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CCHA *Historical Studies*, 88 (2022), 5-6

Editors' Foreword

For anyone who believes that the study of Catholic history in Canada is narrow or parochial, Volume 88 of *Historical Studies* will demonstrate the richness, depth and diversity of the scholarship. Understanding the role of religion, on both a personal and communal level, is central to understanding Canada's history. The papers and book reviews in this issue range in themes from theology and migration, to war and language. While they deal with different people, places and time periods, each contribution recognizes the influence of faith on the lived experience of Catholics in Canada and around the globe.

The rich material in this issue also demonstrates that scholars of the Canadian Catholic experience remain deeply engaged with broader historiographical issues and trends. Through a study of Catholic devotions in Quebec during the Great War, for example, Melissa Davidson not only illustrates the centrality of faith within Quebec society, but through an exploration of important feasts such as *Fête-Dieu*, she also challenges assumptions related to the ongoing debate on French Canadian participation in the First World War. While historians of Catholicism have much to add to wider historical debates, so too can those debates and discussions change the way historians of Catholicism approach their inquiries. In his thoughtful article on how the Canadian Church engaged the liberal state in the nineteenth-century, for instance, Robert Dennis grapples with the work of prominent historians such as Ian McKay to see if there are new avenues of research and analysis for historians of the Church in Canada.

Engaging with the broader historiography is critically important as Canadian Catholicism did not exist in a vacuum. Catholics were influenced by a range of economic, spiritual and political forces both inside Canada and beyond. Rosa Bruno-Jofré's examination of Sister Veronica Dunne's long journey toward eco-spirituality, for example, reveals the complexities of one individual's faith journey and demonstrates that the Canadian Church is a big tent with adherents who hold a range of intellectual positions and spiritual beliefs. This is important because as Rankin Sherling reminds us in his examination of recent scholarship related to the Gaelic language in Canada, without an understanding of those other forces (in Rankin's article, migration), we may overemphasize religious factors and create unhelpful suppositions.

Volume 88 of *Historical Studies* marks the end of a very important and historic partnership. In the wake of Fr Edward Jackman's death, many

changes have taken place within the CCHA. For many years *Historical Studies* has been published jointly with *Études d'histoire religieuse*, the journal of the *Société canadienne d'histoire de l'Église catholique*. Due to various factors, however, this fruitful collaboration will end with this issue. While *Études d'histoire religieuse* will now move online, *Historical Studies* will continue in its regular format.

CCHA *Historical Studies*, 88 (2022), 7-21

With the Intention of Victory and Peace: Catholic Devotions and Attitudes toward the First World War in Quebec, 1914-1918

Melissa Davidson

Abstract: F*rench Canadian culture at the time of the First World War was bound up with Catholicism. Religious devotions marked not only individual belief but also social belonging. This paper examines the participation of militia units and uniformed soldiers in religious processions from 1914 to 1918 to show how French Canadian soldiers used participation in religious rituals as an important expression of cultural identity within the military establishment. In addition, it shows that, far from being an anti-military people that opposed the war effort, French Canadian society took pride in supporting their soldiers both before and after the introduction of conscription in 1917.*

Résumé : *La culture canadienne-française au moment de la Première Guerre mondiale était liée au catholicisme. Les dévotions religieuses marquaient non seulement la croyance individuelle mais aussi l'appartenance sociale. Cet article examine la participation des unités de la milice et des soldats en uniforme aux processions religieuses de 1914 à 1918 pour montrer comment les soldats canadiens-français ont utilisé la participation aux rituels religieux comme expression importante de l'identité culturelle au sein de l' établissement militaire. De plus, il montre que, loin d'être un peuple anti-militaire opposé à l'effort de guerre, la société canadienne-française était fière de soutenir ses soldats avant et après l'introduction de la conscription en 1917.*

On the evening 7 June 1918, the streets of Quebec City's Saint-Sauveur neighbourhood were thronged with people. Only two months before, these same streets had been the site of anti-conscription riots that left at least four civilians dead after Canadian troops, provoked by the unruly crowd, opened fire.[1] Now as many as 30,000 people, including conscripts in uniform,

1. For more on the Quebec riots, see Martin Auger, "On the Brink of Civil War: The Canadian Government and the Suppression of the 1918 Quebec Easter Riots," *Canadian Historical Review* 89, no. 4 (2008): 503-540; Jean Provencher, *Québec sous la loi des mesures de guerre 1918* (Trois-Rivières: Les éditions du Boréal express, 1971); Chris Young, "'Sous les balles des troupes fédérales': Representing the Quebec City Riots in Francophone Quebec (1919-2009)," (MA thesis, Concordia University, 2009).

gathered to celebrate their devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus and to petition for "peace for the world," bravery for "nos armées," and victory in the war.2 These public prayers, which arose out of the concerns and desires of the community, offer a fresh perspective on French Canadian experiences during the First World War and display attitudes toward the conflict that are far more nuanced than those that have previously been acknowledged.

Saint-Sauveur's 1918 celebration of the Sacred Heart was an impressive event. Along the procession route, citizens had decorated their homes and businesses with flowers and banners evoking the Sacred Heart. People lined the streets to watch the procession, which was led by conscripts in uniform who took it in turn to take the place of honour carrying the statue. Behind the soldiers walked thousands of men, their heads uncovered in respect, holding aloft lit candles and singing:

> Dieu, notre Père
> O Dieu Sauveur
> Faites cesser la guerre
> Au nom du Sacré Coeur.[3]

Waiting at the end of the procession route was a 30-foot monstrance decorated with 2700 electric lightbulbs. It was there, at the foot of the Sacred Heart, that Arthur Paquet, Saint-Sauveur's representative in the provincial legislature, took the oath of consecration on behalf of the crowd, consecrating "nos personnes, nos familles, nos parents, notre PATRIE et nos armées" and asking especially that the soldiers be granted "le courage dans les combats et la générosité dans le sacrifice; couvrez-nous tous de votre protection et conduisez-nous à la VICTOIRE!"[4]

This notable event was not a singular one in the spring of 1918, either in the active participation of uniformed conscripts or in the sentiments expressed. In Montreal the previous Sunday, 1500 soldiers, formed up in battalions, had marched in the Fête-Dieu procession with 30 officers forming

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2. "Le Sacré-Coeur regne à Saint-Sauveur," *L'Action catholique*, 8 June 1918, 1, 7; "Courriers de la Ville-St-Sauveur," *L'Action catholique,* 10 June 1918, 3. The term "conscript" is used throughout this article to echo where the original French source material uses "conscrit." A further discussion of the term in context appears later in this article.

3. «Le Sacré-Coeur regne à Saint-Sauveur," *L'Action catholique*, 8 June 1918, 1, 7. This wording was not unique to the celebration in Quebec City as the same song is described as having been used in Trois-Rivières. See Joseph Barnard, "Les Évènements," *Bien Public*, 13 June 1918, 1.

4. Emphasis and typography original. "Courriers de la Ville – Saint-Sauveur," *L'Action catholique*, 10 June 1918, 3. Paquet was also alderman on Saint-Sauveur's local council from 1914-1918. He was elected to the provincial legislature as a Liberal in 1916 and re-elected in 1919. See http://www.assnat.qc.ca/en/deputes/paquet-arthur-4737/biographie.html

part of the honour guard for the Holy Sacrament. Marching alongside the Canadians were a group of returned French reservists, a group known familiarly as the "sac-au-dos."[5] As the crowd knelt before the Sacrament, Paul Bruchési, the Archbishop of Montréal, asked God to have pity on the world, to bless "nos soldats," to protect "nos armées," and to grant "la victoire et la paix."[6] Smaller parish celebrations also welcomed uniformed men. In Montreal, a company of conscripts from Laval participated in the Sacred Heart devotions at the Church of the Gésu under the command of their officer, all receiving communion at the conclusion of the service.[7] At Quebec City's Fête-Dieu celebrations, 400 soldiers attended an open air Mass in the morning before dispersing to take part, at the invitation of their respective parishes and with the full permission of the military authorities, in the various parish processions taking place throughout the city.[8]

Even in places where soldier participation in the public celebrations was not recorded, the war was close to people's minds. Joseph Barnard, the anti-conscription editor of *Bien Public* in Trois-Rivières, noted the particular weight leant to the Sacred Heart devotions by the war situation and the fervency it gave to the crowd as they recited the prayers for peace.[9] In Mascouche, near Terrebonne in the Archdiocese of Montréal, the parish of Saint-Henri erected a statue to the Sacred Heart with the specific intention of bringing the ongoing hostilities to an end.[10] In the spring of 1918, concerns about the ongoing war and the safety of French Canadian soldiers, who were donning uniforms in increasing numbers as a result of conscription, were woven into Catholic devotions.

In contrast to the wealth of scholarly literature on the First World War in English Canada, comparatively little attention has been paid to the experiences of French Canadians. The two notable exceptions, which have been well-studied, are the opposition to the war expressed by prominent *nationaliste* publisher and politician Henri Bourassa and the anti-conscription demonstrations that took place in the last years of the conflict. Consequently, the story of the war in Quebec is told as one of opposition and resistance

5. "La célébration de la Fête-Dieu," *Le Devoir*, 3 June 1918, 3.

6. Editorial note, *La Presse*, 3 June 1918, 4.

7. "La fête du Sacré-Coeur à Montréal," *L'Action catholique*, 8 June 1918, 12.

8. "Chez nos soldats," *L'Action catholique*, 3 June 1918, 8. See also "Corpus Christi Piously Observed," *Quebec Chronicle*, 3 June 1918, 3.

9. Joseph Barnard, "Les Evenéments," *Bien Public*, 13 June 1918, 1; Joseph Barnard, "Les Evenéments," *Bien Public*, 3 July 1919, 1.

10. "Monument du Sacré-Coeur," Répertoire du patrimoine culturel du Québec, 2013. Online at http://www.patrimoine-culturel.gouv.qc.ca/rpcq/detail.do?methode=consulter&id=167987&type=bien#.W384tH5G3NZ (accessed August 2020).

to the Canadian war effort and to the conflict more generally.[11] Even the small—albeit growing—body of literature that examines the military activities of French Canadians, either by focusing on the distinguished overseas service of the 22nd (French Canadian) Battalion or mining the digitized personnel files of the Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF) to better estimate the numbers of French Canadians who served with other units, tends to subtly reinforce this narrative of opposition. Even as these studies seek to demonstrate that French Canadian service with the CEF has been consistently underestimated, they do so by frequently referencing and restating the persistent wartime and post-war mutterings that French Canada was not "doing its part" for the war effort.[12]

However, the few published studies that examine French Canadian responses to the war from within their own cultural framework show that reactions were considerably nuanced and French Canadians were often more engaged in aspects of the war effort than has been assumed. For example, although far more work needs to be done to fully understand the humanitarian efforts undertaken by Canadians during the war years, it is clear that francophone Canadians were engaged in several campaigns to help relieve the suffering of war refugees in France and Belgium; people with whom a linguistic, religious, and historical connection was felt.[13] French Canadians

11. For a selection of these works, see Auger, "On the Brink of Civil War"; Patrick Bouvier, *Déserteurs et insoumis: Les Canadiens français et la justice militaire (1914-1918)* (Outremont: Athéna Éditions, 2003); Charles-Philippe Courtois and Laurent Veyssière, *Le Québec dans la Grande Guerre: Engagements, refus, héritages* (Montréal: Septentrion, 2015); Serge Durflinger, "Vimy's Consequence: The Montreal Anti-Conscription Disturbances, May to September 1917," Douglas Delaney and Nikolas Gardner (eds.) *Turning Point 1917: The British Empire at War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017), 160-187; Réné Durocher, "Henri Bourassa, les évêques et la guerre de 1914-1919," *Canadian Historical Association Papers* (1971), 254-269; Geoff Keelan, "Catholic Neutrality: The Peace of Henri Bourassa," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Society* 22.1 (2001): 99-132; Provencher, *Québec sous la Loi des Mesures de Guerre.*

12. For a selection of works on the 22nd and other French Canadian troops, see Jean-Pierre Gagnon, *Le 22e Bataillon (canadien français) 1914-1919: Étude socio-militaire* (Québec, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1986); Jean Martin, *Un siècle d'oubli : Les canadiens et la Première guerre mondiale (1914-2014)* (Montréal: Athéna Éditions, 2014); Pierre Vennat, *Les 'Poilus' québécois de 1914-1918 : Histoire militaires canadiens-français de la Première Guerre mondiale*, 2 vols. (Montréal: Éditions du Méridien, 1999); Andrew Theobald, "Une Loi Extraordinaire: New Brunswick Acadians and the Conscription Crisis of the First World War," *Acadiensis* 34, no. 1 (2004): 80-95; Gregory Kennedy, "Answering the Call to Serve their (Acadian) Nation: The Volunteers of the 165th Battalion, 1911-1917," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 51, no. 104 (2018): 279-299.

13. Alban Lachiver, "Le soutien humanitaire canadien-français à la France en 1914-1918," *Guerres mondiales et conflits contemporains* 179 (1995): 147-173. This impulse was shared by English Canadian Catholics. See Mark McGowan, *The Imperial Irish: Canada's Irish Catholics fight the Great War, 1914-1918* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017), 92-96.

also sponsored and staffed the No. 4 (French Canadian) Stationary Hospital, which was attached to the French army in 1915 to serve their wounded, with each of the 150 beds "portent … le nom d'une paroisse, d'une association, d'un donateur."[14] In addition, French Canadians donated to other charitable campaigns, including the British Red Cross and the British Sailors' Relief Fund, and also played a more significant role than has previously been acknowledged in collections for the Canadian Patriotic Fund.[15]

It is also important to note that rioting was not the only response to conscription in Quebec. Following the passage of the Military Service Act in 1917, more francophone Catholics found themselves in uniform. While some men refused military service, either refusing to report or deserting during training, thousands of others responded when called.[16] Although voluntary enlistment had not completely ceased even in 1918, the term "conscript" was one of the general descriptions for groups of newly enrolled soldiers employed by the contemporary French Canadian press and elsewhere. This echoed colloquial usage of the term in France, where it was used to refer both to men called up for service and those in the early stages of their training.[17] There was an element of pride and a sense of community in the term, particularly when applied to "nos conscrits." To support these men, the Societé St-Vincent de Paul set up Chez Nous recreation huts to ensure that enlisted men would have places to relax and enjoy wholesome entertainments that would help them "rester fidèles à leurs habitudes chrétiennes."[18] Supported by the Fédération Nationale Saint-Jean-Baptiste, fundraising for these huts was conducted under the banner of "L'Aide aux Conscrits"

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14. "L'hôpital franco-canadien à Paris," *Semaine religieuse de Montréal*, 13 September 1915, 182-184. See also Michel Litalien, *Dans la tourmente : Deux hôpitaux militaires canadiens-français dans la France en Guerre (1915-1919)* (Outremont: Athéna éditions, 2003); Mélanie Morin-Pelletier, "Des oiseaux bleu chez les Poilus : Les infermières des hôpitaux militaires canadiens-français postés en France, 1915-1919," *Bulletin d'histoire politique* 17, no. 2 (2009): 57-74.

15. For more details on French Canadian participation in war-related charity, see Melissa Davidson, "For God, King, and Country: The Canadian Churches and the Great War, 1914-1918," (PhD dissertation, University of Ottawa, 2019), 160-196. For the story of the Canadian Patriotic Fund, see Desmond Morton, *Fight or Pay: Soldiers' Families in the Great War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004).

16. For more on the experiences of conscripts serving with the CEF, see Patrick Dennis, *Reluctant Warriors: Canadian Conscripts and the Great War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017).

17. Some francophone Canadians also considered the term "conscript" to be incorrect as a matter of general usage, but not because of its contrast with volunteers, as is the case in English practice. Instead, they objected on the technical basis that a conscript called up for service became a soldier at the moment of enlistment. For an example, see Lucius Gallus, "Jeune soldat ou conscrit?," *Le Canada,* 15 June 1918, 3.

18. "L'Aide aux conscrits canadiens," *Semaine religieuse de Montréal*, 10 June 1918, 358-360.

and was publicized widely in the press, including by *Le Devoir*. As James Trepanier points out, these huts were in direct competition to the Catholic Army Huts, which were supported by a fundraising campaign undertaken in English Canada by the Knights of Columbus. The establishment of separate huts for francophones served as an important expression of French Canadian identity within the military establishment for both supporters and soldiers alike.[19] The story of the First World War needs to be expanded to include a broader range of topics and consideration of the social context if the experience of French Canadians during the war period is to be understood in all its complexities.

A study of Catholic devotions during the First World War era demonstrates that, similar to their English Canadian co-religionists, French Canadians turned to familiar devotional practices to pray for peace and for the safety of loved ones in uniform.[20] Far from offering simple resistance to recruiting efforts or conscription, the Catholic church in Quebec sought to ease anxieties and offer support for both soldiers and their families. Public religious ceremonies, like those outlined above, allowed for the expression of communal support for both individuals and for the broader war effort, even during the highly turbulent final years of the war.

The devotional life of the French Canadian church in the early twentieth century was rich and varied. A range of public ceremonies and private devotions allowed Catholics to express their personal piety and communal identity, often simultaneously. From the middle of the nineteenth century, large public processions, like those held for Fête-Dieu or in honour of the Sacred Heart, became important ways for Quebec Catholics to claim space—both literally and symbolically—against Anglo-Protestant pressure to conform and integrate. In particular, the Fête-Dieu (Corpus Christi) procession, which celebrated the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist, served as a reminder to both participants and observers of the Catholic identity of French Canada. Brought over from Europe in the days of New France, the traditional procession placed the consecrated Host in the central position with the idealized community organized hierarchically around it and

19. James Trepanier, "Helping 'nos chers conscrits': The Knights of Columbus Catholic Army Huts and French-Canadian Nationalism, 1917-1926," *Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue d'études canadiennes* 47, no. 2 (2013): 246-267. For more on the Catholic Army Huts, see I.J.E. Daniel and D.A. Casey, *A History of the Canadian Knights of Columbus Catholic Army Huts* (Canada: Knights of Columbus, 1922); McGowan, *Imperial Irish*, 252-263.

20. Mark McGowan, "Harvesting the 'Red Vineyard': Catholic Religious Culture in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1914-1919," *CCHA Historical Studies* 64 (1998): 54-60; Martha Hanna, *Anxious Days and Tearful Nights: Canadian War Wives during the Great War* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2020), 204-214; McGowan, *Imperial Irish,* 78-89.

united in public celebration of this particularly Catholic doctrine.[21] Another popular devotion, the cult of the Sacred Heart, also had medieval roots, but rose in popularity during the mid-nineteenth century when its feast day was added to the liturgical calendar. Then, in the 1899 encyclical *Annum Sacrum*, Pope Leo XIII further raised the status of the devotion by declaring a holy year and consecrating the human race to the Sacred Heart. In subsequent years, the growing popularity of private and familial consecrations to the Sacred Heart led the feast day to take on some of the public expressions and symbolic functions formerly associated with Fête-Dieu celebrations.[22] The two feasts, which took place within a week of one another in the liturgical calendar, often used similar procession routes and decorations erected for Fête-Dieu celebrations, especially larger structures like triumphal arches, were often left in place and re-used to honour the Sacred Heart.[23]

There are, however, key differences worth noting between the two celebrations, which are relevant to understanding wartime devotional practices and meanings. Fête-Dieu celebrations brought together the whole community around the Sacrament, with the procession including the various parish confraternities, the professions, the clergy, and the people in a public display of faith. Because Fête-Dieu celebrations were an expression of community identity, participation in the procession both conferred a sense of belonging and allowed groups, both male and female, to assert their essential identities as French Canadian and Catholic.[24] Devotions to the Sacred Heart, on the other hand, were centered around an annual act of consecration, which took place both publicly on behalf of the community,

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21. Ronald Rudin, "Marching and Memory in Early Twentieth Century Quebec: La Fête-Dieu, la Saint-Jean-Baptiste, and le Monument Laval," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 10.1 (1999): 210-212, 217-226. For a discussion of a conflict over public religious ritual in English Canada, see Ian Radforth, "Collective Rights, Liberal Discourse, and Public Order: The Clash over Catholic Processions in Mid-Victorian Toronto," *Canadian Historical Review* 95.4 (2014): 511-544.

22. Jean Hamelin and Nicole Gagnon, *Histoire du catholicisme québécois: Le XX^e siècle, Tome 1 1898-1940* (Montréal: Boréal, 1984), 343-346. See also Terrence Fay, "Canadian Messenger of the Sacred Heart, 1905-1927: Window on Ultramontane Spirituality," *CCHA Historical Studies* 64 (1998): 9-26.

23. Both Fête-Dieu and the feast day of the Sacred Heart are moveable feasts, calculated based on the date of Easter. Fête-Dieu is properly the Thursday following Trinity Sunday (the Thursday eight weeks after Easter), although occasionally celebrations were held on the following Sunday instead. The Solemnity of the Most Sacred Heart is held the Friday following the second Sunday after Pentecost (the Friday nine weeks after Easter), with public celebrations during the period often held that evening. The feast day of St. Jean Baptiste, which is fixed on June 24, had lost much of its religious significance in favour of a more secular nationalism by this period and was no longer a primarily religious celebration.

24. Rudin, "Marching and Memory": 219-220; René Hardy, *Contrôle social et mutation de la culture religieuse, 1830-1930* (Montréal: Boréal, 1999), 78-80.

usually with the oath of consecration given by a representative of the state, and also privately as an expression of personal or familial religious devotion. The Sacred Heart services and processions were often gendered, with men taking a prominent role, and enduring physical symbols, including statues and banners, represented the ongoing spiritual commitment. Fête-Dieu processions were, therefore, important public events from which a personal sense of belonging could be derived. Devotions to the Sacred Heart, on the other hand, while they were expressed visibly and publicly, were rooted in personal piety and religious commitment.

The communitarian aspect of the Fête-Dieu processions became increasingly important in Quebec from the 1840s, especially in the aftermath of the Patriote Rebellion (1837-1838) at home and the 1848 Revolutions in Europe. The ultramontane Catholicism of this period emphasized the link with Rome and the primacy of religion in all aspects of life, both public and private. The Catholic church that emerged from this tumultuous period also viewed itself as the primary defender of French Canadian culture, which needed to be protected from both assimilation and radicalism.[25] While other forms of increasingly public displays of Catholic piety also increased, including devotions to the Sacred Heart, Fête-Dieu processions provided an important demonstration of an idealized French Canadian society with Catholicism at the centre. Giving military units a prominent place in the procession became a way of demonstrating the loyalty of French Canadian Catholics to the Crown and of showing the integration of French Canada into the British civil establishment.[26]

With the passage of time, participation in the procession also became an important way for militia units composed primarily of French Canadians to assert their own cultural identity in the face of militia regulations,

25. Roberto Perin, "French-Speaking Canada from 1840" in Terrence Murphy and Roberto Perin (eds.) *A Concise History of Christianity in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1966), 196-197; D.C. Bélanger, "Loyalty, Order, and Quebec's Catholic Hierarchy, 1763-1867" in Elizabeth Mancke, Jerry Bannister, Denis McKim, and Scott See (eds.), *Violence, Order, and Unrest: A History of British North America, 1749-1876* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019), 40-41, 44-47; Terrence Fay, *A History of Canadian Catholics: Gallicanism, Romanism, and Canadianism* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 69ff.

26. Hardy, *Contrôle social*, 78-80; Frane Normand, "'Tant vaut la sève, tant vaut l'érable.' Les corps de cadets collégiaux québécois (1879-1914)," (MA thesis, Université de Montréal, 2006), 60-63. See also McGowan, *Imperial Irish*, 201-202 for the story of Father John J. O'Gorman's Irish flags being removed by a French Catholic nun from the decorations hung for the 1917 Fête-Dieu procession in Ottawa while O'Gorman was in hospital recovering from shrapnel wounds received while serving as chaplain at the front. Allowed to remain were the papal flag, the fleur-de-lis, the French tricolour, and the Union Jack, all of which were more compatible with the French Canadian identity on display.

generally issued only in English, that prioritized conformance to a British standard.[27] Both militia units and the cadet units associated with the collèges classiques were forbidden from wearing "foreign uniforms" or otherwise explicitly perpetuating the heritage of the Papal Zouaves, so participation as a unit in Catholic processions was one of the few outlets available for them to assert their French Canadian identity.[28] Under the long tenure of Sir Frederick Borden as Minister of Militia (1896-1911), militia units and the growing number of cadet corps were given significant latitude regarding participation in Catholic ceremonies and they became a regular feature of many Fête-Dieu processions, often marching with their rifles as an honour guard for the Sacrament. Montreal's French Canadian militia regiment, the 65th Carabiniers Mont-Royal, for example, proudly claimed that they had marched in every Fête-Dieu procession since their formation in 1869. The only exception was in 1885, when members of the Regiment were actively serving on the Northwest Expedition.[29]

The importance of participation in Catholic religious ceremonies to the men in these militia units was apparent in the weeks leading up to the Fête-Dieu procession in June 1914. In response to an editorial published in the *Canadian Baptist* criticizing the presence of militia honour guards at Catholic religious ceremonies, in the spring of that year Sam Hughes, the Minister of Militia, changed the regulations relating to the behavior of militia and cadet units at church parades and other religious ceremonies. Previously the regulations had been silent on the issue, only stipulating that side-arms were to be worn at church parades. This left militia and cadet units free to develop their own practices. Quebec, Saint-Hyacinthe, Rimouski, Beauharnois, Rigaud, and Sorel, for example, seem not to have had a tradition of armed escorts for their processions. Nor was it a common practice outside Quebec, with the editor of the *Catholic Register* commenting that "We never held to military escort."[30] On the other hand, units from Montreal, Trois-Rivières, Joliette, Saint-Jean, Victoriaville, Nicolet, and Sherbrooke were accustomed to marching with their rifles.[31] After being questioned in the House of Commons about the *Canadian Baptist* editorial, however, Hughes, a noted Orangeman, denied that this had been an accepted practice and within days

27. For the essential Britishness of the Canadian militia, see James Wood, *Militia Myths: Ideas of the Canadian Citizen Soldier, 1896-1921* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010).

28. Desmond Morton, "French Canada and the Canadian Militia, 1868-1914," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 3 (1969): 38-39, 44-47.

29. Mason Wade, *The French Canadians, 1760-1967,* vol. 2 (Toronto: Macmillan, 1968), 640-641.

30. Editorial note, *Catholic Register*, 18 June 1914, 4. No mention is made of a tradition of military escorts in the *Catholic Register,* the *Catholic Record*, or *Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface* throughout the period.

31. See "Les cadets et la procession de la Fête-Dieu," *Le Devoir*, 10 June 1914, 1.

revised the militia orders to include an explicit ban on carrying rifles, swords, or bayonets at church parades and religious services. These measures were aimed directly at preventing Catholic soldiers from serving as honour guards at open-air Masses or in religious processions.[32] Men of the 65th Carabiniers learned of the new regulations while spending a wet and muddy week at their summer training camp and were incensed that Hughes would prevent them from serving as a guard of honour to the Blessed Sacrament in the Fête-Dieu procession as had been their custom. Speaking anonymously to *La Presse*, one soldier complained:

> Quand on nous a demandé d'aller au Nord Ouest en 1885 avons-nous refusé? Plusieurs des nôtres se sont offerts d'eux mêmes, lors de la campagne d'Afrique [1899-1902]. […] Nous sommes de loyaux sujets[…]" Marching in the procession, he continued, "ne s'agit ni d'une offense, ni d'une menace […] ni même d'une provocation, mais simplement d'un hommage que des soldats catholiques tiennent à rendre à leur Dieu[…][33]

With soldiers threatening to quit and disband the regiment and a delegation of officers travelling to Ottawa to meet personally with Prime Minister Borden, the situation reached a crisis point. In the final days of the Parliamentary session, Charles Doherty, the Minister of Justice and a Montreal Irish-Catholic who had deployed with the 65th Carabiniers during the Northwest Expedition, broke ranks with the rest of Cabinet to demand the orders be rescinded. Exactly what happened next and on whose authority is murky, but, on 14 June 1914, Fête-Dieu processions across the Quebec took place exactly as they had done in the past, complete with armed honour guards.[34] In Montreal, almost the whole regimental complement of the 65th, 430 men plus officers, turned out to march. Alphonse-T. Chagnon, one of

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32. The dates make it clear that the change was in direct response to questions about the editorial. There was a less formal attempt to prevent the practice in the summer of 1913 through a circular letter, but the instructions were vaguer, the letter was sent too late to have an impact, and the action drew little notice. See HQ-314-14-38 (Carrying of Arms on Church Parades, etc.), vol. 6507, RG24, Library and Archives Canada; Order in Council P.C. 1914-1028, RG 2, Library and Archives Canada; Frames 15614-15644, OC 190—Militia & Defense Department 1912-1917, Reel C-4230, Borden Papers, Library and Archives Canada; "Le Colonel S. Hughes et M. Doherty," *La Presse*, 9 June 1914, 1; "Borden au pied du mur," *Le Soleil*, 13 June 1914, 1.

33. "Bien resolus à faire comme par le passé," *La Presse,* 10 June 1914, 1.

34. Newspaper reporting seems to suggest that the 65th did march with rifles in 1914, as was their usual practice. Among other reports, see "Nos militaires comme d'habitude, composeront l'escorte d'honneur," *La Presse* 13 June 1914, 1. Although unlikely, there was also a rumor that 65th marched with non-government issued Lee-Enfields that had mysteriously appeared overnight in place of their ordinary rifles, see "L'Incident du 65e Régiment," *L'Action sociale*, 17 June 1914, 8. Or that they marched but without arms, which is reported in Robert Rumilly, *Histoire de la province de Québec : Le Règlement 17*, vol. 18 (Montréal: Montréal-Éditions, 1948), 230.

the militia organizers in 1829, also joined the ranks, wearing his captain's uniform, which he had kept after retiring in 1874. He, along with the rest of the 65th, was warmly greeted by the crowd.[35]

After the furor in the summer of 1914, the objection seems to have been dropped and units were allowed to follow their own traditions. There was no militia honour guard to greet the newly consecrated Cardinal Archbishop Louis-Nazaire Bégin on his return from Rome in June 1914, but this was a separate decision taken in mid-May to give Bégin the same kind of welcome as that accorded Cardinal Taschereau in 1886.[36] In the early years of the war, however, cadets mounting guards of honour in religious processions were common and uncontested. The presence of adult soldiers is less referenced after the outbreak of the war, but the evidence in contemporary newspaper reporting is quite fragmentary and it does not seem to be on account of anti-war sentiment. Allied flags, for instance, are mentioned as forming part of the decorations in some cities and in 1916 and 1918 a group of French "sac-au-dos" marked in the procession in Montreal. Instead, the absence of militia contingents seems likely to have been related to a lesser role accorded these units in favour of battalions formed for overseas service and practical matters related to the recruitment, training, and embarkation of those units.[37]

What does seem to have taken on increased relevance due to the war, especially among those who enlisted, were devotions dedicated to the Sacred Heart. In the spring of 1915, just before leaving Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu for their training camp at Amherst, Nova Scotia, the men of the 22nd (French Canadian) Battalion gathered together as a body for what the first history of the battalion records as "une imposante cérémonie religieuse" to consecrate themselves to the Sacred Heart. On behalf of the assembled men, the battalion chaplain took the oath of consecration and gave each soldier a Sacred Heart flag as "symbole émouvant de la patrie, du devoir et du sacrifice."[38] Similarly large acts of consecration were held later in the war by other units in training at Witley Camp in England, with French Canadian soldiers participating

35. "Manifestation très imposante," *La Presse*, 15 June 1914, 1, 3.

36. Frames 78116-78137, OCA 115—Cardinal Louis Nazaire Bégin 1914, Reel C-4361, Borden Papers, Library and Archives Canada. There were concerns about according too much official attention and the file does contain several letters linking the presence of an honour guard at Bégin's welcome and militia participation in religious processions, but these letters appear to post-date the decision to follow the precedent established for Taschereau.

37. Established militia units did play some part in recruiting CEF battalions in the later phases of recruiting, but their social function and prestige declined during the war. See Richard Holt, *Filling the Ranks: Manpower in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1914-1918* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017), 104-127.

38. J.A.H., *Les poilus canadiens : Le roman du vingt-deuxième bataillon canadien-français* (n.p., [1919?]), 9.

in their own language.[39] Individual soldiers seem to have taken comfort in these and other familiar devotions. In memorializing a recently killed local soldier, *Les Annales de la Bonne Ste. Anne de Beaupré* notes in March 1917 that "En pensant à ce héros de la guerre, notre souvenir nous rappelle les nombreux soldats venus au sanctuare avant leur départ pour le front. Il était touchant de les voire se mettre sous la garde de la Bonne sainte Anne, puis implorer sa protection."[40] Prayer intentions related to the war and individual soldiers also appear periodically throughout the conflict in the annals of Ste-Anne-de-Beaupré and the Cap-de-la-Madeleine shrines, placed there by friends and family.[41]

The war had also made prayers for peace a regular feature in private devotions, at Sunday observances, and at religious festivals. There were prayers *pro pace* and *pro tempore belli* available for priests to use at the direction of their bishops beginning at the outbreak of war, and special prayers were also written, including one by the Benedict XV that was widely printed and circulated on prayer cards.[42] By the spring of 1918, however, these prayers for peace had taken on a new tone. In 1917, for example, the oath of consecration taken at the end of Saint-Sauveur's Sacred Heart celebrations had petitioned much more simply: "O Roi des rois, Maître des nations, nous demandons que […] la guerre finisse, que la paix nous soit accordée."[43] In December 1917, Joseph-Médard Émard, Bishop of Valleyfield, had asked the faithful of his diocese to pray for "une paix tellement appuyée sur la justice et l'amour,"[44] but, in May 1918, he asked that they say special prayers to the Virgin Mary to obtain "cette même paix par la victoire des Armées Alliés" and singled out the suffering of Canada, "notre patrie elle-même qui souffre et qui saigne à son tour."[45] Linguistically notable here, as elsewhere, is the choice of the phrase "de la patrie," which referenced Canada, rather than "de la nation," which was commonly used in

39. Rosaire Crochetière and Alain Bergeron, ed. *Capitaine-Abbé Rosaire Crochetière: Un vicaire dans les tranchées* (Sillery: Éditions du Septentrion, 2002), 74-77; B.J. Murdoch, *The Red Vineyard* (Glasgow: Robert Maclehose and Co. Ltd, 1959), 43-45.

40. R. Ménard, CSsR, "Chronique," *Annales de la Bonne Ste. Anne de Beaupré,* March 1917, 473-476.

41. See *Annales de la Bonne Ste. Anne de Beaupré* and *Annales du T.S. Rosaire et Chronique du pèlerinage du Cap-de-la-Madeleine.*

42. See, for example, "Prière pour la paix," *Semaine religieuse de Montréal*, 15 February 1915, 106.

43. "L'apothéose du Sacré Coeur à St-Sauveur," *L'Action catholique*, 16 June 1917, 7.

44. J.-M. Émard, "Souhaits de bonne année aux fidèles de son diocèse," *Œuvres pastorales de Mgr J.-M. Émard 1er évêque de Valleyfield*, vol. 4, (Paris: Pierre Téqui, 1922), 44.

45. J.-M. Émard, "Pour la victoire et pour la paix," *L'Action catholique*, 28 April 1918, 1.

reference to French Canada. As conscription increased the number of French Canadians in uniform, the full weight of Canada's military effort was seen and felt by Quebec's population at large for the first time.[46]

The focus on conscription in Quebec has, as noted earlier, been largely on aspects of opposition. However, Jean Martin recently estimated that as many as 39,000 French Canadians were attested under the operations of the Military Service Act, which is far more than the number who defaulted.[47] As Bishop Émard wrote in his farewell letter to the conscripts of Valleyfield, when the law commanded and duty called, they had responded "sinon d'un coeur joyeux, au moins avec courage et générosité."[48]

As the earlier volunteers had done, conscripts and their families also turned to familiar Catholic devotions. They made or sought out small tokens with the emblem of the Sacred Heart that could be carried into battle and organizations like *Le Messager canadien du Sacré-Cœur* produced celluloid buttons stamped with an appropriate image to satisfy the demand.[49] Pilgrimages were also undertaken. At the instigation of one of its conscripts, the Ligue du Sacré-Couer of one Côte-de-Beaupré parish organized a pilgrimage to Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré with the intention of obtaining "une paix décisive en faveur des Alliés et aussi afin que les ligueurs conscrits se conservent purs et pieux."[50] Encouraged by their parish priest, 50 youths, amongst them all the parish's conscripts, walked the three hours from their church to the shrine. On the way, they were joined by others so that their numbers swelled to 78. As they walked, they interspersed canticles to the Sacred Heart and to Saint Anne between recitations of the rosary. After Mass, the pilgrims returned home, "heureux et fortifiés" and a few days later the conscripts reported for duty "courageusement et sans tapage."[51] On

46. "L'Aide aux conscrits canadiens," *Semaine religieuse de Montréal*, 10 June 1918, 358-360.

47. Martin, "French Canadians Did Their Share," 50-52; Bouvier, *Déserteurs et insoumis*, 26-27, 81-85. For a general reconsideration of French Canadian enlistment rates, see Chris Sharpe, "Enlistment in the Canadian Expeditionary Force 1914-1918," *Canadian Military History* 24.1 (2015): 30-39.

48. J.-M. Émard, "Lettre d'adieu aux conscrits de son diocèse," *Valleyfield*, 79.

49. An example is pictured in Crochetière and Bergeron, *Vicaire*, 74. See also "Le bouton-drapeau aux armes du Sacré Coeur," *Les Cloches de Saint-Bonfiace*, 1 July 1918; "L'armée du Sacré-Coeur," editorial, *L'Action catholique,* 1 May 1918, 1; Mark McGowan, "Harvesting the 'Red Vineyard'"; Michael Snape, *God and the British Soldier: Religion and the British Soldier in the First and Second World Wars* (London: Routledge, 2005), 81-84.

50. "Rendez à césar ce qui est à césar et à Dieu qui est à Dieu," *Semaine religieuse de Québec*, 25 July 1918, 735-736. The author of the piece is unknown, but it is noted that the account came originally from one of the pilgrims.

51. "Rendez à césar ce qui est à césar et à Dieu qui est à Dieu," *Semaine religieuse de Québec*, 25 July 1918, 735-736.

26 May 1918, a pilgrimage to Notre-Dame-des-Victoires in Quebec City was organized by "les jeunes gens congréganistes" to ask "Notre-Dame d'intercéder pour que Dieu accord enfin à nos armes la victoire et la paix, et à nos jeunes gens une protection toute spéciale."[52] With the permission of the military authorities, 525 conscripts and a military fanfare led the procession of 3,000 pilgrims through the streets to the church, where Abbé Côte of Saint-Roch parish spoke in an open-air sermon of the duties of the soldiers and the nobleness of their sacrifice for "la sauvegarde des foyers menacés et la gloire de la patrie." Then a special Mass was celebrated for the soldiers.[53] Individual pilgrims also made their way to various shrines and churches in larger than normal numbers during this period, which was also marked by the successes of the German Spring Offensive; the diocesan news for the Archdiocese of Québec recorded that throughout the month of May at Notre-Dame-des-Victoires "Il ne se passe pas de journée […] qu'il n'y vienne des groupes de pèlerins des paroisses de la ville et des environs, prier l'auguste Vierge d'accorder la victoire pour les alliés et la paix pour le monde."[54] Prayers for the end of the war took on a more direct and more fervent aspect in the spring of 1918 as more and more families saw their sons don uniforms and prepare to proceed overseas to fight for the Allied cause. Instead of simply a conflict in far-off Europe, the war had become something more personal and this is reflected in their religious devotions.

By the spring of 1919, with the war over, it was French Canadian veterans who joined the processions, although much more unobtrusively. As the delegates at Versailles finalized the peace treaty, in Trois-Rivières an unknown number of veterans joined the cadets in procession to celebrate the Sacred Heart. The crowd of 20,000 repeated a series of invocations to the Sacred Heart, expressing their thanks for "la Victoire et la Paix" and asking for blessings for Canada and France. At Saint-Joseph-de-Soulanges in the Diocese of Valleyfield, the parish erected a monument to the Sacred Heart in appreciation for the protection given to the parish's men during the war.[55] In Mascouche, where the Sacred Heart statue had been erected with the intention of peace the previous year, it was re-dedicated in memory of the war dead, the victims of the "Spanish flu", and the dead in the graveyard where it stood.[56]

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52. "Le pèlerinage de demaine," *L'Action catholique*, 25 May 1918, 12.

53. "À Notre-Dame des Victoires," *L'Action catholique*, 27 May 1918, 2.

54. "Chronique diocésaine," *Semaine religieuse de Québec*, 30 May 1918, 616.

55. "Historique de l'Église Saint-Joseph," Paroisse Saint-Joseph-de-Soulanges. Online at https://www.paroissestjoseph.org/historique-eglise-saint-joseph#monument (accessed August 2020).

56. "Monument du Sacré-Coeur," Répertoire du patrimoine culturel du Québec, 2013. Online at http://www.patrimoine-culturel.gouv.qc.ca/rpcq/detail.do?methode=consulter&id=167987&type=bien#.W384tH5G3NZ (accessed August 2020).

It is undeniable that the force of the sentiments expressed in the spring of 1918 were exceptional and arose out of the particular circumstances of that time period. The strength of the German Spring Offensive, which was launched in March 1918 and persisted in waves throughout much of the spring, had swept away many of the hard-won gains of the four years of fighting and seemed to threaten the city of Paris. And with an increasing number of French Canadians in uniform, a swift and decisive victory increasingly became the object of petition in Quebec churches. But, while the sentiments being expressed were amplified by the circumstances, they were also anchored firmly within the cultural and devotional context of French Canada. Nor was the presence in religious procession of uniformed soldiers controversial, whether those uniformed soldiers were militiamen, young cadets, or conscripts. This paper has relied heavily on newspaper reporting not only to establish what took place but also to look at how these events were perceived by contemporaries. Although the extent of the coverage of these religious devotions varied based on the interests and perspective of various periodicals, no negative coverage was found at any point during the war years. In June 1914, *Le Devoir* expressed the same outrage as the Catholic *L'Action sociale* at the regulations barring Catholic soldiers from bearing arms in religious processions. And throughout the spring of 1918, when feelings over conscription ran high, there were no objections printed by either correspondents or editors to the participation of uniformed soldiers in public religious events in any of the periodicals examined, even those who firmly opposed the introduction and enforcement of the Military Service Act.

This study has not set out to prove that French Canadians wholeheartedly embraced the Canadian war effort. It has attempted, however, to view one aspect of the war experience in French Canada within its own context and free from assumptions about how the conflict was viewed. Looking at religious devotions during the war years and the functions they served is a relatively narrow frame, but it does shed new light on attitudes toward the war, both within the church and more generally. Although much work remains to be done to fully understand French Canada in relation to the First World War, this study makes clear that French Canadian attitudes were considerably more nuanced—and more positive—than has generally been acknowledged. It was not only English Canadians who worried about their soldiers in uniform, who prayed the war would lead to a lasting peace, and who expressed gratitude when their efforts and sacrifices had finally led to Allied victory.

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Veronica Dunne, Canadian RNDM: A Biography in First Voice Placed at the Intersection of Macro and Micro-history and Embedding Multiple Temporalities

Rosa Bruno-Jofré

Abstract: *The paper uses biography to intersect the personal experience of Sister Veronica Dunne with changes in the Canadian province of the Religieuses de Notre Dame des Missions/ Sisters of Our Lady of the Missions/ RNDM, from the "long 1960s" onward. At the centre of the experience is the adoption of eco-spirituality. The author places the trajectory of Sister Veronica Dunne in interplay with macro configurations of ideas and social movements of the 1960s and the micro-configurations of ideas and the expansion of a space of experience for congregations after Vatican II. The article explores how Sister Veronica dealt with meanings built over time by the congregation, how she moved toward eco-spirituality, and how her thinking intersected with the wider, international congregation.*

Résumé : *L'article utilise la biographie pour croiser l'expérience personnelle de Sœur Veronica Dunne avec les changements dans la province canadienne des Religieuses de Notre Dame des Missions/Sœurs de Notre-Dame des Missions/RNDM, à partir des « longues années 1960 ». Au centre de l'expérience se trouve l'adoption de l'éco-spiritualité. L'auteur place la trajectoire de Sœur Veronica Dunne en interaction avec les macro-configurations d'idées et les mouvements sociaux des années 1960 et les micro-configurations d'idées et l'expansion d'un espace d'expérience pour les congrégations après Vatican II. L'article explore comment sœur Veronica a traité les significations construites au fil du temps par la congrégation, comment elle s'est tournée vers l'éco-spiritualité et comment sa pensée s'est croisée avec la congrégation internationale plus large.*

And I further recognized the truth that "I am because we are." The RNDMs gave me this marvelous journey, this path of life to God, to others, and to my own heart. Without you, I would not be the person I have become. — Veronica Dunne, RNDM[1]

1. "Reflections at 50th Jubilee," 2015. Typed manuscript provided to the author by Veronica Dunne. The perspective that "I am because we are" is drawn from the African

Veronica Margaret Dunne, a Religieuse de Notre Dame des Missions/a sister of Our Lady of the Missions (RNDM) in the Canadian province, is a Regina, Saskatchewan, native who entered the congregation as a novice in 1963. Her biography as a member of the RNDM community necessarily condenses the layers of 150 years of meanings, experiences, sufferings, and joys of a religious community that began its life in 1861, in Lyon, France.[2] The RNDM was founded by Adèle-Euphrasie Barbier at the crossroad of global coloniality and the ultramontane understanding of Catholic life within the framework of a hierarchical and anti-modernist, anti-liberal institution.[3]

Biography allows us to rescue the individual from the group and it serves as an instrument of knowledge of the human experience. Veronica, as a member of the RNDM, embodies in a temporal trajectory the community's words, concepts, and practices, built upon many semantical layers—as Massimiliano Tomba discusses in relation to political concepts—that can reappear in particular times.[4] A return to the security of the past, or to a more conservative view, may block new inspirational projects, meaning that the old may be rearticulated. Veronica went through old and new expressions of spirituality as the Trinitarian charism of the Congregation became delinked from the Tridentine interpretation that institutionalized the projection of the Spirit.[5] She went through the process of renewal opened by Vatican II.[6]

Philosophy of "Ubuntu," a concept in which a sense of self is shaped by relationships with other people See https://www.ttbook.org/interview/i-am-because-we-are-african-philosophy-ubuntu.

2. For more on the RNDM in Canada see Rosa Bruno-Jofré, *The Sisters of Our Lady of the Missions: From Ultramontane Origins to a New Cosmology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020).

3. Paul Minser, "Catholic Anti-Modernism: The Ecclesial Setting," in Darrell Jodock (ed.), *Catholicism Contending with Modernity: Roman Catholic Modernism and Anti-Modernism in Historical Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 56-88. The concept of coloniality is taken from See Madina V. Tlostanova and Walter Mignolo, "Global Coloniality and the Decolonial Option," *Kult 6*, special issue (2009): 130-47.

4. Massimiliano Tomba, "Critique as Subduction," in Didier Fassin and Bernard E. Harcourt (eds.), *A Time for Critique* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019), 114-31. By global coloniality, I mean the imperial/colonial organization of societies. Coloniality is construed as colonial matrix of power with often conflicting forms of domination in which the imposition of lifestyles, morals, and a structure of authority required the destruction of preceding cultures. It was characterized as the darker side of modernity. See Tlostanova and Mignolo, "Global Coloniality and the Decolonial Option." The history of the missions reveals a complex process that it was far from being unidirectional.

5. John W. O'Malley, *Trent: What Happened at the Council* (Boston: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2013).

6. The Second Vatican Council's "Decree on the Adaptation and Renewal of Religious Life *(Perfectae Caritatis)*" was promulgated by Pope Paul VI on 28 October 1965. The renewal of the religious institutes involved a return to the original spirit of the institutes. See "Decree on the Adaptation and Renewal of Religious Life (*Perfectae*

While there were habits and a collective memory that formed the identity of the RNDM Sisters, for those like Veronica who went through the novitiate in the second half of the 1960s, historical memory was shaken by a profound questioning of forms of authoritarian governance, oppression, and the role of the Church and its missions. Among many religious in this period, historical memory was reconstructed, stories of resistance and struggle came to the fore, and a critique of the patriarchal institution took shape in a new context. This was particularly evident from the 1980s, as will be discussed later.[7]

Life after Vatican II has been characterized by hybridity and breaks that led to new directions and conceptual constellations among religious, such as the critique of western cosmology and the embrace of eco-spirituality. Vatican II opened the door to an ecumenical path in a pluralistic world. There were multiple temporalities at work—a theoretical concept taken from Reinhard Koselleck—that interjected in a crowded and diachronic way.[8] I am referring here to visions, practices, and beliefs of various times and contexts that are reflected not only in memories, but in the process of identity formation as religious, despite critiques of past practices and new ways of being religious and of making decisions. It is useful to have in mind Koselleck's understanding of the "space of experience" and the "horizon of expectation" as historical categories.[9]

In this article I don't examine Sister Veronica's personal life or explore any personality psychology. Instead, I try to understand how she has made sense of her time as a religious by using her own words taken from a 1974 interview in the *Regina Leader-Post* on the occasion of her final vows, her response to a toast on her 50th jubilee, and author interviews regarding her current understandings of ministry as imbued in her commitment to eco-spirituality. I am curious as to how she dealt with the layers of meaning in her congregation. How did she move toward eco-spirituality, and how did her thinking intersect with the congregation as a whole? What were the silences and assumptions considering the decolonial turn and the questioning of racialization?

Caritatis)," 1966, in Walter M. Abbott, S.J. (ed.), *The Documents of Vatican II* (New York: American Press), 2.

7. Bruno-Jofré, *The Sisters of Our Lady of the Missions*, 153-90; 247.

8. Reinhart Koselleck, *Future Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time*, translated and with an Introduction by Keith Tribe (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004).

9. Koselleck, *Future Past*, 255-75.

A Reflective Self at the Interplay with Macro- and Micro Configurations of the long 1960s

Veronica's own process of becoming a sister had the hallmarks of the "long 1960s"—a term coined by Arthur Marwick for the time between the end of the 1950s and the mid-1970s.[10] She entered religious life as a novice in 1963 and made her final vows in 1974. It was an expanded space of experience since the relationship of women religious with the world after Vatican II had changed; the congregations were now situated in relative openness to the world and to its plurality of discourses and ways of being. [11]

During these years, Veronica created meanings within the context of social macro-configurations, including secularization, pluralism, and cognitive contamination, that created a new reality for Catholics. At the micro-level of her experience as a religious, Vatican II and the emergence of liberation theology in Latin America, and, later, feminist theology and challenging cosmological views, framed her development as a religious in relation to the world.

These hybrid configurations overlapped with complex political configurations featuring the New Left, the Cuban Revolution, the Vietnam War, and the Cold War. The political and social ideas and practices permeated Veronica's lived experiences, subjectivities, and desires, and were constituted by the legacies of the civil rights movement, second wave feminism, a new understanding of gender relations, and a new sense of self. The sisters of RNDM, both as members of an international congregation and as individuals, became exposed to these new realities; a world characterized by movements that challenged the traditional order of things.[12]

When Veronica entered the RDNM in 1963, the use of the grille (material separation) and the semi-cloistered character of the congregation that had been imposed by the Generalate (Superior General of the Congregation and Council) for many years had already ended. The blind obedience to authority—"the duty of the subject to fulfill all the commands of the superior, even if they were unwise of impudent"—that had been solidified over the

10. Arthur Marwick, *The Sixties. Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy, and the United States, c. 1958-c. 1974* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

11. See Rosa Bruno-Jofré, "The Sisters of Our Lady of the Missions in Canada, the Long 1960s, and Vatican II: From Carving Spaces in the Educational State to Living the Radicality of the Gospel," in Rosa Bruno- Jofré and Jon Igelmo Zaldívar (eds.), *Catholic Education in the Wake of Vatican II* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), 189-212.

12. Daniel T. Rodgers, *Age of Fracture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011); Rosa Bruno-Jofré, "The 'Long 1960s' in a Global Arena of Contention: Re-defining Assumptions of the Self, Morality, Race, Gender and Justice and Questioning Education," *Espacio, Tiempo y Educación* 6, no. 1 (2019): 5-27.

Veronica in full habit with Marg, circa 1966.
Property of Veronica Dunne

years, no longer applied.13 In the "long 1960s," a period of renewal in the Catholic Church and a period of civil unrest across the globe, modernity penetrated the sisters' lives. The second Vatican Council (1962-65), which built upon a renewal process that began in the 1950s, represented a paradigmatic shift; a force that enabled Catholics to pursue new directions.[14] While there was a major historical break from tradition, there remained a persistent patriarchal framework within the institutional Church that that the sisters and women the*logians who remained in the system still questioned.[15]

13. Patricia Wittberg, *The Rise and Fall of Catholic Religious Orders. A Social Movement Perspective* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1994), 241

14. "Three documents produced by the Second Vatical Council had direct implications on the congregation's mission and on the sisters' collective identity: (1*) Lumen Gentium: Dogmatic Constitution of the Church,* placing religious life within the larger mission of the Church and extending the notion of the fullness of Christian life to all faithful; (2) focusing on renewal in light of the original spirit of the congregation; and (3) *Gaudium et Spes,* addressing the presence and activity of the Church in the world today. *Ecclesiae Sanctae,* Pope Paul VI's apostolic letter, provided directives for the renewal process." See Bruno-Jofré, *Sisters of Our Lady of the Missions*, 155.

15. The*logian, the*logy is used as an open form to avoid gendering. It is related to a critical feminist approach. See Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *Congress of Wo/men: Religion, Gender, and Kyriarchal Power* (Cambridge: Feminist Studies in Religious Books, 2016), 2, fn 4.

I will now turn to Veronica's process of construction of the self, through which she reached her commitment to eco-spirituality.[16] Interviewed in August 1974 by the *Regina Leader-Post*, she was asked questions that would have been unheard of in previous decades, when negation of the self and blind obedience were features of religious life.[17] Days before the interview, the 29-year-old Dunne had taken her final vows in Regina's Holy Rosary Cathedral (her picture shows her wearing a modified habit). The ceremony, the article noted, "symbolized her 'marriage' to Christ," a pre-Vatican II, gendered concept that was still in use at that time.

Veronica, circa 1974.
Property of Veronica Dunne

In the *Leader-Post* article, the complexity of life and personal feelings is revealed when Veronica confesses that sisters have close male friends—that some of her best friends are priests. But she also admits that "avoiding a more intimate relationship can be difficult: That is why a sister must really

16. See Barbara Caine, *Biography and History* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 69.

17. "Religious Life is not Easy Today," *Regina Leader Post, Regina*, August 1974.

be a person of prayer."[18] Even after Vatican II, the sisters still lived under strict rules regarding their inner self, and sexuality remained a taboo subject.

Another interesting topic is the ordination of women. Veronica testified that "if it happened, there would still be sisters, just as there are men who serve the church in other capacities than in the priesthood."[19] She reflects here an early maternal feminist view—which she would later abandon—that women have contributions to make that are distinctly feminine, such as gentleness and compassion, and adds that she is not certain that the priesthood would be the best place for those talents. Nonetheless, she wanted to "see women be able to perform Mass at sisters' religious retreats."[20] Had the priesthood been open to her at that time, Veronica was not sure whether she would pursue that vocation, although she did not dismiss the idea. While she did not see marriage for sisters as a likely possibility (although she did see it for priests), she did envision a diversity of lifestyles taking the form of communities where priests and sisters would live communally (a very 1960s idea).[21]

In the *Leader-Post* interview Veronica also noted that in some ways fewer restrictions made things more difficult as "one has to be more deeply rooted to remain in the Church because of the tremendous influences everywhere. One must make decisions and discern for oneself what God wants."[22] Her comments reflect the complex mediations in the congregation's spirituality and the shift to autonomy and a personal relationship with God. This late encounter with modernity entails, along with autonomy for the sisters, a fragmentation and a weakening of the community's cultural foundations.[23] As the sociologist Patricia Wittberg (herself a religious) concluded, the ideological framework defining Roman Catholic religious life collapsed and new definitions did not "achieve lived hegemony."[24] The RNDM community, like many others, had difficulty reconstituting its social imaginary while moving away from uniformity, obedience, and rules.

While Veronica attended schools run by the RNDM (Regina's Holy Rosarie Schools and Sacred Heart Academy), she did not decide to become a sister until grade 11. Her family were not initially pleased with the decision as her brothers did not think she was the "nun type." She spent three years at

18. "Religious Life."
19. "Religious Life."
20. "Religious Life."
21. "Religious Life." It was a decade of social experiments; one of them was the commune culture that filtered in different ways in society.
22. "Religious Life."
23. See George Delanti, *Social Theory in a Changing World: Conceptions of Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999).
24. Wittberg, *The Rise and Fall of Catholic Religious Orders*, 256.

the novitiate at Sacred Heart College in Regina, then completed a Bachelor of Arts (Psychology) at the University of Regina (graduating in 1967), followed by a teaching certification at Brandon University in 1968.[25]

Her level of education marks a distinct break from the past, as most sisters before the 1950s had little university education, particularly in theology. In the 1950s, the Sisters Formation Conference was founded to advocate for further education beyond previously limited permissions.[26] Patricia Wittberg wrote that "the SFC provided first of all, the impetus and the informational resources that enabled American sisters to become the most highly educated group of nuns in the Catholic Church, and the most highly educated women in the United States".[27] The conference's publications had an impact on Canadian congregations.

Before taking her final vows, Veronica took a leave of absence for one year. She returned to the congregation and spent a year at Winnipeg's St. John Bosco Centre, which ministered to Indigenous peoples and the poor. In 1973, she moved to Ottawa to study theology, completing her Masters in Pastoral Counselling at St. Paul's University in 1975. She continued her studies in Clinical Pastoral Education (CPE) at the Brandon General and Brandon Mental Health Centre.

As mentioned in the *Leader-Post* interview, in 1977 Veronica returned to Ottawa to live in a house with other sisters. Sisters were moving to modest houses in small groups, she said, because they "want to open their homes to others. We want to be part of the community." When asked whether she would still be a nun if the restrictions of the past were again imposed, she said: "It would be hard to say because the essence of religious life is Jesus Christ.…It is the essence that counts not the rules."[28]

When writing biographical accounts of religious, doubt is a recurrent theme. In the interview given at the time of her final vows, Veronica noted that she was initially unsure about her commitment and that she had prayed and tried to discern what God was asking of her, only to ultimately conclude that she would devote her life to God.[29] There was also the nagging sense of loneliness as leaving her family behind was a major sacrifice. "But I think

25. I am using Veronica M. Dunne's curriculum vitae that she provided.

26. Sister M. Patrice M. Noterman, S.C.C., "An Interpretative History of the Sister Formation Conference, 1954-1964," (PhD dissertation, Loyola University of Chicago, 1988). The Bulletin of the Sisters Formation Conference reached congregations in the US and Canada.

27. Wittberg, *The Rise and Fall*, 212.

28. "Religious Life."

29. There are many examples of feelings of doubt or dealing with doubt from famous Catholics such as Saint Thérèse of Lisieux, Thomas Merton and Mother Theresa.

in choosing this life, however, I am looking to the Lord to help me fulfill myself as married persons would help each other."[30]

Theologically, sacrifice in religious life was construed by and large as a virtue, as sacrificial and unconditional love of God. An extreme version was expressed in self-inflicting pain, and although the language of mortification was a layer of meaning that had been left behind, the notion of sacrifice was still relevant in the commitment to God.[31] Thus, the rigorist version of Jansenism that had molded the RNDM founder's sense of being religious in the mid-nineteenth century, including her religious self and her notion that suffering and sacrifices pleased God, was part of the congregation's story, but it was not part of Veronica's lived experience.[32] Yet the language of mortification in the early days of the RNDM Canadian community, as we read in their writings, was a language of submission, obedience, pain, silence, fear of God, avoidance of joy, and sacrifice. This language was a component of the myth of foundation that was also deconstructed when the congregation moved to a new vision, a change in which Veronica took a very active part.

Having moved past the language of sacrificial individual love, the RNDM Sisters embraced a language of solidarity, liberation, desire, and selfhood as part of their adaptation to a new world. They also came to understand love not as individual sacrificial, but as a communal expression of love, going beyond one-directional love and moving toward a social Trinitarian love expounded in liberation theology. Love cannot be self-centred and the good is self-diffusing; love is grounded in a relational ontology.

The long 1960s had an affect on Veronica. She entered the convent in 1963, and she made her first vows in 1965. She explained in 1974 that internal changes in the Church were felt to be coming too fast by some and too slow by others. The number of entrants in the RNDM had dropped, while many others left. As Heidi MacDonald has demonstrated, between 1965 and 1975, the number of women religious in Canada fell 32 percent, from approximately 66,000 to 44,127.[33] Veronica felt at the time of the interview that this disturbance was over, and that the congregation was moving toward

30. "Religious Life."

31. Self-inflicting pain refers to harming the body to feel pain. The RNDM founder engaged herself in this practice at one point.

32. Bruno-Jofré, *Sisters of Our Lady of the Missions*, 14. See also Marie Benédict Olivier, RNDM, *Missionary Beyond Boundaries: Euphrasie Barbier, 1820-1893*, trans. Beverley Grounds, RND (Rome: Istituto Salesiano Pio XI, 2007). On Jansenism, see Françoise Hildesheimer, *Le Jansenisme, l'histoire et l'heritage, Collection petite encyclopédie modern du christianisme* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1992), 8-10.

33. Heidi MacDonald, "Women Religious and the Canadian Religious Conference," in Rosa Bruno-Jofré, Heidi MacDonald, and Elizabeth M. Smyth, *Vatican II and Beyond,*

a revival. She understood that there might not be a great number of new religious, but that God provides people who can be of service in the Church and the World: "I think there will always be persons in the world who will want to know Christ intimately and to serve others."[34]

Veronica in modified habit at SHC, circa 1967.
Property of Veronica Dunne

Journey to Eco-spirituality

The paradigmatic insights of pluralism put forward by Peter Berger provide a framework to understand Veronica's move, along with the congregation, toward eco-spirituality, and also to capture the meaning of the new ministries. Berger wrote: "the co-existence of different world views and value systems in the same society [has been] the major change brought about by modernity for the place of religion both in the minds of individuals and in the institutional order. This may or not be associated with secularization, but it is independent of it."[35]

Veronica's curriculum vitae and her own narration to me in the process of writing this paper provide a glimpse into her own journey and that of the congregation. Both demonstrate a shift (particularly in the 1980s) from teaching—she entered a teaching congregation—into a ministry related

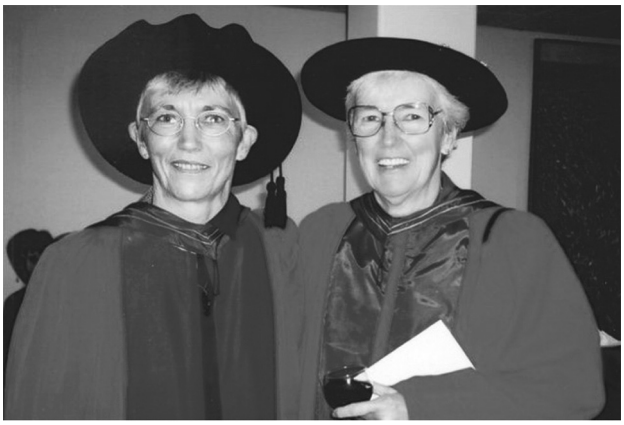
The Changing Mission and Identity of Canadian Women Religious (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University, 2017), 18.

34. "Religious Life."

35. Peter Berger, *The Many Altars of Modernity: Toward a Paradigm for Religion in a Pluralist Age* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), ix.

to counselling.[36] While her professional studies have been in education, psychology, and theology, her "fields of engagement" have been in teaching and counselling.

Veronica's doctoral thesis, "A Cyberspace Room of Our Own: On the Significance of Cyberspace for Feminist Ecclesial Communities," which was completed at the University of Toronto in 2002, makes manifest the presence of feminist liberation the*logians in her life and in the life of the congregation. Although feminist the*logy had permeated congregations from the 1970s, her research was very timely as it explored the impact of cyberspace on the development of feminist-based Christian communities. She examined data generated from the email list of the Canadian Catholic Network for Women's Equality, identified themes, and generated a conversation with the insights of feminist the*logians Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, Rosemary Radford Ruether, and Sharon Welch. Veronica argued that the egalitarian and inter-connected world of cyberspace destabilized dominant patriarchal ecclesiastical and cultural norms, allowing new norms and practices to emerge. She contended that the shared reflection forged new bonds and extended common actions on behalf of the eco-social system.[37] It was a focus on the micropolitics of power in religious life and ways to disrupt it.



Veronica Dunne and Ellen Leonard at convocation ceremony in 2002.
Property of Veronica Dunne

36. The Superior General visited Canada in 1973 and reminded the sisters that education was their primary service in the Church and said that she noticed disaffection for teaching. Marie Bénédict Olivier, RNDM, Report of the Visit to the Canadian Province, Regina, Saskatchewan, 26 May 1973, Centre du Patrimoine, Société HIstorique de Saint-Boniface, St. Boniface, Manitoba (hereafter CPSHSB), box 13, file 9. See Bruno-Jofré, *Sisters of Our Lady of the Missions*, 184.

37. Veronica Margaret Dunne, "A Cyberspace Room of our Own: On the Significance of Cyberspace for Feminist Ecclesial Communities" (PhD Dissertation, Toronto School of Theology, University of Toronto, 2002), Abstract.

Of particular interest to readers is Veronica's (and the congregation's) move toward to a new cosmology and to eco-spirituality. In the novitiate, one of Veronica's companions introduced her to *The Divine Milieu* by the Jesuit paleontologist Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, which described his respect and reverence for matter. This was for her an earthshaking experience.[38] She had entered as a novice in 1963, a point at which novices were still "fleeing the world," and found herself "enchanted with the deeper possibilities and meanings of the material world."[39] The writings of de Chardin were popular among sisters in other congregations as well, particularly by those teaching science.[40] "The sense that in us humans, creation becomes conscious of itself, that matter deeply expresses spirit was a deep shift," Dunne confessed, "one in which I am still participating."[41] She was placed at the intersections of two diachronic temporalities, the old pre-Vatican line and theological developments by theologians outside the Vatican's walls in trying to relate to science and modernity.

Dunne's reflections, as submitted at a recent symposium on Paulo Freire, have led her to consider in retrospect Freire's educational ideas, liberation theology, feminist liberation theologies, and theologies that led to a rising eco-feminist consciousness and a deepening sense of the "new cosmology" among Canadian RNDMs.[42] What does Veronica mean by a new cosmology, this new concept in the historical life of the congregation? "I referred to the scientific study of the origins of the universe and our human place as the 'consciousness' of the universe" Dunne noted at a 2021 symposium dedicated to Paulo Freier's writings, adding to the definition "the stories of origins of various cultures and religious traditions, poetic texts in the Hebrew/Christian

38. Teilhard de Chardin, *The Divine Milieu* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1960).

39. Veronica M. Dunne, "RNDM Evolution to Eco-spirituality—A Personal and Communal Account," the narrative for this paper to be kept in the archives of the congregation, June 2021.

40. For example, in the early 1960s, the Missionary Oblate Sisters of the Sacred Heart and Mary Immaculate, a Manitoban congregation, discovered Theilhard de Chardin and some of the sisters took courses on his ideas at Marymount College in Los Angeles (now Loyola Marymount University). "The sisters were attracted by his notion that God's creation worked through cosmic evolution, his understanding of the Cosmic Christ as the element in virtue in which all things are related to each other, his idea that human life could be justified on the basis of achievement of future perfection, his new insights into Scripture (that they were not to be taken literally e.g. Genesis)." See Rosa Bruno-Jofré, "The Process of Renewal of the Missionary Oblate Sisters, 1963-1989," in Elizabeth M. Smyth (ed.), *Changing Habits: Women's Religious Orders in Canada* (Ottawa: Novalis, 2007), 247-72.

41. Dunne, "RNDM Evolution."

42. Veronica Dunne, "Sisters of Our Lady of the Missions (RNDM) and Paulo Freire: Weaving a Web of Life," paper presented at the online symposium "Paulo Freire's Pedagogy of the Oppressed and Ivan Illich's Deschooling Society Fifty Years Later,"21 and 22 May 2021.

scriptures that speak to God's relationship with creation, and the writings of the mystics and poets from different cultures and epochs."[43]

Veronica Dunne, 2019.
Property of Veronica Dunne

How had Veronica Dunne—and by extension the RNDM congregation—reached the point that signalled a new strand of thought with a new temporality, intersecting with those ideas coming from previous times while going through renewal after Vatican II. A provincial document from 1978 portrays the complex situation of the congregation; the sisters concluded that they shared a genuine RNDM vision, although they were not able to articulate it because it was expressed in widely different ways in their daily life.[44] The analysis the sisters made of the conjuncture shows various intersections. First, the Catholic Church in Canada had its own unique problems. The progressive stance of the Canadian bishops had generated a backlash and polarization, while the emerging role of the laity had changed the role (and status) of clergy and religious. Unsure of their role within the Church and society, congregations across Canada faced a severe shortage of vocations.[45] Interestingly, the sisters related the shortage of vocations, as well as the dramatic changes in society, to their own insecurities. They included in their reasoning the legacy of the "long 1960s," the difficulties of having to deal

43. Dunne, "Sisters of Our Lady of the Missions (RNDM) and Paulo Freire."

44. General Chapter, Report from the Canadian Province on "Why Our Provincial Chapter Arrived at the Key Problem for the Province: As Stated in Our Document," 19 July 1978, CPSHSB, box 16, file 1.

45. Bruno-Jofré, *Sisters of Our Lady of the Missions*, 185. General Chapter, Report from the Canadian Province on "Why Our Provincial Chapter Arrived at the Key Problem for the Province" as stated in Our Document, 19 July 1978, CPSHSB, box 16, file 1.

with their own sense of authority, the internal unevenness in the process of change, and the movement toward neoliberalism. Another intersection in the conjuncture was the situation of the RNDM Canadian province that extended through the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Quebec, and to Peru, leading to differing apostolates and new influences.[46] In Peru, RNDM sisters were exposed to liberation theology, to the document of Medellin, to the pedagogy of Paulo Freire in the field itself, and to various approaches to social justice.[47] The biographical and the structural complement each other.[48]

Peru, circa 1988.
Property of Veronica Dunne.

Meanwhile, Veronica's personal experiences would eventually converge with the main line developed by the congregation. Her journey casts some light on the life of the congregation at this point, and on its hybrid pattern of building new meanings in a renewed apostolate. In 1972, Veronica participated in a symposium at the University of Winnipeg, where she studied

46. Bruno-Jofré, *Sisters of Our Lady of the Missions*, 185.

47. The Medellin document was produced by the Consejo Episcopal Latinoamericano (CELAM) that took place in Medellín, Colombia, in 1968. It was influenced by liberation theology and took a clear stance in favour of the preferential option for the poor and denounced forms of oppression.

48. Lawrence Goldman, "History and Biography," *Historical Research* 89, no. 245 (August 2016): 399-411.

Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.[49] At the time, she was 27 years old and as a relatively new teacher Freire's critique of banking education had "great personal resonance."[50] At the same time that she became familiar with critical pedagogy, she encountered Peruvian Gustavo Gutiérrez' *A Theology of Liberation*; a disruptive book that shook her theological world in a way that was "delightful and dismaying."[51] She also discovered the writings Brazilian theologian Leonardo Boff who also supported Latin American liberation theology.

Yet it was Paulo Freire who had the most influence over the international congregation. The novitiate was the time of "aggiornamento" (bringing up to date) and of spaces opened by Vatican II (1962-65), and the sisters became familiar with the art and the protest singers of the time. In Veronica's view, Freire and the theology of liberation offered conceptual and practical tools to enact the option for the poor, and to unveil the "unjust ways poor people, Indigenous peoples, refugees, Black people, and women were treated in Canada. The Marxist inter-relationship of "oppressed" and "oppressor" was coming into troubling focus.

In the spring of 1982, when living in Toronto, Veronica took a workshop with the then Dominican priest Mathew Fox and Brian Thomas Swimme. She knew Fox's early notion of creation spirituality as a holy relationship between nature and humans from his books, but had not heard of cosmologist Swimme, who would work extensively with Thomas Berry (1914-2009) to write *The Universe Story* (1992).[52] Berry, a Passionist priest, cultural historian, and scholar of world religions (in particular, Asian religions), who was influenced by Teilhard de Chardin, saw the earth as a communion of subjects, authored *The Dream of the Earth*, which was foundational volume in the ecological canon. Swimme collaborated with Mary Evelyn Tucker, a researcher from Yale University, and together they created the multimedia project called "Journey of the Universe," which would serve to educate others about new cosmology.[53] For Veronica, it was a significant moment of learning, one that enlarged her "known world." One concept that stayed with her was the spaciousness of the universe, the spaciousness of an atom, and the spaciousness of all matter. She then became familiar in 1983 with

49. Dunne, "RNDM Evolution"; Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Seabury, 1970).

50. Gustavo Gutiérrez, *A Theology of Liberation* (New York: Orbis, 1973); Dunne, "Sisters of Our Lady of the Missions (RNDM) and Paulo Freire."

51. Dunne, "Sisters of Our Lady of the Missions (RNDM) and Paulo Freire.

52. Brian Thomas Swimme and Thomas Berry, *The Universe Story: From the Primordial Flaring Forth to the Ecozoic Era: A Celebration of the Unfolding of the Cosmos* (San Francisco: Harper, 1992).

53. See https://www.journeyoftheuniverse.org.

Fox's *Original Blessing*, subtitled *A Primer in Creation Spirituality*, and in the following year with Swimme's first book, *The Universe is a Green Dragon: A Cosmic Creation Story*.[54] "Both books, noted Veronica, "were to have a deep and enduring effect on me."[55]

It is important to note that many of the other sisters in the congregation were also reading and studying these books and sharing insights together. It became a configuration of ideas in which social justice, concerns with inequity, women's voices and experience, notions of liberation, and the questioning of coloniality would intersect with eco-spirituality. The sisters went well beyond an anthropocentric and modernist view. This configuration of ideas and the preoccupation with the ongoing distress of the earth was a call for many religious congregations in North America and in other parts of the world. In 1980, for example, Miriam Therese MacGillis co-founded Genesis Farm as a project of the Dominican Sisters of Caldwell, New Jersey. As indicated on their website, "Genesis Farm is dedicated to understanding the Universe and Earth as a single, unfolding process. The scientifically-based story of the Universe offers profound insights into our public, personal and spiritual lives."[56] There were a handful of similar initiatives in the United States and Canada that were examples of conservation in action, and these were sites for education about eco-spirituality and the new cosmology. The RNDMs would have two small ecological initiatives in the countryside just outside of Winnipeg, Manitoba, in the late 1990s and early 2000s. They were Good Earth (1996), and what Gurtishall translated as "Place of Peace" (2002); the latter had an extensive outreach that included Indigenous women, food co-ops, community groups, food justice groups, climate change advocates, pilgrims, families, and others.[57]

There were, however, problems in the congregation in creating commonalities because, in spite of the perception described in 1978 of having a common vision, not everyone agreed with the points of reference that had become dominant.[58] As noted earlier, "some members of the community had difficulties adapting to a diverse, pluralistic world in which, in a natural process, they were exposed to and contaminated with ideas and values foreign to old Catholic ways."[59] In the 1980s, the congregation was still trying to clarify the original Trinitarian inspiration and the understanding of

54. Matthew Fox, *Original Blessing: A Primer in Creation Spirituality* (Santa Fe: Bear & Co, 1983); Brian Swimme, *The Universe is a Green Dragon: A Cosmic Creation Story* (Vermont: Bear and Company, 1984).

55. Dunne, "RNDM Evolution."

56. On Genesis Farm, see http://www.genesisfarm.org/about.taf.

57. Dunne, "Sisters of Our Lady of the Missions (RNDM) and Paulo Freire."

58. Bruno-Jofré, *Sisters of Our Lady of the Missions*, 186.

59. Bruno-Jofré, *Sisters of Our Lady of the Missions*, 186.

the foundress' "divine mission" and of the missionary nature of God.[60] The intersection of theologies and visions came all the way from the origins of the congregation in the second half of the nineteenth century, along with a dissonant temporality and emerging contradictions. Until the mid 1980s, a time when the congregation fully embraced social justice, the congregation continued with the ecclesiological sense of mission—missionary work defined by the Church, rather than reignocentric. The General Chapter of 1984, "Witnessing to the Gospel: Beyond All Frontiers," made social justice central to the life of the congregation.[61] The sisters would engage themselves in a process of enculturation and conscientization, generating a great awareness of the plight of Indigenous and Métis peoples in Canada, and they saw themselves as allies. However, the documents don't show a discussion of the role of the congregation in processes of colonization or, more recently, any discussion on coloniality. The congregation developed a new model of mission grounded in the notion of witnessing and characterized as incarnational, contemplative, prophetic, and collaborative: "Let us be with the poor as they seek to empower themselves and to transform unjust structures…"[62]

Within this context, the influence of feminist the*logians, such as Rosemary Radford Ruether, who examined religion and sexism, Mary Daly (1928-2010), who wrote on women's liberation and patriarchy, Elizabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, who addressed the invisibility of women, and Elizabeth Johnson and Sandra Schneiders, inspired the Canadian province to critique structures and power, and to engage with new ways of doing things. In the 1990s and 2000s, the engagement with feminist the*logy and the movement toward eco-spirituality would be prominent in the life of the congregation.[63]

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60. Bruno-Jofré, *Sisters of Our Lady of the Missions*, 186.

61. "Witnessing to the Gospel: Beyond All Frontiers," Twenty-Second General Chapter of the Congregation, B01-08, CPSHSB, box 16, file 12, 3. See Bruno-Jofré, *The Sisters of Our Lady of the Missions*, chapters 9 and 10.

62. Bruno-Jofré, *Sisters of Our Lady of the Missions*, 189.

63. Rosemary Radford Ruether, "Patriarchy," in Lisa Isherwood and Dorothea McEwan (eds.), *An A to Z of Feminist Theology* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 173-74; Rosemary Radford Ruether, *Women Healing the Earth: Third World Women on Ecology, Feminism, and Religion* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1996); Mary Daly, *Beyond God the Father* (Boston: Beacon, 1984); Elizabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *But She Said: Feminist Practical Interpretation* (Boston: Beacon, 1992); Elizabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *Discipleship of Equals: A Critical Feminist Ekklesia-logy of Liberation* (New York: Crossroad, 1993); Elizabeth Johnson, "Redeeming the Name of Christ," in Catherine Mowry LaCugna (ed.), *Freeing Theology: The Essentials of Theology in Feminist Perspective* (San Francisco, CA: Harper San Francisco, 1993), 115-27; Sandra M. Schneiders, *Beyond Patching: Faith and Feminism in the Catholic Church* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1991); Sandra M. Schneiders, *Women and the Word: The Gender of God in the New Testament and the Spirituality of Women* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1986).

In June 1999, the Canadian Sisters had a provincial gathering titled "Women at the door 2000," at which they celebrated womaness and advocated the need to challenge patriarchy, the need to love one another, and the need for their own prophetic role. The community repositioned itself by stressing the relational dimension of the self and solidarity. Through narrations, prayers, songs, and fairy tales, the sisters opened a figurative door of hope. The community recognized a sense of otherness generated by the official Magisterium (i.e., the Vatican's power).[64]

Veronica developed a profound commitment to eco-spirituality framed by her feminism, a critique of patriarchy, and intense developments in the provincial setting of the congregation. She said in her statement to me that there was an openness in her and in the province when, in 1987, the World Commission on Environment and Development—the Brundtland Commission—launched "Our Common Future Report," with a call "for a new charter to set new norms to guide the transition to sustainable development."[65] She went on to say that over the next 13 years, largely unbeknownst to her, various diverse cultural groups from around the world worked on drafts of the new charter. It was launched on June 29th, 2000, by the Earth Charter Commission at the Peace Palace in The Hague. She included pedagogues Paulo Freire, Moacir Gadotti, and Francisco Gutierrez, and liberation theologian Leonardo Boff in the list of those who formed the eco-pedagogy movement that is now based out of the Paulo Freire Institute in Brazil. (Freire died in 1997 before he could complete his book.)

At the 2003 provincial RNDM retreat entitled "Earth Story, Sacred Story, Nurturing an Ecological Spirituality," the sisters declared that eco-spirituality challenged them "to see all life forms as part of the same sacred body, earth, recognizing the sacredness of all." It was "a commitment to the entire web of life."[66] The retreat was rich in activities, including those aimed at developing a sense of awareness and a mindfulness of the body and of feelings, such as ritual/sharing of wisdom, mirror walks, a celebration of the cosmic wedding of Earth and Sun, and summer solstice.[67] At the time, Veronica recognized the parallels with the wisdom of the Indigenous

64. Bruno-Jofré, *Sisters of Our Lady of the Missions*, 192.

65. Earth Charter, "History," https://earthcharter.org/about-the-earth-charter/history/.

66. RNDM, "Earth Story, Sacred Story, Nurturing an Ecological Spirituality." Sourced from handout materials from the RNDM retreat for the sisters of the Canadian province, held at Villa Maria Retreat House in Winnipeg, and led by Sister Judy Schachtel, SMS, 20-27 June 2003, provided by then superior Veronica Dunne, August 2014. See Bruno-Jofré, *Sisters of Our Lady of the Missions*, 196.

67. Bruno-Jofré, *Sisters of Our Lady of Missions*, 195.

cultures and with other world religions.[68] Many of the sisters went beyond the initial search for a modern autonomous self, and placed the self in the universe, in the entirety of creation. A serious attempt was made to relate the new cosmology—characterized as relational, subjective, interdependent, interconnected—to social justice and to advocate for an inclusive Church while questioning domination.[69] By 1996, the record of the general gathering of the congregation stated: "We recognize the struggle and hold the pain of those oppressed by the institutional church, and as sisters of Euphrasie, we know that we too may find ourselves in situation of tension with the hierarchy."[70] The temporal strands from the past were also present in ways of being, as we will see.

The delegates (which included Veronica) to the 2008 General Chapter drew heavily from the Earth Charter when resignifying the vision and mission as the RNDM Earth Community, "We are One, We are Love," words used by the founder. The resignification kept the foundational element in place but reframed it with a new meaning. At the Chapter, Veronica recalls, the Canadian delegates brought copies of a CD produced by songwriter Carolyn McDade, entitled "My Heart is Moved" and sub-titled "singing into the call and vision of the Earth Charter." The CDs were given as a gift to each province and region of the congregation. It was another way (through music) to try to convey the vision and challenges of bringing the Earth Charter into the broader community.[71]

Veronica describes the 2008 General Chapter as a very engaging experience: "as delegates we wrestled with how we might put Earth at the center of our deliberations, how we might learn from the inter-related self-organizing systems of Earth, how we might broaden our understandings of our place in the universe to include all created beings, all eco-systems, how we might see Earth itself as a living Being, etc."[72]

In the meantime, in the province of Manitoba, the possibility of building an ecologically sound house had been growing among the sisters for several years. The vision/hope for an "eco-project" first grew out of the July 2006 meeting of the "Small Band" (sisters under 65), who presented it to the whole congregational province at the 2007 Assembly. At that gathering, the province made a commitment to continue its exploration, and then the vision found resonance and affirmation in the wider vision of

68. Bruno-Jofré, *Sisters of Our Lady of Missions*, 195.

69. Bruno-Jofré, *Sisters of Our Lady of Missions*, 199,

70. RNDM, 24th General Gathering, Rome, 26 May–15 June 1996, CPSHSB, box 17, file 2, p. 8.

71. Dunne, "RNDM Evolution."

72. Dunne, "RNDM Evolution."

the 2008 Congregational Chapter, and then in the Extraordinary Assembly of November 2010.[73]

This eco-project was seen by Veronica (who played a leading role in the project) and the committee as having four flowing streams of water. The first stream was recognizing the bounty and magnificence of our planet home; the second recognized the harm humans are doing to earth, and the challenges we face today; the third stream was the vision adopted at the 2008 Chapter, in which the entire congregation made a communal commitment to being advocates for the earth, and to learning more about (and from) its wonder and mystery; the fourth stream was a practical one, namely the need for a residence, a building in an urban context.[74]

Veronica said: "We reasoned that while the cost of 'building green' seemed to have evened out, examples of such innovations were not numerous—so we could offer that innovation to the larger Winnipeg and Canadian context. Further, we knew in a general sense that the buildings individuals or societies design, and the land on which we build them, directly influence the ways in which we live our lives and how we engage with our spiritual and social values. Religious architecture through the years shows that beautifully. So, beyond the practical needs for housing, our hope was that the way we would construct this building could serve to "shape consciousness" for greater awareness of the ecological and spiritual challenges we face today, and catalyze greater courage in facing those challenges."[75]

The Eco-Project initiative did not have a good conclusion, because the leadership group, of which Veronica was a part, could not resolve their internal conflicts. These conflicts became an impediment to reaching consensus and working with the building committee. This was a painful process for the protagonists and for Veronica in particular. The situation is a reminder of the difficulties faced in articulating a common vision as mentioned in the 1978 report, which the sisters attributed to communication problems related to their previous experiences of isolation. Thus, the historical expression of temporalities seems to have been at play, with old habits emerging that recreated semiotic layers of meanings.

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73. For a timeline of developments around the Eco-Project, see Appendix I of Dunne, "RNDM Evolution."

74. Dunne, "RNDM Evolution," Appendix II – Reflections on RNDM Eco-Project—Vision and Purpose.

75. Dunne, "RNDM Evolution," Appendix II – Reflections on RNDM Eco-Project—Vision and Purpose.

Conclusion

We need to go back to the beginning, to the notion of "I am because we are," to see that the reconstitution of Veronica's identity was not separated from the communal process, in both positive and negative ways. Veronica had space to build her relational and reflective self. However, her trajectory led to a sketch of her hopes and visions for reality that, in the latter instance, found limits set by the residual elements of the past, by the regulations from other times that permeated the sisters' ways of being. The writer can feel the limits in Veronica's raw pain. This communal life was inserted in overlapping configurations of ideas, while socio-economic and political changes generated new responses. The encounter with pluralism became a key element in the opening to new insights, and to a new world. It invited "contamination," interaction, and relativization, and it crossed paths with the aggiornamento initiated by Vatican II that placed the sisters in relative openness to the world and to a plurality of ways of being.[76] Although many were afraid of heresies, which is understandable given the connections built in eco-the*logy to Eastern and Indigenous beliefs, the openness led to new ministries, to a renewed role as witnesses, and to an enriched spirituality.

76. See Berger, *The Many Altars of Modernity*; Gregory Baum, "Vatican Council II: A Turning Point in the Church's History," in Michael Attridge, Catherine E. Clifford and Gilles Routhier (eds.), *Vatican II: Canadian Experience* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2011).

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The Project of Hegemony: The Canadian Church Engages the Liberal State, 1840s-1890s

Robert Dennis

Abstract: *Twenty years after its original publication, Ian McKay's article for approaching Canadian history through a framework of liberal order remains an engaging and contested argument. This paper examines Ian McKay's central claims, particularly in reference to the Roman Catholic Church, and proceeds to examine its appropriateness and applicability to Canadian Catholic history. The problem and possibilities of McKay's Gramscian perspective are carefully considered with an eye to opening new avenues of research and analysis for Canadian Catholic historians.*

Résumé : *Vingt ans après sa publication originale, l'article d'Ian McKay sur l'approche de l'histoire canadienne à travers un cadre d'ordre libéral demeure un argument engageant et contesté. Cet article examine les affirmations centrales de Ian McKay, en particulier en référence à l'Église catholique romaine, et procède à l'examen de sa pertinence et de son applicabilité à l'histoire catholique canadienne. Le problème et les possibilités de la perspective Gramscienne de McKay sont soigneusement examinés en vue d'ouvrir de nouvelles voies de recherche et d'analyse pour les historiens catholiques canadiens.*

A little more than 20 years ago, historian Ian McKay contributed a seminal forum article to the *Canadian Historical Review on the liberal order framework.*[1] At the time, it was intended to bridge the widening gulf between political and social/cultural historians who debated the purpose

* Earlier versions for this paper were delivered as an invited lecture by the Catholic Studies programme at St. Francis Xavier University, at the "Catholicism and Global History Conference" hosted by the Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism at the University of Notre Dame, and at the 2022 CCHA Annual Meeting. The author would like to thank Peter Baltutis and Indre Cuplinskas who read drafts of this article, along with the journal's anonymous reviewers.

1. Ian McKay, "The Liberal Order Framework: A Prospectus for Reconnaissance of Canadian History, *Canadian Historical Review*, 81, no. 4 (2000): 616-645.

and meaning of Canadian history—a way forward from Canada's "history wars" and their intellectual petulance.[2] By proposing the project of liberal order as a unifying framework for historians of different stripes to relate their studies, the article achieved a great deal more than to offer a creative alternative to a heated debate. In the wide-ranging and ambitious piece, McKay challenged the historiography on Canadian liberalism by asserting its ambition for Gramscian-style "hegemony."[3] From 1840s to the 1890s, Canada experienced a gradual transformation as liberal rule was imposed on British North America. This political and social transformation necessitated drawing illiberal actors into tacit complicity with liberal order, including the Roman Catholic Church.

This article seeks to open new pathways for debate and discussion by engaging the Gramscian framework underpinning McKay's analysis, with the aim of showing a way that Canadian Catholic historians can think about their work in relation to the broader forces that shaped the national landscape. The Catholic Church—and its ultramontane communitarian critique of the project—had a vested interest in this dialogue. From the Church's perspective, accommodation with the state in Quebec was aimed at protecting the institutional privilege that it had cultivated and the public role played since the 1840s. It was a strategy that would be selectively adopted and repeated elsewhere in the decades after Canada's liberal revolution of the 1840s. Cooperation was not new, as this article will show, but it was a natural extension of a historically conditioned relationship between the Church and the civil authority, dating from the early years of settlement.

Liberal Order Posited

Paraphrasing Ian McKay, a liberal order endeavours to extend the values and practices associated with the ideology of liberalism across time and space. It seeks to exert hegemony—intellectual, cultural, political, and moral leadership—so that liberal values become common sense across a vast geographical terrain.[4] Though there are competing understandings of

2. See, for example, Michael Bliss, "Privatizing the Mind: the Sundering of Canadian History, the Sundering of Canada," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 26, no. 4 (Winter 1991-1992): 5-17; J.L. Granatstein, Who Killed Canadian History? (Toronto: Harper Perennial, 1998); A.B. McKillop, "'Who Killed Canadian History? A View from the Trenches,'" *Canadian Historical Review,* vol. 80, no. 2 (1999): 269-299; Bryan D. Palmer, "Of Silences and Trenches: A Dissident View of Granatstein's Meaning," *Canadian Historical Review*, 80, no. 4 (1999): 676-686.

3. Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebook* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1971).

4. For a classic Canadian treatment of liberalism see C.B. Macpherson, *The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977).

liberalism; many definitions identify a hierarchy of values that posit three core tenets: liberty, equality, and property. Property is at the apex of this arrangement and is a precondition of liberty, while formal equality, always subordinate to the first principle of "possessive individualism," is at the bottom.[5] Liberals give epistemological and ontological primacy to the category of the "possessive individual," which C.B. MacPherson theorized as a unifying concept for liberal theory.[6] Until the 1940s, it meant, in practice, those individuals who were male, white, and propertied. Although there will always be individuals who do not subscribe to these values within a liberal order, Canadian society is governed by leadership protecting and promoting liberal values.

Fundamental to this leadership are the contributions of the "traditional" and "organic" intellectuals. As Antonio Gramsci notes, the traditional/organic distinction is indicative of a function rather than of the specific individuals who occupy these roles. A traditional intellectual is a holdover from an earlier formation (e.g., feudal structures superseded by liberal ones in New France/Quebec), while its organic counterpart is drawn from an underlying social process itself indicative of a new formation (e.g., an organizer drawn from a class that sees the world in a different way than is indicated by its hegemonic structures). The role of the intellectual, either traditional or organic, is crucial for leadership. In the case of the liberal revolution of the 1840s, organic intellectuals saw their objectives as one of defending, consolidating, and extending the rule of liberal assumptions about humanity

5. Ian McKay borrows this arrangement from Fernande Roy. See Fernande Roy *Progrès, harmonie, liberté : Le libéralisme de milieux d'affaires francophones de Montréal au tournant du siècle* (Montreal: Boréal, 1988). Cited in Ian McKay, *Reds, Rebels, and Radicals: Rethinking Canada's Left History* (Toronto: Between the Lines Press, 2005), 59.

6. C.B. MacPherson summarizes the "possessive individual" as: "(i) What makes a man human is freedom from dependence on the will of others; (ii) Freedom from dependence on others means freedom from any relations with others except those relations which the individual enters voluntarily with a view to his own interest; (iii) The individual is essentially the proprietor of his own person and capacities for which he owes nothing to society [which MacPherson qualifies as potentially being a 'deduction' from tenets one and two]; (iv) Although the individual cannot alienate the whole of his property in his own person, he may alienate his capacity to labour; (v) Human society consists of market relations; (vi) Since freedom from the wills of others is what makes a man human, each individual's freedom can rightfully be limited only by such obligations and rules as are necessary to secure the same freedom for others; (vii) Political Society is a human contrivance for the protection of the individual's property in his person and goods, and (therefore) for the maintenance of orderly relations of exchange between individuals regarded as proprietors of themselves." See C.B. Macpherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism: Hobbes to Locke* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 263-264.

and society.[7] This process is both expansive, extending liberal rule *ad mare usque ad mare*, but also intensive as the polity internalizes these assumptions as "common sense."

Organic intellectuals, the liberal revolutionaries, required accommodation with traditional intellectuals, church leadership, sin qua non the episcopal hierarchy, in order to achieve the objective of liberal order. This arrangement is a first step, a neat move, to gain a tentative alliance for future consolidation. For liberals, it meant quietly acquiescing to collective rights on matters of language and education and proffering federal powers of disallowance to enforce them. For the Church in Canada, it represented continuity with historic processes of cooperation with the sovereign in northern North America, and the ability to remain rooted in a territorial base. While at odds with Catholicism's ultramontanism, liberals recognized the stabilizing influence of the institutional Church for public order.

A second Gramscian concept, "passive revolution," is also helpful to explain this continuing process of consolidation. In contrast to an armed revolution, it "describes any historical situation in which a new political formation comes to power without a fundamental reordering of social relations."[8] The goal of passive revolution is to maintain hegemony. It is important to understand the sites where these struggles are contested, such as the state, through its coercive power and strategies of political conciliation, and more subtly civil society, the sphere of popular-democratic struggle where a dominant social group can organize consent for its objectives. To achieve and maintain hegemony within a passive revolution, the state necessarily becomes enmeshed with non-state actors (from boy scout troops to religious organizations). As Gramsci observed in the *Italian Risorgimento*, influential actors in civil society advanced the unification of the Italian state, and a similar situation occurred in the extension of liberalism in Canada after the revolutionary moment of the 1840s. Contested ideas become dominant, "common sense" even, when they transcend the state and begin to permeate civil society.[9]

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7. Ian McKay, "The Liberal Order and the Liberal Revolution, 1837-1892," unpublished paper.

8. David Forgacs (ed.), *The Antonio Gramsci Reader: Selected Writings, 1916-1935 (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 428.*

9. Canadian historians have, often unconsciously, dealt with this process. Take, as an example, how Marianne Valverde examines Protestant reformers in *The Age of Light, Soap and Water.* Ideas of cleanliness and propriety may equally be treated as ones of order and civility; thus "Christian" notions on moral questions equally advance classical liberal objectives for society. See Marianne Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, Inc., 1991).

In examining how Canada became a liberal order from the 1840s to 1890s, exploring the experience of the Canadian Catholic Church offers fertile ground for understanding processes that reinforce (or resist) ideas that vie for hegemony. Ian McKay outlines "seven arresting moments" in the Canadian liberal revolution: the Rebellions of Upper and Lower Canada, Lord Durham's Report, and the *Act of Union* from 1837-1841 as liberalism's victory over its civic humanist counterpart; secondly, the quest for "Responsible Government" fine-tuned with the historic compromise of Tories and Reformers (but originally workshopped in Nova Scotia);" Thirdly, Confederation, 1864-1867, but broadened out until 1896 to include the stabilization of the federal system; fourthly, the liberalization of the West; fifthly, the National Policy of tariff protection of the 1870s; sixthly, the "liberalization" of Quebec and its Catholic critique; and finally, codifying criminal and civil law resulting in the Criminal Code of 1873.[10] Analyzing the "Catholic" response to/participation in these moments are underdeveloped in the historiography and are fruitful spaces for historical inquiry.

A great deal of work is needed to fill this *lacuna*, but what might a Catholic/liberal order lens look like in practice? A cursory reading of Canadian history from contact to 1896 might appear as a story broken into three stanzas: European contact to 1791, 1791 to 1841, 1841 to 1896. Each stanza offers subtle and dramatic moments in Catholicism's "dialogical" relationship with liberal order. Within the final stanza, where McKay periodizes his "arresting moments," the Church is drawn fully into engagement with the liberal revolution; of particular interest for Canadian Catholic historians is the period of Confederation, 1864 to 1867, and its aftermath, where the consolidation of a liberal state programme needed to accommodate illiberal visions for British North America.[11]

Stanza I: European Contact to 1791

In early liberal thought, at least according to John Locke, property could only be possessed if it was coupled with cultivation.[12] This position underpinned European claims to land inhabited by its indigenous population with concepts such as "the doctrine of discovery" and *terra nullius* (no one's

10. Valverde, *The Age of Light*, 632-633.

11. Also significant are the article's silences. The yet-to-be fleshed-out spaces where "Catholicism" served as a central actor to this narrative—whether it be resisting or reinforcing, challenging or changing the liberal project. Even 20 years post-facto, these claims and silences remain fertile ground for Canadian Catholic historians to investigate.

12. "As much land as a man tills, plants, improves, cultivates, and can use the product of, so much is his property. He by his labour does, as it were, enclose it from the common." See John Locke, "Of Property," *Two Treatises of Government*, Book II, article 32.

land), applied retrospectively, to justify the seizure of aboriginal territory.[13] Missionaries, less interested in land than souls, came to spread the Gospel and win conversion of aboriginal peoples. While European imperial powers were preoccupied with territory and resources, missionaries, in contrast, remained focused on spiritual considerations. Taken together, however, they countenanced different aspects of colonialism and colonization.

In 1608, Samuel de Champlain established Quebec as the epicentre for trade, commerce, and religious activity, which prompted the arrival of four Recollet friars from the Franciscan order to minister broadly from this location.[14] In 1622, European colonization in the "New World," caused Rome to shift responsibility for missionary activity from the ruling houses of the continent, which had maintained this task for over a century, to a new papal office, the Congregation for the Propagation of Faith. Since authority over the Church in New France rested with Rome, rather than King Louis XIII of France, despite its reliance on the Crown for support, the Church had a modicum of autonomy.[15]

The imperial authorities and missionaries saw the mutual benefit of cooperation early in the colonial project (a relationship that preconditioned future relations between the Church and state). Christian evangelization among indigenous peoples was deemed to benefit both the Church and civil authorities; particularly since the Recollet friars focused on inculcating French norms and values as a precondition to baptism.[16] Church and state

13. For a view of the historicity of these concepts see Canadian Catholic Conference of Bishops, "Appendix: The Doctrine of Discovery, *Terra Nullius*, and the Catholic Church: An Historical Overview," 2016. https://www.cccb.ca/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/catholic-response-to-doctrine-of-discovery-and-tn.pdf (accessed 10 May 2022).

14. One important debate within the historiography on Samuel de Champlain is how he has been positioned as a "Catholic hero" or, more universally, "Father of the Country." Commenting on these historiographical depictions, Ronald Rudin writes, "Laverdière and Dionne made Catholicism a central element in their celebrations of a life that had assisted in the birth of a French-Catholic civilization. English-language authors saw Champlain as the founder of a Canadian nation that included both the French and the English. In this spirit, [Charles] Colby closed his text with this observation: "It is a rich part of our heritage that [Champlain] founded New France in the spirit of unselfishness, of loyalty and of faith." As was typical of him in his biography, Colby was resorting to the term *faith*—or alternatively *Christianity*—to make Champlain a universal character that all Canadians (or at least all Christians in Canada) could celebrate." See Ronald Rudin, *Founding Fathers: The Celebration of Champlain and Laval in the Streets of Quebec, 1878-1908* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 59.

15. Terrence J. Fay, *A History of Canadian Catholics: Gallicanism, Romanism, and Canadianism* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 7.

16. The Jesuits, priests of the Society of Jesus, did not necessarily share this objective. Historian James Axtell writes, "As long as they carried Christ's message in their hearts, prayed regularly, and honoured the seven sacraments when they were available,

also cooperated in establishing churches as part of a broader pattern of settlement (Jesuit missionaries were ministering in Quebec in 1632, Huronia in 1634, and Ville Marie in 1642). Following this period, the Church began to consolidate its activity into more traditional ecclesiastical and institutional structures and, in 1658, Quebec was made an Apostolic Vicariate. The process of institutional growth was led by Bishop François de Laval (who was canonized in 2014) and continued under the guidance of women religious such as Marguerite Bourgeoys for the next century until the Conquest of Quebec in 1760.[17]

The meaning of the Conquest rests as a classic debate of Canadian historiography, though early reactions to the British triumph were clearly and predictably delineated along ethnic and religious lines. In "Siege of Quebec in 1759," a letter from an anonymous French-Canadian nun to her Mother Superior in France, recounts her experiences during the five years leading up to and including the Conquest. While the nun clearly defines the British as the "enemy," there is nevertheless a charitable overtone to her letter. She writes: "We charitably conveyed their wounded to our hospital… Our army continued constantly ready to oppose the enemy."[18] Importantly, her religious order was willing to help casualties regardless of their ethnicity. From her perspective, this was not an epochal war between *nations* so much as one in a long series of skirmishes between *empires*, of no overpowering significance to her sisters. As historian Jan Noel has demonstrated, nuns used a multi-variant approach during the Conquest and its aftermath, including the deployment of economic skills and access to ruling clientele, to survive and maintain a prominent place for the Church in New France.[19] In contrast, the British response, due to its framework of having an "established Church" (the Church of England) clearly aligns God with Britain's imperial programme: the Empire's victory was one for both cross and crown.[20]

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the Indians of Canada were accounted *bons catholiques*, at least by their Jesuit mentors." James Axtell, *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Culture in Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 62.

17. The leading historical accounts of Saint Marguerite Bourgeoys come from Patricia Simpson. See Patricia Simpson, *Marguerite Bourgeoys and Montreal, 1640-1665* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997); Patricia Simpson, *Marguerite Bourgeoys and the Congregation of Notre Dame, 1665-1700* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005).

18. Unsigned, "Siege of Quebec in 1759" (London: E. Allen, 1769).

19. Jan Noël, "Besieged but Connected: Survival Strategies at a Quebec Convent," CCHA *Historical Studies*, 67 (2001): 27-41.

20. For this viewpoint see: Samuel Langdon, "Joy and Gratitude to God for the Long Life of a Good King and the Conquest of Quebec" (Ottawa: Canadian Institute for Historical Micro Productions, [1760] 1986), text fiche 58907. George Cockings, *The Conquest of Canada; or the Siege of Quebec* (London: printed for the author, 1766); Joseph

The Quebec Church began to take root amidst a confluence of events. The aftermath of the Conquest came only a few years after British colonial administrators forcibly deported almost 12,000 Catholic Acadians living in present day New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island over questions of loyalty to the Crown.[21] Catholics were now subject to the penal laws of the British Crown. However, with the expulsion of the Acadians in recent memory, colonial officials in Quebec recognized how difficult expulsion would be of a sizable French-Canadian population, so inducements became a more realistic strategy. Officials were aware of ambivalent feelings in London about the Acadian experience, and Quebec Governor James Murray offered several incentives to transform French Catholics into English Protestants, including financial incentives for Catholic clergy who married and joined the Church of England.[22] It was also a gendered approach: although female religious congregations were allowed to take on new novices because they maintained social services like schools and hospitals, male religious orders such as the Jesuits and the Recollet friars were not and consequently paused ministry in the province, while other religious orders, prominently the Sulpician Fathers, struggled but continued their ministry.[23]

With the demise of these prominent religious orders, episcopal structures became increasingly important. They were fortified following the appointment of Jean-Olivier Briand as Bishop of Quebec. Briand was conciliatory towards colonial officials, but was unwavering in his commitment to Catholic doctrine and faith. He negotiated the appointment of the first Canadian-born bishop, Louis-Philippe Mariachau d'Esgly, as his Vicar General with right of succession. By 1769, colonial officials acknowledged the need for *Canadien* representation on an expanded 15-person council overseeing the colony and

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Hazard, *The Conquest of Quebec: A Poem* (Ottawa: Canadian Institute for Historical Micro Productions, [1769] 1986), text fiche, 60186.

21. On the expulsion of the Acadians see, for example, Naomi E.S. Griffiths, *The Acadian Deportation: Deliberate Perfidy or Cruel Necessity?* (Toronto: Copp Clark Publishing Company, 1969); Naomi E.S. Griffiths, "Acadians in Exile: the Experience of Acadians in British Seaports," Acadiensis 4, no. 1 (Autumn 1974): 67-84; Naomi E.S. Griffiths, *The Contexts of Acadian History, 1686-1784* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992); Naomi E.S. Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian: A North American Border People, 1604-1755* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005); Christopher Hodgson, *The Acadian Diaspora: An Eighteenth-Century History* (London: Oxford University Press, 2012).

22. Fay, *A History of Canadian Catholics*, 46.

23. Land seized by the British government following the suppression of the religious order in 1773 became a subject of intense Catholic-Protestant debate a century later when the Government of Quebec passed the *Jesuits Estates' Act.* See J.R. Miller, *Equal Rights: The Jesuits' Estates Act Controversy* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979).

recommended that five seats be allotted to them.[24] With the *Quebec Act* (1774), the transition from military to civilian rule continued and Catholics gained greater liberty. They were now afforded the right to an *Oath of Loyalty* rather than the *Oath of Renunciation*, and inclusion in government (recognizing loyalty to the crown in a civil capacity rather than renouncing articles of faith).[25] Despite colonial attempts to assuage the language of loyalty, objections persisted, further expanding *Canadien* autonomy in the democratic sphere. Having consolidated episcopal cooperation, colonial officials tacitly accepted this popular resistance.

Another aspect to Britain's religious pragmatism was New France's role as an important bulwark against the growing tide of republicanism in the thirteen colonies along the Atlantic coast of North America. Bishop Briand staunchly supported the British imperial government during the American Revolution due, in part, to his unwavering belief in the divine right of kings.[26] No longer relying on resources from Paris and under British imperial control, the Quebec Church grew closer to Rome, became economically self-sufficient, and was able to cultivate a unique brand of Catholicism. Following the *Constitutional Act* (1791), the creation of Upper and Lower Canada demarcated discrete geographical and political boundaries between Catholic and Protestant polities. In the generations following the Conquest, the Church entrenched its institutional structures, established a closer relationship with the state, and became a prominent force in early Canadian society.

Stanza II: 1791 to 1841

By the early nineteenth-century, political allegiance began to predominate over religious identity as liberals throughout British North America challenged the structure of colonial government. Even as the Church assumed an important role as mediator in this conflict, an influx of Highland Scottish and Irish immigration prompted two distinct institutional

24. The Report of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantation Relative to the State of the Province of Quebec, 10 July 1769, stated: "That a number of His Roman Catholic Subjects, not exceeding five, should be appointed members thereof, as such times as His Majesty thinks proper; and they should be exempted from the obligation of subscribing the Declaration against Transubstantiation, which is by His Majesty's Commission and Instructions required to be taken and subscribed by the members of the Council in general." See Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Dougherty (eds), *Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-1791* (Ottawa: J. de L. Taché, 1918), 383.

25. Fay, *A History of Canadian Catholics*, 35.

26. Fay, *A History of Canadian Catholics*, 36.

structures to emerge in Canadian Catholicism.[27] French clergy from Quebec could not adequately meet the spiritual needs of the Scottish and Hibernian migrants in places such as Ontario and Nova Scotia and thus English and Gaelic-speaking clergy, invited to North America or otherwise, challenged the authority of the Quebec Church. Through direct communication with Rome, newcomer priests such as Father Edmund Burke of Nova Scotia, Father Angus B. MacEachern of Prince Edward Island, and Father Alexander Macdonell of Upper Canada lobbied for the subdivision of the enormous Diocese of Quebec. Despite attempts by Bishop Joseph-Octave Plessis to visit his vast Canadian territories, in 1817, with the consent of Quebec, Rome appointed Edmund Burke the Vicar Apostolic of Halifax. In 1819, the See of Quebec was raised to an archbishopric and fathers MacEachern and Macdonell were appointed as auxiliary bishops for Prince Edward Island/ New Brunswick/Cape Breton and Upper Canada.[28] In 1826, Macdonell became the first bishop of Kingston.[29] Three years later, MacEachern was appointed as bishop of the Diocese of Charlottetown (Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, and the Îles de la Madeleine).

In Upper Canada, Catholics had been eligible to be appointed Legislative Council and elected to the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada since its creation following the *Constitution Act* (1791), though they were required to take the *Oath of Allegiance* to the British Crown. Nova Scotia (and later New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island), however, followed a significantly different pattern. Between 1758 and 1783, the penal code of Nova Scotia prohibited Roman Catholics from acquiring title to land and prohibited the presence of priests and the celebration of Mass in the province. Although Catholics were permitted the vote in 1789, they could not hold public office without taking the *Oath of Renunciation*, which rejected core doctrines on Transubstantiation, Adoration of the Virgin Mary, and so on. After the 1823 election of the Irish Catholic merchant Laurence Kavanagh as one of two representatives for the island of Cape Breton[30]—which had merged with Nova Scotia three years earlier—the House of Assembly in

27. Roberto Perin, "Elaborating a Public Culture: The Catholic Church in Nineteenth-Century Quebec," in Marguerite Van Die (ed.), *Religion and Public Life in Canada: Historical and Comparative Perspectives* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 93.

28. Fay, *A History of Canadian Catholics*, 50.

29. Mark McGowan, *Michael Power: The Struggle to Build the Catholic Church on the Canadian Frontier* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), 41-42.

30. For a discussion of Catholicism as it developed in Cape Breton (Ile Royale), see A.J.B. Johnston, *Religion in Life at Louisbourg, 1713-1758* (Montreal & Kingston Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984), 11-29.

Nova Scotia passed a historic motion, which spoke to political rights and religious freedom in the province:

> Resolved, that this House, grateful to His Majesty [King George IV] for relieving His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects from the disability they were heretofore under from sitting in this House, do admit Laurence Kavanagh to take his seat; and will, in future, permit Roman Catholics, who may be duly elected, and shall be qualified to hold a seat in this House... without making a Declaration against Popery and Transubstantiation.[31]

In a profoundly "liberal" moment, Laurence Kavanagh took his seat in the Assembly without a declaration against these articles of faith (six years before the *Roman Catholic Relief Act* (1829) codified this policy for the British Empire).[32] This dispensation was meant to apply to Kavanagh specifically, and yet the House of Assembly chose to interpret it expansively—a decision made more remarkable considering its desire to pass this resolution *in absentia* of the King's decision. The decision, an act of cultural accommodation on the part of a Protestant-dominated Assembly, was also a moment where a statement of religious freedom intersected with an assertion of political rights by colonists, an early moment of consolidation for the liberal state, which would emerge clearly two decades later.[33]

In Lower Canada, meanwhile, the Sulpician Fathers remained active in the Quebec Church, despite episcopal structures clearly emerging in the 1830s, and the Company of St. Sulpice was recognized as "an Incorporated and Ecclesial Community" in 1841 by Lord Sydenham.[34] It was through the episcopacy, however, that Ultramontane spirituality restructured the institutional Church in the province. Jean-Jacques Lartigue, the first Bishop of Montreal from 1821 to 1840, was influenced by liberal Catholic thought in Europe, notably the ideas of Félicité de Lamennais articulated in the newspaper *L'Avenir*, which broke with the belief in the divine right of kings. Unlike his predecessors, Lartigue reasoned he did not need the permission of the Colonial Office, particularly with the establishment of representative

31. Nova Scotia House of Assembly *Debates,* 2 April 1823 (James Kempt). Cited in D.J. Rankin, "Laurence Kavanagh," CCHA *Study Sessions*, 8 (1940-1941): 71.

32. For a discussion of "Colonial Catholics and Constitutional Change in Nova Scotia and Cape Breton," see S. Karly Kehoe, *Empire and Emancipation: Scottish and Irish Catholics at the Atlantic Fringe, 1780-1850* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2022), 71-98.

33. J. Brian Hanington, *Every Popish Person: The Story of Roman Catholicism in Nova Scotia and the Church of Halifax, 1604-1984* (Halifax: Archdiocese of Halifax, 1984), 98.

34. Olivier Maurault, "Sulpicians", in W. Stewart Wallace, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Canada*, Vol. VI (Toronto, University Associates of Canada, 1948), 82-84.

government, to advance the interests of his flock (he petitioned Rome directly to establish Montreal as a diocese in 1836).[35]

After the Rebellions in Upper and Lower Canada, the *Act of Union* (1841) created Canada East and West. During this period, Montreal's second bishop, Ignace Bourget (1840-1876), inculcated a fervent Ultramontane spirituality in Canada East through a "devotional revolution" and a strategy of institution building (remnants of the efforts remain visible today—one need only walk down René Lévesque Boulevard in Montreal to view "little St. Peter's Basilica," Bishop Bourget's cathedral dedicated to *Marie-Reine-du-Monde*).[36] He employed political pressure to bring schools, hospitals, and other social structures under the Church's control.[37] While Bourget opposed modernity, Rome, despite its European experiences, adopted a more progressive stance and advocated for political cooperation in the province. Near the end of Bourget's tenure as bishop in Montreal, Elzéar Taschereau (1870-1896) was appointed the Archbishop of Quebec. At the urging of the Vatican, he issued a joint pastoral letter with the Apostolic Delegate George Conroy, which repudiated the use of the pulpit or confessional to interfere in elections. This position, which "advocated the democratic reforms of liberty, progress, separation of church and state, and a possible *rapprochement* with the United States," was received well by Catholics.[38] Despite this dissenting voice, Ultramontane spirituality allowed the Church to negotiate greater political influence for itself in Quebec that would not wane until the Quiet Revolution in the 1960s, a process, scholarship in recent decades suggests, was hastened, ironically, by Catholicism itself.[39]

Stanza III: 1841 to 1896

It is a truism that the eliding effects of commemoration emphasize consensus over discord. "'Founding' moments," notes Peter Price, "rarely have the conscious cohesion and clarity of purpose with which they are later remembered…the singularity of a founding moment has a way of marshalling together diverse and conflicting visions into a single story."[40] To examine Canadian Confederation and its aftermath as the "consolidation of a General

35. Hanington, *Every Popish Person,* 74.

36. While the concept of the "devotional revolution" has been contested in recent years, it remains central to understanding transformations within Catholicism during the mid-nineteenth century. See Emmet Larkin, "The Devotional Revolution in Ireland, 1850-1975," *American Historical Review*, vol. 77, no. 3 (June 1972): 625-652.

37. Fay, *A History of Canadian Catholics*, 95.

38. Fay, *A History of Canadian Catholics*, 81.

39. Most notable here is Michel Gauvreau, *The Catholic Origins of Quebec's Quiet Revolution, 1931-1970* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005).

40. Peter Price, *Questions of Order: Confederation and Making of Modern Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020), 11.

Liberal State Program" risks missing the reality that there was a range of understandings of what was being created during "political reorganization of 1864-1867."[41] Such is the nature of "passive revolution." A process that began in the 1840s, was politically reified in the 1860s, reached its zenith by the 1890s—it is by this decade that there was a widespread understanding of what had occurred during this period.

The Quebec and the English-Canadian Churches related to the liberal project, differently when Confederation was proposed in the 1860s. As Mark McGowan has recently noted, from the perspective of the colonial Bishops, there were three "uncomfortable pews" that the hierarchy negotiated behind the scenes during the political reorganization of 1864-1867: firstly, the need to preserve French language, culture, and religion in Quebec; secondly, the safeguard of Catholic education; and lastly, an urgency to convey and maintain the Church's loyalty to the legitimately constituted sovereign (a relationship the Church worked diligently to establish since its arrival in the "New World").[42]

Catholic Quebec, anomalous due to religion, language, and nationality, was naturally a pressing concern for both the bishops and the "fathers" of Confederation. For liberals, such as George Brown, journalist and leading voice in the Confederation debates, there was a firm belief that once French Canadians left Quebec than they would no longer be able to benefit from Catholic schools or public use of their language. "Brown's idea was to constrain 'French Canadianism,'" writes historian Roberto Perin, "to the province of Quebec; in other words, to ghettoize and tribalize French Canadians."[43] Until the vexed question of denominational schooling emerged in the late nineteenth century, Church leadership could judge political reforms through the prism of how they accommodated Ultramontane Quebec, its critique of liberalism, and the Catholic population in the rest-of-Canada.

Quebec was also at the liberal project's geographic centre and thus central to its fundamental aspirations. Church institutions had become drawn into the liberal project in the 1840s. Land owned by the Seminary of Montreal, as Brian Young demonstrates, was converted from "seigneurial property into an increasingly uniform and pan-Canadian system of freehold property relations."[44] It was necessary for liberals to accommodate the Church as they attempted to create a new political structure in Confederation.

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41. McKay, "The Liberal Order Framework," 633.

42. Mark G. McGowan, "Uncomfortable Pews: the Catholic Bishops and the Making of Confederation, A Reappraisal," CCHA *Historical Studies*, 84 (2018): 20-25.

43. Perin, "Answering the Québec Question," 32.

44. Brian Young, *In Its Corporate Capacity: The Seminary of Montreal as a Business Institution, 1816-1876* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986), 89.

Control over areas in which the Church came to work (i.e., health care, welfare, and education) was conferred on the provinces in the *British North America Act* (1867). Thus, the *BNA Act* protected and promoted Church interests in key areas of social life; hegemony that would be maintained for the hundred years to follow. Language rights and rights to religious education found highly qualified acceptance. It would take another 30 years for the federal system itself to establish the conventions that would guide this relationship.

An illiberal church-state relationship was accepted, writes Ian McKay, "on the crucial condition that Catholic communitarianism be restricted as much as possible to Quebec (and even there subordinated in the hierarchy to a state liberalism that would remain, down to the 1950s, eminently 'classical')."[45] Accommodation between liberal elites and the Church reified ultramontane Quebec, which, despite the anticlericalism of many Reformers and other liberals in the Victorian period, entrenched a hegemonic place for the Quebec Church within the liberal order.

Outside of Quebec, the Church in Upper Canada faced contradictions in the nineteenth century. Catholics were primarily Irish and English speaking. Without linguistic difference, the Church in Upper Canada feared assimilation into an English-speaking, Protestant society.[46] This concern was particularly acute in the city of Toronto where four-fifths of the population identified themselves as Protestant at the close of the nineteenth century.[47] Due to its minority position, and given its historic experiences with anti-Catholic sentiment,[48] the Archdiocese of Toronto employed a strategy of institution building, including a separate school system, as means of resistance.[49] Unlike

45. McKay, "The Liberal Order Framework," 636.

46. Murray Nicholson, "The Growth of Roman Catholic Institutions in the Archdiocese of Toronto, 1841-1890," in Terrence Murphy and Gerald Stortz (eds.), *Creed and Culture: The Place of English-Speaking Catholics in Canadian Society, 1750-1930* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 167.

47. Brian Clarke, "Religion and Public Space in Protestant Toronto, 1880-1990," in Marguerite Van Die (ed.), *Religion and Public Life in Canada: Historical and Comparative Perspectives* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 70.

48. Kevin P. Anderson, *Not Quite Us: Anti-Catholic Thought in English Canada since 1900* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019); J.R. Miller, "Anti-Catholicism in Canada: from the British Conquest to the Great War," in Terrence Murphy and Gerald Stortz (eds.), *Creed and Culture: The Place of English-Speaking Catholics in Canadian Society, 1750-1930* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 25-48; Ian Radforth, "Collective Rights, Liberal Discourse, and Public Order: the Clash over Catholic Processions in Mid-Victorian Toronto," *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 95, no. 4 (December 2014): 511-514.

49. Murray Nicholson, "The Growth of Roman Catholic Institutions in the Archdiocese of Toronto, 1841-1890," 167.

in Quebec, however, ethnic, religious and class differences conferred a degree of autonomy from the state—status that kept Catholics, until the twentieth century, as perennial "outsiders."

When Michael Power had assumed the Toronto See in 1842, the diocese's Catholic population was largely comprised of Irish immigrants, which remained the case into the twentieth century.[50] Catholics in Upper Canada grew from 13% to 16% of the total population between 1842 and 1848.[51] Irish Catholics had exhibited considerable social and economic mobility during previous generations and were now found at every socio-economic stratum. As Irish Catholics became culturally "Canadian," the gap between Irish Catholics and the province's Protestant population closed.[52] Abetted by waves of Catholic immigration from Italy and Eastern Europe, substantial demographic changes equally pushed Catholics into the liberal mainstream in Ontario.[53]

Outside of Ontario and Quebec, the Church's relationship to the state played out among a range of tensions throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century. Newfoundland, still decades away from Confederation, was fraught with its colonial status and peripheral relationship to the metropole of empire. In Nova Scotia, tensions between Irish Catholics in the capital of Halifax and Highland Scottish Catholics in the eastern counties, which were based on ethnicity, old world prejudices and customs, were exploited by liberal reformers like Joseph Howe in the years following the advent of responsible government.[54] Across the Northumberland Strait, the tiny population of Prince Edward Island, split evenly between Catholics and Protestants, dealt with corresponding sectarianism. On that island, liberal

50. The two seminal works on Irish Catholics in Toronto during this period are Brian C. Clark, *Piety and Nationalism: Lay Voluntary Associations and the Creation of an Irish-Catholic Community in Toronto, 1850-1895* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993) and Mark G. McGowan, *The Waning of the Green: Catholics, the Irish, and Identity in Toronto, 1887-1922* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999).

51. In 1842, according to Mark McGowan, the number of Catholics in Upper Canada was 65,203 out of total population of 487,053, while six years later the numbers grew to 118,810 out of a population of 725,879. See McGowan, *Michael Power*, Appendix three.

52. See McGowan, *The Waning of the Green.*

53. Mark G. McGowan, "'To Share the Burden of Empire:' Toronto's Catholics and the Great War, 1914-1918," in Brian C. Clarke and Mark G. McGowan (eds.), *Catholics at the "Gathering Place:" Historical Essays on the Archdiocese of Toronto, 1841-1991* (Toronto: Canadian Catholic Historical Association, 1993), 178.

54. Peter Ludlow, "'Disturbed by the Irish Howl': Irish and Scottish Roman Catholics in Nova Scotia, 1844-1860," in Mark G. McGowan and Michael E. Vance, "Occasional Paper, Irish Catholic Halifax: From the Napoleonic Wars to the Great War," CCHA *Historical Studies*, 81 (2015): 32-55.

order was bound up in the "land question" and the response of the escheat movement as it advanced property rights in place of mercantilist policy. New Brunswick and Manitoba faced questions over state-funded separate schooling *vis-à-vis* the linguistic/cultural divisions within the Church and these provinces. While in the Prairies and British Columbia, the tragic legacy of residential schools shows how missionary efforts drew the Catholic Church into close cooperation with the state.[55]

Few questions were more divisive in Canadian society than denominational schooling, and the constitutionally entrenched measures to preserve it. Section 93 of the *British North America Act* had been a compromise between liberal aspirations for Canada and its Catholic and francophone minority. It guaranteed the rights of education rights for religious minorities but, more crucially, "allowed the Dominion Government to intervene in any situation which might lead to infringement of the rights of separate, dissentient, or denominational schools were established by law at the time of Confederation or subsequently."[56] In theory, it protected the Quebec Church's role in education and win Catholic support in the province for Confederation. In practice, it sought to confine Catholic education to Quebec. It was a compromise by liberals who believed that public education was the exclusive domain of the state.

The constitutional provision protecting denominational education became more palatable to liberals when used to protect a Protestant, English-Speaking minority in Quebec, who needed to feel comfortable with this process of state consolidation. The powerful Anglo-elite, who controlled much of the Quebec economy, were cognizant of any threat to their power.[57] A careful balance between provincial autonomy and federal protection for minority rights assuaged concerns. Interestingly, a single move created *détente* between liberal order's organic intellectuals and two distinct sets of traditional ones.

Confederation was accepted by the Catholic hierarchy in both Quebec and English-Speaking Canada. The Bishops had cushioned their "uncom-

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55. On the Catholic Church's involvement with residential schools see, for example, Tolly Bradford and Chelsea Horton (eds), *Mixed Blessings: Indigenous Encounters with Christianity in Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2017); Timothy Foran, *Defining Métis: Catholic Missionaries and the Idea of Civilization in Northwestern Saskatchewan, 1885-1898* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2017); Vincent J. McNally, *The Lord's Distant Vineyard: A History of the Oblates and the Catholic Community in British Columbia* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2000).

56. Peter M Toner, "The New Brunswick Schools Question," CCHA *Study Sessions,* 37 (1970): 87.

57. Roberto Perin, "Answering the Québec Question: Two Centuries of Equivocation," in Roberto Perin and Daniel Drache (eds), *Negotiating with a Sovereign Quebec* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company Limited, 2000), 34.

fortable pews" as this moment of political reorganization did not conflict with ability "to defend the faith, safeguard Christian marriage, preserve Catholic education, [or] maintain a watchful eye on public decency."[58] As Canada entered Confederation, the Quebec Bishops wrote to their parishioners: "You must respect, my dear friends, this new Constitution, which is given to you, as an expression of the supreme will of the Legislator, of legitimate authority, and in consequence, of God [H]imself."[59]

Within confederation, however, trouble developed. In New Brunswick, for example, following the province's *Common Schools Act* of 1871, which established compulsory education and provincial funding for non-denominational schools, protection for Catholic education became foregrounded. The Quebec hierarchy initially supported the motion of John Costigan, a Catholic Conservative Member of Parliament from New Brunswick, which called for the federal government to disallow the legislation (it was the second time Costigan had brought forth legislation of this nature, and, in the first instance was encouraged to do so by Prime Minister John A. MacDonald). Intervention, though, divided the Tories. MacDonald withdrew his support from disallowance, and, in turn, Costigan drafted a non-confidence motion. The Quebec hierarchy withdrew their support for Costigan's motion because they did not want the Conservative government to fall, and though the New Brunswick legislation infringed on the minority rights of Catholics, the Quebec hierarchy also wanted to protect and maintain education as a provincial matter.[60]

For the Quebec hierarchy, these considerations were more important than defending denominational schooling in a neighbouring province. Until the election of Wilfrid Laurier's government in 1896, the Liberal Party was often a home to Ontario Protestantism, anti-Catholicism, and the allegiance of the Orange Order. Catholics found a place in the Liberal Party in select areas, often where the religious affiliation demographic tilted significantly Catholic, such as in Antigonish County, Nova Scotia. In the West, education, language, and religious rights converged in the 1890s as a series of legislative provisions sought to eliminate denominational schooling after Manitoba moved to make English its only official language. The 1896 federal election was fought on the question—with the Liberal party under Wilfried Laurier forming government and offering a compromise to allow limited religious instruction in a public system.

In more than a footnote to this episode, Bishop John Cameron of Antigonish, a staunch Conservative and mentor and ally of Prime Minister

58. McGowan, "Uncomfortable Pews," 7.
59. Fay, *A History of Canadian Catholics*, 126.
60. Ibid, 128-129.

Sir John Thompson, who had supported minority rights in Manitoba before his untimely death in 1894, instructed the priests under his authority to read a letter of support for Conservatives and their policy of remediation in advance of the 1896 federal election. In the rural Nova Scotia parishes of Heatherton and Mabou, as Peter Ludlow and others have recorded, parishioners "stampeded" out of the churches in opposition to the episcopal instruction. What has been described within the literature as either a product of Irish/Scottish ethnic tensions or a reaction against a half century of ultramontanism in the province, may also be evidence of the deep penetration of liberal values in the psyche of Canadian Catholics—beyond the matter of party affiliation or the practical realities of denominational schooling. Political choice was the domain of private conscience for the free-standing individual.[61]

Conclusions

Three stanzas of Canadian history to 1896, examined through a framework of liberal order, reveals a curious church-state relationship in both English Canada and Quebec. Though at arm's length from the state, the Church at once endeavoured to defend itself against the expansion of liberal project and yet had become slowly drawn into it. On questions of liberty, property and equality, Bishops negotiated Ultramontane opposition to liberalism with newfound Canadian realities of a state and society developing as a liberal order. In practice, the hierarchy compromised and collaborated with the legitimate civil authority. In some cases, this strategy was meant to preserve the privilege accorded to the Church in Quebec—in others, it was a practical political strategy aimed at keeping friendly counterparts in power. While each province/region presented its own unique set of circumstances, the turn to collaborating with civic authority for mutually beneficial purposes was a hardly a new technique in the nineteenth century. Rather, it represented continuity with a complex historical pattern traced back to the Church's role in the imperial foundations of Canada.

With a reappraisal of the liberal order framework, 20 years after it was suggested as an approach to Canadian history, Canadian Catholic historians have an important opportunity to uncover and unpack the Church's unique place in Canadian history. Two decades ago, Ian McKay sought "to arouse Canadian historians from their dogmatic slumbers, petty debates and

61. Peter Ludlow, "'Pretend Catholics' and Stampeders, the Romanization of the Diocese of Arichat/Antigonish, 1851-1900, *Historical Papers 2014: Canadian Society of Church History*: 31-50; Peter Ludlow, *Disciples of Antigonish: Catholics in Nova Scotia 1880-1960* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2022), 66-71.

narrow horizons." Perhaps Canadian Catholic historians are more conciliatory. Nonetheless, there are valuable opportunities in this challenge for scholars to (re)consider this "prospectus for a reconnaissance of Canadian history." [62]

62. McKay, "The Liberal Order Framework," 645.

CCHA *Historical Studies*, 88 (2022), 65-75

Research Notes

Gaelic, Canada, and the Religious Divide: A Short Note on Antique Assumptions and Recent Research

Rankin Sherling

Abstract: *Scholars of the history of the Gaelic Language have long posited a Protestant-Catholic "Great Divide" in Gaeldom, asserting that because Catholic areas tended to retain the language longer than in Protestant areas that Catholicism or Catholics were in various ways more devoted to the language or at least less hostile. That view has recently been challenged by several scholars using data collected from Atlantic Canada. The following research note offers a brief summary of the old debate and the new research.*

Résumé : *Les spécialistes de l'histoire de la langue gaélique postulent depuis longtemps une « grande division » protestante-catholique dans le Gaeldom, affirmant que, parce que les régions catholiques avaient tendance à conserver la langue plus longtemps que dans les régions protestantes, le catholicisme ou les catholiques étaient de diverses manières plus dévoués à la langue ou du moins moins hostile. Ce point de vue a récemment été contesté par plusieurs chercheurs utilisant des données recueillies au Canada atlantique. La note de recherche suivante offre un bref résumé de l'ancien débat et de la nouvelle recherche.*

The Gaelic Language, whether of the Irish or Scottish variety, has been in decline for many years, and there are several competing, although not all mutually exclusive, theories that attempt to answer why that is the case. And, because Gaelic still exists as a native language in Canada, and because Catholicism has been thought by some to have been one of the factors for its survival in that county, this scholarly debate is an appropriate topic for the attention scholars interested in Canadian Catholic history.

Between Catholicism and Protestantism—and particularly Presbyterianism, the only Protestant denomination with historically large numbers of Gaelic

speakers, Catholicism has been traditionally seen as more hospitable to the Gaelic language, culture and traditions. However, recent research has underscored older studies (like that of Gilbert Foster in 1988) that suggests a more complicated relationship. A new edited collection, *North American Gaels: Speech, Story, and Song in the Diaspora*, spearheaded by Natasha Sumner of Harvard University's Department of Celtic Languages and Literatures and Aidan Doyle of University College Cork, sheds fascinating new light on an old debate regarding Protestantism, Catholicism, and the survival of the Gaelic language.[1] Importantly, for Canadian readers, that new light is kindled in large part by sources from the Atlantic provinces.

A sometimes-heated academic debate swirls around a supposed dichotomy: Gaelic remained the longest (or remains a spoken) community language in places such as Scotland, Ireland and Canada in majority Catholic areas because the Catholic Church or the wider Catholic culture was—depending on the historian, the location, or the particular era—either the champion of the language, tolerant of the language or simply less hostile than Protestants.

Before investigating that claim, another consideration should be met, for some will bristle at the association of Gaelic's decline with religion at all, and offer up economic reasons or military conquests as a more central factor. No serious scholar would argue that Gaelic did not suffer greatly from outside persecution, nor would they deny that the language was linked with poverty. As far back as 1775, the famous lexicographer and wit, Dr. Samuel Johnson, wrote the following description of the Scottish Gaels he met on his trip through the Scottish Highlands and Islands: "Of what they had before the late conquest of their country [in 1745 and 1746], there remains only their language and their poverty. Their language is attacked on every side."[2] Indeed, *Language and Poverty* is the title of Gilbert Foster's still very helpful 1988 study of the "persistence of Scottish Gaelic in eastern Canada."[3] That linkage between language and destitution in the minds of Gaels undoubtably caused a rapid decrease in Gaelic language usage in Ireland, Scotland, and in North America.

But as Tiber Falzett demonstrates in his contribution to Sumner and Doyle's collection—"Rachainn Fhathast air m'Eolas (I'd Go With My

1. Natasha Sumner and Aidan Doyle (eds.), *North American Gaels: Speech, Story, and Song in the Diaspora* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2020).

2. Samuel Johnson, *The Works of Samuel Johnson* (London: Printed by Luke Hansard, Grant Turnstile, Lincoln's Inn-Fields, 1801), v. 8, 277.

3. Gilbert Foster, *Language and Poverty: The Persistence of Scottish Gaelic in Eastern Canada* (Institute of Social and Economic Research: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1988).

Experience): (Re)collecting Nineteenth-Century Scottish Gaelic Songs and Singing from Prince Edward Island"—while the link between poverty and language was prevalent, and caused shame in some, that humiliation was not universal. His inclusion of a quote from a man named Murdoch Lamont of Prince Edward Island in the Gaelic-Language newspaper *MacTalla* in 1898 demonstrates both a recognition of this link, but also a love of Gaelic and a revulsion for those who were embarrassed of their native tongue.

> I find no fault with the Gaels, except with those who disdain the Gaelic language … I can't place much blame on the youth despite their not speaking Gaelic. But the greyhaired folks, ma iming their English, without knowing why! … They deserved to be swinging while hanging; speaking English without having it. The Gael that despises the Gaelic language, I believe that he didn't love his own mother who cradled him to the melodious music of the language.[4]

The passionate love of the language can also be seen in the work of Kathleen Ready who quotes a man named Micky MacNeil of Rear Iona on Cape Breton's Bras d'Or Lake. Asked in 1993 whether he preferred Gaelic or English, MacNeil responded passionately:

> *O, a'Ghaidhlig, a'Ghaidhlig, a'Ghaidhlig, a'Ghaidhlig, a'Ghaidhlig. De blas? De blas.* (Gaelic, Gaelic, Gaelic, Gaelic, Gaelic. What taste? What taste?)[5]

Reddy's translation of "blas" as "taste" is correct, but misses something in my opinion. When MacNeil uttered *"De blas? De blas?"* he's saying, in my reading at least, something like "It has such flavor/spice!" Besides just taste, *blas* can also mean one's accent. Just like food and drink, language or accent carries a tang or taste or flavor. Gaelic, for MacNeil (and many others), has a taste to be savored that is lacking in English. But, as fascinating as this aspect of Gaelic decline and "persistence" is, let us shift now to the religious aspect of the debate.

Writing on the study of the Irish Diaspora, Donald Harman Akenson once noted that "sectarian religion was the hub around which the most important of the Irish cultural beliefs and social practices revolved. Irish people lined up on either side of a great divide: they were either Catholic or

4. Tiber Falzett, "Rachainn Fhathast air m'Eolas (I'd Go With My Experience): (Re) collecting Nineteenth-Century Scottish Gaelic Songs and Singing from Prince Edward Island" in Sumner and Doyle, *North American Gaels*, 353.

5. Kathleen Ready, "Betraying Beetles and Guarding Geese: Animal Apocrypha in Scottish and Nova Scotian Gaelic Folklore, in Sumner and Doyle, *North American Gaels*, 412.

Protestant."[6] This is largely true of all the Gaels, whether Irish, Scottish, or Canadian. The Gaels were fatally weakened and divided by the Protestant Reformation, and thus it is natural for those who study them to ask how the language fared on either side of that great divide and to then draw causal conclusions. This has led to a common belief that because in general Gaelic persisted longest (and still persists more heavily) in Catholic communities—although there are exceptions—that Catholicism embraced the Gaelic language and culture, while Protestantism did not.

These suppositions do not often hold up to scrutiny. On the majority Protestant Isle of Lewis in Scotland, for example, the Gaelic Language is still in use, and the Isle of Lewis is one of the strongholds of the language. Within the context of Atlantic Canada, it is true that Gaelic has fared better in Catholic areas of Nova Scotia, but the opposite was the case in neighboring Prince Edward Island, where Presbyterian settlers from the Isle of Skye (and their descendants) kept the language alive longer than those Catholic Gaels who settled on that island.

The religious divide and its relationship to the survival of the Gaelic language, therefore, is complicated. Over time, churches change policies. Those policies, in turn, might be helpful, hurtful, or neutral to the retention of the Gaelic language. Neither the Catholic Church nor any of the Protestant denominations had consistent and official policies toward Gaelic over the course of the centuries, and the language has been variously harassed by the elites or actively abandoned by native speakers of both denominations.

Further, if this religious divide has two halves—Protestant and Catholic—neither are monolithic. The obvious point to make in response to such a dichotomy is that one of those halves is polylithic. Protestantism is extremely diverse in theology, church government, and in church policy. Baptists, just to take one example, are the second largest religious group in the United States but they are hardly a monolithic group. Indeed, within a just few miles from where I teach in the small town of Marion, Alabama (population 3,196), there are eleven different Baptist churches. Each different enough theologically, politically, socially, or racially, that they will not worship with each other, and their church policies vary accordingly.

The same variety is true with regard to the Gaelic language. Not all Protestant churches were hostile, and some were extremely supportive. Even in Ireland, where Protestant and Catholic sectarianism was the starkest, the most violent, and the most causal, the case for Protestant hostility toward Gaelic was not consistent or universal. As Nicholas M. Wolf writes in his

6. Donald Harman Akenson, *The Irish Diaspora: A Primer* (Toronto: P.D. Meany, Co., 1996), 27.

An Irish Speaking Island, "even among the Protestant denominations, as has become clear through research done by a number of scholars over the years, an ongoing, multi-century struggle was waged regarding the question of how to secure the faith in Ireland among a population speaking a language in which the church's ability to operate was limited."[7] High ranking members of the Anglican Church of Ireland, for example, were instrumental in collecting, standardizing, and salvaging the literary remains of the language in the seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries, as students of the history of the language well know.[8] Gilbert Foster would even go so far as to write that "the survival and spread of Gaelic in Great Britain in the seventeenth century, and its subsequent migration to Atlantic Canada in the eighteenth, can be traced back to the efforts of a remarkable Jacobean divine, William Bedell," Anglican Provost of Trinity College Dublin and later Bishop of Kilmore in Ulster.[9]

Obviously, though, when applying any sort of Christian denominational lens to Scottish Gaelic, Baptist and Anglican Protestantism is peripheral when compared with Presbyterianism. Although it has its own varieties—the Kirk of Scotland, the Free Kirk of Scotland, the Presbyterian Church of Ireland, the Campbellites, the MacDonaldites, and so on—Presbyterianism is the only large, Protestant denomination to hold or to have held large numbers of Gaelic speakers. In North America, Presbyterians were early publishers of Gaelic Language material, as Doyle and Sumner point out in their introduction. "The earliest North American publications in Scottish Gaelic were religions tracts for the use of the Presbyterian Church. The first of these, *Searmoin Chuaidh a Liobhart ag an Raft-Swamp* (Sermons at Raft Swamp) by Rev. Dùghall Crauford (Dugald Crawford), originally of Arran, was printed in Fayetteville, North Carolina, in 1791."[10] The same is true for Atlantic Canada. "The first Gaelic books printed by presses in Pictou, Nova Scotia, and Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, in 1832 were of a religious nature, as were the first Gaelic books printed in Toronto and Montreal in 1835 and 1836. The first Catholic text was printed in Pictou in 1836."[11]

While there is nothing inherently hostile to Gaelic within Presbyterianism, at times the Presbyterian hostility was real. As Tiber Falzett relates, there is truth to the idea of historical Presbyterian disdain for secular Gaelic culture.

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7. Nicholas M. Wolf, *An Irish Speaking Island: State, Religion, Community, and the Linguistic Landscape in Ireland, 1770-1870* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2014), 270.

8. See for example Aidan Doyle, *A History of the Irish Language: From the Norman Invasion to Independence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 88-90.

9. Foster, *Language and Poverty*, 11.

10. Doyle and Sumner, *North American Gaels*, 16.

11. Doyle and Sumner, *North American Gaels*, 16.

It began in the 1840s, a time still known amongst Scottish Presbyterians as the Great Disruption.

> The emergent mid-nineteenth-century attitudes of internal derision and hostility held by some of the more pervasive evangelical movements in Gaelic Scotland toward popular forms of vernacular and secular expression of music, dance, and storytelling. This included the Great Disruption (*Briseadh na h-Eaglaise*) of 1843 that resulted in the founding of the Free Church (*an Eaglais Shaor*) alongside the mass burning of bagpipes and fiddles, as often remembered by the infamous proverb *'Is feàrr an teine beag a gharas la beag na sìthe, na'n teine mòr a loisgeas la mòr na feirge'* (Better is the small fire that warms on the little day of peace, than the big fire that burns on the great day of wrath).[12]

Further, the trend of hostility was not consistent over time. As much damage as that time and those policies caused the Gaelic language and culture, by the 1990s in some areas of the Highlands, the Free Church of Scotland—the evangelical wing that had engendered in some a drive to do away with all things secular, including according to the old proverb, even the bagpipes—became "one of the chief bastions of Gaelic."[13] By that time, "the [Protestant] Churches active in the Highlands have become, with time, a major means of maintaining the Gaelic language in the prestigious areas of preaching and exposition. The role of the Presbyterian Churches has been particularly important."[14]

Using the example of the Isle of Lewis, Kathleen Ready argues that while one may be tempted—reasonably—to associate Presbyterianism itself with the sometime hostility of some Presbyterians toward the Gaelic culture and language, that would be a mistake.

> Given the position of scripture in Presbyterian theology, we might expect members of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Gaelic speaking Presbyterian communities not to have valued stories of Christ that come from the oral tradition rather than from biblical sources. The Church of Scotland, the Free Church of Scotland, and the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland, all of which had representation in the Scottish Highlands during this time [i.e. the Reformation], adhered to the 1648 Westminster Confession of Faith. This doctrinal summary includes the statement: 'The whole counsel of God concerning all things necessary for His own glory, man's salvation, faith, and life, is either expressly set down in Scripture, or by good and necessary consequence may be deduced from Scripture:

12. Falzett, "Rachainn Fhathast air m'Eolas (I'd Go With My Experience)," 345.

13. D.E. Meek, "Gaelic," in David F. Wright, David C. Lachman, and Donald E. Meek (eds.), *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1993), 346.

14. Meek, *Dictionary of Scottish Church History*, 347.

> unto which nothing at any time is to be added, whether by new revelations of the Spirit, or traditions of men.' Therefore, theological authority is found in scripture alone [sola scriptura]. In keeping with this doctrine, scholars have noted the reverence with which Presbyterian communities in the Scottish *Gàidhealtachd* (Gaelic-speaking Highlands) held scripture as late as the twentieth century. In an anthropological study of a Lewis crofting community in 1970 and 1971, for example, Susan Parman attests that the Presbyterian island of Lewis was then known as '*Tir an t-Soisgeul*' (the Land of the Gospel). Moreover, Maighread Challan describes the morning and evening ritual, lasting into the twentieth century in North Uist, of *"a'gabhail an Leabhar"* (taking the Book), in which the head of the household would read a chapter from the Gaelic Bible to assembled family members.[15]

Gaelic culture and Presbyterian theology are not thus not incompatible.

And, some of the greatest champions of the Gaelic language and culture in Nova Scotia—where Gaelic still exists in spite of impossible odds—were Presbyterian. John Maclean, former bard of Hector Maclean of Coll before he emigrated and almost universally still called the "Bard Maclean" in Nova Scotia today, composed in the New World "*A' Choille Ghruamach*" (The Gloomy Forest), which is the best known example of the old Gaelic bardic poetry applied to the experience of the Gaelic Diaspora. (I believe this is true for both Irish and Scottish Gaelic.) His grandson, Alexander Maclean Sinclair, was also a great champion of the language and was instrumental in recording much of what we know about the Gaelic language and culture in North America. Both were Presbyterian, and Maclean Sinclair was a minister. Neither fact hindered their love for nor their championing of the Gaelic language or culture.

Tiber Falzett also explores less well-known Presbyterian champions. There was, for example, a sect of Gaelic-speaking Presbyterians found in Boston and on Prince Edward Island called the MacDonaldites. Some were originally from Scotland, but many others were natives of Prince Edward Island. Falzett writes of community:

> Both in their New England diaspora and at home in Prince Edward Island, the MacDonaldites were followers of the charismatic Perthshire-born messianic latter-day prophet Rev. Donald MacDonald (Dòmhnall Dòmhnallach mac Dhòmhnaill, 1783-1867), who established his ministry among the Highland and Hebridean Gaels on Prince Edward Island in 1827 after an unsuccessful mission in Malagawatch, Cape Breton Island, that began in 1824. … In the cycle of anecdotal narratives that circulated about the Reverend MacDonald during his lifetime and long after his death, it is noted that when he emigrated from Glengarry, Scotland, he brought with

15. Ready, "Betraying Beetles and Guarding Geese," 402.

> him little else than the clothes on his back and his fiddle. Eye witnesses would recall that shortly after he arrived in Prince Edward Island, they saw him dancing what appears to have been *an ruidhle ceathrar* (the foursome reel, or "Scotch Four") at a wedding: 'There were present a few who had been attending dancing school in Charlottetown. *These began to sneer at what they regarded as the awkward capers of the country folk*. On noticing this Mr. McDonald, with a warm feeling for the sons of toil, stood up, buttoned his coat and asked the fiddler to play a certain tune. He took the hostess as partner and with another chosen couple danced a reel. 'There,' said a gentleman who was present, 'is what you may call dancing.'

In response to the sneers of those who thought that the Gaelic culture was backward, the man who would one day become the community's leader proceeded to magnify its importance, and even years later the tale was circulated and appreciated. MacDonald was not ashamed of the Gaelic culture and made use of it in his form of Presbyterian worship. And the Gaels responded. Falzett quotes an 1891 observer of the MacDonaldites in Boston as saying: "the Clyde and Saint Lawrence [i.e., Gaelic Scotland and Gaelic Canada] empty into Boston harbor; if one doubts this, let him attend the Scotch Church and hear 700 people sing the old songs in Gaelic. There are more Canadians in this country than in Canada, and Canada is Presbyterian." Apparently, it was Gaelic, too.

> MacDonadaldite congregations' [were known for their] unorthodox performance of choral hymns, known popularly as 'big songs' or *òrain mhòra*, which was seen as markedly similar to the singing of *òrain luaidh* (waulking songs): …'MacDonald's big songs,' as they called the hymns, began to peal out and to 'thrill the air with quick vibration' like the chorus at a 'thickening' [i.e. *luadh* or waulking]; …tears of joy trickled down the tanned cheeks of aged men; and … young and old sprang to their feet with a voice of praise amid clapping of hands; …The 'thickening' or *luadh* held a prominent place in the social life of Prince Edward Island's nineteenth-century *Gàidhealtachd*, serving as a foundation for a wider aesthetic system for performance and composition of vernacular verse, whether devotional or secular. …the airs to popular *òrain luaidh* were well-suited to winning over converts.[16]

Thus, it was precisely MacDonald's blending of Gaelic culture and Presbyterianism that made his church so popular, and is undoubtedly a reason that unlike in Nova Scotia, the Gaelic language lasted longer not in the Catholic but in the Presbyterian communities of Prince Edward Island.

16. Falzett, "Rachainn Fhathast air m'Eolas (I'd Go With My Experience)," 346-47.

What about the relationship between Catholicism and Gaelic? The Gaelic language in Catholic communities has indeed fared better than in Presbyterian areas, and thus the widespread belief that Catholicism was more tolerant of the Gaelic language and culture. However, this too needs careful consideration. While at least superficially less schismatic, Catholicism, like Protestantism, is not monolithic, and when considering the better survival or retention of Gaelic in the Catholic areas of Nova Scotia, it must be remembered that one form of Catholicism known as Jansenism, with its insistence upon learning to read the Bible, may be more relevant to the survival of Gaelic in Catholic areas than mere Catholicism. Gilbert Foster reported back in 1988 that the Catholic Gaels of Nova Scotia were not merely distinctive because of their language. "The general circulation among these people of the Protestant-derived Gaelic Bible," he notes, can be explained in terms of the Jansenist predilections of a high proportion of the Catholic clergy who were thereby led to encourage the pious laity to learn to read. In terms of prevailing conditions this in practice meant learning to read in Gaelic."[17] Suddenly, the existence of the biweekly periodical *MacTalla* published out of Sydney, Nova Scotia, from 1892-1904 and which was for a time the only all-Gaelic-language newspaper in the world makes more sense. *MacTalla* was unique, and it demonstrates that the Gaels of Nova Scotia, both Catholic and Protestant (and those of PEI, as the quote from Murdoch Lamont above suggests), not only remained fluent in their mother tongue, but were highly literate. That literacy, which makes them rare, if not unique, played a role in Gaelic persistence, and Protestantism and Jansenism, as opposed to mere Catholicism, both contributed to that.

Yet, despite the suppositions, Catholicism was not always the great ally of the Gael. In Nova Scotia, as our own Peter Ludlow has noted in his most recent book, "the Church had a complex relationship with such issues as ethnicity and language. While Scottish Gaelic catechisms…still offered 'as much of the Catholic doctrine [as] the young people [could] master,' the use of Gaelic in churches had long been discouraged."[18] Aidan Doyle, in *A History of the Irish Language* notes a similar attitude. "Writers on the fate of Irish in America stress the indifference, and sometimes downright hostility, of the Catholic church towards the language. 'The Catholic schools that most Irish-Americans attended were all but inimical to the language.'"[19]

17. Foster, *Language and Poverty*, 4.

18. Peter Ludlow, *Disciples of Antigonish: Catholics in Nova Scotia 1880-1960* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2022), 54.

19. Aidan Doyle, *A History of the Irish Language: From the Norman Invasion to Independence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 128.

Even in Ireland, the Catholic Church was not the friend to Gaelic it has been assumed to be.

> As a growing number of Catholics became bilingual, an increasingly bilingual laity provided many clergy with a reason to forsake any real attempt either to learn Irish or use it in situations other than strictly pastoral or catechetical. Thus they unwittingly assisted the creation of a situation by the end of the eighteenth century, when bilingualism was the norm throughout the country, and the foundations were in place for the rapid abandonment of the language that occurred from the early decades of the nineteenth century onwards.[20]

The accepted story, as always, is thus more complicated.

But, here the story twists. The acceptance of "the great divide narrative" to explain Gaelic language persistence has directed the research efforts of Gaelic folklore collectors, which has in in turn created something of a self-reinforcing feedback loop. As Kathleen Ready notes, "the widely accepted dichotomy of attitudes toward Gaelic cultural expression in Catholic and Protestant communities appears also to have influenced scholars' patterns of collecting, which has resulted in apocryphal tales mainly being recorded in Catholic communities." She notes the testimony of researcher Donald Archie Macdonald (1928-1999) who reported: "We had been more or less fed by the doctrine that tradition had survived in the Catholic islands and not on the Presbyterian islands and here was all that stuff lying, not as immediately accessible on the surface, but just below the surface from the Presbyterian communities.'"[21]

Ready's conclusion to these revelations?

> It does appear that Gaelic apocryphal *seanchas* [folklore] did exist in Presbyterian communities during this time period, and although it may be harder to locate, this material is significant and should not be passed over. The prevalence of apocryphal *seanchas* in Catholic communities in comparison to their Presbyterian counterparts may also be exaggerated due to the accepted notions of where material was to be found and subsequent folklore collecting patterns.[22]

Gaelic folklore was not found as often in Presbyterian areas because, under the influence of the religious-dichotomy paradigm, fewer researchers went there.

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20. Gearoid O Tuathaigh quoting Ciaran MacMurchaidh in *I mBeal an Bhais: The Great Famine and the Language Shift in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, 20.

21. Ready, "Betraying Beetles and Guarding Geese," 415.

22. Ready, "Betraying Beetles and Guarding Geese," 415.

In that case, why *has* the Gaelic language tended to "persist" in Catholic areas of Atlantic Canada (and Scotland, although there are significant Scottish exceptions) better than in Presbyterian areas. One could do worse than to look deeply into Gilbert Foster's 1988 finding: outmigration from Atlantic Canada was far heavier amongst the Presbyterian Gaels than the Catholic Gaels.[23] The study of migration just might be the key, and religion a red herring.

23. Foster, *Language and Poverty,* 4.

CCHA *Historical Studies*, 88 (2022), 77-83

REVIEWS

Shaun Blanchard. *The Synod of Pistoia and Vatican II: Jansenism and the Struggle for Catholic Reform.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020. xvii + 346 pages. $108.95 Cloth.

For those who are acquainted with Jansenism, not a few people in the present moment, Blanchard's accomplishment is unsurprising, yet highly satisfying. Every box ticked, item-by-item, reference-on-reference, Blanchard unfolds the story of the Pistoia Synod, the last great Jansenist reform effort in Europe before the French Revolution. In doing so, he builds upon Charles Bolton's *Church Reform in 18th Century Italy: The Synod of Pistoia, 1786*, but adds the large and significant literature that has been published since Bolton (1969), much of it in Italian. Not just satisfying, Blanchard also teaches us a great deal.

Blanchard's mission is bigger than this, however. Even bigger than revealing the threads of reform found in this Jansenist synod, which two centuries later, were again expressed and, this time, achieved at Vatican II.

In his narrative, Blanchard distinguishes the theological, ecclesiological, and liturgical strands of reform at Pistoia, and makes it clear that it was the desire for liturgical reform that had the greatest resonance and survival value. We can surely say that the Jansenist liturgical reforms, called for at Pistoia, but heard among many Catholic communities throughout Europe during this period, were finally vindicated at Vatican II.

Blanchard's bigger mission, though, is defending the value of "church history."[1] This is seen most obviously on the back page of the dust jacket, which provides endorsements from Ulrich L. Lehner, Matthew Levering, and Missimo Faggioli; it is hard to imagine a more illustrious and imposing set of scholarly endorsements. Lehner was co-director of Blanchard's PhD dissertation, breaking ground with his own book, *The Catholic Enlightenment* (2016), endorsed in turn by David Sorkin, author of *The Religious Enlightenment* (2008). Levering and Faggioli have both been heavily engaged in recent years with the interpretation of Vatican II. They have

1. The book is an edited version of Blanchard's 2018 dissertation: the titles and sequencing of the chapters are essentially identical to those of his dissertation, and congratulations are due to him for pulling off the translation to a book.

been building on Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph Komonchak's magisterial five-volume *History of Vatican II* (1995-2006), only recently completed. Levering, more of a theologian than historian, recently published his *The Abuse of Conscience: A Century of Catholic Moral Theology* (2021), where he engages with some of the theological issues which Blanchard skated over.

In Blanchard's engagement with church-history-as-historiography, he orients his remarks around Benedict XVI's speech of 22 December, 2005, in which Benedict discusses the correct interpretation of the decisions of the Second Vatican Council—"its proper hermeneutics."[2] Benedict referred to "a hermeneutic of discontinuity and rupture" and a "hermeneutic of reform," and argued for the "hermeneutic of reform" by distinguishing the *continuity of principles* which are permanent from the contingency of *concrete historical situations*. Blanchard amplifies Benedict's argument with Yves Congar's four conditions for reform: (1) the primacy of charity and of pastoral concerns; (2) remaining in communion with the whole Church; (3) patience with delays; and (4) renewal through a return to the principle of tradition.[3]

Blanchard uses this framework to compare the historical conduct and doctrinal positions of the Synod of Pistoia (1786) to the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965). He argues that *most* of the liturgical positions and *some* of the ecclesiological positions of Pistoia were adopted almost two hundred years later at the Council, but that Pistoia was marred by heresies that attacked the *continuity of principles* of the Church, and faced a different *concrete historical situation* not prepared for the innovations the Synod put forward, or for the Pistoian demand for immediate adoption. The result was an almost complete repudiation of the Synod's proclamations with Pope Pius VI's Apostolic Constitution, *Auctorem Fidei* in 1794.

The description and analysis of Pistoia and the international connections with Jansenist sympathizers is excellent. However, the abstention by Blanchard from a deep engagement with the neo-Augustinian theology of Jansenism, or the Jansenist criticism of the laxism of the Jesuits, makes it difficult to assess his narrative about the failures of Pistoia and the successes of the Second Vatican Council.

What is missing, though, cannot really be laid at Blanchard's door. His analysis of liturgical and ecclesiological reform at the Second Vatican Council, and of the earlier efforts of Ricci and the Synod of Pistoia

2. See also: Massimo Faggioli, "Vatican II: The History and the Narratives," *Theological Studies* 73.4 (2012) 749-767; John W. O'Malley, "'The Hermeneutic of Reform': A Historical Analysis," *Theological Studies* 73.3 (2012) 517-546.

3. Yves Congar, *True and False Reform in the Church*, trans. Paul Philibert (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, [1950] 2011).

specifically, is informed by a large body of scholarly "preparation" and historical research over centuries. There has simply not been the same consensus-building about the early modern theological divisions between the Molinists, Thomists, and Augustinians and how those divisions affected nineteenth century Catholicism and the subsequent *Ressourcement* which supported Vatican II.

Let us, therefore, celebrate the achievement of Shaun Blanchard for brilliantly connecting this eighteenth century reform movement with our current work.

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Sophie Cooper. *Forging Identities in the Irish World: Melbourne and Chicago, c. 1830-1922*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2022. xi + 258 pages. $110.00 Cloth.

For decades, historical studies of ethnic identity were often one-dimensional. They were usually limited to a specific time and place and took for granted that the author's job was to understand and explain one group's *identity* (singular) in one place at one time. Such studies also tended to focus on men. Sophie Cooper's impressive new book is part of a recent trend in historical studies, which seeks to employ complicated analytical frameworks to understand the ways that migrants and their descendants (men, women, and children) were actually shaped by dynamics at both the local and global levels.

Following in the intellectual footsteps of scholars such as Elizabeth Malcolm, Kevin Kenny, Malcolm Campbell, and Patrick Mannion, Cooper boldly seeks to simultaneously understand similarities and differences between Irish communities around the world and unearth the connections between them. She relies heavily on a concept she calls "foundational identities." Rooted in an active commitment and sense of belonging to a local Irish community, "foundational identities," she explains, could provide immigrants and their offspring with "a base layer of commonality, which could be built upon to articulate a more political 'Irishness' through associational culture, public performance, and nationalism" (11). It is important to note, however, that Cooper is not positing the existence of one, singular, Irish *identity*. Chicago and Melbourne were hosts, she writes, "to various Irish identities, related to ethnicity, religion, and class, which could connect and conflict with each other." Her book "explores those differences but also highlights the similarities in the language of belonging, approaches to organizing, and celebration of Irish identity" (5).

How did the Irish in Chicago and Melbourne develop and maintain strong communal identities over the course of the almost hundred years covered in this book? *Forging Identities in the Irish World* suggests that associational culture, religion, and education were the basic roots common to Irish identities in these American and Australian cities and she explores how these identities split across religion, class, and gender. After an interesting examination (Chapter 2), employing the skills of an urban historian, of the ways in which Chicago and Melbourne were both "instant cities" that quickly appeared in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, the middle chapters of the book explore how and where foundational Irish identities constructed in both Melbourne and Chicago "built upon ethnic mirroring and frequent contact with ideas of Irish belonging from childhood" (18).

Chapter 3 looks at secular clubs such as ethnic societies for both working- and middle-class Irish. Cooper shows that these male-dominated organizations demonstrate "the ways that diasporic Irish society was brought together, under an umbrella of ethnic identity, across class and generation" (58). In Chapter 4, Cooper stays on the subject of associational culture but pivots to focus on religious organizations, showing that "the national parish, locally and city-wide, bonded Catholics to each other and to Ireland" while "the position of Irish religious women in the daily lives of schools and sodalities, as well as in institutions like hospitals, helped to provide a consistent ethnic mirroring throughout Catholic life" (116). Chapter 5 focuses on education. It shows how Irish teachers (primarily women) "allowed for the entrenchment of religious communities in Irish diasporic life" and makes a strong case "for the influence of Irish and Catholic teachers on new generations of Irish descendants" (147). Cooper's deep and thoughtful engagement with the work and ideas of women religious is particularly impressive here, especially in light of the historiographical invisibility of women in traditional studies of Irish Catholicism.

The book ends with two interesting chapters, which examine how these Irish ethnic identities expressed themselves publicly. Chapter 6 describes the ways in which the cultural and ethnic affinities developed in secular, religious, and educational life were utilized "to promote Irish political nationalist activities, whether armed rebellion, moral force, or constitutional change" (154) while simultaneously showing the concrete ways in which ideas imported from Ireland permeated political thought in Chicago and Melbourne. Finally, Chapter 7 serves as a fitting capstone for the book by examining how the rhetoric employed at St. Patrick's Day celebrations throughout the nineteenth century could be adjusted to fit the pressing needs of a given city in a given year. "The language of belonging and loyalty used as St. Patrick's Day dinners and demonstrations," Cooper writes, "brought

together diverse communities, encompassing distinct educational, religious, and political identities" (186).

This is an exciting, ambitious, new contribution to the historical literature on the Irish at home and abroad and will be read with great interest by scholars and students alike.

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Bronwyn Evans, transc. and trans., Mario Giguère and Bronwyn Evans, eds. *Mon Journal: The Journal and Memoir of Father Léon Doucet O.M.I., 1868 to 1890*. Calgary: Historical Society of Alberta, 2018. vi + 454 pages. $49.99 Cloth.

In *Mon Journal: The Journal and Memoir of Father Léon Doucet O.M.I., 1868 to 1890*, Bronwyn Evans and Mario Giguère bring to a wider audience the personal journal of Doucet, a Missionary Oblate of Mary Immaculate who worked in the lands currently known as Alberta and Saskatchewan from 1868 to 1939. Evans transcribed and translated the 1868 to 1890 journal published in *Mon Journal*, and Evans and Giguère edited the book. They celebrate Doucet's personal missionary journal as "a rare and exciting find for anyone interested in western Canadian missionary history" and in pre-provincehood Alberta and Saskatchewan history more broadly (5). From the first mission at Red River in 1845, the Oblates spread across the Prairies, the Mackenzie Basin, and the Arctic, becoming "the dominant Roman Catholic religious congregation to serve in western and northern Canada" (ix). Doucet's journal covers some of this history, providing researchers with a rich primary source that illumines both the everyday and the exceptional events of a French Catholic missionary working in the nineteenth-century North-West.

Prior to the publication of *Mon Journal*, Doucet's life and work were little known, overshadowed by institutional Oblate history and the focus on Albert Lacombe, "the best-known Oblate" (ix). With *Mon Journal*, readers learn about North-West Oblate history more broadly, for as Raymond Huel argues, Doucet is "characteristic of the French Oblates who abandoned family and country to serve in the Canadian North-West" (ix). Readers also learn about Doucet as an exceptional man: he was "the first Catholic priest ordained in Alberta", where he served for sixty-nine years, and he "was the first Oblate assigned to the Blood and Peigan Reserves" (ix). The memoir published in *Mon Journal* details the first decades of Doucet's career in the North-West—it begins with his arrival on the Prairies as a twenty-one-year-

old brother who had not completed his theological training and concludes with his life as a forty-three-year-old priest who had worked among the Métis, Plains Cree, Blackfoot, Stoney bands, and Whites (vii, 21-22).

Readers can interpret Doucet's writing and recollections in French or English because *Mon Journal* features accessible, nuanced versions of Doucet's journal in both languages. The English translation smooths over idiosyncrasies and includes concise biographical and historical footnotes, striking "a balance between faithfulness to the original journal and comprehensibility in the target language" (27). Readers seeking the original, 264-page manuscript will find the French transcript "faithful… with the only changes being the inevitable consequences of converting a hand-written manuscript into a word-processed document" (6). Evans and Giguère carefully note and explain these changes in the introduction and in footnotes (25-27). Page numbers corresponding to the original manuscript are noted in the English translation and the French transcript, allowing readers to move easily between the two.

Throughout the book, Evans and Giguère provide readers with the context necessary for interpretation. For example, although the journal was written in the style of a contemporaneous memoir, Evans and Giguère determine that it was a retrospective work by analyzing chronological irregularities, grammatical shifts, and explanatory passages that reveal Doucet's awareness of "future" events and readers. Evans and Giguère argue that Doucet compiled his field notes between 1908 and 1927 with the goal of reconstructing the cultural practices of the Siksikaitsitapi/Blackfoot Confederacy (6-13). The final product is published in *Mon Journal*.

The editors also provide context for readers in the appendix, which contains biographical notes, a bibliography, an English index, and a French index. The biographical notes are particularly impressive. Alphabetized by last name, they include detailed information on 144 individuals. These people include Oblate priests, Oblate lay brothers, and Grey Nuns; Blackfoot chiefs, Plains Cree leaders, and Métis farmers; Hudson's Bay Company officers, North-West Mounted Police officers, and Indian agents. The appendix is an invaluable resource for this bilingual edition.

In their analysis of Doucet's journal, Evans and Giguère focus on topics that would interest historians of Indigenous history and Catholic history. They argue that Doucet's memoir is an "important repository of information relating to *la mission ambulante* and pre-provincehood Alberta" (25). To support this claim, they provide valuable historical context about the Roman Catholic Church, Léon Doucet, and *la mission ambulante*, "the missions which took place amongst Métis, Plains Cree, and Blackfoot bands on bison hunts" (5-25). And they note passages in Doucet's journal that would interest

scholars of pre-provincehood Alberta and Saskatchewan—such as accounts of Blackfoot and Cree Sun Dances, everyday life in Métis wintering villages, and Chief Crowfoot's death (5).

It seems ungrateful to ask for even more from such a wonderful volume, but *Mon Journal* would be stronger if the editors directly engaged other historians as well. For instance, historians of medicine and disability would be interested in the healing practices of the Oblates and of Alexis Cardinal, a Métis guide, interpreter, and healer who Doucet identifies as having "fits of madness" (45-46, 213-214; 90, 256-257). Environmental historians would appreciate the human-bison and human-horse relationships explored in the journal (48, 216; 193, 354-355). Historians of gender and women would welcome the analysis of gendered religious practices and the representations of Indigenous women like Pitikookwew (159-160, 321-322; 58, 226). And political historians would profit from the descriptions of Treaty 7 in 1876 and the North-West Resistance/the Riel Uprising in 1885 (96-98, 262-263; 148-150, 311-312). *Mon Journal* admirably fulfils its purpose as a significant primary source, but more analysis might have widened the book's potential audience.

Historians still should welcome this book as a major achievement. Father Léon Doucet's journal was a little-known, French, hand-written account with "idiosyncratic spellings, grammar and capitalization" (vii). Evans and Giguère have brought Doucet's retrospective account of life on the Prairies to a bilingual audience. The book's French transcription, English translation, and detailed biographical and geographical contextualization are ideal for researchers. I hope the Historical Society of Alberta publishes Doucet's subsequent journals in a similar style. *Mon Journal* is an invaluable resource for religious, social, environmental, and political historians of the nineteenth-century North-West—and everyone interested in Indigenous-Catholic contact on the continent.

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Michael McBane. *Bytown 1847: Élisabeth Bruyère & the Irish Famine Refugees*. Ottawa: Michael McBane, 2022. 332 pages. $25.00 Paperback.

In *Bytown 1847: Élisabeth Bruyère and the Irish Famine Refugees*, Ottawa-area historian Michael McBane has written a fascinating account of the influx of Irish Famine immigrants to Bytown in 1847. Brilliantly timed to coincide with the 175th anniversary of "Black '47," McBane's work is an important addition to the historiography of the Irish Famine and its impact on Canada.

His focus is the role of the Sisters of Charity in Bytown's response to the influx, and specifically on the leadership of the order's Superior, twenty-nine year old Sr. Élisabeth Bruyère. McBane makes abundantly clear the vital importance of the Sisters, not only to the response to the sick and dying famine immigrants, but he frequently connects the Sisters' efforts in the 1840s to medical institutions in present-day Ottawa, and persuasively demonstrates the importance of Bruyère's leadership, despite sectarian obstacles, to the broader development of the city.

The influx of Irish Famine migrants to Bytown was not as significant as that of Kingston or Toronto, but to a town of just 5,000 the arrival of approximately 3,000 sick and destitute emigrants in 1847 was cataclysmic. Their arrival could not have come at a worse time. A reduction in preferential tariffs on Canadian lumber the previous year had hurdled Bytown into an economic downturn, reducing the town's population, filling its streets with unemployed lumbermen, and provoking bankruptcies that left storefronts vacant. To prevent the arrival of more emigrants, operations on the Rideau Canal were suspended in early August and public buildings were shuttered for most of the summer as the town grappled with the crisis.

Immigrants to Bytown were received by emigrant agent George Burke and physician Edward Van Cordlandt who worked to provide food, shelter, and medical assistance in the temporary sheds erected for that purpose on the canal side, where the National Arts Centre is today, and on what is now Parliament Hill. The Sisters of Charity, led by Bruyère, worked tirelessly, washing, feeding, and treating the sick in a temporary Emigrant Hospital constructed on land owned by the Sisters. The Sisters operated Bytown's General Hospital, but due to the demands of the emigrant arrivals and the potential for the spread of typhus to the general population, they ceded its operation to volunteers from the Ladies of Charity.

McBane has left no stone unturned offering a thorough account of the social, economic, and religious context of Bytown in the mid-1840s. The breadth of his archival research is particularly impressive; however, researchers looking to follow the paper trail, particularly for records held at the notoriously difficult to access Archdiocese of Ottawa, may be frustrated by the lack of bibliography and occasionally incomplete footnotes. Readers researching Famine immigrants in the Bytown area will be thrilled by the extensive lists of orphans housed at Bytown, as well as individuals treated in the city's Emigrant Hospital, drawn from the records of the Sisters of Charity (held at the City of Ottawa Archives), and transcribed in an appendix. While the genealogical value of these lists is clear, they also have the effect of driving home the scale, the mortality, and the youth of the 1847 cohort for all readers.

Not surprisingly given the centrality of Bruyère to the history and the narrative, the treatment of Bytown's religious context is particularly strong. This is a welcome and much-needed variation to the usual treatment of global Irish Famine migration. McBane draws on a plethora of marvellous sources to craft his narrative including: Bruyère's correspondence with her colleagues in Montreal and the memoirs of Fr. Damase Dandurand, the Oblate missionary who ministered in Bytown that summer. Both offer eyewitness accounts, personal details, and searing stories of extraordinary suffering and heroism, not usually recounted in the files of government emigrant agents, nor with such effect in the extant newspapers. Particularly compelling to this reader was the discussion of the religious practice of Bytown's Roman Catholics in 1847. Scenes surrounding the dedication of a statue of St. Joseph, a gift from the Oblate Superior-General in July of 1847, reveal the connections Bytown's Catholics made with their faith and the ongoing crisis and persuasively demonstrate the extent to which the Famine influx affected all facets of life in Bytown. McBane leaves his readers with little doubt of the lasting impact the summer of 1847 had on the development of Bytown, and the absolute centrality of Elisabeth Bruyère and the Sisters of Charity to its history.

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John W. O'Malle y, S.J. *The Education of a Historian: A Strange and Wonderful Story*. Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2021. v + 192 pages. $30.00 Cloth.

Without significant controversy, one could claim that John O'Malley S.J. has been the single most consequential historian of Catholicism of the last century. His scholarly career is perhaps singular in terms of the breadth of his expertise. As he enters his mid-nineties, Fr. O'Malley is the leading living historian on a Council of Trent, the First Vatican Council, the Second Vatican Council, and the Jesuits. He is also a renowned expert on the Renaissance and has written extensively on the papacy and a variety of other themes in Church history. This book documents O'Malley's remarkable life from his humble beginnings in Ohio to his Jesuit formation, his time in Rome, and his academic career at Harvard and Georgetown. It is a fascinating book that provides insight into O'Malley's development as a historian over nearly a century.

O'Malley's story begins in Tiltonsville, Ohio, where he grew up in the Depression as an only child of loving parents. He recalls his Polish priest, the nun who was his devoted piano teacher, and his dreams of life as a

foreign correspondent. Other callings intervened, however, and O'Malley joined the Jesuits in 1946. O'Malley writes with fondness about his Jesuit formation and how the Spiritual Exercises, his training in Latin, and the rigours required of his academic training served him well in his career as a historian. Throughout the book, the reader is drawn to the degree to which his vocations as priest, historian, and friend are enmeshed. Although the subjects of his research are front and centre in the book, his Jesuit family is ever-present, as are his devotions to his friends, who often help shape the direction of his research via correspondence and over lunch-conversations and breaks in the archive.

One fascinating section of the book describes a reality familiar to most historians, where ideas or claims made outside the scholarly community cause us to reflect on our work on the inside. Fr. O'Malley recounts his participation in General Congregation 33 in 1983, which elected Peter-Hans Kolvenbach Superior General of the Society of Jesus. O'Malley describes the tensions between the Jesuits and the Papacy that existed at this time, mostly resulting from the order's work with Liberation Theology in South America. O'Malley and the other delegates at the congregation (which included Jorge Mario Bergoglio, the future Pope Francis) began to think carefully about the infamous Jesuit "Fourth Vow," often characterized as a vow of "loyalty to the Pope." O'Malley is thus thrust into a new project of telling the story of the early days of the order, which ultimately takes form as his ground-breaking book *The First Jesuits* (1993). His research placed the vow in a new light related more to missions and ministry than blind loyalty. *The First Jesuits* also elevated the place of Jerome Nadal to a more central role for the nascent order and re-oriented how Jesuits themselves considered the foundational aspects of the Society. In short, he had done what he describes in the book's epilogue as "the historian's task…to make the memory of the corporate past operative in our lives."

The degree to which the Second Vatican Council permeates O'Malley's telling of his life is another striking aspect of the book. The council takes place at a time when he is coming of age as a historian and a priest. He lived in Rome during the second period of the council in 1963, while on a fellowship with the American Academy in Rome. His memoir provides a very interesting perspective on this most consequential moment of twentieth-century Catholicism. He is both inside and outside the council. He knows some of Vatican II's important figures in passing or from the point-of-view of an academic, but his memoir still provides the perspective of the Catholic everyman. He writes of the excitement over John XXIII's opening of the council, the eagerness with which he and his fellow Jesuits await news (and gossip) from the halls of power, and, most importantly for his career, the degree to which the rhetorical style and approach of the council signaled for

him a key to both unlocking the vision of the council as well as the larger history of the Church. These are themes O'Malley investigates in detail in his *What Happened at Vatican II?* (2008) but his memoir makes clear that discerning style in his source material is central to his larger approach.

The richly detailed telling of his early career found throughout the book tends to wane in the final chapter. This chapter addresses *all* of O'Malley's work on the Church councils in relatively short order, which renders it rather rushed. Still, however, O'Malley's humanity shines through as he modestly shrugs at honour after honour, rates his Zoom classes brought on by the pandemic as "not that bad," or commits to his retirement at 93 because he "was getting up there."

In his own words, *The Education of a Historian* tells us about John O'Malley the man, the historian, and the Jesuit priest. Along the way, it reveals much about the communities to which he has devoted his life. Religious orders, churches, departments, universities, and lunch-tables are made richer by the presence of historians like Fr. O'Malley. His memoir provides a fascinating reflection on his life's work and an inspiration for the next generation of people who will continue it.

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