THE VIA MEDIA TO VATICAN II:

Liberalism, Socialism, and Transatlantic Catholic Social Thought in English Canada, 1912 to 1961

By

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ABSTRACT

Following the Capture of Rome and suspension of the First Vatican Council in 1870, the Roman Catholic Church, as a global institution, desperately needed to rethink its relationship to modernity. Catholics had attempted to do so throughout the nineteenth century: applying faith-based principles to matters of social and economic organization and reorienting traditional notions of charity to ones based on social justice. 'Social Catholicism' became a groundswell within the Church, culminating in papal encyclicals such as *Rerum Novarum* (1891) and later *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931). Concurrently, Catholic scholars had been looking to the medieval philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas for inspiration to confront post-Enlightenment Western Civilization, an initiative reflected by Pope Leo XIII's *Aeterni Patris* (1879). These developments became intertwined. These encyclicals argued for a 'third way' most often associated with an economic and social philosophy of 'corporatism.' However, a corporatist reading came alongside other interpretations in Catholic social thought, which included British distributism and French personalism. Outside of fascist regimes, moreover, the idea of a 'third way' must more accurately be repositioned as occupying a 'liminal' space between the liberal and socialist traditions. Within this conceptual space came an engagement with modernity—one which created the preconditions for Vatican II.

This dynamic affected the universal Church, but, as a *via media*, one that developed within local and national experiences of Catholicism. Using this framework, this study explores social Catholicism within English Canada from 1912 to 1961. It discerns three streams of social Catholic thought and action associated within the Antigonish Movement of Nova Scotia, the work of Henry Somerville in the Archdiocese of Toronto, and the educational initiatives of the Congregation of Priests of St. Basil. Through these streams, social Catholics experience a space

of liminality between a social order predicated on liberalism and attempts by the left to live outside of an established set of economic and social relations conditions created by liberalism and capitalism since the 1840s in Canada. For the Canadian Church, this engagement leads to intellectual and institutional restructuring—a middle way, experienced in concert with Catholicism throughout the west, which led to the Second Vatican Council.

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It was a humid night in the second week of September, 2005. I had completed my first week of classes in the doctoral programme at Queen's. At the end of these handful of days, ones which began a journey playing out over four or five years (or so I thought), I waited for the elevator on the fourth floor of Watson Hall. Having spent August backpacking in Europe, these opening days had been a whirlwind: little did I realize, but I had met or become reacquainted with people—Ian McKay, Marguerite Van Die, Sandra den Otter, Jackie Duffin, Matt Trudgen, Yvonne Place, Cathy Dickison—who were instrumental in my intellectual, professional, and personal formation in the years to come. Even though our meeting would have to wait some years, the friendship of Rankin Sherling (along with Claire and Mary McCain), so very much at the heart of my Queen's experience, also seemed with me from the start. Mom was picking me up that night, and so, after Hist 901, I waited for the elevator to take me from the 4th floor to ground level of Watson Hall. The building was familiar, of course, because of the years I spent at Queen's during my undergrad, but little did I appreciate that Watson (as with a handful of other campus buildings) were the sites where I would spend countless hours thinking, writing, teaching, and living out my late 20s and early 30s. Years that transformed a younger me, once destined for seminary, into a teacher, scholar, husband, and, most wonderfully, a father. I knew I was blessed in that moment—but little did I realize how many more blessings were yet to unfold!

The elevator arrived for pick-up on the fourth floor. A few classmates and I loaded into it. I had an academic year of course work to complete before the heavy lifting of the doctoral thesis, and, in the humidity of that late summer night, my mind was ill-equipped to contemplate all the people whose kindness would eventually bring into being. If my mind could have drifted into this unknown future, though, I would have thought of all the friends and colleagues, students, professors and administrators, archivists, clergy, and other kind people who, directly or

indirectly, helped me with love, generosity, and support to bring this thesis to completion. My mind would have dizzied thinking of such a long list:

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Had I attempted such a feat, it would have come at the peril of advice that a trusted teacher gave me many years ago—not to thank people by name because inevitably someone will be forgotten. If anything, I should have realized that so many people, named and unnamed, would light the path ahead and how grateful I would be to each and every of them!

The elevator stopped, and its doors opened. Waiting with love was my golden retriever, Annie dog. "Hello! What are you doing here?" I cried loudly and in an ear-piercing pitch. Annie was the greatest beauty of God's creation. In Annie, I confide, I always experienced something of the sublime—as if the substance of joy and love could not be contained within the material accidents of my heart, but poured forth and impelled me to share these blessings with others (how is that for applying the lessons of Hist 121?). One of my colleagues, not realizing

that she was my puppy remarked, “Wow, that guy likes dogs!?!” Mom had grown tired of waiting and had come inside to look for me. It was a fitting moment: she had found me as she always did, especially during those times of uncertainty and heartache that are part of each of our paths. My Mom, along with Hollie, Dad, Nanny, Alan, Dean, and Annie, were always a safe harbour, a true north, and a place of peace. They are my family. They love me unconditionally, and this thesis (and the PhD it represents) is much more theirs than mine. With great joy, I can now add Michael, Jackson, and Eloise to this august list. Crouching down on the ever cleanly Watson floor, I scratched my Annie’s tummy. That moment was far removed from the thought that she would be in heaven one day. Providence is magnificent though: Martha and Georgia would arrive a few years later—beautiful and completely their own selves, as, of course, it is supposed to be. But they also carried forth the legacy of “Black Dog and Red Dog,” one that my Annie, who sat waiting for that elevator so many years ago, is, I have no doubt, very proud. In the months leading up to that September night, I had been fortunate enough to meet a lovely young women, Julie. Today I am blessed to call her my wife. I grow with her all the days of my life. Much more than being a PhD, I would not be me without her. Jules, I love you. Thank you for the cornucopia of Cantins that accompany you: Don, Judy, Noel, Christina, Logan, and Malcolm. They would become my wonderful extended family. When I enrolled in the PhD programme, little did I realize how much everyone’s prayers, love, and support would sustain me through it!

As I walked with my Annie, I was relieved my first week of doctoral work had drawn to a close, and I survived it. But I felt something deeper. I felt the love of my whole family. It wasn’t new. It was the same love I had been blessed with my whole life long. Had I paused for a second as I left that evening, I could have predicted this thesis would be for them. As I reflect

years later, I have learned there is an incomparable splendour in the serendipity and surprise of life. For me, this discovery meant an unparalleled love was still ahead. Over the last two years, it has grown and flourished with God blessing Julie and me with our children, Robbie and Kate. Children, if you read this, take heart of the words I share with every one of my students in our final class together: "Be kind. Be kind and it will always lead you to the right place." This thesis would not have been possible without the kindness of so many, and I thank God for the kindness of giving us our children. I dedicate this thesis to you.

Supplementum!

Robert Dennis
Solemnity of St. John the Baptist, 24 June 2014
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[*Nota bene*: I pen these words in the library of Ian McKay and Robert Vanderheyden. These men, in the spirit of true Christianity, opened their home to a graduate student caught in the vast busyness of life, so he could complete the writing of his dissertation. In this act of kindness, I earned much more than a PhD, but the friendship of two men who I admire, respect, and owe more gratitude than words can express].

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The *via media* to Vatican II began in 1870.

In a drama fit for the Globe Theatre, discussions inside the Vatican, safeguarded by watchful eyes atop Bernini's colonnade, operated in concert with the Capture of Rome outside the Aurelian Walls of the Eternal City. Preparations for Vatican I had begun in the mid-1860s, and, when it was convoked in 1869, the Church occupied as an entrenched position within Rome as it had since the Council of Trent, three centuries earlier. The winds of change, though, were blowing forcefully throughout Europe: the nineteenth century, mediated, tensely at times, the Early Modern and Modern periods. It was the Age of Revolution. Traditional papal lands were already united under the banner of the Kingdom of Italy; the Vatican's influence, particularly in central Italy, had waned with Italian unification. With the Council prorogued on 20 October 1870, another 90 years would pass before it was formally closed. Pope Pius IX saw the temporal power of the Church, wielded so mightily for centuries, all but vanquished. Desired or not, the Church remained 'in this world,' but less 'of it.' Delegates returned home, but it would be three generations before the Pope would again set foot outside of St. Peter's Square. Vatican City would not become a sovereign state until 1929. The "Prisoner in the Vatican" and the "Roman Question" became epitaphs for a Church of distant memory; one, which, at the height of its temporal power, had exercised authority over the whole of Latin Christendom. In this period of siege, the Vatican became the wounded and expiated heart of the Church—even if its Mystical Body lived in the parishes, dioceses and local experiences of Catholicism. Healing hinged on an ability to rethink its position in a modern world.

This task would not be an easy one. The Church had been embroiled in civil war for most of the nineteenth century: in the early 1800s, the *politicanti* (those who would baptize European liberalism) clashed mightily with *zelanti* (those who wished to return to the conditions of predating the French Revolution). Pope Pius VII exemplified the former, as his predecessor, Pope Gregory XVI, did the latter. As the century progressed, alongside loss of territory and temporal authority, the Church experienced a tumultuous conflict between Ultramontanism and Gallicanism—between Catholics offering greater submission to Rome and those wanting authority vested more locally, civilly and ecclesially. In the midst of an autumn thunderstorm, as if the heavens themselves wanted to end this conflict, the Ultramontanes won the day by gaining a doctrine of papal infallibility on matters of faith and morals.[1] This decision contravened nearly two hundred years of Gallican tradition and affirmed a Roman-centered faith that would guide the Catholic Church into the future.[2] Ironically, the ideal of a national French Church, one not dissimilar to the Church of England, but at once local, Catholic and papal, dissipated as a French garrison and papal Zouaves defended Rome side-by-side against the advance of Italian soldiers.[3]

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*A note on usage: papal encyclicals are cited throughout this text. They are identified by their Latin title as well as a subtitle (usually offering an indication of subject matter) in the vernacular. Upon first use, this text provides both title and subtitle, but proceeds to use them interchangeably thereafter. All encyclicals may be found on the Vatican's website, www.vatican.va (accessed 14 May 2014).

[1] The Pope, now, in instances where he spoke *ex cathedra* or 'from the throne' was infallible in his pronouncements. Taking this charge very seriously, Popes have only spoken infallibly on the rarest of occasions.

[2] Gallicanism had been predicated on four articles, approved by an assembly of clergy in France, and dated back to 1682. These articles: (1) Denied the rights of the Church to interfere in civil and political affairs in France; (2) Asserted the validity of the decrees of the Council of Constance and the authority of General Councils over the Pope; (3) Insisted that the exercise of the apostolic power in France had to be in conformity with the laws and customs of the Gallican Church; (4) Maintained that even in questions of faith the ruling of the Pope was not infallible unless the consent of the Church had been given to it. See E.E.Y. Hales, *Pio Nono: A Study in European Politics and Religion in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1954), 41, n.1.

[3] Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Christianity: The First Three Thousand Years* (London: Penguin, 2010), 807.

The Church of Vatican I had been pregnant with possibility. One found within it a dialectic necessitating broader engagement with 'modernity.'[4] The conflict between Ultramontanism and Gallicanism was not simple. The rise of liberalism in nineteenth-century Europe complicated everything. The Church entered the nineteenth century on the heels of Europe's great liberal moment—the French Revolution. Shouts of '*Egalité, Fraternité, et Liberté*' shook French society and the traditional place of religion within it: battered and bruised by these Enlightenment values, the Church's alliance with the state, replete in Baroque style, was shaken to its core. Liberalism suffused French society. Internal divisions began to fracture the Catholic worldview: a Catholic form of liberalism began to emerge that sought to redefine the relationship between Church, state, and society. As liberalism became a political, social, and ideological reality throughout eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe, it was the advent of liberal Catholicism that gave rise to Ultramontanism. For some Catholics, there was no inconsistency between liberalism, as political, social, and ideological reality, and ultramontanism—civil allegiance was given to the state, while ecclesial submission was offered to Rome.[5] Ultramontanism was handmaiden to liberalism in this regard, reinforcing the separation of Church and state, as well as divisions of private and public, religious and secular identities. Looking 'over the mountains,' towards Rome, was one way for French Catholics (and

[4] As Marshall Berman writes, "To be modern is to find ourselves in an environment that promises us adventure, power, joy, growth, transformation of ourselves and the world—and, at the same time, that threatens to destroy everything we have, everything we know, everything we are... But it is a paradoxical unity, a unity of disunity: it pours us all into a maelstrom of perpetual disintegration and renewal, of struggle and contradiction, of ambiguity and anguish. To be modern is to part of a universe in which, as Marx said, 'all that is solid melts into air.'" See Marshall Berman, *All that is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (London: Verso Books, 1983), 15.
[5] E.E.Y. Hales, *Pio Nono*, 42.

clergy particularly) to have greater civil autonomy even if it meant becoming more authoritarian and hierarchical ecclesially.[6]

Two moments in the nineteenth century had been pivotal in ratcheting up tensions between Catholics of an *ancien régime* and an emerging liberal Catholicism. In 1815, after the Congress of Vienna, the Church had closely aligned itself with reigning European monarchs and, sixteen years later, the conservative Gregory XVI was elected as Pope. These instances precipitated the Church's handling of liberalism as an intellectual and political reality in Europe. Within Catholic circles, some clergy, especially an influential group of Parisians, sought a radical accommodation with liberalism: the separation of church and state would bring Catholicism back to its Christian roots, hasten the advent of a long-sought material poverty and rightfully focus the Church on the spiritual rather than temporal realm. Well known within this group of Catholics was Félicité Robert de Lamennais, editor of *L'Avenir*, where he wrote, "Let's not tremble before liberalism; let's Catholicize it."[7] *L'Avenir*, though short in its run during the 1830s relative to the reputation proceeding from it, found inspiration from the ideals of the French Revolution and published articles on radical democracy under the slogan of 'God and Liberty.' Lamennais hoped the social and political ideals of liberalism and democracy would reorient Roman Catholicism towards 'cross' and away from 'crown.' He hoped that the Pope would be the final arbitrator in a liberal Europe and thus, in this sense, was a forerunner of ultramontanism. Appealing to the Vatican directly for support of his ideals, Lamennais is

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[6] The suggestion of accord between liberalism and ultramontanism does not, however, reflect the full range of experience on the relationship between the two. Thomas Mergel argues, for example, that in Germany, liberalism and Catholicism co-existed amicably at the time of the democratic revolutions in 1848. Ultramontanism, developing independently, came to attack the liberal position after the boundaries between liberalism and Catholicism became better defined after this period. See Thomas Mergel, "Ultramontanism, Liberalism, Moderation: Political Mentalities and Political Behaviour of the German Catholic Bürgertum, 1848–1914," *Central European History*, vol. 29, no. 2 (1996): 160.

[7] Cited in Thomas Bokenkotter, *A Concise History of the Catholic Church* (New York: Doubleday, 2005 ed.), 299.

reputed to have sought a compassionate ear from Pope Gregory. None was found. Pope Gregory, instead, devoted great attention during his 14-year pontificate to disabusing his underling's convictions—through a series of papal encyclicals on the malfeasance of liberalism including *Singulari Nos* [On the Errors of Lamennais] in 1834. Lamennais and Pope Gregory's conflict anticipated the Ultramontane/Gallican struggle which played out as theatre over the next forty years; and, though Lamennais saw no conflict between liberalism and ultramontanism, Gregory's successor, Pius IX, did.[8]

Destined to become the longest serving Roman pontiff in Church history, Giovanni Maria Mastia-Ferretti elected to the Holy See in 1846, gave some hope for Catholic engagement with liberalism. Two years before democratic revolutions would sweep across Western Europe, liberal reformers hoped the new Pope would help situate Rome on the correct side of history—one that Thomas Bokenkotter describes as "adapting the Church only to what was best in liberalism. They [liberal Catholics] felt instinctively that the future was on the side of the Liberals. It was inevitable… some mistakes would be made in trying to realize a more just society, one more conformable to the dignity of the individual."[9] The aspirations of liberal Catholics were soon dashed. Pope Pius IX was no more a friend to liberalism than Gregory had been. Gregory had argued certain errors made this ideology untenable: a rejection of supernatural revelation, indifference to religion, and, again, the separation of church and state.[10] On these fronts, liberalism had a humanizing effect that broke significantly with the theological and political medievalism of the Church. By 1850, two camps had developed within the intellectual world of European Catholicism over the question of medieval philosophy's place in

[8] Lamennais left the Church following his conflict and went on to become a public figure of some reputation in Paris—despite facing censure and imprisonment. Writing in the tradition of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, he challenged the prevailing social order and sought to advance ideals of democratization until his death in 1854.

[9] Thomas Bokenkotter, *A Concise History of the Catholic Church*, 303.

[10] Gregory XVI, *Mirari Vos* [On Liberalism and Religious Indifferentism], 1832.

the Church: unlike the experience of Lamennais, who fused his liberalism to ultramontanism, now these solitudes found themselves on opposite sides. On one side of the divide were the neo-Scholastics of Mainz, under the leadership of their Bishop, Wilhelm Emmanuel Von Ketteler, while on the other was Ignaz von Döllinger, a priest and liberal, and theologians from his Munich School.[11] Tensions increased for more than ten years, though finally leading to an effort at *rapprochement* when Döllinger invited leading theologians of all stripes to a conference in 1863 (it was termed the Munich congress and held a month after a similar event in France known as the Malines conference). Döllinger gave the keynote address to the conference where he professed unqualified submission to the dogma of the Church, while unflinchingly advocating intellectual freedom for the Catholic scholar. Catholic liberals, such as Lord Acton in Britain, offered great praise to Döllinger for his even-handedness. Pope Pius, conversely, remained unimpressed.[12]

Believing liberalism to be the blight of the Church universal, Pius added his infamous and misunderstood *Syllabus of Errors* to his encyclical, *Quanta Cura* [Condemning Current Errors]. The *Syllabus* aimed to be slightly more measured than the popular image of an inflexible and authoritarian regime reacting to the modern world. While the Pope sought distance from liberalism, the *Syllabus* was in fact a summary of errors that Rome had defined during Pius's pontificate, now eighteen years long. Each error had its own context—which had been neglected or ignored—so taken together, the document thundered hostility. The Vatican became retrenched in its position. In an effort to forestall conflict with liberal and democratic states in Europe and North America, Félix Dupanloup, a French Bishop, published a commentary

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[11] Thomas Bokenkotter, *A Concise History of the Catholic Church*, 303.

[12] Thomas Bokenkotter writes, "Pio Nono... laid down the hard line: the Catholic scholar must be subject to the ordinary magisterium (the Church's teaching function), as well as to the decrees of the Roman Congregations; and he deplored Döllinger's negative attitude to Scholasticism." See Ibid, 313–314.

aimed at situating each error, even old chestnuts such as "The Roman Pontiff can and ought to reconcile and harmonize himself with progress, with liberalism, and with modern civilization," back in its original context.[13] While Duplanloup's effort (and similar ones) kept a modicum of peace between Rome and secular states, it silenced many of the voices of liberal Catholic scholars, both clergy and lay. Despite its reputation as a tool of repression, *Quanta Cura* also made some contributions to Catholic social thought which are not widely acknowledged. It defined 'the family' as the basic unit of analysis within Catholic social thought—as opposed to the 'individual' within liberalism. This emphasis gained strategic importance for Catholics aware of 'the Social Question' as they sought to grapple with it within the defined boundaries of Pius IX's pronouncement.

In the nineteenth century, it was, perhaps, German Catholicism that first became aware of how the conditions of modernity, particularly industrialization, urbanization, and the expansion of capitalist markets, interplayed with the tenets of faith. Bishop von Ketteler, who coupled concern for orthodoxy in Catholic theology with an acute understanding of modernity's impact on the working class, stood foremost among those articulating these issues within the German context. To express this concern, he coined an important phrase of the period, "the Social Question." Ketteler attempted to develop a 'third way,' one that capitulated neither to liberalism nor socialism, because he saw peril in unlimited capitalism as well as in too much state control over the public and private lives of citizens. After the democratic revolutions of 1848, Ketteler was elected as a representative to the National Assembly at Frankfurt. Seeing a prophetic role for the Church to solve social problems in a way that the state could not, Ketteler

[13] *Syllabus of Errors*, 80; Thomas Bokenkotter writes, "Error No. 80, for instance was taken from an allocution of the Pope's protesting against Piedmont's spoliation of convents and harassing of priests and that had concluded: The Roman Pontiff does not have to reconcile himself with progress and modern civilization 'if by the word 'civilization' must be understood a system invented on purpose to weaken, and perhaps to overthrow, the Church...'." See Thomas Bokenkotter, *A Concise History of the Catholic Church*, 315.

wrote and spoke widely on this topic over the final thirty years of his life. He was invited to give a series of talks at the Cathedral in Mainz, before becoming its bishop in 1850, where he addressed topics such as private property, human liberty and freedom, the family, and the Church's authority.[14] He grounded his talks in the philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas and continued to develop ideas on social Catholicism through 92 episcopal pronouncements during his 27 years as Bishop.[15] Although Ketteler was an ultramontane and took on liberals on theological questions, he was also profoundly aware of the 'signs of the times' and took a leadership role in advancing 'the social question' as a deeply moral one—one magisterial Catholicism was duty bound to address.

Despite attempts within certain Catholic quarters to respond openly and effectively to Dickensian scenes of poverty and repression, it was the question of authority that atrophied the institutional Church throughout the pontificate of Pius IX. Political change was redefining the Church's home on European maps: not since the Reformation had the temporal and spiritual authority of the Church been so in question. Liberalism had unhinged Catholicism's privileged relationship with the state in jurisdictions with an established Church—ones that had endured since the rupture in Western Christendom over 300 years earlier. Yet the *coup de grâce* for this version of the Tridentine Church came as papal lands succumbed to ideas of nationalism and the nation state, shrinking the Roman geo-political presence until only the last vestiges of empire remained. While Church leadership could do little to halt a secular march into modernity, it could contain internal forces of discontent, such as liberal and Gallican Catholics, by adopting the ultramontane view of Catholicism. A rising tide culminated on the fateful night in 1870 when the Church universal, as expressed in the sovereign will of the Vatican Council, amidst a

[14] Andrew Beck, "The Man Who Coined the Expression, 'The Social Question," *Catholic Herald*, 20 June 1941, 3.
[15] Ibid.

torrential downpour, pronounced the Pope to be infallible when speaking from the seat of Peter. Its symbolism superseded its practical implications. In papal infallibility, a pronouncement had been made wrought with hegemony: when the Pope spoke on the matter of faith and morals and did so *ex cathedra* (i.e., from the Seat of Peter), he bound the universal Church to doctrine without fallibility. This idea was a world away from exalting private conscience as liberals may have wished or as a collegial expression of a conciliar decision as Gallicans maintained. As the autumn of 1870 unfolded, the Vatican's position was truly precarious: an older model of Church was gone, while a new one struggled to emerge.

And yet, all things die to grow again. Two central matters emerged out of the 80 years of the nineteenth century: the relationship between Catholicism and two battered and bruised children of the Enlightenment, liberalism and socialism; and second, the place (or centrality) of Thomas Aquinas in the thought of the Church. In the first case, Gregory XVI and Pius XI did not hesitate to confront bodies of thought and practice to which they were opposed, even if—as in the cases of liberalism and socialism—many in the Church were reluctant to do so. Limina, though, had yet to appear: the Vatican clung to an old order, an *ancien regime*, one represented by the world of Metternich's Europe after the Congress of Vienna. The highest levels of Church authority could not imagine *rapprochement* with new modes of political and social thought sweeping the continent even if Catholics locally, clergy and lay, looked openly to new possibilities. For learned Catholics, there was a sense of the promise and possibility within the intellectual freedom of medieval Catholicism, and they looked back to this high point in Catholic intellectualism in a way reminiscent of the way the humanists returned to ancient Greece and Rome in light of Scholastic thought. In theological circles, great excitement was generated by rediscovering the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas. As we have seen in the debate between

Ketteler and Döllinger, Mainz and Munich, Thomism was at the center of these discussions. In a much subtler way than on the questions dealt with by Vatican I, a groundswell began to emerge during the 80 years before the Council, which would affect the Church every bit as much as pronouncements on papal infallibility.

Bishop Wilhelm Von Ketteler anticipated, perhaps, a need for renewal in the Church—one embodied in the central figure of the Roman pontiff, the Holy Father. As he remarked, "I have an invincible conviction that the time will come when God will send the world a Pope who will know how to awaken in the Church all her divine strength. Nothing is more deeply fixed in my soul than the belief that great and wonderful things will be realized by this Pope."[16] Though Ketteler died a year before his election, Gioacchino Vicenzo Raffaele Luigi Pecci, the Cardinal Archbishop of Perugia, Italy, fit this vision as he became Pope Leo XIII in 1878. Pope Leo shepherded the Church into the twentieth century, doing much to change the tone of the Vatican's siege mentality despite being confined within the walls of Vatican City. In Leo's pontificate, liberals attained some of the goals they had long cherished during the pontificate of Pius IX, yet they found that in this Pope, much as he stimulated progressive thought, was only mildly progressive in reality.

Leo was not a liberal much less a radical—and, in fact, a detailed study would probably prove him much closer to Pius IX than legend and lore would suggest. Liberty, for Leo, remained a concept rooted in natural law. Within natural law, liberty becomes an exercise of reason, but one associated with the non-material—in Christian theology, the immortality of the human soul. Separate from this understanding is liberty as a moral concept, and it is here where liberty as an affair of Church and state comes into focus. Leo, not unlike Pius, rejected much contemporary discourse about liberalism as false, materialistic, and in discord with an authentic

[16] Quoted in Ibid.

sense of freedom emanating from God's divine will. He remained reticent about the separation of Church and state. Drawing in 1888 upon the language of Aristotle, Leo in *Libertas* [On the Nature of Human Liberty] argued that the "unity of civil society" was "not to be sought in any principle external to man, or superior to him." It was rather to be sought in the "free will of individuals." The authority of the State came "from the people only." Just as "every man's individual reason" was his "only rule for life," so too should the "collective reason of the community" constitute "the supreme guide in the management of public affairs."[17] Consistent with his predecessors, Leo could not reconcile the Catholic intellectual tradition with the thrust of Enlightenment thinking—liberalism, which had swept Europe, also represented a false sense of 'liberty.' Freedom of worship, for example, was rejected because worship, necessarily, drew one to an authentic creator, which, in the tradition of the Tridentine Church, could only be exercised through Catholicism.[18] Leo made some tentative, nuanced distinctions within the norms of liberalism. Freedom of the press and freedom of speech were acceptable, but, again, only when these rights led to 'truth.'[19] Truth was immutable and knowable, and it must be rooted in a divine order rather than one constituted by the mere agreement of individuals. Continuity over change, therefore, was one mark of Leo's pontificate.

The windows to the Vatican became, if ever so slightly, ajar. Leo did accept that liberal and democratic forms of government were not a flight of fancy—that the world had changed significantly in the course of the nineteenth century, and these forms of government were going to be a staple of the twentieth century to come. While he maintained a preference for an alliance of secular and religious authority, he settled for establishing an appropriate place for the Church in this brave new world. Leo put forth a series of minimum conditions for amicable relations

[17] Leo XIII, *Libertas* [On the Nature of Human Liberty], 1888, article 15.
[18] Ibid, article 19.
[19] Ibid, article 23.

with liberal democratic states: the Church, and he argued this point axiomatically, was a compass pointing western civilization towards its true north. While liberalism purports not to make any definitive statements on the aims of life, as these can only be constructed and reconstructed by the individual within their own private conscience, it was the place of the Church to point to logical and acceptable ends for the state and its citizens.[20] Secondly, although such was not the preference of the Church, modern liberties were accepted under the conditions of the day—"she judges it expedient to permit them."[21] Implicit in this position, though, was an understanding of authentic liberty and its exercise. Lastly, democratic governments were also acceptable as long as they acted in accordance with natural law for the benefit of citizens and did not violate the rights of the Church.[22] Though this programme was delivered with a characteristic directness, discerning readers could sense in it a movement towards *détente* with a world rapidly becoming modern, albeit one in which the Church hoped to occupy a place of primacy.

In his 25-year pontificate, Pope Leo wrote voluminously, including 86 papal encyclicals. Leo seemed to straddle the past and future: his two most influential encyclicals on twentieth-century Catholicism, *Aeterni Patris* [On the Restoration of Christian Philosophy] in 1879 and *Rerum Novarum* [On Capital and Labour] in 1891, suggest this dichotomy. Pope Leo admired medieval Catholicism and its intellectual tradition and thus adopted a strategy to re-engage Europe with its Christian roots. Even before his ascendency to the chair of Peter, he had advanced Scholastic thought (and Thomism, the philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas in particular)

[20] Pope Leo XIII writes, "Therefore, the divine teaching of the Church, so far from being an obstacle to the pursuit of learning and the progress of science, or in any way retarding the advance of civilization, in reality brings to them the sure guidance of shining light." See Ibid, article 27.
[21] Ibid, article 34.
[22] Pope Leo XIII writes, "Again, it is not of itself wrong to prefer a democratic form of government, if only the Catholic doctrine be maintained as to the origin and exercise of power. Of the various forms of government, the Church does not reject any that are fitted to procure the welfare of the subject; she wishes only—and this nature itself requires—that they should be constituted without involving wrong to any one, and especially without violating the rights of the Church." See Ibid, article 44.

during his tenure as Bishop and Cardinal as the model for Christian theology. Scholasticism had reemerged briefly in the sixteenth century, but as systematic theology it receded quietly in the face of Enlightenment thought. Cartesianism and Newtonism had superceded the Scholastics. As a body of thinking and practice, one rooted in Greek philosophy, Thomism entered a two-century period of obscurity.[23] *Aeterni Patris* did not inaugurate the re-emergence of neo-Thomism. However it did recognize it as a carrier of an important intellectual tradition, one fermented in Italian, German and French theological circles since the 1820s.[24] As an intellectual force in the Church, neo-Thomism continued to gather momentum, as it became increasingly influential until the Second Vatican Council.[25]

Scholasticism gained champions within the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits) notably Luigi Taparelli (who is credited with coining the term 'social justice' and edited the influential *Civiltà Cattolica*), and among Catholic leaders such as Ketteler and Pecci. One historiographical interpretation also suggests that scholasticism found a champion in Pope Pius IX himself[26]—and was reflected in the *Syllabus of Errors*.[27] Thomas Bokenkotter argues that "liberal Catholics [did

[23] Thomas Bokenkotter, *A Concise History of the Catholic Church*, 311.

[24] For an account of this development see Scott D. Seay, "For the Defense and Beauty of the Catholic Faith: the Rise of Neo-Scholasticism among European Catholic Intellectuals," *Logos: A Journal of Catholic Thought and Culture*, vol. 5, no. 3 (2002): 131–146.

[25] There is an irony in the neo-Thomist revolution: it gave an intellectual imperative to Catholic social thought and action, which, in turn, engaged modernity in a way that bore direct influence on the mandate of the Second Vatican Council. And yet, with Vatican II, Thomism as systematic theology and philosophy of the Church began to wane. Aquinas, the Angelic Doctor, became one in a range of intellectual options available to Catholic scholars (despite personalism finding renewal in the pontificate of John Paul II). To add a further irony, in his memoirs, Jacques Maritain suggested the Second Vatican Council was a triumph of Thomist ideas. See Jacques Maritain, *The Peasant of the Garonne: An Old Layman Questions Himself about the Present Time* (London: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1968).

[26] Antonio Piolanti, *Pio IX e la Rinascita del Tomismo* (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1974). Cited in Robert A. Ventresca, "'A Plague of Perverse Opinions:' Leo XIII's *Aeterni Patris* and the Catholic Encounter with Modernity," *Logos: A Journal of Catholic Thought and Culture*, vol. 12, no. 1 (2009): 166.

[27] Error 13 reads: "The Method and principles by which the old scholastic doctors cultivated theology are no longer suitable to the demands of the age and the progress of science." Cited in Scott D. Seay, "For the Defense and Beauty of the Catholic Faith," 138.

not] expect much from the neo-Scholastic renaissance that was gaining momentum and was soon to become the dominant intellectual force in Catholic seminaries and theological faculties. Its leaders tended to be conservative and authoritarian." Two years into his pontificate, Leo XIII gave unprecedented standing to Thomism (and later neo-Thomism as contemporary iterations of Aquinas's of thought were labelled): the 1879 encyclical, *Aeterni Patris*, offered magisterial approval to them as integral aspects of the singular philosophical system of the Roman Catholic Church. Leo had broken the long-held convention for popes not to pronounce judgement on competing philosophical systems within the Catholic world. Critics of *Aeterni Patris* contended that its notion was anti-intellectual because it muted competing ideas; St. Thomas and the Scholastics had little to say to the modern world; and attempts to use Thomism under the conditions of modernity resulted in superficial treatments at best.[28] Proponents believed that the encyclical ably integrated Thomistic thought on metaphysics, epistemology, and psychology, and thus offered valuable methods and prescriptions to counter the influence of positivism, particularly on questions of political economy, from a Catholic perspective.[29]

Though social Catholicism had been coalescing as an alternative to liberalism, socialism, and Church conservatism for much of the 19th century, Leo's famous treatment of the 'social question,' *Rerum Novarum*, gave an ecclesial stamp of approval to this force in Catholicism.[30] While *Rerum Novarum* is unquestionably important for considerations of social Catholicism, it was also the culmination (rather than the initiation) of a century of Catholic social thought. Ketteler, as an example, wrote widely-read treatises such as *Liberty, Authority and the Church*;

[28] Robert A. Ventresca, "'A Plague of Perverse Opinions:' Leo XIII's *Aeterni Patris* and the Catholic Encounter with Modernity," *Logos: A Journal of Catholic Thought and Culture*, vol. 12, no. 1 (2009): 143–168.
[29] Stefano Solari, "The Corporative Third way in Social Catholicism," *European Journal of History of Economic Thought*, vol. 17, no. 1 (February 2010): 91.
[30] Studies on social Catholicism would be remiss not to include discussion of the encyclical, described by Thomas Bokenkotter as the "Magna Carta" of social Catholicism. It thus has become standard fare within the historiography. See Thomas Bokenkotter, *A Concise History of the Catholic Church*, 331.

Christianity and the Labour Question; and *Catholics and the German Empire*, all in the 1860s. Elsewhere, Henry Edward Cardinal Manning of Westminster was helping mediate the London Dock Strike in 1889 as he knew "the new social Catholicism was the most hateful of doctrines to those of the English faithful who looked upon the Church as the guardian of their interests, and religion as the best protection of their private property."[31] *Rerum Novarum* has become iconic within Catholic social thought for the recognition it gave to the moral questions prompted by industrial capitalist conditions; for the alternative vision (one associated frequently with 'corporatism') it provided to the liberal and socialist projects underway in the west; and for the sanction it gave to faith-based initiatives—ones that transcended Christian charity and advanced an idea of social justice as a Catholic ideal. While the encyclical would take a generation to cross the Atlantic, once it was fully received, it served as an intellectual inspiration for the Catholic social movement in the twentieth century. It was also the culmination of nearly a century of thought advanced by Ketteler, Manning and other nineteenth-century social Catholics.

Aeterni Patris and *Rerum Novarum* were responses to two issues with deep roots in the nineteenth century—the place of Thomism in the Church and the Church's response to the social question. These matters preceded the pontificate of Leo XIII, but they were intellectual fragments he inherited, ones in need of restoration by the universal Church. Between the late nineteenth century and the start of the Second Vatican Council in 1962, they were symbolic of one strain of Catholicism—a social Catholicism of the twentieth century. According to Ralph McInerny, the high water mark for Thomism in the United States (and Canada) was the second quarter of the twentieth century.[32] The Thomist scholarship that appeared after *Aeterni Patris*

[31] Ibid, 336. For a good biography of Manning, see James Pereiro, *Cardinal Manning: An Intellectual Biography* (London: Oxford University Press, 1998).

[32] Ralph McInerny, "The *Aeterni Patris* of Leo XIII, 1879–1979," *American Journal of Jurisprudence*, vol. 24 (1979): 1.

was unified by its commitment to the spirit of St. Thomas Aquinas's thought. Neither homogeneous nor entirely original, it distinguished itself by its commitment to bringing Aquinas's thought into relationship with the modern world. With the encouragement of the encyclical, Thomism rapidly became a rather large umbrella category with its own internal debates and preoccupations with respect to metaphysics[33] and social and political questions. The term 'neo-Thomism' applied to the corpus of this thought between *Aeterni Patris* and Vatican II. While the turn to Thomism in the 1800s tended to align with the conservatism of the Church, its iteration in the twentieth century had far more radical implications—ones which nineteenth-century liberals would have applauded loudly.

It would take until the years of the Great War for a progressive reading of St. Thomas to emerge. It was a response to the intellectual conditions of the nineteenth century—even to the thought and writings of Pope Leo. The long nineteenth century only ended for the Church in 1914: after the death of Pope Leo XIII in 1903, Giuseppe Sarto was elected as his successor—he took the name Pius X, and, today, is a saint of the Catholic Church. The years of his pontificate were punctuated by the conflict between integralists (who affirmed the Church's right to interpret the Bible in light of the magisterium and scholars Pius X labels 'modernists'[34]

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[33] At the core of neo-Thomist metaphysics: "Neo-Thomists distinguish themselves by their understanding of the human knower. Human knowing basically proceeds *a posteriori*. Human knowing derives its content from a contact with reality. The normal locus of this contact is sensation, viz., what you are doing now as you like this way and listen. Neo-Thomists claim that you cannot honestly doubt that your object of awareness is presenting itself at least as something real... By saying the object presents itself as real, I mean to say that it presents itself as an existent ontologically independent of the sensor... Neo-Thomists further claim that from these sensed real existents, the human intellect abstracts commonalities... We can intellect a commonality apart from the differences of individual instances... we can also intellect commonalities precisely within the very differences of the instances... According to neo-Thomists, the human intellect starting from the real beings given to it in sensation can frame analogies that span the breadth of the real, from creature to creator." John F.X. Knasas, "Whither the Neo-Thomist Revival?" *Logos: A Journal of Catholic Thought and Culture*, vol. 3, no. 4 (2000): 125–127.

[34] Thomas Bokenkotter writes that Modernists had "a deep commitment to historical and critical methods, which they felt could rejuvenate theology and contribute to a general renewal of religious life in the Church; an aversion to Scholasticism and Thomism; an extreme sensitivity to authoritarianism, especially the papal brand and to any

(academics influenced by biblical criticism and appropriate methods of intellectual inquiry).[35] Only with the election of Pope Benedict XV in 1914 was a modicum of intellectual freedom restored within the Church, which guided Catholic intellectualism until and beyond the Second Vatican Council. Looking backward to St. Thomas, then, took on a new spirit. The core project for neo-Thomists was to offer integrated views of the individual and society from an anthropological, epistemological, and metaphysical perspective. This effort drew on the insights of Aristotle's empiricism, but remained grounded in natural law, and necessarily needed to address issues of politics and economics. While Catholic philosophers parsed each of these questions, the institutional Church encouraged believers to couch their concerns around the structure of the social order—building on the groundwork laid by *Rerum Novarum* and eventually finding fuller expression in Pope Pius XI's *Quadragesimo Anno* [On the Reconstruction of the Social Order] in 1931.

A modern social Catholicism began to take flight. Despite the legacy of the nineteenth century, social Catholicism kept the Church in dialogue with modernity—a relationship thoroughly rejected a century earlier. Three distinct forms of social Catholicism emerged (corporatism, distributism, and personalism), and each emphasized something different about the central aims of their shared project—one fraught with deep contradictions. Corporatism was the iteration most indebted to the nineteenth century and, as it developed in the twentieth century,

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infringement on the freedom and independence of their respective sciences. On the negative side, they were no doubt excessively influenced by prevailing positivism and were inclined to ascribe certitude too hastily to the untested conclusions of research. Nor did they reckon realistically enough with the profound conservatism of their fellow Catholics as regards traditional religious forms." See Thomas Bokenkotter, *A Concise History of the Catholic Church*, 347.

[35] Writing in the magisterial tradition of *Providentissimus Deus* [On the Study of Holy Scripture], the 1893 encyclical affirming the Bible is without error, St. Pius X promulgated *Pascendi Dominici Gregis* [On the Errors of the Modernists] in 1907.

found its champion in a German Jesuit, Heinrich Pesch (1854–1926).[36] Pesch published his thought as a ten-volume *Teaching Guide to Economics* between 1905 and 1926. It served as an aggregator for the best thought on corporatism by Catholic intellectuals dating back a century. Its clearest ideas resonated with Oswald von Nell-Breuning, Götz Briefs, and a small circle of German economists and philosophers charged with ghost writing for Pope Pius XI, and these thoughts found expression in *Quadragesimo Anno*. Much to von-Nell-Breuning's dismay, however, Pius XI penned the final sections of the encyclical, which problematized its applicability to non-Catholic countries.

Examining the thought of Heinrich Pesch, António Almodovar and Pedro Teixeira argue his goal was to:

> establish the analytic foundations of a 'social system of human industry as an economic system which emanates from the solidaristic notion of a moral organism.' This system was therefore based on the concept of solidarity, which Pesch defined as 'the orderly amalgamation of all efforts by forces which are supposed to or do in fact bind society together with reference to a morally required common good.' As Pesch cares to explain, this notion of solidarity was based on natural law, not on mere interdependence based on the division of labour (Smith), on the oranicist exaggerations of nineteenth-century sociology (Comte, Fourier, Proudhon), or even on the cooperative solidarism of Charles Gide. By being based on natural law, the concept of solidarity supported by Pesch was considerably more demanding at the individual and at the social level.[37]

Some scholars, such as Almodovar and Teixeira, have used the term 'solidarism' to identify Pesch's conception of corporatism. Pesch's solidarism is often conflated with the anarchist

[36] "The emergence of a full-fledged Catholic alternative to competing systems may be considered as a result of the action of three different causes: the appeal of a mythic medieval order, the resistance from modern society to the Catholic attempts to bring forth a piecemeal amendment, and a growing belief that the close link between liberal political economy and the existing economic order could—and should—in fact be replaced by a Catholic political economy matched with a Catholic economic order. Once these forces coalesced in the mainstream of Catholic economic thought, the idea of a corporative order became a likely proposition." See António Almodovar and Pedro Teixeira, "The Ascent and Decline of Catholic Economic Thought, 1830s–1950s," *History of Political Economy*, vol. 40 (2008 annual suppl.): 82.

[37] Ibid, 82–83.

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon's 'mutualism' for its focus on the communal responsibility shared by people for each other's welfare and wellbeing. In economic and social terms, corporatism aimed to create corporations in the spirit of the medieval guild system to create representative bodies aimed at assuaging conflict between capital and labour. Transposed to liberal discourse it sought to strengthen the place of civil society as mediator between the individual and the state. Corporatism is a form of social Catholicism most identified as being representative of the political programme of the institutional Church. It is implicit in recognizing modernity even if it reaches back to medieval times for inspiration. In advancing this conception, through papal encyclicals and Catholic moral philosophy, corporatism attempts to instantiate within society a set of prescriptions cognizant of an altered political landscape. Though it was a conception of social Catholicism steeped in the conservatism of the Church, corporatism does not try to recreate medievalism nor does it try to hold on to a worldview so profoundly trumped in 1870. Rather, it attempts to enter into a conversation with two battered ideologies that have made their woebegone appearance before, liberalism and socialism, paternalistically offering a different path. It was thus Catholicism's recipe for a 'third way' constructed in response to liberalism and socialism and consistent with Thomist principles of natural law rather than social contract, an organic understanding of society rather than of the free-standing individual of class-based collectivism, and a view of the state not "as night watchman or as an overwhelming power but as an indispensable guardian of the common good."[38] Much to the dismay of social Catholics, and likely with Pesch among them had he lived longer, corporatism found its most receptive audience with fascist regimes in Italy, Spain, and Portugal, which sought an economic programme to distinguish themselves from the liberalism and socialism found elsewhere in Europe.

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[38] Ibid, 83.

Despite its prominence, corporatism was only one contested form of social Catholicism. Another tradition emerged from Great Britain, where corporatism found little traction within a highly industrialized economy and a political system predicated on long-standing parliamentary conventions. It was called 'distributism.' G.K Chesterton and Hilaire Belloc were its most prominent advocates. Where corporatism called for a full-scale rethinking of the economy, distributism more narrowly considered the distribution of goods within it. Most distributists were realistic about their chances of achieving the full-scale renovation of the economic order according to their prescriptions. Many were content to settle for half-measures—such as schemes of social credit, co-operatives, or back-to-the-land projects, all of which would go to make the logic of capitalism less overpowering. In Western Canada, the Social Credit party developed out of a protestant, "fundamentalist Christian culture,"[39] but its aims were analogous to the Catholic distributists.[40] Proponents of distributism helped develop certain core ideas within social Catholicism. Firstly, they took up—from both *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno*—the ideal of the 'Just Wage.' According to this ideal, labour should be so remunerated that any breadwinner could provide for his (or more unusually her) family. One aimed, not at a 'minimum' but at a 'sufficient' (and just) wage. Second and relatedly, the idea of the 'family,' again enshrined in encyclical thought, was positioned as the basic unit of analysis within distributism. Lastly, distributism advanced the idea of subsidiarity—the idea that no higher body should take action or responsibility over an area of social life, which a lower body can effectively accomplish. This principle provides a check on the overgrowth of the state and keeps economic and social action attuned to local conditions. It promotes values of communal

[39] Edward Bell, *Social Classes & Social Credit in Alberta* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 153.

[40] Among the voluminous literature on Social Credit, see Alvin Finkel, *The Social Credit Phenomenon in Alberta* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989); and C.B. Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta: Social Credit and the Party System* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962).

responsibility and self-reliance. While distributism was not pushed by the institutional Church on a supranational level, it did find support within national experiences of Catholicism and influenced social Catholic experiments in Great Britain, the United States and Canada—particularly as western society sought answers to the conditions of the Great Depression.

Lastly, a third incarnation of social Catholicism developed within French philosophy called ‘personalism.’ Personalism did not attach itself to a single economic or social system, but, rather, was concerned with placing the human person at the heart of the social order. Human beings had an inherent dignity, which separated them from all other material and non-material objects. These realities conferred a special place for the ‘person’ on all social and political questions. Personalism, as a mode of philosophical inquiry, was not exclusively Catholic or Christian, but it fit soundly with the Thomistic anthropological view of people, and thus neo-Thomists, such as Emmanuel Mounier, Etienne Gilson, and, importantly, Jacques Maritain furthered this perspective within social Catholicism.[41] As a form of social Catholicism, personalism objected impersonality inherent in conceptions of the atomized ‘individual.’ It also objected to the absence of a civil society in cases where the state comprises the whole of social life, and personhood fails to find expression. Thomistic personalism agreed with liberalism that each individual was ‘self-possessed.’ It disagreed with liberalism—at least as classically construed—when it argued that each individual was ‘free-standing.’ Individuals were, by definition, and in essence, always enmeshed in their communities. “The person’s capacity for *communio*,” writes Thomas Williams quoting Karol Wojtyla, “...is deeper than sociability and ‘is far more indicative of the personal and interpersonal dimension of all social systems.’”[42] While

[41] For an excellent discussion of Thomistic personalism, see Thomas D. Williams, “What is Thomistic Personalism?” *Alpha Omega*, vol. 7, no. 2 (2004): 163–197.

[42] Karol Wojtyla, “The Family as a Community of Persons,” in Karol Wojtyla, *Person and Community: Selected Essays* (New York: Peter Lang, 1993), 319. Cited in Thomas D. Williams, “What is Thomistic Personalism?” 194.

the meaning of personalism was widely debated by moral philosophers, its implication 'on the ground' necessitated engagement with modernity particularly as it related to social and political life. In the generation and a half before the Second Vatican Council, personalism projected an influence within the institutional Church from intellectual centres as Paris, Munich, and Lublin. Personalism became an important current of neo-Thomist thought, which it pushed beyond the original vision of *Aeterni Patris*.[43]

Within continental Europe, social Catholicism began to take on a range of concrete forms, including organizations such as the *Jeunesse Ouvrière Chrétienne* (JOC) and *Jeunesse Étudiante Chrétienne* (JEC) and Catholic trade unions. It encompassed the introduction of worker priests, and support for Christian democracy.[44] As social Catholicism ascended in the twentieth century, the Vatican attempted to maintain control over many of these expressions by formalizing them within institutional structures under the label 'Catholic Action.'[45] Pope Pius XI's encyclical on Catholic Action suggested it entailed 'lay initiative within the apostolate of the hierarchy.' Catholic Action became popular in France, Belgium and throughout the Europe,

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[43] This point, pushed to its end, culminates in 1978 and the election of Pope John Paul II. Before his election as Pope, Karol Wojtyla had long written within the personalist tradition. As Pope John Paul II, he was part of a wave of Catholic personalist and communitarian thought in the 1980s, which included such secular thinkers as Charles Taylor and Alasdair MacIntyre. An excellent example of Pope John Paul II's personalism comes in an encyclical, *Laborem Exercens* [On Human Work] promulgated in 1981 to commemorate the 90th anniversary of *Rerum Novarum*. *Laborem Exercens* was very well received—even by later critics of Pope John Paul II such as Canadian theologian Gregory Baum. See, for example, Gregory Baum, *The Priority of Labour: A Commentary on Laborem Exercens: Encyclical Letter of John Paul II* (New York, Paulist Press, 1982).

[44] University of Leuven historian Patrick Pasture writes: "The personalism of the Chrstian labour movement... was far more radical than the "Grand Tradition" of Catholic social doctrine... Christian personalism nevertheless offered an ideological basis and source of unity for Christian workers' organization of different denominational backgrounds and nations as well as for Catholic social organizations for farmers and the middle class." Patrick Pasture, "Introduction: Between Cross and Class, Christian Labour in Europe, 1840–2000" in Lex Herrma van Voss, Patrick Pasture, and Jan De Maeyer (eds.), *Comparative Histories of Christian Labour in Europe, 1840–2000* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2005), 44.

[45] Two papal encyclicals addressed Catholic Action directly: Pope Pius X, *Il Fermo Proposito* [On Catholic Action in Italy], (1905); Pope Pius XI, *Non Abbiamo Bisogno* [On Catholic Action in Italy] (1931). Pius X directed his encyclical to the Bishops of Italy, while his successor, Pius XI, direct his encyclical to the universal Church.

and it had a noticeable presence across the Atlantic in the province of Quebec.[46] One reading of Catholic Action would suggest that Catholics, particularly youth, the working class, and the newly-enfranchised, were influenced by the different streams of social Catholicism, and they wished to influence the social order. The institutional Church wished to delimit this activity, and thus created formal Church structures to accommodate these desires and outpouring of democratic energy. While the hierarchy of the institutional Church may not have approved of radicalism within social Catholicism, Catholic Action provided a means of containing these expressions rather than risk losing the socially-minded, politically-engaged faithful to the allure of true socialist alternatives.[47] During the inter-war period and throughout the 1940s and 1950s, as some Catholics continued to dream of a 'third way,' much of Catholic Action, along with less institutionalized forms of Catholic social action, became regarded as 'the Catholic left.'[48]

Personalism inspired a rethinking of what it meant to be the 'Church.' As Catholics found new expressions of faith in social and political movements, the theological underpinning for 'Church,' as a Christian community, were profoundly reshaped. "This understanding of the Church as a living organism with Christ as the head and the Holy Spirit as the soul," write Mark and Louise Zwick, "as the vine and the branches who 'must bring forth the spiritual energies of Christ,' meant that members had responsibility for one and another, that their prayers and actions

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[46] On the JOC in Quebec, see Indre Marije Cuplinskas, "From Solder to Citizen to Prophet: a Study of the Spirituality of the *Jeunesse étudiante catholique*'s newspaper *JEC/Vie étudiante* (1835–1964)," Doctoral diss., St. Michael's College, History Department of the Toronto School of Theology, 2006.

[47] In spite of this aim, these groups historically remained in competition with one another. See, for example, Susan B. Whitney, *Mobilizing Youth: Communists and Catholics in Interwar France* (London: Duke University Press, 2009).

[48] "It is impossible to explain the specific form and content of Left Catholicism in the 1940s without, to cite but two examples, studying the cultural immersion tactics of the JOC developed by Joseph Cardijin in the 1920s or the intellectual impact of Jacques Maritain's *Humanisme integral*, written in the 1930s." Gerd-Rainer Horn and Emmanuel Gerard, *Left Catholicism: Catholics and Society in Western Europe at the Point of Liberation, 1943–1955* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2001), 16.

affected everyone else."[49] Conceptualizing the Church as Christ's Mystical Body was central to the Liturgical Movement—led by Father Lambert Beauduin in Europe and his protégé, Dom Virgil Michel in the United States. It was a movement that centred the Christian experience in the Eucharistic liturgy, the Holy Mass, and particularly, through the Body and Blood of Christ as the atoning sacrifice which gained salvation for the world. Some of its liturgical experiments anticipated the reforms in this sphere of the Second Vatican Council.[50] The Liturgical Movement and its commitment to the Mystical Body became an important force within social Catholicism particularly as it inspired other movements such as the Catholic Worker led by Dorothy Day and Peter Maurin, and its newspaper bearing the same title. An organic unity between the expression of liturgy and daily life was necessary as people were bound together as part of the Mystical Body. This conviction necessarily countered the privatization of faith: "economic disparities and injustices would not be adequately addressed so long as people were in thrall to what he called the bourgeois spirit and its associate, individualism. [Michel] argued that a conversion of Christian hearts and minds to live according to the Gospel and a change in economic structures must occur simultaneously, and that these changes would be best understood through the liturgy."[51] With personalism inspiring the Liturgical Movement and conviction in the Mystical Body, Pope Pius XII, whose pontificate spanned 1939 to 1958, gave ecclesial approval with his *Mystici Corporis Christi*, an encyclical *On the Mystical Body of Christ*, in 1943. The encyclical, as with his predecessor's *Non Abbiamo Bisogno* [Catholic Action in

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[49] Mark and Louise Zwick, *The Catholic Worker Movement: Intellectual and Spiritual Origins* (New York: Paulist Press, 2005), 60. Here the authors cite Benedictine monk, Dom Virgil Michel. See Virgil Michel, OSB, *The Liturgy of the Church* (New York: the McMillan Company, 1937), 47–50.

[50] "Those involved with the Liturgical Movement believed that people would flock to Church if they had the opportunity to hear the Word proclaimed in English rather than Latin—and their lives would be profoundly changed. The emphasis on singing at Mass, for example, was an expression of the unity of the people, interconnected with the worshipper's social responsibility." See Mark and Louise Zwick, *The Catholic Worker Movement*, 60.

[51] Ibid.

Italy], reflected a broader force within the Church—one emanating from the Catholic grassroots. Rethinking 'Church' meant rethinking the Mass itself. What was the meaning of this liturgical celebration of Christ's cross, death, and resurrection with respect to questions of justice in everyday life?

The Vatican, the highest level of the institutional Church, has responded to movements within the Catholic world, often through the promulgation of encyclicals, which in turn have fostered new and often bolder ideas and initiatives. Twentieth-century personalism following *Aeterni Patris* is a clear instance of this occurrence. Catholics on the ground—priests and laity, scholars and practitioners, men and women—all anticipated a place for the Church in the modern world, sometimes long before a Pope gave his imprimatur to their actions or incorporated ideas into Church teachings, its magisterium. Both *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno* had shown that it was entirely legitimate for Catholics to ponder the socio-political order in which they lived. The Great Depression of the 1930s, anticipated by the crisis-ridden decades preceding it, made this lesson all the more evident. It took the institutional Church some time to release its grip on a nineteenth-century paradigm, which associated Rome with established, conservative powers in Europe.[52] Paradoxically, the Church's prescriptions for the social order came late—liberalism and socialism, as they vied for hegemony in some moments and survival in others, were well-established ideological bases for the social order throughout the western world. European fascism—impelled by a desire to be distinct from the liberal democratic and socialist traditions—was one regime that could harness itself to the Church's corporatist prescriptions. Elsewhere, social Catholicism operated within liberal orders, even as they clashed with socialist alternatives. Located within this matrix, social Catholicism occupied a 'liminal

[52] An excellent illustration here comes with the use of *Jus exclusivae* [right of exclusion], a veto given to Catholic monarchs over papal contenders in Conclave as exercised by a 'crown cardinal.' This practice persisted until Benedict XV's election in 1914.

space,'[53] betwixt and between, not advancing a wholesale overthrow of economic structures, but challenging and refining them more subtly, in more limited instances; and maintaining dialogue with and carving out conceptual space between liberalism and socialism. In these efforts, social Catholicism impelled the institutional Church, as it rethought economic, social, and political questions alongside fundamental ontological questions of 'being Church,' to engage with modernity. Often these efforts took place in contexts far removed from the Roman pontiff, even after he regained his freedom in 1929. Instead, they happened within 'local expressions' of Catholicism. They were rooted in the experiences of clergy and laity, as they wrestled, intellectually and practically, with questions of social order at a time and in the place of their day.

This experience is the *via media* to Vatican II.[54]

It took twenty years for European Catholic social thought to wash on Canadian shores. With it came the tensions and contradictions of a universal Church that had not found satisfactory resolutions at Vatican I. Until Vatican II was called in the 1960s, these tensions played out 'on the ground' through the west. Canada was no exception. Canadians wrestled with the implications of Catholic social thought in the first six decades of the twentieth century. They did so in a country that has been defined as a "project of liberal rule" in northern North

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[53] Classic theorization of liminality comes from anthropologist Victor Turner. See, for example, Victor Turner, "Liminality and Communitas" in *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1969), 94–113, 125–130.

[54] On the concept of the *via media*, James T. Kloppenburg writes: "Between 1870 and 1920, two generations of American and European thinkers created a transatlantic community of discourse in philosophy and political theory. Discarding accepted distinctions between idealism and empiricism in epistemology, between intuitionism and utilitarianism in ethics, and between revolutionary socialism and laissez-faire liberalism in politics, they converged toward a *via media* in philosophy and toward the political theories of social democracy and progressivism." He continues: "Aware that new circumstances made nonsense of prevailing political ideas, the philosophers of the *via media* groped toward unorthodox positions on reform strategy and toward altered ideals of liberty, equality, and justice consistent with their theories of knowledge and responsibility." See James T. Kloppenburg, *Uncertain Victory: Social Democracy and Progressivism in European and American Thought, 1870–1920* (London: Oxford University Press, 1986), 3–5, 15–63.

America. This thesis, inspired in particular by a McGill University conference in 2006 held to discuss the liberal order framework, takes up a challenge raised by one questioner's inquiry about the impact the liberal order framework might have on the writing of religious history. Not persuaded by the evasive response elicited by this inquiry, I decided to explore this question in my own fashion. The thesis of this thesis is that the history of Catholicism in English Canada from 1912 to 1961 was profoundly influenced both by the evolution of Catholic social thought in Europe as the Church responded to modernity and by the particularities of social Catholicism in a Canada deeply imbued with the principles of British liberalism. Unless both contexts are borne in mind, I argue, many of the subtleties and even the essential contours of social Catholicism are obscure. This thesis is thus an act of scholarly *reconnaissance*, one that takes account of both the transnational phenomenon of Catholics wrestling with modernity and the more local realities of Catholics wrestling with the particular traditions and categories of liberal order. It was thanks to them that one finds a significant bridge between Vatican I, with its unfulfilled potential to settle accounts with a fast-modernizing world, and Vatican II, which proclaimed the spirit of *agtgiornamento* with an enthusiasm that was felt around the world.

Central to this study is the liminal space occupied by social Catholicism in English Canada. In the absence of an opportunity to present a third way as a true alternative to liberalism and socialism, social Catholicism presented its ideas and actions within a conceptual space that it shared with rival projects. It overlapped with them, but on their margins. Far removed from the animosity of the nineteenth-century, Catholic social thought and liberalism in the twentieth-century converged on a crucial intention for the social order—the protection of private property. Private property is central to liberal order, but it was also important for the Church as the world's single largest institution and land and property owner. With its property seized in Italy, Spain,

Mexico, and Russia, the right to private property became central in Catholic social teachings, which "underlined the dual nature of property (individual and social) and the difference between property ownership and property usage."[55] To position social Catholicism as simply an agent of the liberal state, which has been suggested within the historiography,[56] is to deëmphasize the deep spiritual roots that could not reconcile a Catholicism devoted to the Gospel message of service to the poor with the systemic inequality of a liberal capitalist economic system predicated on exploitation—and one that, by the 1930s, had collapsed under the weight of its own inadequacies. Sharing a commitment to private property kept Catholicism and liberalism in dialogue, however—a significant development at a time when religious identity was becoming increasingly privatized, but also part of a broader historical relationship detailed in chapter 2. Here the Gramscian concept of 'passive revolution' is as suggestive for social Catholicism as it is to socialism: as the liberal state restructured itself in response to the Depression, it adopted many of the ideas and solutions of the Canadian left as a way to pacify an opposing force, co-opt that movement's organic intellectuals, and assuage any challenge to the state's hegemonic place in of Canadian society.

If the protection and preservation of private property drew Catholicism and liberalism together on one margin, than on the other, "a Christian social order required reconstructing the social fabric, which had been ruined by unlimited and the concentration of wealth, by rebalancing social power in order to promote the common good."[57] Within social Christianity—encompassing the Social Gospel, social Christianity, and other Christian social movements—it was never unequivocally clear how to apply Christian principles to the social order. Yet the path

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[55] António Almodovar and Pedro Teixeira, "The Ascent and Decline of Catholic Economic Thought, 1830s–1950s," 76.
[56] See for example, Paula Maurutto, "Private Policing and Surveillance of Catholics: anti-Communism in the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto, 1920s-1960s," *Labour/ Le Travail*, vol. 40 (1997): 113–136.
[57] Ibid.

to the left always beckoned. More than simply adhering to the currents historically associated with the left—anarchism, communism, socialism—Christians might insist upon the rights and dignity of the poor.[58] At its contemporary core, the project of the left (and its practitioners) takes a realistic, as opposed to romantic, approach to social problems. The left aims, using Ian McKay's term, to "live otherwise" as an alternative to the prevailing liberal capitalist order.[59] In the geographic centres chosen for this study, Nova Scotia, Ontario, and Saskatchewan, but also more widely across the country, social Catholics attempted to live apart from the options presented to them by liberalism and capitalism even if they maintained an estranged relationship with these projects. They situated social Catholicism within a broader Christian pattern of resistance to capitalism based on religious values, after not being able to reconcile systemic inequalities with a Gospel message devoted to the poor.[60]

This study traces three 'streams' of social Catholicism prevalent within English Canada during the two generations before Vatican II, dating from the 1930s through the late 1950s though with many earlier antecedents. These streams are not meant to suggest archetypes for Catholic social action, nor are they suggested as an exhaustive list of all such activity in English

[58] Historian Ian McKay suggests a typology that identifies eight paths tread to the Canadian left, including one based on Christian principles. See Ian McKay, *Rebels, Reds, Radicals: Rethinking Canada's Left History* (Toronto: Between the Lines Press, 2005), 25, 35–48.
[59] In conceptualizing 'living otherwise,' Ian McKay argues that as a leftist—one struggling to live otherwise—takes a realistic approach to pressing issues on a case-by-case basis (such as the HIV epidemic or global warming). One soon realizes, however, that they face opposition based on a set of underlying power relations. These power relations connect seemingly disparate issues, but must be confronted in order to affect change in a meaningful, durable way. McKay situates the Catholic Church as a force, which will, in certain circumstances, oppose 'living otherwise.' Writing on the HIV issue, he states, "Quite soon you will find yourself up against people who are actively working against you. The Catholic Church will fight you on 'moral grounds'..." This passage underscores the complexity of understanding religious experience within a political and social context—as social Catholics constructed their ideas and experiments they do so against both a hegemonic political and social order, and also different forces within Catholicism itself. Catholics attempting to live otherwise and remaining faithful to scripture, tradition, and the magisterium—the trinity of Catholic authority—may, ultimately, bring conflicting visions of 'being Church' to bear on the question of an authentic experience of faith. See Ibid, 4–5.
[60] Ian McKay, *Rebels, Reds, Radicals*, 42-43.

Canada. Equally, they are not intended as case studies. Rather, they are meant to describe significant forces in Canadian social Catholicism, ones that share common linkages and overlap in their influence upon one and other. Chapters 3–5 discuss 'the Antigonish,' 'Somerville,' and 'Basilian' streams. Although they are distinguishable from each other, they also together formed a 'network' or 'web.' In this thesis, I cite them as Canadian formations of 'social Catholicism,' influencing specific social and political activities.[61] Chapter 6, if even in a limited way, explores this influence through the 'Catholic World of Toronto during the 1930,' as social Catholics experienced a place of limina between a restructuring liberal order and the mainstream Canadian left that challenged it. In chapter 7, this study reprises the theme of 'restructuring' within the institutional Church—by examining its engagement with the CCF after advocacy and agitation by social Catholics. Such restructuring was a product of a dialogue with modernity, illustrated in one way by the evolving institutional and administrative structure of the Canadian Church, while, reciprocally, bearing influence on the CCF. Finally, social Catholics are followed to the Prairies: chapter 8 examines the hope that they had for the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF). Once the party emerged from its early radicalism, it became an expression of Christian social order—a viable social democratic option for Catholics, which strove to reform capitalism through democratic institutions and market structures, and which could be supported in the full exercise of conscience. These aspirations were indicative of more profound transformation—one anticipating the *gaudium et spies* of the "Church in the Modern World."

[61] The concept of 'stream' is offered within the spirit of Mark McGowan's study of the Diocese of Antigonish. He writes, "The men and women of the Diocese of Antigonish helped to construct a 'pan-Canadian network' within the Church in Anglophone Canada, which served as a conduit for future waves of Catholic emigrants, ideas, and leadership. Through the conspicuous influence of Maritimers, English-speaking Canadians created a counterweight to the francophone dominated Quebec Church..." See Mark G. McGowan, "The Maritime Region and the Building of a Canadian Church: the Case of the Diocese of Antigonish after Confederation," CCHA *Historical Studies*, vol. 70 (2004): 48–70.

Within the historiography, two studies completed in the 1980s are closest to the project at hand. Gregory Baum's *Catholicism and Canadian Socialism* and Brian Hogan's doctoral thesis, "Salted with Fire" were pioneering works of their time. Without them, this study would not have developed.[62] Baum's book takes a pan-Canadian approach and is explicitly focused on the 1930s and 1940s. Hogan, in turn, focuses on Ontario and uses the years of two social encyclicals, *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931) and *Mater et Magistra* (1961), to demarcate his study. While the Quebec historiography on the role of Catholicism in social transformation is well developed,[63] Baum and Hogan offer insights into English-Canadian Catholicism unavailable until they conducted their work. Beyond constructing an untold narrative, the strength of these studies rests with the primary source material they access—namely personal interviews with many of the people whose ideas and actions are examined in this thesis. This material offers insights unavailable to scholars today. Yet these studies demonstrate their age and status as early attempts at confronting the historical questions they raise. There is little attempt to theorize their empirical studies or show their broader implications, and so there is room for other scholars to

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[62] Gregory Baum, *Catholics and Canadian Socialism: Political Thought in the Thirties and Forties* (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1980)*;* Brian F. Hogan, "Salted with Fire: Studies in Catholic Social Thought and Action in Ontario, 1931-1961," Doctoral diss., University of Toronto, 1986.

[63] A sampling of the English-language literature includes: Oscar Cole Arnal, "From Reaction to Radicalism : The Changing Face of Quebec's Catholic Church Toward the Working Class 1920-1990," *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1991): 33-46; Conrad Black, *Duplessis* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977), 497-549; Guy Bourgeanult and Yves Vaillancourt, "Church and Worker in Quebec," in Benjamin G. Smillie (ed.), *Political Theology in the Canadian Context* (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1982); Claude Couture, *Paddling with the Current : Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Étienne Parent, Liberalism and Nationalism in Canada* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1998); Blair Fraser, "Labour and the Church in Quebec," *Foreign Affairs* vol. 28 (January 1950): 247-254; Michael Gauvreau, *The Catholic Origins of Quebec's Quiet Revolution, 1931–1970* (Montreal: McGill Queen's University Press, 2005); Fraser Isbester, "Asbestos 1949," in Irving Abella (ed.), *On Strike: Six Key Labour Struggles in Canada, 1919-1949* (Toronto: James Lewis & Samuel, 1974), 163-196; Stuart Marshall Jamieson, *Times of Trouble: Labour Unrest and Industrial Conflict in Canada, 1900-1966* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1968), 324-333; Charles Lipton, *The Trade Union Movement of Canada, 1827-1959* (Montreal: Canadian Social Publications Ltd., 1979); Michael Oliver, *The Passionate Debate: The Social and Political Ideas of Quebec Nationalism 1920-1945* (Montreal: Véhicule Press, 1991), 205-207; William F. Ryan, *The Clergy and Economic Growth in Quebec, 1896-1914* (Quebec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1966); Peter Taafe, "The Influence of the French Catholic Left on Quebec, 1945-1955," *The Register* vol. 4, no. 1 (March 1983): 53-72.

make wider sense of their subject matter. A second trap, evident in much work on Catholic social thought, is to rely excessively on encyclicals as decisive moments demarcating moments of the Church's evolution, rather than seeing them as products of historically embedded processes. These papal documents did not so much inaugurate entirely new ways of being a Catholic as they bore witness to changes long underway. In the decades since Baum's and Hogan's studies, there has been much development within both Canadian and Catholic historiography. Baum's and Hogan's works ought to be lauded for how they offer a broad framework for Canadian social Catholicism, which is widely absent in the literature.

'Antigonish' is the first stream examined by this study. This chapter is constructed on the basis of well-established literature on the Antigonish Movement.[64] Dating back to 1912, Father Jimmy Tompkins sought to implement adult education initiatives as a means to stimulate economic development in order to ameliorate the lives of the workers and primary producers.

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[64] For primary-source material, see M.M. Coady, *Masters of Their Own Destiny: The Story of the Antigonish Movement of Adult Education through Economic Co-operative* (Antigonish, Nova Scotia: Saint Francis Xavier University Press, 1980). Among the secondary works on the Antigonish movement see Anne Armstrong, *Masters of Their Own Destiny: A Comparison of the Thought of Coady and Freire* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1977); Anne Alexander, *The Antigonish Movement: Moses Coady and Adult Education Today* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997); Santo Dodaro and Leonard Pluta, *The Big Picture: The Antigonish Movement of Eastern Nova Scotia* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012); Peter Ludlow, "Fostering Social Awakening 'along safe and sane lines:' Bishop James Morrison and the Antigonish Movement, CCHA *Historical Studies*, vol. 72 (2006), 39–42; Peter Ludlow, "Saints and Sinners: Popular Myth and the Study of Personalities of the Antigonish Movement," *Acadiensis* vol. 42, no. 1 (Winter/Spring 2013): 99–126; Mark G. McGowan, "The People's University of the Air: St. Francis Xavier University Extension, Social Christianity, and the Creation of CJFX," *Acadiensis*, vol. 41, no. 1 (Winter/Spring 2012): 5–20; Francis Mifflin, "The Antigonish Movement: A Revitalization Movement in Eastern Nova Scotia," Doctoral diss., Boston College, 1974; Daniel MacInnes, "Clerics, Fisherman, Farmers, and Workers: the Antigonish Movement and Identity in Eastern Nova Scotia, 1928-1939," Doctoral diss., McMaster University, 1978; Rusty Neal, *Brotherhood Economics: Women and Co-operatives in Nova Scotia* (Sydney, Nova Scotia: University College of Cape Breton Press, 1998); Jacob Remes, "In Search of 'Saner Minds:' Bishop James Morrison and the Origins of the Antigonish Movement," *Acadiensis*, vol. 39, no. 1 (Winter/Spring 2010): 58–82; R. James Sacouman, "Social Origins of Antigonish Movement Co-Operative Associations in Eastern Nova Scotia," Doctoral diss., University of Toronto, 1976; Michael Welton (ed.) *Knowledge for People: The Struggle for Adult Learning in English-Speaking Canada, 1828-1973* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987); John Young, "A United Church Presence in the Antigonish Movement: J.W.A. Nicholson and J.D.N. MacDonald," CSCH *Historical Papers* (2011): 181–187.

The Antigonish movement had a wide-ranging effect on people associated with St. Francis Xavier University. Take, for example, the argument of T. Stephen Henderson for Tompkins's influence on the formative years of Nova Scotia premier, Angus L. Macdonald:

> [Angus L.] Macdonald did not accept his mentor's social Catholicism in its entirety. He respected the potential of organized cooperatives, but his individualist predilections favoured 'natural' limits on the size of these cooperatives, preferably the boundaries of a community. He also shared Tompkins's faith in education though he emphasized the creation of top-class university more than People's Schools. Most significantly, Macdonald did not accept Tompkins's view of modern society as starkly divided between 'the people' and 'capitalists.' He believed, perhaps from reading *Rerum Novarum*, that all members of society had a common interest and that the state could help elicit their mutual potential.[65]

Henderson's study shows how the radical energies of Antigonish were absorbed by Macdonald, who used them in a subtle and reconfigured way to advance his liberalism of the interwar period. The Antigonish Movement changed, too, from its early formulation, as it reframed liberal principles within the progressive ideas of this stream. By the 1930s, its goals came to include not only adult education but also the formation of credit unions and housing co-operatives. The Antigonish Movement expanded when Father Moses Coady assumed direction of St. Francis Xavier's Extension Department and advocated growth in the co-operative movement as foundational to a new social order based upon Christian principles.

In the literature, Terrence Fay's survey on Canadian Catholicism attributes this wave of enthusiasm for the Antigonish Movement to the effects of Pope Pius XI's encyclical entitled, *Quadragesimo Anno* [After Forty Years], which commemorated Pope Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum* [the Conditions of Labour], since it called for workers to form vocational groups and

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[65] T. Stephen Henderson, *Angus L. Macdonald: A Provincial Liberal* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 16–17.

co-operative organizations.[66] In *Catholics and Canadian Socialism*, Gregory Baum offers a more theorized analysis than Fay. He critiques the long-term effectiveness of the co-operatives in the absence of strong support from the government, and he also underlines the significance of Coady's unwillingness to endorse the CCF.[67] Baum praises the objectives of the Antigonish movement in Nova Scotia, as offering an important response to the province's economic and social conditions.[68] His analysis contradicts the suggestion made by historian George Rawlyk in an essay entitled, "The Farmer-Labour Movement and the Failure of Socialism in Nova Scotia," that the Antigonish Movement was Catholicism's answer to Communism in this region. Rawlyk's assessment still has merit, however; if it is read more subtly, one sees how active Communist movements had the ability to mobilize non-Communists to respond in similar ways to common issues.[69] Scholars continue to debate the motivations behind and the values instantiated by the Antigonish Movement. Few dispute that it provides us with a classic example of organized social Catholicism—one, as this thesis argues, that was rich in implications for Catholics across Canada.

The 'Somerville stream'—named for Henry Somerville, a one-time Christian socialist and editor of the *Catholic Register*—is the second one explored by this study. John Webster Grant writes that in Somerville, "the Church began to develop a sophisticated social philosophy."[70] The major biographical work on Somerville has been written by Jeanne Beck.

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[66] Terrence J. Fay, *A History of Canadian Catholics: Gallicanism, Romanism, and Canadianism* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 203.
[67] Gregory Baum, *Catholics and Canadian Socialism*, 200.
[68] Ibid, 202.
[69] George Rawlyk, "The Farmer-Labour Movement and the Failure of Socialism in Nova Scotia," in Laurier LaPierre (ed.), *Essays on the Left: Essays in Honour of T.C. Douglas* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971), 36.
[70] John Webster Grant, *A Profusion of Spires: Religion in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 201.

Many other writers on social Catholicism in English Canada have also noticed him.[71] The 'Somerville stream' is meant to be emblematic of the concern Archbishop Neil McNeil of Toronto had for the social question—which, as a former Rector of St. Francis Xavier University, he wished to address through education, inviting Henry Somerville to Toronto to do this work. One aspect of Somerville's work emphasized in the literature (and an important interpretative issue revisited by this thesis) is how he influenced the Bishops of English Canada, particularly McNeil's successor in Toronto, James McGuigan, not to prohibit Catholic support for or participation in the CCF. Somerville had faced similar questions in Britain, before coming to Canada at McNeil's request, and he was committed to analyzing the programme of the CCF, rather than rejecting it based on a presumption of socialist doctrine. Joseph Sinasac, a popular biographer of Somerville, writes: "Somerville worried that a knee-jerk condemnation [of the CCF] by Church leaders would alienate many devout working-class Catholics."[72] The objectives of the CCF were consistent with views articulated in Somerville's own writing, and thus he fought for openness to this new party.[73] Through his journalism and activism recorded in the *Catholic Register*, Henry Somerville brought a unique sensibility, developed through his experience of English Catholicism, to questions of social, political, and economic order in English Canada.

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[71] Gregory Baum, *Catholics and Canadian Socialism*, 128-131; Jeanne R. Beck, "Henry Somerville and the Development of Catholic Social Thought in Canada: Somerville's Role in the Archdiocese of Toronto, 1915-1943," Doctoral thesis, McMaster University, 1977; Jeanne R. Beck, "Henry Somerville and Social Reform: His Contribution to Canadian Catholic Social Thought," CCHA *Study Session* vol. 42 (1975): 91-108; Jeanne R. Beck, "Henry Somerville: Catholics and the CCF," *Chelsea Journal* (September/October 1975): 259-264; Jeanne R. Beck, "Contrasting Approaches to Social Action: Henry Somerville, the Educator, and Catherine de Hueck, the Activist," in Mark McGowan and Brian P. Clarke, *Catholics at the 'Gathering Place:' Historical Essays on the Archdiocese of Toronto 1841-1991* (Toronto: Canadian Catholic Historical Association, 1993); Terrence Fay, *A History of Canadian Catholics*, 209-211; Brian F. Hogan, "Salted with Fire;" Joseph Sinasac, *Fateful Passages: The Life of Henry Somerville, Catholic Journalist* (Toronto: Novalis, 2004).

[72] Joseph Sinasac, *Fateful Passages* (Toronto: Novalis, 2004), 90.

[73] For primary-source material on Somerville's social Catholicism, see Henry Somerville, *The Catholic Social Movement* (London: Burns Oates & Washbourne Ltd., 1933).

The third stream is associated with the Congregation of St. Basil (the Basilians) who maintained responsibility for St. Michael's College and eventually the Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies. Within the 'Basilian stream,' this study focuses on Fr. Henry Carr, Superior General from 1930 to 1942, and, on his *protégé*, Fr. Eugene Cullinane. Although scholars have noticed the Basilians at least to some extent, few have paid due attention to the order's commitment to social Catholicism. This is curious, given how significant that commitment was in the Canadian context.[74] However, the Basilians, principally through the work of Carr and Cullinane, were responsible for presenting a personalist-inspired social Catholicism due in large part through personal relationships with philosopher Jacques Maritain. Carr also served as spiritual director to Catherine de Hueck as she founded a settlement house in Toronto, and he was Superior General at a time when the Basilians undertook two 'back-to-the-land' projects amidst the Depression—concrete expressions of social Catholicism explored further in chapter 5. Cullinane, in turn, became a leading Catholic figure in the CCF after he examined the movement for his doctoral research. His ministry and teaching career took him to Saskatchewan at a time when it was a 'hotbed of Canadian socialism.' This chapter on the 'Basilian stream' examines the implications of a twentieth-century, Canadian iteration of neo-Thomism; one that developed with unexpected radicalism and independently of the *Aeterni Patris* vision. It was a current that pushed Catholicism towards an accommodation with modernity, before neo-Thomist thought lost its place of privilege in the post-Vatican II Church.

[74] One exception comes from Brian Hogan. See Brian Hogan, "Ivory Tower and Grass Roots: the Intellectual Life and Social Action in the Congregation of St. Basil, Archdiocese of Toronto, 1930–1960," in Mark G. McGowan and Brian Clarke (eds.), *Catholics at the Gathering Place: Historical Essays on the Archdiocese of Toronto 1841–1991* (Toronto: Canadian Catholic Historical Association, 1993), 255–274.

Each of the streams discussed in this study maintained a relationship to the CCF.[75] Gregory Baum argues that the Canadian Bishops who condemned the CCF based their position on a particular reading of papal doctrines; members of the episcopate in other countries, such as Great Britain for example, did not find cause to oppose comparable social democratic movements. Baum moves his discussion beyond considerations of the institutional Church to examine Catholics who, as he terms them, "swam against the stream." He writes, "Non-conformist Catholics were fewer in number, and they were on the whole unprepared to adopt many of the more radical stances taken by representatives of the Social Gospel."[76] It is important to remember here that the Social Gospel was not a unified phenomenon—and one might delineate radical, moderate, and conservative streams within it. Social Catholics may well have felt more comfortable with a more conservative stream of the movement. George Hoffman and Sr. Teresita Kambeitz in their respective analysis of Catholic reaction to the CCF in Saskatchewan emphasize how segments of the Catholic community were open to the party as early as the mid-1930s, a development this study explores in chapter 6. Murray Ballantyne details his participation in the slow process of persuading the Quebec bishops to accept the CCF as a legitimate political option. Some works correlate the efforts of Ballantyne and Somerville, but few ponder their implications for the Church's engagement with modernity—a corrective chapter 7 aims to achieve. What is less apparent in the historiography is the extent to which

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[75] Gregory Baum, *Catholics and Canadian Socialism*, 147-174; Murray G. Bellantyne, "The Catholic Church and the CCF," CCHA *Report*, vol. 30 (1963): 33-45; Bernard M. Daly, "A Priest's Tale: the Evolution of the Thinking of Eugene Cullinane CSB," CCHA *Historical Studies*, vol. 65 (1999): 9-27; Terrence Fay, *A History of Canadian Catholics*, 215-220; George Hoffman, "Saskatchewan Catholics and the Coming of a New Politics, 1930-1934," in Richard Allen (ed.), *Religion and Society in the Prairie West* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1974); Sr. Teresita Kambeitz, "Relations Between the Catholic Church and the CCF in Saskatchewan, 1930-1950," CCHA *Study Sessions*, vol. 46 (1979): 49-69.

[76] Gregory Baum, *Catholics and Canadian Socialism*, 8.

many Catholics and CCFers found common ground, no matter how thoroughly they grasped the philosophical and theological issues raised by personalism and social democracy respectively.

Canadian social Catholics were not, in general, apostles of a loosely-conceived "third way," conveniently accepting half-measures allowing the Church to co-exist within liberal capitalism. Rather, they pursued a *via media*, one that challenged possessive individualism with a counter-logic based upon an alternative worldview rooted in a Catholic social order. Their vision for the reconstruction of society was somewhat influenced by a local version of corporatism and distributism. It was more strongly affected by a neo-Thomist personalism. A conservative religiosity underpinned many of their thoughts and deeds. This fact has led some scholars to overlook their contribution to a left understood as 'living otherwise.' In practice, social Catholics were often competitors with other tendencies on the Canadian left. Some they even sought to shut down.[77] While the cadre of actors we encounter is small, the forces shaping them and the movements that they in turn helped shape were much larger. These social Catholics drew upon thinkers and movements from across North America and Europe—including not only Catholics but those from a host of left-wing movements. And they exerted an influence far beyond their numbers, in unions, left parties, and reform movements. Sometimes—as we shall later in the case of Baroness Catherine de Hueck—they were even obliged to copy the tactics of their left-wing competitors. Yet, for all that they drew upon from the left, the social Catholics developed their own perspectives, especially when it came to the pivotal question of private property, a central element in Catholic social teaching. It was the question of private property in particular that allowed for a certain *rapprochement* between these Catholics and the liberal order they so staunchly critiqued.

[77] This strategy was used widely within the left—a famous example of this conflict comes from the battle between the CCF and Communist/Labour Progressive Party in the 1930s and 1940s.

All three streams suggest social Catholicism's liminal status between liberal order and socialist alternatives. The social Catholics encountered in this thesis tried to disseminate the social teachings of the institutional Church in novel and suitable ways for twentieth-century society. They drew upon a variety of intellectual influences in their quest for a Church that might respond effectively to modernity's challenges. Social Catholicism was often fuelled by new philosophies of personalism that simultaneously emerged from the Church's grassroots and later formalized by the institutional Church. Thus the English-Canadian experience of social Catholicism, along with its counterparts worldwide, fermented over the first half of the twentieth century. Catholicism's engagement with modernity constituted an intellectual stepping stone that yielded 'on the ground' results. In Canada, as throughout the West, we witness in the work of social Catholics the profound questionings and decisive deeds that, over time, helped create the *aggornimento* of the Second Vatican Council.

CHAPTER 2

THE PROJECT OF HEGEMONY:

CANADIAN CATHOLICS INTERNALIZE LIBERAL ASSUMPTIONS

A liberal order endeavours to extend the values and practices associated with the ideology of liberalism across time and space. It seeks, that is, to exert "hegemony"[1]—intellectual, cultural, political, and moral leadership—whereby liberal values become commonsense across a vast geographical terrain.[2] Though there are competing understandings of liberalism, many definitions identify a hierarchy of values that posit three core tenets: liberty, equality, and property. Property is at the apex of this arrangement and is a precondition of liberty, while formal equality, always subordinate to the first principle of "possessive individualism," is at the bottom.[3] Liberals give epistemological and ontological primacy to the category of the "possessive individual," which C.B. MacPherson theorized as a unifying concept for liberal theory.[4] Until the 1940s, it meant, in practice, those individuals who were male, white, and propertied. Although there will always be individuals who do not subscribe to these

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

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

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

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

values within a liberal order, society as a whole is governed by liberal leadership. Fundamental to this leadership are the contributions of the "traditional" and "organic" intellectuals. As Antonio Gramsci notes, the traditional/organic distinction is indicative of a function—rather than of the specific individuals who occupy these roles. A traditional intellectual is a holdover from an earlier formation (i.e., as feudal structures became superseded by liberal ones in New France/Quebec), while its organic counterpart is drawn from an underlying social process itself indicative of a new formation (i.e., an organizer drawn from a class that sees the world in a different way than is indicated by its hegemonic structures). The role of the intellectual, traditional and organic, is crucial for leadership, which, in the case of the liberal revolution of the 1840s, saw its objectives as one of defending, consolidating, and extending the rule of liberal assumptions about humanity and society.[5] This process is both expansive, extending liberal rule *ad mare usque ad mare*, but also intensive as people internalize these assumptions as 'common sense.' The Canadian project of liberal order then, frames this study. And in this context, social Catholicism occupies a middle terrain between liberalism's routine function of restructuring (with 'consolidation' as something ongoing within the state and civil society, rather than a once-and-for-all achievement) and the rival vision(s) of socialism that sought to displace it.[6]

Antonio Gramsci's conception of "passive revolution" is helpful to understand this continuing process of consolidation. In contrast to an armed revolution, it "describes any historical situation in which a new political formation comes to power without a fundamental reordering of social relations."[7] If the goal of passive revolution is to maintain hegemony, then it

[5] Ian McKay, "The Liberal Order and the Liberal Revolution, 1837-1892," unpublished document.
[6] See Ian McKay, "The Liberal Order Framework: A Prospectus for Reconnaissance of Canadian History, *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 81, no. 3 (2000): 617–645; Jean-François Constant and Michel Ducharme (eds), *Liberalism and Hegemony: Debating the Canadian Liberal Revolution* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009).
[7] David Forgacs (ed.), *The Antonio Gramsci Reader: Selected Writings, 1916–1935* (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 428.

is important to understand the sites where these struggles are contested. Central is the state, through its coercive power and strategies of political conciliation, but also, and perhaps more importantly, civil society: the sphere of popular-democratic struggles where a dominant social group can organize consent for its objectives. The state and civil society thus become enmeshed, as one finds in the work of historian Marianne Valverde on moral reform.[8] Similarly, one can locate the intersection between state formation and religion in a similar conceptual space. The struggle to maintain hegemony takes place both within the state and civil society. Thus, in religion—whether experienced institutionally, socially, or as a private expression—liberal order may be simultaneously resisted or reinforced. The Roman Catholic Church, not only as a religious institution, but also as a body in civil society representing an institutional affiliation of about 39.5% per cent of Canada's population by the 1930s, played an important role in this process.[9]

The English-Canadian Church had, relatively speaking, more autonomy from the liberal state than did its counterpart in Quebec. "Catholics, the largest denomination of Christians in northern North America," writes Ian McKay, "could not realistically be... excluded, but there remained a perceived tension between the demands of their faith and the claims of liberal individualism: they were, at least until the 1890s, in a sense probationary liberals."[10] The Church was fraught with fear of assimilation into an English-speaking, Protestant society.[11] This concern was particularly acute in the Archdiocese of Toronto where four-fifths of the population

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[8] Marianne Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885–1925* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, Inc., 1991).

[9] http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-516-x/pdf/5500092-eng.pdf (accessed 19 May 2014). The Quebec statistics would be even higher.

[10] Ian McKay, "The Liberal Order Framework," 625.

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

identified themselves as Protestant at the close of the nineteenth century.[12] In light of this minority position, and given its historic experiences with anti-Catholic sentiment,[13] the Church employed a strategy of institution building, including a separate school system, as means of resistance.[14] Though these efforts were successful in preserving Catholicism in English Canada, they also transformed the Church itself. They brought it more fully within the penumbra of the liberal state. Thus, one finds a curious church-state relationship in English Canada. Though at arm's length from the state, the Church at once endeavoured to defend itself against the expansion of liberal project and had become slowly drawn into it (evidenced, for example, by residential schools).[15] Much of this complex pattern can be traced back to the imperial foundations of Canada.

Imperial Catholicism

The roots of Roman Catholicism in northern North America can be traced back to the earliest years of European exploration. Strictly speaking, one could trace the Canadian Catholic legacy to Leif Ericson and Bjarni Herulfson who establish L'Anse Aux Meadows around 1000. Later, though, sailing under the flags of the major imperial powers, Catholic missionaries arrived in the early 1600s to spread the Gospel and convert aboriginal peoples. In 1608, Samuel de Champlain established Quebec as the epicentre for trade, commerce, and religious activity, which prompted the arrival of four Recollet friars from the Franciscan order to minister broadly

[12] Brian Clarke, "Religion and Public Space in Protestant Toronto, 1880–1990," in Marguerite Van Die (ed.), *Religion and Public Life in Canada: Historical and Comparative Perspectives* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 70.
[13] J.R. Miller, "Anti-Catholicism in Canada: from the British Conquest to the Great War," in Terrence Murphy and Gerald Stortz (eds.), *Creed and Culture: The Place of English-Speaking Catholics in Canadian Society, 1750–1930* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 25–48.
[14] Murray Nicholson, "The Growth of Roman Catholic Institutions in the Archdiocese of Toronto, 1841–1890," 167.
[15] For the English-Canadian Church's involvement with residential schools see, for example, Vincent J. McNally, *The Lord's Distant Vineyard: A History of the Oblates and the Catholic Community in British Columbia* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2000).

from this location.[16] European colonization caused Rome to shift responsibility for missionary activity from the continent's royal crowns, which had maintained this task for over a century, to a newly-founded papal office, the Congregation for the Propagation of Faith, in 1622. Since authority over the Church in New France rested with Rome, rather than secular European states, a distinct church-state relationship began to develop. Whereas the Church in England and France was subject to the state, it had, despite its reliance on the French crown for economic support, a modicum of autonomy in New France.[17] Christian evangelization among the indigenous aboriginal population benefited both the Church and secular authorities particularly since the Recollet friars focused on inculcating French norms and values as a precondition to baptism.[18] The parties also cooperated in establishing churches as part of a broader pattern of settlement. After the Recollets and Jesuits left after an English attack in 1629, Jesuit missionaries returned to minister in Quebec in 1632, Huronia in 1634, and Ville Marie in 1642. Following this missionary period, the Church began to consolidate its activity into more traditional ecclesiastical and institutional structures—namely parishes, schools, and hospitals. This process was led by Bishop François de Laval (today a saint of the Catholic Church) and

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

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

[18] The Jesuits, priests of the Society of Jesus, did not necessarily share this objective. Historian James Axtell writes, "As long as they carried Christ's message in their hearts, prayed regularly, and honoured the seven sacraments when they were available, the Indians of Canada were accounted *bons catholiques*, at least by their Jesuit mentors." James Axtell, *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Culture in Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 62.

continued under the guidance of religious like Marguerite Bourgeoys for the next century until the Conquest of Quebec in 1760.[19]

The meaning of the Conquest rests as a classic debate of Canadian historiography, though early reactions to the British victory were clearly and predictably delineated along ethnic and religious lines. "Siege of Quebec in 1759," a letter from an unnamed French Canadian nun to her Mother Superior in France, recounts her experiences during the five years leading up to and including the Conquest. While the nun clearly defines the British as the "enemy," there is nevertheless a charitable overtone to her letter. She writes: "We charitably conveyed their wounded to our hospital… Our army continued constantly ready to oppose the enemy."[20] Her religious order was willing and able to help casualties regardless of their ethnicity. From her perspective, it seemed, this was not an epochal war between *nations* so much as one in a long series of skirmishes between *empires*, of no overpowering significance to her sisters. As historian Jan Noel has demonstrated, nuns used a multi-variant approach during the Conquest and its aftermath, including the deployment of economic skills and access to ruling clientele, to survive and maintain a prominent place for the Church in New France.[21] In contrast, the British response clearly aligns God with Britain's imperial programme: the Empire's victory was one for both cross and crown.[22]

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

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

[21] Jan Noël, "Besieged but Connected: Survival Strategies at a Quebec Convent," CCHA *Historical Studies*, vol. 67 (2001): 27–41.

[22] For this viewpoint see: Samuel Langdon, "Joy and Gratitude to God for the Long Life of a Good King and the Conquest of Quebec" (Ottawa: Canadian Institute for Historical Micro Productions, [1760] 1986), text fiche, p. 17, 58907. George Cockings, *The Conquest of Canada; or the Siege of Quebec* (London: printed for the author, 1766); Joseph Hazard, *The Conquest of Quebec: A Poem* (Ottawa: Canadian Institute for Historical Micro Productions, [1769] 1986), text fiche, 60186.

The Quebec Church began to take root amidst a confluence of events. The aftermath of the Conquest came only a few years after the British crown forcibly deported almost 12,000 Catholic Acadians living in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island over questions of loyalty to the Crown. [23] With the expulsion of the Acadians in recent memory, and Catholics now subject to the penal laws of the British Crown, colonial officials recognized how difficult expulsion would be of a sizable French Canadian population in Quebec. They also were aware of ambivalent feelings in London about the Acadian experience. Colonial officials, such as Governor James Murray, offered a number of inducements to transform French Catholics into English Protestants, including financial incentives for Catholic clergy who married and joined the Church of England.[24] Female religious congregations were allowed to take on new novices in part because they maintained social services like schools and hospitals; prominent male religious orders such as the Jesuits and the Recollet friars were not and consequently ceased to minister in the province.[25] With the demise of these religious orders, episcopal structures became increasingly important. They were fortified following the appointment of Jean-Olivier Briand as Bishop of Quebec by the British. Briand was conciliatory towards the British, but he was unwavering in his commitment to matters of Catholic doctrine and faith. He negotiated the appointment of the first Canadian-born bishop, Louis-Philippe Mariachau d'Esgly, as his Vicar

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

[24] Terrence Fay, *A History of Canadian Catholics*, 46.

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

General with the right to succeed him as Bishop. By 1769, colonial officials acknowledged the need for *Canadien* representation on an expanded fifteen-person council overseeing the colony and recommended that five seats ought to be allotted to them.[26] With the *Quebec Act* (1774), the transition from military to civilian rule continued, and Catholics gained greater liberty. They were now afforded the right to an *Oath of Loyalty* rather than the *Oath of Renunciation*, and inclusion in government (recognizing loyalty to the crown in a civil capacity rather than renouncing articles of faith).[27] Another aspect to Britain's religious pragmatism was New France's role as an important bulwark against the growing tide of republicanism in the thirteen colonies. Briand staunchly supported the British imperial government during the American Revolution due, in part, to his unwavering belief in the divine right of kings.[28] No longer relying on resources from Paris and under British imperial control, the institutional Church grew closer to Rome, became economically self-sufficient, and was able to home grow Catholicism in Quebec. Following the *Constitutional Act* (1791), the creation of Upper and Lower Canada demarcated discrete geographical and political boundaries between Catholic and Protestant polities. In the generations following the Conquest, the Church entrenched its institutional structures, established a closer relationship with the state, and became a prominent force in Canadian society.

[26] The Report of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantation Relative to the State of the Province of Quebec, 10 July 1769, stated: "That a number of His Roman Catholic Subjects, not exceeding five, should be appointed members thereof, as such times as His Majesty thinks proper; and they should be exempted from the obligation of subscribing the Declaration against Transubstantiation, which is by His Majesty's Commission and Instructions required to be taken and subscribed by the members of the Council in general." See Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Dougherty (eds), *Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759–1791* (Ottawa: J. de L. Taché, 1918), 383.
[27] Terrence Fay, *A History of Canadian Catholics*, 35.
[28] Ibid, 36.

Early Nineteenth Century Catholicism

During the next fifty years, however, political allegiance predominated over religious identity as liberals challenged the colonial government. Even as the Church assumed an important role as mediator in this conflict, an influx of Scottish and Irish immigration prompted two distinct institutional structures to emerge in Canadian Catholicism.[29] French clergy could not adequately meet the spiritual needs of Scottish and Irish Catholics, and thus English- and Gaelic-speaking clergy were invited to North America, thereby challenging the authority of the Quebec Church. Father Edmund Burke of Halifax, Father Angus B. MacEachern of Prince Edward Island, and Father Alexander Macdonell of Upper Canada communicated directly with Rome. They lobbied for the subdivision of the enormous Diocese of Quebec. In 1817, Rome appointed Burke the Vicar Apostolic of Halifax; supporting this division, the Bishop of Quebec named MacEachern and Macdonell as auxiliary bishops for Prince Edward Island and Upper Canada.[30] In 1826, Macdonell became the first bishop of Kingston.[31] Three years later, MacEachern was appointed to the same position for Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick. Though the English-Canadian Church relied on the Church in Quebec financially, this separate institutional structure was mirrored by cultural differences. One noteworthy example of them could be seen in a conflict over wearing cassocks, which became ubiquitous in Ultramontane Quebec particularly after 1840, but was not favoured in Protestant-dominated English Canada. Thus, even on questions of dress, it had become plain by the 1840s that one was dealing with two primary Catholic structures in Canada. Each would have its place in a Canada now furbished

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[29] Roberto Perin, "Elaborating a Public Culture: The Catholic Church in Nineteenth-Century Quebec," in Marguerite Van Die (ed.), *Religion and Public Life in Canada: Historical and Comparative Perspectives* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 93.
[30] Terrence Fay, *A History of Canadian Catholics*, 50.
[31] Mark McGowan, *Michael Power: The Struggle to Build the Catholic Church on the Canadian Frontier* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), 41–42.

with newly-designed political boundaries and experiencing massive waves of immigration, first of Loyalists and then from a variety of peoples from the British Isles.

In Upper Canada, Catholics had been eligible to be appointed Legislative Council and elected to the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada since its creation following the *Constitution Act* (1791), though they were required to take the *Oath of Allegiance* to the monarch. Nova Scotia (as did New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island) followed a significantly different pattern: between 1758 and 1783, the penal code of Nova Scotia prohibited Roman Catholics from acquiring title to land and prohibited the presence of priests and the celebration of Mass in the province. Catholics were barred from voting until 1789. In 1823, however, Laurence Kavanagh was elected as one of two representatives for Cape Breton,[32] which had merged with Nova Scotia three years earlier. As a Roman Catholic of Irish descent, Kavanagh, unless he took the *Oath of Renunciation*, was ineligible for public office. Politically, a Catholic would need to reject core doctrines on Transubstantiation, Adoration of the Virgin of Mary, and the Sacrifice of the Mass to hold public office. However, on 3 April 1823, the House of Assembly in Nova Scotia passed an important motion, which spoke to political rights and religious freedom in the province:

> Resolved, that this House, grateful to His Majesty [King George IV] for relieving His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects from the disability they were heretofore under from sitting in this House, do admit Laurence Kavanagh to take his seat; and will, in future, permit Roman Catholics, who may be duly elected, and shall be qualified to hold a seat in this House... without making a Declaration against Popery and Transubstantiation.[33]

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

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

It was a sweeping statement and a profound 'liberal' moment—one that did not reconcile easily with imperial and colonial policy towards Catholics: Laurence Kavanagh took his seat in the House of Assembly without declaration against these articles of faith (six years before the *Roman Catholic Relief Act* (1829) codified this policy for the British Empire). This dispensation was meant to apply to Kavanagh specifically, and yet the House of Assembly chose to interpret it expansively—a decision made more remarkable in light of its desire to pass this resolution *in absentia* of the King's decision. The decision, an act of cultural accommodation on the part of the monarchy, was also a moment where a statement of religious freedom intersected with an assertion of political rights by colonists—an early moment of consolidation for the liberal state, which would emerge clearly two decades later.[34]

In Lower Canada, meanwhile, the Sulpician order remained prominent in the Quebec Church. Episcopal structures clearly emerged in the 1830s, which allowed Ultramontane spirituality to restructure the institutional Church in the province. Jean-Jacques Lartigue was the first Bishop of Montreal from 1821 to 1840. He was influenced by liberal Catholic thought in Europe, notably the ideas of Félicité de Lamennais articulated in the newspaper *L'Avenir*, and broke with the belief in the divine right of kings. Lartigue reasoned he did not need the permission of the Colonial Office, particularly with the establishment of representative government, and he petitioned Rome directly to establish Montreal as an episcopal See in 1836.[35] After the Rebellions in Upper and Lower Canada, the *Act of Union* (1841) was passed, creating Canada East and West. During this period, argues historian Roberto Perin, the Catholic Church carved out a public space for French Canada.[36] Montreal's second Bishop, Ignace Bourget

[34] J. Brian Hanington, *Every Popish Person: The Story of Roman Catholicism in Nova Scotia and the Church of Halifax, 1604–1984* (Halifax: Archdiocese of Halifax, 1984), 98.
[35] Ibid, 74.
[36] Roberto Perin, "Elaborating a Public Culture: the Catholic Church in Nineteenth-Century Quebec," 87–102.

(1840–1876) inculcated a fervent Ultramontane spirituality in the province through a 'devotional revolution' and a strategy of institution building (remnants of the efforts remain visible today—one need only walk down René Lévesque Boulevard in Montreal to view 'little St. Peter's Basilica,' Bishop Bourget's cathedral dedicated to *Marie-Reine-du-Monde*).[37] He used political pressure to bring schools, hospitals, and other social structures under the Church's control.[38] While Bourget opposed Catholic liberalism, Rome, despite its European experiences, adopted a more progressive stance and recognized political cooperation was needed in the province. Near the end of Bourget's bishopric, Elzéar Taschereau (1870–1896) was appointed the Archbishop of Quebec. At the urging of the Vatican, he issued a joint pastoral letter with the Apostolic Delegate George Conroy, which repudiated the use of the pulpit or confessional to direct voters. This position, which "advocated the democratic reforms of liberty, progress, separation of church and state, and a possible *rapprochement* with the United States," was received well by Catholics.[39] Despite this dissenting voice, Ultramontane spirituality allowed the Church to negotiate greater political influence for itself in Quebec—which, arguably, lasted until the Quiet Revolution in the 1960s.

Catholicism in the First-Wave of Liberal Order

While the Church gained political power in Canada East, Catholics were in the minority to Protestants in Canada West. On a trip to Europe in 1841, Bishop Bourget lobbied Pope Gregory XVI, through *Propaganda Fide*, to subdivide the Diocese of Kingston and create a new ecclesiastical area with Toronto as its centre. He also wanted Quebec designated a Metropolitan See, which would subordinate the other dioceses in Canada East and West to its authority. The

[37] While the concept of the 'devotional revolution' has been contested in recent years, it remains central to understanding transformations within Catholicism during the mid-nineteenth century. See Emmet Larkin, "The Devotional Revolution in Ireland, 1850–1975," *American Historical Review*, vol. 77, no. 3 (June 1972): 625–652.
[38] Terrence Fay, *A History of Canadian Catholics*, 95.
[39] Ibid, 81.

Vatican agreed, pending the approval of the Colonial Office in London, demonstrating remarkable cooperation between the Church and the civil authorities empowered by a Protestant monarchy. Bourget and his companions travelled to London and authorized his Vicar General, Michael Power, to conduct the negotiations. Only years removed from Rebellions in both Upper and Lower Canada, Power used an initial and decisive moment in Canada's development as a liberal order to lobby his case: "Your Lordship will likewise feel that a Catholic Bishop in a case of emergency will possess more authority over those committed to his care than an ordinary clergyman; his presence and his advice might also prove highly serviceable to Her Majesty's Government in quelling that spirit of insubordination and fierce democratic spirit which unhappily exist in a formidable degree on many parts of the Frontier Line."[40] Power also argued that a Metropolitan See in Quebec would create a more efficient relationship between the Canadian Church and the Crown. After much deliberation in London, the British authorities agreed with Bourget's plan and the Diocese of Toronto was created in 1841. Power was named its first Bishop.[41] The Roman Catholic Church in English Canada again drew closer to its counterpart in Quebec institutionally, though the effects of this alteration were reversed a generation later when Toronto itself was declared an ecclesiastical province.[42]

The Quebec and the English-Canadian Churches, therefore, related to the liberal project, which shall be discussed shortly, differently when Confederation was proposed in the 1860s. Catholic Quebec was anomalous, due to religion, language, and nationality. However, the province was also at the project's geographic centre and thus central to its fundamental

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[40] Mark McGowan, *Michael Power*, 129.

[41] Toronto was the first of a second generation of diocese in Canada: Toronto (1841), Saint John (1844), Victoria (1846), Ottawa (1847), Saint Hyacinth (1852), and Grand Falls, Hamilton, and London (1856). See Terrence Fay, *A History of Canadian Catholics*, 51.

[42] Murray Nicholson, "The Growth of Roman Catholic Institutions in the Archdiocese of Toronto, 1841–1890," in Terrence Murphy and Gerald Stortz (eds.), *Creed and Culture: The Place of English-Speaking Catholics in Canadian Society, 1750–1930* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 160.

aspirations. Church institutions had become drawn into the liberal project in the 1840s; land owned by the Seminary of Montreal, as Brian Young tells us for instance, was converted from "seigneurial property into an increasingly uniform and pan-Canadian system of freehold property relations."[43] Because the Roman Catholic Church successfully created a public space for French-Canadian identity to grow in the face of potential assimilation following the *Act of Union* (1841), argues Roberto Perin, it was necessary for liberals to strike a historic compromise with the Church as they attempted to create a new political structure in Confederation.[44] Control over areas in which the Church came to work—health care, welfare, and education—was conferred on the provinces in the *British North America Act* (1867). Language rights and rights to religious education found highly qualified acceptance.[45] An aliberal church-state relationship was accepted "on the crucial condition that Catholic communitarianism be restricted as much as possible to Quebec (and even there subordinated in the hierarchy to a state liberalism that would remain, down to the 1950s, eminently 'classical')."[46] Accommodation between liberal elites and the Church reified ultramontane Quebec, which, despite the anticlericalism of many Reformers and other liberals in the Victorian period, entrenched a hegemonic place for the Quebec Church within the liberal order.

The English-Canadian Church had, relatively speaking, more autonomy from the liberal state. Nonetheless, the Church feared assimilation into an English-speaking, Protestant society.[47] This concern was particularly acute in the Archdiocese of Toronto, where four-fifths of the

[43] Brian Young, *In Its Corporate Capacity: The Seminary of Montreal as a Business Institution, 1816–1876* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986), 89.
[44] Roberto Perin, "Elaborating a Public Culture: the Catholic Church in Nineteenth-Century Quebec," 90.
[45] Ibid, 92.
[46] Ian McKay, "The Liberal Order Framework: A Prospectus for a Reconnaissance of Canadian History," *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 81, no. 3 (September 2000): 636.
[47] Nicholson, "The Growth of Roman Catholic Institutions in the Archdiocese of Toronto, 1841–1890," 167.

population identified themselves as Protestant at the close of the nineteenth century.[48] In light of this minority position, Catholics experienced much anti-Catholic sentiment and engaged occasionally in sectarian conflict.[49] Historian J.R Miller suggests that the social and political rationale for anti-Catholicism was rooted in doctrinal differences between Catholicism and Protestantism. Thus, anti-Catholicism was deep-seated and long-standing in the Victorian period. Much of it took the form of anti-clericalism, i.e., resistance to the power and authority of the Catholic priesthood.[50] The Church, as a result, employed a strategy of institution-building as a means of resistance: building orphanages, houses of providence, banks, children's protection society, shelters for the destitute, hostels, homes for senior citizens, as well as St. Michael's College and a separate school system.[51] Though these efforts were successful at preserving English-Canadian Catholicism, they also transformed the Church itself: bringing it more fully within the penumbra of the liberal state, performing functions often associated with the state, and, in some case, requiring church-state co-operation. What has been termed 'Canadianization,' embedding Catholicism into the 'Canadian' lifestyle,[52] was also a process of restructuring Catholicism to fit within a Victorian vision of liberal order in northern North America.

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[48] Brian Clarke, "Religion and Public Space in Protestant Toronto, 1880–1990," in Marguerite Van Die (ed.), *Religion and Public Life in Canada*, 70. Based on census data, Gregory S. Kealey puts the number of Catholics at the turn-of-century in Toronto at fifteen-per cent. See Gregory S. Kealey, *Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism, 1867–1892* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 101.

[49] On the issue of sectarian conflict, Kealey outlines the numerous riots that occurred primarily on 17 March, 12 July, and 5 November. See Gregory Kealey, *Toronto Workers*, 98–123. While these riots were not necessarily violent, there were exceptions. See Martin A. Galvin, "The Jubilee Riots in Toronto, 1875," CCHA *Report*, vol. 26, (1959): 93–107.

[50] J.R. Miller, "Anti-Catholic Thought in Victorian Canada," *Canadian Historical Review* vol. 66, no. 4 (December 1985): 474–494; J.R. Miller, "Anti-Catholicism in Canada: from the British Conquest to the Great War," in Terrence Murphy and Gerald Stortz (eds.), *Creed and Culture: The Place of English-Speaking Catholics in Canadian Society, 1750–1930* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 25–48.

[51] Murray Nicholson, "The Growth of Roman Catholic Institutions in the Archdiocese of Toronto, 1841–1890," 163, 167.

[52] Terrence Fay, *A History of Canadian Catholics*, 153–324.

A number of divisive issues widened the cleavage between the Quebec and English-Canadian Churches between the 1860s and 1890s. Confederation was tacitly accepted by both hierarchies, particularly since the right to denominational schooling in Ontario and Quebec was entrenched in the *British North America Act* of 1867. As Canada entered Confederation, the Quebec Bishops wrote to their parishioners: "You must respect, my dear friends, this new Constitution, which is given to you, as an expression of the supreme will of the Legislator, of legitimate authority, and in consequence, of God [H]imself."[53] On the issue of separate schools in New Brunswick—particularly following the province's *Common Schools Act* of 1871, which established compulsory education and provincial funding for non-denominational schools—the Quebec hierarchy initially supported the motion of John Costigan, a Catholic Member of Parliament from New Brunswick, which called for the federal government to disallow the legislation (it was the second time Costigan had brought forth legislation of this nature, and, in the first instance was encouraged to do so by Sir John A MacDonald). Intervention, though, divided the Tories. MacDonald withdrew his support from disallowance, and, in turn, Costigan drafted a non-confidence motion. The Quebec hierarchy withdrew their support for Costigan's motion because they did not want the MacDonald government to fall, and though the New Brunswick legislation infringed on the minority rights of Catholics, the Quebec hierarchy also wanted to protect and maintain education as a provincial matter.[54] It had come by 1874 to exert hegemony in this field in Quebec. This achievement was more important than obtaining denominational schooling for co-religionists in New Brunswick. Terrence Fay points out a number of issues heightened this intra-Church competition further, including the separate schools question in Manitoba, bilingualism at the University of Ottawa, missionary rivalries in the

[53] Ibid, 126.
[54] Ibid, 128–129.

Canadian Northwest, and, most notably, the debate over conscription in the First World War.[55] At the close of the nineteenth century, the hierarchies in Quebec and English Canada had different political allegiances, relationships with the state, and thus were quite distinct from each other.[56]

When Michael Power had assumed the Toronto See in 1842, the diocese's Catholic population was largely comprised of Irish immigrants, which remained the case into the twentieth century.[57] Catholics in Upper Canada grew from 13% to 16% of the total population between 1842 and 1848.[58] Irish Catholics had exhibited considerable social and economic mobility during previous generations and were now found at every socio-economic stratum. The strict correlation between Irish and Catholic identity was also being displaced, as Toronto gained considerable numbers of Catholic migrants from Germany, Italy, and Eastern Europe, a trend continuing well into the 1950s.[59] With the outbreak of World War I, the Catholic press, clergy, and hierarchy demonstrated fervent patriotism in defence of the British Crown. This zeal was one factor that encouraged Irish Catholics in Toronto to enlist in numbers comparable to Protestants in the city. Historian Mark McGowan remarks, "The fact that so many Catholics did enlist bears further testimony, perhaps, to their growing sense of themselves as Canadians, and

[55] Ibid, 175.

[56] Roberto Perin explores these tensions adeptly, as well as the Vatican's attempt to mediate and wade through contradictions it saw in the Canadian Church, in his fine study on *Rome in Canada*. See Robert Perin, *Rome in Canada: The Vatican and Canadian Affairs in the Late Victorian Age* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).

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

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

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

their belief in Canada's obligation to share in the burden of Empire. The war was more than a test of Catholic patriotism; it marked the coming of age of a new Canadian Catholic generation."[60] Patriotism was seen a Christian virtue—despite Irish Catholics in other parts of the Commonwealth feeling disaffected by the British following the suppression of Irish Republicanism in 1916—and even when it meant loyalty to a Protestant monarch.[61] By the close of the war and through the 1920s, Toronto's Catholics seemingly shared more political ideas with Protestants in the city than they did with their co-religionists in Quebec.

Conclusions

What does this brief historical sketch of the institutional Roman Catholic Church reveal, particularly on themes of hierarchal structure, relationship to the state, and place in liberal order, as Canada moved into the Great Depression of the 1930s? Largely based on ethnic and linguistic differences, the two hierarchies occupied separate spheres within the Church—particularly as English-Canadian diocesan structures became increasingly developed throughout the nineteenth century. In spite of this 'separateness,' what bound these solitudes together, from the Conquest through the Great War, was a fervent belief in the connection between God and the will of a legitimate sovereign. In what is perhaps the greatest irony in the history of Canadian Catholicism, the adoption of liberal values by Catholics was in large part the result of energetic work of the Vatican, supposedly that citadel of anti-liberalism. It counselled Canadian Catholics to adhere to the Canadian constitution and to accept the sovereignty of a Crown-in-Parliament that had become, by the late nineteenth-century, an upholder of a multitude of liberal-democratic understandings.

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[60] Ibid, 182.

[61] For this view of patriotism during the First World War, important work has been completed by Jonathan Vance. See Jonathan F. Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1997). Terrence Fay suggests the implications of the international context. See Terrence Fay, *A History of Canadian Catholics*, 172–173.

Between the 1840s and 1930s, the Quebec Bishops exercised immense authority, particularly as the Church assumed exclusive responsibility over key areas like health and education. According to Jesuit scholar William F. Ryan, the clergy encouraged industrial development, rather than agricultural backwardness in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.[62] As social Catholicism developed in Quebec, it often had close ties to the institutional Church, in a largely francophone and officially Catholic province is uniquely positioned in the North American landscape. Susan Mann Trofimenkoff emphasizes the importance of Catholic Action in any interpretation of the social and intellectual life of Quebec.[63] Prominent early groups like the *Association catholique de la jeunesse canadienne-francaise* founded in 1903–1904 by Father Lionel Groulx and Émile Chartier, as well later movements aimed at youth and workers called the *Jeunesse ouvrière catholique*, *Jeunesse étudiante catholique*, and the *Jeunesse rurale catholique* all played an important in developing Catholic social activism in the province.[64] The strength of Catholic Action is one example of how the Church participated widely in the social and political affairs of the province. Recent historical work suggest that, beginning in the 1930s, according to recent historical work, Catholic initiatives, as exemplified by these organizations, became the cultural engine of Quebec's modernization and liberalization.[65]

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[62] William F. Ryan, *The Clergy and the Economic Growth in Quebec, 1896-1914* (Quebec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1966).

[63] Susan Mann, *Action Française: French Canadian Nationalism in the Twenties* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975); Susan Mann Trofimenkoff, *The Dream of Nation: A Social and Intellectual History of Quebec* (Toronto: Gage Publishing Limited, 1983), 195–197.

[64] During this period, the Quebec Church was closer, arguably, to the European experience than it was to its English-Canadian counterpart. Consider for example, how worker-priests, broad Catholic participation in trade unions, and the place of left Catholics in political parties like Belgium's *Union Démocratique Belge*, France's *Movement Républicain Populaire*, Germany's *Christlich Demokratische*, and Italy's *Democrazia Cristiana* mirrored Catholic Action in Quebec, all without any comparable organizations in English Canada.

[65] Michael Gauvreau, *The Catholic Origins of Quebec's Quiet Revolution, 1931–1970* (Montreal: McGill Queen's University Press, 2005).

In the rest-of-Canada, after a period of ambient fear for the Church's place within a Protestant state, religion became a less divisive issue between Protestants and English-speaking Catholics as both collectivities became 'Canadian.'[66] On this point, with reference to Toronto, Mark McGowan writes: "By 1920 Catholic priests and bishops of the archdiocese were largely Canadian-born and Canadian-educated. These indigenised clergy preached not only the gospel of Christ, but the gospel of Canada as well, advocating patriotism, loyalty to the crown, social mobility, ecumenism, and pride in freedoms afforded by Canadian citizenship."[67] Close relationships to the state also necessitated connections to liberal order—a striking development given the Vatican's intense opposition to liberalism for much of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. With the onset of the global crisis in capitalism during the 1930s, the liberal state was forced to reconfigure itself. The Great Depression also forced the institutional Church to formulate new responses—particularly given the rise of Communism and Fascism in Europe—and Catholics found new moral imperatives for faith-based action. Different streams of social Catholicism began to take root and inspire action.

[66] J.R. Miller, "Anti-Catholic Thought in Victorian Canada."

[67] Mark McGowan, "Toronto's English-Speaking Catholics, Immigration, and the Making of a Canadian Catholic Identity, 1900–1930," in Terrence Murphy and Gerald Stortz (eds.), *Creed and Culture: The Place of English-Speaking Catholics in Canadian Society, 1750–1930* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 208.

CHAPTER 3

"SENDING LIGHT OVER THE CONTINENT:"

THE ANTIGONISH MOVEMENT, 1912–1939

Social Catholicism became firmly implanted on the shores of Nova Scotia in the early decades of the twentieth century. A network of social Catholics, such as Neil McNeil, Moses Coady, and Jimmy Tompkins, left indelible marks on English-Canadian Roman Catholicism by bringing international currents in Catholic social thought and action to Canada. The groundswell of forces that precipitated *Rerum Novarum* in the 1890s took a generation to migrate across the Atlantic. Only by the 1910s did English-Canadian Catholics contemplate the implications of Catholic teachings as they pertained to the lived experiences of fishers, farmers, and mine workers—the men, women, and children who sat in the pews with great faith, week after week, and then left the safe confines of the Church to return to lives of underemployment, systemic oppression, and forced poverty. "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for the Kingdom of Heaven belongs to them" (Matthew 5:3) was not akin to 'blessed are those whose material conditions are dictated by foreign capital, for life in company towns is the best you will achieve for you and your children.' A radical commitment to the Gospel entailed a life of poverty, but social Catholicism recognized that this asceticism needed to be voluntary. Structured by conditions of unregulated capitalism, forced poverty did not meet the standard of Christian life set forth by the Gospel. Under such circumstances, poverty was more reminiscent of Israel's slavery to Egypt in the Old Testament than an expression of Christian discipleship. In the same spirit of liberation, Moses Coady's call to become "masters of their own destiny" was emblematic of the prophet Moses' cry to "let my people go." The material conditions of life in eastern Nova Scotia and Cape Breton prompted a re-evaluation of traditional Catholic orthodoxy on questions of poverty and related ones of social justice, fostered the search for solutions based on Gospel values, and

transplanted fifty years of Catholic social thought from continental Europe and Great Britain to Canadian soil.

The story of the Antigonish Movement has been well told in scholarly articles and monographs, written about in doctoral dissertations, and displayed visually and virtually on award-winning websites.[1] It was such a popular topic by the end of the 1980s that historian Mark McGowan mused that "the only Catholic activity outside of Quebec seemingly worthy of mention is the Antigonish Movement."[2] It cannot be ignored in any study of Catholic social movements in Canada. Scores of social activists passed through the doors of St. Francis Xavier University. It was the centre of a network of a movement that encompassed villages and towns in eastern Nova Scotia. As a beacon of social Catholicism, it came to influence the culture of English-Canadian Catholics throughout the country. Nova Scotia had proved fertile as a dissemination point for ideas to flow from east to west in the past: a generation before the term 'Antigonish Movement' was coined, Neil McNeil had a vision of social justice for fishermen in the Maritimes,[3] first as editor of the *Casket* and then from 1884 to 1891 Vice-Rector of St. Francis Xavier University.[4] After a brief interregnum, coinciding with a general downturn in Catholic intellectualism, the priorities of social Catholicism re-emerged with Fathers Moses Coady and Jimmy Tompkins and their programme of adult education. General conditions of disempowerment in Atlantic Canada, coupled with the transatlantic intellectual influence of

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[1] St. Francis Xavier University maintains an excellent website, which had digitized many of important documents from the Antigonish Movement. It was the recipient of the 2010 Dr. Phyllis R. Blakeley Award for Archival Excellence given by the Council of Nova Scotia Archives. See http://coadyextension.stfx.ca/antigonish-movement/ (accessed 12 May 2014).

[2] Mark McGowan, "Life Outside the Cloister: Some Reflections on the Writing of the History of the Catholic Church in English Canada, 1983–1996," CCHA *Historical Studies*, vol. 63 (1997): 128.

[3] Malcolm MacDonell, "The Early History of St. Francis Xavier University," CCHA *Report* vol. 15 (1947–1948): 81–90.

[4] Based on this experience in the east, he brought Henry Somerville to educate the laity and mobilize Catholic social action in Toronto during his tenure as Archbishop. See Jeanne M. Beck, "Henry Somerville and Social Reform: His Contribution to Canadian Catholic Social Thought," CCHA *Study Sessions*, vol. 42 (1975): 91–108.

renewal within Catholic social thought, helped educators at St. Francis Xavier University challenge students to examine the material conditions of their lives and imagine them in alternate and innovative ways.

This chapter is concerned with the intellectual project of the Antigonish Movement in two time periods, 1912–1930 and 1930–1939. After its pre-1930 incubation period, the movement devoted the 1930s to taking a message once mainly confined to clerics and university official to the people of eastern Nova Scotia, whom it challenged to become 'masters of their own destiny.' In the 1930s, the Antigonish Movement sought to empower lay Catholics—and the citizenry of the Maritimes more broadly, because the aims of adult education transcended any narrowly contoured parochialism—and challenged them to participate actively in the construction of a 'new social order.' This chapter evaluates how the Antigonish Movement, through its rural and industrial conferences, responded to the deficiencies of a society ordered according to the precepts of classic liberalism, and how it reframed core liberal values within a framework of Catholic social thought. In theory, the St. F.X. leadership advanced a vision of co-operation as a 'third way' between classic liberalism's laissez-faire capitalism and revolutionary socialism. In practice, one finds in the Antigonish Movement some anticipation both of Keynesianism and of the 'radical planning' identified with the CCF. At the same time, it carved out an alternative, Catholic space, itself in limina between corporatism, distributism and personalism. The movement argued for the functional significance and intelligent participation of fishers, farmers, and mineworkers. In a rare mobilization of energy and ideas at the base, it sought to attempt to improve the lives of its adherents in a movement that exemplified the encyclical call to subsidiarity.

Origins of the Antigonish Movement: 1912–1922, 1924–1930

A brief sketch of the Antigonish Movement outlines its aims and achievements during the years leading up to the 1930s. Dividing the early years of the movement into 1912–1922 and 1924–1930 represents a time of intellectual incubation and the experience of 'education conferences' in the first instance, while the latter period, corresponds to the 'rural conferences' held by the Diocese of Antigonish through the creation and formal operation of the Extension Department at St. Francis Xavier University.[5] The work of the Antigonish Movement moved successively from fishers to farmers to industrial workers; its initiatives developed from co-operatives to credit unions to community housing. In addition to rural and industrial conferences, techniques such as study clubs and an *Extension Bulletin* were inherent to the movement's intellectual enterprise. After outlining the influences on, and development of, the Antigonish Movement, this chapter turns its attention to the rural and industrial conferences of the 1930s as a primary site where one sees the transmission of energy and ideas from Nova Scotia's outport communities to larger spheres, rural and urban, across the province.

The Antigonish Movement drew on many Catholic sources. Of special significance were those from continental Europe, particularly as they influenced Fr. Jimmy Tompkins (1870–1953). Tompkins was originally from Cape Breton. He took a first degree at St. Francis Xavier College before leaving to study at the Urban College in Rome where he entered the priesthood. Following ordination, Tompkins gained an appointment to the faculty of St. Francis Xavier

[5] Within the historiography, the Antigonish Movement is typically periodized as 1911–1921 and 1920–1930 (as in Francis Mifflen's often-cited dissertation) or 1912–1922 and 1924–1930 (as Anne Alexander suggests). In these works, the key difference between these stages is that the former represents a time of inculcation, while the latter follows the formal creation of the Extension Department and its work. I have opted to demarcate the crucial periods along the clear transitions made within the diocesan conferences, which were vital to the intellectual development of the Antigonish Movement. See Anne Alexander, *The Antigonish Movement: Moses Coady and Adult Education* (Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing, 1997); Francis J. Mifflen, "The Antigonish Movement: A Revitalization Movement in Eastern Nova Scotia," Doctoral diss., Department of Sociology, Boston College, 1974.

University in 1902, and, within a decade, he had become the institution's vice-president. In *Knowledge for the People*, Tompkins outlined the influences that had moulded his thought.[6] While serving as vice-president, he attended the Conference of British Empire Universities in London, England where his knowledge of adult education was informed by initiatives undertaken by the University of Wisconsin. This encounter led to wider engagement with social movements—which included the activity of the British Workers' Education Associations, the Danish Folk Schools, the Swedish Discussion Circles, and programmes throughout Scotland and Ireland designed for people without access to traditional, university-based education—that came to underpin a vision held by Tompkins for possibilities in eastern Nova Scotia. Closer to home, agricultural programs at the University of Saskatchewan, scientific methods advanced by Quebec's agricultural colleges, as well as the province's *caisses populaire*,[7] all served as examples of Canadian-made endeavours to empower impoverished rural areas. In *Knowledge for the People*, his famous 1921 pamphlet, Tompkins was also moved by "the farmer movement and the programmes of the various branches of Labour," and he felt that they "show clearly that the people as a whole are seeking for a better and more active and dignified part in the nation's life."[8] These influences caused Tompkins to seek out like-minded collaborators, which he did with the 'Forward Movement,' an ecumenical forum for advancing the economic prosperity of the town of Antigonish.

With its dedicated columns on 'social betterment,' Tompkins also used *The Casket* as a clearing house for ideas generated by the Forward Movement. During its long history as a

[6] J.J. Tompkins, *Knowledge for the People*, 1921, St. Francis Xavier University Archives [hereafter STFXUA], RG30-3/10/1774; this terrain is also ably covered by Anne Alexander, among others, in the secondary literature. See Anne Alexander, *The Antigonish Movement: Moses Coady and Adult Education* (Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing, 1997), 65–71.

[7] On the *caisses populaire*, see Ronald Rudin, *In Whose Interest? Quebec's Caisses Populaires, 1900–1945* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990).

[8] J.J. Tompkins, "Knowledge for the People," 1921, STFXUA, RG30-3/10/1774.

weekly paper, *The Casket* served as a mouthpiece for social transformation. It was an early example of how the social, political, and ecclesial worlds of Church and state came to be challenged by the Antigonish Movement. Neil McNeil served as its editor, briefly, in 1890–1891. McNeil adopted a strict editorial policy of political bi-partisanship despite Antigonish Bishop John Cameron's hope that the paper would be a voice for 'Catholicism and Conservatism.' This decision was bold given Cameron's close ties to the Conservative party (he instructed, for example, the priests of his diocese to preach that the faithful must support Conservative candidates in the 1896 federal election).[9] With newspapers across the country accusing Cameron of operating on behalf of his friend, John Thompson, he sought help from McNeil and *The Casket* to mount a defence. Cameron was infuriated by McNeil's refusal to abandon a policy of political neutrality—though McNeil did publish articles by the Archbishop of Halifax, Cornelius O'Brien, on the right of the hierarchy to participate in public affairs, and a letter from Angus MacGillivary, Catholic and Liberal, critiquing this position. In response, Cameron dismissed McNeil as Rector of St. Francis Xavier University and transferred him to the Parish of West Arichat. He would later go on to Episcopal appointments in the Diocese of St. George's, Newfoundland, Vancouver, and Toronto. This episode is significant because it highlights a recurring question in 'Catholicism outside Quebec' about the proper relationships between the Church and state, religion and politics, clerics and politicians. It also foreshadowed how the Antigonish stream might successfully challenge both existing social and political relations, as well as the institutional structures that sought to support them.[10]

A natural development out of these influences was the 'People's School,' which emerged in the 1920s. In 1921, the People's School opened in Antigonish and ran for four years with

[9] Roberto Perin, *Rome in Canada*, 116.
[10] James Cameron, *For the People: A History of St. Francis Xavier University* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 84–87.

subsequent schools in Glace Bay and Cape Breton. Sessions gave farmers an opportunity to work in the liberal arts, sciences, and agriculture and were scheduled around the planting season. The People's School differed fundamentally from the later work of the Extension Department because participants travelled to a campus site, limiting the number of participants. Sessions focused strictly on conditions in rural areas.[11] While Jimmy Tompkins can be largely credited with its inception and early successes, this educational innovation also came with the support and *imprimatur* of Bishop James Morrison of Antigonish. In his address to the inaugural meeting, Morrison cautiously finessed the vexed issues of liberalism, socialism, and modernity. He exclaimed, with respect to the educational work of the movement, that it had been "nothing less than revelation to observe what an amount of latent intellectual talent had been developed." Yet this was also a revelation that showed how so many people had been prevented from articulating their own destiny, "both as to individual needs and for the country's best welfare." Morrison saw in the gathering an indication of a "great social awakening among all classes of people," one that argued well for "cultural progress in the country."[12] Although an infamous dispute between Fr. Jimmy Tompkins and Bishop Morrison over a scheme for university federation in Halifax at the behest of the Carnegie Corporation resulted in Tompkins's reassignment to Canso, chronicled appropriately by many historians of the Antigonish Movement, Morrison was an early and visible supporter of the educational project undertaken by Tompkins and offered ecclesial approval for his work.[13]

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[11] Anne Alexander, *The Antigonish Movement: Moses Coady and Adult Education* (Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing, 1997), 65–71.

[12] Bishop James Morrison, "Forward," to the "People's School," January to March 1921, People's School Papers, STFXUA.

[13] On the conflict between Fr. Jimmy Tompkins and Bishop James Morrison see, for example, John Reid, "Health, Education, Economy: Philanthropic Foundations in the Atlantic Region in the 1920s and 1930s," *Acadiensis* vol. 14, no. 1 (Autumn 1984): 64–83; Peter Ludlow, "Fostering Social Awakening 'along safe and sane lines:' Bishop James Morrison and the Antigonish Movement, CCHA *Historical Studies* vol. 72 (2006), 39–42; Jacob Remes, "In Search

The Great Depression arrived in the 1920s in Nova Scotia. The decade was far from 'roaring;' for fishermen, commodity prices within the industry were significantly depressed, and thus there was little prosperity amongst a significant portion of the population who relied on this staple. Competition from Europe, the United States, and the Caribbean, coupled with Atlantic Canada's slow response to emerging technologies, caused Nova Scotia (and the Maritimes broadly) to feel the impact of economic depression years earlier than it was experienced globally. Engagement with systemically impoverished fishers in the community of Little Dover (part of the Canso parish in Guysborough County) attuned Tompkins to these realities and consequently expanded the scope of his work. He now went well beyond advocating better conditions for them. The task at hand called out for a much wider engagement of local citizens who, once engaged and educated, could discern the sources of oppression.[14] At the same time, however, empowerment required leadership and direction: "they were men and women," wrote Bertram Fowler, a contemporary of Tompkins, "who could change the whole fabric of society if they were given a rule to follow, a working philosophy of action."[15] What emerged was a belief in group action, commencing with a common front to have a road built into the village and moving to remedy injustices based on low commodity prices for lobster and artificially high profits of merchants—who usually worked on behalf of buyers for these same commodities. The collective decision was to create a much-needed canning facility, which required capital to build and expertise to operate. The producers decided to build local sawmills with updated machinery on the basis of credit provided by their own credit unions. The co-operative's debts had been

of 'Saner Minds:' Bishop James Morrison and the Origins of the Antigonish Movement," *Acadiensis* vol. 39, no. 1 (winter/spring 2010): 58–82.

[14] For an early account of the time that Jimmy Tompkins spent in Little Dover, see Bertram B. Fowler, *The Lord Helps Those... How the People of Nova Scotia are Solving their Problems Through Co-operation* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1938), 31–50.

[15] Ibid, 37.

repaid within a year. And local producers came away with a two-cent per-pound increase over market prices. From these experiences in 1929 and 1930, certain hallmarks emerged from community-based adult education and became emblematic of the Antigonish Movement, including study clubs, co-operatives, and credit unions. All exemplified alternative ways of organizing labour and capital.[16] As one observer said of the people of Little Dover, "they now recognize the world as their own. If wrongs exist, then they must act to change them."[17] It seemed to Bertrand Fowler that he was witnessing a concretization of Christian teachings.

Success in Little Dover occurred simultaneously with community engagement in other parts of eastern Nova Scotia and Cape Breton. At a famous meeting in 1927, Moses Coady challenged a small group of men to consider the possibility of organizing as a community. "What should they study?" he asked. "What could they accomplish together?"[18] Concurrently, citizens of Canso gathered on 1 July 1927, not in celebration of sixty years since Canadian Confederation, but as a collective response to the agitation that they had mounted against the economic and social conditions of the day. As Moses Coady put it, in *Masters of their Own Destiny*, the citizens of Canso, when they came together for the celebration, might ask themselves a question Marrulus posed in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*: "Wherefore rejoice?"[19] The citizens of Canso, dissatisfied with Confederation and with poverty, were keen to follow a new if uncharted course, and within themselves to develop the capacity to master their own destiny. Direction was given to the increasingly celebrated movement by Catholic clergy after their annual meeting later in the summer of 1927; following it, priests from the fishing

[16] Ibid, 37–45.

[17] Bertrand Fowler, *The Lord Helps Those...*, 47.

[18] M.M Coady, *Masters of Their Own Destiny: The Story of the Antigonish Movement of Adult Education Through Economic Cooperation* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1939), 10.

[19] William Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, 1.1.34 in John Dover Wilson (ed), *Julius Caesar: The Cambridge Dover, Wilson Shakespeare* (London: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 6. Cited in M.M Coady, *Masters of Their Own Destiny*, 11.

communities of eastern Nova Scotia resolved to lobby the provincial and federal governments to improve the plight of fishermen in these Maritime communities. Soon thereafter, the federal government responded in a typically Canadian fashion by calling a Royal Commission to study the matter (the MacLean Commission), which published its final report in 1928.[20] Two priests, Fr. A.A. Boudreau of Petit de Grat and Fr. L.J. Keats of Ingonish, played prominent roles in helping the people of Canso choose legal representatives to submit their case to the Royal Commission, and Moses Coady was called before it to discuss the role of the university in organizing and educating fishermen.[21] Many of Coady's suggestions were incorporated into the Commission's *Report*, particularly as they pertained to educating fishermen, incorporating them into decision-making structures for the industry, and building programmes of co-operation between consumers and producers. Church-state co-operation in this instance transcended seeking input and information. At the behest of the MacLean Commission, Moses Coady was commissioned to establish locals in fishing villages throughout the Maritimes, and these locals were integrated into the United Maritime Fishermen (UMF) in 1930.[22] After its formation, this body continued to be enabled by the St. Francis Xavier Extension Department, as the UMF agitated for more socially-conscious legislation aimed at protecting the health, safety, and economic prospects of east coast fishermen.[23]

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[20] Canada, Royal Commission to Investigate the Fisheries of the Maritime Provinces and the Magdalen Islands. *Report*. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1928.
[21] M.M. Coady, *Masters of Their Own Destiny*, 11–12.
[22] The United Maritime Fishermen was a central organization for co-operative organizations throughout eastern Canada. The mandate of the organization moved from the educational sphere to include a protection of commercial interests for inshore fisheries. The UMF also liaised with government, lobbying for the interests of east coast fishermen.
[23] Among other expressions of support, the St. Francis Xavier University Extension Department would publish work on behalf of the United Maritime Fishermen. See for example, the United Maritime Fishermen, *A Reconstruction Program for the Fishery* (Antigonish, Nova Scotia: Extension Department St. Francis Xavier University, 1944).

As a diocese, there was clear engagement with questions of education and rural life, demonstrated by annual conferences on these topics, commencing at the close of the 1910s. From 1918 to 1921, 'education conferences' were held for clergy and academics from St. Francis Xavier University. Activists at these conferences proclaimed their determination to revitalize rural life. Bringing education to the farming communities of eastern Nova Scotia was one of their preferred methods of doing so. This suggestion aimed to use education as means to vivify agricultural work rather than unreflexively consider it moribund. Agriculture was an arena that could harness talent and intelligence, create agency, and compete ably with the lure of employment in urban centres. By the time of the diocese's third education conference, many gravitating to the movement espoused the cause of rural education. A Catholic social worldview, one founded on the rights and duties of producers as organic elements of society, was coming to be grounded in the concrete demands of the producers. Yet, before they could master their destiny, they needed the capacities that only education could provide. During this meeting in August 1920, a permanent educational association was established with the charge of stimulating interest in learners across all age groups and ability levels, safeguarding religious instruction, and promoting Christian social principles through study clubs and the press. Activists at the fourth conference in 1921, chaired by Jimmy Tompkins, expressed their willingness to tackle a vast range of issues—better housing, social insurance, collective bargaining, remedies for unemployment—even, said Tompkins, "the democratization of industry" and the various means of "bringing knowledge to the people."[24] After this ambitious slate of discussions, diocesan conferences ceased for three years with tensions coalescing around the question of university federation. Nonetheless, a foray into the demanding social, political, and economic questions

[24] J. Frank Glasgow, "The Role of Education and Rural Conferences in the Development of the Extension Department of St. FX University," *Coady International Institute Newsletter, Special Newsletter No. 1*, 1947, St. Francis Xavier University Archives, Coady International Institute Collection, RG30-3/22/268.

that came to define the work of the Antigonish Movement were tackled broadly by the clergy and enabled them to imagine the ways in which Catholic social thought could become a living presence within the lives of labourers and local farmers.

From 1924 to 1929, a second incarnation of diocesan-wide conferences emerged under the rubric of 'rural life.' Historiographically, these meetings are usually discussed as foundational moments in the formation of St. Francis Xavier University's Extension Department. Certain preoccupations pervaded these diocesan meetings, including the viability of rural life, the departure of young people for cities in search of employment, the high number of unmarried young men (termed the 'bachelor problem'), matters pertaining to unused land and title of this land, and the role played by the provincial government addressing these issues. A consensus also began to coalesce around the need for a formal, active role by the Church through the medium of the university to create avenues for adult education and advance knowledge of 'rural sociology.' Though conferences passed many resolutions pertaining to these topics, Moses Coady later credited 'rural conferences' as seminal moments that helped define the vision of the Antigonish Movement: "the key principles of the Antigonish Movement emerged, that of starting social reform through economic activity."[25] In a 1928 resolution, diocesan clergy called for an institutional framework to give direction to this programme:

> That whereas the economic well-being of a people depends to a large extent on their acquaintance with economic history and economic and sociological forces at work in a country; and whereas it is believed that the common worker is exploited now, because of the lack of knowledge of these forces and principles and whereas now the time would appear opportune for the principle of Adult Education for the whole of Canada and particularly the Maritime provinces. Therefore, be it resolved that we pledge our support to an organization that would be in the opinion of a committee to be appointed by the Conference best [able to] formulate a policy of adult education.[26]

[25] M.M. Coady, *Masters of Their Own Destiny*, 9.

[26] "Minutes of the Sixth Annual Rural Conference of the Diocese of Antigonish, 8–9 October 1928," STFXUA, RG30-3/28/27.

The conferences thus resolved to create permanent structures within the diocese to oversee all educational endeavours. Prescriptively, adult education would be formalized through an Extension Department—synonymously understood as a 'department of social action' in early characterizations of its mandate and goals.

Following this resolution at the diocesan level, the Alumni association formed an *ad hoc* committee to study what it could do to promote educational and economic advancement in rural Nova Scotia. In consultation with the Board of Governors, the committee called for a stand-alone department focused on social activism and community outreach.[27] It also wanted the new department to focus not only on farmers, but on fishers and mine workers as well. This mandate was grounded in 'calls to action' by both state and Church. In a letter written to the Board of Governors, the committee, comprised of four priests representing the alumni, demonstrated clear engagement with the work undertaken by civil authorities. Drawing on the findings of two separate Royal Commissions called by the Liberal government of William Lyon Mackenzie King, the authors urged the creation of a department of extension.[28] The Royal Commission on Maritime Claims chaired by Sir Andrew Rae Duncan in 1926 recommended that a fund be created to improve the social well being, recreation, and living conditions of Nova Scotia's coal miners. With the findings of the Duncan Commission undercut by the King government,[29] the alumni advocated that Catholic social action through 'volunteerism' do some of the job the government was unwilling to do. The Royal Commission on Fisheries, a year later, identified the grim conditions of life in the fisheries. It reintroduced the drive to bring education to people traditionally excluded from the university's purview. While an Extension Department could take

[27] "Alumni Report to the Board of Governors—Recommending the establishment of the Extension Department," 1928, Extension Department Papers, STFXUA, G5/9/12384.
[28] For details on these commissions see Ernest R. Forbes, *Maritime Rights: The Maritime Rights Movement, 1919–1927, A Study in Canadian Regionalism* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979), 158–192.
[29] Ibid, 158.

up this charge, the need for adult education as 'social action' was also framed within the Catholic social thought of *Rerum Novarum*.[30] Leadership training would lead to the "social, economic and educational improvement" of the populace, and "the relationship between this improvement and spiritual improvement is so patent that it does not need elaboration..."[31] This perspective was an adaptation of Pope Leo XIII's thought that "spiritual concerns" could not neglect "temporal and earthly interests." Catholic charity had a long-standing history within the Church, but the focus on social justice advocated in Nova Scotia was seen as a more modern phenomenon reflective of a worldwide re-orientation of Catholicism. With educational endeavours already underway and drawing on the People's School as an important example, a 'Social Action Department' or 'Extension Department' could offer institutional oversight for localized work already occurring within the province.

The Extension Department at St. Francis Xavier University was formed in 1928, and Moses Coady served as its director. Mobilization around Nova Scotia's ethnic cleavages also helped will the Extension Department into being, with the Scottish Catholic Society raising a sum of $100,000 to aid adult education initiatives among the province's rural population. Coady thought the sum sufficient to motivate James Morrison, Bishop of Antigonish, to back the project. Although still convinced that a Bishop should not be spearheading a movement for radical social and economic change, Morrison nonetheless gave the movement his episcopal approval.[32] Clergy, it was true, were bound by vows of obedience to their bishop or superior. Yet the Antigonish Movement also meant the priests' elevation to positions of intellectual

[30] "Alumni Report to the Board of Governors—Recommending the establishment of the Extension Department," 1928, Extension Department Papers, STFXUA, G5/9/12384.
[31] Ibid.
[32] RG30-3/25/1610 and MG 20/1/917, STFXUA. Cited in Francis Mifflen, "The Antigonish Movement," 15. Peter Ludlow presents the complexities of Bishop James Morrison in "Along Safe and Sane Lines," while Jacob Remes challenges this assessment with "In Search of 'Saner Minds.'"

authority within a public movement, one that bestowed upon them more than a little independence. Rather than the "traditional" roles associated with the clergy, they were coming to exercise "organic" capacities to mobilize and change the producers with whom they were in contact. With the Extension Department, social reform began with economic action, a process facilitated through mass education. By 1930, the Extension Department had an operations budget for this work—$10,000 supplied by the University and equal amount by the Carnegie Corporation. By 1944, the work of the Extension Department had become a financial partnership primarily linking the Carnegie Corporation, the Department of Fisheries, and St. Francis Xavier University—signalling how work, rooted in Catholic social thought and action, had become financially underpinned by an amalgam of private philanthropy, state and university-funded capital.[33]

With the university and diocesan clergy already taking on advocacy work, an institutional apparatus was a natural development. Employing the service of priests ministering in parishes affected by the systemic poverty of the period was a natural tactic—particularly since the diocesan clergy of Antigonish were often born locally, trained abroad, and had a vested interest in the temporal and material welfare of Nova Scotians. Many besides the proponents of the Antigonish Movement had been inspired by the co-operative ideals of England's nineteenth-century Rochdale pioneers. The difference in Antigonish was the intensity with which the Extension Department combined these ideals with those of adult education. The Antigonish recipe for social and economic change demanded both the proliferation of co-operatives and,

[33] Francis Mifflen provides figures for expenditures and revenue for the period from 1929 to 1944. Expenditures totalling $397,621.63 accounted for by revenue of $67,882.50 from the Carnegie Corporation, $175,152.23 from the Department of Fisheries, $126,819.17 from St. Francis Xavier University with an additional $3594.58 coming from the sale of pamphlets and $24,173.45 from other donations. See Francis Mifflen, "The Antigonish Movement," 21. On the Carnegie Corporation's role in funding Atlantic Canadian universities, also see Jeffrey D. Brison, *Rockefeller, Carnegie, and Canada: American Philanthropy and the Arts and Letters in Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), 53, 112.

more radically, the empowerment through education of the producers. 'Christian democratic idealism' and 'practical accomplishment' thus became twin aims at a time when 'democracy' remained suspect with the Vatican and material concerns often disconnected from spiritual ones.

After the Board of Governors voted to reject university federation and Rome passed down a similar decision in 1930, adult education initiatives, institutionalized through the Extension Department, became fundamentally about empowering an economically depressed, rural population through alternative organization. Moses Coady's approach, one he called 'co-operation,' straddled corporatist, distributist, and personalist readings of Catholic Social Thought. In *Masters of Their Own Destiny*, Coady expresses clear reservations about corporatism as it had played out in Fascist Europe, and thus he resoundingly distances the Antigonish project from it. Coady writes at length:

> [Cooperation] safeguards the masses against what might easily be the ill effects of the vocational group idea. If too rigidly applied and given juridical significance, contracts between labour and industry as put forth by the advocates of "corporatism" would entrench the vested interests and perpetuate the status quo and a caste society. Cooperation, on the other hand, precludes this possibility. This point can be brought out by a practical illustration. In 1930, we organized the fishermen of eastern Canada with a view to improving their economic and social conditions. We began with the lobster industry. There were two ways in which we might have tackled the job. We might have organized the fishermen into a union or a syndicate as the corporatists would call it, and the operators or packers into another syndicate. We could have brought them together to discuss wages, conditions of labour, and other topics pertaining to the industry. But we preferred not to do it that way. Instead, the lobster fishermen were urged to undertake the processing of this sea food on their own initiative. The outcome has proved that the cooperative way was the better way. It showed that the private packers were not necessary to the industry: that the fishermen themselves could conduct their business successfully; and that it is good for them and for society that they should do so. Here is a case where cooperation is plainly superior to anything in the nature of corporatism.[34]

[34] M.M. Coady, *Masters of Their Own Destiny*, 132–133.

Coady, however, was not without internal opposition from Catholic circles regarding his position on corporatism. The 1930s fiction of Fr. D.J. Rankin in *Our Ain Folk* and *On this Rock*, for example, imagines a Cape Breton where Catholics live in poverty and simplicity. They are familiar with the papal encyclicals and have organized themselves within corporatist structures.[35] Within Rankin's imagining of Cape Breton, Catholics formed an organic community in the tradition of German Romantic Johann Gottfried von Herder's *volksgeist* (meaning "spirit of the people"). Rankin's vision was threatened by Catholic social workers (a euphemism for the Antigonish practitioners) who questioned the virtue of poverty.[36] While Coady did not want a share in the corporatist project, he was, perhaps unwittingly, influenced by its organic language as well as its commitment to what Heinrich Pesch calls 'solidarism' (the mutual responsibility shared by a community for each of its members, an idea Coady with which was surely familiar with during his doctoral studies in Rome). Solidarism was complemented by inspiration from the distributist tradition[37]—and particularly through a commitment to subsidiarity. Co-operation was an effective system for lower bodies to meet immediate needs rather than have them assumed by higher ones. In *Masters of Their Own Destiny*, Coady shows the influence of Thomist thought, even subtitling one section, "Christ and Aristotle Meet."[38] Throughout the text, which became indicative of the Antigonish Movement more broadly, was concern for 'human personality.' The Urban College of Propaganda Fide in Rome (where Coady took both

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[35] D.J. Rankin, *Our Ain Folk and Others* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1930) and D.J. Rankin, *On this Rock* (Ottawa: Overbrook Press, 1930). For a good discussion of D.J. Rankin's *Our Ain Folk and Others* and *On this Rock*, see Ian McKay, *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth Century Nova Scotia* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 238–242.
[36] Ibid, 241.
[37] Santo Dodaro and Leonard Pluta, *The Big Picture*, 304–305. Dodaro and Pluto predicate this argument on an Australian study by politician Race Mathews, which is firmly convinced of the Antigonish Movement as an application of British distributism. See Race Mathews, *Jobs of Our Own: Building a Stake-Holder Society: Alternatives to the Market and the State* (Sydney: Pluto, 1999).
[38] M.M.. Coady, *Masters of Their Own Destiny*, 33.

of his doctorates) had a reputation for Thomist thought (one developed after Pope Leo XIII had appointed one his mentors as Professor of Dogma in the 1880s).[39] With economic security, Coady argues, comes the ability for human personality to develop fully—through the arts, literature, and culture broadly—and "an examination of the manner in which the human mind works will yield in the final argument for beginning with the material, concrete things in an attempt to arrive at the abstract, spiritual, and cultural. For we find this procedure is in harmony with the development of human thought itself."[40] It is unclear whether Coady was reading the French personalists, but clearly he intuited their convictions from his own study of Aquinas—one he summarized as "it is more keeping with the dignity of human personality that [people] should be given a chance to make their own contribution and to move under their own power."[41] This succinct statement crystallized a core conviction of the Antigonish Movement. As it developed within these traditions of Catholic social thought, the movement drew in civil, academic, and ecclesial officials, posed its own challenge to liberalism and revolutionary activity (particularly within industrial areas of Cape Breton), constructed its own brand of radicalism and ultimately effected change in a disaffected region.

The Rural and Industrial Conference, 1930–1939

In 1930, Antigonish activists adopted a new strategy: expanded rural conferences, the apex of adult education. Such conferences pursued not only rural questions but a host of 'industrial' issues. They attained greater significance, as an apex for adult education, when responsibility for conference organization shifted in this same year from the Diocese of Antigonish to the Department of Extension. Diocesan-wide conferences became provincial

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[39] Gerald P. Fogarty SJ, *The Vatican and the Americanist Crisis: Denis J. O'Connell, American Agent in Rome, 1885–1903* (Rome: Università Gregoriana Editrice, 1974), 11.
[40] M.M.. Coady, *Masters of Their Own Destiny*, 114–115.
[41] Ibid, 151.

affairs and were the culmination of more diffuse meetings on the local and regional levels. More lay people became active. More and more showed up at conferences. Tracing a decade of rural and industrial conferences shows exponential growth in attendance from 77 in 1933 to 500 at some sessions a year later to more than a 1000 delegates from across North America, including 250 clergy, by 1937.[42] Locally, the seven counties of eastern Nova Scotia were divided into thirteen zones; each zone had a local organizer with delegate representation being distributed across the province. Study clubs were encouraged to submit questions, particularly in the early years of the Rural and Industrial conferences, for debate, discussion, and as means to develop viable solutions. Formats evolved from a traditional lecture-style with questions and answers to round table discussions and special presentations. Different approaches were taken to organizing delegates: from forming smaller groups divided by men, women, and clergy—an approach Moses Coady later acknowledged was less productive than joint discussions—to working within a plenary session format. Rural and industrial conferences transcended didactic purposes and became democratic fora for and apparatuses of the Antigonish Movement: with 'progress reports' being offered by co-operative leaders from across the Maritimes on the status of the co-operative architecture being drafted within the region, foundational ideas debated and discussed, and resolutions for further action voted on by participants. By the late 1930s, rural and industrial conferences were well known as a source of intellectual capital for the movement. The Nova Scotia Co-operative Union and Credit Union League "referred constantly to these meetings,"[43] for example, and they received press coverage and attention from across the continent.[44]

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[42] These statistics are taken from Jean Chisolm's article. Jean Chisolm, "The Role of the Rural and Industrials Conferences in the Extension Development of Saint Francis Xavier University," *Coady International Institute Newsletter, Special Newsletter* no. 1, 1947, St. Francis Xavier University Archives, Coady International Institute Collection, RG30-3/22/268.

[43] Ibid.

[44] An article, for example, was published in *Time* magazine. See "Religion in Antigonish," *Time*, 29 August 1938.

The labour question was, of course, at the forefront of considerations about industrial life in Nova Scotia. These discussions coincided with papal pronouncements on this issue. If *Rerum Novarum* took a generation to cross the Atlantic and enter into Catholic discourse, then it paved the way for *Quadragesimo Anno* to be considered with greater rapidity. The encyclical, issued on 15 May 1931, was being dissected and debated by the rural and industrial conference in September of that very year. A number of themes developed from this conversation. Firstly, it is apparent that there was a reorientation towards justice rather than charity. On this question:

> We have heard much of the blessings of poverty, and no doubt poverty, rightly borne, has helped many to make progress in virtue, but this is far from admitting that people should be made poor in order that they may be virtuous. The good Lord placed on the earth a sufficiency of His gifts to meet the material needs of men, and that state in which man can obtain, by reasonable labour the sufficiency which the Lord intended he should have, is surely best for him, both as regards his spiritual and his material needs.[45]

A clear challenge is presented here to the conception of poverty often articulated within classic liberal thought. The conference in essence reiterated the position of Pope Leo XIII from forty years earlier, which refuted the notion that economic disparity between poor and rich was an acceptable function of natural economic laws. Implicit in this position was a critique of the poor laws and the principles of 'less eligibility' in Britain. Secondly, the idea of 'laissez-faire capitalism' had been replaced by 'economic dictatorship,' and thus capitalism had become as unchristian as its left-wing opponents. Thirdly, democratic socialism mirrored many of the prescriptions advanced by *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno*, but it failed to recognize the supremacy of God. Fourthly, the economic and corresponding political questions of the age were fundamentally moral ones, and, as much as a secular impulse in Catholicism attempted not

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[45] Fr. J.H. Nicholson, "A paper prepared on Pope Pius XI's Encyclical on Labour," 1 September 1931, STFXUA, RG30-3/28/52.

to interfere with democratic choice, it was the Church's responsibility to participate in civil affairs and shepherd society in turbulent times. Lastly, organizers of the conference invited a response from organized labour, which was offered by W.J. Delaney, Secretary of District 26 of the United Mine Workers of America in Glace Bay. He criticized the idea of a partnership between employers and labour, indicative of corporatism, as untenable in industrial Nova Scotia. These groups remained in conflict, in part, because mass production in the coal and steel industries flooded the workforce in moments of peak production, resulting in an oversupply of labour when there was a downturn. State ownership, or at least state control, of production was a preferred remedy to overcome these social inequalities in mining communities.[46]

This point raised the important question of private property, which the conference tackled in the context of *Quadragesimo Anno*, attempting to develop a philosophical understanding that would guide its vision of co-operation. The right to private property is affirmed. Individuals with proper title should not have their properties expropriated. Their property safeguarded their liberty against proponents of the state (or corporate) ownership who might wish to undermine it. Yet private property also involved social rights and obligations. It had to be governed by the principles of "charity, beneficence, and liberality." The state bears responsibility in this regard: to set the terms and limits for use of private property as long as it does not violate the natural right to ownership or transmission through inheritance. One has a moral obligation to give freely according to the need of the time—with the onset of the Depression, the incumbency of this imperative was acute—by distributing superfluous goods for the benefit of the community or investing them in "really useful" enterprises. Here a limit is placed on the individual by the term "really useful." It was incumbent upon the state to make moral choices for the good of the community. Both capital and labour are affirmed in ownership of products: one retains title to

[46] Minutes of the Ninth Rural and Industrial Conference, September 1931, STFUXA.

raw materials as part of their private property, and the other, transforming these materials into finished products, operates as part of the means of production. They ought to share, therefore, in benefits according to principles of the 'common good' and 'social justice.' In the industrialized age, noted the conference speaker, an unfair proportion of profit or benefit has been returned to those supplying capital. As J.H. Nicholson suggested in 1931, in a commentary on Pius XI's encyclical on labour, labourers who enjoyed an "ample sufficiency" (a category that was left undefined) would be free of both "fear" and "uncertainty," and hence, as Pius hoped, "effectively defended against the forces of revolution."[47]

The conferences showed how thoroughly the activists had been seized with the need for fundamental change. Many speakers bore witness to "moments in which [their] understanding of the self and society, right and wrong, what really matters and what doesn't, changes radically"[48]—instances that Antonio Gramsci calls "moment of supersedure." Antigonish activists acknowledged that "the minds of men are in that dissatisfied and unsettled state which makes them particularly receptive of new doctrine and impatient of the traditional teaching, which does not seem to have solved their problems."[49] The Antigonish Movement's work was seen as both an alternative to the present social order, but also as a counter-revolutionary force. The 1931 rural and industrial conference was an opportunity to move decisively from work with farmers and fishermen to include industrial workers. The organization of labour involved risk and reward: it answered to the imperative to bring democracy to the workplace, but also opened a space for subversive ideas to flourish. Industrial sectors of Nova Scotia were seen as a key Canadian battleground with recognition that they were among the most organized in the country.

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[47] Fr. J.H. Nicholson, "A paper prepared on Pope Pius XI's Encyclical on Labour," 1 September 1931, STFXUA, RG30-3/28/52.
[48] Ian McKay, *Reds, Rebels, and Radicals*, 105.
[49] Fr. J.H. Nicholson, "A paper prepared on Pope Pius XI's Encyclical on Labour," 1 September 1931, STFXUA, RG30-3/28/55.

There was also broad awareness of 'red influence' in trade unionism worldwide. 'Christian principles' were meant to be counterposed to the 'insidious propaganda' often associated with the labour movement. Farmers and fishers were also seen as susceptible, but it was in the industrial quarter that one found, "conditions [that] make the danger of sudden and, perhaps, disastrous changes more imminent."[50] The moment of revolution had not passed and leaders of the Antigonish Movement saw their work as a counter-hegemonic force in one instance and counter-revolutionary in another. This was a *via media*.

Internationally, Pope Pius XI sought to bring the laity into the ministry of the Church; locally in Antigonish, the lay apostolate was central to advancing the aims of democracy and Christianity within the industrial sphere. The discontent of the people was well understood and deemed justified. It was the role of the clergy to help foster an informed democratic citizenship that could participate in the life of the Church and function ably in civil society. If economic and social conditions were ripe for revolutionary activity, as the conference concluded, then the lay apostolate was a force to counter subversive ideas. Discussions at the rural and industrial conference in 1931 affirmed the social function of the priests and bishop of the diocese as community leaders guiding its people through turbulent economic and social times. Clerics were educators, known to the community and trusted by them, but the inclusion of the people through the lay apostolate diffused this responsibility amongst the community. Lay apostles could support and advance unionization, but also use it as a guiding force to build a truly Christian democracy. Catholic social ideals could not be reconciled with inhumane labour conditions. Lay apostles of the Antigonish Movement sincerely opposed them. They also, with equal conviction, wanted to reverse the inroads that had been made by revolutionary socialists.

[50] Ibid.

Alex S. McIntyre became the movement's authority on radical labour. Here was an interesting person to assume such a mantle within the Catholic movement. A former vice-president of District 26 of the United Mine Workers of America, a member of its mid-1920s 'Red Executive,' and friend of the well-known Communist J.B. McLachlan, McIntyre must have seemed an odd choice for an invitation to the 1932 Rural and Industrial conference in Sydney.[51] After his arrest for seditious activity during the 1925 coalminers strike in Cape Breton, he was an unlikely recipient of an invitation to speak at the 1932 event. McIntyre accepted the invitation. He detailed the difficulty that he faced blending a desire for social change through trade unionism with his Roman Catholic upbringing and suggested that he felt "more at home with communists than clergy."[52] With the Antigonish Movement attempting a move into industrial areas of the province, and Cape Breton initially, McIntyre represented a liminal figure between the revolutionary change sought by radical leftists, and the tradition and norms of Roman Catholicism. The social Catholicism of the Antigonish Movement had a reciprocal effect on McIntyre, as he became a crucial fieldworker for the movement and one of its important early leaders. The Antigonish Movement, as George Rawlyk has argued, became a Catholic answer to Communist activity, and nowhere was this more evident than in Cape Breton. At least until 1925, Communists were an entrenched, influential and powerful opponent, and social Catholicism became a crucial bulwark against further Communist penetration into organized labour.[53] McIntyre's crossover, arguably, helped pacify radicalism in this area, and his efforts consolidated the Antigonish cause within the mining population. McIntyre, along with Coady,

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[51] When McLachlan died, McIntyre described the union leader as "a real friend of the common people and lifelong crusader for the cause of the working class." See David Frank, *J.B. McLachlan: A Biography* (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1999), 528.

[52] Peter Nearing, *He Loved the Church: The Biography of Bishop John R. MacDonald* (Antigonish, Nova Scotia: The Castket, 1975), 43. Cited in Ludlow, "Along Safe and Sane Lines," 31.

[53] George Rawlyk, "The Farmer-Labour Movement and the Failure of Socialism in Nova Scotia," 36.

Tompkins, and a handful of others, became a key figure in the Antigonish Movement after it began to be directed through the Extension Department.

In 1933, the Rural and Industrial Conference was again organized around concepts taken from *Quadragesimo Anno* and analyzed with the conviction that "economic projects must be used to work out the principles of Christianity."[54] Bishop Morrison opened the conference by outlining the global circumstances that had led to *Rerum Novarum* more than forty years earlier and noted that co-operation was a means to ameliorate people's welfare in the era of the Depression. Co-operation transcended politics and should not be affiliated with a particular party—a clear indication of reticence about the early programme of the CCF, which was in its infancy. While the Bishop was not inclined to have the conference consider emerging political movements, there was agreement that the 'vocational groups' advanced by Rome were akin to ideas of 'guild socialism' coming from Britain and thus acceptable under Catholic teachings. Liberal ideas, in turn, were challenged as anachronistic: individualism did not fit with the organic nature of the Church, and Moses Coady suggested that society was moving from an individualistic ethos to a group stage. It was incumbent upon the Church, therefore, to train leaders because without organization a progressive programme would not be possible. Coady followed by talking about the need for economic planning. A year after his inaugural address, Alex McIntyre returned to speak on a precept of *Quadragesimo Anno*, "Property—certain forms must be reserved to the state."[55] Failure to recognize the social use of property was at the heart of disinheriting people of their full democratic citizenship. Entire segments of the economy, such as natural resources, should be rendered to the state. As the conference concluded, a number of key resolutions were passed: to work for one hundred per cent unionization in

[54] Rural and Industrial Conference Minutes, 1933, Rural and Industrial Conference papers, STFXUA, no call number.
[55] Rural and Industrial Conference Agenda, 1933, Rural and Industrial Conference papers, STFXUA, RG30-3/28/64.

industrial areas; to have clergy meet regularly to familiarize themselves with the principles of social justice as advanced within papal encyclicals; to organize study clubs for the laity with the same objective; to develop a marketing policy for primary producers that sympathized with the welfare of common people. Throughout the meetings, it was well understood that popular perception deemed encyclical language 'vague' and 'indefinite.' Participants adapted these ideas adroitly for the needs of Nova Scotia's Catholics.[56]

By 1934, attention was given to strengthening, conceptually and practically, the idea of group organization. The Antigonish leadership firmly rejected the 'rugged individualism' that had driven economic relations for more than a century. As Coady had argued a year earlier, social and economic life was moving towards group organization, and cooperation was an important step in this process. Two presentations criticized producer groups for doing an insufficient job assuaging class conflict and for the 'individualistic' ethos that continued to influence them. Scores of group organizations had emerged in the early decades of the twentieth century, including unions, co-operative stores, protective associations, buying clubs, and credit unions among industrial workers with farmers and fishermen advancing their interests in a similar fashion. While group action was lauded as a "heroic effort" to obtain a "reasonable share of their labour," it was also deemed an act of "economic self-preservation" by wage earners and primary producers *vis-à-vis* the inequity of power and influence exerted by big and small business. An economic rationale and individual self-interest, thus, drove the transition to group organization. Rather than an act of resistance, based on solidarity and class-interest, such organizations perpetuated competition and division as a result of 'group parochialism.' As R.J. MacSween and J.C.F. MacDonell, who presented this qualified critique of group empowerment

[56] Rural and Industrial Conference Minutes, 1933, Rural and Industrial Conference papers, STFXUA, no call number.

in the economy, had grasped, there were ways in which the principle of subsidiarity could clash with any overall conception of the public good. It was a contradiction that could be overcome only through the co-operative movement's emphasis on the common interests of all consumers.[57] This approach would win "economic control" for "the people" and help produce a "cooperative democracy" aimed at creating an alternative to the appropriation of group organization by capitalism's internal logic and subverting the ambitions of communists and socialists.[58]

A clear shift happens with the 1936 rural conference with its adoption of the slogan of the "People's Forum." As a place of meeting, the event had transitioned from being for clergy and academics to being one for "the people." It opened with Moses Coady's address on "What Stands between the People and a Better World."[59] The meeting was marked by several distinct facets. Firstly, it was more international than previous conferences, with three high-profile speakers from the United States, including Michael Williams, editor of the *Commonweal*.[60] Secondly, the 1936 conference also marked a move towards ecumenism as J.D. Nelson MacDonald, a United Church Minister, became an important figure in the movement.[61] Only a

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[57] Rural and Industrial Conference Minutes, 1934, Rural and Industrial Conference papers, STFXUA, RG30-3/28/226.

[58] R.J. MacSween and J.C.F. MacDonell, "Lack of Solidarity among Different Groups," presentation to the Rural and Industrial Conference, 1934, Rural and Industrial Conference papers, STFXUA, RG30-3/28/228 to RG30-3/28/232.

[59] Moses Coady, "What Stands between People and a better World," presentation to the Rural and Industrial Conference, 1936, Rural and Industrial Conference papers, STFXUA, RG30-3/28/286.

[60] The *Commonweal* was founded in 1924 by Michael Williams. During the 1930s, it adopted a position of neutrality on the Spanish Civil War. Since its inception, it has been a forum for intersecting questions of culture, politics, and Catholicism; and as a lay initiative, it has been an important site of social Catholicism in the United States. On the history of the *Commonweal*, see Rodger Van Allen, *The Commonweal and American Catholicism: The Magazine, the Movement, the Meaning* (Philadelphia: Fortune Press, 1974); Rodger Van Allen, *Being Catholic: Commonweal from the Seventies to the Nineties* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1993); and Patrick Jordan and Paul Baumann, *Commonweal Confronts the Century: Liberal Convictions, Catholic Tradition* (New York: Touchstone, 1999).

[61] On J.D. Nelson MacDonald (and his co-religionist J.W.A. Nicholson) see John Young, "A United Church Presence in the Antigonish Movement: J.W.A. Nicholson and J.D.N. MacDonald," CSCH Historical Papers (2011):

few years before, Coady had expressly stated that the meeting was for Catholic clergy and laymen and should not be advertised broadly, but, by 1936, the Antigonish Movement began building ties with others in the Christian community. Lastly, and most crucially, it presented 'co-operation' as a pragmatic and ideological alternative to stand alongside communism, socialism, and fascism. It re-stated, axiomatically, that "individualism" was untenable, an alternative was necessary, "and," using Coady's word's, "we had better find that formula quickly for the simple reason that others are crowding in with new and probably dangerous formulas—the Communist, Fascist, Socialist formulae are being pressed upon us, and we may be forced to accept the unpalatable solutions that may be found via one or other of these plans."[62] This perspective pervaded most presentations with J.M. Campbell, a Protestant minister and Executive Secretary of the National Co-operative Service Bureau in Ames, Iowa, suggesting that the co-operative work of the Antigonish Movement was "pioneering" for having the "courage to change economic structure." For it to succeed, he argued—if it wanted to supplant extreme individualism, state socialism, or communism—the co-operative movement needed to gain control of banking and credit, not just production and distribution. Without control of banking and credit, co-operative work would become a tool of private enterprise and reinforce inequities in capitalism rather than replace them.[63]

There was a fervent belief that this endeavour could be national in scope. The language used by J.D. Nelson MacDonald in his speech was deliberate, suggesting that the Canadian project ought to be that of building a "Co-operative Commonwealth." Influenced by a radical

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181–187. Available from http://churchhistcan.files.wordpress.com/2013/05/2011-12-young-article.pdf (accessed 13 May 2013).

[62] Moses Coady, "What Stands between People and a better World," presentation to the Rural and Industrial Conference, 1936, Rural and Industrial Conference papers, STFXUA, RG30-3/28/286.

[63] J.M Campbell, "The Need for Co-operative Credit," presentation to the Rural and Industrial Conference, 1936, Rural and Industrial Conference papers, STFXUA, RG30-3/28/288 to RG30-3/28/295.

strain of the Social Gospel, it was reflective of terminology used by Protestant ministers in the west, who participated in developing the programme of the CCF.[64] MacDonald's presentation also came in the same year as the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order's publication of *Towards the Christian Revolution*—with his contestation of the social order presenting comparably radical ideas to the Antigonish audience. In it, he attempted to discourage his listeners from favouring too much accommodation with the current system. He wanted to subvert the idea of creating "capitalist cooperators." MacDonald lauded liberalism and capitalism for the wealth, opportunity, and liberty that they helped created for the individual, but he tempered this praise by arguing they also inculcated competition, profit, and selfishness, which was "unjust," "unChristian," and "false cornerstones" for society. In an appeal to the Gospel message of justice, he calls on the Church not to forget Christ's words, "woe unto you," directed at those who would exploit widows, orphans, the poor, or the needy.[65] To turn away from the responsibility to speak for the disenfranchised would be a betrayal of public trust. Intergenerational immiseration had a hegemonic effect under conditions of capitalism: it was the Church's responsibility, through adult education and cooperation, to break a cycle of poverty that structured the thinking of many who were oppressed. It was, however, also a strategy used by two other ideological alternatives, fascism and communism. While MacDonald dismisses the former, he believes that a Cooperative Commonwealth could co-opt those drawn to communism by emphasizing common elements of an economic and social programme: offer the masses more representation in industry; socialize certain utilities that were previously held privately; set a limit to the amount of capital any one person can hold; and promote trends towards collectivism

[64] John Webster Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era* (Vancouver: Regent College Publishing, 1998), 141–142.

[65] Although references to 'the Church' usually implies the Roman Catholic Church at Rural and Industrial Conferences, J.D. Nelson MacDonald, as a United Church minister, likely uses the term more ecumenically to refer broadly to the Christian Church(es). Some evidence of this point comes when he suggests that "there is already too much Communism in the Church:" a comment not likely directed at the Church of Rome.

and away from individualism without the use of coercion.[66] Strategically, appropriating support from competitors with alternative visions would be achieved by emphasizing points of commonality, retaining positive elements of the capitalist system, and ultimately "building up a social order that will be superior to [them]." As MacDonald argues, "in the Cooperative system built on the teachings of Jesus Christ... we can show the world that here is a system which will conserve the good things of our present order and give us all the things the Communists are seeking... if Communists are consistent, then they, too, will link themselves with such a movement for the welfare of the world."[67] Arguing for a Christian Cooperative Commonwealth,[68] Macdonald concludes it would require "men and women with vision who will put their blood into it, aye die for it."[69]

The 1937 and 1938 conferences were convened as 'the people's parliament' with intellectual capital coming from without and within the movement. They suggested a turn towards radical democracy. The tactic of inviting prominent American social Catholics continued with two prominent speakers, Fr. Paul Hanley Furfey and Dorothy Day. Fr. Paul Hanley Furfey, a sociologist from the Catholic University of America and prominent proponent of social Catholicism in the United States, spoke on spiritualizing social work and continued the theme of Christian radicalism with a talk on "the Christian Revolution." Dorothy Day's talk a year later on "the lay apostolate" emphasized the radical potential of the laity in the mission of

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[66] J.D. Nelson MacDonald, "Technique in a Program for the People," presentation to the Rural and Industrial Conference, 1936, Rural and Industrial Conference papers, STFXUA, RG30-3/28/288 to RG30-3/28/300.
[67] Ibid, RG30-3/28/300.
[68] A commonwealth that was truly 'cooperative' and 'Christian' bore many features of the welfare state, but the commitment that MacDonald calls for had much greater radicalism: "Insurance schemes which will look after unemployment, old age, widows, orphans, and the incapacitated. It must include the public ownership of public utilities such as water, power, banks, trusts, and insurance. It must encourage cooperative buying, selling, manufacturing, and then abolish private profit and the middle man, and for that social order there is need of adequate leadership" See J.D. Nelson MacDonald, "Technique in a Program for the People," presentation to the Rural and Industrial Conference, 1936, Rural and Industrial Conference papers, STFXUA, RG30-3/28/288 to RG30-3/28/301.
[69] Ibid, RG30-3/28/301.

the Church—evidenced by her work with the Catholic Worker movement in New York City and throughout urban centres in the United States.[70] Both Furfey and Day were inspirational figures for social Catholics throughout Canada, and their presence at the rural and industrial conferences helped harness ambitions for reform within society and throughout the Church.

"Education for social change" was a quintessential statement of the Antigonish Movement's charge, and thus a fitting title for the 1938 conference talk given by M.A. MacLellan, a priest and professor of education at St. Francis Xavier University. MacLellan understands society as tripartite: 'conservatives' on the right, 'radicals' on the left, with these solitudes competing constantly for the minds and hearts of a class in the middle. Positioning his own social and political ideals, as well as those of the Antigonish Movement more generally, MacLellan declared that his sympathies could be found on both sides of the divide. "True radicalism," he insists, "does not threaten any true and worthy institution; it aims at eradicating only what is evil in our present economic and social system," while conservatism protects venerable traditions that are "right" and "true."[71] Education ought to be the great social and spiritual force that mediates this cleavage according to principles of "natural law" and "social justice," but it has been appropriated by dominant economic forces to reinforce a gospel of capitalism and individualism.[72]

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[70] Dorothy Day's participation in the conference was indicative of how women were becoming key participants in the meetings both as delegates and as presenters. The gender dimension of the Antigonish Movement is rife with complexity—offering empowerment to women in some instance and reinforcing traditional gender roles in other ones. These tensions are adeptly explored in Rusty Neal, *Brotherhood Economics: Women and Co-operatives in Nova Scotia* (Sydney, Nova Scotia: University College of Cape Breton Press, 1998).
[71] M.A. MacLellan, "Education for Social Change," presentation to the Rural and Industrial Conference, 1938, Rural and Industrial Conference papers, STFXUA, RG30-3/28/326.
[72] Examining the speech hermeneutically, it is important to note that the term 'Education' is consistently capitalized—suggesting MacLellan sees it in ideological terms. True education, he contends, does not require a demand for social change because, understood authentically, 'Education' as a social force would have already anticipated and responded to this need in society. See Ibid.

Authentic education empowers, MacLellan argued. It does not merely protect and perpetuate "economic despotism." Schools were in the business of consolidating and perpetuating the existing economic order. Those who wanted to reason and live otherwise would have to undertake a daring project: "the proponents of a new order are considered dangerous fellows who must be watched by those self-constituted, over-protective critics who fail to realize that they themselves are the real enemies of society as long as they defend the philosophy that makes for poverty and unemployment amidst plenty to eat and plenty to do." "The forces of wealth and the powers of industry are concentrated and collectivized into a compact and powerful group whose long and manifold fingers reach out like an octopus into the pockets of every human toiler," MacLellan warned.[73] Education has the duty (in the Kantian sense of a moral action) to determine if there is a more just and humane economic and social order and to act accordingly on these findings. Instead of being at the 'vanguard' of material and spiritual progress, however, education had become a tool of the powerful, and as such it worked to derail "democratic ideals" of helping individuals achieve full personhood authentically rooted in the Gospel.

Among the many contested concepts core to the Antigonish Movement, the 'individual' calls out for special scrutiny. The defence of the dignity and flourishing of the person, founded upon his or her natural rights, was (and remains) a central element of Catholic teaching. Yet Antigonish intellectuals also perceived that the 'individual' as an ideal had been conscripted by and aligned with the 'capitalism' whose problems they were committed to solving. Co-operation through group action was one way of squaring the circle: preserving the individual while simultaneously nurturing the social context in which that individual might freely develop his or

[73] M.A. MacLellan, "Education for Social Change," presentation to the Rural and Industrial Conference, 1938, Rural and Industrial Conference papers, STFXUA, RG30-3/28/327.

her capacities. Approached hermeneutically, however, 'the individual,' as it was constructed by the Antigonish leadership, meaning an inclusive and authentic 'personhood,' must be separated from C.B. Macpherson's 'possessive individualism,' which includes some while excluding others from considerations of 'the individual' as 'person.' MacLellan is vociferous on this point:

> Paradoxically as it seems, in order to retain his individualism, man must lose that extreme type of selfishness and accept a socialized or sacrificing form of individual freedom that will in reality be a more Christian concept of the person. The individual must deny himself for the welfare of his fellow men and really for his own welfare also. By losing his rugged individualism, he is retaining his real individualism. This is the replacement of individualism by personalism, the substitution of social cooperation for laissez-faire in all activities.

As the Antigonish Movement worked to advance a more Christian and humane understanding of individualism, it accounted for normative assumptions held commonly within the British and American liberal traditions. Rights accorded to the 'possessive individual' were not to be jettisoned under a system of cooperation—and, in fact, Coady maintained, "We are proud of our British freedom."[74] Rather, a structural transition away from an economic system predicated on competition necessitated broader enfranchisement—meaningful democratic participation in economic and social life—and the rejection of an American-style "rugged individualism."[75] Both suggested a positive obligation on the part of the state and its citizenry to foster equality. Education as a force for social change advocated a more authentic and organic treatment of the human person in place of the depersonalization of classic liberalism and capitalism. Thus, the Antigonish Movement retains the 'individual' as a central concept,

[74] M.M. Coady, *Masters of Their Own Destiny*, 25.

[75] Ibid, 126. Use of the term 'rugged individual' implied that individual advancement was best achieved with minimal interference by government. It was a concept used by the Republican Party in the U.S. during the 1920s, and it is often associated with the Presidency of Hebert Hoover, who served from 1929 to 1933. Usage of the term at Rural and Industrial conferences during the 1930s comes against this backdrop. For a good discussion of Herbert Hoover and his conceptual understanding of individualism, see Christopher Shannon, *Conspicuous Criticism: Tradition, the Individual, and Culture in American Social Thought from Veblen to Mills* (Baltimore: the Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 68–70.

but it sees group action as a way of enabling—as opposed to alienating—human potential. Adult education sought to help people improve the material conditions of their lives, through a deepened sense of individualism and democratic citizenship.

The primacy of the individual came to be regarded as a foundational principle for the Antigonish Movement. Harry Johnson, a professor at St. Francis Xavier University, lectured publicly at Acadia University in 1944 where he expounded the principles of the movement as they had developed out of discussions at the Rural and Industrial conferences a decade earlier.[76] While its focus on co-operation tied Antigonish practitioners to the Catholic tradition of distributism, its discussion of the individual articulates the crossover influence of personalism within the work conducted by the Extension Department.[77] This break with an understanding of 'the individual,' definitional to liberalism, was based on 'religious and democratic theory.' The dignity of the person, created in the image of God, and the opportunity to develop individual capacities as the purpose for social organization are cited as the key reasons why stress is placed on the individual. One's relationship to the means of production would be predicated on productivity and not ownership. If social and economic institutions fail to meet this burden, then they must be adapted by replacing competition with cooperation—reciprocally reorienting 'the individual' as the sovereign and foundational basis of democracy. The autonomy of the individual does not need to precede society; rather the individual is embedded deeply within its structure. Cooperation, as an opening volley in a broader and holistic vision for transformation,

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[76] The six principles are: 1) The primacy of the individual; 2) Social reform must come through education; 3) Education must begin with the economic; 4) Education must be through group action; 5) Effective social change comes through reform in social and economic institutions; 6) The ultimate goal of the movement is the full and abundant life for everyone in the community. See Harry Johnson, "The Antigonish Movement," STFXUA, 1944.

[77] "...the ultimate aim of the movement, the development of the individual personality." See Harry G. Johnson, "The Antigonish Movement," lecture to the students at Acadia University, 1944, STFXUA, HD 41 A562 C.1.

begins to realize society's obligation for developing a full personhood in which one's capacity, mental and physical, may be actualized.

With the onset of the Second World War in 1939, the Extension Department—seemingly at the height of its Christian radicalism—organized its final diocesan-wide Rural and Industrial Conference for almost a decade. During wartime, smaller conferences were still convened on the local and regional level, but it was not until the postwar period that larger meetings would resume. Intellectually, however, the radical moment of the Antigonish Movement had waxed and waned. When the diocesan-wide meetings recommenced, economic conditions were significantly better than they had been in the 1930s, the west found itself entering the Cold War, and a language once aimed at reconstructing the social order quietly gave way to one of co-operating with established structures. Cooperation, so passionately advocated by Coady (and other traditional and organic intellectuals) during the annual conferences, remained the movement's *modus operandi*. By the end of the 1940s, however, it was no longer considered a true alternative: economic conditions had significantly improved in the postwar period, and the cooperative movement began to accommodate itself to an engrained and resilient capitalist order. The cooperative movement, necessarily, had to become more economically rational and compete with private enterprise. It had ceased to be a radical alternative to it. Those who aspired to displace capitalism altogether were left to find some consolation in the hope that an expanding welfare state would make it more humane, if not more democratic.[78]

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[78] Whether 'cooperation' was a legitimate alternative to capitalism has been contested within the historiography. See Scott McCauley, "The Smokestack Leaned Toward Capitalism: An Examination of the Middle Way Program of the Antigonish Movement," *Journal of Canadian Studies* vol. 37, no. 1 (Spring 2002): 43–67.

Conclusions: the Spirituality of Antigonish

When Dorothy Day participated in the Rural and Industrial Conference of 1938, she also took the opportunity to tour Nova Scotia and see firsthand the work of the movement. Writing in the *Catholic Worker* upon her return to New York, she commented, "We wish our readers to know of this power house which is Antigonish, which is sending light over the continent."[79] After a period of chrysalis lasting almost two decades, the Antigonish Movement became institutionalized through the Extension Department: it found its intellectual capital in its rural and industrial conferences, twinning Catholic social action in the form of education with economic reform through co-operation. In the period from 1930 to 1939, these conferences became increasingly radical in how they saw the movement and its necessary place in reforming a delinquent social and economic system that had failed Nova Scotia, Canada, and the West. Key liberal principles—private property, liberty and equality, and the possessive individual—were all repositioned in these discussions and re-imagined within various strains of Catholic social thought. As a defining feature of the early work conducted by the Extension Department, Rural and Industrial conferences were a central site to understand how ideas were generated and transmitted-widely across the hierarchy, clergy, and laity. What emerges from Antigonish is a ground-breaking, foundational network of social Catholics who would bring their distributism and personalism across the country, influencing the institutional Church, state, and society.[80]

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[79] Dorothy Day, "C.W. Editor Back from Nova Scotia," *The Catholic Worker*, September 1938, 1,3,4. "The Catholic Worker Movement," (accessed 26 October 2012). http://www.catholicworker.org/dorothyday/Reprint2.cfm?TextID=146

[80] Corporatism, conversely, was seen as an agent of authoritarian regimes and soundly rejected. In *Masters of Their Own Destiny*, Moses Coady argues, "[Cooperation] safeguards the masses against what might easily be the ill effects of the vocational group idea. If too rigidly applied and given juridical significance, contracts between labour and industry as put forth by the advocates of 'corporatism' would entrench the status quo and a caste system in society. See Coady, *Masters of Their own Destiny*, 132.

Reporting back to her American readership, Dorothy Day witnessed how the discrete circumstances of economic recession and depression coalesced to generate a critique of the social order and postulate alternative visions and practical reforms.

There was also an inherent spirituality within the Antigonish Movement that Dorothy Day would have also recognized and appreciated.[81] It was reminiscent of Acts 6 where the apostles divide the labour of spiritual and material works, some praying while others feeding widows and orphans. In this scriptural passage, the division of spiritual and material considerations occupied different spheres of work, but remained intimately inter-connected. Antigonish recaptured this conviction—by reorienting Catholic orthodoxy on questions of poverty, one admired by Catholic commentators such as Fr. D.J. Rankin, a major accomplishment that reverberated and resonated throughout Canadian social Catholicism. Unlike the voluntary poverty of Catherine de Hueck and the Friendship House movement during same period, the forced poverty of an economic and social system predicated on foreign capital and metropolitan interests was deemed un-Christian. Poverty of spirit, as part of a path to salvation, necessitates having autonomy within one's domestic sphere and thus healing the structural abuses of one's environment.[82] The search for authentic personhood began with the conviction, based on the philosophy of natural rights, that justice and charity were complementary. Catholic social justice, as interpreted by the Antigonish Movement, implied that a people, sovereign over the decisions that most affected their lives, would also enjoy

[81] The historiography is generally too reductionist on this point—take, for example, the assertion of a well-regarded thesis, "Antigonish was not a religious movement." See Francis Mifflen, "The Antigonish Movement," 21.

[82] "When an individual knows and is able to control the forces at work within his community, then he is prepared to cope with the greater forces outside that realm." M.A. MacLellan, "Education for Social Change," presentation to the Rural and Industrial Conference, 1938, Rural and Industrial Conference papers, STFXUA, RG30-3/28/327.

democratic rights more generally.[83] The role of the priest is paramount in this endeavour with the Antigonish Movement's approach to education, so integrally dependent on clerical support, deemed a spiritual work of mercy.[84] Yet lines blur between the work of clergy and laity in this charge. New avenues for lay involvement emerged, as they did via Catholic Action and the liturgical movement across the continent, with priest and parishioner equally drawn into the mystical body of Christ.

In the English-Canadian context, the Antigonish Movement broke new ground. It engaged with political and economic questions—and combined them—in ways that struck contemporaries as entirely fresh and down-to-earth. It made 'real democracy' seem like an attainable goal, not an unrealistic dream. The Antigonish Movement was trying to do something authentic and empowering—it imagined a way for farmers and fishers, miners and industrial workers to live otherwise and to gain a modicum of control over the material circumstances of their lives. Becoming 'master of one's own destiny' meant regaining autonomy over one's self and one's family, but this transformation required a catalyst. In "Knowledge for the People," Jimmy Tompkins argues for the role that the Roman Catholic Church must take in adult education—to wit, bringing opportunity to the disenfranchised, people who may not have had a chance for formal education. Attached to this position is an important coda—well illustrated by

[83] "To make Canada cooperative and democratic is the battle cry of the shock troops of the new society.... Basic to all this, however, is the spiritual reform of the individual, a sacrifice of the self that comes only from the inspiration afforded by the teachings of Christ." Ibid, RG30-3/28/329.

[84] Works of mercy may be either corporeal or spiritual. Within Catholic theology, 'ignorance' is understood as a condition of the spirit and thus to educate is understood as a spiritual work of mercy. Because these ideas draw heavily on the thought of St. Thomas Aquinas, Aristotle's categories of 'quality' is helpful to demarcate the difference between spiritual and corporeal works—for example, education may remedy ignorance, and thus primarily be a spiritual work; however it may also create empowerment, which tangibly may also be a corporeal work.

Moses Coady's questions, 'What should we study?' and 'what can we accomplish together?'[85] Such questions were an invitation to members of the community to learn new things about their way of life. Rather than turn to theological works or classical philosophy, they were counseled to study politics and economics. 'Christian materialism' became, then, an important basis for the Antigonish Movement and influenced the trajectory of social Catholicism within the English-Canadian Church.

The social Catholicism of the Antigonish Movement operated on an unprecedented scale within English Canada, and its influence stretched well beyond the borders of the Maritimes. In an historical moment when the search for a Christian social order was so prevalent within liberal Protestantism, the Catholic leadership and laity of eastern Nova Scotia and Cape Breton were working, often ecumenically, towards the same goal. Traditional and organic intellectuals emerged from (or were influenced by) this wellspring: Neil McNeil and Henry Somerville, for example, brought the Antigonish ethos for education and social change to Ontario and tackled the depression-era problems amidst the urban sprawl of Toronto. Deeply spiritual questions of poverty and justice, bearing the mark of Antigonish, begin to shake the traditional horizons of Roman Catholicism elsewhere. This light continued to pierce the night, and the dawn was as bright as day.

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[85] M.M. Coady, *Masters of Their Own Destiny: The Story of the Antigonish Movement of Adult Education Through Economic Cooperation* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1939), 10.

CHAPTER 4

FROM SOCIALISM TO A 'A NEW OXFORD MOVEMENT:'

THE SOCIALISM OF HENRY SOMMERVILLE, 1910–1933

Henry Somerville (1891–1953) was invited from England by Neil McNeil, one-time Rector of St. Francis Xavier University and later Archbishop of Toronto, who had learned of Somerville from Jimmy Tompkins. As McNeil explained at his installation as Archbishop, he had adopted a mission to "enlarge our hearts and widen our horizons." Somerville was chosen for this task because, in his innovative theology and dynamic activism, he fit within the general Antigonish agenda—one of challenging the boundaries both of Catholic social thought and of classical liberalism. Somerville met this charge with Pauline-zeal: through his "Life and Labour" column in the *Registrar*, organization of Antigonish-style study clubs, and role as advisor to the socially-conscious McNeil on all matters pertaining on the critical engagement of faith with society, Somerville made an important contributions to the Archdiocese of Toronto, and, by extension, the English-Canadian Church.

Because of these efforts, Henry Somerville is a 'famous' figure in Canadian social Catholicism. Indeed he is not someone who needs 'rescuing' from the ravages of historical amnesia. His work on the *Catholic Register*, and throughout the Archdiocese of Toronto, has been well-remembered within academic and popular circles. An excellent, unpublished biography of Henry Somerville already exists in the literature, completed as a doctoral dissertation by Jeanne Beck. Needless to say, this chapter does not need to traverse the terrain ably covered by Beck—and so, this chapter aims to move away from the standard narrative of Somerville's biography. Rather, it aims to look at the thought of Henry Somerville, through his published writings, as he constructed the Catholic social movement as an alternative to both

liberalism and socialism, particularly as he re-conceptualized key debates within nineteenth-century and earlier forms of Catholicism. Within these interstices, Somerville becomes focused on realistic aims for social Catholicism. He put forward the ideal of the "organizer," someone concerned with the 'on the ground' implications of Catholic social thought and committed to keeping this project focused and attainable. Contrasting figures would be the popes themselves—who contribute commentary on the social order, but often without concrete suggestions for how it can serve the Catholic social movement.

With Henry Somerville, one encounters someone with ties to the Antigonish movement, but who also represented a second unique strain of social Catholicism. Somerville brought the sensibilities of British Catholicism, steeped in the Catholic social movement and its history, to Canada. After being drawn to British socialism in his youth, Somerville developed a commitment to social Catholicism as a practical and viable alternative to the social order—this is the hallmark of his social Catholicism, considered by this chapter, in the years leading up to his return to Canada in the early 1930s. It is an underemphasized period in Somerville's life, but one crucial to understanding the 'Somerville' stream of social Catholicism, and the vision he attempted to disseminate later through the *Catholic Register*.

Within the 'Somerville stream,' pragmatism was central to Catholic ideas about reconstructing the social order. He served as a 'bridge' between the abstractions of Catholic social teaching emerging from Rome since the late nineteenth century, and the practical role that these powerful, foundational tenets could play in the lives of Canadian Catholics. Somerville 'reasons otherwise,' but he does so carefully: at once, he is clearly wary of the liberal tradition, yet equally concerned with faithful adherence to the Church's magisterium (teaching authority). His path did not readily conform to the radical solutions offered by the Canadian left. When Neil

McNeil sought help to educate the Catholics of his diocese on the 'social question,' he looked to Antigonish for help. Based on the recommendation he received, Henry Somerville landed in Toronto, bringing a new stream of social Catholicism that would become widely influential. Toronto—with Neil McNeil and Henry Somerville, Henry Carr and the priests of the Basilian order, and Catherine de Hueck—became, perhaps even more than Antigonish, an epicentre for social Catholicism in English Canada.

Henry Somerville as a Young Socialist

Before arriving in Canada at the age of twenty-six, Henry Somerville had moved away from the socialism of his late teenage years and early twenties. His commitment to socialism was organic: born into a working-class family in Leeds, England at the close of the nineteenth century, Somerville laboured in a toy factory by the age of thirteen and was immersed in the daily, lived experience of industrial life at a young age.[1] Embedded deeply within Edwardian English society, Somerville describes most people that he encountered on a daily basis as 'pagan,' his term for 'non-religious.' At a time when illiteracy and lack of education were widespread, the young Somerville read voraciously and was particularly drawn to the points of difference between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. His attention slowly turned from the tensions of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation to the discord between Roman Catholicism, as it was expressed by Rome, and the project of the Enlightenment, itself characterized in the twentieth century by the conflict between socialism and liberalism. Young Somerville's turn to socialism was based on both on his standing as a member of the working class, and on his reading of the encounter of religion and socialism. He sought a corrective on

[1] "The present writer may be permitted to give his own testimony of English working-class life. He went only to elementary schools, he started factory life at the age of thirteen and until he was in his twenties he knew no other *milieu* except that of one of the large industrial towns of Yorkshire where Catholics were less than one-tenth of the population." Henry Somerville, *The Catholic Social Movement* (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1933), 120.

this front: he did not understand, fundamentally, why socialism and Catholicism were incompatible.

In his youth, Henry Somerville regularly attended open-air meetings to debate religious, social and political questions. For three years, as he notes in "Confessions of a Catholic Socialist," he brought the perspective of faith to debates with convinced atheists. Midway through the decade of the 1900s, atheism had been displaced by debates over socialism in these venues: while the socialists, encountered by Somerville, did not identify with religion, they were also more concerned with economic questions than religious ones. It was, however, the latter that preoccupied Somerville. He knew that Rome had condemned socialism, and yet he could not reconcile this pronouncement, which he received in faith, with either the arguments advanced by the socialists he encountered in his hometown or with his own reflections on his factory experiences.

When the question, "can a Catholic be a socialist?" was debated as the topic *de jour* by a men's club at Henry Somerville's parish, he defended the position of the affirmative. In preparation for the debate, he considered the arguments against this proposition: firstly, socialism was condemned by the Pope; secondly, socialist leaders did not believe in Christianity; and thirdly, socialism denied the right of private property. "I had read *Rerum Novarum*," writes Somerville, "and it seemed to me that the kind of socialism that the Pope had in mind was different from the kind of socialism advocated in England. Therefore I argued that the papal condemnation did not apply to present day English socialism."[2] On the second objection, he could find no logical connection between the religious views of some socialists and the inherent quality of its economic and political prescription for industrial England. Finally, he argued that socialism did not deny the natural right to property, but it did want to substitute public for private

[2] Henry Somerville, "Confessions of a Catholic Socialist," *Dublin Review*, vol. 115 (1914): 102.

ownership over the means of production, distribution and exchange.[3] There was a seed germinated in these years, which would bloom, years later, when he served in Toronto as editor of the *Catholic Register* and encountered the political programme of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation.

The reconciliation that Somerville sought between Catholicism and socialism did not arise, first and foremost, because of his unwavering belief in the solutions offered by the left. Rather, his was an intellectual disagreement with the logic of the institutional Church and its hierarchy. He did not accept the rationale that Rome had laid down for its opposition to socialism—and taken up vociferously within the pulpit and the press—as it applied to English socialism. Rome's position stood in the way of progress. It invited comparisons with the Church's treatment of Galileo. It was also ineffective in deterring Catholics from exploring socialist ideas and movements. It even might have the opposite effect of so embittering lay Catholics that they might run the risk of rejecting the Church and embracing its enemies.[4] Somerville's interests were in defense of the Church, and he supported socialism only in so far that it was not incompatible with Church teachings. This belief influenced Somerville to form the "Catholic Socialist Society," along with fifteen like-minded compatriots, and he served as its Secretary. It aimed to educate Catholics on socialism—"out of zeal for the Church" and not out of a conviction that "socialism was desirable or possible as an economic scheme."[5] Out of the fifteen founding members, most were uneducated and illiterate, and only three of them had any sophisticated knowledge of socialism. Any yet, with alacrity, the society held public rallies and demonstrations, which local press sensationalized as a "revolt against the clergy."[6] Such

[3] Ibid, 103.
[4] Ibid, 104.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid.

misleading headlines created much Catholic interest in Somerville. Somerville and the Catholic Socialist Society's intentions were sincere and steadfast—yet equally misrepresented and misunderstood by the wider public.

Leadership of the Catholic Socialist Society and membership in the Independent Labour Party, which was both secular and socialist, encouraged within the political psyche of the young Somerville to adhere more closely to socialist prescriptions. He grew more attached to socialism for its own right, and, while he later admitted that a modicum of anti-clericalism had crept into his thoughts, public respect for the clergy, hierarchy, and the Church remained constant.[7] Moral censure, as Machiavelli noted in *The Prince*, is a powerful sword to wield, however, and Somerville and the Catholic Socialist Society's agitation caught the attention of the Bishop of Leeds, William Gordon. In a pastoral letter, Bishop Gordon cited the Catholic Socialist Society by name, and, after much soul searching, Somerville concluded that he could not remain Secretary of an organization condemned by the Bishop. Without Somerville, the Catholic Socialist Society waned and eventually disbanded. Somerville was disappointed by this outcome. Although his disassociation from the society has been voluntary, it reflected a profound sense of duty to the Church. It did not, however, signal a departure from his socialism or his attachment to its values, which, by this point, was well-rooted.

Somerville took up a new charge: through private study, he became further immersed in the British socialist tradition, and then used this knowledge to convince the Church hierarchy of its acceptability within the Catholic social thought. Somerville's earlier agitation had aimed to convince the Church hierarchy to rethink its anti-socialism and to jettison its false claims that socialism and atheism were the same. Now he turned to a subtler tactic of appealing to the clergy to reconsider aspects of Catholic teaching as they understood it. Here he turned to the

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[7] Ibid, 105.

vexed property question. "All along," writes Somerville of his views as a nineteen-year-old youth, "my conception of socialism was that it merely means state ownership, rather than private ownership of land and capital."[8] Why was the Church so opposed to the extension of state property to encompass, not just gas works and the post office, but mines, cotton mills, and bakeries?[9]

After intensively pondering this question, Somerville began to edge away from socialism. As he pondered the question of property, Somerville distanced himself from what he took to be the socialist position on state ownership. Did not the natural right to property include, in addition to articles of consumption, the means of production? This position was affirmed by Pope Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum* and Pope Pius X's *Il Fermo Proposito* [On Catholic Action in Italy]. This distinction meant that personal use of property was allowed in the full range of its dispossession—and not only as a matter of consumption. Consumptive goods were required for life, but productive ones guaranteed freedom. On this point, the right to productive goods was not absolute—as Somerville points out, a large proletariat survives without such goods—but the fair opportunity to acquire them was. If one did not have the right to acquire productive goods, or adequate protection to exercise this right, than one would be beholden to those who did. Thus, productive goods obtained and preserved a fundamental notion of liberty in a similar way that the growth of civil society protected the individual from an overgrown state encompassing, and intervening in, all aspects of social life. "If all productive property were concentrated in the hands of the State," argued Somerville, "every individual would be absolutely dependent upon the State for all the means of life. Individual liberty would be at an end."[10] Even socialism of a moderate variety, one that did not abolish the right to property (or the right to own capital), but

[8] Ibid, 106.
[9] Ibid, 109.
[10] Ibid, 112.

restricted exercise of private ownership in favour of the state, infringed on a natural liberty. With this conclusion, Somerville's commitment to socialism had become strained—and a rethinking of property had drawn into question how he situated his political views *vis-à-vis* his Catholic social thought.

Somerville the Student, Somerville the Social Catholic

In July 1911, Somerville attended the inaugural National Catholic Congress where a group called the Catholic Social Guild was being formed. The group had gained ecclesial approval through the Catholic Truth Society, and their objectives were not dissimilar to ones eventually expressed in Atlantic Canada by the Antigonish Movement—to draw Catholics into British intellectual and civil life through educational means. The Catholic Social Guild was led by a Jesuit priest named Charles Plater. Plater was Oxford-educated and influenced by the work of Henry Cardinal Manning. The Plater family converted to Roman Catholicism as part of the Oxford movement, and thus he was also inspired by the spirituality of John Henry Cardinal Newman.[11] The Catholic Social Guild also had a strong contingent of female leaders, who brought a Fabian influence to the Guild through personal relationships with Sidney and Beatrice Webb.[12] To facilitate the work of the Guild, Fr. Plater wrote a handbook on Catholic social action called the *Catholic Social Yearbook for 1910*. It sought to improve the current social order through educational means and used the study club technique, which Somerville later used in Toronto and was a staple of the Antigonish movement. When Plater and Somerville met at the

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[11] Jeanne Beck, "Henry Somerville and the Development of Catholic Social Thought in Canada," 115.

[12] Ibid, 117–118. Jeanne Beck identifies Margaret Fletcher (founder of the Catholic Women's League), Agnes Gibbs (a literary translator), and Virginia Crawford (author of nine books on topics of charity and justice) as key founding members of the Catholic Social Guild. These women were all converts to Catholicism and drawn from the British upper class. Sidney and Beatrice Webb helped found the Fabian Society, which promoted non-Marxist, evolutionary socialism. The London School of Economics maintains an excellent website dedicated to the writings of Sidney and Beatrice Webb, as well as secondary works on them, their thought, and the Fabian Society. See http://webbs.library.lse.ac.uk/ [accessed 1 May 2014].

National Catholic Congress, Plater recognized Somerville as an intellectually capable, politically motivated, and devout Catholic with first-hand knowledge of the working class.[13]

Fr. Plater mentored Somerville, encouraging him to leave his job at the toy factory and finding means to send him to Ruskin College, Oxford University. This opportunity, facilitated by a new role within the Catholic Social Guild, turned his sympathy to antipathy for socialism. Somerville still sought to dispel myths of socialism, such as its irreligosity and bohemian attitudes towards sexuality, but challenged its political and economic programme, as he did with liberalism and capitalism. Rather, he favoured ones expounded in the encyclical thought of *Rerum Novarum*. During this period, 1910 to 1915, Somerville consolidated his views on social Catholicism, which became for him a political programme to rival socialist and liberal alternatives.

Somerville maintained a singular view of reality: if the 'reform' of social structures was necessary, then it must follow a form, a blueprint, for an ideal social structure, Somerville reasoned with Platonic and Augustinian acumen.[14] He believed that Catholic social thought would reveal this structure. His was a conviction, shared by other social Catholics, such as Eugene Cullinane in the chapter to follow, that just as there was a 'Catholic' philosophy, then there was also a 'Catholic' sociology. He also recognized that there was genuine debate within Catholic circles, as exemplified by the discussions aroused by Hilaire Belloc's discounting of the

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[13] Jeanne Beck, "Henry Somerville and the Development of Catholic Social Thought in Canada," 120.

[14] Somerville contended that such a position was common to all schools of thought, whether led by Jeremy Bentham, Herbert Spencer, or Sidney Webb. Social Catholics maintain ideal visions of society—as do liberals and socialists. See Henry Somerville, "Catholic Principles and Social Policy," *The Month* vol. 72 (December 1913): 575. Elsewhere he wrote, "As the perfection of the individual, so the perfection of the social organism can only be reached by complete adhesion to Christian principles... hence to re-baptize and Christianize the commonwealth is the ultimate end and aim of the Catholic social movement." See Henry Somerville, "The Work before the Catholic Social Guild," *The Month*, vol. 71 (January 1913): 35.

"living wage"[15]—an idea which Somerville supported. Somerville challenged Belloc's fear that that legal enactment of a "living wage" would lead to the servile state.[16] Somerville acknowledged that this position has penetrated deeply into the thought of other social Catholics in light of debate over reform to Britain's poor laws, but claimed Belloc misunderstood legislation on the matter and its implications. Instead, Somerville's model Catholic reformer was the nineteenth century Bishop of Mainz, Germany Wilhelm von Ketteler. Bishop von Ketteler's thought of the 1870s became, of course, influential on Pope Leo XIII, and, Somerville argued, his political prescriptions had been widely adopted by liberals and socialists in the twentieth century. Reforms won by Ketteler in Germany were evidence, for Somerville, of the efficacy of using Catholic social principles as a viable means of structuring the social order.[17] In the decades to come, he returned consistently to von Ketteler. The Bishop was to Somerville as Lord Acton became later for Pierre Trudeau: as a source of inspiration for his social Catholic worldview. Within the Catholic social movement, he saw the Catholic Social Guild occupying

[15] Henry Somerville, "Catholic Principles and Social Policy," *The Month*, vol. 72 (December 1913): 573–574.

[16] Hilaire Belloc, *The Servile State* (London & Edinburgh: T.N. Foulis, 1912). Belloc gives a passionate defense of private property as a natural right with the ominous phrase, "...If we do not restore the Institution of Property we cannot escape restoring the Institution of Slavery; there is no third course," on the front page of the book. Belloc's ideas on the servile state were referenced decades later by neo-Conservative Friedrich Hayek in *The Road to Serfdom*. See Friedrich Hayek, *The Collected Works of F.A. Hayek*, vol. 2. *The Road to Serfdom* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 67.

[17] "In 1873, Ketteler published his famous pamphlet: *The Catholics in the German Empire, Draft of a Political Programme*, which contained specific proposals with regard to taxation, factory legislation, and the organization of Labour. The proposals in the programme were inspired and indicated by Catholic principles as to the responsibilities of property, the duty of the State to protect the weak, and the right of voluntary association. The programme was not compatible with liberal or with socialist principles as then held, for the liberals were still devoted to their *Laissez faire* dogmas and the Socialists held the view that attempts to apply immediate remedies for working class ills were mischievous as tending to interfere with the natural evolution of Capitalism towards Socialism. A large part of Ketteler's programme is now accepted by both liberals and socialists..." See Henry Somerville, "Catholic Principles and Social Policy," 581.

an important role in its development. Somerville, who read social and political theory widely, sounded Hegelian on the point:[18]

> The majority of the actors in all great world-movements are unconscious of the part they play. But a certain far-sighted few will always have a vision of the common goal to which all the various efforts of all the workers tend. And this conscious minority, by their deeper knowledge and wider outlook, will be able to increase enormously the efficiency of the general movement by working to coordinate the efforts of the separate forces, to prevent over development.[19]

He believed that the Catholic social movement articulated a political form of Catholicism, suggested a mode for social organization, and competed, manifestly, with liberalism and socialism. The Catholic Social Guild was one of its representative organizations—and its leadership needed to take charge of realizing some of these objectives. The Catholic Social Guild was meant as a clearing house for social ideas—a British and Catholic association akin to the League for Social Reconstruction decades later in Canada—but Somerville also took to heart its chief task of education. Somerville wanted to dispel the misconception that Catholicism did not have social ideals, and he wanted to bridge the gap between the abstract thought of the Vatican and the lived experience of the working class. He understood, also, that Catholics in Britain did not have a critical mass sufficient to form a 'Catholic party,' as had occurred on the continent. Nor could they form their own separate labour organizations. Rather it was incumbent on Catholics to work for social Catholic principles within secular organizations. Moreover, they needed to be educated to rebuff the secularizing implications of such

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[18] In an interesting parallel, Somerville sounds almost Leninist in this paragraph, and he makes this comment at a time when Lenin was returning to a direct consideration of Hegel rather than relying on Marx's reading. See Kevin Anderson, *Lenin, Hegel, and Western Marxism: A Critical Study* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 239.

[19] Henry Somerville, "The Work Before the Catholic Social Guild," *The Month*, vol. 71 (January 1913): 35–36.

participation.[20] With these convictions, Somerville worked tirelessly in a moment when Europe was on the brink of the Great War.

Wartime considerations muted the work of the Catholic Social Guild. Until the outbreak of war, Somerville had been lecturing widely for the Guild and took jobs with the *Manchester Weekly* and *Manchester Guardian*. An ocean away, Neil McNeil had been appointed as Archbishop of Toronto and began his episcopacy with a desire "to enlarge our hearts and widen our horizons."[21] Neil McNeil solicited an Antigonish colleague, Jimmy Tompkins, to help him find someone capable to take up this charge. Tompkins responded by approaching someone he knew well—Charles Plater. Plater recommended Somerville for the position. With a distrust of liberalism, intimate knowledge of British socialism and its variants, exposure to the Fabian influence through colleagues with the Catholic Social Guild, and an Oxbridge education grounding the convictions of his social Catholic social thought, the young Somerville responded affirmatively to an offer from McNeil and embarked for Toronto.

Somerville in Canada, 1915–1918

When Somerville arrived in Toronto in the fall of 1915, the sun had set on Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Canada, and the country had come under the leadership of Sir Robert Borden's Conservative government. Borden, faithful son of Britain, pledged "to put forth every effort and to make every sacrifice necessary to ensure the integrity and maintain the honour of our Empire." The Great War raged, and, for Canadians, a divisive battle between English and French Canada over conscription for the war effort was on the horizon. Somerville, British subject and loyal to King and Country, seemed unfazed by the imperial struggle being waged on the continent.

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[20] Ibid, 37–38.

[21] On Neil McNeil see Peter E. Baltutis, "'To Enlarge Our Hearts and To Widen Our Horizon:' Archbishop Neil McNeil and the Origins of Social Catholicism in the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto, 1912–1934," CCHA *Historical Studies*, vol.74 (2008): 29–50.

Based in Toronto, he was not alone in support of the war: the enlistment rate for Catholic males from the city was significant.[22] During this critical moment in Canadian and British history, World War I provided an important backdrop to Somerville's experience in Toronto from 1915 to 1918, but the conflict by no means defined it.

During his initial three-year stay in Canada, Somerville found that Toronto's Catholics, a minority within a predominantly Protestant city, were a complicated group. Those of Irish descent had become more numerous since the mid-nineteenth century. By the second decade of the twentieth century, Toronto's upwardly mobile Irish Catholics had moved into all areas of the city and had acculturated as English-Canadian Catholics.[23] Intellectually, however, Somerville found Catholics in Toronto to be far more insular than the community that he had left in Britain. Education became his chief priority, and he deployed the arsenal of techniques that he had developed with the Catholic Social Guild, including the formation of study clubs. With limited success in organization, Somerville sought to reach a broader audience.[24] Using his journalistic skills, he launched a "Life and Labour" column in the *Catholic Registrar*. It became a staple for the newspaper running for the war years that Somerville spent in Toronto and then reappeared when Somerville assumed editorship of the *Catholic Registrar* upon his return to Canada in the 1930s.

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[22] For a perspective on the reception of war by Catholics in Toronto, see Mark McGowan, *The Waning of the Green: Catholics, the Irish, and Identity in Toronto* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999), 250–284.

[23] The authoritative account on these developments is found in Mark McGowan's *The Waning of the Green* and the doctoral thesis on which it based; however studies by Brian Clark and Michael Cottrell are also useful for an early period. See Brian Clarke, "Piety, Nationalism, and Fraternity: the Rise of Irish Catholic Voluntary Associations in Toronto, 1850–1895," doctoral diss., University of Chicago, 1986; Michael Cottrell, "The Irish Catholic Political Leadership in Toronto, 1855–1882: A Study of Ethnic Politics," doctoral diss., University of Saskatchewan, 1988; Mark McGowan, "'We are all Canadians;' A Social, Religious and Cultural Portrait of Toronto's English-Speaking Roman Catholics, 1890–1920," doctoral diss., University of Toronto, 1988.

[24] Jeanne Beck suggests that only three clubs had been organized on the parish level by 1916. See Jeanne Beck, "Henry Somerville and the Development of Catholic Social Thought in Canada," 147, n.11.

The title of the column was apt. Changes within labour and capital were occurring simultaneously in early years of the 1900s and throughout the years of World War I. Tensions were acute between capital and labour, and Somerville was perceptive about them. Canada's urban population had exploded between 1890 and 1920; in Toronto, the city's population doubled in this thirty-year window. This growth in population came mainly from successive waves of immigration. The war effort showcased industrial work: with an unemployment rate, men, not serving at the front, had jobs at home. Workers were becoming increasingly organized. Trade unions united the crafts in labour's common cause: by 1914, the Canadian Trades and Labour Congress had about 100,000 members, which reflected steady growth since its inception in 1886, but still meant many workers were not unionized. Capital was becoming more international. Canada had greater foreign investment with American capital replacing its domestic, British counterpart. There was a general transition from competitive to corporate capitalism: competitive business, family- or community-run, was being displaced by corporations and monopolies. Local business became national business. The Canadian government passed some legislation to quell these developments, but, despite this symbolic gesture, the state tacitly approved these transitions within the economy.[25]

Within Henry Somerville's contributions to the *Catholic Register*, central themes were the relationship between capital and labour and appropriate ways to solve industrial disputes. To facilitate negotiations of this nature, the federal government had passed the *Industrial Disputes Investigation Act* [IDIA],[26] which provided for non-binding arbitration. Somerville opposed the legislation, drafted by William Lyon Mackenzie King as a civil servant in the Ministry of

[25] On this transformation, see Robert Craig Brown *Canada, 1896–1921: A Nation Transformed* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974).

[26] Henry Somerville, "Retreats and Catholic Social Work," the *Catholic Register*, 15 June 1916. On the IDIA, see Paul Craven, *"An Impartial Umpire" Industrial Relations and the Canadian State, 1900–1911* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980).

Labour, for its high-handed liberalism.[27] Jeanne Beck summarizes Somerville's critique, "...although [the IDIA] was admired abroad as an excellent device for solving labour disputes, its efficacy really depended 'upon individual... free human wills..., and upon the honesty and ability of the individuals compromising the arbitration board [and]... on the good will of the individual disputants."[28] The Act failed to strengthen the position of labour and contributed to the "dehumanization of industry."[29] Somerville extended his critique beyond Canada's borders to take in John D. Rockefeller's scheme—influenced strongly by Mackenzie King—to make labour and capital 'partners' in industry. It was, Somerville argued, a notion that was rhetorically attractive but conceptually hollow. While Somerville would not identify himself as a 'corporatist,' corporatism surely informed his reading of these developments. What such schemes lacked, he believed, was a concept of authentic relationship between capital and labour. They were premised, not on the principle of 'social justice,' which Jesuit Luigi Taparelli and later Leo XIII would see as an essential element of corporatism, but on a narrowly conceived conception of 'self-interest' underpinning a deep commitment to classic liberalism and its principles. As such, it was far removed from social Catholicism as Henry Somerville understood it. He challenged the *Canadian Industrial Disputes Investigation Act* because it veiled the retrenchment of classical liberalism under the cloak of labour rights.

Henry Somerville wanted, therefore, more widespread Catholic participation in the labour movement—a desire that also held the potential to affect and disorganize the revolutionary potential of the left. Catholic participation in trade unionism could quell some of the radical

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[27] For a summary of discussion between O.D Skelton, Adam Shortt, and Victor Clark on the Act—Queen's educated, civil servants—see Victor Clark, "The Canadian Industrial Disputes Act: a Discussion (1 April 1909)," *American Association Economic Quarterly* vol. 10, no.1 (1909): 174–179. For Skelton, Shortt, and Clark's contribution to Canadian liberalism, see Barry Ferguson, *Remaking Liberalism: Adam Shortt, O.D. Skelton, W.C. Clark, and W.A. Mackintosh, 1890–1925* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993).
[28] Jeanne Beck, "Henry Somerville," 157–158.
[29] Henry Somerville, "The Dehumanization of Industry," the *Catholic Register*, 14 September 1916.

elements within the One Big Union at home or organizations such as the Industrial Workers of the World, on an international level. Consistent with the position he had staked out in Britain, he wanted Catholics to avoid forming confessional trade unions (which was an unrealistic option in English Canada, but advanced in Quebec). In Somerville's estimation, the liberal state would support Catholic unions as a means of dividing the labour movement—evidenced by dispute resolution over a strike at Thetford Mines (an asbestos mind in south-western Quebec, which would again gain prominence as site of job action during the Asbestos strike in 1949).[30] Under dispute resolution, enabled by the *Industrial Disputes Investigation Act*, labour's position was weakened because its interests were divided by representation in both the American Federation of Labor and a Catholic union counterpart.[31] Within Canadian labour circles, he gave support to the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. Somerville argued that its position on public ownership could be reconciled with the amount of public ownership envisioned by *Rerum Novarum*. The organization was an effective representative for labour as it engaged capital in industrial disputes.[32]

For Somerville, Catholic social thought, rightly construed, represented a viable alternative to both liberalism and socialism. He wanted to carve out a 'third,' liminal space for Catholicism between these clashing ideologies. Grasping and transforming the labour question was essential to any such undertaking. He felt impelled both to support the labour movement in its struggles with conventional liberal order, which came to a head in both Canada and Britain from 1919 to 1925, and to challenge the radical socialists within it, whom he felt needed to be dislodged from their position of leadership. And he also pushed strongly for a Church that was

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[30] On the Asbestos strike, see Pierre Elliot Trudeau (ed), *The Asbestos Strike* (Toronto: James Lewis & Samuel, 1974).
[31] Jeanne Beck, "Henry Somerville," 163–164.
[32] Beck misidentifies Somerville's allegiance to the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada as the "Canadian Trades Union and Labour Congress." See Ibid, 156.

more directly involved in the practical affairs of the world. Although faithful to the Church's magisterium and to episcopal authority, he was also acutely aware that Catholicism had to be reformulated, both within civil society (especially with respect to trade unions) and the state (especially with respect to encouraging the state to take on new responsibilities). His charge, as he understood it, was pedagogical—to prepare Catholics for positions of leadership, so they could prompt change within the social order based on social Catholic values. Political participation was incumbent on Catholics. Such a stance foreshadowed his position, adopted years later, on the place of private conscience and political choice, which he urged the institutional Church and its hierarchy to respect.

Somerville's time in Canada ended rather abruptly when he received news his mother was seriously ill. Before deciding to return to England, Somerville had accepted a job as lecturer in sociology with St. Francis Xavier University. While he turned down the offer of employment due to the death of his mother,[33] he did accept the award of a honourary Master of Arts degree from St. Francis Xavier University in 1918; despite time spent in study at Ruskin College, it was the only degree that Somerville would be awarded in his lifetime. The degree from St. F.X testifies to the growth of an emergent social Catholic network, encompassing many priests and laity from Antigonish to Toronto. Henry Somerville would not have reached Toronto were it not for Jimmy Tompkins, and while he was there he was associated with another Antigonish veteran, Neil McNeil. Soon the network, fortified with new arrivals, would extend to Saskatchewan. Well before the 1930s, there was a discreet yet vibrant network of progressive Catholic people in English Canada who responded to the same ideas in similar ways, and who knew and respected one another. When Jimmy Tompkins launched the People's School in the 1920s, Henry Somerville was one of its early lecturers. Two years later, Somerville was invited to attend the

[33] Henry Somerville to Hugh Macpherson, 19 January 1919, Henry Somerville papers, STFXUA, C5/9/11250.

Conference of the universities of the British Empire, the same meeting that influenced Jimmy Tomkins to commence adult education initiatives in 1912, as a representative of St. Francis Xavier University.[34] Though Somerville did not assume a faculty position at the school, he maintained a close relationship with its leadership, the Extension department, and the Antigonish Movement.

Somerville, 1919–1929

During the *interregnum* before his return to Toronto in 1933, Henry Somerville became a leader within the Catholic Social Movement. Somerville's work, during this time, can be analyzed not only for the arguments that he advanced through his scholarship and lectures, but also for the ways he mobilized on the ground and organized on a practical level. His aim was to challenge the hegemony of liberalism and capitalism, while warding off the alternative of socialism. Somerville did not, however, belong to an internally coherent group. It was as a somewhat isolated figure that he took on the challenge of distributism from within the Catholic Social Movement. He saw the outcome clearly: "We are following in the footsteps of the founders of Oxford. We are founding a 'New Oxford Movement' that is going to be as important as any Oxford movement of the past."[35] Somerville wanted the Catholic social movement to understand that it could trace its origins back to pre-Enlightenment thought. John Henry Newman's movement had been primarily liturgical and ecclesiological—and yet cried out to engage modernity.[36] Somerville envisaged a movement that would be fought for in both the

[34] Hugh Macpherson to Henry Somerville, 1 June 1926, Henry Somerville papers, STFXUA, C5/9/1256.
[35] "Issued Challenge to Labour Lecturer: Henry Somerville, of Oxford, promptly accepted Invitation of Marxian," *Montreal Gazette*, 14 March 1922.
[36] In the 1960s, Pope Paul VI called Blessed John Henry Newman the architect of the Second Vatican Council. In 1870, Newman held a different view of Rome's fall than most Catholic leaders whose siege mentality was ever fortified. Newman wrote, "We are shrinking into ourselves, narrowing the lines of communion, trembling at freedom of thought, and using the language of dismay and despair at the prospect before us instead of in the high

Church and on the "street corners."[37] Yet, like Newman, he dreamt of a return to fundamentals—in his case, to pre-Enlightenment notions of the 'just wage' and the 'fair price'—while using these ideas to engage the modern age.

Henry Somerville's return to Great Britain was eventful. After struggling throughout the First World War, the Catholic Social Guild gained membership and influence under the direction of his Jesuit mentor, Fr. Plater. Fr. Plater had united two key demographic groups: working-class men interested in social change through Catholic principles and an upper-class intelligentsia, including Hilaire Belloc and John Ryan.[38] The Guild also had strong female representation—comprised of affluent women who were often converts to Catholicism.[39] Somerville—the eldest of ten fatherless children—was obliged to work for a living. He resumed work for the Catholic Social Guild. In the summer of 1919, the Guild moved its office from London to Oxford and made Henry Somerville its official secretary-organizer.[40] The Catholic Social Guild embodied an ethos that paralleled the Antigonish Movement. At their core, both organizations believed in education. Fishers, farmers, or industrial workers could all be emancipated through its transformative power. In 1920, the Catholic Social Guild inaugurated a ten-day summer school for workers, held at Oxford, and Somerville served as one of its lecturers.

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spirit of the warrior going out and conquering..." John Henry Newman, *Certain Difficulties Felt by Anglicans in Catholic Teaching* (London: Longsman, Green, and Co., 1900), 314–315.

[37] "Issued Challenge to Labour Lecturer: Henry Somerville, of Oxford, promptly accepted Invitation of Marxian," *Montreal Gazette*, 14 March 1922.

[38] The Catholic Social Guild was receiving support from Cardinal James Gibbons of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, Cardinal Désiré-Joseph Mercier of Brussels, along with John A. Ryan from the Catholic University of America and Hilaire Belloc, a principle figure associated with English Distributism. See *Some Recent Messages to the Catholic Social Guild*, (Oxford: Catholic Social Guild, 1919).

[39] The Catholic Social Guild had an important gender dimension to it: the Guild encouraged female participation. Many of these women became key participants in the suffrage movement and vocal advocates for women's emancipation. Women's political and economic rights were a theme that Henry Somerville adopted, and he brought this emphasis to Montreal in 1922, meeting with women's groups at the Windsor Hotel. See "Catholicism in England Gaining—Activities of Catholic Organization described by Henry Somerville of Oxford," *Montreal Gazette*, 15 March 1922.

[40] Beck, "Henry Somerville," 183.

With new ventures launched, giving shape and meaning to social Catholicism in Britain, the work was derailed with the tragic and unexpected death of the 46-year old Jesuit, Charles Plater, in 1921.

With the loss of Fr. Plater, the leadership of the Catholic Social Guild lacked focus and consensus. Jeanne Beck writes of Plater, "Because of his ability to discover and train men of humble origins such as Henry Somerville and at the same time to attract privileged intellectuals... the Guild contained a breadth of social and intellectual experience under his leadership which it was never to equal again."[41] Despite rampant infighting among key members, the executive decided to open a Catholic Workers College in Oxford—designed to teach Catholic social thought and the social sciences to the working class.[42] It was affiliated with Ruskin College, which specialized in adult education, and hence deemed part of the college system of Oxford University.[43] As a lay initiative the Catholic Social Guild did not continue to grow, and, after Somerville's resignation, his position was assumed by Leo O'Hea SJ. It persisted as a Jesuit-led organization. While Somerville maintained a formal relationship with the Guild, principally through contributing to its journal, the *Christian Democrat*, he resigned as its secretary-organizer. Though the work of the Catholic Social Guild had derailed without Fr. Plater, its successes in the three years since he returned to Britain proved to Somerville that the Catholic social movement was an authentic force for social, political, and economic change.

In 1922, Somerville visited Canada as lecturer for the People's School, and then he gave a series of talks in Cape Breton, Saint John, and Montreal. Upon the final evening of lectures in Montreal, given at the Loyola School of Sociology and Social Service, Somerville was

[41] Jeanne Beck, "Henry Somerville," 185.
[42] Jeanne Beck, "Henry Somerville," 186.
[43] The Catholic Workers College had a long and unique history of its own—renamed Plater College, in honour of Fr. Plater. Plater College housed the G.K Chesterton Institute and Library, and it published the journal, *Second Spring*. It remained affiliated with the Oxford College system and taught Catholic social thought until its closure in 2005.

confronted by an audience member. A man, identifying himself as "Jimmie Higgins," a name shared by the title character and protagonist of Upton Sinclair's 1919 novel,[44] challenged Somerville to debate at the Montreal Labour College on Jeanne Mance Street.[45] The Montreal Labour College, formed in 1920, was notorious as a hotbed for the revolutionary left. The Higgins challenge was premeditated. With bravado, "Higgins" opined the College was a site "where economics are taught to workers from a different angle, and not from the religious viewpoint. There are lectures along the Marxian theory and on revolutionary theories. We invite Mr. Somerville to visit the Montreal Labour College and address the revolutionary workers. We may teach him something."[46] The invitation prompted an exchange of views on socialism. Two of those participating—Joseph Wall, General Organizer of the Brotherhood of Railway Employees and Madeleine Sheridan—would later figure prominently in Montreal's English-speaking left, assuming prominent roles in the CCF.[47] Somerville used this instance to explain why Catholic labour schools were necessary: to gain counter-influence with the working-class, which was clearly being targeted by socialist organizations. Without hesitation, Somerville accepted, and, two nights later, he chose to speak on "Religion and Labour."

Arriving at the building, Somerville moved swiftly past a score of vendors selling copies of "Soviet Russia" and "The Worker." When Somerville entered the auditorium, he spied a portrait of V.I Lenin on the left side of the lectern and a certificate from the One Big Union on

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[44] Upton Sinclair, *Jimmie Higgins: A Story*, 1919. http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/5677/pg5677.html (accessed 22 April 2013).

[45] For a discussion of the formation of the college, see Louise Watson, *She Was Never Afraid: the Biography of Annie Buller* (Toronto: Progress Books, 1976), 11–15.

[46] "Issued Challenge to Labour Lecturer: Henry Somerville, of Oxford, promptly accepted Invitation of Marxian," *Montreal Gazette*, 14 March 1922.

[47] Madeleine Sheridan was also a friend of Dorothy Day. Three decades later, Dorothy Day visited Montreal and spent time with Madeleine Sheridan in the home of Thérèse Casgrain (another prominent CCF member who was later appointed to the Senate by Pierre Trudeau). See Dorothy Day, "On Pilgrimage—1964," *The Catholic Worker* (April 1964). See http://www.catholicworker.org/dorothyday/daytext.cfm?TextID=814 (accessed 22 April 2013).

the right. Two hundred people filled the cramped room. Henry Somerville here engaged an audience different from the ones attending his earlier talks. This crowd was hostile, socially aware, and ready to challenge him. Jeanne Beck writes, "They invited him there to debate his thesis that religious principles and the social thought of the Catholic Church could aid the working class to achieve social justice."[48] The meeting was not an occasion to celebrate a meeting of the minds, amicably called, to explore difference, and to produce new directions for either party. Leadership of the Montreal Labour School perceived Somerville and his Catholic social movement to be competitors vying for the loyalty of the working class. Somerville gave his talk to an attentive, if unsupportive, audience: "Socialism is based on a false foundation," he contended, "a false philosophy and a high-sounding, materialistic concept of history."[49] The question period that followed was marked with hostility. Questions ranged from the 'omnipotence paradox,'[50] the Church's position among the poor, and the Catholic response to the Great War. Somerville answered the questions frankly. He stressed the historicity of the labour movement within the Church—in a sense, arguing from authority that the labour question had been considered by Catholics long before it was taken up by socialists. In Somerville's view, this argument conferred a sense of authenticity on the Church's response to labour—and it was indicative of Somerville's historicism, which became an important means of expression for Somerville's social Catholicism.

Upon returning to England, Henry Somerville took up the challenge of the Labour Party. Somerville maintained the conviction that for Catholic social action to be effective, then it must work with secular organizations. He believed fundamentally that "Catholics may belong with a

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[48] Jeanne Beck, "Henry Somerville," 190.

[49] "Keen Questions at Labour College," *Montreal Daily Star*, 16 March 1922.

[50] The classic question here is "whether God can create a stone so heavy that He cannot lift it." Somerville's attempt to meet this challenge brought him into good company with this type of question dating back to the medieval period and having gained responses from figures such as Thomas Aquinas and Averroës.

perfectly easy conscience to the Labour, Liberal, or Conservative parties."[51] In the Labour Party, he saw both foe and opportunity. Foe: for one to make inroads into the Labour Party, then one must "give lip service to Socialism."[52] Opportunity: the coherence of the socialist message within the Labour Party suffered from obscurity and confusion, which could be exploited; "hence he saw opportunities for young Catholics who were labour party supporters to introduce the principles of the Encyclicals into the party."[53] Somerville thus maintained a complicated relationship with the Labour Party. It irked him that Labour did not represent the interest of the working class as he construed them. While he disavowed any connection to revolutionary socialism, its cleavage with evolutionary socialists had had the effect of disorganizing the British labour left. Yet policies of the Liberal and Conservative Parties—and Britain's right in general—also gave him pause: Somerville retained a belief in the efficacy of social Catholicism, and thus he thought each of the parties could be mentored to advance its principles.

Somerville took his chief opponent to be James Ramsay MacDonald.[54] MacDonald was Britain's first Labour Prime Minister. He epitomized Somerville's frustration with trying to situate his social Catholicism with the Labour Party. Somerville writes:

> If we can take the British Labour party at its face value, it is not a mere alternative administration, like the Conservative party or the Liberal party, but it stands pledged to inaugurate a new social order, to wrest land and capital from private owners and vest them in the community. It declares that it will do this when it has a

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[51] Henry Somerville, "The Catholic Worker and Political Parties," *Christian Democrat* vol. 6, no. 4 (April 1926): 63. Cited in Jeanne Beck, "Henry Somerville," 203.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Jeanne Beck, "Henry Somerville," 202.
[54] A substantial historiography exists on James Ramsay MacDonald. See for example, David Howell, *MacDonald's Government: Labour Identities and Crisis, 1922–1931* (London: Oxford University Press, 2002); A.J.P. Taylor, *English History, 1914–1945* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), 195–226; Philip Williamson, *National Crisis and National Government: British Politics, the Economy, and Empire, 1926–1932* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1992). For a discussion of Ramsay MacDonald's influence on the Canadian left—particularly through his evolutionary thought—see Ian McKay, *Reasoning Otherwise: Leftists and the People's Enlightenment in Canada, 1890–1920* (Toronto: Between the Lines Press, 2008), 131.

> parliamentary majority, and the army and navy at its command. Britain has no rigid constitution guarded by a supreme court, and as far as her law and constitution go, there is nothing to prevent a parliamentary majority from decreeing the abolition of private property.[55]

Conventional wisdom might have imagined Somerville would have softened in his opposition to the Labour Party once he learned of its leader's very moderate position with regard to private property. The opposite was the case. Somerville perceived in MacDonald a threat to his own scheme of mobilizing the working class. It might have been easier for people to resist his appeal—which remained rife with danger—if only he had been more overtly revolutionary. A MacDonald committed to revolutionary socialism would have been much easier for Somerville to refute, someone clearly at odds with his aims for social Catholicism. Somerville identified MacDonald as one committed neither to class warfare and revolutionary socialism nor individualism and capitalism. Somerville argued that in setting out to demolish "two rival social theories," revolutionary socialism and liberal individualism, MacDonald had essentially propounded a "biological theory of society" whose strongly organicist orientation predisposed him to "hide-bound Toryism." It was a perceptive analysis and critique of the Labour politician, whose prime ministership would signally fail to suggest any intention of creating a new social order.[56] Writing in 1927, Somerville anticipated, perhaps, MacDonald's Depression-era policies, the collapse of his Labour government, and his formation of a coalition with Liberals and Conservatives under the auspices of the National Party—all developments Somerville came to question.

Somerville's quarrels were not confined to those 'reasoning otherwise' outside of the Catholic social movement. He engaged vociferously with those internal to it as well.

[55] Henry Somerville, "James Ramsay MacDonald," *Commonweal* (4 May 1927): 711.
[56] Ibid, 712.

Distributism gained support from an upper middle-class audience, including two high profile Christian scholars, G.K. Chesterton and Hilaire Belloc.[57] Distributism sought to disperse private property as widely as possible within society, and it was an English alternative to the corporatism of Italy, Portugal, or Spain. It was also an alternative to French personalism. While not strictly a personalist, Somerville was influenced by the thought of Thomas Aquinas and thus most at home with the Thomist tradition: in attempting to quell the influence of distributism, Somerville advanced a neo-Thomist reading of Thomas Aquinas's thought on economics—particularly as it pertained to a 'just wage.'[58] Somerville polemicized against distributism repeatedly in the *Christian Democrat*.[59] He also took on Chesterton and Belloc in person.[60] In contrast to the social Catholicism of these men, Somerville found himself more akin to the American reformer John A. Ryan. Somerville's principal objection to the thought of the distributists was that he could not accept the practical application of their ideas. Somerville appreciated their ideal, but he did not see how distributist ideas could operate within a large-scale economy. In this regard, Somerville would not have deemed the Antigonish Movement, for example, to be within the distributist tradition. Somerville remained focused on the practicality of his social Catholicism-

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[57] Somerville often took aim at Chesterton and Belloc. For example, in the article on James Ramsay MacDonald, he opines, "It was almost inevitable that a young man of brains who found himself in London in 1889 should become a Socialist. It was the year of the great dock strike. Hilaire Belloc and Gilbert K. Chesterton, both rather younger than MacDonald, caught the prevailing contagion at the time." See Henry Somerville, "James Ramsay MacDonald," 711.

[58] Jeanne Beck, "Henry Somerville," 193; Henry Somerville, "How the Reformation Dechristianized Economics," *Month*, vol. 147 (August 1926): 127.

[59] Henry Somerville, "Distribution and Some Distributists," *The Christian Democrat*, vol. 7, no. 5 (May 1927): 65–70; Henry Somerville, "More Comments on Some Distributists," *The Christian Democrat*, vol. 7, no. 9 (September 1927): 129–134; Henry Somerville, "G.K.C's Retreat," *The Christian Democrat*, vol. 7, no. 111 (November 1927): 161–165.

[60] Memory of this encounter comes from Jeanne Beck's correspondence with the widow of Henry Somerville in the 1970s. Beck writes: "Mrs. Somerville vividly recalled one such meeting in which the diminutive Somerville (he was very short and slender), was flanked on the platform by the massive bodies of the two famous writers. Chesterton noted the amusing spectacle which they must have presented to the audience with a laughing tribute to 'my doughty opponent.' Interview with Jeanne Beck, Toronto, 15 February 1974. See Jeanne Beck, "Henry Somerville," 205, n. 34.

—not simply as intellectual debate, but how it might translate on the ground, constructed within the lived experience of a polity at large, searching for authentic alternatives to the social order.[61]

In 1929, Henry Somerville observed the revolutionary left's vision of an alternative social order at close hand. As an England-based correspondent for the *Toronto Star*, Henry Somerville visited Russia to study Moscow's five-year plan. During this visit, Somerville became aware of the social implications of a materialist philosophy in its practical application. He saw this philosophy as entirely pernicious and not confined to Communism, but affecting (and infecting) the liberal west. Somerville's worldview contemplated a Christian civilization—not unlike that idealized by the great Christian minds of the pre-Enlightenment. An Enlightenment faith in reason, nature, and progress had propelled liberalism and socialism to unhinge western society from its Christian roots and become increasingly secular. Russia epitomized this post-Christian development. Somerville thought the Soviet experiment posed "a challenge to Christian society," because it exemplified "a whole modernist world."[62] This transition has been undertaken unevenly across the west—and was one symptomatic of the Enlightenment's thrust, equally evident within both socialism and liberalism, towards a post-Christian society. Somerville's experience in the Soviet Union affirmed that the vision of the Catholic social movement preserved the Christian foundation of society—one under siege in Russia, but, equally so, in Great Britain and Canada.[63]

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[61] On this point, Henry Somerville writes: "But the time must come, the attempt has to be made, to arrive at collective conclusions; not only that but to attempt to put those conclusions into practical effect... What is wanted is a constant effort towards the realizations of a practical policy." One reason why Somerville advanced the social Catholicism of Fr. John A. Ryan was because he felt it was eminently practical—and combing theory and practice remained of the utmost importance in the counter-hegemonic position that Somerville wanted to carve out for the Catholic Social Movement. See Henry Somerville, "Catholics and Economics," *The Commonweal* (21 October 1925): 583–584.

[62] Henry Somerville, "Reflections after Visiting Russia," *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Journal*, vol. 18, no. 72 (December 1929): 557.

[63] Ibid.

Historicizing Social Catholicism, 1929–1933

Many of the years between 1929 and 1933, after he returned from Russia, Somerville spent writing on social Catholicism from a historical perspective. This turn to history is significant: it aimed to root his vision of social Catholicism in the medieval Church. He aimed not to ignore the conditions of modernity, but to offer an alternative to socialism and liberalism, which highlighted the authority of this highpoint in Christian intellectualism. Somerville favoured Aquinas over Locke and Rousseau, Marx and Mill. Socialism and liberalism were siblings born of Enlightenment thought. Somerville sought to counter these ideological thrusts, by demonstrating a continuity of position between pre-Enlightenment Christian thought and the work of the Catholic social movement. By grounding his perspective well beyond *Rerum Novarum* or *Quadragesimo Anno*, Somerville presented an understanding of Catholic social thought with a much longer history—one that was not trapped in erstwhile times, but adaptive to conditions of modern industrialization and urbanization. With the onset of the Great Depression, Somerville consolidated his view on the necessity of social Catholicism in the social and political sphere, as he historicized its aims and direction and attacked the morality of liberalism and socialism.

In the years from 1929 to 1933, Somerville continued to write articles for secular and devotional journals, but he complemented this scholarship with articles and books for an academic audience. With the relative prosperity of the 1920s in Britain (and parts of Canada), government had committed to offering high interest rates over the medium- and long-term. Somerville attacked the practice of offering interest money that produced savings and not investment, taking up this theme in *The Economic Journal*, which was edited by John Maynard

Keynes.[64] With capitalism in question, Keynesian economics began to come to the forefront in Britain—with its consolidation occurring into the 1940s. Somerville was troubled by Keynes.[65] He gave support, however, to the Keynesian position on the peril of high interest rates in the wake of economic depression, and, on this point, rearticulated it as a "vindication of the Canonist attitude to interest and usury!" The traditional Christian attitude to loaning money prohibited collecting interest, a stance that defied capitalism's inherent logic. Somerville proceeded to argue that "there may be reasons for thinking that the world will go back to the early Canonist doctrine."[66] A key separation for Somerville was money loaned as an investment that potentially yielded a return, as distinguished from money loaned to secure a return through interest but disassociated from the activity that it supports. Somerville attempts to reposition Keynesian thought within the medieval position of the Church, yet also, by extension, appropriated an element of modern liberalism and reconfigured it as a long-held position within Christian thought.[67]

Somerville's argument attracted widespread attention, including from economists themselves. The *Economic Journal* resounded to debates after Somerville proclaimed Keynes to be a "convert" to the "doctrine of the medieval Church about usury." [68] These responses, neither

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[64] Henry Somerville, "Interest and Usury in a New Light," *Economic Journal* vol. 41, no. 162 (December 1931): 646–649. Somerville also took up this argument for a religious audience. See Henry Somerville, "Usury as a New Issue," *Commonweal* (16 September 1931): 458.
[65] Somerville, "Interest and Usury in a New Light," 646.
[66] Ibid, 649.
[67] Henry Somerville's argument did not go unnoticed—and, according to Jeanne Beck, sparked a debate that lasted several issues. Lawrence Dennis and Henry Somerville write: "The discussion of interest, usury and the canonist doctrine... impresses me as being the most important clash of ideas which has taken place for a long time in the economic field." See Lawrence Dennis and Henry Somerville, "Usury and the Canonists," *Economic Journal* vol. 42, no. 168 (June 1932): 312. Cited in Beck, "Henry Somerville," 233.
[68] Edwin Cannan, "Savings and Usury: A Symposium," *Economic Journal* vol. 42, no. 165 (March 1932): 123. In his early writings, Edwin Cannan had favoured an interventionist state, but he returned to the principles of classic liberalism by the 1930s. Indicative of this transition, see, for example, Edwin Cannan, "Land and Capital," *American Economic Review* vol. 20, no. 1 (March 1930): 78–79.

unified in opinion nor dismissive of Somerville's argument, deemed it worthy of engagement. Somerville's social Catholicism thus engaged with key minds in a moment of economic crisis. This approach continued in *Britain's Economic Illness* also written also in 1931. Here he argued that Britain's economic weakness was rooted in moral error and faith in "self-interest as the ruling motive of action."[69] Somerville remained focused on presenting social Catholicism as a practical programme both because of ideas inherent to the movement and because of those it appropriated from secular society and placed in a Catholic framework. Using arguments grounded historically, Henry Somerville bridged the abstract thought of papal teachings—to which he ascribed a much longer history that predated the encyclicals—to the circumstances of Britain in the Depression.

Perhaps of all Henry Somerville's writings of the 1930s, *The Catholic Social Movement* (1933) best explained social Catholicism as a pragmatic programme *vis-à-vis* liberalism and socialism. The backdrop of the book, written in 1933, was the Concordat signed between the Holy See and Hitler's National Socialist government. Somerville was exceedingly wary of the Third Reich, even though he wrote well in advance of the Second World War.[70] In this text, he details how social Catholicism was manifested in the nineteenth and twentieth century in France, Germany, Austria, France, Holland and Belgium. He presents a clear vision for how the Church ought to participate in social order:

> She is always where there is trouble, always in the line of fire, often between cross fires because she must be needed where there is moral conflict. She claims authority, she demands liberty, she will not be confined to Sundays, or to private life; she would make religion rule the whole week and have God worshipped by the State as

[69] Henry Somerville, *Britain's Economic Illness* (London: Harding & More Ltd, 1931), 6.

[70] Henry Somerville voiced concern that "those who feel the danger of the Church resting on the patronage of the State instead of the devotion of the people may see in the present situation in the Third Reich some ominous resemblances of the Second Empire." See, Henry Somerville, *The Catholic Social Movement* (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1933), ix-x.

> well as by the individual soul. She asserts her right to the material means of carrying on her mission, the holding of property, the control of schools, [and] liberty of preaching, publishing and association. She declares her jurisdiction over marriage, a vital human relation and social institution. She must not be an instrument of the State yet she is ready to be the ally of the State within its proper sphere. The Church comes into conflict with subversive and revolutionary as well as Caesarean elements. Inevitably the Church is always the Church militant.[71]

He juxtaposes social Catholicism, as a natural outgrowth of faith-based social engagement, with the social Catholic movement operating as an institutional structure exerting influence over the state. Catholicism was advanced, thus, not as a limited identity, but as a priority of the highest order orienting all others: "The Church cannot profess neutrality in social questions and allow her members to form their political and economic affiliations as their sympathies and interests dictate unembarrassed by religious or moral considerations."[72] The undefined concept of "well being"[73]—not enlightened self-interest, class struggle, or aggregate happiness—was advanced as the core concern of social Catholicism. In making this argument, Somerville used historical examples of faith-based action as a precursor to the formalized exercise of the social Catholic movement as a political programme—and he did so by challenging socialist and liberal alternatives.

The Catholic Social Movement juxtaposes Karl Marx with Frederick Ozanam—which one could read as an attempt to co-opt readers intrigued by Marxism as a practical response to the abject conditions of an industrial society. Marx was a younger contemporary of Ozanam, an early social Catholic and one of the founders of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, a Catholic organization designed to provide social services for the poor.[74] Ozanam, who had witnessed

[71] Ibid, 4.
[72] Ibid, 5–6.
[73] Ibid, 1.
[74] For the St. Vincent de Paul Society in Canada, see, for example, Jean-Marie Fecteau and Eric Vaillancourt, "The Saint Vincent de Paul Society and the Catholic Charitable System in Quebec (1846–1921)" in Michael Gauvreau

weavers' revolts in his native Lyon in 1831, surveyed working-class conditions in early-nineteenth century Paris with something of the same critical intensity found in Engels's later descriptions of industrial Manchester. He also engaged with the burgeoning Parisian left. He encountered the Saint-Simonians, the leading utopian socialists of their day. As anti-clericals they taunted him with passages from Scripture and demanded: "Where are your works?" Ozanam responded by organizing a small group that ultimately became the St. Vincent de Paul Society. In this depiction, Ozanam is Somerville's protagonist: he responded with authenticity, before Marx, to the abject conditions of Paris, and he proposed a solution that responded to everyday, material need, while not neglecting personal spiritual sanctity. In advancing this argument, Somerville aims to disrupt assumptions about Church privilege, not promote a return to an aristocratic Church. Here was a social Catholicism committed to a long-standing, pragmatic response to the poverty created by industrial capitalism.[75]

In setting forth the arguments of *The Catholic Social Movement*, Somerville constructs socialism as a response to capitalism, but he acknowledges 'capital[ist] individualism' to be a current that Catholicism has long opposed.[76] Somerville takes aim at twin pillars of liberalism and capitalism: the atomized individual and self-interest as an animating force. Instead he sees the person as a social, historical being[77] and "recognition of individual duty, arising from social function"[78] as the cornerstones of Catholic doctrine long at odds with the liberal tradition.[79] The

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and Ollivier Hubert (eds.), *Churches and the Social Order in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006).

[75] Henry Somerville calls Frederick Ozanam (and Jean-Baptiste Henri Lacordaire, who re-established the Dominican Order in post-revolutionary France) "liberals in the best sense of the word;" these men wanted the Church to trust liberty over privilege (for example as one would find in aristocracy). See Somerville, *The Catholic Social Movement*, 148.

[76] Henry Somerville titles his opening chapter, "Early Catholic Opposition to Capitalist Individualism." See Ibid, 7–18.

[77] Ibid, 10–11.

[78] Ibid, 9.

liberal tradition, as articulated by Locke, Hume, Voltaire, Rousseau, and Condorcet, advanced a "socially disintegrating" position that fundamentally misconceived "man and therefore society." It supported secularization, which, as broadly conceived by Somerville, was a process of "divorce or separation."[80] In Somerville's conception, the state and society remain subordinate to the Church in God's dominion—here one sees Somerville's understanding rooted in the political thought of St. Thomas Aquinas.[81] Liberalism, as it developed out of the Enlightenment's break with medieval thought, was irreconcilable with how Somerville positioned the Catholic social movement.

(Neo-)Thomism inspired Henry Somerville.[82] St. Thomas Aquinas was a companion to Somerville's social and political thinking, appearing often through an intermediary such as Bishop Ketteler. In writing on Ketteler, almost two decades after Somerville first encountered him, he acknowledges that social Catholics and socialists share at the base of the social question, private property. Catholic social thought viewed the right to private property as a natural right, but one conditional upon the meeting of human needs (i.e., a person may have a right to own an apple, since it meets his or her nutritional needs; however, one may not possess 100 apples, particularly if there are others present who are also hungry). It did not, as in classical liberalism, bestow upon property-holders a limitless right to accumulation. Rather, following in the steps of John Locke, at least in one interpretation, Catholics thought the right to private property was

[79] Much to Somerville's chagrin, this organic language was readily appropriated by Fascism during this period.
[80] Ibid, 8–11.
[81] On this pattern of thought, see Thomas Aquinas, *On the Governance of Rulers* (Toronto: St. Michael's College Philosophical Text Edition, 1935), esp. Chapters XII and XIV.
[82] Based on his reading of Aquinas, Hegel, and the adaptability of a socialized liberalism, perhaps an influence on (or at least parallel to) Henry Somerville was nineteenth century British thinker, Thomas Hill Green. For Green's view of private property see Thomas Hill Green, "The Right of the State in Regard to Property," in C.B. Macpherson, *Property, Mainstream and Critical Positions* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), 103–118.

strictly delimited by such natural forces as accumulation, distribution, and exchange.[83] Even though private property drew Catholicism into dialogue with liberalism because of its centrality to both, Somerville remained firmly conviced of the social role that it played within his vision for the social order.

Somerville bridges the abstraction of this difference to an extended treatment of the *sursalaire* (family allowance) as advocated by Ketteler and other social Catholics. In Catholic social teaching, a 'just wage' is one that allows a man (no gender neutral language here) to support his family. This idea did not reconcile easily with the profit motive of employers under the conditions. A 'just wage' might make it more expensive to hire a man with six children than someone with one (and thus impose on the employer's accumulation of capital as an expression of his private property). Employers need to pay employees on an equitable basis in order to maintain the enterprise of their industry. Therefore, the solution was for the state to create a 'just wage' through a centrally administered fund, to which employers would contribute based on the number of people they employed.[84] With this discussion, Somerville indicts liberalism and proclaims the superiority of a prescription based on the social Catholic movement. By historicizing the movement, Somerville is transcending a narrow reading of *Rerum Novarum* or *Quadragesimo Anno* (which articulated many principles to which Somerville referred); instead, he argued for the long history of social Catholicism in the context of its pre- and post-Enlightenment practical applications.

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[83] Henry Somerville, *The Catholic Social Movement*, 34–35. As examples of debate on John Locke's characterization of property see Gopal Sreenivasan, *The Limits of Lockean Rights in Property* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Barbara Arneil, *John Locke and America: The Defence of English Colonialism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).
[84] Ibid, 144–146.

Conclusions

Canada, during the 1930s, still firmly attached to the British Empire, was about to undergo a vast political and social transformation. Canada would reach for greater independence. Somerville was a prominent person in a curious moment. Domestically, the liberal tradition in Canada was about to be transformed from its classic British roots into something more 'Canadian:' more interventionist, more socially aware, featuring a larger state and extending further into the lived experience of Canadians. Catholicism, too, had become aware of context, material conditions, and structural considerations—these were considerations ably put forward by the Antigonish 'stream' as it oriented Canadian Catholicism away from charity and towards justice. Somerville added to them a more abstract commitment to engage with modernity by rethinking the very nature of social and economic life. Critically engaged with such questions for much of his life in Britain, Somerville brought acute insights into the 'social question' to English Canada—which he sought to implement practically and in meaningful ways.

Henry Somerville returned to Toronto in 1933 where he served as editor of the *Catholic Register* for the next twenty years. During this time, a period covered well in Jeanne Beck's research, Somerville taught and shared his understanding of Catholic social doctrine with zeal. The 'Somerville' stream was marked by a few characteristics. Firstly, it was the legacy left by Archbishop Neil McNeil—one which survived decades after his death. Inspired by the same intellectual current within social Catholicism that prompted *Aeterni Patris* and *Rerum Novarum*, McNeil brought this transatlantic perspective to Toronto and did so through Henry Somerville. Somerville complemented this internationalism with a distinctly British perspective. Unlike some of his high profile contemporaries, Hilaire Belloc and G.K. Chesterton among them, he did

not accept the distributist reading of Catholic social thought. Somerville brought equally a historicist and Thomist perspective to the social question. Yet, rather than gravitating towards the corporatist tradition (with which he was well acquainted), he exercised great pragmatism and sought workable solutions within the context presented. Into the 1930s and 1940s, for example, he used Antigonish techniques of study clubs within parishes and taught at labour schools as the 'dust bowl' gave way to 'rust belt.'[85] Lastly, he was convinced of the efficacy of the Catholic social movement as a practical alternative to both classical liberalism and socialist alternatives. Questions of 'life and labour' were intrinsically tied together, and they were approached by Somerville with a keen sense of the rich insights offered by Catholic social thought, yet tempered, ever so faithfully, with loyalty to the magisterium and obedience to the Church hierarchy.

For all of his preoccupation with the history of the Catholic social movement, Henry Somerville represented a modern sense of Catholicism that was ahead of its time, and he would have been pleased with Pope John's decision to convoke an ecumenical council. He died in 1953. When Somerville passed, the headline of the diocesan paper exalted him as "upholding the faith of [Thomas] More and [John] Fisher."[86] To this list of august intellectuals one might also add the name of John Henry Newman. As the headline suggested, Somerville figured more significantly as an intellectual who perpetuated an intellectual tradition, rather than one who initiated a new current. He offered a defence of the faith as a constitutive element, and a source for the renewal, of a besieged social order. With Somerville's life and work after 1933 covered well in the historiography, this chapter has attempted to survey his intellectual development

[85] On the imagining of this transformation, see Steven High, *Industrial Sunset: The Making of North America's Rust Belt, 1969–1984* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), chapter 1.

[86] "Honoured by Two Popes for Service to the Church: Upheld the Faith of More and Fisher," *Catholic Register*, 21 February 1953, Henry Somerville papers, STFXUA, RG25-3/4/5482.

between the years of his youthful discovery of social and political questions to the eve of his return to Canada, whereupon he would offer important guidance on similar questions to the Archdiocese of Toronto. In his formative years, Henry Somerville refined ideas and approaches to the social order, which emerge later as part of his social Catholicism in Canada.

His intellectualism was developed through the Catholic Social Guild and marked by a British sensibility that he later imported to Canada. Somerville strove to link the Catholic social movement with a new conception of the past and future. As Somerville emerged from working-class Leeds, his "organic" approach to his work can be contrasted with the more "traditional" intellectual stance typified by the Papal encyclicals. Somerville stayed focused on the practical implications of the Catholic vision and sensitive to challenges from others internal to the Catholic social movement. He saw the British Labour Party at once as a competitor to this vision and an empty canvass onto which social Catholics could express their ideas and energy. He wanted the Labour Party to jettison its language of socialism—and any challenge to private property—and, in turn, fill its platform with ideas consistent with Catholic social thought. Years later the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation provided a similar opportunity. A decade after his return to Toronto, he became an important figure to help open the door to the Canadian left for Canadian Catholics, in particular to make the CCF an acceptable Catholic alternative. Somerville's scholarship in the wake of visiting Russia and the stock market crash of 1929, suggests a turn that emphasized the historicity of social Catholicism as a mode of thought predating liberalism and socialism, and one that provided answers in an uncertain moment.

It is difficult to gauge whether Somerville's belief in social Catholicism, as an alternative for the social order, continued to evolve, particularly as a second-wave of liberal order reconsolidated its place after the Depression. At the close of the 1930s, Henry Somerville

offered a nuanced interpretation of how liberalism had changed. "Catholics of the most orthodox faith and purest religious zeal," he remarked, had adopted "what are now recognized to be the best elements of Liberalism."[87] Was Somerville's social Catholicism, its energy and ideas, absorbed by new liberalism? If so, it would be consistent with a pattern that saw Canadian liberal order reconfigure itself and, through a passive revolution, absorb the leadership and thought of its rivals. A commitment to private property, as a natural (though qualified) right, made this move a distinct possibility. Nevertheless, with Henry Somerville's return to Canada, Toronto complements (and perhaps even surpasses) Antigonish as a centre of social Catholicism. Somerville and Archbishop McNeil were not alone in accomplishing this fiat: Henry Carr and the Basilian Order represented another important stream within English-Canadian social Catholicism—one that would produce its own attempt to 'live otherwise' in Toronto.

[87] Henry Somerville, "Modern Revolution," in *The Church and Revolution: Three Papers read at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association held in Toronto, 20 October, 1937* (Toronto: CCHA, 1937), 18.

CHAPTER 5

"REVERSING THE DOWNWARD TREND OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH IN THE WORLD OF THE INTELLECT:" PERSONALISM AND THE CONGREGATION OF ST. BASIL IN THE 1930s

It is the fall of 1933. Adolf Hitler and the National Socialists have risen to power in Germany. World War will not break out for another six years, but the peace is uneasy, and conflict will again soon be on the horizon. Traditional bastions of safety and security, places such as the university, are no longer centres of free intellectual inquiry and exchange. Fascism has become a European reality. Some imperiled academics ponder careers on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. Many German intellectuals, particularly of Jewish descent, emigrated to safer shores; people such as Albert Einstein find opportunity in North America. The entire European continent is convulsed with new and dangerous movements, some of them ostensibly championing philosophical ideals seemingly similar to ones advocated for many years by 'evolutionary leftists' and many Catholics. Never had it seemed more important to argue for an authentic meaning for freedom, democracy and human rights—and seldom had it been more difficult to do so. Christian philosophers, academics with great minds and impressive pedigrees, such as Jacques Maritain, sought new homes to continue their research, writing, and teaching. Having visited a year earlier on a speaking engagement, Maritain knew that Canada, as did the U.S. for so many of his colleagues, waited with open arms.

Maritain indeed had many suitors, including the Congregation of St. Basil (CSB) via the [Pontifical] Institute of Mediaeval Studies in Toronto (PIMS), an institution that the religious order had been instrumental in forming. Connected to St. Michael's College, the Roman Catholic arm of the University of Toronto, the Institute would gain Pontifical status in 1939

thanks to the tireless persistence of Basilian Superior, Fr. Henry Carr (1880–1963). Jacques Maritain's visits to Toronto in the early 1930s "marked the beginning of a discipleship, which extended over many years. There were other Basilians who came under the spell of Maritain's genius, and continued to correspond with him, and it is probably true to say that no other man... has had so much influence on contemporary Basilians."[1] Writing on Henry Carr, years after succeeding him as Superior General for the Congregation of the Priests of St. Basil, Edmund McCorkell aptly described a third incarnation of social Catholicism found in English Canada—one we might call the 'Basilian stream.' The Basilians are a religious order devoted to education and research, as part of a charism (spiritual orientation) to build up 'the Body of Christ.' The order had prominence in Toronto, in part, because of its role in post-secondary education, particularly through St. Michael's College and PIMS. In the Basilians, again one sees a social Catholicism exalting the virtue of education. With a long backwards gaze towards a high point in Catholic intellectualism and prompted by the approval of *Aeterni Patris*, the Basilians contemplated the philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas, and its application to modern society. Jacques Maritain became an official interpreter for this quest—one which, at once, was the most philosophical of the three streams of social Catholicism covered in this study, and yet grounded in forms of social action that had long-term implications for reimaging the Church and its place in the world.

This re-examination of Aquinas has been canopied under the term 'neo-Thomism.' But the term deserves caution: similar to 'liberalism' or 'Marxism,' neo-Thomism has a normative dimension that makes its use elusive. While Aquinas was important to many social Catholics, illustrated by Henry Somerville in the last chapter, it is one specific form—the 'personalism' of Jacques Maritain—that most widely informed the Basilian stream. Within the Basilian

[1] Edmund J. McCorkell, *Henry Carr—Revolutionary* (Toronto: Griffin House, 1969), 78.

community, Henry Carr, and his *protégé*, Eugene Cullinane (1907–1997), did much to advance Maritain's influence within the religious congregation and through the network of students, seminarians, and priests that they interacted with in Toronto, Saskatoon, and other locations to which they were called through their priestly ministry. Unlike diocesan clergy who may remain stationed in a single parish or city throughout the course of their entire priesthood, membership in a religious order entailed obedient acceptance of work wherever the congregation had responsibility for ministry.[2] For intellectually-engaged clergy, as many Basilians were because of their education, advanced training, and university connections, a natural network opened up for the transmission and free flow of ideas across vast distances.

Personalism, which underpinned the Basilian stream of social Catholicism, was embraced by Carr and Cullinane in response to a world deemed irreparably in crisis. The forces that caused Maritain to cross the Atlantic in search of new beginnings were emblematic, believed the two Basilians, of decay in western civilization—a spiritual abyss caused by four centuries of false, ill-placed faith in human reason, progress, and achievement. This faith had sidelined the essential essence of the human person as a spiritual being, one who passed within a fleeting moment as visitor to the material world. The standard dichotomies of a bi-polar world—namely liberalism/socialism, capitalism/communism—were inadequate responses to mend an order that suffered from philosophical and political rot. Personalism offered a third option in this falsely bifurcated world. As in the Antigonish Movement and as in Somerville's vision of social Catholicism, education was the key. Yet the Basilians emphasized, rather more than these other currents, a fundamental change in how people thought, felt, and believed. "To restore all things

[2] At this time, certain destinations became habitual for Basilian priests, including Toronto, Windsor, Saskatoon, Vancouver, and Houston, Texas—usually in response to teaching charges at the secondary or post-secondary levels.

in Christ"[3] here meant a personal as well as social transformation. In this thesis, Henry Carr and Eugene Cullinane provide us with rich insight into the ideas, debates, and discussions associated with this "Basilian stream."

Looking Backwards to Aquinas

Flashback—it is August 1879, the second year of Pope Leo XIII's pontificate. It has been a turbulent century for Roman Catholic leaders, of course, one marked by competing intellectual constructions on the political role and authority of the Church.[4] Following the 32-year reign of Pope Pius IX, his successor, Leo XIII, set a different tone for the Vatican in temporal affairs albeit with some traditional Catholic concerns in mind. He showed a great respect for Catholic intellectualism, and thus adopted a strategy to re-engage Europe with its Christian roots. In late summer 1879, less than two years after his election, the Roman pontiff sought to return Catholicism to its intellectual high-water mark through his encyclical, "On the Restoration of Christian Philosophy." Leo called upon the Catholic world to renew its interest in Scholasticism and, particularly, the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas. A return to mediaeval Christian philosophy in the nineteenth century was advanced as a counter-offensive to the secular values of the Enlightenment widely held by European states. A re-examination of

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[3] The Madonna House Apostolate in Combermere, Ontario, where Fr. Eugene Cullinane lived for many years until his death in 1997, maintains a monthly publication called *Restoration*. The legacy of the Basilian stream resides to this day, I believe, in this unique community comprised of celibate laity, and men and women religious, located a hundred kilometers southwest of Pembroke, Ontario.

[4] As noted by the Introduction: Among the many camps advancing their positions, the Galicans and Ultramontanes vied for supremacy: on one side of the ideological debate, 'Gallicanism' sought to subordinate the temporal power of the Church to secular rule and national custom, while, its competitor, Ultramontanism endeavoured to exert authority over temporal institutions and consolidate power in Rome. Amidst waning influence in temporal affairs, certain quarters of Europe, particularly the Church in France, rebelled against a Rome-focused Church—a tussle that culminated in the first Vatican Council and promulgation of the doctrine of papal infallibility in 1870. Ultramontane victory was short lived, though, as the Italian *Risorgimento* led to the capture of the Eternal City, imprisonment of the Roman pontiff within the walls of Vatican City, and the emergence of a unified Italy. As the Enlightenment had affected the Church a century earlier elsewhere in Catholic Europe, the remaining vestiges of the Church's temporal power began to wane in light of the social and political forces of modernism and nationalism.

Aquinas was designed to operate as a foil to these developments: liberalism and socialism were seen as anathema to a well-founded Christian political order. A look back through the ages, it was thought, would re-inspire the essential Christian (and Catholic) character of Europe and re-ground its people in a hierarchical understanding of state and society under God's dominion. Often overshadowed by *Rerum Novarum* in considerations of Leo's pontificate (and the 86 encyclicals he promulgated), *Aeterni Patris* had significant, if unintended, long-term implications for Catholic social thought. In a way unexpected by Leo, it fostered a radical impulse within neo-Thomism that forced Catholicism into dialogue with modernity.

Nowhere was this turn more visible than in the fundamental rethinking—undertaken by Catholic intellectuals and often at the behest of neo-Thomist scholars—of the Church's relationship to the state. While Pope Leo XIII affirmed the duty of civil allegiance to one's nation, a secular and pluralistic state failed to correspond to the Catholic state envisioned in his encyclical, *Immortale Dei*.[5] Promulgated in November 1885, the encyclical, subtitled "On the Christian Constitution of States," presented a complex consideration of the relationship between civil and ecclesial authority. It in itself is a liminal document caught between mediaeval ideals and modern realities, but trying, desperately, to move beyond the siege mentality that characterized much of nineteenth-century Catholicism.

As the twentieth century began to unfold, though, modernity became an obvious reality. For an emerging generation of French personalists inspired by the call for a return to Aquinas, 'Catholic' states needed to be resisted. Concern over a close relationship between the Church and state became acute at the onset of the Spanish Civil War in 1936. Personalism provided an

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[5] These ideas, of course, were not universal throughout nineteenth century Catholicism—Hugues-Félicité Robert de Lamennais, for instance, during his time as a French priest and editor of *L'Avenir*, believed the Church would be well advised to support liberal political ideals such as the separation of church and state—but they did represent official attitudes towards secular, political authority. See Justo L. Gonzalez, *A History of Christian Thought: From the Protestant Reformation to the Twentieth Century* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1987), 404.

alternative understanding to corporatism in Catholic social thought. French personalists became acutely aware of how fascist regimes were appropriating corporatist language. The use of quasi-biological language by these authoritarian regimes exploited the malleability of corporate concepts. When Catholic intellectuals, such as Jacques Maritain, perceived the Franco's regime's close association with the Spanish Church, they voiced their opposition.[6] In some respects, placing the human person at the centre of Catholic social thought, as personalists did, was a counter-offensive to an abuse of corporatism. As Maritain's influence came to be felt in English Canada, personalism also challenged 'old world' conceptions of a political order more attuned to mediaeval Europe than to twentieth-century modernity. Seen in this light, the influence of personalism within social Catholicism is one thread in a much longer and larger story being told by transatlantic intellectual and cultural historians.[7]

Within the corpus of Jacques Maritain's work, seven key titles developed his political philosophy, one that would have a great impact on the place of the Church in the modern world.[8] At the heart of his political philosophy is a central theme: political order must be rooted in a spirituality transcending the material world. While he borrowed this insight from Aquinas, he

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[6] On this point, historian Jay P. Corrin writes, "Jacques Maritain recognized that General Franco's authoritarian political program contradicted the standards that guided *Pour le Bien Commune* [the common good]. Maritain and his friends felt compelled to alert the international Catholic community to the dangers of identifying with a reactionary regime that was cynically using religion for political purposes." See Jay P. Corrin, *Catholic Intellectuals and the Challenge of Democracy* (Notre Dame, Indiana: Notre Dame University Press, 2002), 336.
[7] Amongst this voluminous literature, see Peter R. D'Agostino, *Rome in America: Transnational Catholic Ideology from the Risorgimento to Fascism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); John T. McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom: A History* (New York: Norton, 1993); Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Era* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1998); James T. Kloppenberg, *Uncertain Victory: Social Democracy and Progressivism in European and American Thought, 1870–1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).
[8] Jacques Maritain, *The Things That are not Caesar's* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1931); Jacques Maritain, *Integral Humanism* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936); Jacques Maritain, *Christianity and Democracy* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1943); Jacques Maritain, *The Rights of Man and Natural Law* (London: Geoffrey Bless, the Centenary Press, 1944); Jacques Maritain, *The Person and the Common Good* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1947); Jacques Maritain, *Man and the State* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951).

endeavoured to situate it in a way that acknowledged the effects of modernity and secularization on the state and society. As one commentator writes, "Maritain's preferred solution is to conceive modernity as a lay expression of the substance that had been overtly religious within Mediaeval Christendom."[9] Maritain felt at home in the liberal and democratic traditions, especially when he contrasted them with the state-oriented totalitarian movements that threatened to destroy the conceptual space occupied by the individual and civil society. He understood them as an outgrowth of Christian thought rather than as manifestations of Enlightenment reason anathema to religious values.[10] Among Maritain's most influential and widely-read books was *Integral Humanism*,[11] which became an intellectual inspiration for the Christian democratic movement throughout Europe. Maritain put at the core of this project a respect for the human person—a sentiment that could be brought into relation, albeit some uneasily, with liberalism's commitment to the individual. 'Person' acknowledged the spiritual aspect of the state of being, much as the 'individual' represented the material. This distinction is paralleled by a separation of the 'temporal' and 'spiritual' planes: the Church is not a political institution, and thus should remain separate from the state. Rather, it is a symbol veiling the spiritual plane—a point of contact with the temporal or material world. "In this way," argues William Cavanaugh, "a 'new Christendom' is possible in which the state remains explicitly

[9] David J. Walsh, "Forward," to John DiJoseph, *Jacques Maritain and the Moral Foundation of Democracy* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1996), viii.

[10] Within the literature on the evolution of liberalism, one position is that the notion of the 'individual' in western civilization was fundamentally shaped by the Christian tradition. See, for example, Larry Siedentop, *Inventing the Individual: The Origins of Western Liberalism* (London: Allen Lane, 2014).

[11] Jacques Maritain, *Integral Humanism: Temporal and Spiritual Problems of a New Christendom* (South Bend, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1973).

secular, but individual Christians bring the inchoate influence of the gospel to bear on public life, without speaking explicitly Christian language in the public forum."[12]

Maritain's politics bore little resemblance to those of Aquinas. Aquinas's medievalism espoused a vision of Christian kingship which was hardly useful to the conditions of the early twentieth century. Monarchies continued to exist, of course—and constitutional ones at that—but they were worlds removed from ones in which the monarch was at the head of a divine order. Maritain's politics adopted the best features of the Enlightenment, including democracy. He did not share the apprehension of democracy that had haunted the Church of the eighteenth century. Democrats were not apostles of anti-clericalism seeking to deprive the Church of temporal power. Democracy could be embraced, used to assert the best of human potential. Thus, it was not a return to Aquinas's medievalism—to his vision of Christian kingship as *sine qua non* to Western Christendom—that Maritain's personalism sought. It was not even a close alliance between Church and State—and, in fact, 'Catholic states,' of the sort of Franco's Spain, were to be resisted. Rather, states should be secular, pluralistic, and democratic. These features salvaged the best of Enlightenment values in a time when a cold, rational, and mechanistic view of society undermined the human spirit and potential. As a way forward, Aquinas provided a guide, albeit one that needed to be revised, updated, and adapted to modernity.

Henry Carr and Jacques Maritain

Return to 1933. Fr. Henry Carr is three years into his first term as Superior General of the Basilian community, a position he would hold for another nine years, leading the Basilians throughout a decade of turbulence. Depression-era conditions alerted Henry Carr to the economic and social problems in a liberal and capitalist order. He composed a pamphlet series

[12] William T Cavanaugh, *Migrations of the Holy: God, State, and the Political Meaning of the Church* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2011), 133.

on Christian economics: the series was published as part of a Basilian periodical, *The Pamphlet*, which appeared at irregular intervals through the 1930s, covering important topics related to the state, society, and the role of Catholic pedagogy. Carr provided a 'long view' of the conditions of the 1930s. The decade's economic depression was more than a product of capitalism's inadequacies: it signalled the failure of a hegemonic Enlightenment project, one that had replaced an organic view of community with a reification of the atomized individual. Looking back to the political writings of St. Thomas Aquinas, Carr lamented that "our vision is clouded by the erroneous ideas of the time."[13]

In 1933, Carr published his contributions as a short book on Christian economics, *Life or Death* and subtitled it, *Letters to Mildred*. The subtitle reflected the personal nature of his subject. Carr chose his niece, Mildred, as the title character receiving the thought in his exposition. In Carr's letters to Mildred, he focuses on the rot in the political and social order dating from the seventeenth century. It was not the Reformation, the great fracturing of Latin Christendom into the 'Roman Catholic' and 'Protestant' Churches that had allowed error to creep into the foundation of western civilization. Rather, it was the misguided belief that the state's chief purpose was to protect private property. The problems of the 1930s could be traced, believed Carr, to how the state came to view its purpose. Looking back to the political philosophy of Thomas Aquinas, Carr found there a conception of an organically unified social world. Each actor played a useful part. All were guided by a monarch, a sovereign, as the "Head."[14] Now, in the contemporary world, society had ceased to concern itself with creating "good" people, but, rather, "happy" ones whose aggregate happiness supposedly determined the

[13] Henry Carr, *Life or Death: Chats on Economics, Letters to Mildred* (Toronto: Institute of Medieval Studies, 1933).
[14] Ibid, 8–14.

morality of the state and the actions it sanctioned. Carr clearly challenges much Enlightenment thought—Jeremy Bentham on this point—with his critique of an atomized world.

Carr's vocation was as a Catholic educator, and, in this capacity, he offered an attempt to reason otherwise and advocate for adjustment to the social order.[15] Carr's rise through the Basilian ranks had been meteoric—after his ordination in 1905, he was appointed immediately to a teaching post at St. Michael's College, which he held until becoming the institution's Superior and President in 1915. After studying Greek and Latin in the spirit of classical education at St. Michael's College and the University of Toronto, Carr discovered the philosophy of Aquinas in 1928 after a request from his sister to help locate a text on Thomism. G.K. Chesterton's *St. Thomas Aquinas* was suggested to him by a colleague.[16] Fr. Carr was forty eight years old at this time and was on the brink, with his election as Superior General only two years away, of gaining much prominence with the Congregation of Priests of St. Basil. He remained associated with St. Michael's College and its various organs until his departure for St. Thomas More College in 1949.

As an educator, he exercised, consciously or not, his ministry through the university. "[Henry] Carr asked [Étienne] Gilson," writes Edmund McCorkell, "what his reason was for putting theology at the heart of the [Pontifical] Institute's programme of studies. Gilson's answer... was that if a man really knows his theology, he will interpret everything else in light of it."[17] Étienne Gilson, a Sorbonne philosopher, was invited to be the first director of the Institute of Mediaeval Studies, which, after much petitioning in Rome, would gain Pontifical status in

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[15] Irene Poelzer, "Henry Carr, CSB, 1880–1963, Catholic Educator," M.Ed thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1968.

[16] This account comes from McCorkell's *Henry Carr*. There is an inconsistency in its periodization: Chesterton's text was published in 1933 and thus not available to Carr at the close of the 1920s. Ibid, 152. See also G.K. Chesterton, *St. Thomas Aquinas: "The Dumb Ox"* (London: Random House, 1933).

[17] Edmund J. McCorkell, *Henry Carr—Revolutionary* (Toronto: Griffin House, 1969), 86–87.

1939. The Pontifical Institute was a research institute founded under the auspices of St. Michael's College. Henry Carr "was moved to pray that the Institute for which he had worked so hard might serve in a humble way to reverse the downward trend of the Christian faith in the world of intellect which it was being created to serve."[18] It reflected the Basilian's charism (spiritual orientation) for education and intellectualism, and it would become an important institutional symbol for the ethos of the Basilian stream of social Catholicism. The opening of the Institute of Mediaeval Studies in summer 1932 offered an occasion for a visit from Jacques Maritain. He would return as a faculty member in 1933 and 1934—and, through personal contact, he began to have considerable influence on the priests and novices of the Basilian order. During this time, Henry Carr developed a close relationship with Maritain and his wife, Raissa. It was not until 1936 that he truly internalized the personalism of Maritain's neo-Thomism in a way that would operate as a framework for his writing, teaching, and spiritual direction.

The turn to Thomism, believed Henry Carr, could save western society from a dialectic introduced by the Enlightenment and playing out in the midst of the dire 1930s. It was a message he shared with others within the Church:

> Modern thought in its false philosophy ran its course for four centuries, and reached the end. This was not manifest to all, it is not yet, but that is the fact. Pope Leo XIII, nearly sixty years ago, called upon the Catholic world to study St. Thomas. It is, naturally speaking, the intellectuals of the Church, the thinkers and teachers who will reform the world. It takes time, but already there are wonderful fruits appearing of Catholic thought. It is the beginning of a new era, a new civilization, a Catholic Renaissance.[19]

Carr saw in Jacques Maritain's personalism the providential outcome of a turn decades earlier by Pope Leo XIII toward the thought of Thomas Aquinas. Pope Leo XIII's *Aeterni Patris* was a

[18] Ibid, 90.

[19] Letter from Fr. Henry Carr to Sister Mary Margarita IBVM, Letters June to December 1937, Henry Carr Paper, GABF.

companion to the oft-cited encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*. In Carr's estimation, the former, because of its focus on transcendence, had even greater significance than the latter. Though *Rerum Novarum* responded to the reality of an industrialized European society, *Aeterni Patris* spoke of (and advocated for) a search for truth unlimited by geography, temporal period, or specific actors. What was sought was 'Divine Truth,' bridging heaven and earth, and accessible through rightly contemplated Christian philosophy. Carr internalized Thomism in the most personal of ways. Even in moments when he was lauding colleagues and friends, such as Mother Estelle Nolan of the Loretto sisters,[20] he used Thomist language.[21] Much as a popular musical of the 1970s proclaimed, "prepare ye the way of the Lord," Carr might be heard proclaiming in the 1930s, "prepare ye the way for the Angelic Doctor and his successors," so fervently did he believe in Maritain as a worthy successor to Aristotle, Aquinas, and Leo XIII.

Henry Carr's discipleship under Jacques Maritain began as a mystical experience. Described in a letter to Sister Mary Margarita, Superior of the Loretto Sisters, Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary, this moment was life-changing for Carr. He was having dinner with two friends in the Christmas season of 1936. One man, Emmanuel Chapman, was an orthodox Jew who had lost his faith while studying at the University of Chicago. Chapman became despondent and pursued artistic endeavours to ameliorate his spiritual crisis. He was led to Jacques Maritain's scholarship on the philosophy of art. These works, of an artistic rather than

[20] Mother Estelle Nolen was the first Dean of Loretto Abbey College, which provided first-year university instruction to talented graduates of Loretto Abbey, the Catholic girls secondary school founded in 1847. Along with St. Joseph's Academy, under the direction of the Sisters of St. Joseph, these two institutions were associated with St. Michael's College. Loretto Abbey College graduated its first class in 1915 from St. Michael's College, which had federated into the University of Toronto on 8 December 1910.

[21] "She was born and formed in the old, and saw the unfolding before her, and in a way that grace alone can explain, as the great truths of Thomistic thought came before her she could humble herself before the Truth, and take it like a little child. It will be Divine Truth that will renew the face of the earth, spreading from the great intellectual centers of the world, in the movement inaugurated by Pope Leo XIII." See Letter from Fr. Henry Carr to Sister Mary Margarita IBVM, Letters June to December 1937, Henry Carr Papers, GABF.

religious nature, regenerated Chapman—and he believed that Maritain would lead him out of the depths of despair. Chapman located Maritain in Paris, moved abroad, and undertook study with him. With dinner over and the hour drawing late, Carr walked the two men down the stairs of his residence to bid them good night. Carr writes:

> As we were going down the steps, I suddenly knew that Maritain was the one man I needed. I had a deep conviction that he would be to me and for me everything that he has since proved himself to be. I can even point out the step that I was standing on at the time so clear is recollection of the moving experience. From that instant the world was different for me, and it has never changed back, and never will change back now. I did not know however that anyone even noticed any change in me.[22]

With a close reading of *Aeterni Patris*, Henry Carr came to see Thomism as "the base upon which the whole structure rests."[23] *Rerum Novarum* and the other social encyclicals were "practical, immediate and pressing," but they were also pragmatic—intended to offer prescriptions bound to time and place. Conversely, *Aeterni Patris* was foundational for the social order and thus had a greater universality to it.[24] Carr acknowledged the many studies that had appeared across the universal Church since the promulgation of this encyclical. He felt dismayed by most of them as having an inadequate understanding of St. Thomas's thought. In Maritain, on the other hand, Carr believed that he had found an authentic interpreter of Aquinas. Maritain was an *illuminati* to Carr—not one the Basilian followed blindly, but a mentor and guide. Maritain's philosophy revealed the modern world as providential and perfectible.[25] For Carr, mastery of Aquinas and his tradition meant something much more than a merely intellectual familiarity with his thought. It required a much fuller immersion in Thomism as a

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[22] Letter from Henry Carr to Sr. Mary Margarita IBVM, 10 September 1937, Henry Carr Papers, GABF. Cited in Edmund McCorkell, *Henry Carr*, 96–97.
[23] Letter from Fr. Henry Carr to Fr. Eugene Cullinane, 21 December 1937, Eugene Cullinane Papers, Madonna House Archives.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Letter from Fr. Henry Carr to Sr. Mary Margarita IBVM, 14 May 1937, Henry Carr Papers, GABF.

tradition. It meant grasping that prior to *Aeterni Patris*, modern minds had failed to understand the essential truths that Aquinas had brought to humanity. Carr recognized that Thomist insights had a wide range of applicability, and scholars, enabled by *Aeterni Patris*, were superbly positioned to apply them in and outside the classroom.[26]

Carr thus stood in a complicated relationship with the Enlightenment. There was a certain idealism in his concept of pre-Enlightenment spirituality. One could even imagine Carr to be an adversary of the spirit of the Second Vatican Council that, three decades later, would at a fundamental level envisage changing the Church's place in the modern world. Rejecting the Enlightenment for Carr, however, was at once reactionary and progressive. Reactionary: as the spirit of Vatican II would demonstrate, Enlightenment values, such as progress and rationality, were midwife to the conditions of modernity. To gaze towards Catholic medievalism was thus not consistent with the turn to engaging modernity. Yet, writing in the 1930s, Carr is ever mindful that both state and society had lost their way. The Great Depression was merely an outward sign of rot, three hundred years in ferment. Dents in the armour of liberalism's economic superstructure reflected a more systemic underlying problem: the Enlightenment, for all of its contributions to western civilization, had also encouraged an individualistic and mechanistic worldview anathema to a well-founded Christian social order.

In Carr's reading of pre-Enlightenment society, influenced by Aquinas's political writings, society was conceptualized as organic and interdependent. The sovereign, as Aquinas understood, was the head of a body comprised of the polity. Competition was subservient to cooperation. While Carr may have been overly nostalgic in his reading of Medieval Europe, it is how he sees the state's priorities that one can read as progressive. The state's function was to foster "good people:" short-hand, one might assume, for civic-minded, morally-aware

[26] Letter from Fr. Henry Carr to Fr. Eugene Cullinane, Henry Carr Paper, GABF, 20 May 1937.

individuals operating in the interest and service of the community. With the Enlightenment, reasoned Carr, came a new rationale for the state—the preservation of private property. While liberalism and capitalism were unabashed in this aim, socialism failed on a different front. It failed to preserve the dignity of the human person at the expense of the state. The moral visage of the far-left was marred by not allowing space for human personality. People, along with property, came to be tools of the state. Thus, socialism failed to meet the values of subsidiarity (a concept popularized through *Quadragesimo Anno*) and was hence as pernicious as liberalism, if for very different reasons. In each instance, the Enlightenment had eroded a community-based ethos. Carr resolved to use the inspiration of Aquinas in his search for fields where these tendencies might be resisted.

Henry Carr and Eugene Cullinane

Within the academy, one such field was sociology. Maritain's influence on Henry Carr was passed down to Eugene Cullinane. Cullinane, an American by birth, entered the Basilian Novitiate, Toronto, in 1932 and was ordained into the priesthood in 1936.[27] Following his ordination, Henry Carr sent him to study for a doctoral degree at the Catholic University of America (his topic, as chapter seven will discuss, was a sociological examination of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation—and in the CCF, Cullinane found a home amenable to his 'Basilian' stream of social Catholicism). Cullinane studied under Catholic sociologist Paul Hanley Furfey (someone Robert Orsi calls a 'great' and 'forgotten' figure of American Catholic history).[28] While Cullinane showed great respect for Furfey, he indicted him for taking

[27] P. Wallace Platt, *Dictionary of Basilian Biography: Lives of the Congregation of Priests of Saint Basil from Its Origins in 1822 to 2002* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 144.
[28] Robert Orsi, "2+2=5: Can we begin to think about unexplained religious experiences in ways that acknowledge their existence?" *American Scholar*, vol. 76, no. 2 (Spring 2007): 34–43.

sociology in a positivist direction.[29] The introduction of the social sciences was an important development within Catholic education, and one with a direct connection to Catholic social action. Cullinane, however, connected the empirical approaches of positivism to a materialist view that underpinned social disorder. The study of society had to be finely tuned to questions of order within the material world as it paralleled order in its spiritual counterpart.[30]

Eugene Cullinane ruminated at length over the meaning of sociology. Henry Carr had sent him to the Catholic University of America in 1936 to study it—and he struggled to understand what the field was about, despite knowing he did not accept approaches used widely within the academy. He accepted Étienne Gilson's point that since there is a Christian philosophy, there must be therefore a Christian sociology: its mission, he concludes, could be summarized as *fides et ratio quaerentes intelligere societatem* [faith and reason seek to understand society].[31] Cullinane identified a double-sided problem: theologians and philosophers fail to engage with sociologists and economists, and the same is true in return. "There is no connection," he writes of this insularity, "evident between revealed truth and the socio-economic order."[32] Thomism, however, could bridge this gap—rescuing Catholic education from its "stupidity" and "confusion"—if theologians and philosophers could only grasp the political and social meaning of the *Summa*, and, if in turn, the social scientists were

[29] Cullinane writes, "[Father Furfey] unfortunately... has not as thorough a Thomistic background as a man in his position should have: he realizes this and is working hard at St. Thomas. He was bred in the positivistic tradition. He tells me it was Dorothy Day who startled him in to the consciousness that he was missing the point entirely." Letter from Fr. Eugene Cullinane to Fr. Henry Carr, Eugene Cullinane Papers, MHA, 29 April 1937.

[30] Within Thomistic sociology, it is the divide between 'matter' and 'form' that captures this complexity. Cullinane writes: "I would have been entirely lacking in knowledge of the 'material' to which this 'form' is to be applied: I would not have known the modern world. To know the modern world you have to be in it—in it so as to be able to feel its pulse, gauge its mentality, know its sentiments, comprehend its culture, follow its trends... Our contacts with the world after all are pretty superficial... we are too busy with our work and the interior economics of our own house to be bothered about what is taking place in the great outside." See Letter from Eugene Cullinane to Henry Carr, Eugene Cullinane Papers, MHA, 3 April 1938.

[31] Letter from Fr. Eugene Cullinane to Fr. Henry Carr, Eugene Cullinane Papers, MHA, 1 May 1937.

[32] Letter from Fr. Eugene Cullinane to Fr. Henry Carr, Eugene Cullinane Papers, MHA, 13 April 1937.

willing to embrace these findings.[33] Notice that in this reading of the challenges confronting Catholicism, Cullinane was not placing a traditional stress on a moral critique of the material injustice suffered under modern life. His emphasis was rather on the underlying irrationalism and misconceptions inherent in it, ones that Catholics equipped with Thomistic principles were in a good position to analyze and overcome.

Unimpressed with the reticence of the Sociology and Economic departments to engage with academics studying this work, Cullinane found salvation in his encounter with Götz Briefs. Briefs became an unparalleled academic mentor to Cullinane—more than Paul Hanley Furfey, his dissertation supervisor. Cullinane praises Briefs in the most exalted of terms: "He follows Gilson, Maritain and other Catholic intellectual leaders closely and reminds me of Maritain. He is a very humble man, and seems to have a spirit very kindred to Maritain's."[34] Briefs, a German national, was exiled for his political views following the rise of Nazism, and took up at short-term post teaching in the School of Social Work at the Catholic University of America at the close of the 1930s (he would go on to a prolific career at Georgetown University). Little did Cullinane realize during this time, but Briefs, along with Oswald von Nell-Breuning, had been part of a small intellectual circle of Thomists charged with the responsibility of ghost writing *Quadragesimo Anno.* Cullinane's direct engagement with Aquinas and Maritain came through Briefs. Following Maritain's lead, Briefs encouraged Cullinane to look on sociology as a normative science—but one eminently adaptable to Thomist precepts.

Cullinane's experiences at the Catholic University of America are naturally contrasted to the role played by Georges-Henri Lévesque and the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Laval, which was central in helping to develop Quebec's social democratic character.

[33] Letter from Fr. Eugene Cullinane to Fr. Henry Carr, Eugene Cullinane Papers, MHA, 29 April 1937.
[34] Ibid.

Lévesque was a Dominican priest who began to examine the social sciences during the 1930s. By the end of the war, Lévesque and other members of the Laval school, including sociologist Fernand Dumont and political scientist Léon Dion, had introduced a programme of study that was quite different from the classical education traditionally taught in Church-sponsored schools. Lévesque introduced both 'normative' courses on the Church's social doctrine and 'positivistic' courses on new scientific methods of the social sciences. This development was significant because it provided secular training for a new generation of French Canadian intellectuals who sought a modern basis for Quebec society during the Quiet Revolution. Lévesque's work was also indicative of a progressive Catholicism that wished to establish a new role for the Church in a modern society, rather than shoring up the conservative Catholic constituency wishing to strengthen its traditional place in Quebec society.[35]

A further parallel to Cullinane is suggested by Lévesque's role as a key figure on questions of political order for the Quebec Church, which, despite existing within the two solitudes, reverberated for Catholicism in the rest of Canada. A key question was one of crafting the Church's response to the early programme of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF). Lévesque wrote the Church's initial scathing critique of the party in 1933,[36] an opinion disseminated through the *École sociale populaire*. Over time he came to appreciate the deep moral and spiritual dimension of the party inculcated by the Social Gospel movement.[37] It was an opinion formulated and shared by Cullinane, albeit on Thomist grounds, during his doctoral

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[35] Michael D. Behiels offers valuable insights into Lévesque's motivations. He writes, "the first generation of true social scientists shared common goals: the development of a methodology for objective research, ideological pluralism, dynamic social action, and the political and social modernization of Quebec society." See Michael D. Behiels, "Father Georges-Henri Lévesque and the Introduction of Social Sciences at Laval, 1938–1955," in Paul Axelrod and John Reid (eds.), *Youth, University, and Canadian Society: Essays in the Social History of Higher Education* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 1989), 327.

[36] For public expressions of this opinion, see Georges-Henri Lévesque, "Socialisme canadien: La CCF," *L'Action National*, vol. 2 (1933): 91–116 and Georges-Henri Lévesque, *La CCF* (Montreal: École sociale populaire, 1933).

[37] Behiels, "Father Georges-Henri Lévesque," 325.

research. Lévesque experienced such a conversion to the aims of the CCF that he was able to convince Cardinal Jean-Marie-Rodrigue Villeneuve, prominent theologian and Archbishop of Quebec City, to give his support to a statement allowing Catholics to vote for the CCF.[38] Cullinane, during his time in Saskatchewan, also worked to advance this position, as did Henry Somerville from Toronto, illustrating how different streams of social Catholicism converged in support for the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation.

Cullinane's convictions, formed as a novice in Toronto (where he was mentored by Henry Carr and encountered Catherine de Hueck), were refined and gained philosophic depth during his period of study in Washington. At their core was the belief that society needed to be re-centred on Christ. It was the primary aim of Catholicism's engagement with modernity. Cullinane recognized the necessity of the clergy to be central to this project, while realizing the inadequacy of clerical work if the laity were *in absentia*. Thus, within the Basilian stream, Catholic Action is absolutely necessary to rescue the spiritual from the material. In a letter to Henry Carr, he writes:

> Catholic Action is to our philosophy of social reform what soul is to the body, what grace is to the soul—the life principle, the vivifying force. I cannot see how our economic action, our social action, or any of our other 'actions' will be effective or productive of worthwhile results (in the face of the appalling conditions in these various fields) unless the Holy Ghost is in the various 'actions.'[39]

Catholic Action was as necessary as the priesthood for the Church.[40] If the organic unity of society was going to be rescued from the ravages of materialism, then co-ordination of intellectual and religious action was necessary. Within the 'Basilian stream' certain relationships hold true: substance precedes matter (i.e., matter as the actuality of substance's potentially);

[38] Ibid.
[39] See Ibid.
[40] Cullinane to Carr, 1 May 1937.

thought is a precondition to action; and the person/community supersedes a mechanical conception of society (i.e., one formed through a social contract). "Our whole mentality and thought processes have to be changed before we will think a Catholic way," writes Cullinane, "...in the effort to live theological truths, make our religion once more a way of life we have to root out all traces of materialism and individualism from the consciousness of men."[41] Presumably, Cullinane is referring to Macpherson's "possessive individual." Rather than seeing the individual as free-standing, he prefers the notion of the human person embedded in a larger organic community (i.e., one inherently united in natural law). The Basilian stream of social Catholicism exhibits great faith in the human person's intellectual and spiritual regeneration as a necessary precondition to reconstructing the social order. This was the core conviction that inspired Basilians (among others) to support social Catholic action.[42]

The Basilian Order's Framework

Flash forward to 1948. The reality of a post-war world settled in upon Cullinane (following his resignation from the CCF for reasons discussed in chapter six). In the 1930s and throughout most the 1940s, the discussions that Cullinane and Carr shared about making accessible the teaching of Aquinas and Maritain took on a new focus. They came to focus on new topics. Two central preoccupations were the message of Our Lady of Fatima[43] (which

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[41] Ibid.

[42] Cullinane writes that a Benedictine classmate, under the authority of Dom Virgil Michel, gave him the same encouragement. Michel and the Benedictines were at the forefront of the Liturgical Movement in the U.S., which was a powerful force in American social Catholicism. It also had influence via the Benedictines in Saskatchewan, and thus figured in Catholic support for the CCF. See Cullinane to Carr, 1 May 1937.

[43] Considering the Catholic faith belief in the miracles at Fatima, Portugal—one which is allowed as a matter of private revelation, but it is not dogmatic—Robert Orsi's work on devotional culture is instructive, particularly in the criteria that he sets forth for studying the practice of faith as "lived religion." Its methodology is radically empiricist, as it takes stock of the range of idiomatic possibilities accepted by a practitioner. Fr. Cullinane's religious worldview allowed for not only the possibility, but likelihood of miracles—and faith in the Blessed Mother who wept for a world ravaged by the atheism of a Communist takeover was well within the limits of what could be perceived, understood, and acted upon. Praying for the 'Conversion of Russia' became commonplace within Cold

warned of the Communist threat) and the arrest and show trial of Cardinal József Mindszenty of Hungary. In these instances, austere devotional language was used to express concern about the threat of Communism to a well-founded Christian social order. It was an unobvious transition, but a logical one: the energy that Cullinane poured into advancing the CCF as a light for the social and political order and Canada was redirected towards its enemies, the Red Menace. In the early years of the Cold War, Cullinane (and Carr) saw the projects of liberal capitalism and communism to be on track for a collision, which would produce a void that Catholic social thought could then occupy. In the wake of this battle, intellectual, cultural, and political space would be created for a social Catholicism, derived from the neo-Thomism of Jacques Maritain.

Henry Carr was concluding his teaching duties at St. Thomas More College in Saskatoon during this period, and, ironically, only a year removed from Eugene Cullinane's dispatch from the school following an appointment to St. Michael's College in Toronto.[44] A decade of conversation and ferment had charted a course for the two Basilians to instantiate a re-imagining of 'Church' and the nature of the social order. Carr and Cullinane faced major challenges in getting their message out. They were aware of how the western mind had been conditioned over four centuries, which posed a structural barrier to any rethinking of Church and society.[45] The Enlightenment had instilled a belief in infallible reason, a heritage shared by both liberalism and

War Catholicism and Our Lady of Fatima was a powerful symbol of this effort. See Robert Orsi, "Everyday Miracles: the Study of Lived Religion" in David Hall (ed.), *Lived Religion in America: Towards a History of Practice* (New York: Princeton University Press, 1997), 7. For an excellent study on miracles, see Jacalyn Duffin, *Medical Miracles: Doctors, Saints, and Healing in the Modern World* (London: Oxford University Press, 2009).

[44] One irony of this project was that during this same period (1947–1953), Bernard Lonergan, the Jesuit intellectual and Thomist scholar, taught only yards away at Regis College in Toronto. Lonergan attempted, too, to distill Aquinas for a modern audience.

[45] Eugene Cullinane writes: "It is a strange paradox that the age which has glorified reason so much should witness in the universities and schools—and everywhere—the abandonment of reason; also that this same age which revolted so violently against the authority of the Church, then of Christ, then of God, and so of Truth, in the name of a false 'liberalism,' should finally supplant reason by an almost universal acceptance of authority—but the fallible teaching authority of woefully ignorant, and even depraved men." See Letter from Fr. Eugene Cullinane to Fr. Henry Carr, Eugene Cullinane Papers, MHA, 7 July 1949.

socialism. A break was necessary. "Deep thought has to seep down slowly," wrote Carr to Cullinane. "It cannot be hurried. Knowledge of Truth is slow growth. It is growing too. It took four hundred years of wrong thinking to bring the world to its present state. It will take a long time to spread truth."[46] To hasten this process, they debated how best to disseminate their vision. They adopted a three-tiered strategy: one aimed at the Basilian order, another at a wider Catholic audience, and lastly one at the population at large.

Much had happened to Cullinane in the intervening decade, a story recounted in the chapter to follow, but this decision to disseminate a Basilian form of social Catholicism came at a moment when he had lost the opportunity to participate in the political sphere after he was forbidden from being a member of the CCF. In one sense, this experience was deflating—one that prompted loss, sorrow, and grief—but in another, it was a precondition, first hinted at by his 'red-baiting,' that renewed and fostered a spirited bout of radicalism. He writes:

> It stands to reason that, if we are going to shock and jolt [people] (which is what we have to do), we have to develop a far more radical and revolutionary method of approach. What is to be? Surely we are not the first ones in the course of Western Civilization to be confronted with this problem... Has Maritain said anything about it? Is there not some clue in his works that might lead us to the method we need?... Have we anything to learn from Karl Marx? He certainly started a lot of people thinking. Can we discern anything which Socrates, St. Thomas, and Marx have in common—I do not mean in doctrine, but in the way they started people thinking!.. In some way or another you have to startle, shock, jolt people—as did Socrates, St. Thomas, Marx, and Our Lord... Some kind of violence, either in the form of death or pruning or friction, has to take place before there can be new life and new growth. This process is discernible in the life of man's social, political, and economic life is full of it, as well as all history. The World Wars and the Depression did more to get men thinking than any book, or books, ever written. Have we nothing to learn from this...[47]

[46] Letter from Fr. Henry Carr to Fr. Eugene Cullinane, Eugene Cullinane Papers, MHA, 27 December 1952.
[47] Letter from Fr. Eugene Cullinane to Fr. Henry Carr, Eugene Cullinane Papers, MHA, 7 July 1949.

Henry Carr, no doubt sympathetic to his younger colleague, was more reserved about what their approach and strategy should be. The social, political, and economic question, so near Cullinane's heart, were equally so for Carr. However, he also framed them in a more immediate and ecclesiological way. He wanted to identity 'What is Church' into one simple doctrine. He responds to Cullinane's zealousness:

> We will start with the Basilians and for the time being lay aside the idea of publishing on a large scale, or at all for the present. Think what it will mean to have all Basilians, from the youngest seminarian up to the men in the Institute... pondering on this problem and discussing it. For a while some of them, at first many of them will not give it much thought. If some take it up (and some will) the interest will spread. It is bound to spread. It will hit them in the face. They cannot answer it. I have tried it out on many priests...We cannot become involved in any controversy. We seek knowledge; we impose no doctrine on anyone. Let us confine ourselves to this one root doctrine.... All Catholic teachers should be able to give their students the meaning of the Church and show how all those outside the Church are, as Belloc puts it, 'in outer darkness.' This may well prove to be the vocation of the Basilians.[48]

Central to this objective was the supersession of a mechanistic, rationalist mode of thinking by an organic, personalist one.[49] In this sense, Carr rejected liberal discourse, which understood the individual preceding society, forming community only as part of an agreement to do so (i.e., according to contractual relationship, according to Locke, that occurred after leaving a state of nature). For Carr, but also for the personalists more generally, community was organic. Human persons were bound to each other, necessitating obligation and responsibility for one another. The Liturgical Movement in the United States and Europe casts this vision as 'the Mystical Body of Christ,' one they connected powerfully to 'being Church.' Within a wider understanding of

[48] Letter from Fr. Henry Carr to Fr. Eugene Cullinane, Eugene Cullinane Papers, MHA, 23 July 1949.

[49] "Again using myself as an example," writes Carr, "the modern mind is so constituted by three centuries or more of modern thought that a complete conversion of one's way of thinking must take place." Letter from Fr. Henry Carr to Fr. Eugene Cullinane, Eugene Cullinane Papers, MHA, 15 August 1949.

personalism, it was this vision of 'Church' that Carr sought. It was one that applied not only to practising Catholics, but to the human family as a whole.[50]

In a Thomist approach to ontological questions, there is a broad integration of metaphysics, epistemology, political and social doctrine. Carr had internalized this worldview, and he left boundaries between questions of social and political order, of the nature of the Church, and of matters of justice, fluid. He stayed steadfast, though, in his conviction that, while these insights were freely given and opened through Maritain's reading of Aquinas, those who shared them were obliged to make them predominant within the Basilian order. Basilian novices, young men 'in formation' for the priesthood, would one day preach from the pulpit, teach from the lectern, and serve from the street. They would transcend the short time Carr and Cullinane (and the small circle of trusted Basilians they brought together) had committed to this vision.[51] One practical step that the two men took was to record the lectures Carr famously gave on the Thomist Tradition in a course offered, first at St. Michael's and then St. Thomas More College, titled "Philosophy 91."[52] The collected lectures would serve as a manual for Cullinane (and others) to share with future Basilians an understanding of the philosophy that Jacques Maritain had been so influential in establishing.

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[50] Carr writes, "I expected that Basilians would first hear about it from outsiders. The procedure itself has everything. It teaches, not how to think, but to think; it forces people to think. It teaches metaphysics because real minds, persons think about real things, not about words. It teaches the method of theology, trains the mind on it, practices the mind in theology. Above all it seeks the highest knowledge, the meaning of Church." See Letter from Fr. Henry Carr to Fr. Eugene Cullinane, Eugene Cullinane Papers, MHA, 25 July 1949.

[51] One Basilian that they held in high esteem was Fr. Tom Vahey, CSB. The *Dictionary of Basilian Biography* remembers him as "a dynamic, at times an overpowering teacher who communicated his enthusiasm for the classics to his students." See P. Wallace Platt, *Dictionary of Basilian Biography*, 663.

[52] Among Carr's students at St. Michael's College was future Liberal cabinet minister, Paul Martin Sr. and Canadian novelist, Morley Callaghan (though it is not certain whether they undertook "Philosophy 91"). See Greg Donaghy, "A Catholic Journey: Paul Martin Sr., Politics, and Faith," CCHA *Historical Studies* vol. 79 (2013): 25–40. On "Philosophy 91" see Henry Carr, *Philosophy 91*, (Saskatoon: St. Thomas More College, 1948), University of St. Michael's College, John M. Kelly Library, Special Collections and Archives, Henry Carr Collection, 1903a.C3 P5.

A second strategy was to try and reach a demographic particularly amenable to Carr and Cullinane's message—social Catholics already engaged in activism. Carr put together articles on key themes, including democracy and the Christian character. These articles were destined for the American magazine, *Integrity*, which ran from 1947 to 1956.[53] It was devoted to radical Catholic social and action. Popular among associates of the Catholic Worker Movement, it drew upon Canadian participants as well, including radical Catholics such as Catherine de Hueck, whom Carr had spiritually directed during her years in Toronto. Cullinane, meanwhile, cheered loudly the mission of *Integrity*, but he also accepted its limitations—the publication itself was parochial, as its social Catholic readership was already accepting of the Church's duty to engage social questions in new and imperative ways. The neo-Thomism that Carr and Cullinane sought to deploy needed to transcend this narrow base. It needed to reach a new audience and draw in people, Catholic and non-Catholic, and get them to adopt the vision they set forth.

A third strategy, then, drawn from commercial enterprises, was to follow the lead of the *Reader's Digest*. The *Reader's Digest*, a popular American periodical, had a sizable circulation—14 million copies per issue, estimated Cullinane. It was read by a cross-section of society and not limited to a narrow class base. Its appeal, reasoned the two Basilians, resided in its ability to distill a message into a short number of pages, in stark contrast to the papal encyclicals mired in the murkiness of opaque language. Many of these encyclicals had drawn inspiration from the philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas, as had the work of Jacques Maritain and in both cases non-Scholastics struggled to make sense of their message and its nuances. Carr and Cullinane were as realistic about the general public's ability to assimilate Aquinas and Maritain, as they were of the "view from the pews" regarding encyclical thought. Cullinane was

[53] For a treatment of personalism and *Integrity*, see James Terence Fisher, *The Catholic Counterculture in America, 1933–1962* (London: the University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 101–130.

unequivocal on this point: "I see the *Reader's Digest* in somewhat the same light as the Roman Empire of old. Just as the Roman Empire served as providentially designed to carry your ideas to the very minds that you want to reach—to the ordinary, everyday peoples—the little people, the humble souls—those probably who alone are disposed to understand what you are saying." Although the *Reader's Digest* vision never materialized, one can see in it a strong emphasis upon finding new ways of communicating the Christian message. If the "medium is the message," then the search for the medium most suited to the dissemination of the message was a crucial one. Carr and Cullinane believed that by gaining influence with a small percentage of the population, Catholic and non-Catholic, social Catholics could create a sufficient base to spread their message more broadly. The strategy itself suggested a desire to move personalism beyond narrowly conceived, parochial structures, and reach a larger 'modern' audience, whose hearts and minds would have to be won. In that way, the Basilian stream would effect change in the wider world.

Conclusions

A crisis is upon us! Civilization is at an end! The end is nigh! Such apocalyptic language may well caricature the view from London's Oxford Street, but it also speaks to the depth of concern that Cullinane and Carr had for the state of Western Civilization. Political and social projects begun in the Enlightenment had degenerated. Economic depression, world war, and nuclear armament were all outward signs of crisis that permeated east and west. Liberalism and socialism, beleaguered children of the Enlightenment, were now atrophying—not only because of their economic doctrines, but also because of the ways they discounted the human person within their interpretative frameworks. Liberalism was not irredeemable, quite the contrary. Jacques Maritain defended liberalism alongside democracy as values systems most

compatible with Christianity.[54] Yet, those who upheld and idealized atomized concepts of the individual as a free-standing entity failed to understand how human personality was embedded within a larger web of community. An extreme form of socialism, such as communism, in turn, deleted the human person completely from its conceptualization of society—one did not exist apart from the state. Human relationships were marginalized as a nuisance within a highly mechanized and complex socio-political machine. The importance of civil society, central to liberalism and Catholic social teaching, was denied. This transgression at once made Communism more egregious in the eyes of social Catholics. Most unnerving, though, was the threat of secularism. Secularism was bridegroom to both systems—state sanctioned under the conditions of communism, and an unintended, if foreseeable, consequence of liberalism.

Henry Carr and Eugene Cullinane were, first and foremost, men of the university, and the measure of a teacher was one's capacity to grapple with Aquinas and Maritain. Apart (or as part) of their priestly vocation and Basilian formation, they shared a concern for the 'social question,' which, for Cullinane, played out directly with involvement in the CCF. 'The Social Question' was indicative of the larger crisis in Western Civilization. For Carr and Cullinane, the crisis of the Depression necessitated a search for alternatives to the existing social and political order that conformed to an acceptable framework of Catholic social thought. *Aeterni Patris* influenced a reëxamination of St. Thomas Aquinas, but this study was also well underway by the time it was promulgated. Decades later, with neo-Thomist thought taking new and interesting forms, Jacques Maritain became the key personalist thinker to inform the Basilian stream of Canadian social Catholicism. Carr and Cullinane found an opening to disseminate Maritain's personalism

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[54] Writing on the influence of Jacques Maritain on Pierre Trudeau, Max and Monique Nemni write, "Maritain had participated in the creation and promotion of the 'personalist' movement... unlike most personalists, Maritain supported liberalism and democracy..." See Max and Monique Nemni, *Young Trudeau: Son of Quebec, Father of Canada, 1919–1944* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 2006), 239.

through the classroom, whilst they attempted to push this effort further. The problem with Aquinas (and Maritain) was that their thought was difficult, if not impenetrable, for most people. Reading Maritain was reserved for the "intellectual elite," to use Cullinane's words, which required a corrective. To make this thought accessible to more people, Carr and Cullinane debated strategy. Among their more successful initiatives was to settle on working through the Basilian order itself: training seminarians, priests, and students in their charge, to think in a personalist way. They shared the fervent belief that the values of personalism would seep down and filter through these men to reach Catholics at large. This strategy also stretched geographic boundaries—a Basilian trained in Toronto could easily end up in Windsor, Saskatoon, Vancouver, Houston or any number of other places—ensuring this form of social Catholicism would transcend the immediate location of its roots.

The Antigonish, Somerville, and Basilian streams of social Catholicism all share in common a commitment to education. In Nova Scotia, this commitment meant adult education and group action; for Somerville, it was intensely pragmatic and delivered through the press and private study; for the Basilians, it entailed a philosophical commitment and was broadcast through the religious order itself. Basilian personalism, which this chapter has explored through Henry Carr and Eugene Cullinane, was one instance of Jacques Maritain's influence on Canadian Catholics.[55] Within English-Canadian Catholicism, the personal relationships that many

[55] It was mainly French Canadian and Québécois Catholics that Maritain touched. Intellectuals, such as Pierre Trudeau and André Laurendeau, read the French personalists widely—their politics were affected by these ideas, as they become important figures that helped renegotiate the place of Catholic Quebec within the Canadian landscape. On Pierre Trudeau, Michel Gauvreau writes, "In Trudeau's view, 'only Christianity offers true freedom to the spirit of man, for himself and for the world. Lived Christianity is a social religion, the only one that gives an answer to all human problems.' In this case, it seems evident that personalism convinced Trudeau of the superiority of the Christian message as a force for human progress because it understood human needs in terms of 'the individual enriched with a social conscience, integrated into the life of the communities around him and the economic context of the time, both of which must in turn give persons the means to exercise their freedom of choice.'" See Michel Gauvreau, *The Catholic Origins of Quebec's Quiet Revolution*, 45. Also on Trudeau, see Max and Monique Nemni,

Basilians forged with Jacques Maritain drew them to his writings. *Entrée* to these ideas, then, led to an imperative shared by Carr, Cullinane, and other Basilians to share them widely. Personalism, they acknowledged, was not a set of easily-acquired and empirically-based principles. On the contrary, it was a way of thinking. It constituted a counter-offensive against the inflated claims of Enlightenment rationality. It sought to re-centre thinking on the human person, viewed holistically as spirit and matter, under the Dominion of God. This turn called for social action.

Young Trudeau, 239–244. For André Laurendeau, see Donald J. Horton, *André Laurendeau: French-Canadian Nationalist, 1912–1968* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1992), 53–61 and Catherine Désy, "Discours hégémonique et contre-discours sur la guerre d'Espagne dans le Québec des années trente," Thèse du Doctorat en Sociologie, Université du Québec à Montréal, 1999, 158–172.

CHAPTER 6

LIBERAL ORDER AND LIVING OTHERWISE IN TORONTO:
THE CATHOLIC WORLD OF THE 1930S

Untangling the complexity of liminal space requires an understanding of how institutional and social Catholicism—unevenly matched, but complementary at times, in contradiction with each other at others—are situated between a liberal order and attempts to 'live otherwise.' This tension is examined through the Catholic world of Toronto in the 1930s. The Vatican, during this period, was hyper-sensitive to the progress made by Communism throughout Eastern Europe. It understood, acutely, that the organic crisis of economic depression had made possible "moments of supersedure," when all things seem possible and the well-being of Catholics and Christians placed in radical question. Conditions could change rapidly, as the Church's experience in the nineteenth century illustrated, but now the stakes had become higher. Whereas the Church had lost territory and formal political power a century earlier, it perceived an assault on the hearts and minds of the faithful in the 1930s. This belief brought the institutional Canadian Church into close dialogue with the liberal state. In turn, social Catholics, under the influence of the different streams of social Catholicism that had developed in Nova Scotia and Ontario, responded to the abject conditions of the Depression. In this case, they often responded to liberalism critically, yet remained wary of alternatives on the left. They tried their own experiments in 'living otherwise.' Sometimes these meant confronting their Communist competitors, as is suggested by the record of anti-Communist practices followed in the Archdiocese of Toronto. And sometimes these entailed establishing new institutions, as in Catherine de Hueck's Friendship House, the publication *Social Forum*, and back-to-the-land ventures. All were shaped by an overarching sense that the Depression demanded that Catholics

speak in new ways to a crisis-ridden social and political order. Within Toronto Catholicism the place of limina, the cracks and crevices between different ways of organizing and seeing the world, comes into sharp focus.

Anti-Communism in the Archdiocese of Toronto

State repression of the left was a hallmark of liberal order in the 1930s and 1940s, as it sought to maintain hegemony when confronted with serious challenges from alternate formations.[1] Studies of this practice need to extend beyond the state. Just as historian Mark Kristmanson has demonstrated through his examination of the close connection between the modern security state and Canadian cultural institutions such as the National Film Board, there is much to be learned about the world outside the state's boundaries.[2] Organized religion is an important site to understand how anti-Communism was constructed within the sphere of civil society. Three claims about this process are posited here: firstly, the institutional Church in Toronto saw Canadian Communism through the experience of the international Church; secondly, this lens enabled a close relationship between the Archdiocese and municipal and provincial authorities to oppose the radical left in Toronto; and finally, the Church employed a number of strategies, not available to the state, to subvert the growth of Communism in this

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[1] Literature on this topic has been led by contributions from Gregory S. Kealey and Reginald Whitaker. See, for example, Gregory S. Kealey, "State Repression of Labour and the Left in Canada, 1914–1920: the Impact of the First World War," *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 73, no. 3 (September 1992): 281–314; Gregory S. Kealey, "The RCMP, the Special Branch, and the Early Days of the Communist Party of Canada: a Documentary Article," *Labour/Le Travail*, vol. 30, no. 2 (Fall 1992): 169–204; Gregory S. Kealey, "Spymasters, Spies, and Subjects: the RCMP and Canadian State Repression, 1914–1939," in Gary Kinsman et al. (eds.), *Whose National Security? Canadian State Surveillance and the Creation of Enemies* (Toronto: Between the Lines Press, 2000), 18–33; Reginald Whitaker, "Origins of the Canadian Government's Internal Security System, 1946–1952," *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 65, no. 2 (June 1984): 154–183; Reginald Whitaker, "Official Repression of Communism during World War II," *Labour/Le Travail*, vol. 17, no. 1 (Spring 1986): 135–166; and Reg Whitaker and Gary Marcuse, *Cold War Canada: The Making of the National Insecurity State, 1945–1957* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995).

[2] Mark Kristmanson, *Plateaus of Freedom: Nationality, Culture, and State Security in Canada, 1940–1960* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2003).

locality. State surveillance of the left was not anomalous within the history of liberal order, but instead a routine function of it. A closer look at the institutional Church in Toronto adds modestly to an understanding of how civil society also played a key role in this process.

During the Depression and Second World War period, the hierarchy of the Archdiocese of Toronto was a progressive force in the English-Canadian Church on many issues relevant to the working class. Archbishop Neil McNeil was acutely concerned about 'the social question' during his tenure from 1912 to 1934 and, as we have seen, imported Henry Somerville to educate the laity on Catholic social thought. His successor, James McGuigan, serving from 1934 to 1971, did not have the same insights into social Catholicism as those of McNeil. He inherited a See with important institutional structures already in place.[3] Both Archbishops had respectable records of labour advocacy: as Archbishop of Vancouver, McNeil had urged his clergy to help parishioners organize and become union leaders in light of the rampant exploitation of the working class, while Archbishop McGuigan in 1939 helped employees of the Archdiocese organize through unions associated with the Labour Temple. During their tenures, at a time of rapid growth in the city's Catholic population, the Archdiocese of Toronto was transformed into the most prominent Canadian See outside the province of Quebec. It led the Church on a number of important issues including ones of economic and social justice.[4]

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[3] See Jeanne R. Beck, "Contrasting Approaches to Catholic Social Action during the Depression: Henry Somerville the Educator and Catherine de Hueck the Activist," in Mark McGowan and Brian P. Clarke, *Catholics at the "Gathering Place:" Historical Essays on the Archdiocese of Toronto, 1841–1991* (Toronto: Canadian Catholic Historical Association, 1991), 214; John S. Moir (ed.), *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), 180–181.

[4] On the progressive nature of the institutional Church in Toronto see for example: Brian F. Hogan, "Ivory Tower and Intellectual Roots: the Intellectual Life and Social Action in the Congregation of St. Basil, Archdiocese of Toronto, 1930–1960," in Mark McGowan and Brian P. Clarke, *Catholics at the "Gathering Place,"* 255–274.

As representatives of the institutional Church both archbishops held firm anti-Communist convictions. They perceived Communism as a pressing threat. After returning from a trip to Rome, Archbishop McGuigan confided to the Archbishop of Edmonton: "The Holy See is terribly afraid of Communism, the centre of which, in Canada, is Toronto."[5] Pope Pius XI, nearing the end of his Pontificate, grew pessimistic about the wellbeing of the Church in light of the expansion of Communist activity, as suggested in his 1937 encyclical, *Divini Redemptoris* [On Atheistic Communism]. This position caused McGuigan to speculate that Canadian Catholics, like their co-religionists in Spain, might experience "real persecution."[6] Communism was also contrasted with corporatism, Pius XI preferred economic system. It was advanced as a way to alleviate competition and class conflict. Industrial and vocational societies were organized within the state as forms of functional representation—and ones adopted by some fascist regimes. Although there is evidence of fascist activity within Italian national parishes in the Archdiocese, there is little support for claims that either Archbishop supported it.[7] Given the understanding between the Vatican and certain governments in fascist Europe, it was the threat posed by the revolutionary left, not by the right, which gained attention in Toronto.

The Vatican saw the Communist threat in Canada, as it did in other western liberal democracies, through the prism of the Church's experience in Russia, Mexico, and Spain. Through the Apostolic Delegate to Canada, Andrea Cassulo, Canadian Bishops were kept informed on how the Church was faring in countries under Communist leadership: the closing of Churches, the persecution of priests, and the hounding of lay Catholics choosing to worship were all factors communicated by the international Church as reasons for paying attention to

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[5] Letter from Archbishop James McGuigan to Archbishop Henry J. O'Leary, Archdiocese of Edmonton, 1 June 1937, Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto [hereafter ARCAT], MG FA03.29a.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Luigi G. Pennacchio, "The Torrid Trinity: Toronto's Fascists, Italian Priests and Archbishops During the Fascist Era, 1929–1940," in Mark McGowan and Brian P. Clarke, *Catholics at the "Gathering Place,"* 234–255.

Communist activity and "preventing it from firmly taking root and spreading on Canadian soil."[8] At the request of the international Church, Canadian bishops were asked about how extensive Communist penetration had been in their dioceses. They were instructed to supply information on the organization of political activities, information on Communist propaganda, the pervasiveness of radical left activity in universities, the sympathies of the local and national press, the risks of overthrowing the government by force, and, perhaps most importantly, the avenues through which government and Church could work together to subvert possible threats.[9] They feared, with some reason, that many Canadians were listening to, and some had been converted by, Communists. And so they sought to build mutually supportive relations with authorities who shared their deep concern.

This relationship was particularly fruitful in Canada, moreover, because of the commensurability between the Vatican's intellectual response to the Depression and the programme of liberal order. The 'rights-language' of *Quadragesimo Anno*, for instance, converged nicely with liberalism's commitment to private property. Both state and Church shared a mutual interest in opposing a radical left advocating class struggle and the abolition of private property.[10] Catholics thus shared with liberals the conviction that the radical left, with its talk of extinguishing private property, had to be opposed. Yet many did not share with liberals a philosophy that exalted the free-standing individual's right to acquire more and more property at the expense of fellow human beings. If socialists and Leo XIII were alike calling for a politics of democracy that did not violate the rights of the person nor encourage yet more class conflict—a politics that was in a Catholic sense just in its aims—then the left might be accommodated. (In

[8] Letter from Andrea Cassulo, Apostolic Delegate to Canada, to the Ordinaries of Canada, 12 April 1936, ARCAT, MG DS38.14.
[9] Letter from Andrea Cassulo, Apostolic Delegate to Canada, to Archbishop James C. McGuigan, Archdiocese of Regina, 11 May 1932, ARCAT, MN DS34.06a.
[10] Pope Pius XI, *Quadragesimo Anno*, 1931, article 113.

veiled language, the Pope was evidently referring to social democracy and Christian democratic movements.) However this position was tempered further with the warning: "Whether considered as a doctrine or an historical fact… Socialism, if it remains truly Socialism, even after it has yielded to truth and justice on the points which we have mentioned, cannot be reconciled with the teachings of the Catholic Church because its concept of society itself is utterly foreign to Christian truth."[11] This was a strong directive. It prompted the English-Canadian hierarchy, which did not have the concrete political means to enforce it, to support aspects of the programme of the state. On the question of atheistic, property-threatening Communism the interests of the English-Canadian Church became closely aligned with those of the liberal project.

The liberal state brought the full weight of its coercive powers against subversive activity in the 1930s, as the 1931 trial of eight Communists in Toronto illustrates.[12] Under Section 98 of the *Criminal Code*, the state was able to restrict freedoms of association and the press, in the case of advocates of a change of government or economic system by force or violence, with injury to individuals or private property.[13] In this climate, Archbishop McNeil requested information on Communist activities in Toronto from Chief Constable Denis C. Draper. Draper replied to the Archbishop almost immediately. He included several reports from the 'Toronto Red Squad,' a branch of the municipal police charged with surveillance of Communists, detailing the lead-up to

[11] Ibid, article 117.
[12] For treatments of the trial, see Frank R. Scott, "The Trial of the Toronto Communists," *Queen's Quarterly*, vol. 39 (1932): 512–527; Michelle Skebo, "Liberty and Authority: Civil Liberties in Toronto, 1929–1935," M.A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1968; Geoffrey John Sharpe, "Arrest, Trial, and Imprisonment of the Leadership of the Communist Party of Canada, 1931–1932," M.A. thesis, Carleton University, 1976; Lita-Rose Betcherman, *The Little Band: the Clashes between the Communists and the Legal and Political Establishment in Canada, 1928–1932* (Ottawa: Deneau, 1982).
[13] Frank R. Scott, "The Trial of the Toronto Communists," 514.

the arrests of the eight Communists.[14] Red Squad surveillance had been ongoing since 1928, but decisive factors to intervene in 1931 included increased voter support for Tim Buck, the National Secretary of the Communist Party, in the municipal election, greater distribution of Communist publications including *The Worker*, and the success of an 'Unemployment Association,' a suspected organ of the Communist Party of Canada (CPC), organizing jobless workers during the spring and summer of 1931.[15]

Based on warnings from the Red Squad reports, the Church authorities concluded that youth and non-English speaking immigrants were particularly susceptible to the allure of the radical left. The Archbishop's attention was drawn by Draper to the particular inroads Communists had made among youth: "With the training that is being given the children of tender years, to oppose Law and Order, defiance of police orders, and no check can be made on these teachings, the result can only be one thing, revolution."[16] A priest from St. Mary's Parish in Welland, Ontario (the city, along with the entire Niagara region was, at this time, part of the Archdiocese of Toronto) offered local evidence of the Communist challenge:

> …a very cosmopolitan congregation, about thirteen different nationalities are represented. The chief ones outside the English-speaking are Italian and Croatian. The Italians are divided socially into the North and the South; there is no Communism or anti-Catholicism amongst them. The older generation is very poorly informed in religious matters, their religion is traditional. The Croatians divide themselves into the 'Good Catholics,' the 'Bad Catholics,' and the 'Communists.'[17]

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[14] "Re: Communist Activities in Toronto. Request Rt. Rev. N. McNeil, Archbishop of Toronto," letter from Brig. Gen. D.C Draper to Archbishop Neil McNeil, 30 May 1932, ARCAT, MN AS01.08.

[15] John Manley, "'Audacity, audacity, still more audacity:' Tim Buck, the Party, and the People, 1932–1939," *Labour/Le Travail*, vol. 49 (Spring 2002): 10.

[16] "Re: Communist Activities in Toronto. Request Rt. Rev. N. McNeil, Archbishop of Toronto," letter from Brig. Gen. D.C Draper to Archbishop Neil McNeil, 30 May 1932, ARCAT, MN AS01.08.

[17] Letter from pastor Fr. Bernard Wayle, St. Mary's Parish, Welland, to Archbishop Neil McNeil, c.1932, ARCAT, SCAJO8.35.

The letter goes on to describe a number of parish activities—including Boy Scouts, Cubs, and the Little Flower Club—through which immigrants, particularly children, could learn Canadian and Catholic values, through a variety of activities including plays based on "sacred subjects."[18] As the institutional Church deployed its strategy to resist the apparent Communist threat, a number of important binaries appeared. For the Croatian community, being Catholic, whether one was observant or non-observant, was the opposite of being a Communist. As parishioners learned and lived their faith, a simultaneous process of 'Canadianization' occurred, which included respect for the authority of the state and identification with the Canadian myth-symbol complex. These strategies were external to the state, but there were points of intersection particularly through separate schools. Although separate school education was primarily seen as means to counter Protestant proselytizing, it also prepared children for citizenship duties.[19]

An historical survey of Catholic-Protestant relations in Toronto suggests that Communism, in many respects, replaced Protestantism during the 1930s as 'other' to the institutional Church. After the Catholic experience in Toronto had been marked by great sectarianism suggested in the city's reputation as the 'Belfast of the North' during the nineteenth century,[20] Catholics and Protestants became less preoccupied with confronting one another as they grappled individually with the forces of modernity—immigration, urbanization, and industrialization—at the turn of the twentieth century. World War I fostered inter-faith cooperation and weakened denominational boundaries, as English-Canadian Catholics and

[18] Ibid.

[19] Mark McGowan, "Toronto's English-Speaking Catholics, Immigration, and the Making of a Canadian Catholic Identity, 1900–1930," 216. For the use of deportation as a way of defining Canadianism and disciplining left Croatian Canadians, see Denis Molinaro, "'A Species of Treason?': Deportation and Nation-Building in the Case of Tomo Čačić," *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 91, no. 1 (March 2010): 61-85.

[20] For a discussion of Catholic-Protestant relations in late nineteenth-century Ontario see John Webster Grant, *A Profusion of Spires: Religion in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), chapter 13. For a challenge to the characterization of Toronto as "the Belfast of the North," see Mark McGowan, *The Waning of the Green*.

Protestants shared an interest in a common objective.[21] There was still trepidation about Protestantism during the inter-war period. Some Catholics even pointed to its supposed close connection to Communism, and sometimes this tension was perpetuated by Catholic clergy. For example, a stirring editorial written by John Burke, CSP in London's *Catholic Record* argued that the United Church of Canada's Toronto Conference had recommended to the Bennett government that the nation's resources ought to be mobilized after the Russian model.[22] Anti-Communism campaigns, however, more often served to assuage denominational tensions and allowed Catholics and Protestants to combine in a grand political project. To a great extent, Communism displaced Protestantism as the chief antagonist of and perceived threat to the Roman Catholic Church during the Depression.

The institutional Church had at its disposal a range of options—many of them inaccessible to the state—to subvert Communism. Reporting to the Vatican, Archbishop McGuigan reported the "remedies being employed against Communism," including use of the Catholic press, public admonishments from the pulpit, organizational activities of the Holy Name Society, the formation of Catholic study clubs, warnings in radio broadcasts,[23] general ecclesiastical support for 'social Catholic' initiatives, and requesting prayers of children and religious communities.[24] Archbishop McGuigan felt the Spanish Civil War, a sharply polarizing

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[21] John S. Moir, "Toronto's Protestants and their Perceptions of their Roman Catholic Neighbours," in Mark McGowan and Brian P. Clarke, *Catholics at the "Gathering Place*,*"* 321–322.
[22] For a treatment of this editorial, see Brian F. Hogan, "Salted with Fire," 49.
[23] A famous instance of Catholic anti-Communism on radio comes from Fr. Charles Coughlin CSB. A Canadian by birth, Coughlin was taught by Henry Carr and ordained a Basilian priest by Archbishop Neil McNeil in 1916. He had a wide listenership in the US—particularly in Catholic strongholds such as Detroit and Chicago—and his anti-left radio messages gained great prominence throughout North America. In his programme, little credence was given to an approach to socialism that did not conflate it with communism. For a critical treatment of Catholic radio initiatives in the United States, see Donald Warren, *Radio Priest: Charles Coughlin, the Father of Hate Radio* (New York: the Free Press, 1996).
[24] Letter from Archbishop McGuigan to Andrea Cassulo, Apostolic Delegate to Canada, 13 July 1936, ARCAT, MG DS38.29a.

event from the mid- to late-1930s, had been precipitated in part because the Spanish clergy had not addressed the grievous socio-economic problems of the working class. It was a surprisingly nuanced and sophisticated response amidst a time of great moral panic in the Catholic world. McGuigan did deploy the Holy Name Society, a devotional confraternity founded in 1274 by the Dominican Order, to help promote Church teachings. Under the influence of the Antigonish stream, the Holy Name Society undertook educational initiatives to reconstruct the social order based on accepted practices like those of the cooperative movement.[25] It was also evidence of social Catholicism's ideas and energy being appropriated by conservative forces within the Church to function as a counter-offensive against the radical left. Massive study sessions, for example, were held at the Royal York Hotel on 23 June 1939. At a banquet on the Saturday evening, a representative of the Ontario government praised the Society for its work. Though the Holy Name Society fell within the sphere of civil society, it was not beyond liberalism's perennial gaze and in this case operated in the interest of the state.[26]

On occasion, the Church hoodwinked the regulations of the very state it had sworn to protect. Often these measures came in reaction to Communist advances. A good example was evident in Fr. Charles Lanphier's reaction to Tim Buck's attempt to make inroads into the Catholic community as he prepared to contest the municipal election in 1939. Buck drew parallels between the prescriptions of *Quadragesimo Anno* and the aims of the Communist Party of Canada by suggesting that the CPC did not advocate exclusively a materialist conception of society and that both the Church and the party aimed to unionize workers.[27] Indeed, as Buck told

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[25] Fr. Joseph H. O'Neill, "Archbishop McGuigan of Toronto and the Holy Name Society: its Role as a Force Against Canadian Communism," CCHA *Historical Studies*, vol. 55 (1988): 61-77.
[26] Ibid, 71.
[27] Tim Buck, *A Democratic Front for Canada*. Reports, speeches, resolutions of the Dominion Executive Committee, Communist Party of Canada, 3–6 June 1938. Published in Tim Buck, *Our Fight for Canada: Selected Writings 1923–1959* (Toronto: Progress Books, 1959), 64–70.

the CPC's Dominion Executive Committee, the Pope had come to recognize class struggle in *Divini Redemptoris*. Catholics and Communists, suggested Buck, had "common aims in a common struggle."[28] On 1 January 1939, Father Lanphier used his weekly radio broadcast on the publicly owned Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) to denounce this analysis. He plainly contravened regulations not allowing political broadcasts in the last twenty four hours of campaigns. If Buck won, Lanphier warned, it would mark a step towards "Christians [being] butchered by the millions." One risked repeating in Toronto the "pitiable, miserable, heart-rending spectacles that Russia and Spain have offered to a horrified world."[29] When Lanphier was given a light reprimand for his political activity, McGuigan issued an apology, which also served to denounce Communism. The statement suggested that civic and church leaders needed to co-operate to alleviate the dire social conditions caused by unemployment. A Christian social order, his statement concluded, must be gradually evolved and based, not only on charity, but on justice.[30] Heavy-handed denunciations like the New Year's Day radio broadcast clearly aimed to shore up liberal hegemony.[31]

By the onset of World War II, correspondence between Archbishop McGuigan and Colonel George Drew, Leader of the Opposition for the Province of Ontario, reveal how intertwined the Church and state had become in opposing Communism. Drew vehemently opposed Communism, and he was very receptive to efforts designed to disorganize subversive

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[28] Ibid, 69.

[29] "Priest Claims City Reds' Powerhouse," *Toronto Daily Star*, 3 January 1939. Cited in John Manley, "'Audacity, audacity, still more audacity,'" 19.

[30] Statement by Archbishop James C. McGuigan on Rev. Fr. Charles B. Lanphier contravening CBC regulations in broadcast, January 1939, ARCAT, MG SU03.31.

[31] In a letter to a parishioner in the Archdiocese, Archbishop McGuigan wrote: "What we really want is the preservation of British Democracy. Unfortunately, Communists see in every anti-Communist, a Fascist. On the other hand, Fascists say they are the saviours of the country against Communism. We need quick action in the matter of alleviating poverty, distress, and discontent. With a happy and contented people, all the 'isms' would disappear from our Canadian horizon." See Letter from Archbishop James C. McGuigan to Ernest Wilkinson, 27 January 1939, ARCAT, MGPO03.05b.

activity. Drew sent his speeches opposing Communism to Archbishop McGuigan, and the tone of their letters suggested that the two of them had forged a close professional relationship.[32] Archbishop McGuigan wrote: "I agree with your position on every point," and congratulated Drew on how "profoundly and… completely" he had diagnosed "the philosophies and ideologies behind the name of 'Communism,' 'Fascism,' and 'Nazism.'"[33] A dramatic indication of how far the project of the liberal state and the programme of the Church had coalesced could be found in the Archbishop's conclusion: "Hence, the defence of democracy, religion, and international faith is the same defence."[34] Though the Canadian Church had received its mandate from the Vatican, thanks to the Confederation agreement, it had also inherited a sense of obligation to the Canadian liberal project. Towards this end, the Church was able to employ strategies to oppose Communism that were unavailable to the state. It did so vigorously.

Catherine de Hueck, Friendship House, and the *Social Forum*

During the 1930s, the Antigonish, Somerville, and Basilian streams of social Catholicism came to influence Catholic social action in Toronto. Catherine de Hueck, an *émigré* from Russia, along with a group of lay Catholics, attempted to 'live otherwise' in the nation's largest English-speaking city.[35] They did so by adopting Assisi-like poverty. They chose to live in a state of uncertainty, not security. Catherine de Hueck founded Friendship House (1931–1937)—a settlement house for recently-arrived immigrants in material and spiritual need. Catherine de Hueck opened Friendship House with the approval of Neil McNeil, with whom she maintained a

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[32] Speech by Hon. George A. Drew, Leader of the Opposition for the Province of Ontario, sent to Archbishop James C. McGuigan, given on 6 July 1939, ARCAT, SW GC01.11b.
[33] Letter from Archbishop James C. McGuigan to Col. George A. Drew, Leader of the Opposition for the Province of Ontario, 2 September 1939, ARCAT, SW GC01.11d.
[34] Ibid.
[35] For secondary literature on Catherine de Hueck see Elizabeth Sharum, "A Strange Fire Burning: A History of the Friendship House Movement," Doctoral diss., Texas Technical University, 1977; Brian F. Hogan, "Salted with Fire," 88–131; Jeanne R. Beck, "Contrasting Approaches to Social Action: Henry Somerville, the Educator, and Catherine de Hueck, the Activist."

close relationship, and came under the spiritual direction of Henry Carr. Having witnessed the Russian Revolution, she was a vehement anti-Communist, although for radically different reasons than the ones put forward by prelates of the Church. Certainly she had fled the harsh conditions of the Revolution. Yet the more fundamental consideration was the incompatibility of her spirituality with Marx's materialism. Influenced by the Basilian stream, she attempted to live according to her understanding of a Christian social order, and responded to the poverty of the Depression by drawing others into this vision, particularly the destitute and newly arriving immigrants. De Hueck and the Friendship House movement reveal how anti-Communism was embedded in an alternative social vision for the social order—one that operated outside the domain of the state. This form of anti-Communism was rooted in a critique of prevailing capitalist relations and accompanied by such left objectives as promoting the cooperative movement and supporting the unionization of workers. Unlike the institutional Church, such social Catholics as de Hueck competed directly with Communists to subvert their authority. They were no less convinced than the Communists of the need to live otherwise. Consequently they saw them as their bitterest rivals.

Catherine de Hueck had emigrated from Russia following the Revolution. After spending time in other parts of Europe, she came to Canada in 1920. On 15 October 1931, she took up a mission, based on a spirituality inculcated by Franciscan devotion, to work among the poor in Toronto's inner city. Though the institutional Church saw her work as a means to counter potential Communist threats—in part because of her language skills and contacts with the immigrant community—de Hueck "made no pretension of studying Communism in its political aspects; her focus was entirely upon its moral and atheistic dimensions."[36] The appeal of Communism, she believed, was rooted in the excesses of capitalism. Catherine de Hueck's

[36] Elizabeth Sharum, "A Strange Fire Burning," 41–47. Cited in Brian F. Hogan, "Salted with Fire," 93.

anti-Communism emanated from this position even when it brought her social Catholicism into direct conflict with the institutional Church. One instance came when she challenged a wealthy Church benefactor. Senator Frank O'Connor owned the chain of Laura Secord candy stores, which hired female workers at the apprentice wage of $9.00, but fired them before they could earn the regular rate of $12.00. In response, de Hueck picketed the company and prayed the Rosary loudly in opposition. For her actions she was called before the Archbishop and prevailed upon to cease this activity. O'Connor had given many dollars to the Archdiocese. In 1922 he had donated funds to buy property at the intersection of Hoskins and St. George streets, where St. Thomas Aquinas parish now stands, serving the Newman House Community on the University of Toronto campus. In this instance, the Church's interest in private property became concrete. It trumped the arguments made by Catherine de Hueck against the benefactor's labour practices, even if she did back up her case with *Quadragesimo Anno*.[37]

Catherine de Hueck's spirituality came to be grounded in personalism through Henry Carr's Thomism, but also by way of a friendship formed with Dorothy Day. Such radical personalism was often accompanied by paradox. It often combined an activist social outlook with conservative Catholic religiosity, causing its politics to pose intriguing challenges both to the state and the Church.[38] Catholic social thought, posited in the encyclicals of Pope Pius XI, prescribed state intervention in times of crisis. It included the responsibility to take care of the poor and homeless during the crisis of the Depression. The personalist position modified this duty: all Christians and people of goodwill ought to use all of their own resources to help others before placing this charge upon the state. Personalists thus issued a direct challenge to now orthodox principles of 'less eligibility,' according to which relief should be provided to the poor

[37] Catherine de Hueck Doherty, *Fragments of my Life* (Notre Dame, Indiana: Ave Maria Press, 1979), 110.
[38] Mel Piehl, *Breaking Bread: The Catholic Worker and the Origin of Catholic Radicalism in America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982), ix.

and unemployed only on the condition that it be made so economically and socially unattractive that it would not draw people away from even the most poorly-paid employment.[39] Liberals used less eligibility as a way of distinguishing between the 'deserving' and the 'undeserving' poor. On a personalist understanding, all Christians of goodwill had a moral obligation to help their fellow human beings with the resources at their disposal. Yet the personalists also issued an equally direct challenge to the emerging welfare state, with its seemingly different universalistic programs. It was typical of those administering such programs to refer to the poor as 'clients' or 'cases.'[40] Yet the cornerstone of radical personalist politics, conversely, was 'Christian love:' taking responsibility for one's self, loving one's neighbour through service to others, and transforming society through love. Radical personalists like Catherine de Hueck maintained a commitment to socially useful labour, rejected state and religious coercion, and practiced voluntary poverty as part of their dedication to the lived experience of the Gospels.[41] It would be difficult to overstate how diametrically opposed the personalists were to the impersonal logics of both liberal less eligibility and socialist and materialist welfarism. Jacques Maritain wrote in *Person and the Common Good*: "Love is not concerned with qualities. They are not the object of our love. We love the deepest, most substantial and hidden, the most *existing* reality of the beloved being... This is a center inexhaustible, so to speak, of existence, bounty and action; capable of giving and of *giving itself*, capable of receiving not only this or that gift bestowed by another, but even another self as gift, and other self which bestows itself."[42]

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[39] For the classic exposition of this pattern in Canada, see James Struthers, *Unemployment and the Canadian Welfare State 1914-1941* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983).
[40] William D. Miller, *Dorothy Day: A Biography* (San Francisco: Harper & Row Publishers, 1982), 281—283.
[41] Mel Piehl, *Breaking Bread*, 97.
[42] Jacques Maritain, *Person and the Common Good*, 39. Cited in Thomas D. Williams, "What is Thomistic Personalism?" 196, ft. 127.

Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker movement in New York City offered profound instances of radical personalism. Here was offered a model that inspired de Hueck.[43] When Dorothy Day was asked about her 'caseload,' and how long people were allowed to stay at a settlement house that she founded, she replied:

> Since there are no jobs, we let them stay forever. They live with us; they die with us; and we give them a Christian burial. We pray for them after they are dead. Once they are taken in, they become members of the family. They are our brothers and sisters in Christ.[44]

This response exemplified the faith-based, grassroots movement committed to pacifism and social justice sometimes described as 'decentralized Catholic anarchism.'[45] Expounded in the pages of the *Catholic Worker*, a newspaper founded in 1933 by Dorothy Day and French scholar Peter Maurin, it also incorporated a well-established critique of capitalist social relations. As an early supporter of the Committee of Industrial Organization (CIO) formed within the American Federation of Labour (AFL), Day saw industrial unionism as a vehicle with great potential to

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[43] The literature devoted to these topics is voluminous and includes a four hundred-page bibliographic index. See Anne Klejment, *Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker: A Bibliography and Index* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1986). For biographies of Dorothy Day see: Robert Coles, *Dorothy Day: A Radical Devotion* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co. 1987); Eileen Egan, *Dorothy Day and the Permanent Revolution* (Erie, PA: Benet Press, 1983); Jim Forest, *Love Is the Measure: A Biography of Dorothy Day* (New York: Paulist Press, 1986); William D. Miller, *A Harsh and Dreadful Love: Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker Movement* (New York: Liveright, 1973); Jim O'Grady, *Dorothy Day: With Love for the Poor* (New York, Ward Hill Press, 1993); Nancy Roberts, *Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984). For a sample of studies on the Catholic Worker Movement, see Michelle Theresa Aronica, *Beyond Charismatic Leadership: The New York Catholic Worker Movement* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1987); Robert Coles, *A Spectacle Unto the World: The Catholic Worker Movement* (New York: Viking Press, 1973); Thomas C. Cornell and Jim Forest, *A Penny a Copy: Readings from the Catholic Worker* (New York: Macmillan, 1968); Patrick G. Coy (ed.), *A Revolution of the Heart: Essays on the Catholic Worker* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988); Marc Ellis, *A Year at the Catholic Worker* (New York: Paulist Press, 1978); Anne Klejment and Nancy L. Roberts (eds.), *American Catholic Pacifism: The Influence of Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker Movement* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1996); William D. Miller, *Dorothy Day*; Harry Murray, *Do Not Neglect Hospitality: The Catholic Worker Movement and the Homeless* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990); Mel Piehl, *Breaking Bread*; Francis J. Sicius, *The Word Made Flesh: The Chicago Catholic Worker and the Emergence of Lay Activism in the Church* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1990).

[44] Quoted in William D. Miller, *Dorothy Day*, 283.

[45] Mel Piehl, *Breaking Bread*, x.

transform the American economy. The Catholic Worker movement spawned the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists (ACTU), which aimed to help democratize and spread religious values within organized labour throughout the United States.[46]

In September 1934, Friendship House became operational. Located at 122 Portland Street, between Adelaide and Richmond, west of Bathurst Street, it opened at a time when settlement houses, such as the famous Hull House in Chicago, were a popular initiative. Archbishop McNeil had introduced Catherine de Hueck to Dorothy Day, and thus the new movement took on many of the functions found in the Catholic Worker movement. As a settlement house, Friendship House aimed to provide social services including language classes for immigrants, classes in dressmaking, kindergarten for young children, distribution of food and clothing, the operation of an employment agency, and dissemination of the *Catholic Worker*. The settlement house was endorsed by local and international figures, and it maintained a strong sense of personalism particularly since it found support from Jacques Maritain during his tenure at the Institute of Medieval Studies in Toronto.[47] CCF literature was provided by the party, though not necessarily at de Hueck's request, and placed in Friendship House. Catherine de Hueck felt the institutional Church, by condemning socialism, was "upholding the terrible present state of society."[48] In her view, such a Church position was as much in contradiction with the encyclicals as the revolutionary positions taken up by the Communists. She was trying to find a liminal space, a '*via media*,' between unheeding Catholic anti-socialism and un-Christian communism.[49]

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[46] Ibid, 124–125.
[47] Catherine de Hueck Doherty, *Fragments of my Life*, 109.
[48] Letter from Catherine de Hueck to Archbishop Neil McNeil, September 1934, ARCAT, MN AP02.36.
[49] Ibid.

In contrast to other evaluations in the historiography, one can also situate within this radical vision the anti-Communist activity of social Catholics exemplified by Catherine de Hueck.[50] Reports sent to the Archbishop were extensive and included details of where subversive activity was taking place, how it was organized, and what strategies Catholics should adopt to oppose it.[51] Understandably this activity suggests parallels between this Catholic anti-Catholicism and the longstanding activities of the Canadian security state, with its elaborate apparatus of spies and repressive laws. Yet it is important to remember that de Hueck and the personalists saw themselves not as right-wing enemies of the Communists but as people offering a more authentic path to social justice. She thought the Communists, in their preoccupation with the industrial sphere, had left an opening for their personalist competitors in the cultural fields they neglected, such as education.[52] Unlike the institutional Church, which sought to stop Communism before its values were inculcated, social Catholics tried to make an appeal among many within the same demographic groups Communists were trying to organize. One tactic used by social Catholics to absorb individuals from Communist ranks was to show up at their meetings and rallies in order to distribute copies of the *Catholic Worker*.[53] Communists, who were now in their Popular Front period and looking for allies wherever they could find them, began de-emphasizing the atheistic aims of their project in order to co-opt support from broader

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[50] I cite here Paula Maurutto, "Private Policing and Surveillance of Catholics: anti-Communism in the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto, 1920s-1960s." *Labour/ Le Travail*, vol. 40 (1997): 113–136; as well as the similar ideas developed in Paula Maurutto, *Governing Charities: Church and State in Toronto's Catholic Archdiocese, 1850–1950* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004).

[51] These points are detailed in numerous correspondences from Catherine de Hueck. See for example: Report by Catherine de Hueck, 1934, ARCAT, MNAP02.197; Letter from by Catherine de Hueck to Archbishop Neil McNeil, 1934, ARCAT, MN AP02.184a; Document entitled "Outline of Communistic Activities," written by Catherine de Hueck, 1934, ARCAT, MN AP02.149.

[52] Document entitled, "Communist Propaganda," prepared by Catherine de Hueck, 1935, ARCAT, MN AP02.150.

[53] Brian F. Hogan, "Salted with Fire," 104–105.

based social justice movements.[54] Much of de Hueck's critique of Communism focuses, not upon its social vision, but upon its supposedly organic atheism. (Both Karl Marx and Antonio Gramsci, conversely, dissented from any notion that Communists had any intrinsic interest in enforcing atheism).[55] For de Hueck, though, Communists and Catholics were direct competitors. She cited Toronto's "Secretary of the Bolsheviks" as a source for her conviction that the *Catholic Worker* movement was important in winning back Catholics who had strayed into the camp of their atheist enemies.[56]

Friendship House eventually founded its own newspaper, the *Social Forum*, which was published from 1936 to 1947. Its managing editor, Joseph O'Connor, had ties to the League for Social Reconstruction and supported the formation of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation.[57] Launched in March 1936 as an insert for the *Catholic Worker*, the *Social Forum* according to de Hueck, had three primary aims:

> To put before their readers evidence of existing social disorder; To suggest practical measures by which each individual may discharge his social obligation; To present those Christian social principles upon which any lasting reform must be based.[58]

From its inception, the periodical tackled issues like cooperative action, credit unions, farm communes, labour rights, strikes, study clubs for Catholic social and economic action, and other relevant political, social, and economic matters. It often echoed many of the prescriptions being advanced in Antigonish and developed through its Rural and Industrial Conferences. If Friendship House, which was scheduled to expand to new municipalities like Hamilton and Ottawa, met the basic and practical needs of the community, than the *Social Forum* provided the

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[54] Letter from Catherine de Hueck to Archbishop James McGuigan, 6 January 1936, ARCAT, MN AP02.96.
[55] For a discussion, see Ian McKay, *Reasoning Otherwise: Leftists and the People's Enlightenment in Canada, 1890-1920* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2008), 260–271.
[56] Letter from Catherine de Hueck to Archbishop James McGuigan, 6 January 1936, ARCAT, MN AP02.96.
[57] Brian F. Hogan, "Salted with Fire," 99.
[58] Letter from Catherine de Hueck to Archbishop James C. McGuigan, 24 August 1936. Cited in Ibid, 114.

intellectual capital to address the systemic causes of its poverty.[59] Labour rights remained a dominant theme of the newspaper. When in 1937 the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers went on strike against the International Nickel Company in Sudbury, the *Social Forum* covered the dispute under the title, "Nickel Magnates Fight Union Effort in North."[60] Despite Communist involvement with the union, or rather because of it, the social Catholics attempted to shift workers over to their vision of social order.[61] The *Social Forum* was one of Friendship House's most successful endeavours and was published almost a decade after Catherine de Hueck left Toronto.

The demise of Friendship House and Catherine de Hueck's departure from the Archdiocese of Toronto can be explained with reference to the conflicting agendas of social and institutional Catholicism. The latter almost always had the power to trump the former. Opposition to her efforts, in part based on her ambiguous situation within the Archdiocese and *vis-à-vis* canonical statutes, came from a number of clergy. These questions led Archbishop McGuigan to appoint a commission to review the activity of Friendship House and recommend directions for its future initiatives. Allegations of Communist sympathies were levied against her during this time. They came from a former Catholic social worker, who later became an active member of the Communist Youth Club—a detail that in itself suggests how strenuously Communists and Catholics were competing with each other in Toronto.[62] The Archdiocesan committee arrived at four conclusions: firstly, Friendship House duplicated parish initiatives; secondly, the financial help given to Friendship House should be reallocated to these parishes; thirdly, Friendship House's canonical standing was unclear, but it seemed unable to form a

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[59] Ibid, 117.

[60] Ibid, 119.

[61] "It proved to be as critical of capitalism," argues historian Brian F. Hogan, "as of Communism and sought to stimulate interest in a middle-of-the-road-Christian-inspired response the reconstruction of society." See Ibid, 115.

[62] Ibid, 123–124.

community; and fourthly, this initiative should be disbanded.[63] Parishes did not have anything comparable to the Friendship House, and the financial resources it was allocated were meagre at best.[64] The Archbishop accepted these findings and dissolved Friendship House in September 1937.

In a letter to Catherine de Hueck, a priest delineated four Catholic responses to Communism: martyrdom, extremism, reformism, or fascism. Social Catholic responses tended to oscillate between extremism, which did not allow for compromise, and reformism, which aimed to work with radicals for mutually desired reforms.[65] While there is no evidence the hierarchy was complicit in a fascist response, the institutional Church, even in progressive archdioceses such as Toronto, did favour collaboration with the repressive measures of the liberal state. The incommensurability of these approaches, concluded the priest writing Catherine de Hueck, had a predictable result: "the social Catholics must be stopped because they are agitators who prepare our own people if not for Communism [than] at least for anti-Fascism."[66] Catherine de Hueck's work also differed from the institutional response in two other important ways. She was not, firstly, interested in the political implications of Communism, only the moral ones as she understood them.[67] De Hueck was clearly less concerned with the tangible political gains made by Communists in Toronto—which were unremarkable—and more focused on how adherence to the radical left kept individuals from the spiritual path charted by

[63] "Confidential Report of the Committee Appointed by His Grace the Archbishop to Investigate Friendship House," undated, ARCAT. Cited in Ibid, 124.
[64] Ibid, 125.
[65] Letter from Fr. Sullivan to Catherine de Hueck, undated, Madonna House Archives. Cited in Ibid, 119.
[66] Ibid.
[67] In a letter to Archbishop Neil McNeil, she wrote: "I repeat the political aspect of the situation is of no interest to me, and I leave it to those in charge of such matters." See "Report of Communistic Activities in Toronto in relation to the Catholic Church," from Catherine de Hueck to Archbishop Neil McNeil, 1934, ARCAT, MN AP02.199b.

the Catholic left.[68] Secondly, she sympathized with those on the left insofar as she shared their interest in social justice.[69] Finally, Catherine de Hueck's work distanced itself from the liberal state because, although critical of the Communists, she shared some of their critique of the hegemonic system. The anti-Communist work that she conducted still informed the institutional Church, particularly through her surveillance activities, but it should be seen as a product of her attempt to live otherwise, not of any desire on her part to shore up the beleaguered liberal order.[70]

The Basilians and Back-to-the-Land, 1934 to 1942

As Catherine de Hueck operated Friendship House in Toronto's inner city, 45 kilometers to the north of it, the Basilians between 1934 and 1942 supported two back-to-the-land experiments, the Mount St. Francis Colony and the Marylake Farm School. This small-scale effort came a decade before a more widespread initiative in the province of Quebec.[71] The Ontario experiments had direct connections to Friendship House. They were publicized through the *Social Forum*. Such participants as Maud Beatrice Field and her family were drawn from Catherine de Hueck's inner circle. Led by Fr. Francis McGoey and Fr. M.J. Oliver, these efforts were a concrete reflection of the Basilian stream and its values. They instantiated certain duties:

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[68] Catherine de Hueck wrote a good deal later in her life on spiritual matters particularly eastern mysticism. See, for example, Catherine de Hueck Doherty, *Poustinia: Christian Spirituality of the East for Western Man* (Notre Dame, Indiana: Ave Maria Press, 1974).

[69] For example, Catherine de Hueck served with Rose Henderson on the 'legislative committee' of the Women's Political Action Association of Canada. See Peter Campbell, *Rose Henderson: A Woman for the People* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press 2010), 161–162.

[70] This point is contrasted with Paula Maurutto's work, which tends to conflate Catherine de Hueck's anti-Communism with institutional aims. See Paula Maurutto, "Private Policing and Surveillance of Catholics," 121.

[71] In 1946, back-to-the-land became a major initiative between the Church and the Province of Quebec. Priests read a letter from Archbishop Villeneuve of Quebec City, and co-signed by 17 other bishops and archbishops. Again it brought the Church's connection to property into focus. The letter cited the 10,000,000 acres of arable, undeveloped land, which the province was willing to sell in 100 acre parcels at a cost of $0.30 per acre. The letter also defended the Church's clear preference for rural life and thus encouraged people (particularly young men) to go back-to-the-land. See "Back-to-the-Land," *Time*, 16 December 1946, 44.

to educate, to heal the social body of Christ, and to care for material need in a way that nurtured the spiritual life of the people. The Depression was more than an economic crisis. It was also a moral one.[72] Inherent within this response was a belief in personalism: economic decline in the 1930s had not just robbed people of material prosperity, but had blunted their spirituality as well. They were thus denied the proper, Christian formation of full personhood. On all of these fronts, the Basilians saw a need to participate in the reconstruction of the social order directly. Going back-to-the-land was a way to combine spiritual formation with social action.

It was also a reaction against alienation rooted in the conditions of modernity—the excesses of capitalism and dire conditions of the urban and industrial environment. Modernity had drained vitality from rural life, it was argued. Thus, these experiments had the aim of regenerating the spiritual well-being of the families involved. They aimed to accomplish this feat through agrarian means—with the hope of reinvigorating agrarian life. Fr. Henry Carr pointed out that farming had become a complex, mechanized process; it could no longer support family-based initiatives and had become 'big business.' Modern farming required skills gained only through years of apprenticeship, and a capital base of ten thousand dollars for one hundred acres of land.[73] The St. Francis Colony and Marylake Farm School distanced themselves from modern farming's modes of production and accumulation. They thus pursued objectives very different from the profit-driven agricultural industry. If their spiritual aims were commonly rooted in personalism, the means that they adopted were borrowed from the English distributists and the co-operative ideals of the Antigonish movement.

[72] In a letter to Fr. Henry Carr, Fr. M.J. Oliver writes, "Dealing with people and parish work, as I have been for some years, it is brought to my attention very forcefully that our present social condition is far from Christian. That so many people—in Toronto proper over 29,000 families—are dependent on public relief for the necessities of life is not conducive to their religious or social welfare." Letter from M.J Oliver to Henry Carr, 5 February 1935, Marylake Farm File, GABF.

[73] Hogan, "Salted with Fire," 59–60.

The back-to-the-land experiment, in general, constituted a paradox. On the one hand, it was an accommodation of liberal order, an *ad hoc* tool used by the Canadian state, through federal-provincial cooperation, to alleviate the dire economic conditions of the urban environment throughout the 1930s. (Such schemes had been common currency even in the closing years of the Great War and were central to various Soldiers' Resettlement initiatives). For other groups, however, back-to-the-land meant a refusal of possessive individualism—in essence, the practical working out of a program of living otherwise.[74] In this form, back-to-the-land echoed utopian socialist efforts of the nineteenth century. Many of its proponents sought alternatives to the capitalist order.

Inherent within the Basilian attempt was distrust of the state, which was deemed unfit to lead on moral fronts—Jacques Maritain made this point to Henry Carr, and it was internalized by the Basilians.[75] While the separation of the Church and state was desirable, the Basilians spearheaded an effort to improve social welfare with moral authority (despite the necessity to stay in dialogue with the state regarding this work). To delve into how Roman Catholics 'lived otherwise' through these 'back-to-the-land' experiments, one must contrast institutional initiatives and this experience of 'lived religion' with how the liberal state conceptualized and implemented its own scheme of this sort through the Dominion-Provincial Relief Land Settlement Programme.

[74] For a contemporary illustration, focused on Scott and Helen Nearing's homesteading effort, see Rebecca Kneale Gould, "Getting (Not Too) Close to Nature: Modern Homesteading as Lived Religion in America," in David J. Hall (ed.), *Lived Religion in America: Toward a History of Practice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 217–242.

[75] "L'état de l'Europe n'est pas bien. C'est vraiment à la liquidation de plusieurs siècles d'erreurs et de prévarications que nous assistons... l'atmosphère morale est endiablé... mais Dieu travaille dans le secret." Letter from Jacques Maritain to Henry Carr, 15 December 1933, Henry Carr Papers, Letters 1933—May to December, GABF.

A good deal of what historians know about state initiatives at resettling individuals on the land comes from the seminal account of the Depression in Canada, *No Fault of their Own*, by James Struthers.[76] Back-to-the-land schemes were advocated by the governments of both R.B. Bennett and William Lyon Mackenzie King. Though each administration had contrasting approaches to the economic malaise of the 1930s, they shared a common philosophical basis for their desire to push individuals back to the land—the principle of 'less eligibility.' Liberal order's intersection between the state and civil society is once again evident in this approach. On this point, James Struthers writes:

> Relief was always a last resort…In most Canadian towns and cities, however, this function was discharged by private charities usually organized on a religious basis. The goal of such assistance, whether public or private, was to promote individual self-reliance by keeping relief discretional, minimal, and degrading.[77]

Struthers insists that back-to-the-land prescriptions were written with capitalism's good health in mind. They offered to do little for the jobless. They also often entailed divide-and-conquer approaches that pitted farmers against workers. They meant keeping a large labour force at the ready (and, Struthers adds, "cheaply kept") for when it was required by business. And when that day arrived, the cheap labour thus made available would drive down other workers' wages.[78] State-sponsored back-to-the-land strategies, in short, promoted a set of interests compatible with liberalism's orientation towards capitalism, but not necessarily democracy.

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[76] James Struthers, *No Fault of their Own: Unemployment and the Canadian Welfare State, 1914–1941* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983). More recently, James Murton has offered a somewhat revisionist analysis of rural resettlement programmes. See James Murton, *Creating a Modern Countryside: Liberalism and Land Resettlement in British Columbia* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2007). Note as well the more positive assessment of geographer Dawn Bowen: "Forward to a Farm: the back-the-land movement as a relief initiative in Saskatchewan during the Great Depression," Doctoral diss., Queen's University, 1998.

[77] James Struthers, *No Fault of their Own*, 7.

[78] Ibid, 8–9.

By contrast, Roman Catholic initiatives in this sphere partook of a different logic. A back-to-the-land experiment had been also initiated by the Catholic Worker Movement—which, as Mel Piehl describes, exemplified a faith-based, grassroots sensibility committed to pacifism and social justice.[79] As expounded on the pages of the *Catholic Worker*, back-to-the-land movements were more than practical measures aiming at helping people survive the Depression. They drew upon a well-established Catholic critique of capitalist social relations. At least as imagined by some theorists, back-to-the-land experiments were intended to offer alternatives to the capitalist order. In Peter Maurin's many articles in the *Catholic Worker* on this theme, they figured as Christian remedies for the economic and social conditions of the Depression. In this vision, exemplified by Catherine de Hueck, Catholics were enjoined to resist both capitalism and the state in order to remain in a state of economic precariousness, with tax exemptions refused and surpluses from donations given away.[80] Dorothy Day and the *Catholic Worker* movement operated within an organic conception of society promoted by the institutional Church. It came to use organic metaphors for distinctly radical purposes. Given differences in political culture between Canada and the United States—particularly traditional liberal values, which affected many charitable enterprises—there was a little guarantee that such communitarian sentiments would strongly influence Catholic rural resettlement in this country.

Fr. M.J. Oliver, who took charge of the Marylake farm school, saw the Depression as a time of spiritual crisis, a moment where the Mystical Body of Christ had been wounded. He excoriated the government for not ameliorating the harsh conditions under which people lived: "Our present government is not healing the wounds of the social body, nor can it really affect a cure because of the heretical views which it entertains. We cannot, therefore, hope for a remedy

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[79] Mel Piehl, *Breaking Bread*, x.
[80] Ibid, 98–99.

from that source."[81] Rather, the Church would have to take the lead in forming well-grounded, moral citizens to take on the mission of rebuilding the social order. This duty was expressed in paternal terms: "A priest should assist in forming the character of the students and help to make men out of them. That will be the backbone of the Church and Country. We should not leave this work for the Government because a Government cannot do this kind of work—it is not spiritually fit for it."[82] Fr. Oliver believed that these Catholic back-to-the-land experiments provided something that the social life of Ontario desperately needed. In the Marylake Farm's promotional literature, Oliver claimed that "Marylake provides room for the development of a Christian social life in a small community. We believe the province needs such centres to act as focal points for the revival and reconstruction of the rural social order."[83] Armed with critiques of state-led rural resettlement efforts, and after receiving instruction from Father Jimmy Tompkins at St. Francis Xavier University about adult education and the setting up of co-operative ventures, Oliver sought to save souls and a rural way of life alike besieged by materialism and urban sprawl.[84]

Marylake also had a predecessor from which to draw inspiration. The St. Francis colony was founded in King, Ontario, during the summer of 1934. Dozens of families from Toronto travelled forty kilometers north to resettle on two- and ten-acre plots of land. Historian Brian Hogan details the early successes of the community, both in meeting the subsistence needs of the families through an adequate supply of milk, eggs, vegetables, and exceeding them to produce

[81] Letter from M.J Oliver to Henry Carr, 10 June 1935 [6008648], Marylake Farm File, GABF.
[82] Memorandum, undated, [6008657], Marylake Farm File, GABF.
[83] M.J. Oliver, "Marylake Farm School: An Outline of its Work and Objectives," Pamphlet 1939, Marylake file, GABF, C.3132 1936.2.
[84] Fr. Oliver became a close friend of Jimmy Tompkins. In the fall of 1936, he studied at St. Francis Xavier University where he became well acquainted with the Antigonish Movement. See Brian Hogan, "Salted with Fire," 78–79.

two market crops of potatoes and carrots.[85] Other needs were met outside the confines of contemporary capitalist economics. Each family placed about three hundred dollars worth of goods or services into a common pool called the exchange depot; from it each family would recover a comparable value of goods or services to meet their own needs.[86] Some livestock and goods were shared in common, including horses, cows, and firewood. The aim was to move families from transitional two-acre plot to a ten-acre piece of land. While the cost of this endeavour approximated a thousand dollars per family, it also saved municipalities five hundred dollars annually by removing their care from government relief rolls.[87] Each member of the community had his or her role to play—with individuals adopting roles such as "barber, butcher, baker, and beekeeper" in addition to responsibility to cultivate the land.[88] The colony, through ultimately constrained by the availability of land in close proximity for continued development, flourished with hundreds of families wait-listed for settlement.

While the St. Francis Colony took as its starting point the full development of human personhood, an ideal central to Basilian social Catholicism, it reconciled well with the message of the social encyclicals on the centrality of land and labour to the inherent dignity of the human person. At this confluence, there was agreement on private property. Diffuse land ownership within the population offered a way to assuage class tension. The liberal conception of private property, McGoey argued, consolidated land ownership within the hands of few people and corporations. It was a pattern incompatible with the security needed as a precondition to the development of the human person. Nor could it be easily reconciled with the ideal of workers labouring in socially useful ways. The St. Francis Colony targeted families with men who were

[85] Ibid, 62.
[86] Fr. Francis J. McGoey, "Back to the Land!" *Social Forum*, vol. 1, no.3 (May 1936), 4.
[87] Brian Hogan, "Salted with Fire," 68.
[88] Francis McGoey," Back to the Land!" 4.

being further alienated from meaningful and productive work by the structure of relief in Ontario. "Men today who are of 40 to 50 years of age," wrote Francis McGoey in the pages of the *Social Forum*, "are now classed as unemployables when they have many years of good work before them."[89] Going back-to-the-land was meant to inspire hope, but it also twinned this desire with sensitivity to the needs and dreams of the most disaffected populations in society. Back-to-the-land as it was represented in Catholic circles was not often seen as a way of saving liberalism, as Struthers suggests, but rather as a way of saving persons. It meant transforming the unemployed into self-sufficient citizens, who would be resistant to the various "isms" that might otherwise attract them. An implication of many articles was that people with limited employment opportunities might be prone to become poor citizens.

The St. Francis Colony was characterized by some complicated dynamics. While going back-to-the-land was underpinned by lack of faith in the state and its Depression-era initiatives, this Catholic effort consistently emphasized in its promotional literature and public offerings how it was easing the burden on relief rolls, unemployment numbers, and taxation at the municipal, provincial and federal levels.[90] These arguments represented engagement and dialogue with the state and liberal order—and were often made to gain support from government or the prosperous and charitably-minded members of the community. And yet, there is also a distancing from the state, its initiatives, and the operation of liberal order. In Catholic back-to-

[89] Fr. Francis J. McGoey, "Back to the Land!" *Social Forum*, vol. 1, no.3 (May 1936), 4.

[90] In praise of the St. Francis Colony, G. Harrison Smith, President of Imperial Oil, wrote: "Extension of Father McGoey's plan on a large scale, backed by the Provincial Government, would probably go a long way toward solving the unemployment situation." Likewise, Gordon Taylor of Osler & Company, a Toronto-based law firm, wrote, "I estimate conservatively that the following savings have been made: Toronto taxpayers, $3250, York township taxpayers, $3500, federal and provincial taxpayers, $7500: total of $14,250." It is revealing of an interesting contradiction that promotional literature for a colony that applied social Catholic thought, predicated on a personalist impulse, would use captains of industry to help secure financial resources for its growth — perhaps an indication of the difficulties of defending this "third option" in the real world of the 1930s. See Fr. Francis McGoey, *Back to the Land: Turning an Ancient Slogan from a Bit of Counsel into a Remarkable Reality* (1938).

the-land efforts there was often a focus on the spiritual over the material, the family over the individual, the organic over the mechanical and, most abstractly, hope over despair. A poem in its promotional literature proclaimed:

As a consequence
The farmer's philosophy of life
Is primarily organic
Whereas the city man's philosophy
Is usually mechanistic.

In farming the
Family is the economic
and social unit,
While in the cities
The individual
Is the economic unit.[91]

The philosophy of the St. Francis Colony rejected the social order as it had been constructed, and within the discrete boundaries of its land in King, Ontario, prompted an alternative to it. Education and co-operation remained high ideals—evidence of the Antigonish influence—as did the preservation of private property. While much was held in common, and the community reinforced its anti-capitalist sensibilities, it also envisioned making land-owners out of the families living in the St. Francis Colony, "in the true encyclical spirit."[92]

This attempt at 'lived religion' successfully gave expression to important intangibles, such as hope and dignity. It also came accompanied by a good deal of pioneer hardship. While the 1935 harvest season had been a success, producing a nice variety and quality of food and above-standard levels of nutrition, difficult challenges loomed with the onset of winter.[93] Letters

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[91] The poem was arranged by Peter Maurin of the Catholic Worker. It was based on an address given to the Rural Life Conference by O.E Baker, U.S. Department of Agriculture, under the title, "The Case for Ruralism." The Rural Life Conference was an American initiative, but Fr. McGoey assumed a leadership role within it. See Ibid.
[92] These words come from a testimonial of a family living in the colony. See Ibid.
[93] Brian F. Hogan, "Salted with Fire," 64–65.

from Maud Beatrice Field, a resident of the St. Francis colony, describes the community's anxieties on a host of fronts including the experience of isolation[94] and the challenge of routine.[95] Though the community faced the traditional hardships of rural life, education was a focal point for the Basilians. "With regard to our own education," wrote one member, "we have community study groups in religion and sociology. These groups are numbered a dozen and more people to a group. These study clubs teach us to think and to express ourselves on government and economic questions pertaining to Canada." The community remained engaged with social, political, and economic questions, regularly maintaining study clubs for young persons, classes on child rearing for young mothers, and even a settlement-wide Social Credit Club.[96] (Catholic distributism plainly had some influence). As a response to the difficult conditions of urban and industrial centres during the Depression, the community remained engaged with important social and political questions, even as it seemingly isolated itself from the rest of Ontario.

It was Fr. McGoey's hope that the St. Francis Colony would meet spiritual as well as material needs. It would show that rural life represented a viable alternative to urban industrial life. He systemized the insights gained during his spiritual direction of the St. Francis Colony in *Rural Sociology*, a short book that aimed at re-Christianizing the social order through restoring the religious life, promotion and protection of the family, and widespread ownership of

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[94] Maud Beatrice Field writes, "Fortunately our Catholic Church is nice and warm, so the congregation sat around the fire and prayed… until he [the priest] came. There's been a great deal of snow fall since then… drifts four to five feet deep in place & temperatures ten to fifteen below zero. No one can get through today…" See Letter from Maud Beatrice Field to Catherine de Hueck, Maude Beatrice Field papers, Madonna House Archives, undated.

[95] Again Field writes, "Today there was no Mass as Father was in town, but we were up early. Joe went to work for a man who is sick & usually does most of the milking. There is the school to open (which is next door)… breakfast to get, water to fetch, wood to get in…pickles, jams, relishes, all have to be made, ironing done. It's not long before it is supper time and another day really over." See Letter from Beatrice Fields, Beatrice Field papers, MHA, undated (c.1935).

[96] Letter from Maud Beatrice Field to Catherine de Hueck, Maud Beatrice Fields papers, MHA, Nov 25 (c.1935).

productive property.[97] This book emphasized it was the family and not the individual that provided the unit of analysis for a Catholic social order (an insight developed, with some irony, in Pope Pius IX's *Mirari Vos*). The family had a close connection to private property: "the divinely instituted land-unit is the normal family of father, mother, and several children."[98] In the "age of faith," McGoey recalled, no seed was planted without the blessing of the Church.[99] Re-sacralizing the land accompanied an emphasis on the farmer as a co-operator with God. Farming, as the greatest of lay vocations, was an intensely spiritual exercise. One who sowed the earth operated as the hands and feet of the Almighty exercising dominion over the land. "All framers of a New Order, and especially all Catholic farmers, should realize as soon as possible that the land is not just necessary; the land is primary," McGoey proclaimed.[100] Bringing families 'back-to-the-land' defied capitalist sensibilities because it emphasized production for use rather than profit. It stood for the regeneration of a spirituality menaced by depersonalized industry.[101] McGoey acknowledged that rural life posed challenges to comfort, perhaps more readily overcome in the city during good economic times, but he insisted that its pastoral qualities offered fertile ground for spiritual renewal.

Education, central to the Basilian charism and its stream of social Catholicism, was vital to resettling the land. Unlike the Marylake Farm School, which taught farming techniques to urbanites, the St. Francis Colony housed families that had grown up in rural Ontario. Thus, as McGoey created a blueprint for new communities, he was concerned less with effective and efficient farming techniques than with philosophical training of community members—"To save the country for the Church it is not enough to give a good technical education but also a good

[97] Francis J. McGoey, *Rural Sociology* (Toronto: Mission Press, 1943), 44.
[98] Ibid, 5.
[99] Ibid, 75.
[100] McGoey borrows this phrase from the Irish Dominican priest Vincent McNabb. See Ibid, 50.
[101] Ibid, 31.

Catholic philosophy of life."[102] If the priest was a community's spiritual leader, then the parish was its spiritual centre. Each parish, he argued, should have a library housing, among other titles, Moses Coady's *Masters of Their Own Destiny*. The parish must also take the lead in educating about credit and establishing credit unions.[103] Capitalism spawned, through its money-lending, irresponsibility. Credit unions, conversely, instantiated a very different spiritual practice. They were based upon the needs of the community. McGoey does not waffle on this point: credit unions were presented in unqualified terms as essential complements to the doctrine of the Mystical Body.[104] Credit unions drew upon community resources, encouraged thrift, and stimulated investment in productive goods (for example, farm equipment that benefited the whole community). Education about credit unions as a Christian practice inherently encouraged a form of 'moral sanctions,' not unlike the ones classically described by Jeremy Bentham.[105] It provided a community-based check on one's responsible use of resources—and thus played an important role in forming one's membership in the community.

The back-to-the-land movement was not only about improving life for residents during the Depression. It also had a bearing on visions of postwar reconstruction. Back-to-the-land was understood within a "range of idiomatic possibility and limitation,"[106] as a religious practice that could shape postwar society. "Whenever civilization is shaky," writes McGoey, "there is the land group that holds the foundation together then rebuilds the structure of society."[107] With a

[102] Ibid, 34.
[103] McGoey argued that study should occur for one year before even a dollar was leant—this prescription was not dissimilarly to one's advocated for by the Antigonish movement.
[104] Ibid, 56.
[105] Jeremy Bentham makes this point in the context of legislation for a liberal society. It holds true, perhaps even more so, when a society is not predicated upon the individual, but the family as part of an interdependent, symbiotic, organic community. See Jeremy Bentham, *Theory of Legislation* (London: Trubner, 1871), 60–66.
[106] Robert Orsi, "Everyday Miracles: the Study of Lived Religion," in David J. Hall (ed.), *Lived Religion: Towards a History of Practice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 7.
[107] Francis McGoey, *Rural Sociology*, 6.

firm conviction of the connection between land and families, McGoey endeavoured to advance his visions of an alternative social order.[108]

This objective required, ironically, co-operation with the state. McGoey argues the need for state assistance to help people return to (or remain on) the land with reference to five demographics: soldiers, current farmers, children wishing to remain on the land, family men between from the ages of 45 to 50 forgotten by public relief schemes, and industrial workers.[109] The purchase of land equipment was the responsibility of the state, but, once accomplished, the Church could take charge of the religious and social life of the setters, bestowing upon them the "training and acquiring of a proper rural culture."[110] Leadership on this front would come from establishing an Ontario Catholic Rural Life Conference. McGoey was the Rural Life Director for the Archdiocese of Toronto.[111] This body would oversee responsibilities and liaise with the state by drafting legislation and sending it to the appropriate level of government.[112] While he maintains a firm conviction in his project as an alternative to the practice of liberal order, McGoey recognizes that it is constructed within a broader social structure. It needed cooperation from government to be successful and thus would unite with the state over a common aim. His scheme assumed, for all its critiques of the existing liberal order, a close co-operation with it.[113]

Committed to radical personalism, Roman Catholic back-to-the-land advocates in Toronto took as their starting point not a distinction between the 'deserving' and 'undeserving'

[108] On this point, McGoey writes: "We have had in the last few years a great number of new orders: Communism in Russia, Nazism in Germany, Fascism in Italy, New Deal in the US, lately Beveridge Report for England, March Report for Canada and Atlantic Charter for all the United Nations. Is a new Rural Culture just another order following the spirit of the age?" Francis McGoey, *Rural Sociology*, 42.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Ibid, 69–70.
[111] Brian Hogan, "Salted with Fire," 73.
[112] Francis McGoey, *Rural Sociology*, 29.
[113] For instances of this pattern in other Catholic contexts see Jean-Marie Fecteau, *La liberté du pauvre: crime et pauvreté au XIXe siècle Québécois* (Montreal: VLB éditeur, 2004) and Paula Maurutto, *Governing Charities*.

poor, but a fundamental belief in the dignity of the human person. They sought to restore hope to the lowly. Based on the perception that they would have the most difficult time finding employment and security in the industrial cities, married and unemployed men in their mid-forties to mid-fifties were chosen to live on the land.[114] This approach was a concrete expression of the belief in the absolute value of the human person, and it affirmed individual spirituality as part of unity in the Mystical Body of Christ. It blended 'social action,' much like the work undertaken by the Catholic Worker Movement, with 'Catholic Action,' understood as the participation of the laity in the apostolate of the hierarchy, and developed very much within the organizational structures of Catholicism.[115] Experiments rooted in this commitment to social Catholicism—as described here in Ontario, but also evidenced by the Antigonish Movement in Nova Scotia—often endeavoured to build sites of resistance and counter-hegemony throughout the country.[116]

Was it resistance to, or support of, the liberal state? Catholic efforts in Toronto remained, cautiously, somewhere in between. They tried to remain distant from the state, while necessarily entering into dialogue with it. Joint federal and provincial government back-to-the-land initiatives used anti-modernism as a means of consolidating, reinforcing, and reifying Canadian liberalism. In contrast, the Catholic initiatives discussed here did not receive any federal, provincial, or municipal funding. They were backed, not by the state, but by elements within civil society—such as York Township's Ontario Veterans' Association.[117] With the end of the 1930s, however, many families opted to return to the cities in pursuit of new economic

[114] Ibid, 66.

[115] Important titles on the culture engendered by social Catholicism include James Terence Fisher, *The Catholic Counterculture in America, 1933–1962* (London: University of North Carolina Press, 1989); John Hellman, *Emmanuel Mounier and the New Catholic Left, 1930–1950* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981).

[116] See, for example, Gregory Baum, *Catholics and Canadian Socialism*, 175-211; Brian F. Hogan, "Salted with Fire," 46–87; Michael Horn (ed.), *The Dirty Thirties*, 669-675.

[117] Ibid, 71.

opportunities connected the war effort. A similar fate befell the Marylake Farm School, which was sold to a group of Augustinian monks and remains the site of their monastery, Our Lady of Grace Shrine, and the Marylake Retreat Centre. Much of the institutional Catholic Church occupied a liminal place between a restructuring liberal order and a mainstream Canadian left that challenged it. Nonetheless, for a brief moment in the 1930s, the St. Francis Colony and Marylake Farm School provided a clear alternative to the rural resettlement projects advocated by those trying to salvage the liberal status quo.

With the St. Francis Colony and Marylake Farm School, one finds an effort to translate the neo-Thomist/personalism of the 'Basilian stream' of social Catholicism into practice. However, there was also a cross-over with the 'Antigonish' and 'Somerville' streams. Though personalism underpinned the philosophy of these experiments, the co-operative technique was learned under the leadership at St. Francis Xavier University. Henry Somerville was skeptical of the sustainability of the effort, particularly with the St. Francis Colony, because of its connections to distributism.[118] Perhaps the figure who draws these three streams together most clearly, though, is Archbishop Neil McNeil, the prime mover who initially urged the priests of his diocese to develop a programme of social action. No doubt this challenge was rooted in his connections to Antigonish; the same motivation prompted him to bring Somerville to Toronto. With Fr. McGoey serving in parish life in the early 1930s, McNeil's challenge offered an opportunity to have Basilian social Catholicism serve the needs of the diocese and its parishioners. Given Fr. Oliver's close connection to Jimmy Tompkins, it was natural for his initiative to follow suit. Within both of these efforts, there was a genuine attempt to live otherwise—one quite different from back-to-the-land schemes proposed by government and from utopian socialist experiments that denied private property altogether.

[118] Brian Hogan, "Salted with Fire," 374.

Conclusions

Catholic Toronto in the 1930s was complicated. Many of its most socially-conscious and intellectually-informed members were struggling to find a Catholic way between a crisis-ridden capitalism and a freedom-denying communism. They were, that is, in a liminal situation, sometimes defending and sometimes criticizing their own Church, often caught betwixt and between rival conceptions of the social order. Catherine de Hueck, who on one reading might be thought merely to have been an agent of the established order in her willingness to inform on Communists, was in another interpretation a person who also stood up to the Catholic hierarchy in her campaigns against low wages and in her struggle, ultimately unsuccessful, to root her settlement house in the city. Beyond Toronto, Friendship Houses endured (e.g., in the United States). North of the city, back-to-the-land experiments were equally complicated. They were at once similar to many other such schemes, often suffused with notions of restoring the free-standing individual, and necessarily in dialogue with attempts by the state to alleviate Depression-era poverty, yet dissimilar to them in the emphasis they placed upon the spiritual regeneration of human beings and the recovery of a deeper, more enduring sense of community. Within these Catholic social initiatives there were clearly influences coming from Antigonish. There could also be discerned a Somerville-like emphasis on education, and, most crucially, the Basilians' concern for the Mystical Body and the personalism that accompanied it. The *via media* offered many social Catholics inspiration. It did not simplify their lives.

CHAPTER 7

LET IT BE ANATHEMA?

THE CHURCH AND THE CCF, 1931–1944

During the 1930s, the 'Social Gospel' influenced theologically-liberal Protestants to engage questions of social order: they responded vigorously by organizing through religiously based groups such as the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order (FCSO);[1] joining secular ones such as the League for Social Reconstruction (LSR);[2] and participating in new political movements such as the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF).[3] The Social Gospel

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[1] The FCSO was formed out of two smaller groups, the Movement for Social Order in Toronto and the Fellowship of Socialist Christians in Montreal, in April 1934. The FCSO's work forced the intersection of religion and politics; it was successful in having the United Church conference in Toronto declare capitalism to be 'unchristian.' In 1936, nine United Church ministers, six ordained and three lay, produced the most important fruit of the FCSO's efforts, *Toward the Christian Revolution*, which suggested a truly Christian social order could emerge following a period of economic and moral crisis. For primary literature from the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order see: R.B.Y Scott and Gregory Vlastos (eds.), *Toward the Christian Revolution* (Chicago: Willett, Clark & Company, 1936). For secondary work on the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order, see Richard Allen, "Religion and Political Transformation in English Canada: the 1880s to the 1930s," in Marguerite Van Die (ed.), *From Heaven Down to the Earth: a Century of Chancellor's Lectures at Queen's Theological College* (Kingston: Queen's Theological College, 1992), 127–144; Roger Hutchinson, "The Fellowship from a Christian Social Order: A Social, Ethical Analysis of a Christian Socialist Movement," Doctoral diss, University of Toronto, 1975; Harold Wells and Roger Hutchinson, *A Long and Faithful March: Toward the Christian Revolution, 1930s/1980s* (Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1989).

[2] The League for Social Reconstruction did not have any official connection to liberal Protestantism. Several of its members also participated widely in the FSCO. The two groups often held joint meetings. It is not surprising, then, that the economic language of the FCSO's programme came directly from publications by the LSR. For primary literature from the League for Social Reconstruction, see League for Social Reconstruction, Research Committee, *Social Planning for Canada* (Toronto: T. Nelson, 1935) and League for Social Reconstruction, Research Committee, *Democracy Needs Socialism* (Toronto: T. Nelson, 1938). For secondary works on the League for Social Reconstruction see, for example, Michiel Horn, *The League for Social Reconstruction: Intellectual Origins of the Contemporary Left in Canada, 1930–1942* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980); Sean Mills, "When Democratic Socialists Discovered Democracy: the League for Social Reconstruction Confronts the 'Quebec Problem,' *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 86, no. 1 (March 2005): 53–81; Doug Owram, *The Government Generation: Canadian Intellectuals and the State, 1900–1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986).

[3] Literature on the CCF is extensive and includes Leo Zakuta, *A Protest Movement Becalmed* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964); Walter Young, *The Anatomy of a Party: the National CCF 1932-1961* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969); Walter Young, *Democracy and Discontent: Progressivism, Socialism, and Social Credit in*

came in different waves (conservative, moderate, and radical), but shared among them was a conviction that salvation was socially-constructed—that environment and structure influenced morality. It was a position quite different from older, long-standing theological positions such as 'justification by grace.' The Social Gospel was a transatlantic movement dating back to the nineteenth century. In early-twentieth-century Canada, such leaders as J.S Woodsworth, T.C. Douglas, and S.H. Knowles revived the spirit of reform fostered by the Social Gospel. It helped to inspire the creation of the CCF in 1932. Unlike older, more paternalistic, forms of Social Gospel, the party did not aim to save workers "from themselves," and thus it did not promote moral issues such as temperance.[4] In it, nonetheless, one found a religious impulse coalescing with other feelings of dissatisfaction about the social order, allowing the CCF leadership to unite agrarian radicals, elements of organized labour, and urban intellectuals into a broadly-based protest movement. Following a founding conference in Calgary in 1932, the party's initial comprehensive statement of principles was delivered in the "Regina Manifesto" in 1933.[5] Despite its early radicalism—including a commitment to "eradicate capitalism"—the CCF's programme came to embrace a social democratic vision, which sought to reform capitalism through democratic institutions and market structures. It endeavoured, argues historian Walter Young, to enshrine "Protestant principles" within the country's parliamentary framework.[6]

Soon after the CCF's formation, the Roman Catholic Church's hierarchy objected to this new party as a Protestant form of Christian radicalism, one self-defined as socialist—and whose

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the Canadian West (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1978); Nelson Wiseman, *Social Democracy in Manitoba: A History of the CCF/NDP* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1985); Alan Whitehorn, *Canadian Socialism: Essays on the CCF-NDP* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1992); and Dan Azoulay, *Keeping the Dream Alive: the Survival of the Ontario CCF/NDP, 1950-1963* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 1997).

[4] John Webster Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era* (Burlington, ON: Welch Publishing Company, Inc., 1988), 142.

[5] For an early treatment of the "Regina Manifesto," see Walter Young, *The Anatomy of a Party*, 38–67.

[6] Ibid, 46.

vision was expressed in social-evolutionary, Spencerian, and Marxist language. Prominent Archbishops in Quebec issued episcopal directives against participating in and voting for the party during the 1930s. By the early 1940s, though, the Church opened itself to the CCF and offered limited acceptance. Often emphasized in studies of this phenomenon is a sustained dialogue between Murray Ballantyne, a Montreal-based social Catholic and editor of the Archdiocese's English-language weekly newspaper, and Henry Somerville. It convinced the hierarchy to remove these restrictions.[7] Both journalists believed the CCF's response to the Great Depression suggested that the party's social vision was compatible with that of the Catholic Church. Their opinions had substance, and the CCF represented an organized means of disseminating their social Catholic convictions, one which they hoped could be reconciled with the institutional hierarchy's concerns.

This engagement had a profound impact on 'making modern' the institutional Canadian Church: Catholic/CCF accommodation was the product of social Catholicism influencing episcopal decisions, but also of a piece with the forces of 'secularization'[8] and

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[7] This literature includes Gregory Baum, *Catholics and Canadian Socialism: Political Thought in the Thirties and Forties* (Toronto: James Lorimer and Co., 1980); Jeanne R. Beck, "Henry Somerville and the Development of Catholic Social Thought in Canada: Somerville's Role in the Archdiocese of Toronto, 1915-1943," Doctoral diss., McMaster University, 1977, 363–424; Murray G. Ballantyne, "The Catholic Church and the CCF," CCHA *Report*, vol. 30 (1963): 33-45; Bernard M. Daly, "A Priest's Tale: the Evolution of the Thinking of Eugene Cullinane CSB," CCHA *Historical Studies*, vol. 65 (1999): 9-27; Terrence J. Fay, *A History of Canadian Catholics* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 215-220; George Hoffman, "Saskatchewan Catholics and the Coming of a New Politics, 1930-1934," in Richard Allen (ed.), *Religion and Society in the Prairie West* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1974), 65–88; and Sr. Teresita Kambeitz, "Relations Between the Catholic Church and the CCF in Saskatchewan, 1930-1950," CCHA *Study Sessions*, vol. 46 (1979): 49-69.

[8] 'Secularization' is a complex and multifaceted development, but one of its central dynamics is organized religion's loss of monopoly over intellectual and social life. Churches, great and small, ceded the right to govern civil society—in this case determining whether their members could support for a given party. Within civic life, the loss of clerical control over the political decision-making capacity of individual lay Catholics was one outward sign of secularization acting within the Church. Differentiation of the sacred from the secular, in this specific sense, was coupled with institutional Catholicism gaining a great sense of itself as a national body. This process pushed Canadian prelates to act more collegially, rather than speak to issues of national significance on a local level, as the institutional Church incorporated English- and French-Canadian hierarchies into a national Episcopate reflected by

'Canadianization'[9] beginning to restructure the institutional Church. Three aspects of this process are examined: firstly, anathemas issued by the Quebec hierarchy against the CCF were opposed by social Catholics searching for new answers to the economic and social crisis of the Depression; secondly, a more cautious response by members of the English-Canadian hierarchy rendered these Archbishops reluctant to infringe upon the political liberty of their faithful; and finally, despite a conflict in these approaches, acceptance of the CCF came at the behest of influential social Catholics and consultation between the two national hierarchies. An examination of the relationship between the Roman Catholic Church and the CCF can illuminate much about the changing nature of several important relationships: relations between church and state, differences between the hierarchies in Quebec and English Canada, and an emerging dynamic between social and institutional Catholicism.

The CCF: Let it be Anathema

Under the *Union Nationale* government of Maurice Duplessis, the province of Quebec took on some of the authoritarian characteristics of clerical fascism, rather than exemplifying the democratic and cooperative society envisioned by French-Canadian intellectuals like Henri

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the formation of the Canadian Catholic Conference (CCC) in 1943. Debate over the 'secularization thesis' has been fierce in Canadian religious historiography. Historian David Marshall, writing on the role of Protestant clergy in the secularization of Presbyterian, Methodist, and, after 1925, United Churches, outlines some of the key facets of secularization. They include: religious and supernatural explanations about the world replaced with natural and scientific ones, the laicisation of social institutions like schools, religious values and clerical control superseded by concerns about good citizenship, modernization of belief systems and worship practices, and a decline in Church involvement. See David B. Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief, 1850–1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 7.

[9] Historian Terrence Fay deals extensively with 'Canadianization' as a central theme of the institutional Church's development in Canada. It conveys the idea of developing a national identity independent of its continued loyalty to Rome. This identity is reflected concretely in its organizational and administrative structures—and co-exists with Roman influence exercised through the office of the Papal Nuncio. See Terrence Fay, *A History of Canadian Catholics*, 153–324. The formation of the Canadian Catholic Conference, renamed the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops (CCCB) in 1977 is discussed in Bernard M. Daly, *Remembering for Tomorrow: A History of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, 1943–1993* (Ottawa: Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, 1995).

Bourassa.[10] Given its influence on governance in Quebec, corporatism caused prominent early members of the CCF, such as Eugene Forsey and Frank Scott, to conflate Catholicism, fascism, and French-Canadian nationalism.[11] It was the 'third way' advanced by Rome, and direction from the papacy meant a great deal in the Quebec Church. While Confederation had vested the main economic levers with the federal government, argues historian Jean-Marie Fecteau, control over some areas like health care, welfare, and education was conferred on the provinces in the *British North America Act* (1867). Quebec, in search of economies as well as moral order, readily transferred its control to the Church, a move that gave the hierarchy both cultural and political authority.[12] By calling into question the broader social order, the CCF not only posed a challenge to the Church's privileged position in Quebec society, it also infringed on matters sensitively guarded by the hierarchy in areas implicitly within their jurisdiction.[13]

After pivotal discussions in Calgary during the summer of 1932, the CCF gave expression to its principles the following August in Saskatchewan. The "Regina Manifesto" blended Christian, Fabian, and Marxist socialisms to set forth a vision for reform that entailed "abolishing the corrupt social order."[14] As a protest movement, the CCF endeavoured to oppose the capitalist relations harnessed to liberalism by generating socialist principles for the country. The ills of society were rooted in private control of the means of production, and the party sought to replace the market economy with one that was centralized and planned.[15] Though much of the historiography on the CCF emphasizes how the party became increasingly moderate—a

[10] Ibid.

[11] Sean Mills, "When Democratic Socialists Discovered Democracy," 71.

[12] Jean-Marie Fecteau, *La Liberté du pauvre: Crime et pauvreté au XIXe Siècle Québec* (Montreal: VLB Éditeur, 2004), 327–328.

[13] For an excellent recent treatment of this process of restructuring, see Michael Gauvreau, *The Catholic Origins of Quebec's Quiet Revolution, 1931–1970* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005).

[14] Walter Young, *The Anatomy of a Party: The National CCF, 1932–1961*, 45.

[15] Leo Zakuta, *A Protest Movement Becalmed*, 35–57.

framework political scientist Alan Whitehorn calls the 'protest movement becalmed' literature—its early radicalism challenged the established church-state relationship in the province of Quebec.[16] The Quebec hierarchy, then, had pragmatic grounds to oppose the CCF. In turn, it fostered much animosity towards the Church among the party's key Montreal-based intellectuals during the 1930s.

With these considerations in the foreground, the institutional Church reviewed the early programme of the CCF. Following the announcement of J.S Woodsworth in the House of Commons on 1 February 1933 that the party's document was forthcoming, the Quebec hierarchy opted to study the party's early principles contained in "the Calgary Declaration." On 9 March 1933, thirteen clergymen met under the direction of the *École Sociale Populaire* to discuss the party's programme. Father Georges-Henri Lévesque, well known for his role in setting up the Faculty of Social Science at Laval University, was selected to write the Church's position.[17] Lévesque concluded that the doctrine of the new party fell under the socialism condemned by Pope Pius XI's *Quadragesimo Anno* on three accounts: firstly, its position on private property was ambiguous; secondly, it advocated class warfare; and finally, it advanced a materialist conception of society. Some of the thirteen members of the committee making this evaluation thought the party was Communist. The report concluded that these three points prohibited Catholic participation, but, if they were modified, this position was subject to change.[18] The party itself was in the early stages of its genesis—many of the issues raised would be clarified the following year when it issued the "Regina Manifesto." Lévesque was more moderate than

[16] In noting this framework within the historiography, Alan Whitehorn borrows this phrase from one of the earliest treatments of the CCF by Leo Zakuta. See Alan Whitehorn, *Canadian Socialism*, 18–34.
[17] Michael D. Behiels, "Father Georges-Henri Lévesque and the Introduction of Social Sciences at Laval, 1938–1955," in Paul Axelrod and John Reid (eds.), *Youth, University, and Canadian Society: Essays in the Social History of Higher Education* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 325.
[18] Gregory Baum, *Catholics and Canadian Socialism*, 101.

the scathing critique envisioned by other members of the thirteen, and he came to appreciate later the deep moral and spiritual dimension of the party inculcated by the Social Gospel movement.[19]

There were several problems with the Lévesque Report. Its methodology was in error: most of the evidence Lévesque used to support his findings was drawn from speeches in the House of Commons made by opponents of J.S. Woodsworth and the vision that he had set forth.[20] It illustrated a divide between the historic conditions that formed this western-based protest party, and the insular place of the Church in the province of Quebec. Additionally, *Quadragesimo Anno* was a malleable document, which could conform to different agendas. For social Catholics, unlike the clergy of the *École Sociale Populaire*, the CCF was also defensible in terms of the encyclical. Even Quebec nationalists articulated this point: "When you make use of the Pope's encyclical to denounce the CCF, why do you not read that part of it which denounces the system that has been built up, maintained, and protected by the two great historic parties since Confederation? If you do, you will find the Pope's Encyclical is as much against our social and economic system as is against communism and socialism."[21] This statement came from Henri Bourassa, Quebec Member of Parliament and influential French-Canadian intellectual. He plainly dissented from the position taken by the institutional Church. *Quadragesimo Anno*, in short, was subject to a conservative reading in the Lévesque Report—as papal encyclicals tended to be in general by the Quebec hierarchy— rather than serving as a progressive source nourishing the aspirations of many social Catholics.

This Lévesque Report took on particular importance because it offered a frame of reference for further condemnations. On 16 May 1933, the Quebec hierarchy issued an episcopal

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[19] Michael D. Behiels, "Father Georges-Henri Lévesque and the Introduction of Social Sciences at Laval, 1938–1955," 325.
[20] Ibid, 104.
[21] Cited in Murray G. Ballantyne, "The Catholic Church and the CCF," 33.

directive in the form of a joint pastoral letter to the province. It dealt ostensibly with Communism, but its commentary was a *de facto* castigation of the CCF. The document's second article condemned all forms of socialism and collectivism because these systems misunderstood the role of liberty and private initiative in the organization of socio-economic affairs. It alleged that, in the radicals' imagined future, individuals would be dependent on the state; property and capital production would become completely subsumed by it. The document also observed that although the abuses of capitalism were regrettable, this system was more desirable than ones that disrespected the moral order—implying a close connection between the atheistic communism of the Soviet Union and socialism in general. Though it was consistent with papal thinking that rejected ideologies with materialist conceptions of society, the document's other objections to socialism seemingly stemmed as much from domestic considerations. It argued that the CCF aimed to disrupt the political and social order and thus infringe on the rights of the provinces in the federal state.[22] Because the Roman Catholic Church successfully had created a public space for French-Canadian identity to grow in the face of potential assimilation following the *Act of Union* (1841),[23] French-Canadian nationalism was closely associated with Catholicism and protected by the language and education rights conferred upon the province at the time of Confederation. As a party with significant western support, the CCF—despite its cadre of Quebec-based intellectuals—gave insufficient attention to the place of the *Québécois* in the Canadian landscape. The Quebec episcopacy, therefore, had every reason to oppose a socialist formation that potentially challenged Church doctrine and, just as important, foreshadowed a wrenching rearrangement of the established political order.

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[22] *Déclaration de l'Episcopat de la Province de Québec – Le Communisme*, 16 May 1933, Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto [ARCAT], MN TA01.114a.

[23] Roberto Perin, "Elaborating a Public Culture: the Catholic Church in Nineteenth-Century Quebec," in Marguerite Van Die (ed.), *Religion and Public Life in Canada: Historical and Comparative Perspectives* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 90.

Discontented with social and economic conditions of the Depression, many social Catholics received the early programme of the CCF more favourably than their institutional leaders. This position was expressed most clearly through media under lay direction like the Archdiocese of Montreal's English-language weekly newspaper, the *Beacon*. Its editor was Murray G. Ballantyne, a convert to Catholicism and son of Progressive Conservative Senator C.C. Ballantyne. Ballantyne was a close friend of Frank Scott (who later chaired the CCF) and eventually developed warm relationships with some of the key participants in Quebec's Quiet Revolution including Pierre Casgrain, Gerard Dion, and Pierre Elliott Trudeau.[24] He had close ties with the LSR and CCF during the 1930s. At Ballantyne's discretion, the *Beacon* reprinted the "Regina Manifesto" and ran an editorial in support of it. The editorial argued that it did not agree with each of the Manifesto's prescriptions. Since private property right remained unchallenged, however, the CCF programme represented the best alternative put forth to lead Canadian out of its state of economic crisis. It showed support for a planned economy, though the article warned against the peril of too much state ownership.[25] The opinion put forth by the *Beacon* clearly contradicted the pronouncements of the official Church in Quebec and showed great empathy for the aims of the new party.

The *Beacon*'s position angered Archbishop of Montreal, Georges Gauthier (1921–1940), and prompted four actions. Firstly, he gave a sermon in September 1933, warning specifically against the new party and the socialism it sought to impose on Canadian society. Secondly, the Quebec Episcopacy issued a statement on the suffering of the Depression. Though not

[24] After Murray Ballantyne wrote his 1963 account of the decade-long attempt to get the Quebec hierarchy to open up to the CCF, he sent the article to friends with knowledge of these events. They included Pierre Casgrain (former Liberal MP and husband to Quebec's provincial CCF leader, Thérèse Casgrain), Gerard Dion (former Director of the Department of Industrial Relations the University of Laval), and Pierre Elliott Trudeau (future Prime Minister of Canada). See Statement from Murray G. Ballantyne, 13 May 1958, Murray G. Ballantyne Papers, Rare Books & Special Collections, McGill University, MS 470/30.
[25] Gregory Baum, *Catholics and Canadian Socialism*, 120–121.

mentioning the CCF specifically, it declared that socialism was not a proper remedy for the current impasse.[26] Thirdly, Father Louis Chagnon S.J. gave a lecture on 15 November 1933 in Montreal, which concluded that the CCF's programme did not warrant the support of Catholic voters. This talk was reprinted in the *Beacon*. Father Chagnon had been one of thirteen clerics who deliberated a year earlier and produced the report written by Georges-Henri Lévesque. The lecture reiterated the findings of the early document and revealed a forthcoming Catholic programme for reform based closely on the Encyclicals, particularly *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno*.[27] Finally, on 16 February 1934, Gauthier issued a pastoral letter confirming his position that Catholic social doctrine and that of the CCF were irreconcilable. Not only drawing on the doctrine of the international Church, the letter also rejected the CCF programme by referring to liberal values: the individual must precede the state, which meant individuals had natural rights the state could not dispossess, no matter what one might critically say about the actual regime of private property. The CCF, the pastoral letter concluded, failed to recognize this fundamental premise in its conception of the social order. It therefore prohibited Catholics from supporting it.[28] These statements were not official pronouncements of the universal Church, but local directives applied to the Archdiocese of Montreal in the case of Gauthier's pastoral letter and to the Quebec Church, in the case of the pronouncement on the Depression. Regardless of their geographic range, they had the popular effect of discouraging CCFers in Quebec and created the perception of a ubiquitous Catholic position against the party.

[26] Ibid, 121–122.
[27] Lecture by Rev. Fr. Louis Chagnon S.J, 15 November 1933, Murray G. Ballantyne Papers, Rare Books & Special Collections, McGill University, MS 470/1.
[28] Monsignor Georges Gauthier, Archbishop of Montreal, *Pastoral Letter*, no. 60, 11 February 1934. Discussed in Jean Hulliger, *L'enseignement social des évêques Canadiens de 1891 à 1950: thèse présentée à la Faculté de Théologie de l'Université d'Ottawa* (Montreal: Bibliothèque Économique et Sociale, 1957), 194–195.

Opposition to this position came from a variety of lay social Catholics, particularly from the English-speaking minority within the Quebec Church. A group of Catholic party members, Murray Ballantyne among them, expressed their displeasure with the position of the Quebec Church in a memorandum entitled "Catholics in the CCF." They advocated "new economic forms" and "new economic and social structures." For them, the CCF program represented the minimum conditions for a truly "Christian social order." This language was similar to the vernacular of organized Protestant attempts at social reform such as the Movement for a Christian Social Order based at the Carleton Street United Church in Toronto, and its progeny, the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order.[29] The memorandum voiced frustration about the public face of Catholicism—and described an opportunity to shape the direction of social democratic alternatives:

> We Catholics feel we cannot conscientiously leave the (very belated) Christian movement, formulated in the CCF programme, to our brothers outside the fold, be they Protestants, as most of the leaders are, or unbelievers. Catholics constitute 40% of our population and could substantially affect the bias of the party. Whether we choose it or not, we are always looked upon as the Right Wing.[30]

The authors of the memorandum wanted to add a Catholic voice to these Protestant movements, because they empathized with the vigorous Christian critique levied against the capitalist system by these groups. These social Catholics also signalled discontent with the institutional Church's attempts at social reform. They recognized the Church's connections to the fascist regimes that had replaced democratically elected ones.[31] Joseph Wall, a Catholic, CCF party member, and General Organizer for the Brotherhood of Railway Employees—and someone whom Henry

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[29] John Webster Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era*, 141–142.
[30] Document entitled, "Memorandum—Catholics in the CCF," 1933, ARCAT, MN AE14.05.
[31] Authoritarian governments from both the right and left wings of the ideological spectrum, it is important to note, caused almost half of the constitutionally elected governments to fall worldwide between the early-1920s and late-1930s. See Eric Hobsbawn, *Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century* (London: Abacus Publishing, 1994), 112. Cited in Sean Mills, "When Democratic Socialists Discovered Democracy," footnote 81.

Somerville had encountered in the 1920s at the Montreal Labour College—voiced concern over Archbishop Gauthier's position directly to high-ranking officials in the institutional Church. He wrote numerous letters to Archbishop Gauthier, Monsignor Andrea Casullo, the Apostolic Delegate of Canada, and copied most of them to Father W.X. Bryan S.J. at Loyola College. Monsignor Casullo replied that he did not have any jurisdiction in the matter and referred Wall to the Archbishop Gauthier.[32] The Archbishop replied to Wall rather tersely. He merely advised him to refer to the pastoral letters. Catholics in his position should "know well where their duty lay."[33] The external opposition to the programme of the CCF by the institutional Church was met with defiance from many social Catholics. They thought the CCF, far from opposing, was actually instantiating many of the best social teachings of the Church.

The View from Toronto

Although the Quebec hierarchy provided the earliest and most public reaction to the CCF, an alternative form of engagement was evident in the English-Canadian Church. In Toronto, Archbishops Neil McNeil and James McGuigan, perhaps at the prompting of Henry Somerville, were hesitant to infringe upon an individual's political liberty by directing Catholics against supporting the CCF. There was reluctance to use civil institutions to oppose a party based on religious conviction. While this approach may have reflected 'Upper Canadian' sensibilities about individual liberty and civic duty, it was adopted by the same authorities who collaborated closely with municipal officials in anti-Communist campaigns. The CCF fit, perhaps, most neatly with Archbishop Neil McNeil's desire to foster a "more social outlook among Ontario

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[32] Joseph Wall to Archbishop Georges Gauthier, 28 February 1934, Murray G. Ballantyne Papers, Rare Books & Special Collections, McGill University, MS 470/4.

[33] Archbishop Georges Gauthier to Joseph Wall, 3 March 1934, Murray G. Ballantyne Papers, Rare Books & Special Collections, McGill University, MS 470/4.

Catholics."[34] Not surprisingly, in contrast to the Quebec hierarchy's conservative interpretation of papal thought, Archbishop McNeil advocated progressive readings of the social encyclicals, which he advanced through Henry Somerville. Upon assuming the Toronto See in 1912, he found a Catholic polity that rarely engaged with political questions, had little knowledge of Catholic social doctrine, and only comprised twelve per cent of the city's population.[35] All of these factors motivated McNeil to have Somerville create adult education initiatives, similar to ones in Antigonish, based on a progressive sense of Church doctrine.

The institutional Church, then, helped foster social Catholicism in English Canada: within the Archdiocese of Toronto—and more broadly, because the *Catholic Register* was disseminated widely. Henry Somerville was responsible for much of this work. When questions about the nature of the CCF were raised in Quebec, Somerville committed himself to analyze its programme. He was disinclined to reject it out-of-hand, based on a presumption of socialist doctrine. He found the conception of socialism advanced by the CCF did not conflict with Church doctrine.[36] Somerville had faced similar questions in Britain. He feared that a condemnation of the CCF by members of the English-Canadian hierarchy would alienate working-class Catholics who identified with aspirations of the new party.[37] Evidence of this observation was evident, no doubt, in many Catholic quarters during the Depression. There was, as we have seen, also evidence of new responses predicated on alarm over the moral foundation of the capitalist system, which led some social Catholics to draw this system into question and

[34] Gregory Baum, *Catholics and Canadian Socialism*, 143.
[35] Ibid, 214.
[36] Henry Somerville, "Life and Labour, Catholics and the CCF," the *Catholic Register*, 4 January 1934. Cited in Jeanne R. Beck, "Henry Somerville and the Development of Catholic Social Thought in Canada," 390–392.
[37] Joseph Sinasac, *Fateful Passages: The Life of Henry Somerville, Catholic Journalist* (Toronto: Novalis, 2004), 90.

urge the institutional Church to do the same.[38] Though many of the objectives of the CCF were consistent with views articulated in Somerville's own writing, he did not see the party as a means to achieve these aspirations as Ballantyne did. Rather, he did not want a crusade against the new party to detract from the Church's own struggle to carve out and preserve its place within a newly emerging social and political landscape in Canada.[39]

The CCF was thus approached cautiously, if optimistically, in Toronto. This position was echoed by Archbishop James C. McGuigan during his tenure as the Archbishop of Regina. In a pastoral letter dated 2 February 1934, McGuigan stressed the Church did not hesitate to oppose advocates of a new social order when they violated the essential Christian precepts that grounded the Catholic world-view.[40] Drawing upon his Regina experiences, McGuigan did not believe that the CCF did so. This conciliatory approach to the CCF ultimately enabled the Church to become more receptive in the following years. McGuigan went on to become the Cardinal Archbishop of Toronto, and M.J. Coldwell assumed the federal leadership of the CCF. Informed also by a desire not to infringe upon an individual's political freedom, members of the English-Canadian hierarchy retained this position of neutrality during the 1930s. After McGuigan arrived in Toronto, though, he faced questions from parishioners of the Archdiocese

[38] In McNeil's possession, written by an unidentified author, was a report on the new party that stated it was not opposed to Catholic principles, and "the spirit that seems to prompt the party is democratic, in the good sense of the word, and also liberal…" Though the programme of the party could be seen as "an instrument of disorder," it concluded, the party resolved to oppose "capitalistic individualism.' See Document entitled "The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation," 1933, ARCAT, MN AE14.04.

[39] Historian Jeanne Beck stresses that Henry Somerville was more familiar with the subtleties of canon law than most lay Catholics. Though he was unhappy that many Catholics thought they could not support the CCF based on the public denunciation of the Quebec hierarchy, he did not want to highlight that these restrictions only applied to their particular Sees. Such a statement would challenge Archbishop Gauthier publicly, and, more crucially, it would highlight disunity in the Canadian Church. See Jeanne R. Beck, "Henry Somerville and the Development of Catholic Social Thought in Canada," 399.

[40] James C. McGuigan, Archbishop of Regina, *Joint Pastoral Letter on the Christian World*, no. 51, 2 February 1934. James C. McGuigan papers, Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Regina [hereafter: ARCAR].

about whether or not Toronto Catholics could vote for the CCF in the 1935 election.[41] To a written inquiry he replied: "The Catholic Church has made no official pronouncement for or against any political party in Canada. Freedom and liberty to vote according to one's conscience is given to all."[42] This position, however, not only resisted interfering with political liberty at the ballot box, but it also discouraged direct clerical intervention in civil governance. On 16 December 1938, McGuigan received a letter from H.R. Fleming, Member of Parliament for Humboldt, Saskatchewan. Fleming told McGuigan that CCF supporters had been making free use of his earlier statements to counter the anti-CCF proclamations of Cardinal Jean-Marie-Rodrigue Villeneuve, Archbishop of Quebec City. Coldwell in particular had drawn upon McGuigan's more clement Catholic presentation of the CCF in a presentation to the Canadian Club and the Montreal Junior Board of Trade.[43] Fleming, a Liberal Party member, sensed opportunity: he indicated that as a Catholic he would oppose the CCF based on Cardinal Villeneuve's judgements, and, as a politician, he would take up matters in Ottawa according to McGuigan's wishes.[44] McGuigan, wishing to keep the Church removed from the political sphere, responded, "…it would be better for our Catholics not to drag this question into the public."[45]

The Vatican was aware of the CCF's public identity as a socialist party. Its interest was also piqued by knowing there was a dissonance between McGuigan's position and the one articulated publicly by the Quebec hierarchy. Attempting to resolve this disparity, Monsignor

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[41] W.L Gendron to Archbishop James C. McGuigan, 8 October 1935, ARCAT, MG PO04.01a.
[42] Archbishop James C. McGuigan to W.L. Gendron, 14 October 1935, ARCAT, MG PO04.01b.
[43] Jeanne Beck documents Cardinal Villeneuve's statements. See Jeanne R. Beck, "Henry Somerville and the Development of Catholic Social Thought in Canada," footnote 67, 397–398.
[44] H.R. Fleming, Member of Parliament for Humboldt, to Archbishop James McGuigan, 16 December 1938, ARCAT, MG PO04.03a.
[45] Archbishop James McGuigan to H.R. Fleming, Member of Parliament for Humboldt, 22 December 1938, ARCAT, MG PO04.03b.

Ildebrando Antoniutti, the Apostolic Delegate, inquired whether or not the CCF programme had been studied, and if it posed a threat to "Catholic objectives."[46] McGuigan's reply demonstrated the impact of social Catholicism on his own thinking and perhaps even empathy for CCF. He wrote:

> Considering... the evils of the existing social order and the possibility of great and even radical changes, some of them desirable and in accordance with true social justice, we feel that, according to our present knowledge and insights on the CCF Manifesto that we could not positively condemn this political party as holding a social doctrine… unacceptable to the social teaching of the Church as revealed in various papal pronouncements notably the Encyclicals… we do not think that Catholics should be hastily condemned for joining the CCF nor should they be absolutely forbidden to do so, until a more exact analysis of their social teachings is made.[47]

The Apostolic Delegate followed up these correspondences with another letter on the matter a year later. Perhaps in light of the Church's experience in the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939), during which the Church supported the Franco insurgency against the Republican government, Monsignor Antoniutti clearly gave more weight to the position of the Quebec Church, which favoured anathema over neutrality (and fit with the Apostolic Delegate's fascist sympathies). He sent Archbishop McGuigan a copy of the Lévesque Report. It was accompanied by an annotation that the report could be disseminated widely within the Archdiocese of Toronto, if Archbishop McGuigan saw fit.[48] It was a suggestion the cleric apparently disregarded.

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[46] Monsignor Ildebrando Antoniutti, Apostolic Delegate, to Archbishop James C. McGuigan, 9 December 1938, ARCAT, MG DS40.34.
[47] Archbishop James C. McGuigan to Ildebrando Antoniutti, Apostolic Delegate, 17 December 1938, ARCAT, MG DS40.35a.
[48] Ildebrando Antoniutti, Apostolic Delegate, to Archbishop James C. McGuigan, 21 November 1939, ARCAT, MG DS41.62.

The Church and the Left in Dialogue

After the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation's initial formation in the early 1930s, it became increasingly moderate by the end of the Second World War.[49] The programme of the CCF was, of course, being modified independently of the Roman Catholic Church's influence. Its course was exemplified by the great debate over the party's decision to distance itself from the Communist Party of Canada.[50] It fit a pattern common to political radicalism within liberal democracy: movements tend to become more moderate in order to create a broader base of support and thus increase a party's chance of election.[51] Yet the CCF was willing to make important concessions in its endeavour to gain favour with Roman Catholics and the Church's hierarchy. A member of the provincial CCF in Saskatchewan revealed that after the Catholic vote had helped the party win a by-election, attacks by the federal party on the 'Padlock laws' in Quebec were toned down in order to garner greater support from Catholic farmers in the provincial election in 1939.[52] A small group of social Catholics attempted to hasten this process of negotiation and accommodation. After the decade-long conflict between the respective positions of the Quebec and English-Canadian hierarchies on the CCF, social Catholics exerted enough influence on the episcopacy to remove existing prohibitions against the CCF. The Quebec hierarchy's support for this process remained conditional, while English-Canadian Bishops more readily embraced it. Consultation between national hierarchies was significant. It

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[49] The 'protest movement becalmed' literature, discussed by Alan Whitehorn, historicizes the CCF in this way. See Alan Whitehorn, *Canadian Socialism*, 18–34.

[50] For a discussion of how the CCF was pressured from the Roman Catholic Church on the right and the Communist party on the left, see Ivan Avakumovic, *Socialism in Canada*, 124–125.

[51] A Gramscian approach to liberal order sees this process as the heart of 'passive revolution:' disorganizing the left, appropriating its organic intellectuals, and altering its aspirations to fit with new liberal conceptions like the welfare state.

[52] This legislation, widely supported by the Quebec hierarchy in an attempt to stop the spread of Communism, gave the police the authority to padlock any building suspected of housing subversive activity for a period one year. See Ivan Avakumovic, *Socialism in Canada*, 111.

continued a tradition of discussion since plenary meetings of 1908, which anticipated being released from the oversight of Proganda Fide, and continued with consultations over terna (list of candidates for episcopal appointment) particularly with the high number of appointments made in 1912. However, in this instance, discussion over political questions represented a step towards a post-Ultramontane Church, one that understood and deliberated on Canadian issues and in a modern context.

After correspondence with Henry Somerville and Egbert Munzer (an advisor to Cardinal McGuigan and a University of Toronto professor, who had studied under John Maynard Keynes and taught for three years at St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish), Murray Ballantyne learned that a committee to study the CCF in light of Church doctrine had been proposed in Toronto. On 26 October 1942, he wrote to Archbishop Joseph Charbonneau of Montreal (1940–1950), successor to the deceased Georges Gauthier, and asked that this committee originate in Quebec, since it was Quebec Bishops who had condemned the party. Charbonneau was a stark contrast to earlier Archbishops of Montreal—the first Franco-Ontarian to hold this position, and later best known as a key figure in the Quiet Revolution for standing up against the Duplessis government in the Asbestos Strike. Ballantyne hoped the Archbishop would be receptive to this idea.[53] The letter to Charbonneau began with a preamble about how the Church endeavoured to protect labour rights. It made many of the same points as a letter that he had received from Frank Scott on how the CCF represented the working class in Canada.[54] Ballantyne revealed that he had conducted informal discussions with Scott about how the CCF programme could be reconciled with Church doctrine. Ballantyne posited three conclusions: firstly, the party's

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[53] For a discussion of Archbishop Charbonneau and the Asbestos Strike see Gérard Dion, "The Church and the Conflict in the Asbestos Industry," in Pierre Elliot Trudeau (ed.), *The Asbestos Strike* (Toronto: James Lewis & Samuel, 1974); Terrence J. Fay, *A History of Canadian Catholics*, 249-255.

[54] Frank R. Scott to Murray Ballantyne, 23 October 1942, Murray G. Ballantyne Papers, Rare Books & Special Collections, McGill University, MS 470/21.

practical proposals were acceptable to Catholics, even more than those of the traditional parties, perhaps because they focused on issues of social and economic justice; secondly, its philosophy was 'materialist' and 'humanitarian,' which was consistent with that of other parties; and finally, the criticisms in Archbishop Gauthier's Pastoral Letter were no longer wholly valid in part, perhaps, because the party had increasingly adopted liberal values over the previous decade. Ballantyne wrote moreover: "Few, if any, of the CCF leaders are philosophers. Their assumptions are implicit not explicit: they are, I believe, susceptible of modification… We do not need to fear the Party, that is to say, unless we drive it away from us and into opposition to us."[55] The party had successfully distanced itself from the Communist Party, he argued, and Catholics now had a historic opportunity to influence its policy.

Archbishop Charbonneau approved the formation of a committee, and Ballantyne served as its only Anglophone member. The committee quickly formulated its conclusions. It found that the CCF was not compatible with "French-Canadian life."[56] The conclusions of the committee, which had quietly been reached during a second session when Ballantyne was absent, were only aimed at French Canada. Its Secretary confided to Ballantyne: "…English-speaking Catholics should join the CCF because it was the least of the three evils [Liberal Party, the newly formed Progressive Conservative Party, and the CCF] and because they could exert influence within the Party and keep it from going to extremes."[57] In a letter written the following year to Archbishop Charbonneau, which he called the 'minority' report of the committee, Ballantyne

[55] Murray Ballantyne to Archbishop Joseph Charbonneau, 26 October 1942, Murray G. Ballantyne Papers, Rare Books & Special Collections, McGill University, MS 470/28.

[56] This point suggests that the CCF programme may interfere with the aspirations of future political parties, such as the *Bloc Populaire*, which the other committee members had endorsed. Ironically, given its role in the Quiet Revolution, the Bloc Populaire did more to erode the traditional place of the Church in Quebec society than the CCF ever could have. For a discussion of the Bloc Populaire, see Terrence J. Fay, *A History of Canadian Catholics*, 244–246.

[57] Murray G. Ballantyne to Archbishop Joseph Charbonneau, Archdiocese of Montreal, 18 September 1943, ARCAT, MG PO04.05c.

stated: "Thinking that was the aim of the Montreal committee, I opened '*pourparlers*' with Coldwell… My purpose was to explore the possibility of a declaration of principle on the part of the CCF, which would be both a guarantee and an occasion for a change of policy on the part of the Church."[58] Ballantyne clearly had different objectives than the other committee members. Through dialogue with the party, he wanted to reform the programme of the CCF, modifying it in ways acceptable to the Church.

Corresponding with Coldwell in December 1942, Ballantyne forwarded a list of issues raised by Cardinal Villeneuve that set forth conditions for making political parties acceptable to the Church. He added, "I realize that not all the seven and ten points will be acceptable to the party, and that the phrasing of others may well have to be adapted."[59] Ballantyne suggested, further, the CCF should incorporate a "Bill of Rights" into its platform, an idea aimed at helping the party gain support from both "Catholics" and the "French."[60] Coldwell agreed. "[T]hese rights upon which Confederation depends should be written into the Statutes of Canada," he urged, "so that there may be no misunderstanding." While the letter did not elaborate on the nature of these rights, a subsequent letter to Frank Scott, dated 16 September 1943, upheld protections for minorities, private property, and, most crucially, Catholic education.[61] During this period the League for Social Reconstruction redefined the democratic nature of its socialist programme, argues historian Sean Mills, by promoting liberal rights in response to perceived

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[58] Murray G. Ballantyne to Archbishop Joseph Charbonneau, Archdiocese of Montreal, 20 September 1943, ARCAT MG PO04.05b.
[59] Murray Ballantyne to M.J Coldwell, 16 December 1942, Murray G. Ballantyne Papers, Rare Books & Special Collections, McGill University, MS 470/21.
[60] Murray Ballantyne to M.J Coldwell, 18 December 1942, Murray G. Ballantyne Papers, Rare Books & Special Collections, McGill University, MS 470/21.
[61] Murray Ballantyne to Frank R. Scott, 16 September 1943, Murray G. Ballantyne Papers, Rare Books & Special Collections, McGill University, MS 470/22.

clerical-fascism in the province of Quebec.[62] The collective rights, identified above, were not all 'liberal' in the classical sense; they reflected historic compromises made at Confederation and were a harbinger of the new liberalism pervasive in the postwar period. They showed, also, how social Catholics simultaneously attempted to restructure the CCF agenda, while pushing the institutional Church to establish more amicable, secular relations with mainstream political parties. After this exchange of letters, talk of a "Bill of Rights" became more evident in speeches made by Coldwell. Ballantyne revealed to Georges-Henri Lévesque—who, by this time, was quite sympathetic to the party—that Coldwell had accepted Cardinal Villeneuve's points without "hesitation" or "reservation."[63]

When Murray Ballantyne again addressed the matter of the CCF to Archbishop Charbonneau on 18 September 1943, he raised three substantive criticisms of the committee's work. Firstly, he responded to the argument respecting the "preservation of the French Canadian way of life" set forth by the other committee members. Although he conceded the close connection between Catholicism and the Québécois, this objection did not belong within the domain of faith and morals. That such a question should arise was indicative of the evolving place of Catholicism in Québécois society. "But it is one thing to say that something is wrong for an individual," Ballantyne argued, " and another to say that it is wrong in itself."[64] Secondly, drawing on the work of Jacques Maritain, he suggested that the future would bring about pluralist states, rather than "Catholic countries." On the grounds of "apostolic responsibility," then, arguments against cooperation with non-Catholics were to be rejected. Bridges ought to be built with all "people of good will" instead of attaching the Church to a particular political

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[62] Sean Mills, "When Democratic Socialists Discovered Democracy," 53–81.

[63] Murray Ballantyne to Fr. Georges-Henri Lévesque, OP 8 February 1943, Murray G. Ballantyne Papers, Rare Books & Special Collections, McGill University, MS 470/22.

[64] Murray G. Ballantyne to Archbishop Joseph Charbonneau, Archdiocese of Montreal, 18 September 1943, ARCAT, MG PO04.05c.

apparatus. This point demanded the institutional Church secularize its ties to civil governments and clearly critiqued the Church's tendency to build connections with fascist regimes. It also reflected Ballantyne's own political inclinations as the key focus of the Canadian left in this moment was to oppose fascist movements, which also corresponded to his desire to loosen Church ties to the Duplessis government.[65] Finally, in terms of 'political justice,' Ballantyne argued the CCF should be treated like the other political parties. Contradicting the pastoral directive of Archbishop Gauthier a decade earlier, Ballantyne concluded by urging that the CCF should be declared "indifferent" from the perspective of faith and morals.[66] Persuaded by his argument, Archbishop Charbonneau asked Ballantyne to set up a meeting, with Frank Scott and M.J. Coldwell, to discuss the party's platform, to see how, or if, it was consistent with Church teachings.[67] Archbishop Charbonneau was satisfied with the party, and he agreed to discuss a resolution indicating that the previous condemnations no longer applied. At a plenary meeting of Bishops held on 13 October 1943, he agreed to harmonize his position towards the CCF with that of the English-Canadian hierarchy.[68]

As the Bishops were preparing to meet, Cardinal McGuigan received advice from Egbert Munzer. He argued that the CCF ought to be viewed within a new paradigm, one that relegated the Church's direct influence over politics to the past:

> It is my firm conviction that the Church will gradually shift from her corporate existence, pre-eminent in the past, to a strongly spiritual communion, with no place for organized religious-political parties, legalist relations to the secular power, State-Churchism… in consequence, the Church should operate politically through the medium of all existing parties, which are not clearly opposed to Faith and Morals.[69]

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[65] "Surely," Murray Ballantyne wrote, "after the record elsewhere, we do not want to form a 'Catholic' political party, or to become identified with the political forces of the 'Right.'" See Ibid.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Murray G. Ballantyne, "The Catholic Church and the CCF," 43.
[68] Ibid.
[69] E.L. Munzer to Archbishop James C. McGuigan, 22 September 1943, ARCAT, MG SO45.35a.

Munzer's advice revealed that a new orientation was evolving—one that allowed rank-and-file Catholics to vote for whomever they wished, without limits, while leaving the hierarchy to wrestle with the more profound problem of reconciling religion and modernity. Just as the CCF had changed its party line to accommodate Catholics, the institutional Catholic Church was also being urged to change its position to accommodate its progressive members. There was, then, a process of mutual accommodation and change underway in the early 1940s.

As the plenary meeting of Bishops unfolded, it would redefine how the hierarchy would direct their faithful on questions of politics and civic duty. The second resolution on the agenda, agreed upon by the Bishops, was "That official condemnation of federal political parties be made by one Bishop only after consultation with other Bishops." Not surprisingly, then, the third item resolved to declare voting for the CCF a matter indifferent to faith.[70] Archbishop McGuigan adopted these positions with great facility, particularly since the Quebec Bishops were willing to support them. A bi-national subcommittee comprised of Archbishops Charbonneau, McGuigan, and Francis Patrick Carroll of Calgary (1935–1968) gathered to issue a statement on this decision.[71] The Bishops chose not to mention the party by name, but the statement told Canadian Catholics that they were free to support any of the mainstream parties. Given how the CCF had modified its programme, McGuigan was pleased that the Quebec Bishops had removed their objections to the party. In a personal letter, he confided that strengthening the CCF was part of a strategy to keep it away from radicalism—essentially by helping the party broaden its base of support, and so neutralize the radical factions still evident in the party. [72] They tended to be the

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[70] Jeanne R. Beck, "Henry Somerville and the Development of Catholic Social Thought in Canada," 411–412.
[71] "Bishops of Canada Ask for Social Economic Reforms: Statement on Party Affiliation of Catholics," *Catholic Register*, 30 October 1943.
[72] Archbishop James C. McGuigan to Lieutenant F.J. Carson, 10 November 1943, ARCAT, MG PO04.08b.

most anti-clerical.[73] The institutional Church's motivations, then, were complex and multifarious, if not also strategic.

Shortly after the Archbishops released their "Statement on Party Affiliation of Catholics," Archbishop McGuigan received a letter from the Apostolic Delegate that aimed to counter a rumour that "the CCF was approved by the Holy See."[74] Clearly the Canadian episcopacy was developing an independent, increasingly bi-national, identity, as this body responded to Canadian economic, social, and political issues.[75] By the 1940s, given the Church's evolution in Canada, Canadian Bishops recognized the need for a formal episcopal body, in part to establish coherent on pressing issues like the acceptability of the CCF under Church doctrine. They formed the Canadian Catholic Conference in 1943.[76]

Following the Bishops' declaration, Murray Ballantyne and Henry Somerville wrote accompanying editorials in their respective newspapers clearly specifying that it applied to the CCF. Other newspapers like Winnipeg's *Northwest Review* and London's *Catholic Record* issued statements saying these editorial interpretations were not official. As a result, Ballantyne wanted further confirmation from the Bishops that the interpretations put forth by the two journalists were indeed 'official.' Both Somerville and McGuigan thought this step was too

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[73] When Cardinal Villeneuve died in 1947, for example, a scathing article attacking the Archbishop was published by the *CCF News* in British Columbia and picked up by *L'Action Catholique*. Embarrassed at how this article reflected upon the party's newly established relationship with the Church, Coldwell wrote a letter to the Quebec paper that stated the opinions expressed by the party in British Columbia did not reflect the national organization. See Walter Young, *The Anatomy of a Party*, 213.

[74] Monsignor Ildebrando Antoniuti, Apostolic Delegate, to Archbishop James C. McGuigan, 27 November 1943, ARCAT, MG DS45.56.

[75] This restructuring, quickened by social Catholics, was part of a metamorphosis commenced earlier in the twentieth-century: in 1908, the Vatican changed the status of the Canadian Church from a mission to an established church responsible to the Vatican. No longer under the jurisdiction of *Propaganda Fide*, this change in status gave the institutional Church direct access to the Vatican through the Secretary of State.

[76] Plenary sessions for Canadian Bishops to discuss mutual problems had been organized since the nineteenth-century, however, but the only responsibility placed on individual Bishops was faithfulness to Canon Law. See Terrence Fay, *A History of Canadian Catholics*, 267.

extreme: it could create disunity in the Church, and the available statements sufficiently established the Church's position. Ballantyne published an article on the Church and the CCF in an American, Roman Catholic publication, the *Commonweal*, on 4 April 1944, and it was reprinted in the *Catholic Register* on 15 April 1944.[77] By this point, however, not only had the institutional Church removed opposition to the CCF, but news of Catholics nominated for the party in the next provincial election was being advertised in the *Catholic Register*, which would have been less likely had the party still been subject to anathemas in Quebec.[78] A generation later, priests such as Bob Ogle in Saskatchewan and Andy Hogan in Nova Scotia were successful candidates for the CCF's successor organization, the New Democratic Party. In this moment of the 1940s, the role of institutional Catholicism had, perhaps not so subtly, shifted in the Canadian landscape.

Conclusions

The Church's accommodation with the CCF came about largely because social Catholics influenced prominent Archbishops to reconsider the institutional Church's position towards the party. The historiography illustrates that this process most acutely through the relationship between Murray Ballantyne and Henry Somerville. While there are similarities between these social Catholics, there are also points of divergence: whereas Ballantyne saw the party as an appropriate vehicle to express social and economic concerns about the capitalist system, Somerville wanted it clearly placed on equal terms with other political parties so lay Catholics could freely offer their support without concern about violating the precepts of their faith. As was the case with respect to other social matters, Somerville was intensely pragmatic. The party not only modified its programme in ways that became acceptable to the Church, but Catholicism

[77] Murray G. Ballantyne, "The Catholic Church and the CCF," 33–45.
[78] *Catholic Register*, 18 March 1944, 8.

also played an active role in this transition. This reconsideration of the relationship between the Church and the CCF reveals how it influenced restructuring within the institutional Church—one attuned to twentieth-century political realities.

During the 1930s and 1940s, social Catholicism was one force that challenged the traditional authority of the Quebec episcopacy and helped give greater influence to the English-Canadian hierarchy within the governance of the Canadian Church. After the mid-1940s, the Catholics in English Canada and Quebec followed markedly different paths in their respective societies. With post-war immigration, particularly from Italy and Eastern Europe, the Catholic presence in Toronto came to match that of the Protestant population. As the largest English-Canadian See, the Archdiocese continued to gain prominence in Canada: Archbishop James McGuigan became a Cardinal, English Canada's inaugural, in 1946. In this same year, the framework of "State-Churchism," one that Munzer had wished to relegate to the past, was once more in evidence in Quebec, when Archbishop Charbonneau was forced to resign his episcopal See over conflict with the Duplessis government over the Asbestos Strike. He spent the rest of his career as a hospital chaplain in Victoria, British Columbia. Yet such an exercise of the old power relations had become rare, and as Quebec inched into its Quiet Revolution, increasingly unthinkable. Throughout Canada, and in Quebec, there was a new atmosphere, one in which the Church was no longer expected to be a pliant instrument of power. Much of the explanation for this change can be found in the process of *rapprochement*, conducted on both sides, which brought social democrats and Catholics closer together in the 1940s.

CHAPTER 8

FAITH ON THE PRAIRIES:

SOCIAL CATHOLICS AND THE CCF IN THE GENERATION BEFORE VATICAN II

In the opening pages of *The Social Passion*, historian Richard Allen writes:

> The social gospel, properly speaking, was a Protestant phenomenon, but an analogous social Catholic movement covered approximately the same years. While it would be tempting to try to weave the social gospel and social Catholic movements in Canada into one account, the winds of ecumenism had not yet, in 1914, begun to blow Canadian Catholics and Protestants together, and despite certain similarities in development, the two movements ran on parallel, but largely unconnected, lines.[1]

'Social Catholicism' or 'practical Christianity' as some informant sources called it may indeed be treated as a form of Christianity parallel to the Protestant Social Gospel. This chapter explores a possible exception to this observation: the relationship between Roman Catholics and the CCF in Saskatchewan during the 1930s and 1940s. In the wake of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation's formation, as the last chapter discussed, the institutional Church came to change its mind about the party. This chapter is interested in how Roman Catholics re-imagined themselves politically in the decades leading up to Vatican II. The engagement of social Catholics with the CCF does much to illuminate some of these themes. How did they see their relationship to the economic and political order, the relationship between Church and the wider community, and, fundamentally, what it meant to be a politically-engaged Christian? An examination of Saskatchewan—home to the first social democratic government in Canadian history—offers fertile ground for such explorations. A survey of lay and clerical voices, such as a further consideration of Eugene Cullinane, CSB and Catholic CCF MLA Joe Burton, helps us

[1] Richard Allen, *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914–1928* (Toronto: *University of Toronto Press*, 1971), xxiii.

understand why many Catholics believed that they could find in both party and Church expressions of their political and moral views. In both institutions one could work to realize the moral imperatives of a burgeoning 'practical Christianity.'

The case for Roman Catholic support of the CCF should not be oversold. Even during the 1944 election, Saskatchewan Catholics still primarily voted for the Liberal Party.[2] Demographically, multiple ethnic cleavages existed within the province's Catholic community. There were in 1931 about 47,121 Catholics of German origin and 44,680 Catholics of French origin in the province. German Catholics, primarily based in rural areas, had eclipsed the French-Canadian Catholic population by almost 3,000 people.[3] In the Muenster area, many German Catholic families had emigrated from rural American states such as Montana, Nebraska, and Minnesota—in part because of ethnic tensions following the Great War and in part because they were pursuing prosperity. Often such new Catholic residents relocated in Catholic areas near schools and churches.[4] German Catholics (along with their French-Canadian counterparts) tended to resist the appeal of the CCF. The CCF's Catholic support came primarily from 'Anglo-Saxons.'[5] Yet with all these qualifications, the argument that Saskatchewan Catholics shifted in a pro-CCF direction has merit. In *Agrarian Socialism*, Seymour Martin Lipset rather surprisingly found a positive Catholic/CCF correlation in 1934 and 1944, in marked contrast to a negative United Church/CCF correlation in the same years.[6] Such data reveal a slight Catholic

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[2] David M. Quiring, *CCF Colonialism in Northern Saskatchewan: Battling Parish Priests, Bootleggers, and Fur Sharks* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), 8.
[3] George Hoffman, "Saskatchewan Catholics and the Coming of a New Politics, 1930-1934," in Richard Allen (ed.), *Religion and Society in the Prairie West* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1974), 83, n.11.
[4] Sister Aquinas Shulte, OSU interviewed by George Hoffman in Bruno, Saskatchewan, 11 July 1973, "German Catholics and the CCF," Oral History Project, Saskatchewan Archives Board, A208
[5] Seymour Martin Lipset, *Agrarian Socialism: The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation in Saskatchewan, a Study in Political Sociology* (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1968 edition) 210.
[6] In a subsequent table, Lipset also shows that support for the CCF among Catholic farmers stood at 38.1%. See Ibid, 204, 220.

propensity to favour the party—one that, in closely-contested ridings, could make a significant difference.

A number of political factors also converged to make the CCF a viable alternative in Saskatchewan. One was the influence of Ku Klux Klan on the Conservative Party after it came to power at the close of the 1920s. The educational reforms of James Thomas Milton Anderson's coalition government, formed in the wake of the 1929 provincial election, were also unpalatable to Roman Catholics—particularly those that entailed the removal of crucifixes and other religious symbols from all schools and prohibitions on religious garb on the part of teachers.[7] These reforms, sometimes ignored by stubborn religious sisters,[8] came on the heels of the Conservative Party's decision the previous year to exclude Roman Catholics from positions on its Executive.[9] Although voting patterns had already to divide along ethnic-religious lines in Saskatchewan, these actions, along with the influence of anti-Catholic rhetoric emanating from the United States during Al Smith's failed Presidential bid in 1928, made Depression-era religious and political tensions particularly acute.[10]

In the years following this election, these policies not only caused lay Catholics to search for new political possibilities, but the pervasiveness of an anti-Catholic Right in Saskatchewan also caused the local hierarchy, in contrast with its counterpart in Ontario and Quebec, to approach the CCF more openly, if cautiously. While the Liberal Party remained the popular political alternative for Catholics, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation was neither tainted by its position on the Anderson reforms—having formed as a party in the early 1930s

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[7] Raymond Huel, "The Anderson Amendments and the Secularization of Public Schools in Saskatchewan," CCHA *Study Sessions*, vol. 44 (1977): 61–76.

[8] Sister Aquinas Shulte, OSB interviewed by George Hoffman in Bruno, Saskatchewan, 11 July 1973, "German Catholics and the CCF," Oral History Project, Saskatchewan Archives Board, A208.

[9] George Hoffman, "Saskatchewan Catholics and the Coming of a New Politics, 1930-1934," 67.

[10] Ibid.

after they were enacted—nor, despite its roots in the Protestant Social Gospel, with the aura of Anglo-Protestantism ostensibly associated with the Conservative Party. Cautious optimism marked early statements from the hierarchy. As noted earlier, James McGuigan reminded the priests and laity in his charge that the Church would oppose any suggestions for the social order deemed irreconcilable with a Christian understanding of the world.[11] Though this language was open to interpretation, his actions in the months following suggested the pronouncements of leaders of the CCF in Saskatchewan did not fall within the category of anti-Christian teachings. After Father Athol Murray, the well known educator at Notre Dame College in Wilcox, Saskatchewan, expelled two students for becoming members of the Young People's CCF study group, McGuigan wrote Murray and cautioned against such actions. This position, communicated to Murray, was arrived at after McGuigan assured the provincial CCF leader, M.J. Coldwell, that the Church in his jurisdiction would not oppose an individual's political affiliation to the CCF.[12]

The traditional alliance between the Liberal Party and the Roman Catholic Church (and, by extension, the Roman Catholic voting public) was predicated not only on the conversation between the Laurier Government and the Church on the definition of 'liberalism' at the close of the nineteenth century, but in Saskatchewan upon the function of private property within a liberal society (remembering, of course, that it is a precondition for liberty). In Saskatchewan, many of the German Catholic immigrants, arriving either from overseas or via the United States, benefited from the homesteading policies of the Liberal Party, and thus felt indebted towards it.[13]

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[11] James C. McGuigan, Archbishop of Regina, *Joint Pastoral Letter on the Christian World*, no. 51, 2 February 1934. James C. McGuigan papers, Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Regina [ARCAR].

[12] Sr. Teresita Kambeitz, "Relations Between the Catholic Church and the CCF in Saskatchewan, 1930-1950," 58; Peter McGuigan, "The CCF and the Canadian Catholic Church," *Catholic Insight* (January 2004): 36–41.

[13] Multiple respondents recall their families receiving 160 acres for $10.00 through the homesteading policies. See John Becker interviewed by George Hoffman in Carmel, Saskatchewan, 11 July 1973, "German Catholics and the

This Catholic/Liberal connection was also sustained on an institutional level. Land had been given to the institutional church—for example, to build, St. Peter's colony in Muenster. As one respondent said with a touch of hyperbole, "the Church and the Liberal party were the same."[14] At times the Church could be quite insistent in its support for the Liberals. Father Bruno Doerfler, Abbot of St. Peter's colony in Muenster, Saskatchewan, actually asked one parishioner to relinquish his post as collection-taker at Mass because he supported the Conservative Party.[15] The radical early programme of the CCF, with its ill-defined position on private property, was problematic for many Catholics (and the major source of contention with the institutional Church). However, under continued conditions of economic depression, social Catholics began to reflect critically on the classic liberal principle of private property, particularly as capitalist processes concentrated wealth in the hands of relatively few. Such Catholics, despite a traditional allegiance to the Liberal Party and its homesteading policies, began to anticipate the Keynesian economic reforms of the post-war period with a refined view of social ownership in the economy.[16] This view, in turn, challenged possessive individualism, as collective provisions, such as family allowances, became critical facets of the state's duty. They tallied amiably with neo-Thomism's understanding of natural law—but pragmatically were a world removed from the

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CCF," Oral History Project, Saskatchewan Archives Board, A211; Harry Ford interviewed by George Hoffman in Humboldt, Saskatchewan, 12 July 1973, "German Catholics and the CCF," Oral History Project, Saskatchewan Archives Board, A212.

[14] Father Augustine Nenzel, OSB interviewed by George Hoffman in St. Benedict, Saskatchewan, 13 July 1973, "German Catholics and the CCF," Oral History Project, Saskatchewan Archives Board, A209.

[15] Joe Hinz interviewed by George Hoffman in Humboldt, Saskatchewan, 11 July 1973, "German Catholics and the CCF," Oral History Project, Saskatchewan Archives Board, A210.

[16] Dissenting voices did arise of course: in George Hoffman's interview with John Becker, Becker expresses great apprehension about unemployment insurance, welfare, unionization and other provisions of the welfare state. This view, expressed in the 1973 interview, reflects the Chicago school of economic thought so influential a decade later in the neo-liberal policies enacted in Canada, Great Britain, and the United States. John Becker interviewed by George Hoffman in Carmel, Saskatchewan, 11 July 1973, "German Catholics and the CCF," Oral History Project, Saskatchewan Archives Board, A211.

classic liberal poor laws. They implicitly drew upon the ideological position that favoured a co-operative commonwealth.[17]

Many Catholic Liberals sat in the provincial legislature. Other prominent Catholic leaders, such as Joseph Burton, the first Catholic CCF member elected to the legislature representing the Humboldt area (about 113 kilometers east of Saskatoon) were dismayed at the government's apparent corruption. In response, Burton attempted to win a seat for the CCF twice in provincial by-elections. In 1934, he was soundly defeated by Liberal James C. King, having received only twenty-seven per cent of the popular vote; three years later, however, he won a narrow victory over Liberal Charles Dunn, by a margin of 138 votes.[18] Several years before the CCF formed government, he became one of the party's legislators. Many Humboldt-area Catholics had obviously defied the still-resistant hierarchy to elect Burton.[19] As his widow recalled forty years after his election, "people who worked on railroad were threatened with losing jobs unless they supported the Liberals."[20] For Catholics like Burton, two-time Grand Knight of the Knights of Columbus, the CCF became a home that reflected his social Catholic values. This feeling was also maintained by some priests ministering in the province. As Benedictine priest Augustine Nenzel mused, the CCF was "closer to Christ's own programme."[21] He went on, in first-person terms, to explain the turn to the CCF: "banks wouldn't loan money," he decried, "[there was] injustice there. No one has the 'right' to all this money when people are

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[17] Ibid.

[18] http://www.elections.sk.ca/constituencyvotesummariessarchive.php (accessed 13 April 2011).

[19] One of George Hoffman's respondents explains that Catholics did not like James King stepping aside to provide a safe seat for Charles Dunn, who had previously lost in Yorkton, and thus opted to support Joe Burton in the 1937 by-election. Joe Hinz interviewed by George Hoffman in Humboldt, Saskatchewan, 11 July 1973, "German Catholics and the CCF," Oral History Project, Saskatchewan Archives Board, A210.

[20] Mrs. Marjorie Burton (and Mr. Basil Cannell) interviewed by George Hoffman in Homboldt, Saskatchewan, 12 July 1973, "German Catholics and the CCF," Oral History Project, Saskatchewan Archives Board, A206.

[21] Father Augustine Nenzel, OSB interviewed by George Hoffman in St. Benedict, Saskatchewan, 13 July 1973, "German Catholics and the CCF," Oral History Project, Saskatchewan Archives Board, A209.

starving. [There] needed a fundamental change with a focus on human beings."[22] And finally, he concluded, "If anyone knew socialism, it was Christ. The CCF was trying to put into practice some of the doctrines of Christ."[23]

From 1935 to 1942, prior to Joe Burton's election as a federal member, the Humboldt riding had been held by Harry Raymond Fleming—Catholic and Liberal. Fleming elicited one of the most honest responses to Catholic support for the CCF from the Catholic hierarchy. Fleming worried that Catholics in Saskatchewan had been given permission by the Church to vote CCF, if they wanted to. M.J. Coldwell, basing himself on McGuigan's pronouncement in 1934, had intimated as much. In private correspondence with McGuigan, after he had been appointed to the Toronto See, Fleming asked whether McGuigan actually held this position. In a letter that McGuigan asked not be cited further, he candidly told Fleming that he had been caught off guard in the 1934 campaign and had replied to the inquiry in question rather hastily. However, there was indeed no official condemnation of the party, and he believed that Catholics could freely offer their support for the CCF. While he respected the views of prelates who actively opposed the CCF, such as Cardinal Villeneuve of Quebec City, he refused to believe that their position could claim universality. Fleming would likely have been disappointed with this response particularly since his correspondence had offered McGuigan a measured *quid pro quo*: "if there… there is anything you would like me to take up for you in Ottawa… I will only be too pleased to do so."[24] The correspondence thus reveals a delicate balance: the changing Church had secularized its stance, effectively allowing its laity a far greater degree of freedom, but it also carried with it longstanding Liberal ties that were not likely to disappear overnight.

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[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Brian Hogan, private collection. ARCAT, Catherine de Hueck envelop.

Joe Burton made the transition from provincial to federal politics, following a by-election victory on 9 August 1943. Winning re-election in 1945, Burton faced the same questions about faith and politics that he had confronted in Saskatchewan's Legislative Assembly years earlier. In the House of Commons, Lawrence Skey, a one-term Progressive Conservative member for the constituency of Trinity, asserted that socialism violated human nature, substantiating his opinion with a bevy of carefully selected quotations from Jeremy Bentham, Herbert Spencer, as well as Popes Leo XII and Pius XI, among others. Such representations were commonly faced by Catholic socialists and social democrats. Burton was familiar with opponents turning Catholic doctrine or the pronouncements of Church leaders against him and his party.[25] He defended himself with no less conventional arguments. Yet, more interestingly, he also crafted arguments on behalf of both the Church and the CCF. In 1946, for example, the federal budget included a provision of imposing tax on (not-for-profit) co-operatives. Naturally, defence of the co-operative movement was important to the CCF, but it was equally significant for Catholics across the country, particularly in Nova Scotia, who sought to live otherwise.[26] Opponents suggested that Moses Coady did not oppose the legislation.[27] Burton, who knew Coady personally and was influenced by the work of the Antigonish movement,[28] thought otherwise. He believed the proposed policy would have adverse affects on the families that had benefited so greatly from the work of the St. Francis Xavier Extension department. Similarly, Burton's emphatic anti-Communism was a piece of this party's hardening line—as he proclaimed in 1946, "I take this opportunity to say that in my opinion no political party in Canada has gone as far as

[25] For a good treatment of how Joe Burton defended his support for (and position within) the CCF based on both Catholic principles espoused in papal encyclicals and/or scriptural tradition see Gregory Baum, "Joe Burton: Catholic and Saskatchewan Socialist," *Ecumenist* (July-August 1976): 70–77.
[26] Canada, House of Commons *Debates*, 18 July 1946 (Joseph Burton).
[27] Canada, House of Commons *Debates*, 17 July 1946 (Moses Elijah McGarry).
[28] Canada, House of Commons *Debates*, 18 July 1946 (Joseph Burton).

we have in the CCF, and this is especially true of Saskatchewan, in our endeavours to prevent the infiltration of communists into the party."[29] Yet, it was also shaped by his sense of the Church's position. While he was one of many voices that helped pacify the radicalism of the early CCF, Burton was also in a space 'in between' his socialist colleagues and socially-minded co-religionists. He reconciled these perspectives amicably, by advocating the 'social ownership' of property—an idea that brought hope to many on the prairies and across the country harshly affected by the conditions of the Great Depression and difficulties on the home front during wartime.

Joe Burton, a seasoned defender of the concept of "social ownership," defended the CCF's position on private property *vis-à-vis* Catholic social teaching. Throughout his political career, he maintained that the popes had advanced the idea of socialization—and an equitable distribution of goods required both public and private ownership. The key questions that remained focused on what areas of the economy required public involvement. Unregulated private ownership could have sinister implications for the private property rights advanced within the Catholic intellectual tradition. Large-scale capitalist development in farming, for example, might be no better for the family farm than the collectivization of agriculture. Private property rights needed to be restricted in spheres in which they created conditions for the exploitation of one group of individuals by another. The goal of the CCF, argued Burton, was for more, not less, private property ownership diffused throughout Canadian society. Public property, in turn, was not to be conflated with centralized ownership by the state. Those inspired by the principles of co-operation aimed to create greater control over those sectors of the economy that carried disproportionate influence on the individual lives of citizens. (Here one senses the influence of the Antigonish Movement). In Saskatchewan, public, collective entities,

[29] Canada, House of Commons Debates, 18 July 1946 (Joseph Burton).

such as credit unions, were necessary if Canada was to transition away from being a classic liberal project. Burton did not envision this move as one towards state socialism. He hoped, rather, that the entire nation might from the turmoil of the 1930s and 1940s as a 'co-operative commonwealth.'[30]

After being defeated federally in 1949, Burton returned to provincial politics in the 1950s. With the CCF no longer a fringe party, the Bishops of Saskatchewan sought particular aid from Catholic members of the Douglas government, such as Joe Burton and I.C Nollett, provincial Minister of Agriculture from 1946 to 1964, on matters that affected the Church. Once again private property became a contentious issue. Bishop Philip Pocock, for one, looked to Catholic cabinet ministers for policies reflecting Catholic teaching. In December 1947, the Separate School Board of Saskatoon attempted to purchase land known as the Mayfair Football Grounds in order to house schools for Catholic students in the Mayfair, Westmount, and Caswell Hill districts, only to have the request denied by Woodrow S. Lloyd, Minister of Education (1944–1960).[31] Bishop Pocock interpreted the decision as an attack on minority education rights, firmly established by law in the province. He also considered it to be the result of sectarian, political posturing after local residents organized a petition to block the establishment of separate schools in this area.[32] Before making his case public through the Catholic press, a powerful organ of the Church, Bishop Pocock wrote to Nollett, copying Joe Burton, along with the Bishops of Gravelbourg and Prince Albert, the Abbot at Muenster, and the President of the

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[30] Gregory Baum, "Joe Burton: Catholic and Saskatchewan Socialist," *Ecumenist* (July-August 1976): 76.

[31] Woodrow Lloyd succeeded Tommy Douglas as Premier of Saskatchewan in 1961. For an account of Lloyd's time in Saskatchewan politics see A.W. Johnson, *Dream No Little Dream: A Biography of the Douglas Government of Saskatchewan, 1944–1961* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004); C.B Koester (ed.), *The Measure of the Man: Selected Speeches of Woodrow Stanley Lloyd* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1976); Dianne Norton, "Woodrow S. Lloyd" in Gordon L. Barnhart (ed.) *Saskatchewan Premiers of the Twentieth Century* (Regina: University of Regina, Canadian Plains Research Center, 2004); Brett Quiring "The Social and Political Philosophy of Woodrow S. Lloyd," *Saskatchewan History*, vol. 56, no. 1 (Spring 2004): 5–20.

[32] Letter from Bishop Phillip Pocock to I.C. Nollett, 15 December 1947, Joe Burton Papers, SAB.

Catholic School Trustees Association. It is interesting that Bishop Pocock felt comfortable in approaching Catholic cabinet ministers who otherwise had little involvement with this issue. The institutional Church had adopted a more secular approach to the rights and responsibility of the laity on voting; yet the hierarchy was clearly more hesitant to distance itself from exerting influence, or at least seeking help, from lay Catholics in positions of political authority when it suited its needs. Education (along with health care reform) would continue to be key battlegrounds between the Church and the CCF over the party's next twenty years of governance.

Among the factors that fostered Catholic support for the CCF in Saskatchewan was the influence of a unique blend of journals and newspapers. Historian George Hoffman's oral history project reveals that this source provided intellectual capital for the religious and social thought of politically-engaged Catholics. The *Western Producer*, which was aimed in its early years at promoting the Wheat Pool, and the *Grain Growers Guide*, with its strong ties to the co-operative movement and the Social Gospel, were both widely-read secular sources of news and opinion.[33] Also influential were prominent American periodicals: the *Catholic Worker* from New York City and *Orate Frates*, the organ used by Dom Virgil Michel and the Liturgical Movement, which provided the intellectual stimulation to growing numbers of Catholics interested in personalism in the United States.[34] Fr. Michel exclaimed: "Is there any surprise that Christian ideals could find no place in this life and that social justice has become a completely unknown entity?"[35] The ideas of American, socially progressive (yet not necessarily left)

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[33] Mrs. Marjorie Burton (and Mr. Basil Cannell) interviewed by George Hoffman in Homboldt, Saskatchewan, 12 July 1973, "German Catholics and the CCF," Oral History Project, Saskatchewan Archives Board, A206.
[34] Father Augustine Nenzel, OSB interviewed by George Hoffman in St. Benedict, Saskatchewan, 13 July 1973, "German Catholics and the CCF," Oral History Project, Saskatchewan Archives Board, A209.
[35] Quoted in Mark and Louise Zwick, *The Catholic Worker Movement: Intellectual and Spiritual Origins* (Mahwah, New Jersey: Paulist Press, 2005), 62.

Catholics, such as Monsignor John A. Ryan,[36] also influenced Saskatchewan Catholics.[37] Closer to home for these prairie Catholics, the *Prairie Messenger*, a weekly newspaper published by the Benedictine Monks at St. Peter's Abbey in Muenster, Saskatchewan, was sympathetic to the CCF. Much of this support came over two decades from its editors, Father Wilfred Hergott and Father Augustine Nenzel, who were sympathetic to the social gospel. The paper also benefitted from lay contributors such as [Bob] F. Von Pilis, a veteran of the Antigonish movement, who became chair of the national CCF's farm committee in the 1950s and editor of the *Union Farmer*.[38] On the prairies, the Roman Catholic audience for these periodicals tended to represent a particular demographic—the well-educated Catholics, who saw many of their own convictions embodied in CCF policies. In all of these instances, attempts at a 'practical Christianity' were also inspired by the encyclical thought emanating from the Holy See.[39]

For Ida Shulte, who journeyed north from the United States with her family as a child, and later became Ursuline Sister Aquinas Shulte, some Catholic farming families in rural Saskatchewan looked with fear upon aspects of CCF radicalism, especially those that dealt with farm issues in the 1930s. Her father, a pig and corn farmer, saw the formation of the Wheat Pool

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[36] Monsignor Ryan wrote voluminously on all topics that he deemed connected to social justice. For example, see John A. Ryan, *The Christian Doctrine of Property* (New York: Paulist Press, 1923); John A. Ryan, *Capital and Labour* (New York: Paulist Press, 1931); and John A. Ryan, *Attitude of the Church towards Public Ownership* (New York: Public Ownership League, 1932).

[37] Father Augustine Nenzel, OSB interviewed by George Hoffman in St. Benedict, Saskatchewan, 13 July 1973, "German Catholics and the CCF," Oral History Project, Saskatchewan Archives Board, A209;

[38] Father Augustine Nenzel, OSB interviewed by George Hoffman in St. Benedict, Saskatchewan, 13 July 1973, "German Catholics and the CCF," Oral History Project, Saskatchewan Archives Board, A209; Walter D. Young, *The Anatomy of a Party* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 200.

[39] Mrs. Burton recalls her husband, Joe, attending CCF meeting with copies of *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno* in hand. After reading from them, he asked the crowds, "who do you think wrote this?" A common reply was "Mr. Woodsworth." That ideas emanating from the Pope could be thought to be those of the very Protestant Woodsworth was telling. See Burton and Cannell, Hoffman interview, SAB, A206.

and co-operatives as steps towards the collectivization policies of the Soviet Union.[40] Despite the apprehensions held by Shulte's father that the co-operative movement would lead to "more radical measures," her brother-in-law was inspired by it and saw in it a chance for a fairer deal for farmers. By the 1930s, Sister Aquinas had shed the concerns of her parents and was directed by Father Henry Carr to study economics with Father Eugene Cullinane and English literature under the direction of Carlyle King, future CCF party president, at the University of Saskatchewan.[41] Co-operative ideas began to creep into university curricula, with the classes offered at St. Thomas More College by Father Eugene Cullinane, CSB being a prime example.[42] The work undertaken by the Antigonish movement became increasingly well known, which suggested an important intersection between different streams of Canadian social Catholicism.[43]

An examination of Eugene Cullinane's time in Saskatchewan, 1945–1948, sheds new light on Catholicism's engagement with the left. Inspired by the CCF, he changed his Catholic University of America doctoral topic from "The Function of Catholic Priesthood as a Basic Element in the Social Order" to "The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation: a Sociological

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[40] Sister Aquinas Shulte, OSU interviewed by George Hoffman in Bruno, Saskatchewan, 11 July 1973, "German Catholics and the CCF," Oral History Project, Saskatchewan Archives Board, A208

[41] Sister Aquinas acknowledged Professor King as "the brains behind the CCF." Carlyle King was elected to the provincial executive of the CCF in 1939, ran unsuccessfully for the party leadership a year later, and was party President from 1945 to 1960. The experiences of King Carlyle in the 1930s, after he was forbade making political public speeches by the University of Saskatchewan's President, James Thompson, on the grounds that they were seditious, bears remarkable similarities to the censure imposed on Eugene Cullinane a decade later. This juxtaposition is an important example that support for the CCF was met with hostility by the powerful, institutional elite both inside and outside the walls of the Church. See Carlyle King, "Recollections, the CCF in Saskatchewan," in Donald C. Kerr (ed.), *Western Canadian Politics: The Radical Tradition* (Edmonton, Alberta: NeWest Institute for Western Canadian Studies, 1981), 31–41.

[42] Sister Aquinas Shulte, OSU interviewed by George Hoffman in Bruno, Saskatchewan, 11 July 1973, "German Catholics and the CCF," Oral History Project, Saskatchewan Archives Board, A208. This point is corborated further: Joe Burton also notes that Fr. Cullinane used copies of his parliamentary speeches, as source material for his political science lectures. See Letter from Joe Burton to Fr. Wilfred Hergott, OSB, 16 April 1947, Joe Burton Papers, SAB.

[43] Father Augustine Nenzel, OSB interviewed by George Hoffman in St. Benedict, Saskatchewan, 13 July 1973, "German Catholics and the CCF," Oral History Project, Saskatchewan Archives Board, A209.

Analysis of its Origins and Ideology" under the direction of sociologist Paul Furfey. Cullinane toured Canada, visiting each province where he met with local groups, became close to CCF leadership, and spent extended time at the CCF's national office.[44] Cullinane's reputation as a supporter and scholar of the CCF became well known, and he began to receive unsolicited requests from CCF leaders—Madeline Sheridan, a prominent Catholic from Montreal and member of the CCF National Council, encountered by Henry Somerville earlier in this study, was one— to help engage Catholics in 'social revolution.' In her case, she wanted Cullinane to help her build a pan-Canadian, Christian, social democratic option—along the lines of the British Labour Party or the *Mouvement Républicain Populaire* in France.[45]

In the CCF, Cullinane saw a spirit of personalism necessary for Catholicism to engage modernity politically, as well as a practical avenue for Catholics to participate in the reorientation of a Canadian project predicated on classic liberalism to one based on social democracy. Cullinane called the CCF revolutionary precisely because he considered it to be Thomistic.[46] His reading of the CCF was one clearly inspired by the personalism of Jacques Maritain, "because Maritain has brought, more than any other thinker of our times, such clarity and insight into the analysis of these forces. I believe that you cannot possibly understand the CCF in its entirety without Maritain."[47] Following the economic and social upheaval of the 1930s and early 1940s, Cullinane accepted Maritain's premise that the modern world was in a moment of "convulsion" and "liquidation."[48] The Catholic Church did a disservice to itself by keeping distance from the CCF because the party offered a way to harness the "constructive" and

[44] Letter from Fr. Eugene Cullinane to Fr. Henry Carr, 10 July 1945, Fr. Eugene Cullinane Papers, Saint Thomas More College Archives (hereafter STMCA).
[45] Letter from Madeline Sheridan to Fr. Eugene Cullinane, 7 April 1947, STMCA.
[46] Letter from Fr. Eugene Cullinane to Fr. Henry Carr, 1 May 1945, STMCA.
[47] Letter from Fr. Eugene Cullinane to Fr. Henry Carr, 26 April 1945, STMCA.
[48] Ibid.

"creative" forces necessary for the regeneration of society.[49] The inner nature of the CCF, Cullinane posited, represented a "renewal of the most profound energies of the religious conscience surging up into temporal (Canadian) existence."[50] While Protestants found the spirit of the Social Gospel in the CCF, Cullinane thought Catholics might find there a radical interpretation of the spirit of neo-Thomism and hailed the new political moment as one that held out the potential of renewing Roman Catholicism. A grasp of Maritain was, for him, central to grappling with contemporary political and economic questions. Cullinane also perceived a divide between priests and middle-class Catholics *vis-à-vis* farmers and industrial workers (a dichotomy not unfamiliar to the social democratic left). Part of the remarkable success of the Catholic Church, traditionally, has been its ability to maintain unity between its intelligentsia and common peoples. The latter group—the "proletarian Catholics"—which Cullinane recognized would not have the same access to Maritain, would have to discover the merits of the CCF experientially.[51] As a priest formed in the Basilian tradition and upholding its devotion to education, Cullinane saw the CCF as a means for personalist renewal — for Canada, for Catholicism, and even western civilization.

Based on his doctoral research in the 1940s, Cullinane wrote a pamphlet called "The Catholic Church and Socialism," which was published and widely disseminated by the CCF (Saskatchewan) section. Much of the pamphlet's interest lies in Cullinane's subtle reflections on the very meaning of the term "socialism." As was standard for Catholics on the left during this period, Cullinane parsed the term to distinguish "old revolutionary socialism" from "new democratic socialism." The former had been condemned under Church doctrine. The latter

[49] Ibid.
[50] Letter from Fr. Eugene Cullinane to Fr. Henry Carr, 1 May 1945, Fr. Eugene Cullinane Papers, STMCA. Here Cullinane quotes Jacques Maritain, *The Twilight of Civilization* (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1943), 31–32.
[51] Letter from Fr. Cullinane to Fr. Henry Carr, 15 June 1948, Eugene Cullinane Papers, STMCA.

represented a political form with the highest potential to embody Gospel values.[52] As a voice of the CCF, Cullinane developed an argument consistent with other lay social Catholic leaders, such as Henry Somerville and Murray Ballantyne. His separation of distinct strands of socialism worked not only to secure political freedom for the Catholic voting public, but also to the political advantage of the CCF.[53] His approach persuaded many people: Joseph Charbonneau, the Archbishop of Montreal, even offered his *imprimatur* should Cullinane wish to publish his doctoral research as a monograph.[54] Cullinane's work also received support from the Dominican Georges-Henri Lévesque—the very man whose scathing critique of the CCF for the Quebec Bishops had set the party back in the 1930s, before he came to appreciate its spiritual depth and consistency. Both men warned Cullinane that his work would come under assault from Jesuit Nationalists and the Order's *École sociale populaire*. They would view Cullinane's work as a challenge to their work of establishing a parallel programme for social order based on the corporatism advanced by Pope Pius XI.[55] Each of these instances illustrates different and competing forces within Canadian Catholicism. Firstly, Cullinane's subtle etymological argument—so sharply contrasted with those presented by the likes of Fr. Charles Coughlin—implicitly validated an intellectually-developed approach to the question. Secondly, with respect to the anticipated opposition from the Jesuits, one sees evidence of a battle between different intellectual currents within the Church—one corporatist and nationalistic, the other personalist

[52] Gregory Baum points out that semantic difficulties transcended religious boundaries within the CCF on this general issue. *The Commonwealth*, Saskatchewan's weekly CCF periodical, regularly needed to publish editorial sections on "What is Socialism?" Emphasized within its pages was the idea that the CCF, in the British tradition, advanced a 'moral,' rather than 'scientific,' socialism, rooted in the Christian tradition of the Social Gospel. Revolutionary socialism was merely a euphemism for Communism, while the new democratic socialism was a political reality in the British, Australian and New Zealand labour parties, as well as the social democratic and Christian democratic parties that had emerged in post-war Western Europe. See Gregory Baum, "Joe Burton," 74.
[53] Fr. Eugene Cullinane, C.S.B, "The Catholic Church and Socialism," STMCA, Fr. Eugene Cullinane Papers.
[54] Fr. Eugene Cullinane to Fr. Henry Carr, 10 July 1945, STMCA, Fr. Eugene Cullinane Papers.
[55] Ibid.

and social democratic. Here were two readings of Catholic social thought entailing contrasting visions of Canada's social order.

An element of 'passive revolution' also existed within Cullinane's attempt to promote the merits of the CCF. Social democracy, by safeguarding private property, offered a way to respond to, and ultimately to remove, the threat of Communism in Canada. "Unlike Communism," he writes, "the New Democratic Socialism does not deny that a man has a right to private ownership of property. On the contrary it strengthens this right by aiming at a more equitable distribution of the nation's wealth, by attacking greed—the root cause of Communism…"[56] The relationship between the greed for private property and the desire for social ownership of property was a close one. The social democratic option would divert the radical impulse within the left, and thereby strengthen government ownership of key industries. Even the more radical wings of the party had shied away from talk of a planned economy, recognizing in it the risk of totalitarianism. Based on the European experience, believed Cullinane, the CCF held a passion for democracy and the preservation of human liberty.[57] Yet, though the CCF was moving in the right direction, it still required Catholic leadership. Without it, the party, notwithstanding its implicit personalism, ran the risk of appropriation by forces on the radical left with aims antithetical to the Catholic worldview. Undirected, the new humanism might pass sterilization laws, liberalize divorce, and promote contraception. It might lead to the politicization of production, distribution, finance, consumption, medicine and surgery, hospitalization, education—indeed "the whole of everything."[58] Clearly such dire outcomes would hold implications for Canadian Catholicism: "the new humanism will do all this unless we

[56] Fr. Eugene Cullinane, CSB, "The Catholic Church and Socialism," Fr. Eugene Cullinane Papers, STMCA.
[57] Letter from Fr. Eugene Cullinane to Fr. Henry Carr, 26 April 1945, STMCA, Fr. Eugene Cullinane Papers, STMCA.
[58] Letter from Fr. Eugene Cullinane to Fr. Henry Carr, 1 May 1945, STMCA, Fr. Eugene Cullinane Papers, STMCA.

Catholics have the vision and courage and generosity to join with the builders of the New Order to help them in this work of constructing a more humane world."[59] Rather than compete with this project, as the corporatists in Quebec wished to do, Eugene Cullinane counselled Catholics to cooperate with it. He saw a Catholic voice in the CCF as the most effective means to Christianize a social order clearly in transition.

One of the more unusual relationships that Cullinane maintained was an intellectual friendship with Harold Winch,[60] ardent socialist and long-time provincial leader of the CCF in British Columbia—and, who, after the 1943 statement on a Catholic's freedom support to support the party, took the opportunity to make a series of statements about the revolutionary nature of CCF socialist doctrine generally and about its anti-clericalism specifically.[61] Cullinane, however, saw Harold Winch as a visionary: "Through the depression he fought a heroic battle against overwhelming odds in defence of persecuted and suffering humanity… when and if Canadian history is properly written, Harold Winch will be numbered amongst those who have won the distinction of being truly great Canadians."[62] Winch, in turn, demonstrated affection for Cullinane, driving the Basilian out to New Westminster to spend an evening with his father, Edward Ernest Winch,[63] pioneer of the socialist movement in British Columbia and long-time parliamentarian for the CCF.[64] Cullinane made no mistake about the radical nature of the CCF in British Columbia, noting their inspiration came from the writing of Karl Marx, Friedrich

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[59] Ibid.

[60] Though Peter Campbell describes Harold Winch's mother, Linda, as being a spiritualist, Harold, not unlike his father Ernest, was not overtly religious—and, in fact, demonstrated hostility towards the Catholic Church, adding to the precariousness of this friendship. See Peter Campbell, *Canadian Marxists and the Search for the Third Way* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999), 57.

[61] Kambeitz, "Relations between the Catholic Church and CCF in Saskatchewan," 50.

[62] Letter from Fr. Eugene Cullinane to Fr. Henry Carr, 26 April 1945, Eugene Cullinane Papers, STMCA.

[63] For an excellent treatment of Ernest Edward Winch, see Peter Campbell, *Canadian Marxists and the Search for the Third Way*, 31–72.

[64] Letter from Fr. Eugene Cullinane to Fr. Henry Carr, 6 May 1945, Eugene Cullinane Papers, STMCA.

Engels, and V.I. Lenin.[65] These influences made the CCF in British Columbia markedly different from its counterpart in Saskatchewan. A mutual antagonism existed between the British Columbia CCF and the province's hierarchy, notably Archbishop William Duke of Vancouver (1931–1964), who was dubbed the "Iron Duke" for his doctrinaire opposition against Marxism. The B.C. socialists also created divisions within the CCF as a movement: its eastern sections did not see a reflection of their politics in those of their west coast counterparts.

Through his friendship with Winch, Cullinane came to appreciate some of the roots of CCF/Catholic division. He sensed the lingering Protestant hostility to Catholicism of some of its members and even leaders.[66] Internationally, many segments of the CCF took exception to Rome's tacit support of Mussolini's conquest of Abyssinia (Ethiopia), of Franco in the Spanish Civil War, and of the *Estado Novo* in Portugal.[67] In a philosophical sense, the Marxist influence on the CCF was clear to Cullinane. As the world's largest property-owning entity, the Roman Catholic Church was an integral part of capitalism and thus was perceived by many CCFers as a force of exploitation and reaction.[68] Catholics who sensed, as he did, the personalist element of CCF doctrine also confronted evidence of the hierarchy's acute ambivalence with respect to the party.[69] Winch interpreted a pre-election directive from Archbishop Duke as one that, without naming the CCF, nonetheless condemned left-wing political parties in 1945. (The "Iron Duke," it should be recalled, was autonomous within his own episcopal jurisdiction and exercised this authority from the pulpit when he preached an anti-left message in his homilies).[70] The *B.C*

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[65] Letter from Fr. Eugene Cullinane to Fr. Henry Carr, 15 April 1945, Eugene Cullinane Papers, STMCA.
[66] Allen Mills discusses J.S. Woodsworth's apprehension of Roman Catholicism particularly as it was manifested in the CCF leader's *Strangers Within Our Gates*. See Allen Mills, *Fool for Christ: The Political Thought of J.S. Woodsworth* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 56–57, 229.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Letter from Fr. Eugene Cullinane to Fr. Henry Carr, 1 May 1945, Eugene Cullinane Papers, STMCA.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Letter from Fr. Eugene Cullinane to Fr. Henry Carr, 10 July 1945, Eugene Cullinane Papers, STMCA.

Catholic refused to run CCF electoral advertisements, while accepting ones from the Liberal and Conservative parties. Cullinane feared this anti-CCF attitude was pervasive throughout much of the hierarchy. These acts were perceived to be ones of bad faith—and did little to create trust on the part of the CCF. The winds of change blowing in Roman Catholicism were difficult to parse for CCF leaders who were not conversant with the stance of Saskatchewan Catholics, let alone with the progressive possibilities of personalism or with Cullinane's neo-Thomism.

Development leading to the termination of Eugene Cullinane's membership and active participation in the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (and his eventual departure from the Diocese of Saskatoon) came to a head 1948. In the course of his ministry, Father Cullinane saw "part of his vocation to be in the CCF."[71] Often, he remarked that his involvement with the CCF "appears to be the most strategic apostolate handed to any one priest in our time."[72] The Church's most important work in the post-war world lay could be found in the politico-economic sphere.[73] Cullinane's vision of a postwar world reconstructed in part by the CCF clashed sharply with that of the hierarchy. Phillip Pocock, the Bishop of Saskatoon from 1944 to 1951, had asked Eugene Cullinane not to speak publicly about the Church and socialism following a series of talks that Cullinane offered in Edmonton. Strictly speaking, Cullinane, as a priest of a religious congregation, did not owe a vow of obedience to the Bishop, but to his provincial superior. Nonetheless, he served in the Diocese of Saskatoon at Pocock's pleasure and thus had a *de facto* obligation to respect his directives. Historian Peter Meehan has explored the pragmatic circumstances surrounding Pocock's position—namely the tenuous position that the Saskatchewan Church found itself in as prelates negotiated a role for Catholic hospitals in the

[71] Letter from Fr. Eugene Cullinane to Fr. Henry Carr, 5 June 1948, Eugene Cullinane Papers, Madonna House Archives (hereafter MHA).
[72] Letter from Fr. Eugene Cullinane to Fr. Henry Carr, 10 July 1945, Eugene Cullinane Papers, STMCA.
[73] Letter from Fr. Eugene Cullinane to Fr. Henry Carr, 31 July 1946, Eugene Cullinane Papers, STMCA.

mid-1940s amidst proposals for North American's first scheme for universalized health care.[74] Cullinane had respected this 1946 directive. Yet two instances of his activism especially offended Bishop Pocock.[75] Firstly, Father Cullinane had agreed to re-edit a copy of his Edmonton speeches for publication in the *Commonwealth*. Cullinane did not see this act as a violation of the Bishop's wishes because the views expressed in the edited article had previously been disseminated. Secondly, and more egregious for Pocock, was a letter that Cullinane had sent in April 1948 as a response to an inquiry from H.O. Hanson, Member of the Legislative Assembly for Wilkie, Saskatchewan about the acceptability of the party under Catholic teachings.[76] In a four-page response, Cullinane distinguished his views as a priest from those he held as a private citizen. In both capacities, he defended his stance with respect to "democratic citizenship" and argued passionately for the CCF as an instance of "purified socialism," one which represented a just and humane political vision for Canada. Cullinane even revealed that he had a "heart and soul" commitment to the CCF and claimed "a more thorough and comprehensive knowledge of the movement than anyone else in Canada."[77] Pocock saw the letter as an act of disobedience when it became widely publicized a few months later. The Bishop issued a directive against all priests serving in his diocese from holding membership in a political party—an act clearly directed at Cullinane. Cullinane swiftly, though distraughtly, complied in June 1948.[78] Much to the chagrin of the vicar general of his province, Hubert

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[74] Peter Meehan, "'Purified Socialism' and the Church in Saskatchewan: Tommy Douglas, Phillip Pocock, and Hospitalization, 1944–1948," *Historical Studies*, vol. 76 (2010): 23–40.
[75] Letter from Fr. Cullinane to Fr. Henry Carr, 15 June 1948, Eugene Cullinane Papers, STMCA.
[76] Letter from Fr. Eugene Cullinane to H.O Hanson, 5 April 1948, Eugene Cullinane Papers, STMCA.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Letter from Fr. Eugene Cullinane to J. Cummings, 14 June 1948, Eugene Cullinane Papers, STMCA; Letter from A.O Smith to Fr. Eugene Cullinane, 15 June 1948, Eugene Cullinane Papers, MHA. Upon receiving word of Cullinane's resignation, A.O. Smith, the CCF's provincial secretary in Saskatchewan, wrote to Cullinane expressing deep regret at the termination of Cullinane's membership, adding, "I hope you have felt you have belonged to

Coughlin, Cullinane then was appointed to teach at Toronto's St. Michael's College in the fall of 1948.[79]

Eugene Cullinane's role in the CCF was a high profile case of Catholic participation in the party. Catholic-CCF interaction in Saskatchewan received attention well beyond the province's borders. Tommy Douglas received letters from socialists in Wisconsin. They were keen to make sense of the inroads that the Saskatchewan CCF had made with the Catholic community. Noted for having a sizable Catholic population, a substantial industrial base, and a socialist party founded at the close of the nineteenth century, Wisconsin was a battleground for the U.S. left. Socialists here attempted to make inroads in municipal elections and looked to Tommy Douglas and the CCF for advice. In response, Douglas turned to I.C. Nollet, a Catholic cabinet minister, and Fred Williams, editor of the Saskatchewan *Commonwealth*. He directed them to provide statements by the Canadian hierarchy on the compatibility of Catholicism and social democracy.[80] Progressives within the Canadian Church also depicted Saskatchewan as a laboratory for social democracy. In the 1948 Christmas issue of *America*, a U.S. Jesuit-run journal, high praise was offered for the moderate measures taken by the Douglas government, a far cry from any frightening radicalism. Praise was also offered for the CCF's transformation of the provincial economy. The party had widened the province's agricultural base and diversified its natural resources sector. Sixteen new Crown corporations, the expansion of Saskatchewan

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perhaps the world's greatest democratic people's movement dedicated to bringing a better social order based on genuine Christian principles to common people."

[79] Although Father Eugene Cullinane was the best known clerical supporter of the CCF in this period, other priests, social Catholics in their own right, supported the formation of co-operatives and credit unions in Saskatchewan. Often commitment to these institutions naturally led to support for the CCF, evidenced by Benedictine priests Wilfred Hergott and Augustine Nenzel. Other priests in Saskatchewan, such as Fr. Francis Lommer despite having earlier apprehensions also grew sympathetic to the party.

[80] Letter from William Osborne Hart to Tommy Douglas, 1 March 1948, Tommy Douglas Papers, SAB; Letter from Tommy Douglas to I.C. Nollett and William Osborne Hart, 18 March 1948, Douglas Papers, SAB; Letter from Tommy Douglas to Fred Williams, 18 March 1948, SAB.

hydro, a public insurance scheme, and, of course, Canada's first socialized hospital insurance programme, all indicated a new direction. All of these measures were lauded for how they moved Canada away from free enterprise, promoted equality, and substantially raised the standard of living for its citizens, only a decade removed from the abject conditions of the Great Depression.[81]

One consequence of international developments within Catholicism—both in terms of encyclical thought and advances in Catholic philosophy—is that they forced some Catholics to evaluate their political choices in light of their religious convictions. The connection between the Liberal Party of Canada and a Roman Catholic voting electorate had been longstanding arguably since Sir Wilfrid Laurier co-opted Vatican support for his interpretation of 'liberalism' in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.[82] Thus, the Liberal Party had become palatable to the leaders of the Church.[83] Socialism, affiliated in many minds with atheism and attacks on private property, loomed up much larger than liberalism as a threat. Very few social Catholics favoured the outright abolition of private property. Other social Catholics likely realized that within the CCF there were a number of stances with respect to private property, with the *Regina Manifesto* itself embracing a diversity of property-forms. Yet more social Catholics may have not cared particularly about official articulations of party positions with respect to property, because they were more attracted by the CCF's overall vision. Besides, the Saskatchewan CCF

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[81] E.L. Chicanot, "Socialism in Saskatchewan," *America*, 25 December 1948. Located in Tommy Douglas Papers, SAB.

[82] See J.R. Miller, *Equal Rights: Jesuit Estate Act Controversy* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979); Rainer Knopf, "The Triumph of Liberalism in Canada: Laurier on Representation and Party Government" in Janet Ajzenstat and Peter Smith (eds.) *Canada's Origins: Liberal, Tory, or Republican* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995).

[83] One should not forget the anxieties that the international Church had about 'liberalism' in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, or the conflict ensuing between liberals and the Quebec Church in the 1870s following the death of Joseph Guibord. On the implications of the Guibord Case, see Rainer Knopff, "Quebec's 'Holy War' as 'Regime' Politics: Reflections on the Guibord Case," *Canadian Journal of Political Science/Review canadienne de science politique* vol.12, no.2 (June 1979): 315–331.

had gone to great lengths to distance itself from any notion of its programme as one that envisaged a comprehensive nationalization of property. Through much of the 1940s, it remained quite friendly to the interests of small business.[84]

Among the social Catholics surveyed in this chapter, Bob and Andrée Von Pilis provided an important link between the social Catholicism of the east and one burgeoning in the west. With geographic ties to Nova Scotia, Ontario, and Saskatchewan, they had intellectual ties to Moses Coady and the Antigonish Movement, Catherine de Hueck, as well as the CCF. Bob and Andrée Von Pilis' long-standing friendship with Moses Coady prompted them to send their daughter, Barbara, to St. Francis Xavier University. During this same period, they developed strong connections to Madonna House in Combermere, Ontario (progeny of the Catherine de Hueck's Friendship House movement and perhaps the most enduring example of a social Catholic community's attempt at 'living otherwise') with Andrée spending the summer of 1953 there in "blind obedience."[85] The Von Pilises acted as a bridge between the Basilian-inspired spirituality of the Friendship House movement and the social action of the Antigonish Movement. At the invitation of Bob Von Pilis, Moses Coady was scheduled to visit Madonna House in July 1954. Though the trip was cancelled due to Coady's poor health, he was prepared to meet with credit unions in the region and with the Bishop of Pembroke during 'Rural Week' in the diocese. For Von Pilis, Father Coady's presence in Combermere would symbolize the direct connection that he saw between devotional practice and the spirit of co-operation.[86] Von Pilis took the call of *Quadragesimo Anno* seriously for reconstruction of the social order: papal

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[84] On this point, see Peter Sinclair, "The Saskatchewan CCF: Ascent to Power and the Decline of Socialism," *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 54 (December 1973): 419–433.

[85] F. Von Pilis to Dr. Moses Coady, 5 July 1953, SFXUA, RG30.21/1/4261.

[86] During the 'family rosary crusade' held in the Diocese of London, Ontario, Von Pilis requests that Dr. Coady write an editorial on connections between the recitation of the family rosary and the sprit of co-operation. F. Von Pilis to Dr. Moses Coady, 7 May 1956, SFXUA, RG30.2/1/4280.

documents provided a manual, rather than a blueprint, for how to build a Christian social order.[87] Local conditions dictated how this vision was to be achieved. The CCF was the most suitable vehicle for blending deep spirituality with pragmatic political change. Von Pilis wanted to develop the co-operative movement in Ontario through the CCF, but he also wanted the CCF to be influenced by the thought of the Antigonish movement. He arranged, for example, to have co-operative literature from Nova Scotia reach the offices of T.D Thomas, a CCF MLA for Durham, Ontario during the 1940s and 1950s.[88]

After accepting a job as 'correspondent on co-operatives' with the *Western Producer*, Bob Von Pilis and his family came to reside in Saskatoon in August 1956.[89] Though he had often sent Moses Coady socially progressive editorials from the *Prairie Messenger* ("the sons of St. Benedict are catching the same spirit as the sons of St. Francis Xavier," he exclaimed),[90] it was Coady who provided an *entrée* for Von Pilis to key figures in the co-operative movement and the CCF in Saskatchewan.[91] Journalism became the full-time vehicle for the politicization of Von Pilis's social Catholicism in the west. Amidst farming and farm activism in Ontario, Von Pilis wrote a column on "Land and People" (a title at once suggesting traditional liberal assumptions tempered by a dose of personalism) for Henry Somerville's *Canadian Register*. In Saskatchewan, his audience was clerical and lay, religious and secular. As Von Pilis transitioned into a new part of his career, his work reached increasingly larger audiences—with one speech to

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[87] F. Von Pilis, "For Further Information Inquire at the Rectory," *Catholic Register*, undated, SFXUA, RG30.2/1/4286.

[88] F. Von Pilis to Dr. Moses Coady, 2 December 1951, SFXUA, RG30.21/1/4257. In turn, Von Pilis also passed along audio tapes of Tommy Douglas's speeches to Moses Coady. F. Von Pilis to Dr. Moses Coady, 11 January 1955, SFXUA, RG30.2/1/4271.

[89] F. Von Pilis to Dr. Moses Coady, 9 July 1956, SFXUA, RG30.2/1/4288.

[90] F. Von Pilis to Dr. Moses Coady, 22 February 1945, SFXUA, RG30.2/1/4243.

[91] For example, Coady introduced Von Pilis to B.J Arnason, CCF deputy Minister of Co-operation and Co-operative Development (and recipient of an honorary degree from St. Francis Xavier University). F. Von Pilis to Dr. Moses Coady, 4 September 1956, SFXUA, RG30.2/1/4293.

a group of Saskatchewan trade unionists picked up by the National Catholic Welfare Conference's publication, "Social Action Notes for Priests," and disseminated widely to thousands of priests and seminarians across the United States.[92] Thus, as a Catholic member of the CCF, Von Pilis operated with greater freedom than had many of his co-religionists of an earlier period. In his writing, a portrayal of "Christ as labourer" resonated well beyond Canadian borders, reaching many in the United States.[93]

Into the 1960s, liberalism came to pervade Von Pilis's social democratic view of Canada. His transition to a more liberal posture paralleled that of the CCF itself. With the *Winnipeg Declaration* in 1956, the party was cast within both the Canadian left's "planning formation," but also, arguably, the penumbra of liberal order's second-wave.[94] The *Winnipeg Declaration* replaced the *Regina Manifesto* as the guiding document of the party. It promised to extend public ownership, break private monopolies, and advance human need and enrichment as society's fundamental mission. Where it was more moderate than the principles established a generation earlier, however, was moving away from language about nationalizing modes of production and exchange. "Those who had drafted the Declaration," writes Ivan Avakumovic, "were influenced by the fact that the mixed economies of the Western world displayed by the

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[92] Patrick J. Sullivan, "Catholic Social Thought on Labour-Management Issues, 1960–1980," chapter x. http://archives.nd.edu/psl/psl017.htm (Accessed: 17 May 2011). "Social Action Notes for Priests" was issued monthly by the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference—known today as the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops—from 1940 to 1968. The periodical was spearheaded by Chicago's "Labour Priest," Monsignor George G. Higgins. For an assessment of Monsignor Higgins's contribution to social Catholicism in the United States, see the various essays written in his honour in the *U.S Catholic Historian* vol. 19, no. 4 (Fall 2001).

[93] For a good treatment of how this imagery was used in radical social Christianity (and, more generally, the role of religion in the labour movement of the early twentieth century), see Melissa Turkstra, "Constructing a Labour Gospel: Labour and Religion in Early 20th-Century Ontario," *Labour/Le Travail*, vol. 57 (spring 2006): 93–130.

[94] Ivan Avakumovic, *Socialism in Canada: A Study of the CCF-NDP in Federal and Provincial Politics* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978), 162–164.

mid-1950s far greater resilience… than the battered capitalist system in the early 1930s."[95] Canada exemplified this pattern after the Depression: the Canadian liberal order demonstrated resilience derived in part from its leaders' appropriation of certain left notions of planning along with co-opting a number of its erstwhile left-wing critics.

With the rise of the welfare state, social provisions became *de facto* rights within Canada's new liberalism. With the CCF government of Tommy Douglas advancing Canada's first system of socialized medicine, the Catholic Church was also affected: care for the sick, a traditional charge for Christians, had become accompanied in Quebec (and English Canada) by a network of Catholic hospitals that blurred the boundaries separating the spheres of religious/secular, lay/clerical, and church/state. In Saskatchewan, enlarging government's role in health care meant negotiation with the Catholic hierarchy. It also prompted social Catholics to re-evaluate how the prescriptions of the Canadian left—in this case with respect to universalized health care—could be reconciled with Christian duty. For Von Pilis, prescriptions such as universalized health care were just measures properly instituted by the public authority, with social provisions inextricably tied to providing for the well being of the 'Mystical Body.' With regard to the 1962 doctors' strike in response to the *Medical Care Insurance Act*, Von Pilis argued that physicians and health care providers bore a special responsibility. Their role in society elevated their profession from one of "office" to "ordination."[96] Doctors were as obliged as priests to serve publicly without concern for economic interest or their own (narrowly-construed) civil liberties. Privileging the latter degraded their position. Von Pilis delivered this message shortly before doctors were set to strike in Saskatchewan. He articulated it clearly as a lay Catholic and not on behalf of the Church, but with the imprimatur of the Bishop of

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[95] Ibid, 162.

[96] F. Von Pilis, "Medicare and Christian Responsibility," Presentation to a public meeting at Sacred Heart Auditorium, Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, 27 June 1962, SFXUA, RG20.3/16/1862.

Saskatoon, Francis Klein, and with a declaration that it was free of moral or theological error. Thus Von Pilis's social Catholicism suggested ways to bridge the gap between theology and politics. He suggested that the Douglas government's vision of universal health care, with all it suggested with respect to the rights and duties of citizens, was compatible with the social implications and obligations of his faith.

Before leaving Saskatchewan to retire on a piece of land near Catherine de Hueck's Madonna House in Combermere, Bob Von Pilis remained active within the CCF. Von Pilis continued to demand that his social Catholicism (and the Church) remain accountable for and responsive to the social needs of a country founded on Christian principles. The topics of his editorials and public talks expanded from traditional concerns about farming families and small-scale agricultural development to the rights of workers and a Christian attitude towards labour in Canada's industrial landscape.[97] The right to organize workers within labour unions was more than "morally necessary"—it was a "Christian duty."[98] This fusion of social democracy and social Catholicism was more than hopeful advocacy, he argued. Its failure would signal the loss of a Christian Canada to the exigencies of secularism and capitalism. He drew a stark contrast between the division of church and state (which he praised) and the separation of religion from society (which he feared). The privatization of religion and its concomitant process of 'de-Christianization' meant the erosion of a Christian basis for social life. Social Christianity needed to retain a public voice. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, Von Pilis's voice was one amongst many within the Canadian left that sought to draw agricultural and industrial workers closer together. As the CCF gave way to the New Democratic Party, the fusion of social Catholicism

[97] F. Von Pilis, "The Collectivization of Agriculture," Presentation to the Priests' Institute, Kerrobert, Saskatchewan, 18 April 1961, SFXUA, RG30.3/6/5134.
[98] F. Von Pilis, "Would Christ be a Trade Unionist?" Presentation to the Saskatoon Religion-Labour Committee, 22 January 1964, RG50.1/1/11725.

and a social democratic vision for the country became ever stronger. And now, the windows of the Church were beginning to be thrown open across the Atlantic.

Of Antonio Gramsci's writings on the Roman Catholic Church, Polish intellectual Leszek Kolakowski writes:

> In the search for forms in which the new class, striving to dominate social life, might or should organize its own culture, Gramsci frequently addressed himself to the history of the Roman Church. He seems to have been impressed by the ideological strength of Christianity, and he laid particular stress on the care taken by the Church at all periods to prevent an excessive gap developing between the religion of the learned and that of simple folk, and to preserve the link between the teaching imparted to the faithful at all levels.[99]

As the CCF developed from a movement into a political force in Canada, provincially and federally, such Roman Catholics as Von Pilis forcefully articulated an approach to politics that brought intellectuals and ordinary people together. At the same time, they were confronted with a Church in which the university-educated and theologically-adept reformers ran the risk of alienating rank-and-file believers. One theme stressed in the responses that George Hoffman received during his interviews was the proclivity of some educated Catholics to gravitate towards the CCF, in good moral conscience, despite the various anathemas coming from many sectors of the institutional Church. For these Catholics, sympathetic to the Social Gospel, moved by the Christian underpinnings of the CCF, and on their own parallel course developing social Catholicism as a form of 'practical Christianity,' support for this movement was an important and welcome expression of faith on the Prairies during the decades leading up to the Second Vatican Council.

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[99] Leszek Kolakowski, *Main Currents of Marxism* (New York and London: W.W. Norton and Company, 2005 edition), 979.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION:

ALL ROADS LEAD TO THE MODERN WORLD

When James McGuigan, accompanied by Henry Somerville, arrived home from Rome after the 1946 Consistory (the ceremony in which the Pope creates new 'Princes of the Church'), the Archdiocese of Toronto held public celebrations in honour of him as Canada's first Anglophone Cardinal. It was a seminal moment in the history of English-Canadian Catholicism—one marked by a detour *en route* from Rome for an audience with King George VI in London. At a Mass celebrated in Maple Leaf Gardens, a venue large enough to accommodate the throngs of faithful commemorating the moment, His Eminence gave a rousing homily encouraging his flock to use this moment to realize the potential of their faith by "joining a co-operative." He also declared that "Britain is dear to me as the Motherland of the Empire to which I am proud to belong and the seat of the Throne to which I give my fullest allegiance."[1] Both statements suited the moment. The first captured the theme this thesis has explored at some length: both in the hierarchy and elsewhere in the Church, many believed Catholicism had to be lived—and this conviction meant constructing a better world. The second encapsulated English-Canadian Catholicism's attachment to Empire, the Crown, and to Canada's British heritage and the inheritance of British liberal order.

Social Catholicism and liberal order are two important dynamics at play in this period—and a third is the project of the Canadian left, which had become increasingly social democratic. While 'living otherwise' provides some conceptual insight into the project of social Catholicism, this framework does not fully explain the *via media* of the streams discerned among it, the Antigonish, Somerville, and Basilian. Social Catholics faced much liminality: in between the

[1] Henry Somerville, *Rome and Home* (Toronto: the Canadian Register, 1946), 64.

state and civil society, lived and institutional religion, a Church of the nineteenth century and one of the twentieth. In English Canada, they shared attributes of some left currents and yet differed profoundly with them. At times their sensibilities seemingly corresponded with those of the liberal order around them—at others, liberalism was irreconcilable with being part of the 'Mystical Body.' Moses Coady might hail co-operatives as agencies for strengthening the individual and his followers back the governing Liberals. Back-to-the-landers might hail the virtues of the free-standing individual in publications hosting advertisements from land developers. Somerville might well see in his programme a way of strengthening the established order against its Communist enemies. At other times, social Catholicism seemed unequivocally of the emergent social democratic left. Catholic supporters in Nova Scotia, Ontario, and Saskatchewan saw the "co-operative commonwealth" as a fulfillment of Catholic social doctrine, and Catherine de Hueck's advocacy on behalf of the poor and oppressed led her to found a community that shared little with the liberal society around her. Ballantyne in Quebec and Cullinane in Saskatchewan argued strenuously, and in large measure successfully, for a CCF/Catholic accommodation, in which both sides made concessions to the other. For some the CCF was an empty canvass, which Catholicism could modify and make an expression of its ideas. For others, it represented an authentic alternative to liberal order. It reflected a deep spiritual and Christian commitment to social justice.

Restructuring the Church

'Restructuring' within Canadian Catholicism has largely meant intellectual restructuring. How did Catholics, lay and clerical, (re)imagine the horizons, boundaries, limitations, and possibilities of their faith, not as a 'limited identity,' but as a central force for analyzing and framing the world that they themselves shaped? Such questioning fostered the search for new

political expressions, inculcated dissatisfaction with the injustices of liberal order, changed the way Catholics saw their faith, and ultimately compelled social Catholics to respond to the state and civil society with a renewed sense of purpose and duty. Canadian experiences were one amongst a myriad of others in the western world that together constituted the unshackling of the Church from remnants of its Baroque mindset. It was a force that coalesced throughout the west until it could not be ignored by Pope John XXIII, elected in 1958 and now a saint of the Roman Catholic Church.

Restructuring of the Catholic psyche was accompanied by administrative and institutional changes in the way that the Church hierarchy arranged itself. It become more collegial, cooperative, and concerned about traditionally ignored social and political issues. A national bishops' conference, the Canadian Catholic Conference (later the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops) was formed in 1943 to address the impact of emerging political movements, such as the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, and how they related to the privatization of conscience on political choice. From this engagement with the left, the hierarchy itself became more socially and politically aware, establishing a permanent social affairs commission. This apostolate, formed within the national episcopal body, shows, in small part, the influence of social Catholicism inside the cloister of Church walls. Catholics plainly needed to deal with the substantial challenge posed by the Canadian left. The hierarchy was clearly less eager to accept or engage with major entities on the left, such as the CCF, than were many of its Protestant counterparts — but just as the left forced Canadian liberalism to modify itself, so too did it (with many social Catholics in tow) affect the thinking and outlook of the hierarchy.[2] Although the Church maintained support for British parliamentary tradition, rights to private property, and,

[2] Important to remember too are the number of Bishops and Archbishops, who, themselves, were social Catholics such as Neil McNeil, Joseph Charbonneau, and later Remi De Roo of Victoria.

perhaps to a lesser extent, possessive individualism, it also privatized the political choices of Catholics, broadened its vision of social ownership, and recognized that collective provisions were not tantamount to collectivization. As the left receded into the liberal leviathan, civil society was left with a more democratic and socially-aware Catholic Church in English Canada, unflinchingly loyal to the magisterium, yet willing to chart its own course in a uniquely Canadian cultural landscape.[3]

The Canadian Road to Vatican II

Despite its feeling of suddenness, Vatican II did not emerge overnight. It proceeded on the basis of a well-laid foundation within the 'local Church' throughout the west. The decision of 'Good Pope John' to convoke the Council can be viewed as an incorporation of national narratives on restructuring happening throughout the Church universal. What has been described in this study is, in one sense, a story of the Canadian Church's road to the Second Vatican Council. Catholic social thought promulgated by the Vatican—itself often resulting from a groundswell within the local Church—was read and interpreted through 'categories,' almost in the Kantian sense, most clearly identified by the labels corporatism, distributism, and personalism. In the first instance, corporatist readings of Catholic social thought trended towards authoritarian regimes, starkly in Spain and Portugal, and to a lesser degree in the Province of Quebec. English Canada was different. English-Canadian social Catholics read the ideas of *Rerum Novarum*, *Quadragesimo Anno*, and other papal documents through a lens of personalism, and, to a lesser extent, distributism. This approach was neither unique nor exceptional as Catholics in Great Britain, France, and other western countries did likewise. To

[3] This tension may help explain, for example, the obvious conflict between Pope Paul VI's encyclical on birth control, *Humanae Vitae*, and the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishop's *Winnipeg Statement* in 1968 that placed more emphasis on individual conscience than did the Roman document. See Paul VI, *Humanae Vitae* [On the Regulation of Birth], 25 July 1968.

understand what was more uniquely Canadian about this story, one must look at the Canadian context within which this story is embedded.

Social Catholics—men and women reading, writing, thinking, and doing at a time of great transition within a political and social order predicated upon Canadian liberalism—reinterpreted transitions within liberalism within neo-Thomist readings of encyclical thought. In one sense, even engaging with liberal order testifies to its hegemony in the Canadian project. However, in another, this act was also one of opposition—injustices perpetuated by monopoly and corporate capitalism, for example, were irreconcilable with a fundamental commitment to social justice. Social Catholics opposed the liberal project—as did many socialists—on its own terms. These same social Catholics—excepting such individuals as Eugene Cullinane and Joe Burton—did not always naturally find a home within leftist movements of the time. Yet their attempts to live and reason otherwise were no less important. Reconciling such curious relationships to liberalism and socialism situated social Catholicism in a place of limina— one that was neither liberal nor socialist. Within the historiography and popular parlance, this space is often referred to as 'a third way.' Social Catholics did see their prescriptions as ones that offered a choice to Catholics who could not see themselves in either the orthodox dogmas of the left or in the selfish teachings of the right. They saw in them an authentic alternative to both socialism and capitalism.

Opening up this liminal space—this *via media*—meant that social Catholicism overlapped the margins of both liberalism and socialism (accepting, of course, that each ideological construction had its own internal complexities, contradictions, discussions and debates). However, by appropriating the terms of these debates and reinventing them within personalist and distributist readings of Catholic social thought, liminal space was transformed

into an authentically alternative one. Moments of 'supersedure,' however, are fleeting. As a radical alternative, many of these social Catholic prescriptions, such as the cooperative ideal pushed by the Antigonish movement, were reabsorbed by the passive revolution of a resilient and engrained liberal order. Social Catholicism was not alone. Ideas and prescriptions of the left became a standard part of 'new liberalism.' With some noteworthy exceptions, many of the ideas and values of *Make this Your Canada* of 1943 could be, by the 1960s, simplified as *This Is Your Canada*. Some social Catholics, such as the people associated with the back-to-the-land and Catherine de Hueck's Friendship House movement, continued to aspire to something radical and truly different. The Christian community found at Madonna House in Combermere, Ontario—an outgrowth of both of these examples—brought together celibate lay and ordained Catholics into a community based on communitarian principles and, to borrow Thomas Hardy's title, 'far from the madding crowd.'

Catholics continued to be drawn to the social democratic alternatives within Canadian politics (though by the time the CCF and TLC merged to form the NDP, this alternative was less an alternative voice and more of a left-leaning option within an established liberal system). Priests, Bob Ogle and Andrew Hogan among them, sat as clergy elected to the House of Commons for the New Democratic Party. Divisions between the NDP and the Church became acute in the latter half of the twentieth century and early twenty-first century over issues such as divorce, abortion, and same-sex marriage. However, one can see these cleavages as less a quarrel with the left, than a quarrel with a liberal order, which, in its routine function of passive revolution, appropriated 'liberal' attitudes to these questions. From the era of Trudeauvian liberalism onwards, all mainstream federal political parties have become standard-bearers for these social positions (even the Harper Conservatives, Canada's 'right wing,' will not allow its

own backbench membership to raise questions about the ethics of abortion and sex selection in the House of Commons). In 2014, Justin Trudeau, leader of the federal Liberal Party, stated publicly that all candidates standing for election from his party must be 'pro-choice.' In a powerful rejoinder to the statements of the Canadian bishops from the 1940s, Thomas Collins, the Cardinal Archbishop of Toronto, wrote Trudeau saying: "Among the two million Catholics of my archdiocese, there are members of all political parties, including your own. I encourage all of them, of whatever party, to serve the community not only by voting but by active engagement in political life as candidates. It is not right that they be excluded by any party for being faithful to their conscience."[4] Liberalism, at least on social issues, has swung to the left since the 1970s—if, for no other reason, because of its acute instinct for self-preservation. This shift has coincided, simultaneously and ironically, with interest in the conservative economic prescriptions of neo-liberalism.

Let us turn, however, the story back towards the Church itself. Social Catholicism has found a range of homes and alternatives from the 1960s onwards, amidst the changing context of Canadian liberalism. Inheritors of this intellectual tradition, thinkers, such as Alasdair MacIntyre and Charles Taylor, have continued to add a Catholic communitarian perspective to contemporary political theory. However, its Canadian origins lie in a social Catholicism that began to evolve in the second decade of the twentieth century and accelerated through the 1930s and 1940s. Its interwar flowering had a profound effect on restructuring the 'national narrative' of the English-Canadian Church. There were many international parallels to this discovery in Canada of the 'the social'—such as the 'worker priests' in France and Belgium and Christian

[4] http://www.archtoronto.org/events_news/pdf/justintrudeaumay1414.pdf (accessed 20 May 2014).

Democratic parties throughout continental Europe.[5] In the United States, one thinks of Dorothy Day, the Catholic Worker Movement, Dom Virgil Michel's Liturgical Movement and such conservative reformers as John Ryan. In Britain, the legacy of G.K Chesterton and Hilaire Belloc as Catholic distributists became influential, for example, within the Labour Party. Some of these social Catholic movements grew quickly to be transnational. After Vatican II, one witnessed the birth of liberation theology in Latin American and Quebec (which had its roots in this period).[6] On the broadest level, Catholicism was already engaging modernity. Spiritual considerations had transcended strict questions of sin and salvation; they had become intimately linked with social questions.

The two generation preceding Vatican II represented a confluence of intellectual currents in the western world, converging on a particular historical moment. Canadian Catholicism was one voice in this milieu. The forces of social Catholicism betwixt and between the ideological forces of Canadian liberalism and socialism forced reconsideration of the Church's position in the Canadian social and political landscape. They helped position the Canadian Church to take part in much larger, global conversations with other national hierarchies in Rome during the

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[5] As noted, for example, in Gerd-Rainer Horn and Emmanuel Gerard (eds), *Left Catholicism: Catholics and Society in Western Europe at the Point of Liberation, 1943–1955* (Leuven, Belgium: Leuven University Press, 2001).

[6] Influential literature within the liberation theology movement comes from its key practitioners and theorists: Gustavo Gutierrez, Leonardo Boff, Enrique Dussel, Juan Luis Segundo, and Jon Sobrino among others. A brief sketch of each of their positions is offered in Deanne William Ferm, *Third World Liberation Theologies: An Introductory Survey* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1986), 16–50. For a sample of their work see Leonardo Boff, *Church: Charism and Power* (New York: SCM Press Ltd., 1981); Gustavo Gutierrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics, and Salvation* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1973); Gustavo Gutiérrez et al., *Liberation and Change* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1977); Gustavo Gutierrez, "Liberation, Theology, and Proclamation," in Quentin L. Quade (ed.), *The Popes and Revolution: John Paul II Confronts Liberation Theology* (Washington, DC: Ethics and Public Policy Centre, 1982), 17–36; Gustavo Gutierrez, *The Truth Shall Make You Free* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1990); and Gustavo Gutierrez, "The Task and Content of Liberation Theology," in Christopher Rowland (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Liberation Theology* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 19–38. For insights into liberation theology in Canada, see Gregory Baum, "Politisés Chrétiens: A Christian-Marxist Network in Quebec, 1974–1982," *Studies in Political Economy*, vol. 32 (Summer 1990): 7–28.

early years of the 1960s. There were 'made in Canada' offerings too: Labour Day messages from Canadian Bishops became commonplace. In stark contrast to a narrative of Christian sacrifice in the story of World Wars I and II—commonly blending together very different conflicts—the Canadian Church firmly came down on the side of pacifism and against 'total war' (as had the Vatican with Pope John XXIII's beautifully written encyclical, *Pacem in Terris*). On the economic front, Canadian Bishops were emboldened: their economic statement in the early 1980s posed a clear challenge to liberal priorities—and its message even brought applause from the Canadian left. On social questions, Canadian Bishops, always faithful to the magisterium, gave a 'Canadian' reading to papal pronouncements. On the heels of *Humane Vitae*, "The Winnipeg Declaration" was a Canadian view of Pope Paul VI's encyclical on contraception and artificial birth control—one that privileged individual conscience over strict doctrinal considerations. Catholics of all stripes (lay, religious, and clergy) had more autonomy to assess the direction of Catholicism in the post-Vatican II world.[7]

Meanwhile, there was clearly resistance at certain moments from members of the hierarchy as social Catholics pushed for change within the English-Canadian Church. Some of the push-back against the social Catholics came about because of international factors—the rise of Fascism, the Spanish Civil War, the Cold War, and so on—originating far beyond Canada's shores. Others arose because of tensions internal to Canada. Some of the debates that engulfed social Catholics arose because they were trying to restructure and reorient an often resistant Church. The Canadian road to Vatican II was fraught with conflicts between those who wanted and those who resisted change. The Second Vatican Council was a watershed for national churches precisely because it gave canonical/magisterial approval to already-present forces of

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[7] In the Canadian context, for example, see Mary Jo Leddy, Remi J. de Roo and Douglas Roche, *In the Eye of the Catholic Storm: the Church Since Vatican II* (Toronto: HarperCollins, 1992).

change. Catholic Action, worker priests, the Catholic labour movement, and, later, liberation theology were all products of social Catholicism exerting influence within Roman Catholicism. At the same time, an international interpretation must take into account the time and place, history and geography, politics and society of Catholicism's many encounters with the modern world. For the institutional Church in English Canada, this road was marked by a particular dynamic in its relationship with a society predicated on liberal order and the left-wing movements attempting to reform it. The liminal space that Catholicism occupies also gave rise to left Catholic, lived religious experiences on a local level, which sought to live outside the matrices of a liberal society.

Conclusions

Where did the streams of social Catholicism end up? One confluence of the streams of social Catholicism could be found at Madonna House in Combermere, Ontario. Here Catherine de Hueck, Eugene Cullinane, Murray Ballantyne, Bob and Andrée Von Pilis, and Maud Beatrice Fields all spent their final years in this special place, while eminent Basilian priests called there regularly. Invitations to visit were sent, likewise, to Moses Coady and Henry Somerville. It continues to be a true example of 'living otherwise.' It is, in a sense, far removed from the modern world. It attempts to be self-sufficient. Yet, at the same time, it wants to speak to that modern world. It preserves a vision of educating that world in Catholic social values and maintains a vast lending library. Community members still prefer precariousness over security—using what they need from donations and giving away the rest. Money is a limited necessity. The community attempts to remain self-sufficient, growing its own food and maintaining an experimental farm. When a need arises, the community meets it organically by training someone in the required field. It has a unique social structure, blending three distinct

demographics: priests and religious brothers, nuns and women religious, and laity vowed to celibacy. Few modern comforts pervade Madonna House. Its main house has electricity, but no indoor plumbing. Community members live communally, in dorm-style rooms. 'The individual' has little presence in Combermere, but 'the person' does, and the community sees itself as a 'family.'

One commonality shared by the three streams of social Catholicism covered in this text, as well as the actors who were part of them, was a fundamental belief in the value and power of education (so much so that one often encounters 'Education' as a term worthy of capitalization). With the Antigonish movement, 'Education' was a means of alleviating the structural poverty imposed by capitalism on the lives of fishers and farmers living in rural Nova Scotia. For Henry Somerville, education led to self-evident conclusions about the perils of socialism and inherent weaknesses of liberalism. For Henry Carr and the Basilians, 'Education' was a worthwhile pursuit to which one could devote one's entire life. It was an inherent aspect of this religious order's charism. For Catherine de Hueck, prayer, simplicity of life, and poverty were accompanied by education (and, if one visits Madonna House in Combermere, Ontario today, one would still find an impressive collection of books in its meeting house, library and archives). As a settlement house, Friendship House acclimatized newly-arrived immigrants to the 'norms' of Canadian life through study. Education was a binding force, not one passively undertaken, but one that advanced a social Catholic vision and revealed an inherent 'truth' about how a social order ought to be predicated upon Catholic social teaching.

Within the personalist impulse of English-Canadian social Catholicism, Jacques Maritain's intellectual presence stretched well past the decades of the 1930s and far beyond the cities. His ideas were debated in university classrooms, by his friends and colleagues, and among

Catholic intellectuals yearning for a more profound engagement with modernity. At a 1959 conference of Catholic editors, it was reasoned that the Catholic press should maintain a critical distance from the pulpit—based on the same separation that Maritain identified for the spiritual and temporal planes. The function of the Catholic press was to provide information, to stimulate reflection and reasoned action on controversial issues, and not to induce unreflecting beliefs or actions.[8] Catholic editors debated tensions between the temporal and spiritual planes when moments of discord or tension arose between the obligation of their apostolate and the position of the hierarchy.[9] With political and social questions complicating strict divisions between these spheres, civic-minded Catholic editors grappled with their obligations. When the hierarchy made pronouncements on complex matters, should they remain silent or speak their own consciences? Resolutions to these questions were matters of introspection for each editor, but they were also turned outwardly to the Bishops themselves. How would the hierarchy of the Canadian Church see its own obligation to be responsible to its faith community, one that sought guidance, but, increasingly, demanded latitude on contentious questions? Two years before the opening of the Second Vatican Council, F. Von Pilis anticipated the metaphor of Pope John XXIII when he wrote of the Catholic press's need to "open a few windows and get fresh air into our offices."[10]

For some lay Catholics, a personalist approach to their faith drew them close to the labour movement in the post-war period and into the 1960s. This concern was addressed to the 1961 Priests' Institute in Kerrobert, Saskatchewan: "…the other day a working man asked, 'how do I love my neighbour?' Well, how does the man working on the assembly line love his neighbour?

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[8] F. Von Pilis, "The Changing Nature of our Society," Address to the Western Canadian Conference of Catholic Editors, 29 June 1929, SFXUA, RG50.1/1/11655. IMG4378.

[9] Jacques Maritain urged the Church to guard itself from "laying a shadow of a finger" on the temporal plane. See F. Von Pilis, "The Changing Nature of our Society," Address to the Western Canadian Conference of Catholic Editors, 29 June 1929, SFXUA, RG50.1/1/11653.

[10] F. Von Pilis, "The Changing Nature of our Society," Address to the Western Canadian Conference of Catholic Editors, 29 June 1929, SFXUA, RG50.1/1/11655.

How about this for an answer: 'Join your union, go to meetings, participate in the affairs of the group for the good of all.'"[11] In 1964, well after the commencement of the Second Vatican Council, a 'religion-labour committee' in Saskatoon held a meeting to discuss among other topics the Mystical Body of Christ and one's membership in it, and Christ as a trade unionist.[12] Christian duty was inextricably linked to organizing labour: the devoutly Catholic, moderately conservative, first president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), Phillip Murray, was seen for example as a "good Christian."[13] Murray, himself, echoed the themes of personalism when he claimed that the dignity of full personhood would be best obtained through unionization.[14] Catholic personalism in the labour left demanded more radicalism from the movement. Unions ought to be animated by the desire that Murray outlined and not rest content with being mere brokers of human labour.

A letter from Andrée Von Pilis to Moses Coady reveals how interconnected major themes of this study were for the social Catholics that it has examined—how the salvation of souls became tied to social justice and the need to be intellectually engaged was connected to the reconstruction of the social order. Writing of her husband's apostolate in journalism for the *Farmer Advocate* and the *Catholic Register*, Andrée Von Pilis observed:

> …although with rather meagre and limited intellectual means, we are able to do our very small bit towards spreading the Word and the teaching of the recent Popes in regard to social justice and the reconstruction of the social order. The St. FX extension was and is a tremendous help. My personal field is more: conversions. I

[11] F. Von Pilis, "The Collectivization of Agriculture," Address to the Priests' Institute, Kerrobert, Saskatchewan, 18 April 1961, SFXUA, RG30.3/6/5134.
[12] F. Von Pilis, "Would Christ be a Trade Unionist?" Address to a public meeting of the Religion-Labour Committee, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, 22 January 1964, SFXUA, RG65.1/1/11721.
[13] Philip Murray's personal and professional papers are located at the American Catholic History Research Centre at the Catholic University of America.
[14] Ibid.

> sometimes wonder, in awe, why God uses such insignificant tools to penetrate souls of others![15]

For the Von Pilis family, as with other Catholic laypeople, their own experience of 'lived religion' brought them to an intersection of social Catholicism and left-wing politics through the CCF. For the laity and clergy, this vision of their faith—one that demands social engagement in the modern world—helped restructure the Church to which they offered unflinching loyalty. In English Canada, the social and political landscape of the 1930s and 1940s provided spaces between a liberal order and a Canadian left where social Catholicism could take root. For the nation, Canadian liberalism became more compassionate, pervasive, and entrenched as a structuring force in the lives of Canadians. It had rescued itself from irrelevance by absorbing the left's organic intellectuals, appropriating many of its best ideas, and quelling attempts at living otherwise on any large-scale structural basis. Within Roman Catholicism, social Catholics challenged the Church to engage modernity in new ways. They contributed, both in Canada and throughout the west, to the making of a substantial force that unfastened the latched windows in St. Peter's Square and helped the Church traverse the *via media* to Vatican II.

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[15] Andrée Von Pilis to Moses Coady, 25 February 1956, SFXUA, RG30.2/1/4279.

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