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Peter Ludlow is the former President of the CCHA and the current Editor of *Historical Studies*. The author of several publications related to social history in Canada, his latest book, *Disciples of Antigonish: Catholics in Nova Scotia 1880-1960* was published by McGill-Queen's University Press in 2022. He is currently co-editing a Festschrift in honour of the Nova Scotian historian and genealogist Terrence Punch.

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Editors' Foreword

For long-time readers, Volume 89 of *Historical Studies* will appear much different. Volume 88 marked the end of our long partnership with *Études d'histoire religieuse*, the journal of the *Société canadienne d'histoire de l'Église catholique*. While *Études d'histoire religieuse* now publishes wholly online, *Historical Studies* will continue publication in paper format (a digital copy will eventually be made available on our website). The upshot of this new arrangement is that the journal is substantially smaller in size than it was in years past.

Due to our specialization in Canadian Catholic history, we expect submissions to *Historical Studies* to ebb and flow. We continue to rely heavily on our annual conference to identify and obtain papers for the journal, and while the recent virtual conferences were a way of maintaining our association during the global pandemic, they were not useful in cultivating relationships or identifying papers. Moreover, during the pandemic many scholars were unable to carry-out research and that has also had an impact on submissions. Thankfully, we returned to in-person conferences in 2023 and we look forward to reconnecting with scholarly community.

Historical Studies has long been a venue for first time authors and we will continue to help graduate students and early career researchers get their research into print. Despite our challenges, in our era of polemics, *Historical Studies* remains committed to publishing high-quality and impactful scholarly papers on the history of Catholicism in Canada or on topics that have a connection to the Canadian Catholic experience. This now includes historiographical articles that summarize and assess new trends and developments in Catholic history, as well as reviews of new books that significantly effect our understanding of Catholic history.

We feel that our broadened mandate will help us appeal to a wider audience. In this issue, for example, Mark McGowan's article on John Sargent Moir (1926-2012) speaks to the career of an eminent historian who was keen to explore Protestant-Catholic relations in Canada. Active within various societies such as the Canadian Society of Presbyterian History and the Canadian Catholic Historical Association, Moir's career will appeal to readers who live in an increasingly "post-denominational" era. With books such as *The Church in the British Era* (1970), Moir called for a more nuanced examination of Christianity in Canada and shunned many of "the simplistic binaries," as McGowan puts it, "that had ensnared historians before him."

Interestingly, by focusing on Moir's failure to obtain funding from the Social Science and Humanities Council late in his career, McGowan draws attention to the changes in historiographical trends that affected many contributors and readers of this journal.

My own contribution to this issue explores the complicated relationship between Church leadership in Nova Scotia and the Indigenous Mi'kmaw faithful in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Using sources primarily from Church archives, and writing from the perspective of Church leadership, I examine some of the factors that led the Church to collaborate with Ottawa on a failed policy of centralization in the 1940s. While Mi'kmaw scholars will have their own perspectives on these events, the archives offer an opportunity for historians to try and understand the rationale for some of the many decisions that were made which impacted (often negatively) Indigenous Catholics across Canada.

As always, we are grateful to the community of scholars who make *Historical Studies* possible.

Peter Ludlow
Colin Barr
Paul F. Armstrong

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John Sargent Moir, Catholic-Protestant Relations, and the Writing of Canadian Religious History[1]

Mark G. McGowan

Abstract: *From the mid-1960s to his retirement in 1989, John Sargent Moir was considered among the "deans" of religious historians in Canada. He wrote voluminously on nearly every Christian denomination in Canada and penned a masterful history of the Presbyterian Church. His lifelong interest, however, was the history of Protestant-Catholic relations in Canada, which often appeared as a subtext in many of his books and articles focused on denominational history, Church and State relations, or religious biography. Late in his career, he prepared to write a magnum opus on Protestant-Catholic relations, but the historiographical trends had changed in an increasingly secularized historical profession and in Canada as a whole. This paper explores the various dimensions of his irenic and ecumenical approach to history.*

Résumé : *Du milieu de la décennie 1960 jusqu'à sa retraite en 1989, John Sargent Moir est vu comme l'un des « doyens » de la communauté des historiens du religieux au Canada. Auteur prolifique de travaux sur pratiquement toutes les dénominations chrétiennes du Canada, il a aussi rédigé une imposante histoire de l'Église presbytérienne. Le point focal de ses recherches, souvent implicite dans ses livres et ses articles sur l'histoire des confessions religieuses, des relations entre l'Église et l'État et des biographies religieuses, se concentre toutefois sur l'histoire des échanges entre protestants et catholiques au Canada. À la fin de sa carrière, il s'apprête à rédiger un magnum opus sur la relation entre protestants et catholiques, au moment où l'historiographie est appelée à changer, suivant une laïcisation de plus en plus manifeste au sein de la profession historienne, ainsi qu'au Canada en général. Ce texte traite des diverses facettes qui illustrent son approche irénique et œcuménique de l'histoire.*

John Moir was clearly dejected. It was the early spring, 1986, and his teaching career at the University of Toronto was winding towards a possible early retirement. He had planned a big book, perhaps one that would bring

1. An original version of this essay was presented as the Presidential Address to the Canadian Society of Church History, University of Victoria, British Columbia, June 2013.

together many of the strands of research and writing that had marked nearly 40 years of his historical research in Canadian religious history. The new project was to be a history of Protestant-Roman Catholic relations in Canada. He had sought experts from both English and French Canada to support his application for a major research grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC). He had confided in this author that, although this research would be his stamp on the question, it was also another of what he called the "trial balloons" that marked his career in writing Canadian history. Moir referred to himself, in jest, as a garden variety historian who was merely sending up a series of trial balloons on everything from Canadian Presbyterianism, Church-State relations, religious education, and Biblical criticism, that were launched to allow colleagues and students to take aim at them with their own scholarship and try to either let them fly or burst them with suitable evidence. Unfortunately, that spring news of SSHRC's negative decision shot the *magnum opus* balloon out of Moir's hands before he had a chance to launch it. While Moir may have taken SSHRC's uninterest in his project as a rejection of his scholarship, what lay behind the decision not to grant the funds may have resided more deeply in the historiographical and social changes in the discipline and the Canadian academy itself.

There is little doubt that from the 1950s though to the early 1980s, John Moir and his colleague John Webster Grant were the pre-eminent historians of Canadian Christianity. There were many facets of Moir's scholarship and academic career—the engagement of colonial particularism and European traditions in the Canadian Churches, the Canadianization of Christianity, the Churches and Nation-building, and denominational history, particularly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. On these subjects Moir's writing was vast and his influence on the writing of Church history in Canada resonated well beyond those Canadian scholars only interested in religion. Nevertheless, within each of these areas, Moir often came back to a common theme as echoed by George M. Grant, whom he often quoted on the subject: "Even in the cities, where there is the closest association of Protestant and Romanist in commercial, industrial, and political life, the two currents of religious life flow side-by-side as distinct from each other as the St. Lawrence and the Ottawa after their conjunction. But the rivers do eventually blend into one. The two currents of religious life do not."[2] Implicit in Moir's work were such questions as: How could issues of loyalty and nation-building bring Christian churches closer together? Did Canadianization invariably lead to greater

2. John S. Moir, "Toronto's Protestants and Their Perceptions of their Roman Catholic Neighbours," in Mark G. McGowan and Brian P. Clarke (eds.), *Catholics at the Gathering Place: Historical Essays on the Archdiocese of Toronto, 1841-1991* (Toronto: CCHA and Dundurn Press, 1993), 325.

ecumenical understanding? To what extent did language trump religion as a focus of identity in Canada? To what extent did continuing European influences mitigate against greater communion between Protestants and Roman Catholics? These questions played heavily in Moir's understanding of Protestant-Catholic relations in Canada, and these queries were the product of both his historical training and the "signs of the times" of the Canada in which he lived. Whether explicit or not, denominational relations lay at the heart of John Moir's exploration of religion in Canadian life.

The son of Richard and Hazel Moir, John Moir was born in Toronto on 14 February 1926 (he was raised in Parkdale). Having graduated from Victoria College in 1948 as a successful recipient of a BA in the University of Toronto's very demanding Honours History program, John's professors urged him to continue his studies at the graduate level. Under the watchful eye of constitutional historian, Chester Martin, John delved into an area of Canadian history to which few professional historians had given much consideration—the history of the Christian churches in Canada. Of course, Church histories had been written but generally they were commissioned by the churches themselves, were self-laudatory, or written by clergy or dedicated (and sometimes uncritical) laypeople. John wrote an MA thesis on the *Christian Guardian*, a Methodist weekly, and one of Protestant Canada's premier denominational newspapers.[3] Although at the time he was an active member in the United Church, Moir wrote the history with all the critical and analytic skills he had gleaned from his training at the University of Toronto. He had broken new ground, and this was recognized by senior members of his department.

Moir, however, did not seem to recognize how innovative he had actually been in pursing Church history in Canada in this way. As a doctoral student, he laboured under the supervision of the eminent Canadian historian, Donald Grant Crieghton, who urged Moir to continue pursuing Canadian religious history—an open field as far as the elder historian was concerned. Moir's resultant dissertation on the relationship between the churches and the state in Canada West set him on the road to being one of Canada's pioneer historians of its own religious history—written from the perspective of a professional historian. Published in 1959, *Church and State in Canada West*[4] was the first of many of his books, articles and collections that explored a wide variety

3. Derived from his thesis was "Egerton Ryerson, The Christian Guardian, and Upper Canadian Politics, 1829-1840," reprinted in Paul Laverdure (ed.), *Christianity in Canada: Historical Essays, John S. Moir* (Yorkton, SK: Redeemer's Voice Press, 2002): 82-94.

4. John S. Moir, *Church and State in Canada West: Three Studies in the Relation of Denominationalism and Nationalism, 1841-1867* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959).

of subjects: the development of Christian Churches in pre-Confederation Canada, the history of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, the survival of Huguenot Christians in Catholic New France, the development of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto, the history of Biblical criticism in Canada, aspects of the life of nearly every Protestant denomination in the county, the editing of letters of Presbyterian missionaries in eastern Canada, and the documents of a Roman Catholic Oblate missionary in western Canada. His work was ecumenical, balanced, well-researched, and open to new questions and pathways for further exploration.[5]

Moir's work bore the influence of Creighton, whether he might admit it or not. Uncomfortable with jargon, paradigms, and models constructed by more social scientific historians, in the fashion of his mentor Moir preferred history that was written as an interplay between character and circumstance. Each of Moir's books bore the imprint of both historical movements and the significant persons who contributed to them: John Strachan, Egerton Ryerson, Charles Inglis, Joseph-Octave Plessis, James MacGregor, J.G. Shearer, Armand de Charbonnel, or T.T. Shields. He was a historian of his generation who incorporated Arthur R.M. Lower's ideas of the two solitudes of Canadian life, Creighton's Laurentian thesis of nation building from the St. Lawrence corridor outwards, JMS Careless' postulations that metropolitan areas had broad hinterlands that were economically, politically, and socially dependent upon them, and Herbert Butterfield's Whig sense of a progressive march of constitutional democracy under the freedom accorded by the British Crown. Ideas of loyalty, identity, mission, and sectarianism became central themes in Moir's writing of Church history in Canada. He was also typical of his generation in that he wrote about men and politics, with little acknowledgement of emerging studies of gender and class.

Moir's thinking was also influenced by the professional company that he kept. In 1960, several Church historians met at Victoria College, University of Toronto, at the inaugural meeting of the Canadian Society of Church History. The CSCH became a means for those interested in the history of Christian churches, regardless of denominational affiliation, to meet and engage each other on matters of common scholarly interest. The Society was predominantly male, with a good smattering of clergy, and ecumenical. When reflecting in 1979 on the evolution of the CSCH over its first twenty years, Moir may not have been as accurate about characterizing the society as "hitherto largely by Protestants, for Protestants and about Protestants."[6]

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5. A nearly complete bibliography of Moir's scholarly work appears in Laverdure (ed.), *Christianity in Canada*,162-168

6. John S. Moir, "Twenty Years Retrospect: The Canadian Society of Church History," Canadian Society of Church History *Papers* (1979): 81.

While the majority of Moir's colleagues may have met this description, and while for a period of time the CSCH reflected this, the early years were more diverse than it might appear at first glance. Its first President, H.H. Walsh, was a Protestant who specialized in the Catholics of New France. Catholic participants in the early years of the CSCH included Resurrectionist priest George Boyle, Father J.E. Giguere, Jacques Monet, SJ, James McConica, CSB, Ambrose Raftis, CSB, Dr. Gregory Baum, Dr. Pierre Latellier, and Dr. Timothy Suttor.

The CSCH met independently within the religious colleges of southern Ontario—Victoria, Wycliffe, and St. Michael's College, McMaster—until its formal affiliation with the Learneds, sponsored by the Social Sciences and Humanities Federation (now Congress). Each spring, attendees were treated to papers from both Protestant and Catholic scholars, and, true to form, John Moir delivered his first paper to the Society in 1962, exploring sectarianism in the Canadian Churches—observing the differences between Canada and the United States in terms of strong Protestant affiliation to mainline churches, the formidable presence of the "other" in French Canadian Catholicism, and the relative weakness and obscurity of Canadian sects. Moir's research was essentially a response to the recently published works of Ernst Troesltsch and Richard Niebhur.[7] After serving as treasurer and secretary, Moir eventually became President of the CSCH in 1970.

In these early years of his career, John Moir was preoccupied with teaching, writing, and his ever-growing family (eventually eight children). In 1956, Moir accepted an assistant professorship at a fledgling Carleton University in Ottawa, where he taught for ten years, until an old colleague from Toronto, Professor J Maurice S. Careless, lured him back to the University of Toronto and its new Scarborough Campus in 1965. Moir remained at Scarborough (now UTSC) until his retirement in 1989. As a teacher of history, John Moir used his skill as a researcher and writer to produce several textbooks and edited collections of documents[8]; he was a professor who believed that teaching and research could be wed effectively to the benefit of both the professor and the student. His graduate students respected his intellect, his dedication to his craft and vocation, and appreciated his frank criticism. Most of all they loved his humanity—the way in which he treated students as whole persons, with complicated and multifaceted lives. He maintained a full teaching load of graduate and undergraduate courses and the supervision of numerous graduate students in the Department of History at the University of Toronto, the Toronto School

7. Laverdure, (ed.), *Christianity in Canada*, 25

8. Textbooks included *Northern Destiny* (Toronto: Dent, 1970) and *Changing Perspectives of Canadian History* (Toronto: Dent, 1967).

of Theology, the Centre for the Study of Religion at UofT, and the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. He also served a term as President of the Ontario Historical Society and was a co-founder of the Canadian Society of Presbyterian History (a church to which he converted in 1972) and was an active member in the Canadian Catholic Historical Association (CCHA) and the Canadian Historical Association. Moir was the recipient of an Honorary Doctorate of Divinity from Presbyterian College (Montreal), the George E Clerk Award (1991) from the CCHA, and the Sesquicentennial Medallion from the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto.

The Clerk Award and the Toronto Archdiocesan Medallion signaled the significance of Moir's ongoing interest in the relations between Canada's Protestants and Roman Catholics, an engagement that formed the warp and woof of Canadian religious life until the late 1960s. Although born and raised Protestant, he had many Catholic relatives and later colleagues with whom he engaged in friendly but spirited discussion about things religious. Father James McGivern, SJ, of Toronto and Professor Pierre Savard of the University of Ottawa were both lifelong collaborators and friends. Moir, himself, owned a copy of St. Jerome's Vulgate which he used, in its original Latin text, while attending Sunday services at Markham's Presbyterian Church. His fascination with things Catholic, how the Church engaged Canadian politics, its minority status, how it addressed issues of loyalty to the Crown or confronted Protestant neighbours, were themes he took up in several essays and two of his most significant monographs—*The Church in The British Era* and *Church and State in Canada West*. Similarly, these same themes appeared throughout his collections of edited documents and in his special collection, *Church and Society*, for which he was commissioned by the Archdiocese of Toronto in 1991, in preparation for its 150th anniversary celebrations.[9]

It was late in his career that Moir finally articulated his frameworks in which Catholic-Protestant relations could be discussed within Canadian historiography. At a conference commemorating the 150th anniversary of the Archdiocese of Toronto, he penned an essay that provided both a chronology that periodized Protestant-Catholic relations in Canada, but also categorized the type of scholarship that was generally at play in the field. His periods unconsciously bore the perspective of a scholar who was steeped in the history of central Canada, since events in both Atlantic Canada and the Prairie West did not fit neatly into the periods described. Moir regarded the colonial

9. John S. Moir, *The Church in the British Era: From the British Conquest to Confederation* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1972) and *Church and Society: Documents on the Religious and Social History of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto from the Archives of the Archdiocese* (Toronto: Archdiocese of Toronto, 1991).

period up to about the mid-1840s as a period of official and popular toleration between Christians; this was followed by a period of sectarian activity and occasional violence lasting until after the Second World War; finally, the late twentieth century was marked by a period of peaceful co-existence, particularly in the post-Vatican II period which ushered in a more ecumenical age. Moir was cautious, however, about the limitations of the periods, given the nature of how historians viewed the question of Protestant-Catholic relations as a totality. He clearly demarcated three approaches that had characterized how the question had been explored by his colleagues and peers: there were those who had seen Protestant-Catholic relations through a largely confrontational lens, with periods of breathing space between skirmishes; there were others of an irenic or ecumenical school—perhaps like himself—who uncovered positive relationships between the groups over the course of Canadian history. Such positive accounts often ran contrary to what might have been public perceptions of mutual animosity within Christ's body; and finally, there was a more recent sceptical school that tended to see less of a pattern to Protestant-Catholic relations and more a certain degree of shallowness in the public rapprochement between the two groups, suggesting a creeping indifference in a time when religion in Canada, notably the late twentieth century, was becoming increasingly privatized.[10]

Where Moir situated himself within these broad categories is a little harder to ascertain. Anyone reading his first book, *Church and State and Canada West*, would assume that he was squarely in the confrontational school, particularly after reading his lively section on the foundation of separate schools in what is now Ontario. Here the battle lines are firmly drawn between the Irish Catholic immigrants, largely identified (though incorrectly) as the victims of the Famine, allied with French Canadian Catholic ultramontanes, squaring off against advocates of one common school system as espoused by Methodist Superintendent of Education, Egerton Ryerson or the amalgam of voluntarists, anti-Erastians, French Canadian anti-clericals, and Victorian liberals who rallied about the banners of George Brown's *Clear Grits* or A.A. Dorion's *Parti Rouge*. While perhaps, in his formative period as a writer, Moir may have appeared to have adopted the confrontationalist approach, his chosen time period (the 1840s and 1850s), his place of action (the United province of Canada), and the characters engaged in these circumstances (Armand de Charbonnel, Egerton Ryerson, George Brown) probably dictated how the analysis of the origins of Ontario's separate Catholic schools would unfold.[11]

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10. Moir, "Toronto's Protestants," 313-328.

11. Moir, *Church and State in Canada West: Three Studies in the Relation of Denominationalism and Nationalism*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), 129-180. See also his article "The Origin of the Separate School Question in Ontario,"

Moir seemed well aware of theses traps, usually the simplistic binaries, that had ensnared historians before him. In a later work, *The Church in the British Era* (1970), Moir was quick to demonstrate that the Canadians of the 1850s were not as easily pigeon-holed as some scholars had suspected:

> The 'fiery fifties' witnessed a triple polarization of forces within Canada—denominationalism opposing the new secular creed of liberal nationalism, Protestant opposing Catholic, and English opposing French. In part these tensions reflected an inherent ambiguity of the union—two "races", two ways of life, and two main branches of the Christian Church had been forced to reside together in a single state because of Durham's recommendations. Such a general characterization is admittedly a simplification of the complex interaction of many social, economic, political, and religious forces, for neither English nor French, Protestant nor Catholic, nor even particular denominations, thought, acted, reacted or voted *en bloc*. Nevertheless the picture of a community wracked by confrontations in virtually every aspect of life remains a valid one.[12]

With these early writings Moir had provided an important corrective to Arthur R.M. Lower's "Two Ways of Life," a seminal essay published in 1943 on Canada's two solitudes—English Protestants and French Catholics—living out separate lives akin to the comments made in Lord Durham's Report about two nations warring in the bosom of a single state.[13] Moir, however, acknowledged the struggle, but exposed battle lines, generals, and "troops" that were less easy to stereotype.

Moir's writing would reveal a far more irenic approach to Protestant-Catholic relations, perhaps conditioned by his reading of the complexity of the engagement of character and circumstance in the colonial period. His penchant to see the positive in sectarian relations certain becomes evident in one of his most valuable contributions to Canadian scholarship, *The Church in the British Era*, the middle volume of Ryerson Press's valiant effort to chronicle the history of Christianity in Canada, featuring a volume on New France by H.H. "Nick" Walsh, and a reprinted volume on modern Canada by John Webster Grant. In the course of exploring religious relations in British North America after 1760, Moir suggested the inevitable clash between the European principle of *cuius regio, huius religio* really never materialized in the British conquered territories which now constitute Ontario and Quebec. In what should have been, by European standards, a time when the British

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Canadian Journal of Theology, 2 (1959): 105-118, which was a concise distillation of his first monograph.

12. Moir, *Church in the British Era*, 178.

13. Arthur R.M. Lower, "Two Ways of Life: The Primary Antithesis of Canadian History," Canadian Historical Association *Report* (1943). Gerald M. Craig (ed.), *Lord Durham's Report* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, Carleton Library, No. 1, 1963), 22-23.

conquerors might have attempted to convert the local Roman Catholic majority to the King's faith (Anglican), became a period when character appeared to intervene to redirect circumstances. Moir discovered leaders on each side of the religious divide who made compromises and chose to work together for the greater good, rather than take the newly acquired British territories through protracted sectarian struggles and potential religious warfare.

In the process of unpacking the first half century after the conquest, Moir focused on the Catholic-Protestant coexistence as stabilized by the cooperative, and at times genial, relations between Governor James Murray and Bishop Jean-Olivier Briand and, later, Governor Sir Guy Carleton, (Lord Dorchester), Briand, and his successor Bishop Joseph-Octave Plessis. Collectively these men effected compromises that would assure the loyalty of the Catholic clergy to the British crown and thereby the stability of the colonies in the face of ongoing troubles in what would become the United States. In exchange for their loyalty to the state, Plessis and Briand won concessions from the Crown such as the Quebec Act, in 1774, which secured for the Old Province of Quebec, toleration and freedom of worship for Catholics. Unlike in Britain itself, and other Imperial territories, Catholics in British North America would be exempt from the Penal Laws and Test Acts; they could vote, stand for public office, and aspire to the liberal professions. On-going loyalty was professed by Plessis, who issued a *mandement* in support of the British defence of Canada in 1812. Plessis, who would later be rewarded with a salary from the Crown, and the unofficial title of Archbishop, provides for Moir the image of how Catholic-Protestant relations "might" be in Canada. In Moir's writing, Plessis appears as the model bishop, devout in his religious principles, attendant to the faithful with whom he is entrusted, loyal to the Crown, and co-operative in his relationships with the ruling Protestant elites. Plessis joins John Strachan, Egerton Ryerson, Charles Inglis, and James MacGregor as one of the heroic Christian personalities of *Church in the British Era*.[14]

Moir often used the Plessis/Briand model as a framework by which he could evaluate denominational relations in other colonies at other times. In Nova Scotia, Father Edmund Burke of Halifax, later Bishop Burke, is one such character, who is both loyal to his Church and to his monarch. Burke might have theological dust ups with local Protestant leaders over matters of doctrine, but at an official level he is one in whom Lieutenant Governor Dalhousie can have complete confidence. Through Dalhousie's

14. Moir, *Church in the British Era*, 69-78. Moir, ed., *Church and State in Canada, 1627-1867: Basic Documents* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, Carleton Library Series, no. 33, 1967), 134-135.

confidence and cooperation, concessions in education and church building were conceded to Catholics by the state. Similarly, in Upper Canada, Scots emigrant Alexander Macdonell, the first Bishop of Upper Canada, and Nova Scotia-born Michael Power, the first Bishop of Toronto, are depicted very much in the Plessis "loyalist" mode. Macdonell's loyalty is unquestioned; Moir was clear about the Scotsman's raising of the first Catholic Regiment in the British Empire since the Reformation, his tireless efforts on behalf of the Tory and Ministerial elite of the colony—including John Strachan—his personal leadership of the defence of the eastern sections of the colony in the War of 1812, and the rapprochement achieved by the Bishop and the Orange Order in advance of the "loyalty election of 1836." [15]

For his own part, Michael Power, the first Roman Catholic bishop of Toronto (1841-1847) becomes another model of religious leadership for Moir. Born in Halifax in 1804, Power was educated first by the ultra-loyal Father Edmund Burke and then sent for religious formation and Holy Orders to Montreal and Quebec City. When appointed to the newly created see of Western Upper Canada, soon to be renamed Toronto, he immediately engaged in a co-operative and positive relationship with the governing elites of the United Province of Canada and became friends with Methodist luminary Egerton Ryerson, and Anglican Bishop John Strachan, who quickly put to rest a concern that two persons may not hold title to the same See according to apostolic tradition. Moir once again regarded the leadership offered by these three men as providing a positive example of how the provinces principal Christian denominations could co-exist, co-operate, and profess loyalty to a common Crown. In 1846 Ryerson appointed Power to the first School Board for Canada West's Common or Public Schools, which consisted of clerical and lay representatives of all the major Christian churches; Moir appears to delight in the fact that this ecumenical body elected Power its first chair. For Moir this is more than just a historical exercise in peaceful co-existence between churches; it is a foundational argument in the claims that separate schools in Ontario were not necessarily Catholic policy at the outset of educational reform in the Province. Power's untimely death from typhus in 1847 shocked the community and brought forth this near panegyric from Moir: "There can be no doubt that this tragic loss of an enlightened educationalist injuriously affected the future course of elementary education in the province. In fact, Bishop Power's co-operation with Ryerson in the scheme of national education seems to have been an embarrassment to the extreme advocates of Roman Catholic separate schools ever since."[16]

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15. Moir, *Church in the British Era*, 90-2. Laverdure, ed., *Christianity in Canada*, 110.

16. Moir, *Church and State in Canada West*, 136-8; Moir, *Church in the British Era,* 170-1 and 174; Moir, "Toronto's Protestants," 315.

It might be argued that Moir's somewhat irenic approach to Catholic-Protestant relations was most likely conditioned by the fact that he chose to focus much of his early scholarship on the elites of the pre-Confederation period, prior to the sectarian touchstones that marked the later nineteenth century: the Fenian raids, two Riel insurrections, the Equal Right Association, the Jesuits Estates Controversy, the Conscription Election of 1917, and the rise of the KKK in Saskatchewan in the 1920s and subsequent anti-Catholic legislation in that Province. Yet there is more to Moir's approach to Catholic-Protestant relations in Canadian history than just timing. When the aforementioned "fiery fifties" became a showcase of sectarian rhetoric and violence, Moir did not deny the polarization that occurred in colonies where once toleration and compromise were normative. Reading between the lines, Moir suggested that foreign influences were principally at the root of sectarianism. In the mid-nineteenth century, British and European seeds of discontent, when planted in Canada, germinated into denominational division and discord. Examples of imported discontent included Chalmers Great Disruption in the Presbyterian Church of 1843, the growth of modern Biblical criticism in the German universities, Tractarianism and the Oxford movement in the United Kingdom, and Ultramontanism in Rome and France. What is implied in Moir's writing is that these foreign troubles found a welcome home in some Canadian communities, thereby destroying the equilibrium that had been established by denominations and the relations between Churches and the state in an earlier period. Moir's writing latched on to themes of Canadian politics and religion as being expressions of the art of compromise, of which Confederation itself was a fitting example. While not necessarily an advocate of Canadian exceptionalism, Moir did often quote a rhyme from the 1830s that singled out the differences between Canada and the United States when it came to denominational relations: "Where sacreligious [sic] hands profane/Religion's Consecrated fane/The Convent's smoking ruins stain/A soil unblessed like Canada."[17] In one of his last essays on Protestant-Catholic relations, written in 1991 for the *Gathering Place* anthology, Moir saw Toronto's Belfast image less rooted in animosities between Catholic and Protestant citizens in that city, but more a Protestant anti-papalism and the political Catholicism that went with it. In other words, local Catholics might not be the enemy, but foreign Ultramontanism certainly was.[18]

Time and time again, Moir singled out the European Ultramontane movement and the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in the United Kingdom as potentially the worst disruptive force to denominational relations in Canada's history. The work of Bishop Frobin-Janson in his

17. Moir, "Toronto's Protestants," 315.
18. *Ibid*., 313-28.

preaching tours of Quebec, in the 1830s, provided toxic fuel for the Ultramontane fire which was soon ignited during the episcopates of Jean-Jacques Lartigue and Ignace Bourget of Montreal. As an ideology, Moir viewed Ultramontanism as becoming embedded in a class of French-Canadian politicians who disrupted the political life of the United Province of Canada; the same ideology eventually showed itself among the growing Irish population, which Moir traced (albeit erroneously) to the Great Famine. Just as Plessis, Briand, Burke, and Power personified a Catholicism that could work in a co-operative ethos with Protestants like Carleton, Dalhousie, Strachan, and Ryerson, Moir uncovered a collection of Canadian Ultramontanes who were non-compromising advocates of Catholicism, its relationship to the State, its role in education, and its place in the moral life of the nation. In addition, on the other side of the denominational fence he focused on some of the more vociferous voluntarist Protestant antagonists to the Canadian form of "papal aggression": George Brown of *the Globe*, Joseph Howe, and the Reverend Joseph Wild.[19]

Power's successor in Toronto, Comte Armand de Charbonnel, at times appeared to be Moir's "goat" as relations between the churches soured and disintegrated in the 1850s. Charbonnel, a French-born aristocrat and second Roman Catholic bishop of Toronto, was portrayed as a European who imported a virulent strain of Ultramontanism to Canada and was met with force in the political arena by Egerton Ryerson and George Brown. Moir did not mince words about what lay at the root of sectarian bitterness in central Canada. With evident sympathy to the Methodist leader, Moir used Ryerson's own words, unqualified, to identify the evil: "To this latest unequivocal demand [regarding separate Catholic schools], a demand which dominates the issue for the remainder of the Union, Ryerson replied that it originated in the 'new class of ideas and feelings' which de Charbonnel had introduced from Europe." [20] Moir was equally pointed in his identification of the Protestant foil in the sectarian breakdown. George Brown, ardent Free Kirk Presbyterian, anti-Erastian, and Victorian liberal, "took up a fiery cross which ultimately divided the province into two hostile armed camps, Roman Catholic versus Protestant. A century has passed but the heather is still burning, or at least smouldering."[21]

19. *Ibid*, 321.

20. Moir, *Church and State in Canada West, 150.* He softens his position, using only Ryerson's words and one reference to ultramontanism in his co-authored article on Charbonnel in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (1990). Nicolson was an ardent admirer of Charbonnel, which suggests that Moir's stand on the former bishop of Toronto was moderated somewhat in the joint authorship of the essay.

21. Moir, *Church and State in Canada West*, 145.

While the burning heather analogy suggests a century of sectarian struggle between the 1850s and when Moir was writing in 1959, Moir's eventual reading of the period would be far less incendiary. As he continues to write over the next twenty-five years, other themes in his writing converge with his interest in Catholic-Protestant relationships and may very well have modified what appears to be a more confrontational approach to his evaluation of inter-Church engagement. Moir's work was well-known for the trial balloons he sent up regarding the Canadianization of the Churches and the issue of loyalty. In two very important essays "The Problem of the Double Minority" published in *Social History-Histoire Sociale* in 1971, and "A Vision Shared" published in 1986 in a special volume of *Canadian Issues*, Moir began rethinking the binaries of Catholic-Protestant relations and discovered another level of complexity, one that had been under his nose since he first put pen to paper.[22] In each essay he mapped out the "double minority" thesis regarding English-speaking Catholics. The term was a play on the "double majority" principle which had been the unofficial manner of passing legislation in the legislature of the United Province of Canada, wherein bills specific to a section needed the majority of votes in that section and an over-all majority in the Assembly. In his double minority thesis, Moir concluded that English-speaking Catholics, mostly Irish and Scots, were a religious minority in Canada as a whole, and a linguistic minority in their own Church, when faced with French Canadian dominance. Moir then demonstrated that English-speaking Catholics were essentially torn between their religious ties to French Canadians and their evolving cultural similarities with Protestant Canadians, with whom they shared a common tongue. While there was no escaping the evident theological differences between the two communities, English-speaking Catholics and Protestants came to discover common ground on issues regarding politics, loyalty to the Crown and British institutions, and perhaps even a vision of what Canada might become. Indeed, there were bombastic individuals on both side of the religious divide who would prevent a close ecumenical bond, at least until the 1960s, but nevertheless the bilingual schools question in Ontario, education issues in New Brunswick, the South African war, and the two world wars provided sufficient evidence that the traditional binary of the two religious solitudes in Canada was overly simplistic. While he never explicitly stated such, Moir implied that the greater a group became Canadianized, the greater the possibility for positive inter-Church engagement.

22. Moir, "The Problem of a Double Minority: Some Reflections on the Development of the English-speaking Catholic Church in Canada in the 19th Century *Social History—Histoire sociale* 7 (April 1971), 53-67 and "A Vision Shared? The Catholic Register and Canadian Identity Before World War I," in *Canadian Issues—Thèmes canadiens* 7, Religion and Culture: Comparative Canadian Studies (1985): 356-66.

A definition of Canadianization is highly problematic, but in the earlier work "The Canadianization of the Protestant Churches,"[23] Moir had defined certain conditions germane to it: the growth of local leadership and an indigenous clergy, the elimination of trappings of Church establishment and the acquisition of legal status of a church, and a psychological affinity to Canada, wherein churches identify closely with the land, people, and ethos of Canada. [24] Moreover, as early as 1959, he had argued that the churches in Canada West were essentially experiencing a "centripetal nationalism"—essentially a sensibility that "sought to equate all creeds by separating them from the world of politics." For Moir, Ultramontanism was essentially un-Canadian, and its persistence kept Catholics from sharing this "Canadianization" fully.[25] At least this was his position early in his career. Upon further study and deeper reflection, he modified this position: the Quebec model of Church-State relations and separate schools in selected provinces notwithstanding, as Catholics outside of Quebec relinquished close ties with the state, they became more acculturated to a social environment in which they were on an equal footing with non-Catholic citizens. For Moir, English-speaking Catholics provided a bridge between the traditions, wherein links of language proved to be the first of many ties that might bind the two religious solitudes. He might even have extended the notion of Canadianization further by seeing the Confederation compromise in 1867 as the secular model through which the voluntaryist churches of Canada might be inspired to greater unity—in some cases this might mean organic union (a precursor to the well-known ecclesiastical unions of 1875, 1884, and 1925) and even perhaps a shared vision between some Catholics and Protestants in Canada.

Perhaps Moir was also broaching a new categorization of Protestant-Catholic relations which he never formally identified, although he wrote about it. Three levels of Catholic-Protestant interplay appear in his writings. First, these sectarian relationships were negotiated in a formal sense within the constitutions and laws of a country (as evidenced in the colonial period); secondly, Roman Catholic-Protestant relations could be witnessed and tracked in the public square, by means of political engagement and in the secular and religious press; and, finally, and not as well developed in his writing, Catholic-Protestant relations might be witnessed in the way religion was *lived on the ground*. This may be where he was headed when he wrote "Toronto's Protestants and Their Perceptions of their Roman Catholic Neighbours" in 1991. At a macro level, Catholics had equal rights

23. Moir, "The Canadianization of the Protestant Churches," Canadian Historical Association, *Report* (1966): 56-69.

24. Cited in Laverdure (ed.), *Christianity in Canada*, 40.

25. Laverdure (ed.), *Christianity in Canada*, 53.

in Canadian society—some would say on the educational issues more equal than others; in the public sphere there was an anti-papalism that permeated Protestant thought. However, in the area of lived religion, even when all hell might be breaking loose in the press, in some pulpits, and in the corridors of political power, ordinary Catholics and Protestants worked together, lived in the same neighbourhoods, ate together, voted for the same politicians, and married one another. In his essay on "Canadian Protestant Reaction to the *Ne temere* Decree,"[26] Moir had begun to reflect on lived religious circumstances: this time a Vatican regulation on the validity of Catholic marriages, and how it disrupted Catholic-Protestant relations. A key conclusion in this essay was Moir's contention that issues such as marriage—and the potential invalidity of mixed marriages—were vital to the way in which religion was lived on the ground. The possibility of Catholic partners abandoning their Protestant spouses, because of a non-canonical marital arrangement, had potentially devastating repercussions for women, children, and social institutions. Religion was a lived phenomena in Canada, and this is perhaps where good Catholic-Protestant relations mattered most. Moir was never able to explore these latter ideas very substantially, but he pointed to new directions which have been since taken up by other scholars[27]—that in the rhythms of Canadian life, English-speaking Catholics and Protestant found more in common than what has been historiographically or even popularly supposed. It may have been in this direction that the prospective SSHRC grant would have afforded him the liberty to write.

One cannot help but speculate that the timing of his project grant was not right. Canada had changed. It was a more multicultural and multi-faith world in which John Moir now worked and questions of secularization, which he spent little time discussing in his work, were now at the forefront of writing in Canadian Church history. The new debates about secularity and Canadian society were now squarely on the academic agenda with the works of Ramsay Cook, Marguerite Van Die, David Marshall, Phyllis Airhart, Michael Gauvreau, and in the suggestions made by John Webster Grant in the conclusion of his revised edition of *The Church in the Canadian Era*. Perhaps this new historiographical wave, and Moir's own personal witness to the secularization of his Canada, prompted him to write, in 1991, of a third and more sceptical school of Protestant-Catholic relations scholarship, that merely regarded the new ecumenism as a fig leaf trying to hide growing

26. Moir, "Canadian Protestant Reaction to the *Ne Temere* Decree, "Canadian Catholic Historical Association, Study Sessions, 48 (1981): 79-90.

27. 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) and McGowan, *The Imperial Irish: Canada's Irish Catholic Fight the Great War, 1914-1918* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017).

indifference to religion in Canada.[28] Whatever the case, it appeared, sadly, that the questions that he wished to raise about Protestant-Catholic relations, were no longer interesting to others engaged in the writing of Canadian history in an increasingly secular Canada.[29]

In the course of his career, however, John Moir won the respect, admiration, and even love of his students and colleagues for his integrity and professionalism as a scholar, and his abiding commitment to his students, both graduate and undergraduate. Former students and colleagues of John Moir shared with this author their impressions of Moir as a teacher, scholar, and friend. Almost all offered effusive praise of his scholarship, his "trial balloons," his humility in identifying himself as a garden-variety historian, his dedication to students, his wit, and his great humanity. His influence was felt among Catholic, Protestant, and agnostic scholars who appreciated his pioneering efforts in Canadian religious history. Regarding John's teaching, one former Catholic student commented: "His critiques tended towards the encouraging and supportive, rather than the cynical or censorious, while insisting on an uncompromising quest for thoroughness in research, accuracy in representation and balance in interpretation. As with many of the very best professors, I believe that he regarded his students as his teachers, fellow sojourners committed to the quest for knowledge. As to his character, I thought that the combination of an innate warmth and gentleness, matched with a deep humility, contributed to the development of a teacher focused on critical and compassionate service. In sum, I experienced him as a man of maturity, with sufficient accomplishment and integrated ego to welcome alternate or creative interpretations, perspectives and understandings. Within academia such maturity is not always present in great measure."[30]

In a review of Moir's first book, Thomas R. Millman, writing in the *Canadian Historical Review*, praised the book and its author by stating: "If the sound workmanship of *Church and State in Canada West* stimulates further intensive study of Canada's religious heritage and the production of more and better books about the place of the churches in our national story,

28. Moir, "Toronto's Protestants," 313.

29. David B. Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief, 1850-1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992); Michael Gauvreau, *The Evangelical Century: College and Creed in English Canada: From the Great Revival to the Great Depression* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991); Ramsay Cook, *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987); Marguerite Van Die, An Evangelical Mind: Nathanael Burwash and the Methodist Tradition in Canada (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989)

30. Email to the author from Dr. Brian Hogan, 27 March 2013.

the author will have done Canadian church history a good turn."[31] It was curious that Millman chose the Boy Scout terminology of a "good turn." In a similar homage, à la Baden Powell, a former colleague wrote saying: "If there are campfires in heaven where people tell great stories, I would like to be sitting next to him."[32] The good turns, became great turns, the many balloons were launched and floated, and we have all been the better for it.

31. Thomas Millman, "Review: *Church and State in Canada West: Three Studies in the Relation of Denominationalism and Nationalism, 1841-1867*" *Canadian Historical Review* XLI (1960): 78-79.

32. Email to the author from Dr. William Westfall, 3 April 2013.

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"Feeling the Responsibility for their Faith": Roman Catholic Leadership and the Mi'kmaq of eastern Nova Scotia[1]

Peter Ludlow

Abstract: *In 1941, the Federal Government asked the Roman Catholic Church in eastern Nova Scotia to participate in planning for the centralization of the province's Mi'kmaq into communities at Shubenacadie, Hants County, and Eskasoni, Cape Breton County. While local Catholic leaders were adamant that the policy was ill-advised, the Church did little to prevent the scheme. This article explores the complicated relationship between Catholic Church Leaders in Nova Scotia and their Mi'kmaw flock in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and explains how, by the 1940s, Church leadership had developed an ambivalent attitude toward its oldest constituency.*

Résumé : *En 1941, le gouvernement fédéral requiert la participation de l'Église catholique romaine de l'Est de la Nouvelle-Écosse, dans un effort pour regrouper les Mi'kmaq de la province en diverses communautés à Shubenacadie, dans le comté de Hants, et à Eskasoni, dans le comté de Cap-Breton. Malgré le désaccord manifeste des autorités locales catholiques, qui critiquent le bien-fondé du projet, l'Église en fait pourtant peu pour le bloquer. Cet article traite des échanges complexes intervenant entre les autorités cléricales catholiques de la Nouvelle-Écosse et les Mi'kmaq pratiquants, à partir du dix-neuvième siècle jusqu'au début du vingtième. Il démontre comment l'Église a fini par développer, à l'issue des années 1940, une attitude ambivalente face à sa plus ancienne communauté de fidèles.*

In the blustery grey autumn of 1941, Thomas Alexander Crerar, the Manitoba-born Federal Minister of Mines and Resources, and the politician responsible for Indian Affairs in the Mackenzie King government, wrote to the Archbishop of the Diocese of Antigonish, Nova Scotia, to outline the proposed centralization of the province's Mi'kmaq into reservations at Shubenacadie, Hants County, and Eskasoni, Cape Breton County (he had also written to Premier Alexander Stirling MacMillan and other provincial

1. My thanks to Elder John R. Prosper of Paqtnkek, Nova Scotia, for discussing this article and for offering his own historical materials.

officials). Referencing a recently submitted report prepared by bureaucrats dispatched to the Maritime Provinces to investigate the feasibility of centralization, he wanted Archbishop James Morrison to discuss the proposal with local clergy, and most especially those priests working with the St. Francis Xavier University (St. F.X.) Extension Department.[2] Experts on the economic and social conditions in the towns and villages of the region, Crerar felt that the opinions of "priests that have been in close contact with Indians over a period of years," and Extension fieldworkers "familiar with rural conditions and the areas that might be suitable for Indians," would be of "great assistance" in reaching a final policy decision.[3]

In 1941, the 80-year-old Archbishop Morrison was cautious, and as he was slow to respond, Crerar followed up five weeks later observing that no program of centralization could be successfully carried out without "the co-operation of [the] Church." Suggesting a meeting in Ottawa between federal bureaucrats and Catholic representatives, the Liberal member for the northern Manitoba riding of Churchill was hesitant to "bother" the archbishop but did so knowing his "strong interest in the moral and spiritual welfare of the Indians in [the] Province."[4]

Having canvassed some of his priests, in mid-December Morrison finally responded. Declining a formal meeting—the priest at Christmas Island, the nearest parish to Eskasoni, was "not enthusiastic about the scheme"—the prelate noted that centralization presented many difficulties. First, the "transplanting of the older people [would] be a source of trouble and complaint that [would] not die down for a long time, perhaps for generations." Second, the local clergy were extremely "chary about being listed as aggressors," and did not want to shoulder any responsibility for the scheme. Finally, besides concerns about moving people away from their traditional homes, Morrison felt strongly that Mi'kmaw Catholics would resist the proposal on economic grounds. As many were employed in the vicinity of their communities, they would "not easily consent to sacrifice their present existing opportunities to pioneer in new surroundings." It would be "the part of wisdom on the part of the department," the old Archbishop

2. On the St. Francis Xavier University Extension Department and its Antigonish Movement, see Santo Dodaro and Leonard Pluta, *The Big Picture: The Antigonish Movement of Eastern Nova Scotia* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012); James Cameron, *For the People: A History of St Francis Xavier University* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press,1996).

3. T.A. Crerar to James Morrison, 24 September 1941, Antigonish Diocesan Archives (hereafter ADA), Bishop James Morrison Papers (hereafter BMP), incoming letter#28364.

4. T.A. Crerar to James Morrison, 3 November 1941, ADA, BMP, incoming letter#27077.

counselled, to go among the Mi'kmaq to "explain to them purposes and the details of the proposed transfer, and to ascertain what their reaction may be to such a proposition." "At all events," he concluded, "nothing drastic should be attempted in carrying out [the] project, if it is to be put into action."[5]

Had this been the final word on the "risky proposition," Church leadership in Nova Scotia may have spared the faithful the ordeal of centralization. Yet while relocating Mi'kmaw Catholics from their ancestral homes was likely to cause "trouble," was economically flawed, and unpopular among the clergy, the Church did not interfere. As the Mackenzie King government was determined to implement the scheme, the clergy in eastern Nova Scotia cooperated with the proviso that Ottawa build a new church at Eskasoni and pay the salary of the resident priest.

The centralization of the Mi'kmaq in 1942 was a watershed moment in the long relationship between the Catholic Church in Nova Scotia and its Indigenous flock. Unlike other failed government policies, centralization brought particular attention to the generational marginalization of Mi'kmaw Catholics both within Church and society. Using primarily Church records, this paper will examine some critical factors and key moments that shaped the attitudes of mid-twentieth-century Catholic leaders toward their Mi'kmaw flock, and explore reasons why they passively supported Ottawa's plan to uproot their oldest constituency from their homes.

Holy Trinity Church at Waycobah c. 1940s.
Courtesy of Antigonish Diocesan Archive.

5. James Morrison to T.A. Crerar, 15 December 1941, ADA, BMP, outgoing letter#26795.

The Mi'kmaq and the Roman Catholic Church in Nova Scotia have a singular relationship.[6] By the seventeenth century, priests of the Society of Jesus maintained a small mission at Saint Ann, Cape Breton, and, by 1735, the "great apostle to the Mi'kmaq," Fr Pierre Maillard, was actively preaching in the evergreen forests of Cape Breton Island.[7] At scenic Chapel Island on the Bras d'Or Lake, the Mi'kmaq, some arriving from as far as Newfoundland, regularly gathered at Easter and Pentecost for religious devotions.[8] Through an ideographic manual of doctrine, catechism, and prayer, Fr Maillard successfully spread the Catholic faith, and prepared Indigenous leaders to act as catechists.[9] The resulting blend of Catholic ritual and ancient spiritual customs was unique within the Catholic world.[10]

In his history of Roman Catholicism in eastern Nova Scotia, Fr Angus Anthony Johnston, who served as Indian Agent for Pictou Landing from 1932-1938, noted that the Mi'kmaq were responsible for preserving the faith in Nova Scotia after the expulsion of the Acadian population and the

6. In 1610, Grand Chief Membertou was baptised at Port Royal. While some argue that this conversion "altered Mi'kmaq culture drastically," others have contended that it was done to "preserve and protect" Indigenous spirituality. See Leslie Jane McMillian, "Mi'kmmey Mawio'mi: Changing Roles of the Mi'kmaq Grand Council from the Early Seventeenth Century to the Present" (M.A. Thesis, Dalhousie University, 1996), 6 & 154; Robert Campbell, "Bridging Sacred Canopies: Mi'kmaq Spirituality and Catholicism," *Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, 2, 18 (1998): 301-311; Alex Dedam, "Native Spirituality and Christianity," in Robert M. Leavitt (ed.), *Maliseet and Micmac: First Nations of the Maritimes* (Fredericton: New Ireland Press, 1997), 114-115.

7. On Pere Maillard (1710-1762) see Norman McLeod Rogers, "Apostle to the Micmacs," *Dalhousie Review*, 6, 2 (1926): 166-176; John E. Burns, "The Abbé Maillard and Halifax," CCHA *Report*, 4 (1936-37): 13-22.

8. In 1923, a newspaper noted that for 150 years the spot from which Maillard preached on Chapel Island was "marked each successive season at the Feast of St. Anne by the building of a fire, whose ashes served to mark the place until the following year. In 1857, the location was permanently marked by the placing of a granite stone, having the date and a cross cut in its surface, and a small iron cross erected above it." The cross was placed on the stone in 1918 in memory of Grand Chief John Denny Jr. *The Casket*, 9 August 1923; Tom Sylliboy Sr, "St. Anne Mission 1990s," Unpublished Paper, 1994, 3. My thanks to Tom Sylliboy Sr. for permission to quote from the paper.

9. See John Lenhart, *History of MicMac Ideographic Manual* (Sydney: Cameron Printing, 1932); McMillian, "Mi'kmmey Mawio'mi," 75.

10. The degree to which Catholic and Mi'kmaq customs were blended is debatable. In 1850 the Baptist minister Silas Rand noted a Mi'kmaw individual "who pretended to be a good Catholic." In the 1860s, Catholic writers documented the "great devotion" of indigenous worshippers to the Blessed Sacrament and the saints. See S.T. Rand, *A Short Statement of Facts Relating to The History, Manners, Customs, Language and Literature of the MicMac Tribe of Indians in Nova Scotia and P.E. Island* (Halifax: James Bowes & Sons, 1850), 31; Christian Kauder, "The Catholic Church in the Wilderness," *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Volume IV, V (1867): 238-254; Jennifer Reid, *Finding Kluskap: A Journey into Mi'kmaw Myth* (State College: Penn State University Press, 2013), 59.

fall and destruction of Fortress Louisbourg between 1755-1770.[11] While eager Church of England missionaries had coveted Indigenous converts, the Mi'kmaq "procured the continuance of priestly ministrations, not only for themselves, but also for their fellow [white] Catholics."[12] Although colonial officials viewed Catholicism "with hostility," fearful of the Mi'kmaq response should they be denied the services of a priest, in 1767, with the consent of the English Board of Trade, a priest from Montreal was permitted to minister in Nova Scotia.[13] Colonial officials hoped to "discontinue" these clerical appointments, but the Mi'kmaq insisted "on the fulfillment of the stipulation."[14]

Extant records demonstrate that Mi'kmaw Catholics in the late eighteenth century were mostly well organized. When the Irish missionary priest Fr James Jones arrived in Cape Breton in 1785, he found that the local mission was quite "regular," as the Acadians, who had returned after the expulsion, and the Mi'kmaq, were "accustomed to rule and order since the days of the immortal Maillard." The scattered Irish Catholic newcomers, on the other hand, were "bred to the sea," and "not accustomed to any rule."[15]

Yet immigration from Britain between 1770 and 1840 severely weakened the influence of Mi'kmaw Catholics. As Irish, Scottish and, to a lesser extent, Quebec clergy began to negotiate with colonial officials for religious privileges, the survival of Catholicism in the colony no longer depended on Mi'kmaw demands. Moreover, as the priestly newcomers from Scotland and Ireland did not speak Mi'kmaw, Indigenous perspectives were gradually muted. "If they [the Mi'kmaq] have been neglected and abandoned in the past," Archbishop Octavio Plessis of Quebec noted during a tour of the region in 1812, "it is owing in great measure to the fact that the missionaries could not speak to them in their own tongue."[16]

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11. Fieldwork at Eskasoni suggests that the Mi'kmaq believe they have a "mutual agreement" with the Church to "protect each other." See Mary A. Robinson, ""TA'N TELI-KTLAMSITASIMK (WAYS OF BELIEVING)': Mi'kmaw Religion in Eskasoni, Nova Scotia" (PhD Thesis: McMaster University, 2002), 74.

12. See A.A. Johnston, *A History of the Catholic Church in Eastern Nova Scotia, I* (Antigonish: St. F.X. University Press, 1960), 86-97. See also, A.M. Pope (ed.), *Memoir of Fr Vincent de Paul, Religious of La Trappe* (Charlottetown: John Coombe, 1886), 45.

13. Johnston, *A History of the Catholic Church, I*, 92-95.

14. Johnston, *A History of the Catholic Church, I*, 104. See also Dorothy E. Moore, *MicMac Culture and the Multiculturalism Policy, Ethnic Heritage Series*, Vol IX (Halifax, 1983), 23.

15. James Jones to Louis-Philippe Mariauchau d'Esgly, 23 April 1787, Archives of the Archdiocese of Québec (hereafter AAQ), Nouvelle-Écosse (hereafter NE), I-5. On Jones' career see Terrence Murphy, "James Jones and the Establishment of Roman Catholic Church Government in the Maritime Provinces," CCHA *Study Sessions*, 48(1981): 26-42.

16. Johnston, *A History of the Catholic Church, 1*, 253-254.

Importantly, those Catholic missionaries who accompanied sea-weary migrants from Ireland and Scotland often brought with them personal contacts in Britain and Rome. While men such as Fr Angus Bernard MacEachern, headquartered on Prince Edward Island, continually lobbied the Roman Curia and the Archdiocese of Quebec for English and Gaelic speaking priests, Mi'kmaw Catholics, who had traditionally negotiated with colonial officials, lacked the Roman bureaucratic networks to make similar requests. By the summer of 1815, the Mi'kmaq who gathered on the "Holy Land" at Chapel Island were wholly reliant on Fr Francois Lejamtel, a native of Coutances, France, who neither understood their language "nor [made] any attempt to learn it."[17] The community who had sustained Catholicism during the difficult period between 1750 and 1770 were, within two generations, "in danger of dying without the sacraments" and had not heard a sermon preached in their own tongue for over 50 years.[18] In 1821, the Mi'kmaq "of the Bras d'Or Lake," formally complained of spiritual neglect.[19]

Of course, all Catholics nestled in the woods and along the coastline of Nova Scotia went without priests for extended periods. In 1824, one clergyman complained that catechism among the Acadians in Cheticamp was lax because the children were continually "fishing with their parents."[20] Fr Augustin Magloire Blanchet found the knowledge of Christianity among Scottish settlers at Grand Narrows so feeble that he bought copies of the New Testament from a Protestant bookseller in Pictou to circulate among the people. The following year, another priest noted that Catholics around Little Bras d'Or had "as little spiritual cultivation as trees in the forest."[21]

As Irish, Scottish and Acadian Catholics scrambled for priests, securing a clergyman for the Indigenous community proved difficult. In 1815, the Mi'kmaq constructed a presbytery beside the church on Chapel Island in the hope that Bishop Plessis "would immediately give them a priest for themselves alone."[22] Two years later, Plessis petitioned the Lieutenant-Governor of Cape Breton, George Robert Ainslie, for a small grant to support a missionary among the Mi'kmaq but was denied.[23] In 1825, Jacques Merle of the Trappist Order, better known as Fr Vincent de Paul, considered

17. Fr Antoine Manseau (1796-1866), a native of Québec, had worked at "transcribing" Mi'kmaq between 1814-1817 but soon returned to Lower Canada. See A. Manseau to Bishop Plessis, 7 January 1815, AAQ, NE, II-148.

18. Johnston, *A History of the Catholic Church, 1*, 306.

19. Remi Gaulin to Bishop Plessis, 4 March 1821, AAQ, IM, 59.

20. A.M. Blanchet to Bishop Plessis, 18 July 1824, AAQ, IM, 79.

21. A.B. MacEachern to Bishop Plessis, 2 May 1825, AAQ, Île-du-Prince-Édouard, 92.

22. Johnston, *A History of the Catholic Church, I*, 306.

23. Bishop Plessis to George Ainslie, 18 October 1817, AAQ, Registre des Lettres, V-9, p.241.

opening a monastery in a Mi'kmaw community but ultimately settled in the mainland Acadian parish of Tracadie.[24] Then, in 1827, Laurence Kavanagh, the first Roman Catholic member of the Nova Scotia Legislature, convinced the assembly to grant £50 for Mi'kmaw Catholics who had long "wished and solicited" for a clergyman.[25] Kavanagh's plan called for a priest to reside in the "Indian mission" at greater Chapel Island (Potlotek) and to attend to Scottish, Irish and Acadian Catholics in the neighbouring settlements of St. Peter's, L'Ardoise, and Red Islands.

Ministering to Catholics in places such as Cape Breton Island in the early nineteenth century was a struggle. There were priests at Broad Cove, Cheticamp, Arichat, Sydney, L'Ardoise, and one for the entire Bras d'or Lake region. As most Catholics went without the sacraments for long periods, the £50 grant for a resident priest among the Mi'kmaq was spent on the general maintenance of the entire mission. In fact, the grant went to the Irish-born priest, Fr Simon Lawlor, who visited the Mi'kmaq once or twice a year from his faraway base at Broad Cove.[26] In 1828, Fr Lawlor, who struggled to support himself financially, admitted spending £36 of the £50 grant on his dilapidated home.[27] While the use of the grant on infrastructure at Broad Cove raised eyebrows, the inanity of a "Mabou missionary" ministering to the Mi'kmaq of Potlotek was evident.[28]

As clerical missionaries from Scotland filed into eastern Nova Scotia, priests such as Fr (later bishop) William Fraser, who had administered the Highland seminary at Lismore, added administrative skills to the growing Catholic community. New parishes within the Vicariate of Nova Scotia such as Pictou (1828), St. Andrew's (1837), and Mabou (1844) joined an ecclesiastical region with older parishes like Arichat (1786) and Arisaig (1793). While some Mi'kmaw worshippers presented themselves and their children for the sacraments in these Churches, many others still attended Mass sporadically and continued to "see a priest in their church scarcely once a year."[29]

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24. Fr Vincent de Paul aided the construction of the first church at Paqtnkek with monies earned through the sale of hay grown on the reserve. See Luke Schrepfer, *Pioneer Monks in Nova Scotia* (Antigonish: St. Augustine's Monastery, 1947), 97-135.

25. Laurence Kavanagh to Bernard-Claude Panet, 1 August 1827, AAQ, NE, VII-36.

26. Kavanagh wanted Pere Vincent of the Trappists for the post but the Lieutenant Governor worried that he was a French spy. See Simon Lawlor to Bernard-Claude Panet, 16 August 1827, AAQ, NE, VII-97.

27. Simon Lawlor to Bernard-Claude Panet, 22 August 1828, AAQ, NE, VII-102.

28. J.B. Maranda to Bernard-Claude Panet, 2 January 1828, AAQ, NE, VI-92.

29. Colin F. MacKinnon to Msgr Mai, 4 December 1837, Archives of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide (hereafter APF), SRC, V 4, FF. 91-94.

As the Church expanded in regions such as Cape Breton, there was a recognition that the lack of a Mi'kmaw priest was problematic.[30] "The Trappists [monks] have had with them for some years a young Indian of very good conduct and good talent, who is very anxious to enter the ecclesiastical state, a thing almost unheard of among these Indians," Fr (later archbishop) Colin MacKinnon reported to the Propaganda in Rome in 1837, "if this young man could continue his studies and arrive at the state to which God seems to be calling him, he would be of the greatest help to his unfavoured race, which is almost totally neglected."[31]

Without a priest-advocate, the Mi'kmaq did not participate in the power struggle that consumed Nova Scotian Catholicism in the 1840s and 1850s. When the ecclesiastical territory of Nova Scotia was partitioned in 1844, it was clear (at least in period correspondence) that the Diocese of Halifax was for the Irish and the Diocese of Arichat (later renamed Antigonish) was for the Highland Scots.[32] More significant, without a regular parish, Mi'kmaw Catholics were less transformed by the philosophy of Ultramontanism that rapidly dominated the global Church.

While promoting the infallibility of the pope on matters of faith and morals, the Ultramontanism that gripped Catholicism in the last half of the nineteenth century was a powerful movement of devotionalism, Romanization, and gentrification. As one historian has noted, Ultramontanists used "a base of power in Rome," to advance "an agenda at home."[33] As Irish Catholic immigrants poured into Canada, Australia, and the United States, the influential Irish bishop (later cardinal) Paul Cullen began to mould the global communities "to his vision of Catholicism."[34] Through a worldwide network of Irish clergy, Cullen produced what historian Colin

30. In a history of the Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate in western Canada, Raymond Huel notes the "virtual absence of an indigenous clergy." See Raymond J.A. Huel, *Proclaiming the Gospel to the Indians and the Metis* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1996), 274.

31. Colin F. MacKinnon to Propaganda Fide, 4 December 1837, APF, SRC, V.4, FF.91-94; Schrepfer, *Pioneer Monks*, 105.

32. On that ethnic conflict see Colin Barr, *Ireland's Empire: The Roman Catholic Church in the English-Speaking World, 1829-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020); Peter Ludlow, "Disturbed by the Irish Howl': Irish and Scottish Roman Catholics in Nova Scotia, 1844-1860." In Mark G. McGowan and Michael Vance (eds.), *Irish Catholic Halifax: From the Napoleonic Wars to the Great War* (Toronto: CCHA, 2015): 32-55.

33. Jeffrey von Ark (ed.), *Varieties of Ultramontanism* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1998), 4.

34. Colin Barr, "'Imperium in Imperio': Irish Episcopal Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century," *English Historical Review*, Vol. CXXIII, 502 (2008): 650.

Barr has described as a "Hibernio-Roman" empire among Anglo-Catholics in the new world.[35]

One of Cullen's appointments in North America was the Dublin priest, William Walsh, who was chosen in 1841 to reform the Church in Nova Scotia. He arrived in Halifax as coadjutor to Bishop William Fraser at a time of intense mistrust between the Irish in Halifax and Scots in the eastern counties. Even after these ethnic, class and philosophical divisions had led to the partition of the ecclesiastical territory of Nova Scotia, Bishop Walsh retained a lingering antipathy toward the old-world customs of Scottish and Acadian Catholics in communities like Arichat, and Iona. Ultramontanists believed that the office of bishop demanded dignity, and stories of the Gaelic-speaking Bishop Fraser, a rugged Highlander, riding on horseback through the forests and fields of Nova Scotia, and his refusal to wear "the insignia of his rank," outraged the estimable Walsh who claimed that there was not a single clergyman on Cape Breton [Island] whom he would employ in the sacred ministry.[36]

While Bishop Fraser was able to fend off the Ultramontanists during his lifetime, Italian bureaucrats put tremendous pressure on his successor, Bishop Colin Francis MacKinnon, to Romanize eastern Nova Scotia.[37] Gaelic was mostly discarded, and local churches were swiftly adorned with paintings executed by Italian artists and an imposing Romanesque stone cathedral, St. Ninian, was built in Antigonish town. By the 1880s, Catholics conformed to the Baltimore Catechisms and took the sacraments with more solemnity and regularity.

The responsibility for Romanising the parishes was in the hands of the local clergyman, and as the Mi'kmaq had neither parishes nor priests, they faced less pressure to alter their traditional customs. Even if the desire to Romanise had existed among Mi'kmaw Catholics—many preferred to maintain their traditions—there was little money for Italian artwork, few funds for new churches, and there were no Mi'kmaw clerical elite with designs on impressing roman bureaucrats (as was the case with Roman-educated clergymen like Bishop John Cameron who succeeded Bishop MacKinnon in 1877). Although Mi'kmaw Catholics were exposed to the ultramontane program through attendance at Sunday Mass in parishes

35. Barr, "'Imperium in Imperio'": 645.

36. Ludlow, "'Disturbed by the Irish Howl'", 40-41; Peter Ludlow, "'Pretend Catholics' and Stampeders: The Romanization of the Diocese of Arichat/Antigonish, 1851-1910," CSCH *Historical Papers* (2014): 31-50.

37. Daniel MacInnes, "The legacy of Highland 'heather' priests in Eastern Canada," in Daniel MacLeod and Stuart Macdonald, *Keeping the Kirk: Scottish Religion at Home and in the Diaspora* (Guelph: Guelph Series in Scottish Studies, 2014), 85-118.

dominated by Catholics of European descent, the customs borne in the days of Fr Maillard retained their prominence.

By the 1850s, many Mi'kmaw Catholics still received the sacraments during the annual summertime Feast of St. Anne (the grandmother of Jesus and patron saint of the community).[38] In fact, while Irish, Scottish and Acadian Catholics had to confess their sins and receive the sacrament of the Eucharist during Easter (Easter Duty), the Mi'kmaq, should they choose to use it, "enjoyed a dispensation permitting them to fulfil on July 26th and within the following seven days the sacred functions which on other Catholics are incumbent at or about Eastertide."[39] There were also special plenary indulgences issued by Pope Pius IX for those Mi'kmaw Catholics facing their deaths without access to a priest who "kissed devoutly the image of Our Christ Savior Crucified," and also for three or more families who sang hymns together "in the woods."[40] These privileges were all offered in good faith (for those who chose to avail themselves) but only "othered" the community during a period of strict uniformity.

During the Romanization of Nova Scotia's parishes, the Catholic leadership's perception of traditional Mi'kmaw worship also changed. As previously noted, in the early years of European settlement, Mi'kmaw Catholics were more organized than their Irish and Scottish counterparts. While Scottish Catholics in the 1830s attended Mass in rudimentary churches that were essentially open shells without pews, in 1837 a young Fr Colin MacKinnon informed his Roman superiors that while the Mi'kmaq were poor, wherever there was enough of them, "they have their churches, and it may even be said that these are in better condition than the churches of the other people who are richer."[41]

By 1858, however, new modern sanctuaries at Mabou and Broad Cove signified that the crude "long house temples" of those Scottish pioneers were "fast disappearing."[42] In these modern churches, Catholics carefully followed

38. On the Feast of St. Anne see Elsie Clews Parsons, "Micmac Notes. St. Ann's Mission on Chapel Island, Bras D'or Lakes, Cape Breton Island," *The Journal of American Folklore*, Volume 39, 154 (Oct-Dec, 1926): 460-485; Robinson, ""TA'N TELI-KTLAMSITASIMK (WAYS OF BELIEVING)", 102-141; Jane Elizabeth Chute, ""Ceremony, Social Revitalization and Change: Micmac Leadership and the Annual Festival of St. Anne," in William Cowan (ed.) *Papers of the Twenty-Third Algonquin Conference* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1992).

39. Johnston, *A History of the Catholic Church*, II, 239.

40. *Souvenir of the Micmac tercentenary celebration, 1910* (Ste. Anne de Restigouche, 1910), 82.

41. Simon Lawlor to Bernard-Claude Panet, 24 January 1829, AAQ, NE, VII-104; Colin F. MacKinnon to Msgr Mai, 4 December 1837, APF, SRC, V 4, FF. 91-94.

42. *The Casket*, 8 July 1858.

the rules according to Church decree, held *Corpus Christi* processions to publicly celebrate the Eucharist, and expected their clergy, many of them increasingly Roman educated, to conduct themselves with decorum.[43] In the meantime, a small seminary was founded at Arichat (although St. Francis Xavier College was quickly moved to Antigonish town), and the Montréal-based Congregation of Notre Dame had been invited back into the diocese to open a school (they had first taught at Louisbourg in 1727). The Catholic press described teachers at the seminary as "eminent scholars," the teaching-sisters "accomplished," and its leadership with having an "innate born taste for the fine arts." In this "new era" of institutional growth and gentrification, many Catholics were wary of expressions of faith that appeared antiquated, or un-Roman.[44]

It was also an era when Acadian, Irish and Scottish Catholics began to take their place within civil and political institutions. The emancipation from the Penal Laws in 1827, notes historian Terrence Murphy, was one instance of "gradual empowerment" that would slowly unfold over the following decades.[45] By the 1840s, Catholics held seats in the colonial legislature, had earned appointments to the Executive Council, and while habitually underrepresented at the trough of patronage, by the 1860s, Catholic elites like John MacKinnon (Bishop MacKinnon's brother) and Halifax's Sir Edward Kenny, who was appointed to the Federal Cabinet in 1867, had achieved upward mobility.

This ascent of Roman Catholic elites in Nova Scotia was partly achieved through expressions of loyalty to the British Crown.[46] When Catholics were demeaned or provoked by Protestants, as was the case during the Crimea War of 1853-1856, they were typically accused of rebellious inclinations, having sympathy for Britain's foes, or membership in a "foreign" faith. Responding to these charges, in 1857, Antigonish's Catholic newspaper, *The Casket, proclaimed that every Scottish Catholic would "shoulder his musket in defense of his Queen."*[47] While the Mi'kmaq were religious brethren, during periods of sectarian strife, or when facing xenophobic accusations of disloyalty, many Catholics, especially those seeking acceptance within Protestant circles, were uncomfortable with the Mi'kmaq association with the

43. Johnston, *A History of the Catholic Church, II*, 275.

44. *The Casket*, 28 July 1853; 21 October 1858; 25 June 1857.

45. Terrence Murphy, "Emancipation vs. Equity: Civic Inclusion of Halifax Catholics, 1830-1865," CCHA *Historical Studies*, 83 (2017): 8-9.

46. See *The Casket*, 19 February 1857; D. Campbell and R.A. MacLean, *Beyond the Atlantic Roar: A Study of the Nova Scotian Scots* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), 282. See also, Karly Kehoe, *Empire and Emancipation: Scottish and Irish Catholics at the Atlantic Fringe*, 1780-1850 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2022).

47. *The Casket*, 13 August 1857.

early French church. The Catholic press always emphasised the great piety of Indigenous believers but rarely missed an opportunity to demonstrate the differences, however subtle, between European Catholics and their "dusky brethren."[48]

By continually highlighting the "quaint" customs and "picturesque" attire of Mi'kmaw worshippers, a strict distinction was made between old world Catholicism and modern Ultramontanism.[49] In 1867, a writer in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* noted that the Mi'kmaw Catholic would "always remain childish in his disposition and matter of acting."[50] In 1891, an American travel writer left Cape Breton with a sense that the Catholic clergy were working to "humanize a savage race."[51] In 1909, *The Casket* reported that the faithful in Waycobah clung "tenaciously to the faith" preached by the Frenchmen Fr Segoyne and Fr Maillard,[52] and twenty years later *The Sydney Record* mused that the community worshiped "with all the ancient ceremonies."[53]

These "ancient customs…from several ages past down to the present day" were displayed at the summertime Feast of St. Anne.[54] It was an important gathering and a time "when chief and councillors were selected, when internal disputes were settled and revenues distributed."[55] For generations, the Catholic clergy played a ceremonial role in the proceedings and read aloud proclamations from the Lieutenant Governor "who ratified and approved the appointment" of leadership.[56] "I believe I am the only bishop in these colonies," Bishop Colin MacKinnon noted in 1850, "who has had the honour of crowning a king."[57] At Chapel Island in the summer of 1918, a priest led the flock on the procession to Fr Maillard's stone and helped to "crown" Grand Chief Gabriel Sylliboy.[58] When the Potlotek native Francis Paul was elected as the leader of Paqtnkek (Afton and Summerside, Antigonish County) in 1920, a priest led a large contingent to the bishop's residence in Antigonish town for the installation ceremony. "Having

48. *The Casket*, 14 August 1854.
49. *The Casket*, 19 August 1852.
50. Kauder, "The Catholic Church in the Wilderness," 254.
51. *The Casket*, 10 September 1891.
52. *The Casket*, 24 June 1909.
53. *The Sydney Record*, 26 July 1929.
54. *The Casket*, 6 August 1891.
55. Sarah Brennan, "Revisiting the 'Proverbial Tin Cup:' A Study of Political Resistance of the Mi'kmaq of Nova Scotia 1900-1969" (MA Thesis, Saint Mary's University, 2000), 60.
56. *The Casket*, 2 October 1856.
57. Colin F. MacKinnon & Neil MacLeod to Propaganda Fide, Autumn 1850, APF, XX, SRC, V. 6, FF. 133-134.
58. *The Casket*, 8 August 1918.

conferred upon him the medal and other insignia of office," noted *The Casket*, "His Lordship delivered a brief instruction to the assembled braves."[59]

Acknowledging the unique role of the clergy within the governance structure of the Mi'kmaq, bureaucrats regularly urged priests to act as intermediaries with the community. In 1841, the Richmond County Clerk of the Peace asked Fr Julian Courteau, a Quebec native serving at L'Ardoise and River Bourgeois, to conduct a census during the Feast of St. Anne at Chapel Island.[60] Later, in the spring of 1844, the Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia appointed Bishop William Fraser as the Commissioner for Indian Affairs in the eastern counties.[61] After Canadian confederation, when the administration of the province's Mi'kmaq was divided into seven districts, priests were put in charge of two of the four districts in eastern Nova Scotia.

The clerical Indian Agent was typically selected through geography. At Red Islands, on the shores of the Bras d'Or Lake, for example, the Scottish-born Fr John MacDougall ministered for 30 years to Catholics as far afield as St. Peter's.[62] While priests had to apply to Ottawa for these positions, it was merely a formality. When Fr Ronald MacDonald, pastor at Pictou, was made Bishop of Harbour Grace, Newfoundland, in 1881, he was swiftly replaced by his successor (and his brother), Fr Roderick MacDonald. "As I have the Indians of this district under my parochial charge," Fr Roderick wrote to Ottawa bureaucrats, "no other person would have equal advantages" in acting as their agent.[63] Conversely, Ottawa ensured that all clerical appointments as Indian Agent be "acceptable to the bishop of the diocese."[64] This generally meant that some clerical assignments were de facto Indian Agent appointments.

While clerical-agents accomplished much on behalf of their Mi'kmaq flock—advocating for an impartial survey of Mi'kmaw land and the opposition to white encroachment was a particularly important task—the bureaucratic hurdles gradually began to erode the priests' civil authority. Agents had struggled to obtain financing for schools and other important

59. *The Casket*, 11 November 1920. The medallion awarded to Chief Paul (1848-1929) was called a "bitchcoomb." For Chief Paul's obituary see *The Casket*, 24 January 1929.

60. Andrew Parnaby, "The Cultural Economy of Survival: The Mi'kmaq of Cape Breton in the Mid-19th Century," *Labour / Le Travail*, 61 (Spring, 2008): 70.

61. *The Eastern Chronicle*, 15 May 1844.

62. By 1868, the Highlander was serving at Chapel Island's Feast of St. Anne and, in 1876, he supervised the construction of a new church on that historic spot. *North Sydney Herald*, 8 August 1883.

63. Roderick MacDonald to Indian Affairs, 6 October 1881, Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC), RG 10, Volume 2134, File 27046-1, 3-4.

64. R. Sinclair to E. Dewdney, 19 July 1889, LAC, RG 10, Volume 2296, File 59136.

infrastructure, but it soon extended to religious buildings as well.[65] In 1882, Fr Michael MacKenzie, pastor at Christmas Island and in charge of the mission at Eskasoni, complained of the small chapel that was used only "from absolute necessity."[66] Bureaucrats in Ottawa scoffed at using the "fund appropriated by Parliament for the relief of Indians" to build a larger church and even denied monies to build a small clerical residence.[67] In a period of burgeoning subsidiarity among Catholics of the region (new parishes were opened near Eskasoni in communities like Sydney Mines, North Sydney, and Bridgeport), priests such as Fr MacKenzie had few resources to develop infrastructure in Mi'kmaw communities.

As Ottawa controlled the purse, it also jealously guarded its jurisdiction. In November 1891, the same Fr MacKenzie, then ministering at River Bourgeois and responsible for the spiritual care of Catholics at greater Chapel Island (Potlotek), was transferred to East Bay. Weeks previously, he had been relieved of his spiritual responsibility for Potlotek by Fr John Chisholm, the pastor of the newly erected and geographically closer parish of St. Peter's. In the confusion, both priests had hired a teacher for the Indian day school. Although Fr MacKenzie was still Ottawa's official Agent when he made his hire, Fr Chisholm felt that his authority over Potlotek began immediately upon his appointment to St. Peter's. Ottawa disagreed and ruled that Fr MacKenzie, the formal Agent, was the only individual permitted to employ a teacher.

The Bishop of Antigonish at the time, John Cameron, was adamant that Ottawa should respect diocesan protocol. The 64-year-old prelate may have administered a small diocese in a politically and economically marginalized corner of Canada, but he was one of the country's most influential churchmen.[68] The mentor of Canada's first Roman Catholic Prime Minister, Sir John Thompson, he was well connected in both Ottawa and Rome. "Either treat the Rev. John C. Chisholm as a free man and a gentleman," he wrote to bureaucrats at Indian Affairs, "or dismiss him so that he may be in a position to appeal to the full cabinet…for justice against the outrageous treatment he has received."[69]

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65. William C. Wicken, *The Colonization of Mi'Kmaw Memory and History, 1794-1928 The King v. Gabriel Sylliboy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 46.

66. Michael MacKenzie to John A. MacDonald, 18 January 1882, LAC, RG 10, Volume 1864, File 387.

67. Indian Affairs Memorandum, 8 February 1882, LAC, RG 10, Volume 1864, File 387.

68. On Cameron See R.A. MacLean, *Bishop John Cameron: Piety & Politics* (Antigonish: The Casket, 1991).

69. John Cameron to Lawrence Vankoughnet, 17 January 1893, ADA, BJCP, Fonds 3, Series 1, Folder 18.

In a delicate position, Potlotek Catholics sought advice from Grand Chief John Denny Jr. The last hereditary Grand Chief of the Mi'kmaq, the influential Denny Jr was a devout Catholic and a "spiritual man."[70] While sympathetic to the Church's position, he felt that federal guidelines should be respected. As Fr MacKenzie was the official Agent when he employed a teacher for the local schoolhouse, his teacher was the lawful hire. Now wedged between the demands of their Grand Chief and those of Fr Chisholm, whose largess they depended upon for a mission during the Feast of St. Anne, Potlotek Catholics desperately sought a compromise. When they closed their school to both teachers, Chief Denny Jr was outraged. The school was closed, he grumbled, on the instruction of a priest "whose advice they were bound to take."[71] When Ottawa demanded that the schoolhouse be opened to Fr MacKenzie's teacher, Bishop Cameron declared that a "cruel wrong" had been done to his diocese.

The dispute at the Potlotek schoolhouse is one of a handful of incidences in which Ottawa upheld federal guidelines against the wishes of the local Church. Accordingly, by 1900, Church leadership in Nova Scotia had begun to yield its temporal responsibility for Mi'kmaw Catholics to Ottawa and abandoned the notion that Indigenous affairs were linked to a wider Catholic agenda. While issues such as French-language instruction in Acadian schools, or the conservation of Scottish culture, were championed as Catholic causes, similar issues among the Mi'kmaq were mostly left in the hands of Mi'kmaw leadership and federal bureaucrats. When the Catholics of Paqtnkek voted in 1921 to donate annually $1 per family for the maintenance of the parish priest at Heatherton, the money was not accepted without a signed copy of the declaration from the local chief.[72] In 1930, the choir at Membertou was not allowed to organize a sacred concert without the express permission of the local Chief and his Council.[73] When Stephen Sylliboy of Waycobah lodged a complaint with the local bishop over the conduct of the priest-agent in 1938, he was told that the priest was "responsible to the Indian Department at Ottawa..."[74]

Responsibility for Mi'kmaw Catholics was also eroded by the custom of granting faculties to foreign-born priests to minister within the community. In 1856, the Luxembourg native, Fr Christian Kauder, living with the Trappist Monks at their Tracadie Monastery, had begun a ministry in the region

70. McMillian, "Mi'kmmey Mawio'mi," 98.

71. John Denny to John Cameron, 10 May 1892, ADA, BJCP, Fonds 3, Series 1, Folder 18.

72. James Morrison to R.H. MacDougall, 3 August 1921, ADA, BMP, letter#8537.

73. James Morrison to George Landry, 12 April 1930, ADA, BMP, letter#16713.

74. James Morrison to Stephen Sylliboy, 16 November 1938, ADA, BMP, letter#23970.

(in 1866, he had Pere Maillard's Mi'kmaq Ideographic Manual printed in Vienna).[75] By 1894, the clerical name synonymous with the Mi'kmaq was that of the Capuchin priest, Joseph Buisson, better known as Fr Pacifique de Valigny.[76] Pastor at Saint-Anne-de-Restigouche, Quebec, Pacifique was a keen collector, ethnographer, and historian, who spoke eloquently in the Mi'kmaw vernacular.[77] At Wagmatcook (Middle River) in 1916, large crowds from North Sydney, Waycobah, Malagawatch, and Eskasoni gathered to hear the France-native preach, discuss plans for a new church, confess in the Mi'kmaw tongue, and abstain from intoxicating *beuteuik*.[78] "I am writing today to Father Pacifique," Archbishop Morrison noted in a letter to Chief Syilloby in the summer of 1922, "sending him a copy of your letter and asking that he come to you for the dates mentioned, or if he cannot come to try and get another priest to come in his place."[79]

Although Fr Pacifique was a favorite of Mi'Kmaw Catholics, the recruitment of outsiders to conduct the summertime missions furthered eroded the Church's sense of duty toward the Indigenous faithful. While one priest assured Ottawa as early as 1872 that he answered the sick calls of the Mi'kmaq "as duly as those of any other of [his]spiritual subjects," there were regular grumblings throughout the early twentieth century that Mi'kmaw communities had gone without the sacraments for "so long a time."[80] In an extraordinary letter to the parish priest at New Glasgow in 1914, Archbishop Morrison, then two years into his administration, lamented the Church's failure to meet the spiritual needs of the Indigenous flock at Pictou Landing. "I feel very much concerned regarding these poor Indians, and some move must be made to give them some regular Sunday service

75. Christian Kauder (1817-1877?). Born in Luxembourg he immigrated to the United States in 1844 and joined the Redemptorists. In 1856 he went to the Trappist monastery at Tracadie. He returned to Luxembourg in 1871. See Johnston, *A History of the Catholic Church, II*, 343-344; *Schrepfer, Pioneer Monks*, 120.

76. Henri-Louis-Joseph Buisson (1863-1943) was born in Valigny, France. He joined the Capuchins in 1879 and was ordained in Spain in 1886 before moving to Canada.

77. Pere Pacifique, *Le Paroissien Micmac* (Québec, 1903). Once asked if he minded the long hot summer days listening to confessions among the Mi'kmaq (they sometimes stretched well into the evening), Fr Pacifique replied: "When a man has not been to confession for 150 years, that is to say without an interpreter, then he has a right to be somewhat lengthy." Pacifique is quoted in a sermon given by Fr MacPherson, 24 June 1910, Beaton Institute Archives, Donald MacPherson Papers, MG 13, 58, Folder 5A.

78. *The Casket, 3 June 1915.*

79. James Morrison to Gabriel Sylliboy, 6 July 1922, ADA, BMP, outgoing letter#9419.

80. Ronald MacGillivray to John MacKinnon, 3 September 1872, LAC, RG 10, Volume 2134, File 27046; James Morrison to J.D. MacLeod, 10 March 1913, ADA, BMP, letter#301. For an obituary of Matthew Francis (1865-1940) see *The Casket*, 4 July 1940.

at least occasionally," he noted, "one cannot help feeling the responsibility for their faith, having regard for their surroundings."[81]

Father Pacifique at Chapel Island, C. 1920s.
Courtesy of Antigonish Diocesan Archive.

While new mission churches at Eskasoni (1910), Whycocomagh (1912) and Membertou (1926) could be used for prayers, catechism classes, funeral services, and the solemnization of marriages, without a resident priest, Mass could not be celebrated on Sundays or Holy Days of Obligation.[82] Those Mi'Kmaw who worshipped in regular parishes on Sundays were sometimes treated as outsiders and relegated to the pews at the back of the church. In fact, this treatment is firmly entrenched in the memory of Catholics in parishes such as Immaculate Conception in Heatherton and Sacred Heart in Sydney. While pews were often rented by parishioners, and white Catholics with less means also sat toward the back or in the loft, Lawrence Paul, the former Chief of Membertou, who recalled being forced to sit in the back of the Sacred Heart church as a boy in the 1920s, felt that it "had nothing to do with the rental system," but was "raw discrimination."[83]

81. James Morrison to J.D. Macleod, 4 April 1914, ADA, BMP, letter#1196.

82. *The Casket*, 3 March 1927; James Morrison to J.H MacDonald, 7 May 1926, ADA, BMP, letter#13171.

83. John Campbell, *With our Hearts and Hands: A History of Sacred Heart Parish* (Sydney: Sea-Cape, 2001), 80-81.

There is evidence that Church leaders were aware of these deficiencies. In 1911 and 1914, Fr Donald MacPherson, pastor of Glendale, who had studied the Mi'kmaw language with Fr Pacifique, noted that the Mi'kmaq needed "to get a boy of their own to become a priest."[84] Unfortunately, while Archbishop Morrison promised to give the matter "prayerful consideration," nothing came of his suggestion.[85] It was a missed opportunity as the ordination of a Father GooGoo or a Father Prosper would have challenged ingrained racial attitudes. Before the Great War, for example, Chinese priests studied at St. F.X. University and while some rank-and-file Catholics may have harboured xenophobic attitudes toward these young men, due to the rank and deep spiritual authority of the priesthood devout Catholics would never have uttered negative sentiments in public.

A Mi'Kmaw priest would also have ensured that Indigenous issues were addressed, customs upheld, and embarrassing misunderstandings avoided. In 1923, for example, the bishop was unaware that the late Fr William MacPherson had regularly offered a mission on Chapel Island on the Feast of Pentecost. As it was on this holy day that the Grand Council met to plan the Feast of St. Anne, Grand Chief Sylliboy was angry that there was no representative from the Church.[86] "I am afraid the fault is mine that they were not visited for Pentecost," Archbishop Morrison wrote in an apology "as I was mistaken in that I thought they were visited only once a year at that particular place."[87]

While parish priests still worked as Indian Agents, by the late 1920s most relied on Mi'kmaw leaders to fulfil their bureaucratic obligations and business was conducted during the priest's intermittent visits, usually once a month, to the community. Dealing with land disputes and finances was one thing but when the Shubenacadie Residential School opened in early 1930, helping to decide which wee children would be sent to the institution was something quite different (at least one clerical Indian Agent suggested that the school be built in Antigonish town).[88] While the opinion of the agent was important factor in making these decisions (they helped process the paperwork), as the priest was not a resident in Waycobah, Eskasoni,

84. Donald MacPherson to H.P. MacPherson, 14 December 1911, ADA, Fonds 7, series 1, sub-series 1, folder 4.

85. James Morrison to Donald MacPherson, 7 November 1914, ADA, BMP, letter#1614.

86. Tom Sylliboy Sr, "St. Anne Mission 1990s," 4.

87. James Morrison to L.J. MacDonald, 31 May 1923, ADA, BMP, letter#10367.

88. Duncan C. Scott to J.L. Ilsley, 1 March 1929, LAC, School Files Series – 1879-1953 (RG10), Volume 6054, file 265-1, 2127-2129; J. N. MacLennan to H.P. MacPherson (copy), 17 June 1927, ADA, BMP, incoming letter #14125.

or Membertou, they had little personal knowledge of the families or their particular circumstances.[89]

The Shubenacadie School received scant coverage in the Catholic press. Yet when a provincial commissioner found claims of physical abuse against principal Fr J.P. MacKay unwarranted in the autumn of 1934, *The Casket* noted that the priest was "vindicated."[90] "Why white people fall for such stories is hard to explain," MacKay later wrote to Fr Angus C. MacNeil in Glendale, "For myself I never hope to catch up with the Indian and his lies."[91] That corporal punishment occurred at the residential school, however, was sporadically acknowledged in clerical correspondence. Writing of one lad from Pictou Landing, Archbishop Morrison wondered whether he was "mixed up in that group in the Shubenacadie School some time ago, when certain ones were alleged to have received corporal punishment."[92]

By the mid-1930s, complaints from Catholic families throughout Nova Scotia that their children at Shubenacadie received "little education," but "lots of hard work" mostly fell on deaf ears.[93] Two young men who had no intention of staying at the institution were the Julian brothers of Paqtnkek. In March 1939, Noel ran away from the school for the fifth time and "took to the deep woods." While the RCMP, convinced that Julian was heading back to Antigonish County, searched, Joe Julian also absconded and headed for his mother's home.[94] Both boys were eventually apprehended and, as punishment, Noel Julian's head was shaved.[95]

Most parents were unable to retrieve their children from Shubenacadie once the registration papers were signed. While a clerical Indian Agent could easily attach his signature to the intake form, he had little influence over the student's release. Moreover, while a student's domestic circumstances determined their eligibility for Shubenacadie, and even the right to return home for a visit, Ottawa tightly controlled the financial resources needed to improve that environment. In 1933, Fr A.A. Johnston pleaded with

89. For an overview of the Residential Schools in Canada see J.R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996).

90. *The Casket*, 27 September 1934.

91. J.P. MacKay to A.C. MacNeil, 5 October 1936, LAC, School Files Series – 1879-1953 (RG10), Volume 6057, file 265-10, pp.657-658.

92. James Morrison to A.A. Johnston, 13 June 1936, ADA, BMP, letter#22032.

93. A.C. MacNeil to J.B. MacKay, 3 October 1936. LAC, School Files Series – 1879-1953 (RG10), Volume 6057, file 265-10, 654.

94. J.P. MacKay to Neil A. MacDougall, 21 March 1939, LAC, RG 10, Volume 6053, file 260-10, part 1, 743-744.

95. Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Canada's Residential Schools—The Legacy: The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Volume 1* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), 588.

bureaucrats to release funds for infrastructure and repairs to homes at Pictou Landing but was told to keep expenses to a minimum. “I believe that the government should give them extraordinary aid in these extraordinary times,” he confessed to the member of parliament for Pictou, “but what can I do?”[96]

As Agents helped to send their children to the Shubenacadie school, parents logically looked to priests like Fr Johnston to facilitate their release. Surprized to learn, however, that the Agents had little influence over school administrators, their disbelief often turned to anger.[97] In June 1936, a young John Henry Sapier was accused of stealing the master key to the residential school and was sent to St. Patrick’s Home in Halifax. The lad quickly escaped and returned to his father’s home at Pictou Landing. As John Henry was nearing his 16th birthday, Louis Sapier asked the clergyman’s permission to keep him at home and “learn his trade as an Indian craftsman.” Yet as regulations demanded that the boy had to return to St. Patrick’s Home before formally requesting a release, Fr Johnston could merely promise a letter of recommendation. Outraged at the priest’s impotence, the elder Sapier swore to “get in touch with Bishop Morrison.”[98]

Louis Sapier’s resolve to take his grievance directly to the archbishop indicates that by the 1930s Mi’kmaw Catholics still considered the Church as an ally in their interaction with Ottawa. In fact, priests still believed that “it [was] to the Catholic clergyman they [Mi’kmaq] instinctively turn[ed] for guidance and direction.”[99] In 1917, Charles Poulet (1840-1918), a native of Potlotek, arrived in Antigonish town and demanded an audience with Archbishop Morrison. Speaking on behalf of his friends and neighbours, the 77-year-old Poulet complained that they had no potatoes or grain for seed and that the provincial superintendent “was not sufficiently active in providing them with such necessaries.” Poulet then produced a tattered volume, printed by the Archives of Nova Scotia, which contained a copy of a treaty made in the early days of the colony. He placed the treaty on the prelate’s desk and demanded government support.[100]

It is important to note that there were many Catholics in this period who recognized Poulet’s claims. Employees of the Catholic newspaper, *The Casket*, for example, were often asked by “Indian Headman,” to retype

96. A.A. Johnston to Thomas Cantley, 18 July 1933, LAC, School Files Series – 1879-1953 (RG10), Volume 6054, file 265-1, 2183-2184.

97. Others soon found that students at Shubenacadie were “wards of the principal.” See Isabelle Knockwood, *Out of the Depths: The Experience of Mi’Kmaw Children at the Indian Residential School at Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia* (Lockeport: Roseway Publishing, 1992), 113-114.

98. A.A. Johnston to James Morrison, 12 June 1936, ADA, BMP, letter#22387

99. James Morrison to W. Foran, 5 March 1928, ADA, BMP, letter#14845.

100. James Morrison to R.L. MacDonald, 26 April 1917, ADA, BMP, letter#4143.

tattered copies of the Treaty of 1752, which gave Indigenous Catholics "natural rights" to the streams and forests of the province.[101] When a group of local Mi'Kmaw youth, cautioned for spearing salmon in 1923, petitioned Premier Charles Murray to re-examine their hunting and fishing rights, the treaty and its meaning for Mi'kmaw fishermen were closely covered by the paper.[102] In 1928, *The Casket* noted that the treaty with Governor Cope had not stopped the modern-day convictions of "Indians accused of hunting and fishing out of season."[103] This coverage suggests, notes historian William Wicken, "that, at least for local people, discussions regarding the treaties was not a new topic of debate.[104]

It is also important to note that Catholics of various ethnicities regularly attended Feast of St. Anne celebrations throughout the region. By 1890, vessels such as the *S.S. Lennox* and *S.S. Neptune* ferried passengers to Chapel Island and, in 1929, *The Casket* noted that the Feast was "a big drawing card for white residents of Cape Breton."[105] There were, of course, also friendship and kinship bonds that attracted whites, and the monies collected from these visitors were critical in maintaining the hallowed properties. Requiring money for repairs to St. Ann's church, during the 1928 "Indian walk" on Indian Island at Pictou Landing, the community hoped "to see all the white people of the County during the course of the picnic."[106]

While the grandmother of Jesus was revered by Mi'kmaw Catholics, she was also tremendously important to other worshippers. By 1907, pilgrimages to the shrine of Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré in Québec were extremely popular. Testimony of healing at the shrine went back to the early days of New France, and the publication, *Miracles of Beaupre*, which publicized the more recent sensations, was on every parish bookshelf.[107] While priests such as Fr Amable E. Monbourquette of Arichat led groups of excited pilgrims to Beaupré, for those white Catholics unable to afford the trip to Quebec the annual Feast of St. Anne represented an opportunity to visit her shrine in Mi'kmaw churches and venerate her relics (a relic at Chapel Island was donated in 1899 by Bishop André-Albert Blais of Rimouski, Quebec).[108]

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101. *The Casket*, 15 December 1927.

102. *The Casket*, 9 November 1922; 7 December 1922; 11 January 1923.

103. *The Casket*, 13 December 1928; 7 August 1924.

104. William Wicken, "Heard it from our Grandfathers: Mi'kmaq Treaty Tradition and the Syliboy Case of 1928," *UNBLJ*, 44 (1995): 154.

105. *The Casket*, 1 August 1929.

106. *The Casket*, 26 July 1928.

107. *The Miracles of Beaupre: A Collection of the Most Remarkable Cures wrought at the far-famed Shrine of St. Anne de Beaupre* (St. Anne de Beaupre, 1908).

108. *The Casket*, 9 August 1945; 5 August 1948.

While St. Anne was a unifying figure, many clergy remained focused on the "otherness" of the Mi'kmaq that had been cultivated for generations. There were even concerns that the moral drawbacks of "white civilization" might harm the "splendid fidelity" of Indigenous believers.[109] In 1931, Fr Leo Keats, the pastor at St. Peter's and responsible for the Chapel Island Feast, was angered by the general "lack of morals" of the visitors. Citing drunkenness, he barred whites from attending.[110] Grumbling that the financial collection for 1931 was "quite disappointing," the following spring Chief Benjamin Christmas of Membertou demanded that whites be readmitted to the Feast. Having met in the Council House, Christmas explained, Grand Chief Sylliboy was adamant that visitors be allowed on the island for two hours to pray at the shrine to St. Anne and relish the sacred atmosphere.[111] In the meantime, anyone under the influence of alcohol would be escorted to the mainland.

While parish picnics in Scottish, Irish, and Acadian communities had been habitually tainted by the drink, by the 1920s new diocesan Eucharistic Congresses (growing in popularity throughout North America) practiced more solemnity. At the 1924 Congress in Antigonish town, more than a thousand spectators (many of them elderly) knelt on the lawn of the St. F.X. campus for the service, which was followed by speeches and a stirring twilight Holy Hour. Concerned that the Feast of St. Anne on Chapel Island had become a "carnival of sin rather than an exhibition of sanctity," Father Keats refused to participate. "If there is to be a picnic, you should call it the Indian Picnic and call in the Mounted Police," he told Chief Christmas, "If a Mission, exclude the white people as last year and let it be a real mission."[112]

A hundred kilometres away in Antigonish town, Archbishop Morrison surveyed the dispute with disquiet. While he felt that alcohol abuse should be "sternly and effectively dealt with," as the Mi'kmaq had a long-standing custom of assembling on the sacred island, and as they had "a strong self-consciousness," the priest must attend.[113] "It can at least be said for them,"

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109. James Morrison to J.D. MacLeod, 17 May 1915, ADA, BMP, letter#2144.

110. In both May 1921 and July 1931, the Grand Chief anxiously wrote Bishop Morrison to ensure that a priest was ready for the mission. James Morrison to R.L. MacDonald, 16 May 1921, ADA, BMP, letter#8352; Gabriel Sylliboy to James Morrison, 14 July 1931, ADA, BMP, incoming letter#17820.

111. Benjamin Christmas to Leo Keats (Copy), 20 May 1932, ADA, BMP, letter#18705a.

112. *The Casket*, 4 August 1932.

113. Leadership was also careful to ensure that items related to Sacred Mi'Kmaw spaces remained in the community. When Grand Chief Sylliboy requested a relic be returned to Chapel Island from Johnstown in 1935, Morrison had it quickly returned. Gabriel Sylliboy to James Morrison, 17 July 1935, ADA, BMP, incoming letter#21282;

Feast of St. Anne, Chapel Island, c.1930s.
Courtesy of Antigonish Diocesan Archive.

he noted, "that they have been loyal Catholics, and it would be well to give all possible consideration to their tribal traditions, as these mean more to them than may be fully appreciated by the rest of the people."[114] The 1932 mission went ahead as planned but as the "white people were kind enough to stay away" so as not to "disturb the Indians in prayer" the collections were dismal.[115]

Thus was the environment in the autumn of 1941 when Ottawa proposed the centralization of the Mi'kmaq into reservations at Shubenacadie, Hants County, and Eskasoni, Cape Breton County. Despite the drawbacks of the scheme, the promise of monies for the construction of schools, residence for teaching-sisters, and a resident priest silenced most of the critics.[116] Yet it was also the "otherness" and isolation of the community within the

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George MacLean to James Morrison, 21 July 1935, ADA, BMP, incoming letter#21286. In 2015, an eighteenth-century altar was returned to Chapel Island from the Church at Johnstown. The altar was likely brought from France to the Recollect mission at St. Peter's, and later hidden in the woods in 1758 (or 1745) when the English captured Louisbourg. In 1891 the altar was moved to vestry at the church in Johnstown and it was then, Fr Johnston claimed, that the painting of the dead Christ was then affixed to its front. See A.A. Johnston, *Sacred Heart Parish Johnstown, Nova Scotia: Centenary Anniversary 1860-1960* (Johnstown, 1960), 11; *Cape Breton Post*, 20 July 2015.

114. James Morrison to Leo Keats, 22 July 1932, ADA, BMP, letter#18729.

115. *The Casket*, 4 August 1932.

116. A.R. MacDonald to James Morrison, 2 December 1941, ADA, BMP, incoming letter#26285.

Catholic body that was responsible for the general cooperation of Church leaders. "It is believed that all the Indians in the Diocese of Antigonish will go to Eskasoni," noted *The Casket* in January 1942, "it is [also] believed the proposed grouping will be more economical than the present arrangement, and that it will give the Indians themselves a better break, particularly with regard to church and school life."[117]

In the summer of 1943, Chief Joseph Sack and First Councillor Lewis of Paqtnkek requested a final mission at St. Ann's church in Summerside before relocating to Shubenacadie.[118] When the local priest hesitated, Sack, "somewhat worked up about it," demanded it from the archbishop.[119] While some Mi'kmaw leaders such as Membertou's Ben Christmas opposed centralization and kept his community intact, other communities such as Paqtnkek relocated on a large scale, while the "ancient Malagawatch reserve" disappeared completely.[120]

While the oral history suggests that the priest-agent for Pictou Landing "kind of forced the Indians to move," other clergymen were vocal in opposition.[121] Fr Leo Keats, for example, who had forbidden whites from attending the 1931 and 1932 Chapel Island Feast, allied with Chief Christmas in defiance of the scheme. In the summer of 1943, he publicly declared that the Mi'kmaq were being "herded by government order into concentration camps at Eskasoni." With so many Mi'kmaw men fighting the war against Nazism in Europe he was appalled that these soldiers had to "bear the burden of citizenship" without any privileges.[122]

Like most heavily bureaucratic endeavours, centralization was plagued by organizational problems and delays. Mi'kmaw Catholics were persuaded to relocate with promises of good jobs and well constructed homes but found isolation, unemployment, and inadequate housing.[123] With no understanding of Church protocol, Ottawa attempted to appoint their own priest to Eskasoni, and when the government pressured the diocese to release women from the

117. *The Casket*, 29 January 1942.

118. Chief Joseph Sack (1879-1954) represents the close kinship networks among Mi'kmaw communities. Born at Shubenacadie, he married a widow, Madeline Prosper of Paqtnkek, and in the early 1940s became leader in the community. During centralization he returned to his native community and died there in January 1954.

119. James Morrison to H.J. MacDonald, 9 August 1943, ADA, BMP, letter#27424.

120. Robert Morgan, *Rise Again! The Story of Cape Breton Island, Book 2 From 1900 to Today* (Wreck Cove: Breton Books, 2009), 186.

121. Patterson, "Indian Affairs and the Nova Scotia Centralization Policy," 102.

122. *The Casket*, 16 September 1943.

123. Harold Franklin McGee, "The MicMac Indians: The Earliest Migrants," in Douglas F. Campbell (ed.), *Banked Fires—The Ethnics of Nova Scotia* (Port Credit, Ontario: The Scribblers' Press), 28.

local Congregation of the Sisters of St. Martha to teach at the new school, the archbishop noted that he could not "muster a band of teachers overnight."[124] "The Canadian Department of Indian Affairs is slow in getting things into working order," Archbishop Morrison grumbled in the autumn of 1943, "as we have to depend on the action taken by the department, my hands are tied until we have some definite information as to what they are going to do."[125]

One of the great ironies of centralization was that it created the first official Mi'kmaw parish in eastern Nova Scotia. In mid-October 1944, Ottawa hired the Margaree curate Fr Alexander Archibald "A.A." Ross as principal of the new Eskasoni school and on 29 October 1944 Archbishop Morrison appointed him administrator of the new parish of St. Ann's (now known as Holy Family). Some 315 years after contact with the first Jesuit missionaries, the Mi'kmaq of eastern Nova Scotia had taken a "regular" place within the Church community. When parishioners made their first contribution for "religious and charitable purposes" in December 1945, the historic significance was obvious. "I am very much pleased to see the parish of Eskasoni take its place within the diocese," the archbishop wrote, while congratulating the "faithful of the parish on [their] improved position."[126] In 1946, the prelate noted that the Mi'kmaq, through Holy Family Parish, were "taking their respectable place in the work of the Church," for which they were worthy of praise.[127] One of the most symbolic changes was that the heading in the archbishop's correspondence register changed from "Indians" to "Eskasoni."

Yet the erection of Holy Family parish was also full of paradoxes. Some felt that the new "cathedral" at Eskasoni hurt the ability of those communities resisting centralization from retaining their mission churches.[128] Others, who treasured the traditional blend of Mi'kmaw and Catholic rituals, found that their unique customs were "cast aside" as Mi'kmaw prayers were discouraged and the Latin liturgy predominated.[129] There were also grumblings that Fr Ross "lacked the initiative" to make the local school successful, and complaints that Monsignor Moses Coady and his fabled St. F.X. Extension Department failed to foster cooperative ventures in the community. "With St. Francis Xavier University being so close," bureaucrats griped, "we had

124. James Morrison to J.A. MacLean, 31 August 1944, ADA, BMP, letter#28283.

125. James Morrison to M.M. MacDonald, 2 September 1943, ADA, BMP, letter#27486.

126. James Morrison to A.A. Ross, 10 December 1945, ADA, BMP, letter#29103.

127. James Morrison to A.A. Ross, 26 December 1946, ADA, BMP, letter#29701.

128. *The Casket*, 16 September 1943.

129. Robinson, ""TA'N TELI-KTLAMSITASIMK (WAYS OF BELIEVING)", 82.

Archbishop James Morrison, 1937.
Courtesy of Antigonish Diocesan Archive.

hoped to have fostered some of its extension activities among the Indians. Such activities have not been carried out."[130]

By 1947, it was evident that the scheme had been a failure; a policy that had been based on "geographical inexactitudes rather than human feelings."[131] Yet while the Church was conscious that centralization would create "trouble and complaint," bureaucrats later noted that without the "interest and sympathy" of the clergy, "it would have been exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to persuade the Indians to abandon their homes and establish themselves on the new reserves."[132]

While particulars of the relationship between Catholic Church leaders and Indigenous Catholics in Canada vary by region and peoples, there is much to learn from the experience in Nova Scotia. While there were several complex factors that led to the generational marginalization of the Mi'kmaq within their own Church, the centralization scheme of the 1940s was undeniably a watershed moment. The erection of Holy Family Parish altered the conviction among Church leaders that Ottawa was solely responsible for

130. R.A. Hoey to James Morrison, 22 December 1947, ADA, BMP, Fonds 4, series 1, folder 6.

131. *The Casket*, 31 July 1947.

132. R.A. Hoey to James Morrison, 16 October 1942, ADA, BMP, incoming letter#28043.

Mi'kmaw issues (when Fr Michael MacNeil was appointed administrator at Eskasoni in 1952, Bishop John R. MacDonald, Morrison's successor, was unsure whether to inform Ottawa), and slowly reduced barriers. By the mid-1950s, two Mi'kmaw women had entered the Congregation of the Sisters of St. Martha, and while there were still occasional articles in the Catholic press alluding to the "simplicity" of the Mi'kmaq, most columns focused on the work of economic development in communities such as Membertou.[133]

It was also evident that after centralization the certainly among Church leaders that it was to the Catholic clergyman who the Mi'kmaq "instinctively turn[ed] for guidance and direction" was fast eroding.[134] Despite the close collaboration in the late 1950s and early 1960s between the St. F.X. Extension Department and Mi'kmaw communities such as Membertou, by 1969, Noel Doucette, President of the Union of Nova Scotia Indians, informed Church leaders that the time had come to assume responsibility for their own community development work.[135] Only 28 years after Minister Crerar first proposed centralization to Archbishop Morrison, St. F.X. Extension Director and future Archbishop of Edmonton, Joseph N. MacNeil, noted that the Mi'kmaq "were fast approaching the stage where they question all the 'White experts' coming on the reserves."[136] The relationship had indeed changed.

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133. James Cameron, *And Martha Served: History of the Sisters of St. Martha Antigonish Nova Scotia* (Halifax: Nimbus, 2000), 173. Sarah Brennan has argued that the St F.X. Extension Department "enabled rapid development of a Mi'kmaq perspective which could successfully navigate the complex bureaucratic terrain of political negotiation for funding" See, Brennan, "Revisiting the 'Proverbial Tin Cup,'" 154.

134. James Morrison to W. Foran, 5 March 1928, ADA, BMP, letter#14845.

135. John R. MacDonald to F.B. MacKinnon, 12 August 1952, ADA, Bishop John R. MacDonald Papers, Fonds 5, Series 4, sub-series 3; Noel Doucette to George Topshee, 28 September 1969, St. Francis Xavier University Archives (hereafter STFXUA), RG30-3/33/1806.

136. Joseph N. MacNeil to Darryl MacGillivray, 29 April 1969, STFXUA, RG30-3/33/997.

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REVIEWS

Rosa Bruno-Jofré, ed. *Educationalization and Its Complexities: Religion, Politics, and Technology.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019. x + 372 pages. $85.00 Cloth, E-book.

Readers of *Historical Studies* will recognize this book's editor, Rosa Bruno-Jofré, as a respected Canadian historian of education and Catholicism. They will be drawn to this volume for that reputation and for the essays it contains on these topics, by Bruno-Jofré herself, as well as by Heidi MacDonald, Elizabeth Smyth, Josh Cole, and Joseph Stafford. There are additional historical essays in the book by Daniel Tröhler (an overview of "educationalization"), Carlos Martínez Valle (on early modern Europe), Jon Igelmo Zaldívar and Patricia Quiroga Uceda (on Spain), and Sol Serrano and Macarena Ponce de Léon (on Chile). The other essays in the book and the artwork may be less interesting to historian readers.

The book has eclectic contents because it comes from a symposium that invited "senior and junior historians, educational theorists, and curricular theorists" to present papers on "educationalization" and then to elaborate these into essays in their areas of expertise, touching on history, technology, the arts, "decoloniality," and Indigeneity (3).

"Educationalization," the book's focus, refers to how modern societies turn social problems into educational problems for schools or other educational institutions to solve. The AIDS epidemic, for example, is educationalized when societies respond to it by creating new sexual health education programs in schools to combat HIV's spread. Poverty is educationalized when societies lean on schools to push poor people up the social ladder. In this second sense, writing about educationalization is critiquing schooling in liberal societies. Unequal societies create rich and poor. Schools cannot overcome this fundamental flaw in liberalism. They are given the task to treat the symptoms of inequality, so the problems of modern capitalism go unchecked and enriches the few who benefit from it.

The book's essays mainly respond to historian Daniel Tröhler's hypothesis about educationalization, which he presents in the book's first chapter, "The Dignity of Protestant Souls: Protestant Trajectories in the Educationalization of the World." Tröhler contends that educationalization arose in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It was a Protestant reaction

to modernity and its attendant social problems. Educationalization unfolded alongside and depended on the emergence of mass schooling and of the modern self. This is a European formulation of educationalization. American and Canadian historians are more likely to refer to the same thing as "the school as a social agency" and to locate this notion's origins in compulsory schooling and Progressive-era reforms. These origins receive little or even no attention in Tröhler's chapter or in the other chapters either.

Essays by Bruno-Jofré, MacDonald, Smyth, Cole, Stafford, and Serrano and Ponce de Léon also reject big chunks of Tröhler's hypothesis. Bruno-Jofré argues that the Catholic church "was involved in a process of educationalization of its own, with its own characteristics and meanings. These were sustained by Catholic conceptions of education" (67). Smyth also argues that there was a Catholic educationalization. She examines how the Loretto Sisters used Catholic schooling to mould virtuous Catholic community members, who were tuned into social justice concerns, and how the sisters engaged with modernity and modern, compulsory state school systems. Stafford and Serrano and Ponce de Léon also describe Catholic educationalization in different forms. It seems Catholics have been perfectly capable of educationalization for as long as Protestants have.

Cole and MacDonald take issue not with the Protestant part of Tröhler's hypothesis, but with the modern schooling part instead. Both argue that something resembling educationalization exists that is not totally produced by schooling or reliant on schooling to exist. Cole calls this "a very different, grassroots form of educationalization—or an education that is not educationalization" (105). He looks at this in the famous Antigonish adult education movement in early-twentieth-century Nova Scotia. Its anti-modern grassroots and Catholic origins, the anti-capitalist cooperatives its followers founded, and especially its out-of-school location and focus on adults and conscientization and not children and social control, should mark it as quite apart from educationalization. Yet it was like educationalization, Cole argues, because it too sought to solve social problems. MacDonald focuses on the Sisters of Charity-Halifax and their Latin American mission in the 1960s and 1970s. Like the Antigonish movement, the Sisters of Charity's liberation theology was Catholic, about social justice, and was located outside of schools. It too, MacDonald argues, falls under Cole's "classification" of "education that was not educationalization" (129).

In the end, it is a bit of a rout for Tröhler's hypothesis. But never mind, because the book's essays that I mention in this review contribute in their own right to Catholic educational history. Readers interested in this topic and historiography should still pick up this book.

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S. Karly Kehoe. *Empire and Emancipation: Scottish and Irish Catholics at the Atlantic Fringe, 1780-1850*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2022. xii + 290 pages. $75.00 Cloth, $32.95 Paperback.

In *Empire and Emancipation*, S. Karly Kehoe explores the contributions of Scottish and Irish Catholics to the shaping of the Second British Empire through studies in the Atlantic colonies of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Cape Breton Island, Trinidad, and Bermuda from the American revolutionary era to the mid-nineteenth century. Restrictions on Catholic civil rights were lifted on both sides of the Atlantic during these decades, and despite the loss of the Thirteen Colonies, Britain made territorial gains elsewhere, such as in the Caribbean. Kehoe details how Scottish and Irish Catholic men seized opportunities in far-flung colonies to secure and strengthen the empire as soldiers, sailors, politicians, clergy, civil servants, doctors, and merchants, with their female counterparts doing likewise as nurses and teachers. Such enterprise furthered their advancement in economic, social and, eventually, political terms. Kehoe argues that legal concessions won by colonial Catholics mattered to the struggle for Catholic emancipation back in the United Kingdom, which finally ended in 1829; before then, it was possible for Catholics to be "subordinate at home, but dominant abroad" (10).

Kehoe's primary source base, drawn from archives in five countries, is impressive. In six chapters, she disrupts Protestant- and Anglo-Saxon-centric interpretations of Britishness through the incorporation of multifaceted Catholic collaborations and interactions in her chosen locations. And as the Holy See took increased interest in such places, supplying bishops, priests, and money for missions, churches, and schools, it became a cooperative "partner of the imperial state" (17) for much of the period. While Kehoe documents how Irish and Scottish Catholics embraced loyalty to the British Crown, she recognizes their pragmatic motivations for doing so. National affiliations endured and rigid pieties were far from widespread; Irish doctors were, for example, "committed to their faith but not militantly so" (148).

Chapters 1 and 2 address the contexts of imperial defense and colonial development in British North America and the strategic importance of Quebec and the Maritime region. To secure the loyalties of French Canadians, Catholicism required compatibility with the British constitution, and Kehoe credits the Quebec Act of 1774 as "the major turning point for Catholicism's relationship with the British state" (48-49) in that it brought "a level of legal recognition and civic standing that was far beyond the reach of their co-religionists in the United Kingdom" (50). Back in England, London's Gordon Riots of 1780 illustrated how fragile the public mood could be regarding political concessions to Catholics. While Nova Scotia provided "breathing room" (29) from accusations of disloyalty for immigrant Catholics

from Ireland and the Scottish Highlands, Catholicism in France sought institutional recovery in the wake of revolution, and refugees to Britain energized its revival there with convents, seminaries, and schools.

Chapter 3 discusses Nova Scotia and Cape Breton where a pioneering Irish Catholic middle-class, unencumbered by clerical interference, filled leadership vacuums in a society where denominational diversity and ecumenical co-operation had become the norm. With wealth accumulation came pressure for political enfranchisement, and the liberal response from London to Lawrence Kavanagh Jr. taking his seat in the Nova Scotia Assembly in 1823 paved the way for full emancipation in 1827, illustrating the effectiveness of Catholic claims "as colonial citizens and British subjects" (85). Chapter 4 explores Catholic recruitment to Britain's military machine as the numbers of such civilians under the jurisdiction of the British state increased between 1765 and 1815, and included those enslaved in the Caribbean. Military service helped Catholics acquire social capital, although the potential for alienation was never far away in an atmosphere shaped by Anglican hegemony where permanent Catholic chaplains were not permitted until 1858.

Chapter 5 provides a transatlantic perspective on how Catholic ambitions became realized through higher education. Here, Kehoe charts how the reintroduction of Catholic education in Britain enabled teaching to emerge as a key occupational outlet for women religious with medicine serving the same function for men. In the sixth and final chapter, the focus shifts to Trinidad and Newfoundland and the rise of episcopal authority in the era of ultramontanism. Co-operation between Catholic and colonial officials prevailed in Trinidad as law and order required careful maintenance in a society transitioning out of slavery. The colonial office funded both Catholic and Anglican churches and schools, though anti-Blackness remained. In Newfoundland, where colonial settlement was never officially encouraged, a Catholic population of Irish origin found political concessions harder to realize. Ultramontane Bishop Michael Anthony Fleming often proved a divisive figure and was clearly not a man to be messed with!

Empire and Emancipation is a well-written and well-arranged reminder that the shaping of the British Empire was, at its source, a "four nations" effort that also involved non-Protestants. Irish Catholics capture more spotlight than the Scots, likely due to their greater public activism. One wonders what the great "emancipist" Daniel O'Connell made of these developments at the Atlantic fringe. While navigating between colonial locations and the shifting contexts of Catholic life in the United Kingdom is a challenging task, Kehoe has skillfully crafted a narrative that focuses

principally around the sub-themes of imperial security, minority agency, and national identity.

William Jenkins, York University

Peter Ludlow. *Disciples of Antigonish: Catholics in Nova Scotia, 1880-1960*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2022. xxi + 506 pages. $130.00 Cloth, $39.95 Paperback.

The Diocese of Antigonish occupies a special place in the history of Canadian Catholicism. Erected in 1844, it became the principal bastion of Scottish Catholicism in a church otherwise dominated by Catholics of French and Irish origin or heritage. The impetus for the creation of a separate diocese of Antigonish was the failure of the Scottish Catholics in eastern Nova Scotia and the Irish Catholics concentrated in Halifax to work together in what, since 1817, had been the Vicariate Apostolic of Nova Scotia. While the new Diocese of Antigonish included Mi'kmaw, Acadian, and indeed Irish residents, the largely Scottish bishops and clergy infused the regional church with the distinctive features of their brand of Catholic culture: Gaelic-speaking, with a strong inward focus on their own community; accommodating in their dealings with civil authorities; careful to avoid offending Protestants by unnecessary displays of "popish" practices; and reliance for support in the public sphere on Presbyterian fellow Scots rather than on their increasingly assertive Irish co-religionists. What seemed prudent to Scottish Catholics appeared servile to Irish Catholic activists and functioned to drive a deeper wedge between Antigonish and Halifax. Moreover, the rift was deepened by the success of the Scots in securing jurisdiction over the three most easterly counties of mainland Nova Scotia (with numerous Scottish Catholic inhabitants) in defiance of Halifax's contention that its territory should be limited to Cape Breton. Resentment over this dispute lingers to this day.

However, if one were to rely exclusively on this description of the spirit of Antigonish Catholicism, it would leave a one-sided impression of an isolated, ethnic enclave with no influence beyond its borders. The Scottish Catholic leaders and people may have been inward looking in their formative years, but as the diocese matured and developed stronger pastoral, educational, and social resources, it not only overcame previous limitations but rose to a level of influence that belied its small percentage of the Catholic population and its location on the rugged periphery of the continent. To borrow a phrase which Ludlow invokes, the Diocese of Antigonish "punched well above its weight" in the Canadian Church. Its

far-reaching impact was felt through episcopal appointments (including to the Sees of Edmonton and Toronto), the spread to other provinces of the Sisters of St. Martha (founded in 1900 to serve in Antigonish), and above all through the Antigonish Movement for social and economic reform through adult education. The strong commitment to community, at first perhaps inward-looking, blossomed into an innovative form of outreach that achieved national and international fame. In the face of changes and challenges associated with industrialization at home and abroad, the mainly local focus of the Diocese of Antigonish gave way to a broader vision, one still intensely engaged with the immediate environment of eastern Nova Scotia but also acutely aware of the broader context of the issues. How successful the Antigonish Movement was in meeting these challenges, and how supportive the ecclesiastical hierarchy was in helping it to succeed, remain matters of debate. But the reputation that Antigonish achieved has endured to this day among people in many countries who are committed to cooperative enterprises and adult education. Meanwhile, the Catholic population of Cape Breton acquired a new diversity as industrialisation brought immigrants from Newfoundland, Italy, and Eastern Europe in search of employment.

Historians of Canadian Catholicism derive their knowledge of the Diocese of Antigonish chiefly from the two-volume *History of the Catholic Church in Eastern Nova Scotia* published by the late Father A. A. Johnston between 1960 and 1971. Anyone who has examined the papers which this redoubtable priest left behind will have an idea of just how extensive his archival research was. His knowledge of primary sources in several languages ranks as one of the strengths of his work. Other strong features are the precise biographical details he provides on individual clergy who served in eastern Nova Scotia over a period of more than two and a half centuries, the record he traces of the development of the area's mission stations and parishes, and his meticulous account of the evolution of ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the region. Johnston's narrative ends, however, in 1880, with the death of Bishop MacKinnon, and despite all the knowledge that lies behind it, it is more a chronicle than an interpretation of events. Meanwhile, the story of the Diocese since 1880 has been written only in specific, albeit valuable, increments (duly cited in Ludlow's text and endnotes and listed in the bibliography), such as James Cameron's history of St Francis Xavier University and Heidi Macdonald's excellent contributions on the Marthas. *Disciples of Antigonish* is much broader is scope, sufficiently so to constitute a general if not quite comprehensive history of the Diocese of Antigonish in the crucial decades between 1880 and 1960. Ludlow acknowledges that he would have liked to say more about the place of religion among the rank-and-file Catholics of the region, or as he put it, "the story of Catholicism from the farmhouse, company home, and fisherman's cottage." But like all

of us, he faced the fact that descriptions of the convictions and habits of ordinary lay people are preserved mostly in the testimony of clergy.

Peter Ludlow's work in this new book, as in his previous publications, is distinguished by independent judgement, fair-mindedness, and balance. He examines evidence afresh, putting aside beliefs and assumptions entrenched by previous scholarship, to identify clumsy mistakes and simplistic interpretations. He takes aim especially at the tendency to see historical figures in black and white terms as either "saints" or "sinners." In the history of the Church in eastern Nova Scotia, he finds this tendency reflected especially in the story of the St. Francis Xavier University Extension Department, so vital to the Antigonish Movement, where Father Jimmy Tompkins is habitually portrayed as a visionary and his bishop, James Morrison, as a reactionary. This version of the facts is capped by the belief (mistaken as Ludlow demonstrates) that Morrison banished Tompkins from Antigonish and the University to the remote parish of Canso because of his advocacy of progressive social causes. In fact, Tompkins was sent into "exile" by the bishop because of his support for a proposed merger of Nova Scotia universities (with Mount Allison of New Brunswick also potentially included). However, even as Ludlow uncovers the false assumptions and stereotypes on which the error rested, he partially excuses researchers who came before him on the grounds that they were denied the kind of access to institutional records which he has enjoyed. These collections are crucial to the nuanced portrayal he has given us of one of the most interesting and consequential Catholic communities in the Canadian Church.

Terry Murphy, St. Mary's University

Jane McGaughey. *Violent Loyalties: Manliness, Migration, and the Irish in the Canadas, 1798-1841*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, Reappraisals in Irish History Series, 2020. xii + 256 pages. $150.00 Cloth, $50.00 Paperback.

The writing of history is integrally tied to the vantage point of the author. Each individual scholar brings his/her own perspectives, methods, and ideologies to the craft of researching and writing history. So it has been with the historiography of the Irish in Canada. Historical geographers such as Cecil Houston, William Smyth, William Jenkins, and John Mannion have written about Irish emigration and settlement through the lenses of their own discipline with careful attention to interplay between people, the spaces they inhabit, and what the do in those spaces. David Wilson, Hereward Senior, Patrick Mannion, and Peter Berresford Ellis have examined the political behaviour of the Irish, shades of nationalism, and the interplay of political

characters and their circumstances. Gregory Kealy, Michael Cross, and Clare Pentland have employed new-left and Marxist theory to tease out how class and work shaped Irish communities in central Canada. Elizabeth Smyth and Willeen Keough have brought the tools of women's history and feminist theory to the fore in their discussion of religious and lay Irish women. For their part Brian Clarke, Terry Murphy, and Mark McGowan have observed the Irish through the lenses of religion and how it shaped Irish behaviour, identity, and nationalism. The great Don Akenson has been able to synthesize many of these methods and perspectives in his myth busting about the Irish in Canada. Now Jane McGaughey brings us another vantage point: the exorcizing of the "wild Irish" stereotypes through an examination of the intersection of masculinity, nationalism, loyalty, and respectability.

McGaughey's writing on Irish masculinities in Upper and Lower Canada appears to be a continuation of this theme presented in her first book, *Ulster's Men: Protestant Unionist Masculinities and the Militarization of Northern Ireland, 1912-1923* (McGill-Queens, 2012). The historical material that she covers in *Violent Loyalties*, however, has been well covered by many of the above authors, but none of them have examined these well-known events through the theoretical lenses of masculinity. In her own words, "My aim has been to use analysis of masculinities and manliness to put pre-Famine Irish Canada into a wider comparative history of Irishmen in the Empire and across the diaspora" (230). In most circumstances she is very successful at examining male behaviour and the perceived standards of such behaviour through the lenses of pre-Victorian bourgeois expectations of masculinity. She often compares the Canadian examples to settler-colonial circumstances in Australia and within the context of internal migration within the United Kingdom. What one discovers throughout the book is not only contested definitions of masculinity, but also constructed masculinities that appear protean given the historical circumstances. In some cases, the Irish are depicted as "wild" because of expectations of virility, ignorance, intemperance, pugnacity, and violence imposed upon them by "superior" classes.

Other Irishmen, who elude such characterization, evoke a more genteel manliness, are represented in McGaughey's sympathetic exposé of the gallant, courageous, and gentlemanly Irish officer, James FitzGibbon, "whose reputation was so unimpeachable along hypermasculine grounds that, in a way he doomed later Irishmen in Canadian public life to look small by comparison" (97). Another example might be Montrealer Michael O'Sullivan, of the St. Patrick's Society, who seemed to exhibit a counter manliness to the ruffians among the Montreal Irish who gathered around the *Patriote* banner in the period leading up to the rebellions of 1837-38.

Each of McGaughey's chapters tackles a specific historical event though the perspective of a single individual, and the characteristic aspects of manliness that he exhibits. In respect to one of the sub-themes of the book—loyalty—some characters struggle between the search for respectability and the manner in which he tries to achieve it. In Chapter Two, such is the case of Ogle Gowan, the founder of the Loyal Orange Order in Canada. Gowan is loyal to the core, as is the Order, but in his attempts to assert loyalism and seek respectability from the chattering classes, he and the LOL resort to intimidation, thuggery, and violence. While historically the LOL had no monopoly on violent behaviour during the era of open balloting, their actions in asserting loyalty, the open Bible, and defence of Empire, were interpreted through the lenses of negative masculine behaviour, see as characteristic of the "wild Irish." Ironically, in Chapter Six, the principal character Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan, editor of the *Vindicator* in Montreal rails against the LOL's brutality, while intoning his own adoption of Daniel O'Connell's constitutional and gentlemanly manliness. In a twist of historical fate, O'Callaghan's eventual embrace of radical Patriote politics, thrust him into the same guise as advocating what such "wild Irishmen" are accused: violent resistance to the state and disloyalty. McGaughey's treatment of O'Callaghan is justifiably far more critical than the reverent treatment given him by his biographer Jack Verney in his *O'Callaghan: The Making and Unmaking of a Rebel* (Carleton UP, 1994).

McGaughey makes a valiant effort to mine every pertinent primary and secondary source for a period in history where few records remain that attest to the motivations of rank-and-file Irish settlers. Not even the scant fragments of routinely generated records can yield too many clues as to whether Irishmen were aware of the manner in which they were being categorized and dismissed as inherently violent and disloyal. Chapter Five on the Shiners may be the highlight of the book. McGaughey carefully disentangles the Shiners from the troublesome accounts of them written by the late Michael Cross fifty years ago. Cross's taking contemporary accounts at face value and attributing Irish behaviour as endemic since in Ireland "violence was an everyday fact of life" and the Irish were "prone to ethnocentrism," is successfully put to the test by McGaughey. She draws both on contemporary opinion in the press to demonstrate that constructed ideas of Irish masculinity were at play, oftentimes characterizations that were atypical of other Irish settlers in the Ottawa Valley. Her repeated citations from colonial newspapers, particular the *Globe* and the *Bytown Gazette*, in 1856, nearly twenty years after the worst Shiner violence, reinforces how these accounts of violent Irish masculinities, ought not to be taken at face value. Perhaps, McGaughey might have underscored that it was not surprising that these later negative accounts of Irish Catholics were constructed in one

of the worst decades (the 1850s) of sectarian violence in Canadian history. That editors like George Brown might trace such negative masculine tropes back to the Shiners appears most convenient for his anti-Catholic project in the 1850s! Peter Aylen, the Irish expatriate and harnesser of Shiner loyalty, remains a bit of an enigma, part eth-class "boss" and *padrone,* and part self-interested man on-the-take.

The choice of ending her book in 1841 is somewhat problematic and robs McGaughey of needed discussion and analysis of several events which may have enhanced her study. While 1841 might serve political historians well as a constitutional end point for Upper and Lower Canada, most inhabitants of these colonies barely recognized the new creation of the United Province of Canada as having any bearing on their everyday lives. In fact, they still called the eastern and western halves of UPC by their old names. Missed opportunities in the 1840s include the Cavan Blazers, the Welland Canal battles, and the persistence of the "wild Irish" stereotypes well into Black '47, the worst years of the Irish Famine migration. In Cavan township, Ulster Protestant settlers burned out all but one of their Catholic neighbours in an exercise of ethnic cleansing rarely seen among settler colonists; Connaughtmen and Corkmen battled repeatedly for work on the Welland canals, and only in 1849, did the fisticuffs pit Orange against Green. Finally, weekly newspapers in 1846 and 1848, in both sections of the Canadas, still used the pugilistic stereotypes to describe the embattled refugees from hunger and want. It would have been very interesting to see how these episodes fit into the author's paradigm of masculinities and their perception, thus established by the author.

Nevertheless, McGaughey has made a unique contribution to the historiography of the Irish in Canada and will force many of us to rethink our interpretations of the early colonial-settler period. Her book serves to remind us that the application of new vantage points on historical events, make the discipline more challenging with sometimes very rewarding outcomes. In this book, I think there are new pathways opened to understand the influence of the post-1798 rebellion migration to Canada, in addition to rethinking the nature of work and culture in the Ottawa Valley.

Mark G. McGowan, St. Michael's College, University of Toronto

Elizabeth M. Smyth and Linda F. Wicks, eds. *170 Years of Service: A Collection of Essays on the History and Mission of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Toronto.* Toronto: Sisters of St. Joseph, 2022. vii + 321 pages. $25.00 Paperback.

Compiled to mark the Congregation's recent anniversary, "*170 Years of Service: A Collection of Essays on the History and Mission of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Toronto*," edited by Elizabeth M. Smyth and Linda F. Wicks, with contributions from seven scholars, provides a broad and entirely engaging overview of the life and work of this important Congregation.

In her introduction, editor and contributor Smyth likens the seven original essays, commissioned by the Sisters of St. Joseph of Toronto with no editorial control, and written by scholars of history and theology, to the threads woven into lace by the first Sisters of St. Joseph in seventeenth-century France. While not every contributor takes this metaphor up explicitly, and each paper could stand alone successfully, they are all united by common thematic threads. The evolution of the Congregation's relationship with the Church (local and global) is one such theme, as is the quiet competence, determined leadership, and a steady devotion of its members rooted in a bedrock spirituality and charisma, which has allowed its members to face and respond to need and change across three centuries.

Researched, written, and compiled during the early 2020s, the seven contributors were given open access to the Congregation's archives, and made ample and effective use of its records. Any challenges they might have faced in the pandemic-enforced closures of other libraries and archives during their research and writing, does not show in the final product. The chapters are arranged chronologically, beginning with the Congregation's foremothers in the medieval period, and ending in the twenty-first century. Each author's work builds on its predecessor allowing for a greater appreciation of each subsequent article and creating the effect of a remarkably engaging conversation about the significance of the Congregation not only to the city of Toronto but to Canada.

Alison More, a medieval scholar, opens the volume with a fascinating examination of the biblical and medieval origins of women's individual and communal religious service, tracing the influence of those foremothers on the founding of the Sisters of St. Joseph in France in the seventeenth century. Next, Mark G. McGowan provides an overview of the Congregation's extensive contributions to public education in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Ontario, making the case that the breadth and depth of that contribution has not yet been adequately recognized in the history of education in the province.

Archivist M.C. Havey recounts the Sisters of St. Joseph of Toronto's role in the establishment of the Sisters of Service and Our Lady's Missionaries orders in the early and mid-twentieth century. The Sisters of St. Joseph of Toronto provided the leadership, spiritual guidance, and structure necessary to build the new religious congregations into independent entities. In her piece, Elizabeth M. Smyth explores the remarkable leadership of Sister Maura McGuire, the General Superior from 1956 to 1968, who ably led the Congregation through a period of extraordinary growth and change and who held important leadership positions within the province's health care system.

Continuing the discussion of the mid-twentieth century and providing context for the changing face of the Church in that period, theologian Michael Attridge examines the ways in which the Sisters responded to the initial teachings of the Second Vatican Council and the process of renewal and adaptation that was enacted in the late 1960s by the Congregation as a result.

The final two chapters in the volume, look at the present and to the future. James R. Ginter, the current holder of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Toronto's Endowed Chair at St. Michael's College, argues for the Congregation's (and religious orders generally) importance to a renewal of theological education and theology more broadly in twenty-first century Canada. Leah Watkiss, Ministry Director of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Toronto's Ministry for Social Justice, Peace, and Create Care, rounds out the volume with a fascinating account of the current social justice initiatives and activities of the Congregation. Though the methods of their service have changed since the nineteenth century, Watkiss demonstrates the continuity in strategic and meaningful action rooted in the Congregation's charism and spirituality.

There is much to admire in the Sisters of St. Joseph of Toronto's long history, and this volume brings elements of that history to vibrant life. While this reader expected to be left with a sense of loss and regret about what has been lost in the transition of the Congregation out of active public service, particularly in provincial social services now generally accepted to be in crisis, the editorial choice to move beyond the historical and into the present-day in the final chapters offered optimistic reassurance that all is not lost and highlighted the Congregation's continued relevance and energy in the twenty-first century. The volume makes a worthy addition to the Congregation's practice of marking its significant anniversaries with published works of history, and leaves the reader looking forward to the next volume and the next anniversary.

Laura J. Smith, President, Canadian Catholic Historical Association