore on, the newspapers periodically published subscription lists. They highlighted national figures, such as former prime minister and fellow Father of Confederation Charles Tupper ($10), but most of the entries were modest subscriptions from ordinary, generally Irish-Catholic, Islanders. Given the frequent claims that Whelan's name was

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60. "Whelan Monument Fund," *The Watchman,* 10 February 1899, 3. Unfortunately, the minutes of the Benevolent Irish Society for this entire period, 1881—1914, are no longer extant, making it difficult to track the chain of decision-making.

61. "Whelan's Place in History," *The Watchman*, 17 February 1899, 2.

62. For instance, the *Summerside Journal* reported on George R. MacMahon's organizational canvass of West Prince (County), where he recruited no less than twenty-six "collectors." "The Whelan Monument," *Summerside Journal*, 23 August 1899, 5.

63. "A Good Offer," *Examiner*, 24 August 1899, 7; *Summerside Journal*, 23 August 1899, 5.

64. "The *Patriot* and the Whelan Monument," letter from B.D., *Examiner*, 30 August 1899, 1.

legend across the province, the number of subscribers, if not the amount, must have been gratifying.[65] It would appear, wrote McCourt, "our people are not lacking in public spirit and that gratitude is not an extinct virtue among them."[66]

Not lacking in public spirit, perhaps, but in dollars. By end of summer, the subscription total came to only $397, of which $250 had been subscribed by the BIS branches in Charlottetown and Emerald.[67] The next eight months added only $14.45 from thirty-one donors.[68] In January 1900, the Governor-General of Canada launched a national Patriotic Fund in aid of the families of Canadian volunteers fighting in the Boer War. In the first six weeks Islanders pledged $750, twice as much as Whelan monument canvassers had raised in nearly a year.[69] Organizers took a deep breath, and pressed on.

If gratitude and memory could not be monetized, perhaps fundraisers could exploit Islanders' desire for entertainment. On Monday, 27 August 1900, an organizing committee spearheaded by Peter McCourt staged a "Grand Demonstration" in aid of the Whelan Monument Fund at the Charlottetown Athletic Association Grounds on the outskirts of the capital. The daylong event was heavily promoted ("the largest and most representative gathering held in this Province for years, and all who want to have a big day's sport should not fail to attend.")[70] The mayor of Charlottetown proclaimed a public holiday. Train fares were reduced for out-of-towners. The inland steamer *Jacques Cartier* even ran a special excursion to the event. That morning, in a display of Celtic solidarity, the Emerald and Charlottetown BIS, the Ancient Order of Hibernians, the Caledonian Society, and the League of the Cross band marched in procession through the streets of the city to the event grounds.[71] There, for 25¢ admission, spectators were treated to a blizzard of speeches, highlighted by a keynote address by New Brunswick MP George V. McInerney, "one of the foremost

65. "Whelan Monument Fund," *The Watchman*, 4 August 1899, 2, lists fifty-six donors.

66. "A Splendid Start," *The Watchman*, 25 August 1899, 2.

67. "Whelan Monument Fund," *The Watchman*, 4 August 1899, 2; "Whelan Monument Fund," *Examiner,* 12 August 1899, 4; "Whelan Monument Fund," *Examiner*, 23 September 1899, 4.

68. "Whelan Monument Fund," *Watchman*, 12 January 1900, 3; "Whelan Monument Fund," *Watchman*, 19 January 1900, 3; "Whelan Monument Fund," *Watchman*, 11 May 1900, 3.

69. "National Patriotic Fund," *Watchman*, 6 February 1900, 2; "Subscriptions to the Patriotic Fund," *Watchman*, 18 February 1900, 2.

70. *Guardian*, 10 August 1900, 8.

71. The Sons of England, Freemasons, Oddfellows, Foresters, and local Orange Lodge were publicly invited as well, but did not attend.

orators in Canada."[72] McIninerney had nothing new to say about Whelan (nor did the several other speakers), but he said it well and at length, and his speech was judged a great success. Mary Major Whelan's nephew, George E. Hughes, thanked the speakers on behalf of his mother, who had been strategically placed among the distinguished platform guests, a visible relic of the past and forlorn symbol of Whelan's tragedy. [73]

For those who did not find hour-long orations sufficiently entertaining, there were eating, drinking (non-alcoholic), and dancing booths; bicycle races (for a "valuable medal"); rides on Muttart's Steam Riding Gallery; and demonstrations of Miller Brothers' "splendid Graphophone" (an improved version of the phonograph). None of those required the slightest interest in Whelan or his monument. But that was, perhaps, the whole idea.

The post-mortems on the Whelan Demonstration carried an undercurrent of disappointment. The *Guardian* thought it "well attended," but the *Examiner* felt that "the attendance did not come up to expectation."[74] How much money the event had netted went unreported. Evidently, though, it was not enough to pay for a monument.

At this point, any momentum the Whelan monument campaign had generated was smothered by a parallel campaign to fundraise a memorial on Queen Square to the two Islanders who had been killed in action during the Boer War. The Soldiers Monument project had, it appears, a broader base of support and, as it turned out, deeper pockets.[75] Whelan's champions bided their time, and as soon as sculptor Hamilton McCarthy's intrepid bronze soldier was unveiled in the summer of 1903, they moved forward with another Whelan demonstration.[76] "We recognize," McCourt conceded, "that the public had good reason to despair of ever seeing this long talked of project carried to a successful conclusion, owing to the many unsuccessful attempts made in the past, but the grounds for such fears have now happily

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72. *Charlottetown Guardian*, 22 August 1900, 5.

73. All of the local Charlottetown papers covered the event at length. Accounts of the day include "Whelan Demonstration," Charlottetown *Guardian*, 28 August 1900, 1, 4, 7, 8; "Whelan Demonstration: Big Gathering on CAA Grounds," Examiner, 28 August 1900, 1; "At Rest He Lies Forever; "Whelan Monument Demonstration," Charlottetown Herald, 29 August 1900, 2; "Doing Honor to a Deceased Statesman," *Patriot*, 27 August 1900, 5 and "Eloquence as a Fine Art," *Patriot*, 28 August 1900, 3, 5. McCourt's Watchman, which might have more to say about the genesis of the event, is missing for this period.

74. "Whelan Demonstration: Big Gathering on CAA Grounds," *Examiner*, 28 August 1900, 1; "The Whelan Demonstration," *Guardian*, 28 August 1900, 1.

75. Darin MacKinnon and Boyde Beck, "Islanders and the Boer War," *The Island Magazine*, no 26 (Fall/Winter 1989): 12.

76. "Home Comers' Demonstration," *Watchman*, 19 June 1903, 3.

disappeared. The conclusion now is that the proposed monument is to be erected regardless of cost, time or labor."[77]

The second Whelan Demonstration on 16 July 1903 was much like the first. Again, it was a "sporting and literary" event, this time with considerably more sports and with an explicit appeal to "Homecomers," that is, visiting expatriates. It was also more noticeably Catholic in tone. Enough time had evidently passed for popular memory to gloss over Whelan's rumoured apostasy or the Church's supposed role in his tragic defeat. James Charles MacDonald, Bishop of Charlottetown, was a platform guest, and the keynote was delivered by Father P.C. Gauthier, the erudite Acadian pastor of Palmer Road parish in western Prince County. Gauthier based the case for Whelan's commemoration on his patriotism in a flight of rhetoric that led him increasingly far from any known facts. "The greatness of the Canada that was to be filled his thoughts," Gauthier stated, perhaps mistaking Whelan for D'Arcy McGee. "The angel of dreams had unrolled to him the future and the vision was ever before his mind. The dream of Canada's future greatness inspired his greatest efforts." J.C. Underhay's supporting remarks were more restrained: "Of Edward Whelan he could say no more loyal, or devoted man did he ever meet. He was inspired by an earnest, sincere desire to promote his country's good."[78] As for George Coles, he was not entirely forgotten. If his friends could raise a comparable sum, organizers allowed, a dual monument could be raised.

The press had much praise for Gauthier's eloquence, but it also noted the disappointing attendance. Editorialists blamed the press of other, competing events, but the excuse rang a little hollow. On the day of the Whelan Demonstration, the descendants of a handful of Presbyterian Scots settlers unveiled a handsome stone monument to their ancestors' memory at Brudenell Island. A month later, the "*Polly* Demonstration" in Belfast raised enough money to fund a memorial to the arrival there of five hundred "Selkirk Settlers" from the Isle of Skye in 1803. Whelan's admirers had always insisted that his legacy transcended race, creed, or political conviction, but it seemed that blood and belief remained more powerful than abstractions in turn-of-the-century Prince Edward Island.

By the fall of 1903, the Whelan Monument fund topped $900, not nearly enough for the intended memorial but enough to think that the $2000 goal

77. "Islanders' Day," *Watchman*, 5 July 1903, 2.

78. The most detailed reports appeared in "The Whelan Demonstration," *Guardian,* 17 July 1903, 1, 4; and, "Whelan Monument Demonstration," *Watchman,* 24 July 1903, 3. Of all the speakers, only J. H. Bell, Protestant Liberal MP for Prince County, admitted that Whelan might actually have faults—"and we all have our faults," he quickly added.

was attainable.[79] In the coming months there would be other speakers, other, more modest fundraising evenings, and other hopeful predictions.[80] But instead of drawing closer, the prospect of a Whelan monument gradually faded into unlikelihood.

Almost the last high profile event in the failing campaign was a public lecture in October 1907 by one of Whelan's most fervent admirers, an expatriate newspaperman named James Hayden Fletcher, one-time owner of the *Island Argus* and former lieutenant-governor of the state of South Dakota, who was visiting his native province for the first time in twenty-three years. Reminiscing in 1900 about his newspaper days on the Island, Fletcher had remarked, "About the first money I ever owned I invested it in a subscription to a newspaper. That paper was *The Examiner,* owned and edited by the late Hon. Edward Whelan. I loved the paper, read every word of it every week, and came to believe that its editor was the greatest man who lived on the Island."[81] His opinion had not changed. His lecture at Charlottetown's Kindergarten Hall was titled "Winning Laurels," but it ended with a "supplemental tribute" to his childhood hero in support of the monument fund.[82]

Fletcher's address hit all of the familiar grace notes: the precocious boy turned self-made man, the Howe-anointed reformer, the peerless orator and journalist, the selfless patriot, the brokenhearted martyr to his principles. Whelan, Fletcher boasted, "did more to make every subject a sovereign, every voter a king, every life a joy, every hovel a home; had transformed every rag into a royal robe, than any man who ever lived upon its sacred soil." That so great a man should still have no monument to his memory was "a burning shame," Fletcher cried. The loud and sustained applause that interrupted his remarks suggested that his audience agreed, but his much praised lecture raised exactly five dollars.[83] Whether from poverty, indifference, or lingering divisions, Islanders could not or would not pay.

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79. "Islanders' Day," *Watchman*, 5 July 1903, 2. Only $700 of that was in cash; the balance was available on demand from well-to-do subscribers. By 1907 the President of the BIS put the total at only $600.

80. *Guardian*, 24 October 1903, 5; *Guardian*, 14 December 1903, 3; *Guardian*, 26 February 1904, 5; *Guardian*, 5 June 1905, 7; "Three Big Days in Summerside," Summerside *Pioneer*, Saturday, 23 July 1904, 8.

81. J.H. Fletcher, "Newspaper Life and Newspaper Men," *Prince Edward Island Magazine* 2, no. 3 (May 1900): 69.

82. See "Mr. Fletcher's Lecture," *Watchman*, 25 October 1907, 2; "A Eulogy on Edward Whelan," *Watchman*, 1 November 1907, 1. The speech was later published as "Eulogy on the Hon. Edward Whelan," *The Maple Leaf*, 6, no. 9 (September 1912): 3, 5.

83. *Watchman*, 1 November 1907, 3.

As the years passed, those who actually knew Whelan grew ever fewer. George Howlan died in 1901, less than a year after he chaired the first Whelan demonstration. Whelan's misfortunate widow, Mary Major Whelan, passed quietly away in 1908, aged 83.[84] Her last public act had been to present a copy of McCourt's book to J.H. Fletcher in thanks for his address. Whelan's steadfast friend, J.C. Underhay, followed her to the grave in 1919.[85] Of the Whelan monument's several champions only Peter McCourt and the Benevolent Irish Society remained to carry the torch.

Last Rites, 1907–1967

It was not immediately apparent that the best chance for a Whelan monument on Queen Square had passed. As late as 1912 the BIS was still adding to the monument fund in dribs and drabs, but after that the only growth came from bank interest on the money being held in trust.[86] When the provincial government wheedled $20,000 from Ottawa in 1914 to help tourism boosters celebrate the Golden Jubilee of the Charlottetown Conference, the BIS delegated McCourt to approach the Confederation Committee about a grant towards their favourite Father of Confederation.[87] But the Great War intervened, the Jubilee was cancelled, and the only monument that came out of it was a *bas relief* bronze tablet by Hamilton McCarthy mounted on the wall of the Confederation Chamber in the Provincial Building. It depicted various Fathers of Confederation. Whelan was not among them. In 1925, the City of Charlottetown unveiled another statue on Queen Square, but it was a cenotaph commemorating Islanders lost in the Great War, heroes from a more recent past.

McCourt was old and ailing by September 1928, when a special meeting of the BIS voted to use the fund's $1,400 balance to erect a monument to Whelan at his gravesite and provide for its ongoing upkeep in the abandoned cemetery. Once again, resolutions lacked resolution, and the following June, McCourt died, like George Howlan and J.C. Underhay, without seeing his dream realized.[88] With McCourt gone, it was left to older members to lecture

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84. "Passing Tribute to Mrs. Edward Whelan," *Guardian*, 30 December 1908, 5.

85. "Mr. J.C. Underhay," *Guardian*, 29 October 1919, 14.

86. *Guardian*, 9 March 1912, 7. By 1913, the total reached $968.80. (See, "Benevolent Irish Society," *Guardian*, 6 March 1913, 1.)

87. Minutes of Benevolent Irish Society (henceforth, BIS Minutes), Edward Whelan Memorial Hall, Charlottetown. I am grateful to the Society for permission to access their post-1913 minutes. For the Golden Jubilee grant, see "PEI Well Remembered in This Year's Estimates," *Guardian*, 29 May 1914, 1.

88. BIS Minutes, 9 September 1928; "The Late Mr. Peter McCourt," *Guardian*, 10 June 1929, 1.

the younger ones about the significance of a man whose name had ceased to be a household word.

Tired of waiting for some sort of memorial to materialize, the Emerald Branch reclaimed its share of the Whelan Fund ($560, including interest) in 1929 in order to fund a stained glass window in the new St. James Roman Catholic Church in Summerfield.[89] It may not have been a coincidence that the window's subject was the Crucifixion. Finally, in 1934, the Charlottetown arranged a monument of sorts. A gray slab of imported freestone was laid flat across Whelan's grave and the family plot marked off with miniature concrete pylons and a heavy link chain.[90] The cost came to about $100, not including the $40 set aside annually to pay for the site's upkeep in the long abandoned cemetery.[91] The inscription read:

Erected by the BIS of Charlottetown
To the Memory of
Hon. Edward Whelan
One of the Fathers of Confederation
And a Past President
Of the Benevolent Irish Society
1824-1867

No mention was made of his other achievements.

The Society resisted the temptation to use the balance of the Fund for other purposes, such as helping the BIS acquire its own premises, but when it finally did purchase a building in 1944, members voted to call it the Edward Whelan Memorial Hall, the first of several subsequent structures to bear the name.[92] At the 1948 annual meeting, when the Finance Committee recommended closing out the Whelan Fund, Brother P.B. McTague objected. The fund had been in existence for such a long time, he contended, that it "served as a continuous memorial to the Late Edward Whelan."[93] A memorial to futility, perhaps, but something.

The BIS was Whelan's principal, but not only, memory keeper, as D.C. Harvey's high-profile lecture demonstrated. At the time of his talk in 1926, Harvey was professor of history at the University of Manitoba, and had just published a groundbreaking account of the French regime in Prince

89. BIS Minutes, 3 October 1928, 6 November 1929. The Charlottetown BIS later voted to fund a window in St. Dunstan's Basilica. See BIS Minutes, 7 November 1928, 5 February 1939.

90. "Memorial Erected to the Late Edward Whelan," *Patriot*, 5 December 1934, 2; "Monument Erected to the Memory of Edward Whelan," *Guardian*, 15 December 1934, 16.

91. BIS Minutes, 1 November 1934, 6 December 1934,

92. BIS Minutes, 13 July 1944, 7 November 1945.

93. BIS Minutes, 30 April 1948.

Edward Island. Though much praised in the press, Harvey's words forked no lightning (unless one counts the re-print edition he edited of Whelan's 1865 compendium of Confederation-era speeches, *The Union of the British Provinces, published in 1927).*[94] As an influential member of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada (HSMB), Harvey lobbied hard in the 1930s to convince his colleagues that each Father of Confederation deserved a separate recognition.[95] And so, in lieu of an imposing monument on Queen Square, Edward Whelan received a modest bronze plaque on the exterior of the Provincial Building in July 1939.

At the official unveiling, descendants of the seven Island Fathers unveiled the plaques to their respective ancestors. Had W.D. Taunton been alive still, he would no doubt have been delegated the task for Whelan. But Taunton had died in 1938, and so, the honour went to Emmett J. Mullally, an Island-born, Montreal-based physician and the author of a recent, reverent paper on Whelan.[96] Mullally was representing the Irish Society of Canada, his choice a tacit gesture towards Whelan's Irishness.

The Centennial era further focused attention on Whelan's status as a Father of Confederation. It was a generic recognition rather than any particular acknowledgment of his genius or contributions to Island life. In fact, when the federal government undertook in 1967 to care for the graves of Canada's Fathers the initial press release listed Whelan as "E. Winslow."[97]

Coda

This has been a story about something that did not happen. Over four decades, influential public figures launched public campaigns to fund a monument to one of Prince Edward Island's great tragic heroes. Edward Whelan embodied qualities that his admirers felt Island society should revere and commemorate. Repeatedly, he was portrayed as the eloquent champion of popular rights (free land, free press, free education, universal suffrage, responsible government) versus self-interested, monopolistic elites. Thus, he became an icon of classical liberalism at perhaps the apogee of liberalism's moral ascendancy. Refracted through the lens of the province's diminished stature, Whelan loomed as one of the giants of a vanished "golden age" of

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94. Edward Whelan, *The Union of the British Provinces* (Gardenvale, PQ and Toronto: Garden City Press, 1927).

95. Ian McKay, "Liberty, Equality and Tourism," 276-277.

96. "Island Born Journalist at Halifax Dies," *Guardian*, 6 August 1938, 1; and Mullally, *op cit.*

97. "Ottawa to Pay Upkeep of Fathers' Graves," *Globe and Mail*, 16 March 1967, 2. The sesquicentennial produced statues to two Island Fathers, John Hamilton Gray and W. H. Pope.

progress and prosperity. By the turn of the century, he had also become a martyr to the cause of union, and like D'Arcy McGee, a visionary champion of Canada's national and imperial destiny. Even as the cult of personality fed on Whelan's remembered wit and charisma, the embroidered versions of his life held him up as an exemplar of the self-made man and the power of the spoken and written word. Finally, the hero-myth of Whelan presented an irresistible parable: one part Greek tragedy, one part Christian morality tale, and two parts Irish Catholic folk hero, fated to be revered, rejected, then again revered.

Given this malleable utility, why did Whelan's memory not merit a monument from the people of Prince Edward Island? The public face of Whelan commemoration was always non-sectarian, non-partisan, and only secondarily ethnic. Beyond the charmed circle of his colleagues and friends, however, Whelan's appeal seems to have been at core tribal. His most durable memory keeper was an Irish Catholic fraternal organization. Was he, then, too Irish to warrant a monument in a society still divided by ethnicity? Was he too Catholic in a society still divided by religion? Did his Liberalism trump his liberalism? Or was it that his people, beset with economic stagnation, were too poor—and too pragmatic—to spare its mite for monuments? Or was the Whelan monument simply the victim of bad luck, overtaken at critical junctures by competing campaigns? From this distance it is impossible to say, exactly. One is tempted, though, to guess that there were limits to the "nationalism"—Canadian or provincial—that Prince Edward Islanders shared in the post-Confederation era, and that Whelan embodied what held them apart as much as what drew them together.

Whelan, who admirers remembered as a master of irony, might have appreciated the nature of what had happened. After all, it was his commanding faith in liberalism and his dogged support for Confederation that caused the electoral defeat that then fed his tragic legend. Yet, it was his status as a Father of Confederation that merited his only official recognitions. Whelan's fatal rejection at the polls also had to do with the whisper campaign that made him out as insufficiently Catholic (and insufficiently Irish). And yet, it was the province's quintessentially Irish Catholic organization, the Benevolent Irish Society, which erected the modest monument on his grave in 1934 and kept green his memory. All of which merely demonstrates that public memory is a fickle jade, and the songs that it sings are not always the ones that its listeners called for.

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The Great War Writings of Padre B. J. Murdoch

Ross Hebb

Abstract: *This article suggests a re-evaluation of the received wisdom concerning the experience and contributions of Canadian chaplains during the Great War. Employing Padre Benedict Joseph Murdoch's The Red Vineyard, it will be argued that not all chaplains were aloof mandarins of the officer class far removed from danger and out of touch with the men. This paper places Murdoch's The Red Vineyard squarely within the canon of Canadian Great War literature and demonstrates that the book was an antidote to the received disillusionment narratives of that conflict. Finally, it will be suggested that Murdoch's blunt and honest record of his wartime experiences and the effects of those experiences (PTSD) make him a singular and unsung advocate for Canada's Great War soldiers.*

Résumé : *Cet article propose une réévaluation des idées reçues concernant l'expérience et les contributions des aumôniers canadiens pendant la Grande Guerre. En utilisant The Red Vineyard de Padre Benedict Joseph Murdoch, il sera soutenu que tous les aumôniers n'étaient pas des mandarins distants de la classe des officiers, loin du danger et hors de contact avec les hommes. Cet article place The Red Vineyard de Murdoch carrément dans le canon de la littérature canadienne de la Grande Guerre et démontre que le livre était un antidote aux récits de désillusion reçus de ce conflit. Enfin, il sera suggéré que le récit direct et honnête de Murdoch de ses expériences en temps de guerre et les effets de ces expériences (TSPT) font de lui un défenseur singulier et méconnu des soldats canadiens de la Grande Guerre.*

For most of the twentieth century, Canada's Great War chaplains generated little interest among historians. Not until Duff Crerar's 1995 *Padres in No Man's Land* was there a full-length academic study of the Canadian Chaplaincy Service. However, as Crerar's ground-breaking work makes clear, the documentary sources, while varied, are often thin.[1] Contemporary reports and letters do exist, but the Chaplaincy Service is

1. Duff Crerar, *Padres in No Man's Land: Canadian Chaplains and the Great War* (Montréal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014). More recently, there have been accounts of the experience of Canada's Catholic chaplains in publications like Mark G. McGowan, *The Imperial Irish: Canada's Irish Catholics Fight the Great War, 1914-1918* (Montréal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017) and

not even mentioned in the official history of the Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF).[2] As Brian Tennyson's catalogue makes clear, similar to Canada's Great War nurses, very few chaplains wrote of their experiences.[3] Reference is often made to Anglican Canon Frederick G. Scott's 1922 memoir, *The Great War as I Saw It,*[4] but this volume, like Scott himself, is generally treated as a "one-off" and not representative of the typical chaplain experience.[5] There is, however, another voice, that of Padre Benedict Joseph "B.J." Murdoch who wrote *The Red Vineyard* in 1923.[6] Compared to Canon Scott's work, however, Murdoch's first book remains in relative obscurity. Perhaps it is because he was in the minority as a Roman Catholic chaplain,[7] or perhaps due to the fact that his post-war life was relatively quiet,[8] his writings remain mostly unknown.[9] His second autobiographical book, *Part Way Through*, was released in 1946 and his third, *Far Away Place*, in 1952. Each volume sheds light on Murdoch's wartime story, and uniquely and tellingly, his ongoing struggles with the effects of those experiences on his postwar life.[10]

This article seeks to elevate Murdoch's writings to their rightful place in Canada's Great War literary canon. First, by employing the analytical lens of

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Peter Ludlow, *The Canny Scot: Archbishop James Morrison of Antigonish* (Montréal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015).

2. Crerar, *Padres in No Man's Land*, 5.

3. Brian Douglas Tennyson, *The Canadian Experience of the Great War: A Guide to Memoirs (Toronto : The Scarecrow Press, 2013), 543.*

4. Fred Scott, *The Great War as I Saw It (Toronto: F.D. Goodchild Company, 1922).*

5. Tim Cook, *Shock Troops: Canadians Fighting the Great War* (Toronto: Penguin, 2008), 220.

6. Murdoch was born in Chatham, New Brunswick in 1886. He studied at St. Dunstan's College in Charlottetown before going to the Grand Seminary at Québec City. He was ordained a Roman Catholic priest in 1911, and served briefly as a curate in Newcastle before joining the 132nd Battalion of the C.E.F as Chaplain in 1916.

7. Duff Crerar, "Bellicose Priests: The War of the Canadian Catholic Chaplains 1914-1919, " CCHA, *Historical Studies*, 58 (1991): 21-39.

8. See Leon Creamer*, Shepherd of the Woods: Father Benedict J. Murdoch* (Miramichi: Lightning Demand Press, 2011).

9. Murdoch is not mentioned in any of the following: Jonathan Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning and the First World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007); David Williams in W.R. Bird, And We Go On: A Memoir of the Great War (Montréal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press, 2014); Monique Dumontet, "To a Reader 100 Years Hence: Continuity in Canadian Great War Narratives," in David Owen and Cristini Pividori (eds.), *Writings of Persuasion and Dissonance in the Great War: That Better Whiles May Follow Worse* (Leiden: Brill, 2016),123-137.

10. In addition to his three autobiographical works, Murdoch published six works of fiction and two devotional works. His fictional writings were; *Sprigs* (1927), *Souvenir* (1929), *The Menders* (1953), *Swing High* (1963), *The Murphy's Come In*, (1965) and finally, *Facing Into The Wind* (1973). His devotional works were A*lone With Thee*, (1934) and *Fear Ye Not* (1961).

scholars such as Jonathan Vance, David Williams and Monique Dumontet, Murdoch's *The Red Vineyard* will be placed within the proper context of Canadian war memory. Second, while placing *The Red Vineyard* within that tradition, it will be argued that Murdoch's experiences as a front-line chaplain are an authentic, riveting, and memorable contribution to Canadian Great War literature. Finally, once his importance has been established, it will be argued that he was, in his own manner, a unique advocate for Canada's Great War soldiers both during and after the conflict. More particularly, his humility and frankness in recording his own struggles with Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) shined a light on a little-understood, and often hidden, or maligned, aspect of veterans' health. By so doing, his three autobiographical works serve as singular, and indeed trailblazing, contributions to our broader understanding of Canada's Great War experience.[11]

As Samuel Hynes has observed, the Great War was the first modern conflict where the truth of events was recorded and communicated by those who could claim "the authority of direct experience."[12] Experiences, however, varied greatly. Those who served under the continual threat of death included soldiers in the trenches, nurses and doctors in forward casualty clearing stations, artillerymen at their guns, and chaplains (frequently found in all three locations). Despite these varied narratives, the trench experience has been accepted as the "true" experience of the Great War, and one particular literary expression of that experience has predominated: the antiwar disillusionment narrative. The presumption is, notes David Williams, that this literature exposes the "naked truth … about the desperation, dehumanization, and disillusion of soldiers of all nations in that conflict."[13] Following both Paul Fussell[14] and Modris Eksteins,[15] this view holds that "all valid accounts of war experience focus on the separation of soldiers from social ties, their 'alienation' and marginality."[16] Elaborating on this analysis, Jonathan Vance demonstrates the persistent "negativity" of the antiwar canon. The literature refuses "to recognize anything positive in the war experience, seeing it as

11. While not within the purview of this paper, mention must also be made of his fictional work *The Menders.* That work features the despair, struggles and gradual recovery of a veteran suffering from PTSD. The man had served in the "intelligence service" of the Army both at the end of World War II and in Korea. His eventual improvement included long periods of rest and quiet in the woods of New Brunswick.

12. Samuel Hynes, *A War Imagined: The First World War in English Culture* (London: The Bodley Head, 1990), 158.

13. Williams in Bird, *And We Go On*, xiv.

14. Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975).

15. Modris Eksteins, *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age* (New York: Doubleday, 1990).

16. Dumontet, *To a Reader*, 124.

a destroyer of human body and spirit. Battle was not a refiners fire but an insatiable beast that chewed up soldiers and left only shattered and insensate hulks in its wake."[17]

However, such was not the war that Padre Murdoch recorded. *The Red Vineyard* was published in 1923, a mere three years after his demobilization. Unlike the oft-cited Canadian representatives of the disillusionment canon, Peregrine Acland's *All Else is Folly* (1929) and George Harrison's *Generals Die in Bed* (1930), Murdoch's account is not filtered through the lens of a decade of disappointments and economic hardship.[18] His voice is fresh and direct and his storytelling style eminently suited to the immediacy of his narrative. Reflective of the value of his eyewitness accounts, historian Duff Crerar cites *The Red Vineyard* as a primary source, a unique and rare battlefield account of the one hundred days campaign (a major allied offensive that lasted from 8 August to 11 November 1918).[19] Yet, as we will read, despite this immediacy and authenticity, there is nothing in his account that could be objectively termed as jingoism. While Murdoch does not dwell on the gruesome, he reflects that he experienced "up and down the ways of war … many impressive scenes, beautiful, terrible and horrible."[20]

One of the striking features of *The Red Vineyard* is Murdoch's repeated references to the beauty of his surroundings. Although he served at the front and witnessed the ravages of war firsthand, he nonetheless insists on recording the beauty of nature whenever he encounters it. Despite significant time spent in the trenches, at regimental aid stations or retrieving the wounded in "No Man's Land," Murdoch's war experience is one of both beauty and devastation. He does not offer this dichotomy to provoke irony, as is the case in the disillusionment narrative, but as an essential part of his worldview:

> For months I had been in the gruesome atmosphere of war, gazing on broken villages, torn roads and ruined farmlands, walking in danger and 'in the shadow of death' through a country utterly desolate, and foully marred by the ingenuity of men. Now my eye was being filled with the beauty of all things around me, of the wonderful things of God.[21]

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17. Vance, *Death*, 188.

18. I accept the developing scholarly assessment that the flood of disillusionment literature of the late 1920s by writers such as Sassoon, Graves, Blunden and Remarque were heavily biased by the societal and economic trends of the post war period. See Janet Watson, *Fighting Different Wars: Experience, Memory, and the First World War in Britain* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 220.

19. Duff Crerar, "In the Day of Battle: Canadian Catholic Chaplains in the Field, 1885-1945," *CCHA, Historical Studies*, 61 (1995): 65-67.

20. B. J. Murdoch, *The Red Vineyard* (Cedar Rapids: Torch Press, 1923), 17.

21. Murdoch, *Red Vineyard*, 199.

Despite suggestions to the contrary, this aspect of his writing is neither a function of his "faith pastoral" style nor due to the influence of his English friends, authors Agnes and Egerton Castle, who encouraged him to take up writing in the first place.[22] Rather, it is a perspective firmly grounded in his Catholic theology. While he does not explicitly quote Saint Paul's epistle to the Romans nor Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologica I:2,3*, (two typical theological authorities), Murdoch is not blindly and stubbornly asserting the existence of God in the face of evidence to the contrary. His insistence concerning God's existence, His ultimate goodness and the beauty of creation is at once both more profound and more nuanced. As in Aquinas, his point is that the divine is the efficient cause of creation and the ultimate source of its beauty and that the divine is omnipresent in the world, even in a place as terrible as the muddy trenches of Flanders. This perspective positions Murdoch a step beyond the "terrible beauty" that David Williams finds in both Sassoon's *The Memoirs of George Sherston* and W. R. Bird's *And We Go On*. While Williams highlights Bird's use of contrast in the beautiful glow of a sunset in a muddy shell hole, Murdoch's vision is more all-encompassing:

> I picked a wildflower of a variety that grew in profusion along the roadside … It was white, and so delicate that it seemed almost transparent. As I gazed on its wonderful formation, my mind dwelt on God and all the beautiful things He had created; then my thoughts were of the soul and then of my men.[23]

Despite being surrounded by so much man-made, industrial-scale, destruction, Murdoch insists that God is present, and that beauty, specifically the beauty of nature, asserts God's goodness. In so doing, Murdoch presents a worldview pointedly contrary to the typical disillusionment narratives and their threefold negatives that God does not exist, or is absent, or does not care.

Recalling an event from 1918, Murdoch records one of those impressive events which marked his war experience. Not surprisingly, it was his theological perspective on nature and beauty which served as the backdrop to his preaching at this critical period. At this juncture, *The Red Vineyard* provides us with a rare glimpse into the homiletic content of a sermon in the fields of France in the summer of 1918. Often awkward addressing his audiences, on this occasion, Murdoch records his sermon outline in detail:

> First, I spoke to them briefly of the awful scenes we had been witnessing for some time; then I dwelt on the wonderful beauty and peace all around

22. Chris Daley, Benedict Joseph Murdoch, New Brunswick Literary Encyclopedia, 2008, https://nble.lib.unb.ca/browse/m/benedict-joseph-murdoch, accessed 23 March 2021.

23. Murdoch, *The Red Vineyard*, 200.

> us. God had made the whole world beautiful; we had seen how foully men had marred it.

Using this analogy as a foundation, Murdoch then moved from the natural to the spiritual, from the external to the internal:

> But God's masterpiece of beauty was our own soul, and each one of us knew just how much we had marred that beauty … perhaps there were some … who had done things for which certain of their friends might despise them, might turn them down … But God in His infinite love … was ready to receive them, to blot out their iniquities, to cleanse them, to make their souls beautiful again.

Murdoch records what he saw next:

> As I continued, I saw a wonderful sight. I saw tears in the eyes of big, strong men, I saw them bowing their heads as they reached for their khaki handkerchiefs. It was one of the strangest and sweetest experiences I had in the war.[24]

While acknowledging both the barbarity of war and the brutalizing tendencies it brought out among the men, as in the antiwar canon, this scene too ends with tears—not the tears of frustration and despair, however, but of hope. Murdoch's record of his audience's response serves as a corrective to the disillusionment canon's monochrome narrative of savagery ending in despair.

As well as recording the reaction of soldiers, Murdoch also records moments of great personal joy. One such occasion was his Christmas Mass of 1917. After spending an entire afternoon notifying all units in the area of the Mass's location in a local church, he was rewarded with an overflow attendance:

> All the seats were occupied and the large space in the rear was packed with standing soldiers … engineers, members of the labor groups, stretcher bearers … And as I looked at … faces, so reverently attentive, many bearing marks of terrible conflicts through which they had passed, I felt a twitching at the throat, so that it was a few seconds before I could begin to speak.[25]

In spite of the service being followed by a modest Christmas dinner "of dry roast beef, almost burnt," Murdoch assessed the day as "the happiest Christmas I ever spent." Not only does Murdoch record his joy but in so doing provides balance to the disillusionment narrative's view that the troops found organized religion irrelevant and meaningless.[26]

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24. Murdoch, *The Red Vineyard*, 201.

25. Murdoch, *The Red Vineyard*, 122.

26. Elliot Hanowski, "Atheists in the Trenches: Loss of Faith among Canadians in the Great War," ActiveHistory.ca, May 2, 2017 *https://activehistory.ca/2017/05/atheists-in-the-trenches-loss-of-faith-among…* accessed 21 June, 2017

Contrary to conventional assumptions, Murdoch's *The Red Vineyard* reveals that he and other chaplains experienced actual combat conditions. Although unarmed, while serving with mobile Field Ambulance units, he often came under direct enemy fire (shell fire, as well as rifle fire and machine gun fire). Consequently, he was in a unique position to observe the effects of combat on both himself and the men he served. Murdoch's account provides a counter to the concept that combat inevitably brutalized and victimized its participants. In one telling instance of courage in the midst of battle at Canal Du Nord he relates:

> Shortly after daybreak … I saw coming … up through a shower of shell explosions the young officer who had come to see me at Monchy Breton … He was no longer downhearted. The light of battle was in his clear blue eye. He shook hands with me and smiled a bright, fearless smile as the shells dropped about us … As he spoke, all about us were dead men and horses.[27]

Following the troop's advance, Murdoch soon found the temporary Field Ambulance post and:

> worked with them til noon. It was terrible work, performed under great difficulties, as all morning long a constant rain of enemy shells poured over the roads. A great number of wounded passed through … When I had finished my work … (I) wiped the blood from my hands on the thick grass along the side of the road. [28]

His efforts in helping the wounded and preparing the dying for death was literally bloody work. Nonetheless the "terrible" was soon to deepen.

A few short days later, as the battle approached Cambrai, he found himself alone and exposed, again searching for the First Field Ambulance's position. As he drew near the village of Raillencourt, Murdoch had to pass through an artillery bombardment. The effects of continuous combat were beginning to show:

> As I approached its outskirts, I saw that it was under fire. Shell after shell was whistling over … bursting in black clouds of smoke and yellow clouds of gas that mingled with red clouds of dust rising from the ruined buildings … I must walk alone into the village. My will said, Go! Yet every nerve in my body seemed to rebel; my feet were heavy as lead … I was now very tired from the work of the past week. Almost sick with fear, I continued to advance … I felt that that hurt dazed look which I had seen so often in the eyes of the men was in my own eyes.[29]

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27. Murdoch, *The Red Vineyard*, 285.
28. Murdoch, *The Red Vineyard*, 286.
29. Murdoch, *The Red Vineyard*, 286.

Tired, shocked, and stunned, Murdoch found the Field Ambulance in a cellar "filled with wounded men with whom the doctors were very busy." His friend and fellow Roman Catholic chaplain had been wounded, and as a consequence, despite the state he was in, he could not be relieved. Murdoch was undergoing the soldier's experience of exhaustion to the point of utter collapse. Then his ongoing terrible experience morphed into the truly horrific. Tellingly, as he recounts, Murdoch was not the only Canadian chaplain to be found in the area:

> I stayed in the cellar for two days. Those were horrible hours … While I worked, Canon Scott, an Anglican Chaplain … was brought in. It was a miracle that we were not struck … the Germans shelled the little house heavily; many shells dropped in the garden just outside the windows of the cellar. The nauseating fumes from the gas shells penetrated into the cellar and often we worked with our masks on.[30]

The next day, noticing an ebb in the flow of wounded, Murdoch moved forward to see what was going on. The battle was not going well and the advance was pinned down. Ignoring advice not to go forward, he was soon among the forward machine gun positions following stretcher bearers out into the open. His chaplain's badge was not to spare him the very nadir of his terrible experience:

> Three of the stretcher bearers went down, two of them mortally wounded. I ran quickly to them and began to anoint one of them. The other bearers ran to points of safety and I was alone on the field. Those were the most terrible moments of my life. I knew the enemy could see me and was firing at me … Terrified, I crouched flat on my stomach until I finished anointing the lad, who passed away before I had done my work. I rolled over and lay still, as if I were dead, a little later, I crawled from shell hole to shell hole, off the field.[31]

Murdoch's account does not mince words; his narrative is immediate and tense. "I was utterly dispirited," he admitted, "I had never before felt so strangely." Granted, he "had eaten hardly anything," but his condition was more than physical; "I seemed to be moving in a world that was all upset, somehow, suddenly everything had gone wrong … I moved on dazedly."[32] Murdoch was nearing the point of breakdown. His account is as self-effacing as it is a matter of fact. While this is precisely the point at which the disillusionment literature would invoke the senselessness of war and the victimization of all its participants, Murdoch does not make such generalizations. This was his unique, individual experience.

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30. Murdoch, *The Red Vineyard*, 289.
31. Murdoch, *The Red Vineyard*, 290.
32. Murdoch, *The Red Vineyard*, 291.

It is also at this point that the reader might expect harsh words directed towards the enemy. With his hands literally covered in the blood of dying soldiers as he helped the doctors and administered last rites, one might expect a scathing condemnation of the "Hun." But that was neither his perspective, nor his reaction. Indeed, one of the striking features of *The Red Vineyard* is the absence of the articulation of hatred or vindictiveness towards the enemy. During the battle of Amiens, he recalls an entire day of "confessions, giving Holy Communion, [and] anointing those mortally wounded"—including Germans." As Murdoch relates:

> When a German would say he was a Catholic, I would put on my stole, open my little ciborium, hold up the Sacred Host … I would wait kneeling by his side till he had finished his act of contrition; then I would give him Holy Communion. It was a beautiful sight to see the tears of gratitude come into their eyes.

Rather than articulating vindictiveness or a desire for revenge, Murdoch communicates an understanding of the equality of the wounded and the dying on both sides. The wounded Germans were no longer the enemy but simply dying men. Moreover, this perspective was reciprocal for "after I had anointed them, invariably they reached out and gripped my hands." Murdoch concludes with a generalizing statement not found in the disillusionment canon, "many lads were ushered up to the gates of heaven that day." [33] Canadians and Germans were no longer enemies but simply Catholic "lads" approaching eternity.

Both Williams and Dumontet argue that expressions of inclusivity, balance in the narrative, and a sense of historic continuity distinguish certain accounts from the received disillusionment canon. *The Red Vineyard* is replete with examples of all three. One remarkable example of both inclusivity and balance is Murdoch's story concerning French children and troop trains. He relates that while trainloads of troops paused at stops on their way to the front, French children:

> wondered what those words meant that someone on the troop trains always called out and which brought such thundering response … always some voice called out those words, and always hundreds of voices roared back, "no!" … in time the French children learned them and … would run to the cars, and one of them would call out, "har we doon-hearted?" Then mingled with the laughter … would come thundering the answer, "no".

Murdoch demonstrates that the war was not just one of trenches and troops but also of trains and curious children. Yet there is more. Having evoked such a cheerful scene Murdoch tells of the return of other trains:

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33. Murdoch, *The Red Vineyard*, 243.

> the little French children … noticed certain differences between these trains and the ones that went up to the front. Everything seemed very quiet … On the side of every car was painted, in the middle of a large white circle, a red cross. No groups of laughing faces appeared at open car windows; though now and again the white, drawn face of some one lying on a berth peered out through the glass … No one called out, 'Are we down-hearted?'[34]

With the effective use of contrast, Murdoch has made his point about the suffering of war. His storytelling style is eminently suited to his message. By avoiding accounts of gore, the very subtly of his tale increases both its poignancy and its impact.

Similarly*, The Red Vineyard* does not engage in the disillusionment canon's standard assertion that the Great War was like no other and thus constituted an unbridgeable break with the past.[35] Interestingly, Murdoch challenges this narrative with the narrative of civilians. He notes, "Up to this time I had seen the effect of war on combatants only. Now I was continually passing scenes that made me turn sick at heart; for all along our way came little groups of French peasants." Murdoch was describing the retreat of refugees at the time of the German spring offensive of 1918. Despite its novelty to him, he nonetheless describes it, not as something unique to the Great War, but as a common aspect of war. He further frames his personal shock in a distinctively new world manner, noting that "for the first time since I had enlisted, I recalled a short and succinct definition of war given by the U.S. Civil War General [William Tecumseh] Sherman" ("War is Hell"). "'General Sherman was right,' I said grimly."[36] In this way, Murdoch places his experience within the context of all wars. His particular war was neither distinctive nor set apart. Moreover, the way in which he frames his realization that "war is hell," is in reference to its effect on civilians rather than soldiers. Thus, in the very manner in which he relates the plight of French refugees, he presents a balanced, inclusive account that asserts both the ongoing historical continuity of conflict while at the same time denying that his war constitutes a watershed caesura with the past.

It is, however, in the very daily functions of his priesthood that we see the ultimate, if unconscious, assertion of continuity. Just like any parish priest, Murdoch's daily task was to say his Breviary, hear confessions, celebrate Mass and to administer Holy Communion and, if necessary, to give last rites.[37] Unlike the parish setting, however, at the Front debris fell on his Breviary while he read it, and he frequently celebrated Mass while

34. Murdoch, *The Red Vineyard*, 72-73.

35. Monique Dumontet, "Lest We Forget: Canadian Combat Narratives of the Great War," (Ph.D. diss., University of Manitoba, 2010), 7.

36. Murdoch, *The Red Vineyard*, 159.

37. B.J. Murdoch, *Part Way Through* (Toronto: Mission Press, 1946), 247-314.

standing in a specially dug hole at the bottom of a shallow trench. The tasks were the same—it was the setting and intensity which had changed. A case in point would be the afternoon he and an Anglican chaplain buried one hundred and twenty-five dead from the Third Brigade. Murdoch notes that this included "two or three of my dear friends" and we "called the place "Dominion Cemetery."[38] Thus with such a typical ministerial function as burial, Murdoch's war exhibited continuity with what he had done before and would do after the conflict was over.

Given his role as chaplain, Murdoch was in a unique position to both observe and comment on the soldiers of the CEF. The disillusionment literature portrays army chaplains as out-of-touch officers inhabiting the safe rear areas and enjoying the perks of their positions. A classic Canadian version of this characterization can be found in Wilfred Kerr's 1929 memoir, *Shrieks and Crashes*. While Kerr pointedly makes an exception for Canon Scott, he stated that "few chaplains were like him; most kept well out of danger, made friends only with the officers, [and] knew nothing of the men." He concluded that "such conduct was viewed with disgust and regarded as entirely unworthy of the men's profession." [39]

The Red Vineyard stands in stark contrast to this portrayal. At the commencement of the Canal du Nord battle, notes Murdoch, "the officer in command looked at me. 'Coming, Padre?' he asked. I smiled. I was not free to go then. I must stay with the doctor, to attend to the wounded." What needs to be emphasized is precisely where Murdoch was when the officer teased him. He was at the very front, in the jumping-off zone with the infantry. The officer knew full well what the chaplain's duties were and he also realized, as we have seen, that Murdoch would very soon be going "forward with the field ambulance."[40] As a consequence, what Murdoch relates concerning the Canadian soldiers lacks neither authenticity nor gravitas.

In the summer of 1918, while bedridden with the flu, Murdoch was to experience what he termed "one of the finest weeks I spent in the army." This was because "so many officers and men came into the little hut to see [him]." For Murdoch, this meant that "[he] was just beginning to understand the charity of the army."[41] During a play offered to entertain the troops, Murdoch recalled this charity extended to the portrayal of Catholic priests. Although, as he records, the role of the padre was played by a non-Catholic,

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38. Murdoch, *The Red Vineyard, 262.*

39. Wilfred Kerr, *Shrieks and Crashes: The Memoir of Wilfred Kerr Canadian Field Artillery, 1917 (Ottawa: CEF Books, 2005), 105. Many chaplains had similar complaints about the Senior Catholic Chaplain, Fr. A.E. Burke. See Ludlow, The Canny Scot, 83.*

40. Murdoch, *The Red Vineyard, 285.*

41. Murdoch, *The Red Vineyard, 196.*

the portrayal was of "the ideal priest, genial, kind, grave." Some might think that in the war zone humour bereft of crudity or base innuendo would fail miserably. On the contrary, "the house roared with laughter, so that we forgot that we were in a building on the Western Front into which at any minute a long-distance shell might fall, killing and wounding half the people there."[42]

The Red Vineyard repeatedly captures Murdoch's admiration of the Catholic soldiers use of confession and attendance at Mass. He even records an instance where the Anglican Canon Scott urged his men to Communion with very limited results. Murdoch spoke to the Catholics next and elicited one hundred percent attendance at his Mass.[43] Several times in his narrative, he relates incidents of men returning to the Church after long periods of absence. He also notes the often-repeated post war retort that they returned simply out of fear. Murdoch found this both "harsh" and uninformed.[44] In his attempt to explain, he pointed out:

> the long vigil in the muddy front line trench during the cold, silent hours of the night, when there is much time to think. Perhaps for the first time in years some men begin to do a little serious thinking. Under ordinary circumstances, when the voice of conscience speaks, one has a thousand ways of deafening the ears. In the trenches, there was no means of silencing the still, small voice. All things conspired to make one think seriously of death and the fragility of human life.[45]

In the end, Murdoch concluded, "it was these thoughts mostly that brought so many men back to God. He spoke to them and they heard."[46] It must be recalled that, as a Catholic chaplain, he was uniquely positioned to know and evaluate what was on the men's minds. Murdoch heard confessions almost every day. Moreover, with respect to confession, as the men would soon face death, there was no reason to lie and every motivation to be honest. As historian Mark McGowan notes, the chaplains were under no "illusion that Catholic soldiers were plaster saints." For instance, manuals for confessors covered, among other topics, matters of sexual encounters. The questioning was not naïve; "have you made indecent actions? (a) alone. (b) with men. (c) with women. (d) with animals. How many times?"[47] Alongside this reality were the instances of men who were strong armed into the priest's

42. Murdoch, *The Red Vineyard*, 274-275.
43. Murdoch, *The Red Vineyard*, 251.
44. Murdoch, *The Red Vineyard*, 150.
45. Murdoch, *The Red Vineyard*, 150.
46. Murdoch, *The Red Vineyard*, 150.
47. Mark McGown, "Harvesting the "red vineyard": Catholic religious culture in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1914-1919," CCHA, *Historical Studies*, 64 (1998): 67.

presence by their friends or, as witnessed by Murdoch, literally tossed into his confessional tent.[48]

A decade after the end of the Great War, Murdoch's fellow Maritimer, W. R. Bird, wrote of the sudden deluge of books "putrid with so-called realism." He objected to their portrayal of the CEF soldier "as a coarse-minded, profane creature, seeking only the solace of loose women or the courage of strong liquor." He was determined to counter with "a balanced perspective; to show that the private soldier in the trenches had other thoughts than of the flesh, had often finer vision and strength of soul than those who would fit him to their sordid, sensation-seeking fiction."[49] The result was Bird's classic, *And We Go On*, published in 1929. As we have seen, Murdoch shared the same concerns as this non-Catholic infantryman from Nova Scotia. In fact, Murdoch would soon write an autobiographical work replete with many tales of the good qualities of the average CEF soldier.[50]

In Murdoch's 1946 book *Part Way Through,* he relates the story of his first time at the front in the gas alert zone where all masks had to be at the ready. Attempting to tip the two non-Catholics who had handled his baggage, the men refused. Once "past the gas alert sign," they noted, "money doesn't count." Murdoch reflected:

> Perhaps it was our common danger, perhaps it was our common allegiance; perhaps it was the spirit of our common comity. Perhaps it was all three. I don't know. But I do know that the esprit de corps was something deep and broad and kindly. And that day I began to realize it.[51]

That the spiritual quality of the Catholic soldiers was an issue of debate is made especially clear by another incident captured in *Part Way Through*. He tells of a priest who had a reputation for bawling out the enlisted men. Although "not a front-line chaplain," news of individual cases would start " him condemning the soldiers!" Encountering this clergyman at the Catholic priests' hostel in London, Murdoch challenged him by declaring that "the Canadian Catholic soldiers were a fine crowd of Christians … fine, kind, great-hearted men!" Murdoch even added that, even if they had been away from the church, "we should be kind to soldiers! We can't be too kind!" When the confronted priest began his retort, the twelve other priests present, only three of whom were Canadian, stirred to the soldiers' defence." They were telling the forceful one that one could not be too kind to soldiers. And they were earnest and eager and forceful too." Murdoch had made his point.

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48. Murdoch, *The Red Vineyard*, 190-192.

49. Bird, *And We Go On*, 4-5.

50. In a very similar vein see Fred W. Bagnell, *Not Mentioned in Dispatches* (North Shore Press, Vancouver, 1933).

51. Murdoch, *Part Way Through*, 165.

The priest who was critical of soldiers was left with "a harassed, baffled expression."[52]

In *Part Way Through,* Murdoch also makes clear that the men of the CEF whom he admired extended well beyond the ranks of the Catholics. He mentions the "chaplain who was from Ireland and spoke a delicious brogue" whom Murdoch addressed as Father only to learn during a meeting that he was an Anglican Chaplain who became the bishop of Fredericton.[53] Likewise, Murdoch found Canon Scott, "who was loved by all the soldiers," "very gracious and genial."[54] He also relates the story of the transport wagon driver who took care of Murdoch's portable altar. Overhearing the man's fellow Orange Lodge friends tease him for being the caretaker of "a little Catholic Church done up small," Murdoch awaited the man's reaction. "Think I don't know that? Well, I do … let any man lay a hand on that satchel when she's in my care, and see what happens." "God bless Wes" the Orangeman, Murdoch noted fondly. [55]

Finally, Murdoch carefully chronicles the behaviour of individual soldiers. In so doing, he records displays of individual agency amidst the chaos and destruction of war. This is in contrast to the disillusionment canon's characterization of all soldiers as utterly passive and victimized.[56] As the Armistice approached, Murdoch mentions a malnourished French girl "carrying in her hand an oblong box of Canadian biscuits … I assumed that one of our lads had given it to her; they were forever doing such kind acts."[57] Murdoch also makes special mention of a soldier named Marney who had lost five brothers in the war. He confessed to Murdoch that he was unsure how he would react once in Germany. After crossing the border, Murdoch entered the officer's mess and encountered Marney waiting tables. "Seated along one wall of the mess were five little golden-haired, blue-eyed German children, eating huge slices of white bread and margarine, spread thickly with strawberry jam. Their faces smeared with the dark red jam." When questioned, Marney confessed that it was he who had "given those little Germans our good soldiers' food."[58] By recording this instance of individual kindness, Murdoch counters the disillusionment canon's insistence that the war permanently altered and irreparably hardened its participants.

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52. Murdoch, *Part Way Through*, 199.
53. Murdoch, *Part Way Through*, 139. The chaplain was Bishop William Moorhead (1882-1962).
54. Murdoch, *Part Way Through*, 167.
55. Murdoch, *Part Way Through*, 185.
56. Williams in Bird, *And We Go On*, xx.
57. Murdoch, *The Red Vineyard*, 301.
58. Murdoch, *Part Way Through*, 187.

As late as 1952, with the publication of his last autobiographical work, *Far Away Place*, Murdoch continues to relate stories about the soldiers of the CEF. He tells of Hellfire Corner near Ypres where Canadian military policemen directed traffic at the infamous crossroads. It was suitably named, as "shells whistled and howled, shrieked and screeched, for the Germans had it registered." He recalls that "to stand there directing traffic … was a terrible ordeal. Often a big shell crumped right into a traffic jam or burst above the corner and sprinkled death-dealing shrapnel for yards along the ways." Murdoch lamented that while Canadian children were taught about Horatius of ancient Rome, they knew little "about the Canadian lads who stood directing traffic at Hell-Fire Corner while death tore through the air, and fell from the sky?"[59]

Arguably *The Red Vineyard's* most striking feature is its author's recounting of his own evolving physical, emotional and mental status. It becomes apparent from the text that Murdoch was a sensitive and introspective young man. This is also evident in *Part Way Through* when Murdoch documents his pre-war experience in pursuit of a vocation in the Redemptorist order. For a full month "I went about in a daze," he recalled, "greatly depressed, terribly tortured in mind."[60] Catharsis came with the realization that he did not possess a vocation to the order. Murdoch joined the CEF roughly eighteen months later in May 1916.

In *The Red Vineyard,* Murdoch also chronicles his physical and emotional journeys. Having been in France for about a year (he declined his first entitlement to leave in six months), Murdoch finally took his two weeks leave in June 1918. As he had done previously, Murdoch opted for a week's retreat in rural England at St. Hugh's Charterhouse, a monastery in Parkminster. There was, however, a problem, and "this time I did not settle down to the deep quiet of the monastery … a strange restlessness possessed me, and I felt a distinct relief when my time was up." There was no doubt as to why, for "the year at the front had done its work too well, and I now experienced the effects of that tension which all who have taken part in the World War know so well." Not only does he relate an altered emotional and psychological state but he attributes it directly to his experience of war. He further generalizes, stating that this restlessness and tension were known to "all who had taken part."[61] A few weeks earlier he had experienced persistent shelling at an exposed location known as Ecurie Wood, and recalled that "the

59. Murdoch, *Far Away Place* (Francestown: Marshall Jones Co., 1952), 168.
60. Murdoch, *Part Way Through*, 108.
61. Murdoch, *The Red Vineyard*, 216.

shells would come so near us that I would sit on my box, or kneel before the blessed sacrament, trembling, expecting each moment to be my last."[62]

Whether Crerar's styling of Murdoch's condition as "combat fatigue" is correct or not, it is noteworthy that his tension followed the shelling at Ecurie Wood.[63] Moreover, while Murdoch clearly meets the criteria of repeated exposure to traumatic events, "restlessness" per se is not one of the present indicators for PTSD.[64] A few weeks later, when Murdoch learns that his unit was again heading to the front, he records that "a strange numbness seemed to spread through every nerve in my body." He rationalizes this incident by relating that it was nothing new for he had experienced a similar event years before when his "teacher had opened the drawer in her desk and removed a black, snake-like piece of leather."[65] However, another incident had no precedent; waking up in a dugout during a determined German bombardment, he wrote that "I woke up trembling violently, I am not sure whether from cold or fear."[66] This certainly was an experience with which many veterans could identify. A week later, while searching for the location of a battalion for which he was chaplain, he experienced profound anxiety. He records "never in my life had I felt such indecision … it was serious work I had to do … and here was I standing in the road almost in a panic—doing nothing!"[67] Although an understandable reaction to his predicament, the intensity of the moment and Murdoch's self-described "panic" are indicative of his evolving emotional state.

Despite the increased fragility of Murdoch's mental state, the war continued. His description of life in early September 1918 is especially harrowing: "Each night we were bombed almost continuously. It was terrible and there were many casualties. One could scarcely count the airplanes. We could hear them coming." Since they were now in open warfare, there were neither trenches nor dugouts to shelter in, so "we would lie on the ground unprotected—nothing between us and the airplanes but the thin sheets of our bivouacs." There was nothing to do but to helplessly endure the repeated bombing runs: "Often I have gripped the grass beside me with both hands, as I lay there waiting to be blown into a thousand fragments."68 A week later, while staying at a French priest's home, he was given a fresh pear;

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62. Murdoch, *The Red Vineyard*, 189.
63. Crerar, *Padres,* 352.
64. Barbara Rothbaum, Psychotherapy Academy: Understanding DSM – 5 Criteria for PTSD: A Disorder of Extinction, 2020, https://psychotherapyacademy.org/pe-trauma-training-ptsd/understanding-dsm-5-criteria-for-ptsd, accessed 18 March 2021.
65. Murdoch, *The Red Vineyard*, 224.
66. Murdoch, *The Red Vineyard*, 228.
67. Murdoch, *The Red Vineyard*, 236.
68. Murdoch, *The Red Vineyard*, 263.

he reflected that "these little acts of kindness of the old cure's sister used to affect me almost to tears." At the time, Murdoch concluded, "I think the awful strain of battle was beginning to affect us all."69

Murdoch's frank and matter-of-fact recounting of his evolving mental state distinguishes *The Red Vineyard* from similar accounts of the Great War. He accomplishes this with vivid descriptions of the initial experiences, including his thoughts at the time, followed by the resultant behaviours. This not only creates a compelling tale, but provides us with a glimpse into Murdoch's introspection contemporaneous with the events described. Murdoch's distinctive presentation not only provides a description of events in memoir form but also a glimpse into his mind both during wartime and then at peace. Whether intended or not, *The Red Vineyard* can serve as a unique advocacy for understanding and empathizing with the CEF soldiers' physical, emotional and psychological journey.

On Christmas Day 1918, Murdoch was granted two weeks leave in England. Recognizing something of the restlessness and emotional fragility described in *The Red Vineyard*, the Assistant Director of the Chaplain Service did not send him back to France, and instead saw to Murdoch's speedy demobilization. Back in New Brunswick by spring, Murdoch did relief work at both Chatham and Bathurst before Bishop Thomas Barry assigned him to St. Gabriel's parish in Jacquet River. While Murdoch accepted the post against his better judgement, as the problems of his parish required a "priest, a lawyer and a doctor," he "grew more and more nervous, and the war tension increased."70 At this point in his story, he admits to having trouble sleeping. This is one of the recognized symptoms of PTSD.71 "The war tension that wouldn't break had left me so that I couldn't relax," he confessed, "At least I didn't realize that I should relax."72 Sympathetic to Murdoch's plight, his bishop moved him to a much smaller parish at Douglastown, very close to his home and to his parents.

Once settled at Douglastown, Murdoch immersed himself in writing *The Red Vineyard* which he had commenced at Jacquet River. Although he enjoyed writing, the process came at a price:

> Sometimes the scenes I described became so vivid that involuntarily I would stop writing. So great was my absorption that I would not advert to the fact that I was not working. For I was seeing again the miniature forests of little white crosses … where the soldiers slept. Again, I was following

69. Murdoch, *The Red Vineyard*, 264.
70. Murdoch, *Part Way Through*, 209.
71. Rothbaum, Understanding DSM-5 Criteria, 4.
72. Murdoch, *Part Way Through*, 210.

> the slow marching soldiers down the aisles as they carried shoulder high their fallen comrade.73

Well before the term was in common usage,74 B.J. Murdoch describes his experience of the phenomenon known as a "flashback." Writing in his study, Murdoch experienced a vivid return to his burial services in France. He describes the experience as involuntary, absorbing and an actual revisiting. This is one of the classic criteria of PTSD.75 He concludes, "sometimes the tears dropping suddenly on the white paper would bring me back."76 The next month, tired and depressed, he was hospitalized. A few weeks later, his unwell father visited him and died suddenly in the chair by his son's bedside.

Interestingly, in *Part Way Through* Murdoch also records the response of the Canadian medical system to his symptoms. Upon admission to the hospital, he "felt numbed, shocked, tired, depressed so that I wanted to go by myself and cry." He was given daily liquid doses of bromide, which "had a soothing effect yet I couldn't react to any impression … I was in a kind of stupor." Murdoch was cheered by rumors that he would be sent to Bermuda for rest, however, when his doctor learned that he was eager to see the soldiers stationed on that island, the destination was changed to Florida. This left Murdoch, "numbed, helpless and—with a strange fear shadowing me."77 Placed on a train bound for Florida, he made it as far as Montréal. After four sleepless days and an encroaching sense of fear, he checked into a hospital. After three weeks of injections of strychnine every other day, he left for Florida. The trip helped; he returned to New Brunswick after Easter, resumed writing and finished *The Red Vineyard* in July of 1922.

Throughout his account, Murdoch also communicates a pervasive sense of passivity. This is what he felt, and this is what was done to him. He communicates a certain aloofness from the experience. He had for a time lost his individual agency. However, as a result of the treatment, doctor's orders, rest and the suggestions of others, he regained himself. He regained balance, a sense of purpose, and an ability to envision a future for himself. It was not a future without difficulties, but it was a future. Although he would carry his war experiences into his post-war life, he would not be overwhelmed by them.

Murdoch eventually resumed his ministry at St Samuel's Parish in Douglastown where he continued both his pastoral duties and his writing.

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73. Murdoch, *Part Way Through*, 221.

74. Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary lists the first use of flashback as an intransitive verb to the year 1944.

75. Rothbaum, Understanding DSM-5 Criteria.

76. Murdoch, *Part Way Through*, 222.

77. Murdoch, *Part Way Through*, 225-227.

In 1930, the stress and sleeplessness returned.78 Granted a year's leave, Murdoch chose the isolation and quiet of an abandoned logging camp in Bartibog, ten kilometres east of Chatham. There, in the forest, he finally found rest and peace. After a brief stint as a hospital chaplain, in the spring of 1932 he was allowed to reside in the camp permanently.79 During the following decades, Murdoch would say Mass daily, minister to nearby loggers, tell his stories to visitors, and even mentor another well known Miramichi chaplain, Rev R. M. Hickey. He would also continue to write, penning eight more books and countless articles. Every year he would come out of seclusion to preach and to lead retreats. While this was not "parish" ministry, it was what he had been looking to do as a young priest and what he had been seeking to achieve in the Redemptorist order.80 Padre Murdoch's personal record of the Great War and its aftermath (in both *The Red Vineyard* and *Part Way Through)* presented the story and advocated for understanding and empathy of the nation's Great War soldiers. His account, not just of bombardments and blood, but of trembling and tears continued to resonate with his audience. *The Red Vineyard* would go through four separate printings and ten editions, the last in 1959. His account had longevity. Padre Murdoch's legacy is the narrative of his Great War battles and of his battles with those experiences. It can only be hoped that his memoirs become more widely recognized for what they are—a unique contribution to the Canadian canon of Great War literature.

78. Murdoch, *Part Way Through*, 290.
79. Creamer, *Shepherd of the Woods*, 49.
80. Murdoch, *Part Way Through*, 108.

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Research Notes

Father Aeneas McDonnell Dawson in Scotland and Canada

Fred J. McEvoy & Alasdair Roberts

Abstract: *Father Aeneas McDonnell Dawson was an important early Canadian literary figure. Celebrated in confederation-era Ottawa intellectual circles, his manuscript on the temporal authority of the Pope was the first book published in that city. A friend of Sir John A. MacDonald and D'Arcy McGee, Dawson was an advocate of Canadian expansionism and did much to strengthen national unity. Yet we know very little about Dawson's early years in Scotland nor his experiences as a parish priest. This article offers new material on Dawson's early life, his reasons for coming to Canada and his experiences as priest in the Diocese of Ottawa.*

Résumé : *Le père Aeneas McDonnell Dawson était une importante figure littéraire canadienne. Célébré dans les cercles intellectuels d'Ottawa à l'époque de la Confédération, son manuscrit sur l'autorité temporelle du pape fut le premier livre publié dans cette ville. Ami de Sir John A. MacDonald et de D'Arcy McGee, Dawson était un partisan de l'expansionnisme canadien et fit beaucoup pour renforcer l'unité nationale. Pourtant, nous savons très peu de choses sur les premières années de Dawson en Écosse ni sur ses expériences en tant que curé. Cet article offre du nouveau matériel sur la jeunesse de Dawson, ses raisons de venir au Canada et ses expériences en tant que prêtre dans le diocèse d'Ottawa.*

Father Aeneas McDonnell Dawson (1810-1894) was a celebrated Scottish- Canadian priest, eulogist and writer. During his early career in Scotland, he translated several books from French into English, while in Canada he became a prolific author of history and biography, essays, sermons, and poetry. Well-known in the literary circles of Ottawa, Dawson commented on everything from the temporal authority of the pope to the scribblings of early Canadian poets. He was also an enthusiastic supporter

of Canadian expansionism into the west.[1] Yet despite Dawson's prominence —he was a good friend of Sir John A. MacDonald and D'Arcy McGee—only recently have scholars begun to take a closer look at the details of his life. Employing new records from both sides of the Atlantic Ocean, this paper traces Dawson's career from a little-known Scottish curate to a recognized literary authority in Canada.

Understanding the experiences of eighteenth and nineteenth century clerics in Canada frequently requires a transnational approach. Father Aeneas Dawson, for example, has long been something of a mystery in his native Scotland. One well-known historian of Scottish Catholicism summarized Dawson's career by noting that he was badly in debt, and had "left the Mission and went to London, and later to Canada. Was in Ottawa in 1867."[2] Dawson's Ottawa tombstone offers a little more, stating that he came to Canada "after founding important missions in the Diocese of Edinburgh."[3] For many Scottish and Irish priests who came to prominence in Canada, this lack of biographical background was not uncommon. In the 1930s, Fr. Hugh Joseph Somers wrote a PhD thesis on Bishop Alexander Macdonell of Kingston, in which he described the bishop's early years as mostly "uncertain" and "unknown."[4] Later, the historian Kathleen Toomey noted that "[Macdonell] was forty-two when he arrived in Canada and of these years little is known except that which he bequeathed to history in his memoirs."[5]

Aeneas McDonell Dawson was born on 10 July 1810 in the rocky bay of Redhaven, Banffshire, which is halfway between the villages of Cullen and Portsoy, on the Moray Firth. One of nine children born to John Dawson and Anne McDonnell, he was raised on the nearby farm of Reidhythe ("hythe" being the old Scots for haven), in an extended Roman Catholic family that could claim three Dawson priests from the nearby town of Huntly.[6] His

1. On Dawson's role in Canadian expansionism see Fred McEvoy, "Father Aeneas M. Dawson and Canadian Expansionism," CCHA *Historical Studies*, 76 (2010): 87-98.

2. Christine Johnson, "Scottish secular clergy, 1830-1878: the Northern and Eastern Districts," *Innes Review* XL, 1 (1989): 48.

3. Brian Geraghty, *Living and Chosen Stones: A History of St. Patrick's Basilica 1855-1995* (Ottawa, 1995), 88.

4. Hugh Joseph Somers, "The Life and Times of the Hon. and Rt. Rev. Alexander Macdonell, D.D. First Bishop of Upper Canada 1762-1840." (PhD Diss, Catholic University of America, 1931).

5. Kathleen M. Toomey, *Alexander Macdonell: the Scottish Years, 1762-1804* (Toronto, Canadian Catholic Historical Association, 1985), vi.

6. For Andrew Dawson (1764-88) see Christine Johnson, "Secular clergy of the Lowland District 1732-1829," *Innes Review,* xxxiv, 1 (1983): 70. For William Dawson (1820-94) and William Dawson (1853-1914) see Johnson, "Northern and Eastern Districts": 30.

highland Catholic pedigree was cemented through his mother who was a niece of the famous Highland military man, Lieutenant Colonel Coll MacDonald of Morar.[7]

Aeneas (otherwise Angus) was baptized by the hard-working Fr James MacLachlan who served the scattered Catholic population from the county town of Banff.[8] The Catholic community in which Dawson was raised was steadily expanding. When Aeneas attended the Grammar school at Portsoy, local Catholics gathered for worship "on the braehead at the west end of that house occupied by Mr. James Ross." It was a small building, befitting the stature of the community. Soon after, however, the Church of the Annunciation, a stone building in the Gothic revival style, opened with a capacity of five hundred.[9]

Educational standards were high in Banffshire and Dawson received a solid education in the parish of Fordyce. The "subscription grammar school" was attended by about forty boys (though most Scottish schools were co-educational) and, lacking an endowment, it charged slightly more than the parochial school. All schools were examined by the Presbyterian authorities, and Dawson's later ease with Canadian Protestants (and ready acceptance by them) likely owed something to this experience.

While there is no extant account of Dawson's vocation discernment, in July 1826, just prior to his sixteenth birthday, he entered the Lowland District seminary of Aquhorthies. A month later, his proficiency in Latin having reached a level suitable for study abroad, he left for Paris, France, in the company of three other budding seminarians.[10] These young men were following in the footsteps of generations of Scottish priests as the Scots Colleges in France, Spain and Italy had provided much-needed seminary education to Scottish Catholics since the seventeenth century. While the institutions at Paris and Douai were closed during the French Revolution, by 1824, the Scottish Church's assets in Paris were separated from those of

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7. John MacDonald, Edinburgh, to Mrs. Dawson, 2 January 1818, Scottish Catholic Archives (hereafter SCA), Oban Letters OL/1/2/17. For Barisdale see Alasdair Roberts and Valerie Cameron Smith, *Jacobite Traitor? Coll MacDonell and the Prince* (Prestoungrange & Cuthill Press, 2013). The colonel suffered a severe head wound in the French Wars and died in 1817 after spending years in an asylum. Alasdair Roberts, *The People and Gentry of Morar* (Mallaig Heritage Centre, 2017), 60-61.

8. In Scotland during this period, it was common to address a Catholic priest as Mister. However, Father will be used throughout.

9. *Portsoy Manuscript of 1843* (Banff, n.d.), 19. This booklet is based on a document discovered when Portsoy's church was being redecorated in 1938; Peter F. Anson, *The Caravan Pilgrim* (London, 1938), 149.

10. William James Anderson, "The Aquhorties Register," *Innes Review*, xiv, 1 *(1963): 180.*

England and Ireland, and an agreement was reached to support the studies of fifteen Scottish students at the Parisian colleges of Saint Nicolas and Saint Sulpice.[11]

While records are scarce, Dawson's time in France was formative.[12] After their studies at the Saint Nicolas, students did two years of philosophy at the Sulpician and then proceeded to study theology at the *grand séminaire* of Saint Sulpice, beside the Luxembourg Gardens.[13] This elite institution would educate many of Scotland's nineteenth-century priests, including almost a third of those who began their studies at the new junior seminary of Blairs College outside Aberdeen after 1829 (the seminaries at Lismore and Aquhorthies were closed).

On return from Paris, Dawson did two further years of study and was finally ordained at Blairs in 1835. His initial assignment was as curate to the Fr William Reid at the southern Scottish town of Dumfries. The assignment was close to the lands of the Maxwells of Terregles, an old Catholic family who had fought to preserve the faith along the border with England.[14] As generations of Catholics in the area struggled for economic survival, they had been "harshly used" by their Presbyterian employers, the need for priestly ministry was great. In 1816, Dumfries had been established as a mission, and by the time that Dawson arrived, the community was planning a new church. Hoping to further expand the Catholic mission to Annan (some seventeen miles to the east), Fr Reid had Dawson oversee construction of a new chapel in that town.[15]

It was during this period that Dawson became familiar with the Canadian Catholic mission. Not only had his parents emigrated to the Ottawa Valley in 1836, but in January 1840, Bishop Alexander Macdonell of Kingston, who had labored in North America since 1804, visited Dumfries to encourage immigration and fundraise for educational purposes. On 14 January, the prelate called his servant to complain about the cold and then fell silent.

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11. Peter A. Moran, "Grisy, the Scots College farm near Paris," *Innes Review*, xliii, 1 (1992): 63. For the part played in recovering Scottish property by one of Napoleon's marshals, see Alasdair Roberts, "*The French MacDonald*: Catholic connections," *Innes Review*, 62, 1 (2011): 88-9.

12. Brian M. Halloran, *The Scots College Paris, 1603-1792* (Edinburgh, 1997), 36, 38, 137.

13. Attendance at St Nicolas du Chardonnay was later replaced by study at the Abbé Poiloup's Institution in the Vaugirard suburb next to Issy.

14. See Odo Blundell, *Ancient Catholic Homes of Scotland* (London, 1907).

15. Annan's first Catholic chapel was opened in 1839. From 1813, Irish immigrants also filled the pews of what became St Andrew's Cathedral in Dumfries. Groome, *Ordnance Gazetteer*, ii, 392.

Fr Reid arrived in time to administer Extreme Unction and the last Blessing, and the "noble old gentleman passed into eternity without a moan."[16]

While Dawson enjoyed ministering under the Maxwell patronage in Dumfriesshire, he was soon assigned to other projects. He was first sent to Perth (a church seating 650 had newly opened) and assisted the Glenlivet-born priest, Fr James McKay, for more than a year. He was then transferred southwest to Stirling to work with another Glenlivet-born priest, Fr Paul Maclachlan, who had long labored without a "regular chapel,"[17]and later to Dundee, the city of textile mills, to assist Fr John Macpherson who had been sole pastor to a growing Catholic population of 3,000.

While Dawson was, in his own way, contributing to a physical expansion of the Scottish Church, he had become something of an itinerant cleric and took on further short-term appointments (including St. Andrew's in the Netherbow and at Arbroath). By 1843, he was withdrawn from front line mission work altogether and appointed chaplain to the Ursulines and their pupils at Edinburgh's St. Margaret's Convent. Yet despite serving as chaplain to the sisters between 1843-1846, Dawson is barely mentioned in the convent annals and has been over-shadowed by his successor Fr Alexander O'Donnell.[18] It is possible that by spending more time in the great libraries of Edinburgh—Catholic thought had earned respect in the city during the 18th-century Enlightenment—his clerical responsibilities suffered.[19]

Throughout his time as a priest in Scotland, Dawson pursued his literary interests by translating several important works from French to English. Dawson's translation of a book by Philippe Irénée Boistel d'Exauvillet was published in 1842 by Hugh Margey of Glasgow.20 Eight years later, his

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16. *History of St Margaret's Convent, Edinburgh, the first Religious House Founded in Scotland since the so-called Reformation* (Edinburgh, 1886), 94. The anonymous author was almost certainly the Ursuline Superior Mary de Sales. Mindful of his own upbringing in Montréal, as well as Alexander Macdonell's work for Highlanders on both sides of the Atlantic, Bishop James Gillis arranged a funeral with "extraordinary pomp" in what was to become St. Mary's Cathedral at the top of Leith Walk. The coffin was then conveyed to the crypt below the chapel at St. Margaret's Convent "until the wishes of his people in Canada should be ascertained." Macdonell's remains were returned to Canada in 1861.

17. Maclachlan later became caught up in religious controversy with Falkirk's leading employer. Alasdair Roberts, "Paul Maclachlan and the ironmaster: a case study in controversy," *Recusant History*, 29 (2008): 77-100; *Catholic Directory for Scotland [CDS]* (1835), 47.

18. *History of St Margaret's Convent*, 119.

19. See Mark Goldie, "The Scottish Catholic Enlightenment," *Journal of British Studies*, 30 (1991): 20-62.

20. Margey's *Glasgow Chronicle* office was at 28 Nelson Street. *The Parish Priest and His Parishioners, or Answers to Popular Prejudices against Religion* was another Dawson translation based on *Les Soirées Villageois ou Mélanges d'Histoires et*

rendered version of *Du Pape*, by the philosopher and diplomat, Joseph-Marie de Maistre, was praised in *The Tablet*, Britain's leading Catholic periodical, as "an excellent and careful translation ... another instance of enlightened zeal from one of the small band of Scottish Catholics."[21]

All of these literary pursuits were encouraged by Bishop Andrew Carruthers, Vicar Apostolic of Scotland's Eastern District. A native of Drummillan, near Dumfries, Bishop Carruthers wrote Latin with great facility and elegance and spoke French with fluency and with "a peculiar correctness of diction and purity of pronunciation."[22] It was Carruthers who appointed Dawson as the first resident priest of Dunfermline in the summer of 1846.[23]

At Dunfermline, Dawson was "allowed the use of a small room in the Town House where, by permission of the Magistrates, he celebrated Mass for his flock on Sundays." In 1847, he obtained the use of a larger hall, which was fitted up exclusively for use as a chapel, and he also tended the victims of a cholera outbreak. While records demonstrate that Dawson left his mission "badly in debt,"[24] he was, nonetheless, "reputed an excellent preacher, poet, and translator of French literary works."[25] Despite the money problems, he was generally remembered fondly in Dunfermline. "I think it my duty to say, from my own knowledge, that you are not forgotten by the old folk in Fife," noted one former member of his flock years later, "You were the pioneer of the Catholic Cause in Fife."[26]

In 1854, Dawson migrated to the Province of Canada. He was not firmly rooted in Scotland (having served briefly in so many parishes) and, as noted, most of the Dawson family had already emigrated to the Ottawa Valley. In fact, Dawson's brother, William, had unsuccessfully attempted to have the priest released from his post in 1842 for service as a missionary in the Diocese of Kingston. Dawson was excited about his new mission, but brought some of the ethnic acrimony that was brewing in his homeland

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de Conversations sur les Principaux Points de la Morale Chrétienne, was published at Paris in 1830.

21. *The Tablet*, 23 November 1850. *Du Pape*'s two volumes were published at Lyon and Paris in 1819. *The Pope* appeared in 1850 with a six-page Translator's Preface by Dawson. His version of Maistre's *Soirées de S. Pétersbourg* came out in the following year.

22. Gordon, *Catholic Church in Scotland,* 476.

23. *History of St Margaret's Convent*, 118.

24. Johnson, "Northern and Eastern Districts": 48. Despite the charge of being a debtor, Dawson must have been given "dismissorials" whereby Bishop Gillis vouched for his good standing.

25. Chalmers. *Historical and Statistical Account*, 73.

26. Joseph B. Hearne to Dawson, 23 May 1885, quoted in Fred McEvoy et al, *Enduring Faith: A History of Saint Patrick's Basilica Parish, Ottawa, 1855-2005* (Ottawa: Saint Patrick's Basilica, 2006), 6, 235.

with him as he expressed a desire for a mixed congregation of French and English as opposed to "one too exclusively Irish."[27]

One of Dawson's first acts in Canada was to purchase thirty acres of land close to his parent's farm at Bytown (Ottawa). The area had been settled by immigrants from Tipperary and Cork, and to spare his family and neighbors journeys to the chapel in Fallowfield, Dawson even built a small chapel dedicated to St Margaret and St Peter Chrysologus.[28] In the early days in his new home Dawson got on well with his bishop, the French-born Oblate Bishop Joseph-Eugène-Bruno Guigues. Guigues had charge of the fledgling Diocese of Ottawa, and while he sent missionaries beyond the Great Lakes, the prelate needed men like Dawson to meet the needs of Irish, Scottish and French-Canadians who were surrounded by a Protestant majority. Dawson was impressed with Guigues' "unusual energy" and his ability to circumvent obstacles to obtain his ends.[29]

In 1855, Dawson was appointed pastor of St Andrew's parish (later renamed St. Patrick's). Yet is seems that his priestly fortunes in Canada were little better than they were in Scotland. He was involved in frequent squabbles with both his parishioners and his Ordinary, often engaging Guigues in "extraordinary exchange[s] of correspondence." Most of these disputes centered around elements of Catholic ritual, and complaints (often from parishioners) that Dawson was neglectful of his clerical responsibilities.[30] Dawson's response was always sharp, claiming that some individuals spoke "without information" and that the bishop needed to "keep the babbling multitudes still more in their place." On another occasion, he referred to the complainants as "officious and malicious."[31]

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27. William Dawson to Aeneas MacDonald, 24 March 1842, Ontario Archives, Dawson Family Fonds, MU 828.

28. St Margaret of Scotland, an English princess and Scottish queen, is buried at Dunfermline Abbey. St Peter Chrysologus, a fifth century archbishop of Ravenna, was famed for his preaching.

29. Gaston Carrière, "Guigues, Joseph-Bruno," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* vol. 10 (Toronto and Québec, 1972). Guigues belonged to the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, recently founded in France, who made Canada their first foreign mission. He was consecrated as Bytown's first bishop on 30 July 1848 after learning English.

30. These issues included failure to wear the cassock in public, not keeping proper registers, employing a housekeeper younger than permitted, not having a set hour for confessions, failure to institute choral masses and paying insufficient attention to teaching the catechism. For a detailed discussion of the relationship between Dawson and Guigues see McEvoy, *Enduring Faith*, 9-17.

31. Dawson to Guigues, 28 August 1858, AAO, Bishop Guigues Letters, Vol. VIII, 316. Dawson's difficulties with his congregation may reflect his experiences in Scotland where many Catholics were Irish. As noted above, he hadn't wanted a largely Irish congregation in Canada.

While complaints of neglect were serious, Bishop Guigues was more concerned by Dawson's handling of the parish finances. After making some needed alterations to the church building—a former Methodist church that had been purchased in 1852 as a temporary home—the parish debt had more than doubled to £650. Dawson's gross income (£52) was insufficient to both pay down the debt and cover basic needs. In response, Guigues ordered Bytown Catholics to provide a subscription sufficient for the priest's maintenance or face losing their pastor.[32] In the spring of 1857, the bishop ordered the raising of a further £150 for Dawson's maintenance. Demonstrating his lack of faith in the priest's financial acumen, he also threatened to appoint three parishioners to assume responsibility for the temporal affairs of the parish.[33] While Dawson retorted that he was "not quite so incompetent as some persons ... are pleased to suppose,"[34] he was unable, when asked, to submit a complete report on the parish finances.[35]

Although Bishop Guigues did not enforce any of the several deadlines that he imposed on Dawson, when he learned that Ottawa had been designated the capital of the Province of Canada, he was determined to appoint a new priest at St. Patrick's.[36] In the summer of 1861, having accused Dawson of marriage irregularities—one groom had supposedly been married already in the United States, while another couple had already been refused marriage in the Diocese of Montréal due to the age of the bride—Guigues threatened to remove Dawson from his parish and suggested the priest seek employment in the United States or England. When Dawson refused to leave what he considered "[his] country and[his] home," the bishop invited him to live at the episcopal residence and say mass at Notre-Dame Cathedral.[37]

While serving at the cathedral, Dawson was able to make use of his powers of oratory and, freed of his administrative responsibilities, ceased to be a source of frustration for the bishop. By 1865, Dawson had been appointed Roman Catholic chaplain to the British troops stationed in Ottawa (he was popular among the officers and men).[38] Later, in 1870, he was sent to St John the Evangelist parish in the farming community of Osgoode and, despite the reoccurrence of some old problems, remained there until 1879.

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32. Acte de Visite de la Paroisse de St. André de la Haute Ville, 15 November 1856, AAO, Guigues Letters, Vol. III, 242-4; Statement by Bishop Guigues, 11 December 1856, AAO, St Patrick's Parish File, I.6 (1856-80).

33. Guigues to Dawson, 15 April 1857, AAO, Guigues Letters, Vol. VIII, 47-8.

34. Dawson to Guigues, 17 April 1857, AAO, Dawson File (2753).

35. Dawson to Guigues, 16 July 1858, AAO, Guigues Letters, Vol. VIII, 296.

36. Guigues to Dawson, 1 February 1861, AAO, Guigues Letters, Vol. IX, 145.

37. Dawson to Guigues, 4 July 1861, AAO, Dawson File (2753); Guigues to Dawson, 4 September 1861, AAO, Guigues Letters, Vol. IX, 197-8.

38. Henry J. Morgan, *In Memoriam: Recollections of Father Dawson* (Ottawa: Paynter and Abbott, 1895), 7-8.

Yet, it was Dawson's pen that would bring him fame. As early as the 1860s, the priest had become well known in Ottawa's small intellectual circles. He was friendly with leading politicians like Prime Minister John A. Macdonald, and joined the elite Rideau Club where membership was "a veritable litmus test of Ottawa society."[39] A good friend of Thomas D'Arcy McGee, another "Father of Confederation," when McGee was assassinated in 1868 due to his opposition to Fenianism, Dawson gave the eulogy at the Cathedral, which enhanced his reputation.[40] Dawson was also Chaplain of the St. Andrew's Society, President of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty, and first Vice-President of the Ottawa Literary Club. He was, according to his friend Henry Morgan, "always much in request in this circle … [He] was a fine scholar, had read largely and diligently in general literature, and in addition, kept himself remarkably well informed on all that was transpiring in our daily world."[41]

Dawson was also an inveterate lecturer on a wide range of subjects, sacred and secular. These included the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, the English King Richard II, the virtues of the Scots, and British policy in East Asia.[42] On all occasions, he "respond(ed) cheerfully" to speaking requests.[43] He also wrote and lectured on Canadian poets, both English and French, helping, in his own way, to promote nascent Canadian literature.[44]

In 1860, Dawson's lectures on the temporal sovereignty of the Pope were published in book form, the first book to be published in Ottawa. His lectures had strongly defended the Pope and the Papal States noting that as an institution "dear to humanity throughout so many centuries, cannot perish in our time—cannot yield to the violence of a passing hurricane."[45] In the

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39. John H. Taylor, *Ottawa: An Illustrated History* (Toronto: James Lorimer and Co., 1986), 55.

40. According to Henry Morgan, McGee had the "deepest regard and friendship" for Dawson. Morgan, *In Memoriam*, 6. On McGee see David Wilson, *Thomas D'Arcy McGee, Vol. 1: Passion, Reason, and Politics 1825-1857* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008); *Thomas D'Arcy McGee, Vol. 2: The Extreme Moderate 1857-1868* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011).

41. Morgan, *In Memoriam,* 5.

42. Ottawa *Tribune*, 11 February 1860; Ottawa *Citizen*, 3 December and 17 December 1861.

43. Ottawa *Tribune*, 23 March 1861.

44. A. M. Dawson, "The Poets of Canada, A Lecture," in A. M. Dawson, *Our Strength and Their Strength: The Northwest Territory and Other Papers, Chiefly Relating to the Dominion of Canada* (Ottawa: The Times Office, 1870). While many of the poets he discussed are hardly known today he did include such better known names as D'Arcy McGee, Susanna Moodie, F.X. Garneau and Louis Fréchette.

45. *The Temporal Sovereignty of the Pope, With Relation to the State of Italy: A Lecture Delivered in St. Andrew's Catholic Church, Ottawa, With Additional Facts and Observations* (Ottawa: Catholic Publishing and Book Selling Co.,1860), 7.

book he noted a delay in publication which he attributed to "the necessarily slow process of printing, in a city, which, although now the metropolis of British North America, was, only some thirty years back, a portion of the unbroken forest."[46] One reviewer in the United Kingdom described the book as having "force, lucidity and eloquence … most creditable to the rising literature of Canada."[47]

Dawson followed *The Temporal Sovereignty of the Pope* with other major works including biographies of Pope Pius IX and St Vincent de Paul and a thorough history of Scottish Catholicism. The Scottish history, which first appeared as a series of articles in London Ontario's paper *The Catholic Record*,[48] traced the history of Scottish Catholics from shortly after the Reformation, when they were still "numerous and powerful," through a period when the church was virtually "extinguished," culminating in its "slow but steady restoration to new life, like the rising of the fabled Phoenix from its ashes…"

Dawson was also a founding member of the Canada First movement, organized in the 1860s, which wanted Canada to play a greater role within the British Empire.[49] He was also a member of the Imperial Federation League, which sought the creation of an imperial parliament that would allow the self-governing dominions to have a voice in the running of the empire, and denounced those in Britain who saw the colonies as an economic burden.[50] Dawson also put his pen to work in support of Canadian expansion into the west and the incorporation of British Columbia as a province.[51]

Dawson foresaw Canadian sovereignty stretching all the way to the west coast. "Trade, to the value of many millions yearly, would be directed to her borders; wealth would flow to her from the gold mines of the Fraser, the coal fields of Vancouver, the inexhaustible fisheries of British Columbia,

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46. *The Temporal Sovereignty of the Pope, vi.*

47. *Weekly Register (London), cited in Henry J. Morgan, Bibliotheca Canadensis: or, A Manual of Canadian Literature (Ottawa: G. E. Desbarats, 1867), 92.*

48. Rev. Aeneas McDonell Dawson, *The Catholics of Scotland From 1593, and the Extinction of the Hierarchy in 1603, till the Death of Bishop Carruthers in 1852* (London, Ontario: Thomas Coffey, *Catholic Record* Office, 1890), Preface. Dawson's book drew very largely on J. F. S. Gordon, *The Catholic Church in Scotland from the Suppression of the Hierarchy to the Present Time* (Glasgow: John Tweed, 1869). See also William James Anderson, "J. F. S. Gordon and his contribution to the history of Scottish Catholicism," *Innes Review,* 1xvi (1965): 18-26.

49. Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Idea of Canadian Imperialism 1867-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 51.

50. Aeneas M. Dawson, "Our Strength and Their Strength," in Dawson, *Our Strength and Their Strength*, 5.

51. Frederick J. McEvoy, "Father Aeneas M. Dawson and Canadian Expansionism," Canadian Catholic Historical Association, *Historical Studies*, vol. 76 (2010): 87-98.

and the fertile plains of the Saskatchewan, the Red river [*sic*], and the Assiniboine." Nothing if not optimistic, he felt that a railway to the west coast would provide a link to the Far East and the south Pacific. Furthermore, the Rockies "could be pierced without any serious engineering difficulties." He predicted the creation of a "highway of the world," bringing trade from Asia to Canada's shores.[52]

In 1881, with a transcontinental railway under construction, Dawson produced a book-length study of the west. He was particularly impressed by British Columbia, which he considered "the richest British possession on the continent of America," if not the whole empire.[53] The railway, he asserted, would attract colonists and facilitate trade. British Columbia would become the "emporium of the trade of the Canadian Provinces, of Great Britain, of all Europe," perhaps extending to China, Japan, Australia, New Zealand and India.[54]

The book was well received. The Ottawa *Free Press* believed he had shown "great facility for grasping and arranging facts and presenting,"[55] the Ottawa *Daily Citizen* "confidently recommended the book," while the Toronto *Mail* considered it a valuable "means of obtaining accurate information from every point of view on our valuable provinces of the North-West."[56] Dawson himself was proud that he had revealed through his work "the great North-West and its boundless resources."[57]

Dawson's work was well regarded by his peers. In 1874, a petition was circulated asking the provincial government to appoint him as principal of the new Ottawa Normal School. Signatories included a broad swathe of the city's elite, including politicians, bureaucrats, professionals, entrepreneurs, journalists, and clergy of various denominations.[58] He received honorary degrees from the University of Ottawa, Queen's University, and Laval University in Québec City.[59] The greatest tribute to his activities, however, was paid in 1882 by Canada's Governor-General, the Marquis of Lorne, who

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52. Dawson, "The North West Territory," 72.

53. Aeneas M. Dawson, *The North-West Territories and British Columbia* (Ottawa: np, 1881), 55.

54. Dawson, *The North-West Territories,* 47-8.

55. Ottawa *Free Press*, 12 May 1881.

56. Ottawa *Daily Citizen*, 4 May 1881; Toronto *Mail*, 18 June 1881.

57. *Proceedings at the presentation of a Public Testimonial to the Very Reverend A. McD Dawson, LL.D, V.G., &c by Citizens of Ottawa December, 1890* (Ottawa: C. W. Mitchell, 1891).

58. *Testimonial In favour of the Rev. Aeneas McDonell Dawson, As Principal of the New Normal School in Ottawa* (Ottawa, 1874). The provincial government's reaction is not known.

59. Ottawa *Journal*, 31 December 1894.

invited him to be a founding member of the Royal Society of Canada (one of the twenty original members of the English Literature Section).[60] Following the inaugural meeting on 25 May 1882, Lorne wrote to thank Dawson "for [his] goodness in assisting in the initiating proceedings of the new society."

In 1885, he celebrated the 50th anniversary of his ordination in the Basilica, which was filled with well-wishers (Protestant as well as Catholic).[61] In December 1890, a public tribute was paid to him on the occasion of his 80th birthday and he was named honorary Vicar-General of the Diocese of Alexandria, Ontario.[62] Interestingly, Dawson's ability to forge friendships with non-Catholics, lead to the nickname the "Protestant priest." Following his death on 29 December 1894, newspapers noted that he did "more than any other man in recent times in this country to break down the wall of religious prejudices against the Catholic church and its teachings,"[63] while Protestant Ministers, like the Rev. W.T. Herridge of St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, proclaimed Dawson as "one whose heart, too large for sectionalism of any kind, went out in love to our common humanity and faith in our common God."[64] This sentiment was echoed by his colleagues in the Royal Society who praised his "ecumenical spirit," adding that "he had won the kindliest regards of all religious sects by the exhibition of those genial and generous qualities which won on the sympathetic nature of all with whom he came in contact."[65]

This article has brought to light many interesting facts about an important figure who deserves further study by historians. As a priest, Fr Dawson had his share of difficulties, but in Canada he did much to weaken sectionalism and strengthen "national Unity."[66] Not only does his experience demonstrate the great impact that many foreign-born Catholic clergymen had on Canadian culture and society, but it also illustrates the transnational nature of Canadian Catholicism. Many of the early priests who shaped the Canadian church arrived in their adopted home having served in their native communities for years, and those experiences are critical to understanding the fullness of their contribution. Finally, and importantly, Dawson reminds us that the influence of the Church extended well beyond the Sunday Mass.

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60. Daniel Wilson to Dawson, 28 February 1882, LAC, A. M. Dawson Fonds, Correspondence, 1882.

61. Ottawa *Citizen*, 20 April 1885.

62. *Proceedings at the presentation of a Public Testimonial.*

63. *United Canada*, 5 January 1895.

64. Ottawa *Citizen*, 7 January 1895.

65. *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* Second Series, Vol. 1: 1895, xxviii-xxix.

66. *Proceedings and Transactions*, xxviii-xxix.

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REVIEWS

Kevin P. Anderson. *Not Quite Us: Anti-Catholic Thought in English Canada Since 1900.* Montréal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019. xix + 328 pages. $34.95 paper.

As a student in Belfast some years ago, I did not have to venture far to find clear signs of anti-Catholicism. In an openly sectarian environment, the flags, murals, and "peace walls" were a constant reminder that Catholics in Northern Ireland did not fit within the accepted norms of a mostly British Protestant community. While Canadians like to think that their history is above such crass sectarianism, as Kevin Anderson has demonstrated in *Not Quite Us: Anti-Catholic Thought in English Canada since 1900*, anti-Catholicism "was a cultural and intellectual force" that "profoundly shaped English-Canadian discourses of national identity." In other words, far from encouraging stone-throwing mobs in the street, anti-Catholicism in Canada followed a unique pattern and often emanated from intellectuals, politicians, social activists, and Protestant cultural leaders "across the political and religious spectrum" (56). As Anderson demonstrates, celebrated and respected Canadian intellectuals like the constitutional expert Eugene Forsey were not part of a sectarian "lunatic Fringe," but rather progenitors of it (86-87).

Anderson begins in the early twentieth century, as the perceived authoritarianism of the Catholic Church (not far removed from the heyday of Ultramontanism) was at odds with Anglo-Protestant notions of nationality and Britishness. Liberty, freedom, and parliamentary democracy were cherished liberal Protestant values (with deep British roots), for which Catholics were "unsuitable." Although there were large Irish and Scottish Catholic communities across the country, this sentiment was mostly directed at Catholics in Québec. Being neither British nor Protestant, unlike their Celtic co-religionists, French Canadians had to overcome both religious and ethnic bigotry.

The perception that the Catholic Church was authoritarian and conservative clashed with progressive beliefs in equal political and individual rights "guaranteed by a moderate activist State" (28). The ignorant Catholic masses (again, especially in Québec) were "remnants of a feudal past," who were unable to come to terms with popular morality as defined by

Anglo-Canadian nationalists. In Canadian fashion, however, these sentiments did not germinate within organizations like the Orange Order and the Ku Klux Klan, but rather emanated from liberal mainstream publications and faculty lounges.

Anti-Catholicism would ebb and flow depending on circumstances. During the conscription crisis, for example, politicians, like Newton Rowell (ironically the grandfather of the CCHA's long-time General Secretary, the late Fr Edward Jackman) hoped that a union government would foil any attempt by French Canadian Catholics from dominating the nation. Considered "foreign" and untrustworthy—Catholic allegiance to a foreign Pope was often raised—many progressives also despised the Church's position on controversial social questions like contraception. By holding firm to its social teaching, Catholicism challenged the "certainty and rationality" of liberal democracy.

As Anderson constructs his narrative, we meet interesting characters like the Rev. Morris Zeidman, a Jewish convert to Presbyterianism, who took to the radio to vehemently challenge Catholic teaching; F.R. Scott, the son of Canon Frederick George Scott, who fretted over the rise of fascism in "priest-ridden" Québec; Watson Kirkconnell, the one-time president of Acadia University, whose personal opposition to discrimination did not always extend to French Catholics; and the historian Arthur Lower who fervently believed that the Anglo-Protestant population had built western civilization.

There are many interesting themes in this book. The general fear among Protestants that Catholics were attracted to totalitarianism is perhaps less surprising, but the contradiction between liberal Protestant support for contraception and the fear among its intellectuals that low birth-rates in the community would mean the end of democratic values, leaves much to think about. This fear of a rapidly multiplying Catholic population effected much of the national discourse in the 1940s. In fact, when the family allowance program began in 1945, it was seen as a boondoggle for those large disloyal Catholic families. "They breed," noted one Protestant publication at war's end, "while we bleed" (148).

At the onset of the cold war, the nature of anti-Catholicism shifted. Where it had been focused mostly on Québec Catholics, it shifted toward the general authoritarianism of a church in a world "polarized between two superpowers" (154). For some politicians, like Toronto Mayor Leslie Saunders (the last member of the Orange Order to hold that post), the public anti-Communism of the Church was merely a "ruse" as it tilled the ground for totalitarianism. While it became publicly unacceptable in the early 1960s to openly attack the race-ethnicity-religion of newcomers to Canada,

Catholics remained very much othered as many Anglo-Protestants remained worried about high-birth rates and increased Catholic immigration. While the perceived liberalism of Vatican II gave some Protestants optimism, as Canada slowly de-Christianized, there was a further fear that British culture would succumb to French Canada.

As the demographics of the country shifted in the 1970s and 1980s, an increasingly secular anti-Catholic voice now came from a "non-denominational Anglo-Protestant" position that had discarded much of the old ethnic animosity, but still opposed the "intolerance" of the Catholic Church. The vulgar language of the past was strategically discarded but among those who consider the Catholic Church to be both conservative and reactionary, anti-Catholicism remained very much alive.

Throughout the book, Anderson makes a clear and important distinction between criticism of the Catholic Church (and its positions) and anti-Catholicism. It is not opposition to Catholicism that concerns him, rather it is how those opposed to Catholic teaching, "replicated the meanings, tropes, and historical assumptions" that comprised an anti-Catholic discourse (238-239). One can perhaps sympathize with the CBC broadcaster Michael Enright for his frank critique of the Catholic Church in the 1990s, but not with his belief that the Church was "the greatest criminal organization outside of the Mafia" (232).

Despite a few references to the Atlantic region and the West, *Not Quite Us* is focused mainly on central Canada. I bring this up—Anderson is clear about the scope of his research—only to suggest that a similar study focusing on the margins would also be useful. Certainly, discussion of programs like the Antigonish Movement, one example of a popular Catholic social movement from Nova Scotia, which began in 1928, and proudly incorporated Protestant voices, would be worthy of Anderson's analysis. On this project, however, we have a product that is nuanced and "multi-dimensional." Punchy and opinionated, *Not Quite Us* is packed with interesting material and, importantly, is useful not only for the study of the past but for current affairs as well. Will Canadians be able to criticize the Church's role within the program of residential schools, for example, without falling back on the old tropes? As long as we ask the question, notes Anderson, about "who is an ideal Canadian and how can this ideal be cultivated and protected," anti-Catholicism will be with us.

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Colin Barr. *Ireland's Empire: The Roman Catholic Church in the English-Speaking World, 1829-1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020. xvi + 566 pages. $114.95 cloth.

Colin Barr's *Ireland's Empire: The Roman Catholic Church in the English-Speaking World, 1829-1914* is sure to become a touchstone study of how Irish Catholicism reshaped the global Irish community in the nineteenth century. While he is at pains to point out—persuasively—that the process predated the Great Potato Famine of the 1840s, the process expanded with the rapid increase in outward migration after 1850. The key figure in this operation, as those familiar with the study of Irish Catholicism in the 1800s would suspect, was Paul Cullen, whose impact dated from the time he became Rector of the Irish College in Rome in 1831. His influence continued after his appointment as Archbishop of Armagh and later as Archbishop (later Cardinal Archbishop) of Dublin. Eventually, according to Barr's account, the network of bishops trained by, employed by, or related to Cullen established a particular form of "Hiberno-Roman Catholicism" that "emphasized loyalty to both the papacy and to Ireland, encouraged Irish symbolism and Roman devotions, and insisted on communal cohesion and social separation, especially in education and marriage" (18).

Ireland's Empire builds on nearly two decades of Barr's stimulating and original studies of Catholicism and its interconnections with wider trends in European culture and its burgeoning influence around the world. Archival depth, lively story-telling, and clear prose have been hallmarks of these works, dating from 2003's *Paul Cullen, John Henry Newman, and the Catholic University of Ireland, 1845-1865* through to the essay collection *Religion and Greater Ireland: Christianity and Irish Global Networks, 1750-1950* (2015, co-edited with Hilary M. Carey).

At the heart of this study, Barr asks the question of why Catholicism in the English-speaking world has long been associated with the Irish. His answer was that Irish clergy, women religious, and teaching brothers carried the spirit of hibernicized ultramontanism when they assumed many of the leading positions across the globe. In this, they were aided by Cullen's connections in Rome, built up over his decades studying and working in the Eternal City. Surveying the result in 1897, during the consecration of Melbourne's St. Patrick's Cathedral, Patrick Francis Moran—Cullen's nephew and Australia's first Cardinal—boasted of the "Anglo-Celtic" Empire, which included some 200 Irish bishops, 16,000 Irish priests, and 20 million practicing Catholics throughout the world (2). Six diocesan seminaries and Dublin's All Hallow's College provided many of the priests to parishes in these networks. Between 1840 and 1896, All Hallow's alone sent

out some 1,400 priests, 42.4 percent to the USA, 28.9 percent to Australia and New Zealand, and 12.5 percent to Britain itself.[1]

After an introductory chapter that includes a brief and lively account of Cullen's education and early career in Rome, Barr arranges his study region by region, moving from the United States to Newfoundland, India, Atlantic Canada and Ontario, Australia, and New Zealand. In his concluding section, he argues that the religious who staffed these regions, engaged with lay allies to publish school books (including histories written by the Christian Brothers), popular fiction, and news stories that circulated through worldwide Catholic networks, building what Benedict Anderson might have called a Catholic *Imagined Community*. Stunningly, he supports this claim by drawing upon research in 104 archives in 12 countries on five continents.

There are two elements missing from Barr's study. First, although he devotes an entire chapter to India, there is very little about non-settler regions of the world in *Ireland's Empire*. Barr focuses on what Hogan referred to as secondary mission work, that is, ministry to those already baptized into the faith, rather than on primary mission work in which one labours among non-Catholics to convert them to the faith. This is not to diminish the study in the least, only to note that it is very metropolitan in its view. One wonders how attention to the burgeoning efforts of Irish missionaries in parts of West Africa, Egypt, Japan, or China might alter or intersect with the picture presented here.

Still others may note that Barr pays comparatively less attention to the part played by religious orders, as opposed to the metropolitan structures of the expanding Catholic dioceses, but this is a point he acknowledges. Moreover, he weaves references throughout the work to numerous communities of women religious—including the Sisters of Mercy and the Sion Hill Dominicans, for instance—and highlights efforts by the Society of Jesus, the Society of Mary, and the Christian Brothers at points as well. To be sure, more could be said about the role played by any of these bodies in various parts of the world, but that would also miss one of Barr's key points. Their work supplemented the structures of power which flowed outward from Rome through Irish networks in the double-helix of Hiberno-Roman Catholicism into Greater Ireland. Where future work might flourish would be in teasing out in greater detail the relations among the various participants within these structures than Barr is able to do within the scope of what is already a text of some 480 pages.

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1. See Edmund Hogan, *The Irish Missionary Movement: A Historical Survey, 1830-1980* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan; Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1990).

Finally, there are some who might quarrel with the use of the term Empire in the title and central claims of this work. This reviewer is not, however, among them. The Catholic Church was not a state per se, forcing itself upon peoples, but rather a community inspired by religious mission to preach to its followers. On the other hand, it is a hierarchical entity, with an established power structure, its own legal system, and schools catering to the children of their community. Its social and spiritual lessons were, as Barr amply demonstrates, designed to connect its people under a particular ethos. And that community was expanding rapidly into new regions of the world and becoming Hiberno-Roman at the same time through deliberate action, with Cullenites superseding earlier leaders, such as the French Marists in New Zealand and French and Highland Scottish Catholics in parts of modern Canada (6-7, and chapters 5 and 7 passim). Barr provides a window into this process that deserves wide readership throughout Greater Ireland and beyond.

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Rosa Bruno-Jofré. *The Sisters of Our Lady of the Missions: From Ultramontane Origins to a New Cosmology.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020. ix + 384. $79.00 cloth.

Rosa Bruno-Jofré's ambitious congregational history in *The Sisters of Our Lady of the Missions* brings an innovative, interpretative approach to the archives of women religious and the education they provided across Canada. The research undertaken for this book covers a wide variety of educational practice which Bruno-Jofré has woven into a 110-year story across transnational, migrant, and colonial contexts. Though the study focuses primarily on the development of an educational ethos within a religious community, in exploring these changes the author has highlighted a unique flexibility within the Religieuses de Notre Dame des Missions / Our Lady of the Missions (RNDM) order, grounded firmly in the original pedagogical foundations of their charism and of their founder, Euphrasie Barbier. Bruno-Jofré offers a valuable insight into how the charisms of religious orders can both change with the needs and understanding of their times, and yet remain a guidepost through time and space, giving cohesion to a history of hundreds of women and their work in migrant communities in Canada.

Beyond its contributions to the history of education, *The Sisters of Our Lady of the Missions* represents an innovative approach to the history of a female religious congregation by approaching its subject not in a purely narrative form, but via the application of theories such as Quentin Skinner's

framework of speech acts and Charles Taylor's social imaginary (49-50). While the application of these theories can raise interesting points out of letters and other often banal sources, they also raise questions about the interpretive method: do these theories make sense of a world where the theory itself might not have made sense to those writing the sources?

In some places, the theoretical applications result in conclusions which do not connect with their supporting sources. Bruno-Jofré argues, for example, that the RNDM contribute to the developing "social imaginary" and the "roots of being Canadian," but it is not clear how her chosen example of shared poverty in the early days of the Letellier convent lend themselves to a particular vision or interpretation of what becomes or is perceived to be a Canadian character or context (70). On the next page, Bruno-Jofré retells the story of the tragic death of a young boy crushed during the removal of a barn in 1903. The author notes that in the written account of the incident, the sisters "gave thanks once more for the protection of St. Joseph, which helped the congregation to get land" before recounting the accident and their desire to get rid of the barn. Bruno-Jofré argues that because "the sisters did not conclude that the boy was not protected by St. Joseph … the narration reflects the sisters' priorities, but also their abstract notion of faith" (71). Yet it is not clear how the author determined whether the glossing over of the boy's death was intentional or subconscious. Nor is it clear how this incident is meant to highlight the "abstract notion" of the RNDM faith in the early twentieth century or what is abstract about it. Here, as in other places, it would have been useful to have more engagement with broader theological beliefs within the text, for example by questioning this source in connection with the popular belief that prayer was not always a protection against nor could it surpass the "Divine Will."

The Sisters of Our Lady of the Missions also fills in many gaps in the religious history of Canada from the late nineteenth century on with a broad breadth of subjects interwoven throughout that story, including a timely chapter on the RNDM Residential Schools in Saskatchewan (Chapter 5). This chapter will be of particular interest to scholars, as it provides insight into how the residential schools were arranged, and some detail on how they were operated, providing good foundations for future work on the topic.

Throughout such a wide-ranging volume, it would be impossible to cover every aspect of the Catholic, Canadian, migrant and native histories in equally expansive details. In some places—perhaps for future scholars working with similar contexts—it would be interesting to see the methods laid out by Bruno-Jofré in this book engage more thoroughly with the theologies mentioned throughout the text, and with the imperial, ethnic, and diasporic networks with whom the RNDM worked and for whom they

found that unique flexibility of pedagogical approach which Bruno-Jofré has highlighted throughout this book.

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Thomas M. Carr Jr. *A Touch of Fire: Marie-André Duplessis, the Hôtel-Dieu of Québec, and the Writing of New France*. Montréal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2020. 400 pages. $37.95 paper.

A Touch of Fire, Thomas Carr, Jr.'s biography of Marie-André Duplessis de Sainte- Hélène, explores the life and writings of this mother superior of the Hôtel-Dieu in Québec City. The book sets out to examine Duplessis as part of the little-examined third generation of mother superiors in New France, and it covers her life starting in Paris through to her nearly sixteen years of leadership, and ends with her death in 1760, under the shadow of conquest. With deftness, Carr examines the Duplessis family (a family tree of the various immediate and distant relatives would have been helpful), Marie-André's friendships and writing, her management of the Hôtel-Dieu, and the effects of changing gender roles in the 1700s. Carr's twelve concise chapters chronologically explore Marie-André's career and are interspersed with thematic chapters which explore wider subjects. The chapters on her writing are particularly strong as he argues that Duplessis should be considered among the most important of New France's authors. Carr's final thematic chapter on the siege of Québec in 1759 is a gripping narrative which brings to light the terror of the attack and situates Marie-André's actions within the gendered expectations of other women in the colony, some of whom hid in the woods and others who were evacuated from Québec.

Carr's account of Marie-André is far from hagiographic. For instance, he gives several examples of her tendency to worry. Bishop Pontbriand would often correspond with her, sometimes providing her with encouragement and, at other times, scolding her for weakness. This tendency to worry also meant that Marie-André often made far-sighted plans for eventualities which the colonial authorities dismissed (such as the need to evacuate the Hôtel-Dieu before the English attacked). What shines clearly through Carr's writing, however, is that she was a devout nun who was cognizant of clientage and diplomacy, which she used to protect the monastery and hospital. She was willing to do what was needed to hold fast to her monastery's mission: the care of the sick of Québec.

Marie-André's writing is rightly given particular attention in the book. Carr reviews her unexamined, but earliest-known work, *Histoire de Ruma*,

which he characterizes as the first work of fiction written in New France. Deploying the tropes and styles of salon literature, and written early in her career as a nun, the story is a thinly veiled analogy of her own family, written with the intention of convincing her sister Geneviève to join the monastery. Other works included *Musique spirituelle* and *Dissection spirituelle* which used sustained analogies of music and the body, respectively, to convey how nuns ought to live and seek perfection in the monastery. By far her most well-known work, however, was the monastery's annals. More frequently associated with its co-author, Jeanne-Françoise Juchereau de St-Ignace, the annals were written and organized by Marie-André while Juchereau provided much of the content. Carr compares the original version of the annals with the version eventually published in France in 1751. Marie-André hoped its publication would secure protectors for the monastery. Carr further explores the annals as a work of early Canadian history, more so than any of the other monastery chronicles in New France, and as the first work written in Québec by a woman which was published during her own lifetime.

Carr also delves into Marie-Andrés lesser-known letters: her missives to various authorities, to family members, and to her life-long friend, Marie-Catherine Hecquet. This corpus of preserved letters is more extensive than any other female religious in New France in terms of the day-to-day business which they cover. While Marie de l'Incarnation's letters have been preserved and published, Marie-André's offer fresh insights into the processes of enacting and maintaining personal and patronal relationships.

Other themes, such as friendship, gender, and Jansenism, entwine throughout the book. Carr dismisses the few instances of Jansenism in New France as being merely threats of heretical belief rather than any entrenched presence. He argues that Jansenism could never truly flourish in New France, as it lacked the ecclesial and juridical bodies that protected its adherents in France. Carr focuses much more on the actual Jansenism of Marie-André's friend, Marie-Catherine Hecquet, and the anti-Jansenist preaching of her brother, François-Xavier Duplessis, a Jesuit. It is unclear whether Marie-André ever knew of her friend's beliefs; however, the letters between the two women demonstrate a continued epistolary connection rooted in their common Christianity and which provide many insights into the condition of society in early Canada.

Carr finishes the book by revising Casgrain's assessment that Marie-André was the *femme tendre* to Juchereau's *femme forte*. Carr argues that the meaning of this latter term had shifted away from the Amazonian, warrior woman of the seventeenth century and became a description for a capable woman running her husband's (or monastery's) household. In this way, Marie-André, too, could be a *femme forte*; and Carr amply demonstrates

throughout this well-researched book that she had plenty of sparks to keep the monastic community running throughout some of its most challenging times.

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Linda Carol Jones. *The Shattered Cross: French Catholic Missionaries on the Mississippi River, 1698-1725*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2020. 296 pages. $67.95 cloth.

The Séminaire de Québec, an offspring of the Séminaire des Missions-Étrangères of Paris, housed all the diocesan priests of the Diocese of Québec. In 1698, Bishop Jean-Baptiste de La Croix de Chevrières de Saint-Vallier, who had spiritual jurisdiction over the immense territory of French-speaking North America, including New France's indigenous allies, ordered the Séminaire to venture south. Its priests were to establish missions among the indigenous nations living along the Mississippi River, where only the Society of Jesus had been active until then. That same year, Fathers Jean-François Buisson de Saint-Cosme (1677-1706), François de Montigny (1669-1742), and Antoine (or Albert) Davion (d.1726) left for Upper Louisiana. Two more, Marc Bergier (1667-1707) and Nicolas Foucault (1664-1702), followed immediately thereafter. Except for Davion, who remained in Lower Louisiana until 1725, by 1707 all the Seminary priests had disappeared. Montigny had moved to China, Foucault and Saint-Cosme had been murdered, and Bergier had died of exhaustion. The cross that Davion had erected among the Tamarois had been "shattered" into a thousand pieces (hence the book's title) soon after his death. Poor planning, lack of funds, and "unanticipated new meanings and practices" (5) had "shattered" the Seminary priests' hopes to convert the Mississippi nations. Bishop Saint-Vallier officially closed the Seminary mission in 1722 and assigned the Mississippi region to two regular orders, the Jesuits in the north, and the Capuchins in the south.

Linda Carol Jones, now an associate professor of language area studies in the Department of World Languages at the University of Arkansas, aims to show how the Seminary priests interacted with the indigenous nations they met and the results of those encounters. To that end, she retraces the movements and deeds of the former and relies on recent scholarship on the latter. On this second count, in spite of Jones's survey of the new literature on individual nations, her work remains rather descriptive. Most of her suggestions regarding the reasons for individual behaviours are offered as hypotheses that mainly derive from one's "culture," that is, she attributes individual choices to average societal responses to change. The case of the

Kaskaskia convert, Marie Rouensa Accault (*c.* 1677-1725), is an exception, but one that historians have known of for a long time.

Jones is better at investigating the lives of the five missionaries before they went to the Mississippi. She admits, for example, that how they were chosen, in the span of three months, remains "a mystery" (39). In fact, except for Saint-Cosme, who had experienced a short stint in Acadia, none was prepared for or had ever been exposed to any missionary work among the indigenous peoples, whose languages were completely foreign to them. With only faith and providence on their side, these priests were thrown into and dispersed across an unknown wilderness and spent most of their time alone, battling not only indigenous mistrust, but also the hostility of non-Seminary priests and the corrupt ways of the riffraff of their own Canadian society. Jones's smooth prose, assisted by the excellent maps drafted by Maggie Rose Smith, currently a graduate assistant in cartography at the University of Arkansas, and by a very thorough index, makes it easy to follow the five priests in their journeys to their missions in the south and their travels back and forth. Dates are sufficiently clear (at least as much as sources allow), and the identification of old locations by adding modern place names is most helpful.

Jones overstates her case when she maintains that before *The Shattered Cross* there was "lack of comprehensive information … dearth of knowledge … absence of thorough analyses" about the priests and what they did (3). For one thing, the story of the five Seminary priests had already been told, in great detail and by using the same sources at the Archives of the Sëminaire de Québec, by Noël Baillargeon's *Le Séminaire de Québec de 1685 à 1760* (1977). The Jesuit context of her story had also been provided by Jean Delanglez's *The French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana* (1935) and Charles E. O'Neill's *Church and State in French Colonial Louisiana* (1966). As for lay historians who have variously covered the issue of Native-European interactions in the West, the names of Sylvia Van Kirk (1980), Margaret J. Leahey (1995), Tracy N. Leavelle (2001), Susan Sleeper-Smith (2001), and Robert M. Morrissey (2011), come to mind. In fact, Jones mentions them all, and in her concluding remarks, interspersed in her narrative, she often prefers to use quotations from their works (but relegating their names to the endnote) instead of explicitly providing her own viewpoint, a practice that can create some confusion for the reader. If one were to point out historiographical absences from Jones's roster, then José António Brandão and Michael S. Nassaney on archaeological evidence of religiosity (2008), Isabelle Bouchard's master's thesis on Illinois missionaries (2010), Brett Rushforth (2012) on indigenous slavery, and Luca Codignola (2015) on mixed marriages would be the most obvious additions.

What is at issue here is not, in reality, a "dearth of knowledge," but rather Jones's uncritical use of previous historiography. For example, Jones sets the story of sending the five Seminary priests to the Mississippi in the traditional framework of the conflict between Bishop François de Laval (the "good guy") and his successor, the stubborn Saint-Vallier (the "bad guy"), as if such an action would have assuaged all the enemies the latter had made in the colony (21). This conclusion echoes the traditional historiographical interpretation, but to confirm it Jones almost exclusively uses documents produced by the Séminaire de Québec, the institution that bore the brunt of Saint-Vallier's initial reforming drive. In fact, the continuity between Laval and Saint-Vallier is much more significant than their differences.

Jones's main interpretive influence is, undoubtedly, Richard White's *The Middle Ground*, published in 1991. In fact, the whole narrative seems to be geared towards answering the following question: given that the encounter between French missionaries and indigenous peoples created an area of contact described, in White's parlance, as "middle ground," what portion of it was the result of a voluntary choice on the part of the involved actors, and what portion of it was imposed onto them by the circumstances? Jones seems unaware that in the past thirty years the concept of middle ground, now a sort of commonplace expression, has been the object of much historiographical debate and revision (see, for example, Susan Sleeper-Smith, ed., "The Middle Ground Revisited," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., LXIII, 1 (January 2006), pp. 3-96; and Robbie Ethridge and Sheri M. Shuck-Hall, eds., *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009). In fact, although she repeatedly uses the "middle ground" trope—with regard to Native-French contact but also to relations between Seminary priests and Jesuits—she also waters it down by using other words almost as synonyms: accommodation, adaptation, alliance, assimilation, compassion, congruence, misunderstanding, reciprocity, syncretism, and transformation.

In *The Shattered Cross*, the middle ground trope is placed side by side with another, older interpretive commonplace, the "Frenchification vs. assimilation" binary. Contrary to the Jesuits, Jones states, Seminary priests wanted to convert "through oppression and force, not assimilation" (169). Aside from the fact that no missionary could use "oppression and force" (five Seminary priests among tens of thousands of Natives?), no priest, whatever the order, ever devised his conversion methodology in such an oppositive fashion (either Frenchification or assimilation). There were no such things as conflicting "conversion strategies" between the Jesuits and Seminary priests, as Jones implies (160). Even in the cases of baptisms and marriages, on which Council of Trent stipulations were very clear, rules were

often bent by all missionaries in accordance with local conditions. Practical considerations were what really produced different approaches, together with the individual missionary's personal attitude, and each one constantly striving to procure his own eternal salvation through good works or martyrdom. In fact, as Jones's narrative makes very clear, the five Seminary priests showed five distinct attitudes towards their targets of conversion, but these had little to do with overall strategies. To maintain that Saint-Cosme's sexual drive towards Native women—already evident from his time in Acadia—was "a middle ground that had the potential to resolve the cultural challenge at hand" (178) seems to be going a bit too far in superimposing a "middle ground" model over in-the-field practice –and in this case malpractice.

Aside from interpretive issues, *The Shattered Cross* comes with a scholarly apparatus that is imposing but questionable at the same time. The book has no bibliography and endnotes are inconsistent in providing dates of publication, so that, for example, one could think that Van Kirk's *Many Tender Ties* and White's *The Middle Ground* were published in 2011, instead of 1980 and 1991 respectively. Furthermore, *The Shattered Cross* does not provide a list of archives consulted first-hand, except from clues that can be gathered from the list of Abbreviations (233). This seems to indicate a large number of archives consulted. However, endnotes show that the vast majority of documents come from a single source, the Archives of the Séminaire de Québec. Other major repositories listed are France's Archives Nationales, Archives nationales d'Outre-Mer, and Archives du Séminaire des Missions-Étrangères, Canada's Archives de l'Archidiocèse de Québec, and the Holy See's Propaganda Fide Archives. Yet inconsistent and confused references make it very hard to tell whether documents were examined first-hand, via the internet, or simply extracted from secondary sources.

There are several factual mistakes. Bishop Laval was not a Jesuit. Davion never went to Acadia (Saint-Cosme did). Discalced Carmelites went to Louisiana, not Carmelites. Since 1664 Québec City's cathedral was called Notre-Dame-de-l'Immaculée-Conception, not Notre-Dame de-la-Paix. The Holy See's decision to separate Catholic and Native partners married *à la façon du pays* should be dated 1703 and not 1705 (185), given that it originated from a decree issued by the Holy See on 23 August 1703, confirmed by Bishop Saint-Vallier's *mandement* of 6 October 1703. Elzéar-Alexandre Taschereau's "Histoire du Séminaire de Québec" was still in manuscript form in 1964 (according to Honorius Provost) and thus it had not been published in Paris in 1848 (263, n. 72). Gender and plural of some French words are sometimes misspelled. There are also a number of annoying imprecisions in Latin sentences or in their translations. Several first or family names are missing or wrong. A case in point is Davion's, one of the five Seminary priests investigated by this book. Jones is not alone in

calling him Antoine, but Baillargeon prefers Albert, even in his *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* entry (1969). An explanation of this inconsistency should have been provided.

Narrative histories such as *The Shattered Cross* are usually written for larger audiences of non-specialists who need not be aware of the ongoing historiographical debate or of the hair-splitting differences of professional circles. Those audiences will certainly appreciate Jones's lively and human stories of the five Seminary priests drowning in the midst of the powerful indigenous nations of the first American west, soon to be displaced by new waves of newcomers hungry for land and uninterested in any kind of middle ground. They will also appreciate Jones's attention to similarities and differences among the indigenous nations met by the missionaries, and their varied reactions to them. However, the scholarly apparatus of *The Shattered Cross* clearly indicates that Jones also had a less generalist readership in mind, a readership that might not take the book at face value and would also assess the author's interpretation on the basis of the evidence she provides. Unfortunately, problems there are enough to make such reader pause and carefully consider the soundness of her narrative.

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Deirdre Raftery, Catriona Delaney, and Catherine Nowlan-Roebuck. *Nano Nagle: The Life and the Legacy.* Newbridge, Co. Kildare, Ireland: Irish Academic Press, 2019. xix + 294 pages. $36.00 cloth.

Few works exist by scholars which have so carefully scrutinized the life of the foundress of the Presentation Sisters, Honora ("Nano") Nagle (1718-1784). And few works have so well recounted the range and breadth of the educational and social influence of the order of religious women Nagle founded. This order of religious women, founded in Cork, fanned-out across the globe, bringing education and faith to places where the worldwide Irish diaspora and then others, called for their ministry. In their work, Raftery, Delaney, and Nowlan-Roebuck scoured archives in Ireland, elsewhere in Europe and in North America, and have written a first class-account of where these women went; who, what and how they taught; and why the work, faith, and vision of their foundress mattered in their educational work. The authors also contextualize their account with a brief but most helpful and useful historiography which highlights how subsequent accounts of Nagle, until the advent of professional scholarship attuned to the lives of religious women, were dominated by the accounts of her life written by priests, bishops, and the hibernarchy. This book gives readers superb insight into the challenges

surmounted by Nagle, particularly two of her struggles: first, how she navigated the penal limitations placed upon Roman Catholics in eighteenth century Ireland, and second, how she and her sisters created a community of women who ultimately triumphed over a church patriarchy whose own narrow ideas of the capacities of religious women did the church of their day such inadequate service. Nagle's order had its first foundation outside Ireland in nineteenth-century British North America, in Newfoundland, and its influence on education and the Irish Catholic community there and beyond was profound.

In our own time, the material legacy of Honora Nagle is easily seen in the material culture and history of the community Nagle founded at South Presentation Convent, in Cork, Ireland, preserved and reanimated in the early 2000s as Nano Nagle Place and its neighborhood environs. Nano Nagle was the daughter of Garrett Nagle, a well-to-do merchant in an eighteenth-century crypto-Catholic family, in which the eldest sons, in order to retain the family's land and property in penal times, were required to "conform" to the Church of England and profess the state religion. In the canonical biographies, accounts of her upbringing emphasize her privilege. Because her family could afford it, Nano was educated in France and came of age as a socialite in the high society of pre-revolutionary Paris. Returning home in her carriage from a late-night party, she reportedly could not escape the implications of something she saw: a group of French peasants outside the door of a Paris church awaiting morning Mass. What was it they knew? What did they see in such a quaint practice as going to Church in an age of Enlightenment? Her curiosity soon burst into a burning desire to found a religious order of women to provide an answer to the penal laws and to grinding poverty: educate and empower the poor female children of Cork. That they did this despite attempts from the hierarchy of the Church to regulate almost every aspect of her religious life (and that of her community) certainly added to her work, but it also spoke to her heroic resolve.

Faced with the reality that there "is only a handful of letters in Nagle's own hand, and very slender [primary source] evidence about her life," where Raftery and her colleagues have succeeded admirably has been to clearly focus on the challenges faced by Nagle and others in "founding and funding" a network of Irish convent communities for women, despite the attempts of priests to control them. Inspired by the Paris Ursulines, Nano's order at the time of its foundation was unable to secure the permission granted later female religious foundations like the Mercy sisters of Catherine McAuley to operate outside the cloister, so her students came into the convent schools. This volume, by foregrounding the challenges to Nagle's work by those who wore Roman collars, such as Bishop William Coppinger, or a generation later, Fr. William Hutch, and others who happily attempted to

write Nagle's history, neatly documents "the complex relations between powerful churchmen and independent secular women."

For a religious order of women known as teachers par excellence, this volume also clearly documents the obstacles faced by these women, formally established only by constitutions, rules, regulations, and facing a need for ingenuity in fundraising to establish convents, schools and foundations, as they lived out their charism of educating children. Raftery and her colleagues clearly demonstrate the global reach of the Presentations, who formed foundations in Australia, New Zealand, India, Europe, and throughout America. These were women who had little choice but to constantly adapt to local conditions. This account captures how well these women did this and impresses upon readers perhaps the most significant and remarkable characteristic of the Presentations' charism: their exceptional personal courage, flexibility, and creativity in training, re-training, committing to service and re-committing to new ministries and lifelong learning. In the congregation's first foundation outside Ireland, which was in St. John's Newfoundland in 1833—the first foundation in what is now Canada—this characteristic remains still visible in a vibrant community which now is almost 190 years old, and which remains vitally engaged in the community doing the work of Nano. At what age does a Presentation sister retire? The answer to that question is still not known among them, or among those privileged enough to witness their work firsthand. One of the greatest legacies of the Presentation order in the Irish diaspora in Newfoundland was their work from the beginning as music teachers. As a result, few musicians today active in a Canadian province known for its vibrant music and culture have not been influenced by the work of the sisters.

A reviewer could write much more in praise of this most welcome addition to the scholarship on religious women. Raftery and her colleagues have done a great service by bringing to light, particularly for Canadian readers, what deserves to be a well-read story of the lives and work of exceptional religious women.

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