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CANADIAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

***HISTORICAL STUDIES***

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**Gwyn Griffith** has several doctorate degrees from the University of Toronto and McGill University, and now retired, she has been associated with the Centre for Christian Studies since 1975 in various capacities, including that of principal from 1982 to 1991. She was a member of the North American Association of Professors and Researchers in Religious Education, with articles published in *Religious Education*. She has recently published *Weaving a Changing Tapestry: The Story of the Centre for Christian Studies and its Predecessors* (2009).

## Editors' Foreword

We are pleased to present Volume 77 of *Historical Studies*, featuring papers presented at the 2010 annual meeting of the English Section of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association held at Concordia University, Montreal. Articles contained in this volume focus on Vatican II, tensions surrounding the beginnings of 'hospitalization' in Saskatchewan, sourcing Canadian medical history in the Vatican archives, the writings of a Quebec woman religious and mystic, and a note on oral history. Papers presented at the 2010 conference but not published here for various reasons (either papers given without a view to publication or not offered to the editors) are listed separately on page 6.

Once again, all of the articles included in this edition of the journal have passed through a rigorous "double-blind" review process, meaning that they have been accepted on the recommendations of at least three assessors. We are indebted to all of the individuals whose cooperation in the writing, assessing and revising of these papers has made this edition of *Historical Studies* possible. The journal and the association continue to be grateful to Fr. Edward Jackman, O.P., Secretary General of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association and the Jackman Foundation for the generous support and encouragement that has made this, along with previous volumes, possible.

Included as well are the submission guidelines for prospective authors which appeared in the last volume. As introduced in Volume 72, full-run back issues of the journal and a detailed bibliography are available for purchase through the Association, either in hard copy form or on CD. The Association continues to make selected articles from previous issues of the journal accessible on the CCHA homepage ([http://www.umanitoba.ca/colleges/st\\_pauls/ccha.html](http://www.umanitoba.ca/colleges/st_pauls/ccha.html)).

The journal again acknowledges the support that Saint Joseph's College, University of Alberta is providing Dr. Cuplinskas in carrying out her editorial duties for *Historical Studies*.

Lastly, the editors are pleased to contribute their time and energy to the promotion of Canadian Catholic History.

Elizabeth W. McGahan  
Indre Cuplinskas

**Papers presented at the Annual Meeting  
Concordia University, Montreal 31 May-1 June 2010  
but not included in this volume:**

**Anne Gagnon**, “Child-Naming Practices and Modernization in Franco-Albertan Families, 1890s-1940s”

**Allan Greer**, “From Teenage Runaway in Europe to Missionary in Canada, A Jesuit Story”

**Gabriela Kasprzak**, “Priests and Consuls: The Uses of Religion by Polish Diplomats, 1918-1939”

**Christine Lei**, “Beyond Bazaars and Teas: The Role of the Women’s Auxiliary in the Activities of the Sisters of Social Service in Montreal, 1937-1974”

**Patricia Roy**, “An Ambiguous Relationship: Anglicans and East Asians in Canada, 1858-1949”

## The Forgotten Promises of Vatican II

Gregory BAUM

The historical experience of the Catholic Church after Vatican Council II raises two questions that historians will have to answer one day. The first question is why Catholics have become so deeply divided after the Council, and the second question is why so many Catholics, especially in Western Europe, have left the Catholic Church after the Council. There are, no doubt, a number of factors that account for this historical development. In this paper, I wish to study two of them in particular.

### Pope Benedict's Christmas Address of 2005

Benedict XVI tries to reply to these two questions in his Christmas address to the Roman Curia on 22 December 2005.<sup>1</sup> The Pope first analyses the conflict that has unsettled life in the Catholic Church after the Vatican Council. To remind his audience of the quarrels that followed the Council of Nicaea in 325, he quotes a sentence from St. Basil,

The raucous shouting of those who disagree with one another has produced an incomprehensible chatter so that a confused din of uninterrupted clamouring now fills almost the entire Church, falsifying through excess or failure the right doctrine of the faith.

What is taking place in the Catholic Church today, Pope Benedict adds, is not quite as bad. Still, he continues, one must ask the question why the implementation of the Vatican Council has been so difficult in large parts of the Church.

Benedict XVI's answer to this question has become famous, albeit in a distorted form. Many Catholics, including theologians, the Pope explains, are reading the conciliar documents wrongly. They adopt 'a hermeneutic

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<sup>1</sup> The ecclesiastical documents cited in this paper are easily found on the website of the Vatican ([www.vatican.va](http://www.vatican.va)), if one knows i) the author (a Pope, a Congregation or Vatican Council II), ii) the kind of document (encyclical, *motu proprio*, speech, instruction, ...) and iii) the date of its publication. Since giving the digital reference in each case is too cumbersome, I will offer it only occasionally. For Pope Benedict's Christmas address of 2005, see [www.vatican.va/holy\\_father/benedict\\_xvi/speeches/2005/december/documents/hf\\_ben\\_xvi\\_spe\\_20051222\\_roman-curia\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/speeches/2005/december/documents/hf_ben_xvi_spe_20051222_roman-curia_en.html), accessed 19 March 2011.

of discontinuity and rupture' that makes a radical distinction between the pre-conciliar and the post-conciliar Church. These Catholics claim that because of compromises that had to be made, the conciliar documents do not consistently express the spirit of the Council and that therefore, to be faithful to this spirit, one has to move beyond the letter of the Council.

Against this false reading, the Pope proposes an alternative one, 'the hermeneutics of reform,' that acknowledges both the newness introduced by the Council and the Council's fidelity to the Catholic tradition. The hermeneutics of reform is sensitive to innovation as well as continuity. In the subsequent debate in the Catholic Church, Benedict's "hermeneutics of reform" has been translated by some as a "hermeneutics of continuity," which falsified his thought, omitting as it does the reference to innovation.

At the end of his Christmas address, Benedict briefly replies to the second question. He argues that the principal reason for the defection of so many Catholics is the relativism that dominates contemporary culture. People are increasingly persuaded that there is no truth; there are only opinions.

The two historical causes mentioned by the Pope, i) the hermeneutic of discontinuity and ii) the culture of relativism, deserve careful attention and an extended commentary. Yet these two factors are not the only ones to be taken into account. Historians will also have to look at the Catholic populations that have remained unconvinced by the Church's teaching on sexual ethics and women.

In the present paper I wish to deal with two other factors that must be taken into account. One of them is the decision of Rome to renege on the promises of Vatican II and the other is an unresolved theological conflict raised by the teaching of Vatican II.

To embark upon this topic, I will continue listening to Pope Benedict's Christmas address of 2005. In it he explains to the Roman Curia what he regards as the three major concerns of Vatican Council II. First, he said, "the relationship between faith and modern science had to be redefined." He here refers to the importance and the limits of the historical-critical method applied in the interpretation of Scripture. Secondly, he said, "it was necessary to give a new definition to the relationship between the Church and the modern State." The reference is here to the recognition of the pluralism of modern society and the support for human rights, including religious liberty. Thirdly, he said, related to the preceding concern was "the problem of religious tolerance—a question that required a new definition of the relationship between the Christian faith and the world religions." Benedict added that after the Shoah and "a long and difficult history, it was necessary to define in a new way the relationship between the Church and the faith of Israel."



## *Highlights of Vatican II*

The major concerns of the Vatican Council are described rather differently by Joseph Ratzinger in the articles he wrote in German after each session of the Council. These articles were later published in English translation as a small book entitled *Highlights of Vatican II*.<sup>2</sup> The main attention of the author throughout this book is given to the teachings of the Council that promote the collegiality of the bishops, in view of correcting the monarchical understanding of the papacy developed in the Middle Ages in response to the concrete challenges at the time.<sup>3</sup> The young Ratzinger admits that Vatican Council II was unable to produce a juridical definition of episcopal collegiality that acknowledged at the same time the primacy of the pope as defined by Vatican Council I, yet he demonstrates in his book that Vatican Council II laid the foundation for episcopal collegiality by recognising a) that bishops receive their authority not from the pope, but from their sacramental ordination, b) that the Catholic Church is a communion of local Churches, each of them an embodiment of the Church of Christ, and c) that the regional episcopal conferences have the authority to incarnate the Church in the culture of their region. Collegiality, the author shows at some length, has beneficial pastoral and ecumenical consequences. He admits that this collegiality, while biblically founded and practised in the early Church, appears new at present and is therefore resisted by many, yet he is convinced that it will emerge in the future.

The difference between Pope Benedict's brief summary of the achievements of Vatican II in 2005 and the account of these achievements by the theologian Joseph Ratzinger right after the Council is astounding. The young Ratzinger was certainly not a radical. The interpretation he offered in *Highlights* was widely held among the bishops and theologians whom I met at the Vatican Council. It was the position fostered by Cardinal Bea's Secretariat for the Promotion of Christian Unity, at which I had the honour of being a *peritus*.

I met Joseph Ratzinger at that time. Despite his young age, he was already a greatly respected theologian. I had read his important books on Augustine and Bonaventura. Critical of the medieval scholastic tradition with its reliance on Aristotle, he recommended the return to the church fathers in dialogue with Plato. He thought that the creativity of the early Church was due, in part, to the relative autonomy of the regional Churches, united by a common loyalty to the bishop of Rome. In his brilliant *Einführung in das Christentum*, published in 1970, he still praised the synodal structure of the

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<sup>2</sup> Joseph Ratzinger, *Theological Highlights of Vatican II*, (New York: Paulist Press, 1966).

<sup>3</sup> See *Highlights*, 16, 36-37, 49-52, 57-58, 63, 71-74, 88-92, 109-130.

ancient Church, regretting that it had been lost in the Middle Ages when the Church came to represent only Western Christianity.

It is not surprising that Catholics taught by Joseph Ratzinger's *Highlights* or by other theological accounts of Vatican II are saddened and troubled by the reluctance of the papacy after the Council to acknowledge and practise the principle of collegiality. The search for a historical explanation of why Catholics are presently engaged in quarrels and why so many of them have walked away must study the post-conciliar policy of Rome to renege on the promises of Vatican II. I wish to do this in the subsequent section of this paper.

### **Collegiality at the Council**

Let me begin with the conciliar teaching on collegiality laid down in two conciliar documents, *Lumen gentium* (LG) on the Church and *Christus Dominus* (CD) on the Bishops.

#### i) The episcopal college

The Council reaffirmed the ancient teaching, long forgotten, that bishops receive their ecclesiastical power through the sacramental ordination. "Sharing in solicitude for all the Churches, bishops exercise their episcopal office received through episcopal ordination in communion with and under the authority of the pope." (CD, # 3) Vatican II insisted that "the bishops are not to be regarded as vicars of the pope, for they exercise an authority that is proper to them." (LG, # 27) The sacrament of episcopal ordination forbids interpreting the ecclesiastical hierarchy as a monarchy. Through their ordination, bishops become members of the episcopal college, which includes the pope as member and head, and which exercises the highest authority in the Church. The bishops are here seen as the successors of the Twelve, with and under the successor of Peter. The episcopal college described by Vatican II fully respects the primacy of the pope as defined by Vatican I. What is new is that Vatican II sees the pope as member and head of the episcopal college: he may exercise the Church's supreme authority together with his brother bishops in an ecclesiastical council or he may act alone; yet even when acting alone, he acts as head of the episcopal college and thus represents its member bishops. The pope's supreme authority has a dialogical relation to the bishops. Vatican II describes this dialogical interaction between the bishops and the pope, yet was unable to formulate it in juridical terms.

#### ii) The relative autonomy of the local Church

Thanks to his ordination, the bishop is the authoritative head of his Church, the local Church, which, according to Vatican II, is not a province of

the universal Catholic Church, but the full expression of the Catholic Church in this locality. In the local Church, we read, “the Church of Christ is truly present and operative,”(CD, # 11) that is why “the particular Churches retain their own traditions without in any way lessening the primacy of the Chair of Peter.”(LG, # 13) “In and through the local Churches comes into being the one and only Catholic Church. [...] Each individual bishop represents his own Church, but all of them together in union with the pope represent the entire Church joined in the bond of peace, love and unity.”(LG, # 23) In these passages the Catholic Church appears as a community of Churches, the unity of which is assured and protected by the Petrine ministry.

iii) Collegial co-responsibility

By his ordination, the bishop has authority over his Church and at the same time, as a member of the episcopal college “he is obliged by Christ’s decree and command to be solicitous for the whole Church.” (LG, # 23). Even though bishops have no jurisdiction outside their diocese, their calling includes promoting the mission of the entire Church. Bishops are teachers of Christian truth, they contribute to a more profound understanding of divine revelation. “By divine providence, various Churches founded in different places by the apostles and their successors, have in the course of time coalesced into several groups, organically united, which, preserving the unity of faith [...], enjoy their own discipline, their own liturgical usage and their own theological and spiritual heritage.” (LG, # 23). “In the like manner,” the text continues, “the episcopal conferences of today are in a position to render a manifold and fruitful assistance so that the collegial sense may be put into practical application.”

Other phrases in the conciliar documents also imply that national or regional episcopal conferences are expressions of episcopal collegiality. “The exercise of the bishop’s office is to take care of the particular Church committed to him, yet on occasion some of them jointly provide certain common needs of their various dioceses.” (CD, # 3) Several conciliar documents, especially the one on the liturgy, assign important responsibilities to the regional bishops’ conferences: they are to adapt the general regulations of the Council to the particular conditions of their region. “Episcopal conference, especially national ones,” we are told, “should pay full attention to the more pressing problems confronting [the marginalised people in their society]. Through common agreement and united efforts, these conferences should look to and promote the spiritual care of these people by means of suitable methods and institutions.”(CD, # 18) “An episcopal conference,” we also read, “is a kind of council in which the bishops of a given nation or territory jointly exercise their pastoral office by way of promoting that greater good which the Church offers humanity, especially through forms

and programs of the apostolate that are fittingly adapted to the circumstances of the age.”(CD, # 38)

On the bases of these and some other texts, the young Ratzinger concludes in his *Highlights* that the national or territorial episcopal conferences are an expression of episcopal collegiality.<sup>4</sup>

The conciliar decree on the bishops (CD) also laid the foundation for a World Synod of Bishops “to render especially helpful assistance to the supreme pastor of the Church.” The text continues, “Since it will be acting in the name of the entire Catholic episcopate, it will demonstrate that all the bishops in hierarchical communion share in the responsibility for the universal Church.”(CD, # 5) The author of *Highlights* regrets that the decree presents the World Synod of Bishops as a papal initiative, regulated by the pope, and not as an institution initiated by the episcopal college. The World Synod of Bishops was formally instituted by Paul VI in the apostolic letter *Apostolica sollicitudo* of 15 September 1965 and was subsequently defined in the new code of canon law of 1983.

There have been many complaints that the Synod has been increasingly controlled by the pope.<sup>5</sup> It is he who chooses the date of its meeting, the topic for discussion and the amount of time allotted to each speaker. Soon the Synod lost the authority to publish its own conclusions: they were to be summarised and published by the pope himself. Still, in a speech on the theological foundation of the World Synod of Bishops, John Paul II continued to affirm that “the Synod is a particularly fruitful expression and valuable instrument of episcopal collegiality.”<sup>6</sup>

### **The shrinking of collegiality**

I have presented the teaching of the Council on collegiality in such detail to explain my surprise at the statement made by Cardinal Ratzinger in 1985. He said,

Episcopal conferences have no theological basis, they do not belong to the structure of the Church, as willed by Christ, that cannot be eliminated; they have only a practical, concrete function [...]. No episcopal conference, as such, has a teaching mission: its documents have no weight of their own, save that of the consent given to them by the individual bishops.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> *Highlights*, 57.

<sup>5</sup> Kevin McKenna, “Benedict XVI and the Synod of Bishops,” *America* (December 10, 2007).

<sup>6</sup> John Paul II, Speech to the General Council of the Synod, 30 April 1983.

<sup>7</sup> *The Ratzinger Report*, (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1985), 59.

After the Council, already many years before 1985, the collegial character of the Church's authority to teach and govern was increasingly overlooked. What took place was the re-centralisation of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The decision of Paul VI in 1968 to condemn all so-called artificial means of contraception, against the advice of the study commission appointed by him and without consulting the world episcopate, was a non-dialogical exercise of his supreme authority. It is well remembered that the Canadian bishops, meeting in Winnipeg in September 1968, still convinced of their collegial responsibility, published a pastoral statement that expressed respect for the conscience of Catholics unconvinced by the papal teaching. "The unity of the Church," they wrote, "does not consist in a bland conformity in all ideas, but rather in a union of faith and heart, in submission to God's will and a humble but honest and ongoing search for the truth."<sup>8</sup> In 2008 the Canadian bishops changed their mind and gave unqualified support to the papal teaching.<sup>9</sup>

The teaching of Vatican II on the responsibility and authority of the regional Church encouraged the bishops of Quebec in 1968 to set up a study commission, chaired by sociologist Fernand Dumont, to hold hearings among the people of Quebec and, in dialogue with them, formulate appropriate pastoral policies for the Church.<sup>10</sup> This was needed, the bishops felt, because a cultural revolution beginning in the early sixties had set the Province of Quebec on a new course. Since the Dumont Report, published in 1971, proposed the setting up of forums in the dioceses that would allow Catholics to be in dialogue with their pastors, the Report was judged to be ahead of its time. Few of its recommendations were adopted by the bishops.

The episcopal conferences of Canada and Quebec assumed their collegial responsibility in the seventies and early eighties in public statements on the burning issues of social sin and social justice.<sup>11</sup> Following the social doctrine of the popes and the approach of the Latin American Bishops Conference at Medellin in 1968, the bishops of Canada published bold statements that criticised the social injustices in Canadian society and offered ethical arguments for alternative social and economic policies. Since the late eighties, the bishops have become quiet.

The American bishops' conference assumed its collegial responsibility in a creative manner. Well-known are the two pastoral letters, *The Challenge*

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<sup>8</sup> The Winnipeg Statement: [http://catholicinsight.com/online/church/humanae/article\\_960.shtml](http://catholicinsight.com/online/church/humanae/article_960.shtml), accessed 19 March 2011.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> Gregory Baum, *The Church in Quebec*, (Ottawa: Novalis, 1991), 49-65.

<sup>11</sup> E.F. Sheridan, (ed.), *Do Justice: The Social Teaching of the Canadian Bishops*, (Montreal: Éditions Pauline, 1987); Gregory Baum, "Toward a Canadian Catholic Social Theory," in *Theology and Society*, (New York: Paulist Press, 1987), 66-87.

*of Peace* of 1983 and *Economic Justice for All* of 1986. They addressed the entire nation on urgent ethical issues. These letters were prepared in an innovative fashion. The first draft was sent by the drafting committee to Catholic parishes, institutions and universities, asking them to reply to its proposals; then a second draft was made that integrated the good ideas sent in by the Catholic community, a draft that was then debated and modified by the bishops' conference and eventually promulgated as its authoritative ethical teaching. The American bishops thought that the participation of the laity in the Church's teaching was in perfect keeping with Vatican Council II.

Yet the gradual return to ecclesiastical centralisation has led to a revision of the concept of episcopal collegiality. In 1985, Cardinal Ratzinger, then the prefect of the Congregation of the Doctrine of Faith, argued that episcopal conferences have no theological basis whatever: they are not expressions of episcopal collegiality. I have quoted his words above. He set forth his interpretation of collegiality in greater detail in an article entitled "The Structure and the Task of the Synod of Bishops."<sup>12</sup> According to the Cardinal, the Synod of Bishops is not—as John Paul II believed—a fruitful expression of episcopal collegiality. The Cardinal explained that the bishops, members of the episcopal college, can teach with authority only in two ways, either in an ecumenical Council convoked by the pope or each bishop in his own diocese offering the common teaching. Even if the pope decided to grant deliberative power to the Synod, the Cardinal added, the legal status of the Synod would remain unchanged, because its power would then be derived from the fullness of the pope's jurisdiction. According to the Cardinal, bishops participate in the government of the Church universal, not by sending representatives to a central organ, but simply by teaching and ruling in their own diocese. The Cardinal therefore objected to the practise of national episcopal conferences to discuss beforehand the agenda of a Synod, arrive at decisions regarding it, and mandate their delegates to communicate these positions to the Synod. Episcopal conferences are not teachers in the Church: they are not expressions of episcopal collegiality. "It is in governing the particular Church that the bishops share in governing the universal Church and not otherwise."<sup>13</sup> The one exception is the bishop of the Church of Rome who has, by divine institution, supreme power to protect the unity of the Church.

The Cardinal does not remember that Vatican Council II had expressed "an earnest desire that the venerable institution of synods and councils flourish with new vigour: they will help faith to spread and discipline to

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<sup>12</sup> Cardinal Ratzinger, *Ecumenism and Politics: New Essays in Ecclesiology*, (New York: Crossroad, 1988), 46-62.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 52.

be practised more fittingly and effectively in the various Churches, as the circumstances of the times require.” (CD, # 36)

Cardinal Ratzinger’s revisionist interpretation of collegiality eventually became the Church’s official position. On 30 April 1998, John Paul II published the motu proprio *Apostolos tuos* that reduced the authority and the role of the episcopal conferences. He criticised that some of these conferences appoint special commissions and rely on a permanent secretariat with a staff of specialists to elaborate the conferences’ pastoral statements. John Paul II wanted the bishops to be teachers in the Church, a task that must not be handed over to a commission or to specialists. The motu proprio made the new ruling that episcopal conferences have binding power only if their policy proposals obtain the unanimous approval of their members. This means that a single bishop can stop an episcopal conference from adopting a joint proposal.

I think it is fair to say that Rome has gone back on the principle of collegiality taught by Vatican Council II.

### **The Call of the Laity**

I now wish to turn to the teaching of Vatican II on the laity. It was a significant event when the Doctrinal Commission, following the debate in the conciliar hall, introduced in the draft document on the Church a new chapter on the people of God.<sup>14</sup> The chapter—chapter 2, to be precise—preceded the chapter on the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The main message of chapter 2 was that the Church is not an aristocratic society, nor a pyramid of unequals; the Church is rather a community of believers, a people united by a common origin and destiny, a society of friends that includes the members of the hierarchy. The Church remains a family of brothers and sisters, even as some of them are ordained priests and bishops. Prior to the Council, in 1960, Joseph Ratzinger had written a very beautiful book on this topic.<sup>15</sup>

The new chapter 2 set forth that, through faith and baptism, the believers participate in the threefold office of Jesus Christ as priest, prophet and royal servant. The chapter acknowledges the biblical idea of “the priesthood of all believers.” (LG, # 10) While the baptismal priesthood differs from the ministerial priesthood of the ordained, they are both authentic participations in the priesthood of Christ. Catholic men and women are truly priests, having a rightful place in the liturgy and worshipping God by the holiness of their lives.

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<sup>14</sup> Giuseppe Alberigo, (ed.), *History of Vatican II*, vol. iii (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2000), 111.

<sup>15</sup> Joseph Ratzinger, *Die christliche Brüderlichkeit*, (Munich: Kösel Verlag, 1960).

Catholic men and women are also prophets or teachers in the Church, even as they recognise the authoritative teaching of the hierarchy. To emphasise that lay men and women make a contribution to a better understanding of the Gospel, chapter 2 includes a paragraph on the charismatic gifts, freely bestowed upon believers by the Spirit. (LG, # 12) While extraordinary gifts may be rare, the ordinary gifts of insight, understanding and prophecy are widely distributed. The Spirit of Christ thus teaches the Church through the hierarchical ministry as well as through charismata granted to the baptised of whatever rank.

In writing these texts, the bishops may well have thought of the layman Jacques Maritain who rendered an extraordinary service to the ecclesiastical magisterium. When, in the thirties, he could no longer agree with the Church's official rejection of religious freedom and human rights, he uncovered theological arguments in the Thomistic tradition that favoured the civil liberties and published them in his groundbreaking book *L'humanisme intégrale* of 1936. Maritain's new thought eventually influenced the Church's official teaching. Before promulgating the Declaration on Religious Liberty produced by the Council, Paul VI, still hesitating, sought and received Maritain's approval.<sup>16</sup>

As a matter of fact, the entire teaching of Vatican II was produced by the dialogue of the bishops with (non-episcopal) theologians, the Catholic community and contemporary society.

Let me give another example of an influential layman. In 1943 an Austrian peasant, Franz Jägerstätter, refused to be drafted into Hitler's war because he regarded it as criminal. Since Catholic teaching did not recognise the right of conscientious objection, his priest and his bishop urged him to do his duty as a soldier in the German army. Yet Jägerstätter did not budge: he was consequently executed by the German army as a traitor. Two decades later, his name was mentioned by several bishops persuading Vatican Council II to decree that Catholic conscientious objectors deserve the support of their pastors. (*Gaudium et spes*, # 79)

Vatican Council II recognised the contribution that laypeople and theologians have made to the Church's official teaching and recommended that the ecclesiastical magisterium be in dialogue with them. That this promise of freedom has not been kept after the Council is a long story, too long to be told in this paper. The Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith has increasingly controlled the teaching at Catholic seminaries and universities; it has summoned for investigation a considerable number of Catholic theologians. Last year when I was invited by la Société canadienne

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<sup>16</sup> Paul Valadier, *Maritain à contre-temps*, (Paris : Desclée de Brouwer, 2007), 116.



de théologie to give a paper on the message of Cardinal Ratzinger/Benedict XVI addressed to Catholic theologians, I discovered that this learned man, a great theologian himself, has objected to almost all currents in contemporary Catholic theology.<sup>17</sup> Addressing the American bishops in 1989, the Cardinal told them not to trust theologians: he said that theologians have no teaching office and that they, the bishops, must assume their role of teachers in the Church.”<sup>18</sup>

On 18 May 1989 Pope John Paul II published the *motu proprio Ad tuendam fidem* “to protect the Catholic Church against errors arising from certain members of the Christian faithful, especially from among those dedicated to the various disciplines of sacred theology.” To facilitate the control of Catholic intellectuals he added several articles to the Code of Canon Law. On June 29 of the same year, the Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith, responding to the Pope’s initiative, published a profession of faith and an oath of fidelity to the papal magisterium, that had to be taken by all persons exercising an office in the Church. Since even bishops have to take this oath, there is now no longer any room for dialogue between them and the supreme bishop.

Less well-known is that the Roman magisterium has revised the conciliar teaching on the priesthood of all believers and their place in the liturgy and the pastoral life of the diocese. On 15 August 1997, several Roman Congregations and the Pontifical Council of the Laity jointly published the Instruction on the Collaboration of Non-ordained Faithful in the Sacred Ministry of Priests. The Instruction praises the participation of lay people in the Church’s liturgical and pastoral ministry, yet it reprimands a series of practises that are seen as having negative consequences. Avoided must be gestures and terminology that disguise the essential difference between the ordained and the baptismal priesthood. It is therefore wrong to say that lay people exercise a ministry in the Church; they simply perform functions assigned to them by the priest or bishop. Lay people may not be referred to as pastors, chaplains, coordinators or moderators: these titles apply only to the ordained. Lay people may be assigned posts with decision-making authority in the diocese only under special circumstances, such as a shortage of ordained priests.

In the same year of 1997 the Congregation of Bishops published an Instruction on Diocesan Synods that made bishops assume full control of the synod held in their diocese. The bishops are to chose the participants,

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<sup>17</sup> Gregory Baum, “Un regard sympathique porté sur la théologie conservatrice de Benoît XVI” to be published in the proceedings of 2009 meeting of la Société canadienne de théologie.

<sup>18</sup> *The Prairie Messenger*, 3 April 1989, the editorial.

determine the topics to be discussed, correct proposals not in accord with present church teaching, and themselves produce the report of the synod.

A reaction to these two Instructions is recorded in *Le courage de changer*, the autobiographical reflections of Bishop Charles Valois.<sup>19</sup> As bishop of St. Jérôme in Quebec, he had carefully followed the recommendation of Vatican II and employed well-trained and reliable lay men and women to take part in the pastoral ministry of the diocese. To some of them he had assigned decision-making power. Since his pastoral policies were deemed inappropriate by Rome, he had been summoned to appear before the Congregation of Bishops where he was able to defend his practices by citing the texts of Vatican II. The Instruction of 1997 changed the situation drastically. Bishops in various parts of the world had to rethink and reorganise their pastoral practise. In his book, Bishop Valois records that he disapproves of the clericalism implicit in the Instruction. He also reports the negative public reaction to the Instruction by the bishops of Switzerland, Germany and France.<sup>20</sup>

Bishops Valois also records the impact on the Church in Quebec produced by the Instruction on Diocesan Synods of 1997. To grant free speech to the people, the bishops of Quebec had allowed their synods to be prepared by a committee of priest and lay people, including Catholics who had taken their distance from the Church. Respecting the prophetic calling of the laity, the bishops wanted the people of their diocese to express themselves in freedom. Since the Instruction of 1997 did not allow this, it spelled the end of diocesan synods in Quebec. Some dioceses, Bishop Valois reports, still held synods under another name, such as consultation or *chantier* (building site). Yet this did not last for long. He writes,

If the laity has been largely deprived of their voice by this Instruction, one has to say as much unfortunately of the bishops, following the *motu proprio Apostolos suos* on episcopal conferences. We remember that according to the ecclesiology of Vatican II, the episcopal conference in each country was the institutional image of collegiality. In other words, the Church's mission was not the concern of the pope alone, of whom the bishops were simply local representatives [...] Instead the Church's mission was to be carried out collegially, involving all bishops united to the bishop of Rome.<sup>21</sup>

It is fair to say that Rome has reneged on the teaching of Vatican II on the prophetic ministry of the baptised.

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<sup>19</sup> Charles Valois, *Le courage de changer*, (Montréal: Novalis, 2009).

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 147.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 223.

## Dialogue or Proclamation

I shall now turn to a teaching introduced by Vatican Council II that has raised theological problems that have as yet not been resolved.

Dialogue with people outside the Church has been a theme expressed in several conciliar documents. The decree on ecumenism calls for dialogue with non-Catholic Christians, the Declaration *Nostra aetate* invites Catholics to engage in dialogue with the followers of non-Christian religions, and *Gaudium et spes* fosters the dialogue of the Church with the world, especially with the culture in which it lives. The question arising immediately is how this call to dialogue is related to the Church's mission to proclaim the name of Jesus so that the world may believe. Can dialogue and proclamation be reconciled theologically?

The Vatican Council does not give a clear answer to this question. There is today an extensive theological literature that deals with this issue—an issue on which Catholics are deeply divided. In the present paper, I simply wish to show that the ecclesiastical magisterium has wrestled with this issue, that it has sometimes made contradictory statements, and that it has not yet arrived at a consistent teaching.

Let me summarise briefly what Vatican II said in *Nostra aetate* regarding the world religions. We are told that the Church respects these religions, that they contain truths and values the Church shares with them, that they are reached by an echo of God's Word and that, thanks to that echo, they mediate salvation to their followers. At the same time, the complete and definitive manifestation of God's Word is Jesus Christ, the universal saviour of humankind. The Jews, we are told, are in a special situation: God's ancient covenant made through Moses continues to be valid and constitutes for them a source of truth and grace.

These are astounding declarations, startlingly different from the teaching of the fifteenth century Council of Florence, according to which pagans and Jews go to hell after they die.

The present paper is not the place to set forth the biblical and theological basis for the new teaching. I will simply summarise this basis in a single sentence. The prologue to John's Gospel announces that God's Word addresses all human beings (John 1: 9), and the early church fathers of the East taught that the echo of this Word resounded in the wisdom traditions of humanity.

How is interreligious dialogue related to the Church's mission to proclaim the name of Jesus? To study this and related issues, Paul VI created the Secretariat for Non-Christian Religions, subsequently reconstituted by John Paul II as the Pontifical Council for Interreligious Dialogue. These two

bodies produced insightful documents,<sup>22</sup> yet did not pretend to say the last word on this issue. In my own writings on this complex issue I have shown that John Paul II and Cardinal Ratzinger/Benedict XVI have had different readings of the conciliar teaching on religious pluralism.<sup>23</sup>

John Paul II emphasised the approach of *Nostra aetate*, he promoted interreligious dialogue, and in 1986 and 2002 he invited representatives of the world religions to Assisi to join him in a prayer service for peace. In line with *Nostra aetate*, he declared that Catholics and Muslims believe in the same God. He made statements suggesting that the rich diversity in the world, including the plurality of cultures and religions, reveals God's inexhaustible generosity. Needless to say, John Paul II believed in Jesus Christ as universal saviour and in the Church's mission to preach the Gospel. Yet since he was deeply troubled by the conflicts, rivalries and wars tearing apart the human family and producing endless suffering, he wanted the Church, in the name of Jesus Christ, to become an agent of reconciliation and promote a culture of dialogue. He produced the famous Ten Commandments of Assisi for Peace.<sup>24</sup> Here is the second commandment.

We commit ourselves to educating people to mutual respect and esteem, in order to help bring about a peaceful and fraternal coexistence between people of different ethnic groups, cultures and religions.

The emphasis of Cardinal Ratzinger/ Benedict XVI has been somewhat different. After the first interreligious assembly at Assisi, the Cardinal published an article that was critical of this event.<sup>25</sup> He argued that since Catholics may not pray with followers of other religions, what happened at Assisi was not common prayer, but simply parallel prayers offered by persons in accordance with their own faith. Since interreligious events of this kind easily foster relativism among Catholics, they should not be repeated. Many years later, as Benedict XVI, he did praise the Assisi assemblies as prophetic events.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Pontifical Council for Interreligious Dialogue, "Dialogue and Mission," 19 June 1984, and "Dialogue and Proclamation," 10 May 1991.

<sup>23</sup> Gregory Baum, *Signs of the Times*, (Ottawa: Novalis, 2007), 121-144; "Proclamation or Dialogue?" *The Ecumenist*, 44 (Winter 2007):1-4; "Benedict's Jerusalem Message on Religious Pluralism," *The Ecumenist*, 46 (Summer 2009):1-4.

<sup>24</sup> The Ten Commandments of Assisi for Peace were composed by John Paul II after the interreligious prayer meeting at Assisi on 24 January 2002 and, on 4 March 2002, sent by him to all heads of governments across the world. They are published in Gregory Baum, *Amazing Church*, (Ottawa: Novalis, 2005), 96-97. They are found on the website of the Vatican: [www.vatican.va/holy\\_father/john\\_paul\\_ii/letters/2002/documents/hf\\_jp-ii LET\\_20020304\\_capi-stato\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/letters/2002/documents/hf_jp-ii LET_20020304_capi-stato_en.html), accessed 19 March 2011.

<sup>25</sup> Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, *Glaube-Wahrheit-Toleranz*, (Freiburg: Herder, 2002), 87-90.

<sup>26</sup> Benedict XVI, Letter to Bishop Domenico Sorrentino of Assisi, 2 September 2006.

A considerable stir was produced in the Church by the Instruction *Dominus Jesus*, published on 6 August 2000 by the Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith, signed by Cardinal Ratzinger.<sup>27</sup> The first sentence of paragraph 4 reads: “The Church’s constant missionary proclamation is endangered today by relativistic theories which seek to justify religious pluralism, not only *de facto* but also *de iure*.” Since the Cardinal does not reflect on the death-dealing conflicts threatening the world at this time and does not ask himself, as did John Paul II, what impact Christian preaching will have in this context, he simply reaffirms the Church’s traditional teaching that Jesus Christ is the universal saviour and that the Church has the mission to promote the conversion of the world. While religious pluralism exists in fact; in principle there is only one religion, the faith preached by the Catholic Church. Non-Catholic Churches are defective and non-Christian religions are in error.

The Instruction *Dominus Jesus* accepts the teaching of Vatican II that God’s grace is offered to believers in these other religious tradition, yet because Christ is the universal saviour, the Instruction argues that the grace to non-Catholics is mediated to them by the Catholic Church.

*Dominus Jesus* expresses the fear that interreligious dialogue will foster relativism, i.e. the idea that all religions are true in their own way. Catholics participating in interreligious dialogue must therefore remember that the ultimate horizon of their participation is the conversion of their partners to the Catholic faith. According to *Dominus Jesus*, interreligious dialogue is part of the Church’s evangelising mission. Many Catholic theologians are deeply troubled by this message: they regard as devious and unethical entering into a trusting dialogue with followers of another religion with the hidden intention of promoting their conversion.

John Paul II and Cardinal Ratzinger/Benedict XVI share the same Catholic faith and accept the teaching of Vatican II, yet their reading of the conciliar texts differs. They wrestle with the unresolved question of how to reconcile in theological terms interreligious dialogue and the proclamation of the Gospel.

Benedict XVI’s teaching on this issue is not consistent. On 25 April 2005, after his elevation to the papacy, he told the delegation from the world religions that he fully embraces John Paul II’s commitment to interreligious dialogue, recommending in particular dialogue with Muslims. Yet on 12 September 2006, in a lecture given at Regensburg, Pope Benedict tried to demonstrate that Catholics and Muslims do not worship the same God, a

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<sup>27</sup> [www.vatican.va/roman\\_curia/congregations/cfaith/documents/rc\\_con\\_cfaith\\_doc\\_20000806\\_dominus-iesus\\_fr.html](http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/documents/rc_con_cfaith_doc_20000806_dominus-iesus_fr.html), accessed 19 March 2011.

position at odds with the teaching of Vatican II and John Paul II. When Benedict's arguments were refuted by Catholic theologians and Muslim religious thinkers, he seemed to have changed his mind. On his visit to Turkey in November 2006, addressing the Minister of Religious Affairs, he said that Muslims and Catholics worship the same God and have a common mission to give witness to this God in an increasingly secular world. Yet in 2007, a new instruction from the Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith reminded Catholics that interreligious dialogue was part of the Church's evangelising mission.<sup>28</sup> On 11 May 2009, Pope Benedict, in a speech to an association of Jews, Muslims and Christians in Jerusalem, made a strong statement in support of interreligious dialogue and justified it in theological terms from a Catholic perspective.

It is not perfectly clear as yet if Catholics must look at religious pluralism as a fault line of history to be righted by the Church's preaching or as a wonderful work of God's providence for which they should be grateful.

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I began this paper with Pope Benedict's ideas that the conflicts in the Catholic Church after Vatican II and the exit from the Church of so many Catholics are due to disobedient Catholic innovators and the relativism of contemporary culture. There are undoubtedly other factors that must be taken into account. To render an account of the decline of the Church after Vatican II is the task of church historians. They will have to look at the various factors, taking into account the different historical contexts of the local and regional Churches. Even a casual look at the Church in Quebec and the Church in English-speaking Canada reveals that accounting for their pastoral problems requires distinct analyses based on their different histories. My paper makes a modest contribution to a much wider study. I have shown that to understand the conflicts in the post-conciliar Church, one must also take into consideration, i) the decision of Rome to renege on the promises of Vatican II and ii) the as yet unresolved theological problems produced by the teaching of Vatican II.

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<sup>28</sup> Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith, "Doctrinal Note on Some Aspects of Evangelisation," 3 December 2006.

## **“Purified Socialism” and the Church in Saskatchewan: Tommy Douglas, Philip Pocock and Hospitalization, 1944-1948**

Peter MEEHAN

A controversy that arose from the intersection of politics and religion in the diocese of Saskatoon in the 1940s and resulted in the expulsion of a Roman Catholic priest, Rev. Eugene Cullinane, has inspired at least two historical considerations. For Gregory Baum, Cullinane’s public alignment with the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), the first democratically elected Socialist government in North America, makes him a pioneering priest-champion of Socialism in western Canada, while Bernard Daly, a student of Cullinane’s at St. Thomas More College (STM) at the University of Saskatchewan, emphasizes his commitment to the CCF as transcending partisan politics to become a core apostolate of his priestly vocation.<sup>1</sup> Missing from these historiographical perspectives, however, is a sense of the broader religio-political context for the CCF’s proposed program of “hospitalization,” in which Cullinane’s bishop, Philip Pocock, felt compelled to remove him from the diocese.

An inspired leader of the post-War church in Canada, Philip Pocock brought a powerful concern for engagement with the outside world to his first episcopal appointment in western Canada. Enthroned as Bishop of Saskatoon on 19 July 1944, only one week after T.C. “Tommy” Douglas was sworn in as premier of Saskatchewan, Pocock was also determined to bring Catholics, long an “embattled minority” in Saskatchewan’s political history, to the forefront in a new era of government promising peace and prosperity.<sup>2</sup> With the CCF committed to launching Canada’s inaugural hospitalization program before the end of their first mandate, Pocock was given an opportunity to test his engagement theology when tasked with negotiating the entry of the

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<sup>1</sup> See Gregory Baum, *Catholics and Canadian Socialism—Political Thought in the Thirties and Forties*, (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1980) and Bernard Daly, “A Priest’s Tale: The Evolution of the Thinking of Eugene Cullinane, CSB,” *CCHA Historical Studies* 65 (1999): 9-27.

<sup>2</sup> Baum, 147.

province's Catholic hospitals into this scheme. By situating Cullinane's overt politicization in the context of Pocock's contemporaneous representations on behalf of the Catholic hospitals, this paper seeks to better explain his decision to expel the young Basilian priest from the diocese of Saskatoon while also exposing the heretofore underappreciated efforts of a significant Catholic leader at a central moment in Canadian history.

Philip Pocock was the youngest of eight children born to Stephen Pocock and May "Minnie" McCarthy in St. Thomas, Ontario on 2 July 1906. The Pococks were Catholic gentry in the diocese of London, Ontario. His namesake uncle was manager of the thriving family business, the London Shoe Company, as well as a key Catholic operative for the Ontario Liberal Party and confidant to Ontario Hydro pioneer Sir Adam Beck. The elder Pocock's friendship with Michael Fallon, the Bishop of London, led to his donation of the fifty acre "Sunshine Park" property in north London that became the permanent site for London's St. Peter's Seminary in 1926.<sup>3</sup> Money and influence, however, held little sway for young Philip Pocock, whose priestly vocation reflected more of his father's broad social conscience. A devout Roman Catholic, Stephen Pocock eschewed the "ghetto mentality" adopted by others of his faith in this corner of southwestern Ontario, encouraging his children to relate to the non-Catholic world without suspicion or hostility. As manager of his own retail shoe business in St. Thomas, the elder Pocock was recalled as a "voice of moderation" who partook in civic affairs "without an eye to class or creed."<sup>4</sup> His appointment as chairman of the finance committee of the St. Thomas Public Board of Education in 1895 was described in the local press as an "unusual honour" for a separate school trustee of the period.<sup>5</sup> In the often tumultuous years that lay ahead of him as a bishop of the Catholic Church in Canada, Philip Pocock would recall the significant influence of his father.<sup>6</sup>

Ordained for the diocese of London in June 1930, Pocock desired nothing more than to serve as a parish priest. However, after only brief stints at parishes in rural Staples, Ontario and Windsor during his first year of priesthood, Pocock was sent for graduate studies by Fallon's successor, Thomas Kidd, in order to meet the faculty needs of his growing seminary. Following terms at the Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C. and the Pontifical Angelicum University in Rome he received his doctorate

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<sup>3</sup> Diocese of London Archives (hereafter DLA), Fallon Papers, "St. Peter's Seminary—Statement of Endowments, Burses, Gifts and Bequests, 29 September, 1926."

<sup>4</sup> *St. Thomas Daily Times*, 11 June 1909.

<sup>5</sup> *St. Thomas Times-Journal*, 13 July 1938.

<sup>6</sup> "Reflections of a Truly Gentle Man," *The City*, Toronto, May 1978 and Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto (hereafter ARCAT), Pocock Papers, PO NT 46.53a, "Notes—Hamilton Diocese Pastoral Seminar," undated, 1977.



in Canon Law *magna cum laude* in 1934.<sup>7</sup> Returning to London and dual postings on the seminary faculty and the diocesan marriage tribunal, Pocock soon developed a national reputation for the progressive nature of his lectures as well as for the soundness of his canonical opinions and judgments.<sup>8</sup> With his ascent to the episcopacy accepted in ecclesiastical circles as a *fait accompli* by the early 1940s,<sup>9</sup> Pocock was designated the first English secretary of the newly formed Canadian Catholic Conference in 1943.<sup>10</sup> The leadership needs of the developing church in western Canada, however, would keep him from being publicly announced to that position, and in the spring of 1944 he was named second bishop of the far-flung diocese of Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. He was only thirty-seven years of age.

At 16,000 square miles, the diocese was expansive, cutting an enormous swath across west-central Saskatchewan. It was also ethnically diverse, including substantial numbers of Germans, Ukrainians and French.<sup>11</sup> Yet as the youngest member of the Canadian hierarchy, Pocock leapt at the opportunity to transform the ranging jurisdiction still suffering from the after-effects of the Great Depression and the Second World War. Following a lengthy visitation of the diocese with Rev. John Robinson, the only priest in the region younger than himself,<sup>12</sup> Pocock ultimately decided on a three-pronged program stressing catechesis, faith development and proto-ecumenical engagement with Protestants. Strongly influenced by shifting ecclesiological tides that would eventually bring the church on

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<sup>7</sup> Archives of the Catholic University of America (hereafter ACUA), General Catalogue, 1931-1932, Commencement Program, 43<sup>rd</sup> Commencement, Catholic University of America, 15 June 1932.

<sup>8</sup> *Catholic Record*, 15 April 1944. See also ARCAT, Pocock Papers, PO BA 03.93, Speech Notes, J. Francis Leddy, 4 October 1951 and interview with Msgr. Norman Chartrand, 5 July 2005, and interview with Fr. Bernard Dunn, 16 May 2008. Msgr. Chartrand was Pocock's chancellor in the archdiocese of Winnipeg, and Fr. Dunn was a former student of Pocock's at St. Peter's Seminary in London, Ontario and his first secretary in the diocese of Saskatoon.

<sup>9</sup> ARCAT, McGuigan Papers, SS8003, Kidd to McGuigan, 21 December 1943. DLA, Deceased Priest Files, Box 8, "Pocock, Philip F.," Kidd to Antoniutti, 21 April 1944.

<sup>10</sup> ARCAT, McGuigan Papers, SS8003, Kidd to McGuigan, 21 December 1943 and DLA, Deceased Priest Files, Box 8, "Pocock, Philip F.," Kidd to Antoniutti, 21 April 1944. See also ARCAT, SS8003, Kidd to McGuigan, 21 December 1943, SS8004, McGuigan to Kidd, 21 December 1943 and SS8005, McGuigan to Villeneuve, 28 December 1943.

<sup>11</sup> 44.9% of Saskatchewan's population was of British extraction, 14.7% German, 9% Ukrainian and 5.7% French. See S.M. Lipset, *Agrarian Socialism—The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation in Saskatchewan: A Study in Political Sociology*, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1959), 34. See also Margaret Frances Sanche, "Tree of Eden, Tower of Babel—The Controversy Over the Establishment of St. Thomas More College at the University of Saskatchewan, 1913-1936," (M.A. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1989), 101.

<sup>12</sup> Fr. Robinson had also been a former student of Pocock's at St. Peter's Seminary.



Bishop Philip Pocock

Source: Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto

course to the Second Vatican Council, he outlined what would be the basis of his theology of engagement to the faithful of Saskatoon. His plan was to create or reconstitute a host of pastoral initiatives, including the parish-level Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, a provincial radio program, “The Catholic Hour of the Prairies,” and the Herculean organizational effort that went into bringing Resurrectionist Fr. Patrick Peyton’s Family Rosary Crusade to western Canada.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Diocese of Saskatoon Archives (hereafter DSA), BDC, “Maurice Baudoux,” (3) 02, Pocock to Baudoux 16 November 1944 and Baudoux to Religious Superiors, 20 December 1944 and *Prairie Messenger*, 27 July 1944. See also DSA, BDC, “Maurice Baudoux,” (3) 01, Antoniutti to Pocock, 15 July and 28 September 1944 and DSA, BSK Diocesan Circulars, (2) 2, Pocock to Clergy, 30 December 1944; DSA, “Catechesis,” (1) 52 (c), Pocock—Rosary Hall Notes, 28 December 1950 and Memorandum to Clergy, 30 December 1944; *Prairie Messenger*, 18 September 1947; DSA, Main Collection (2) 2 Diocesan Bulletin, No. 4, 30 October 1947; *Prairie Messenger*, 23 September 1948; *Regina Leader-Post*, 2 October 1948; DSA, “C.W.L.,” (1) 58 (c), “Minutes of the Second Annual Convention of the Saskatchewan Provincial Council—Catholic Women’s League

At the very time Pocock was reinvigorating his diocese, Catholics, Saskatchewan's largest minority group,<sup>14</sup> were also being steadily drawn into the new political reality sweeping the province. Cognizant of the provincial hierarchy's opposition to the CCF, made clear in their 1934 pronouncement that the party "conceives human society in a way utterly alien to Christian truth," Catholics remained *de facto* supporters of the provincial Liberals.<sup>15</sup> By the time of its 1936 general convention, however, the CCF began to take a more populist turn, including the decision to drop use of the word "Socialist" from its program and abandoning some of its more radical leftist policies.<sup>16</sup> This led to Toronto archbishop James McGuigan's more encouraging statement in 1938 on behalf of the Ontario hierarchy that "we do not think Catholics should be hastily condemned for joining the CCF nor should they be forbidden to do so."<sup>17</sup> Increasingly supportive editorial campaigns in the eastern Canadian Catholic press from writers such as Henry Somerville of the *Canadian Register* and Murray Ballantyne of Montreal's *Catholic Beacon* also drew many to give the party a second look.<sup>18</sup>

That Pocock himself was personally disposed to the "Christian Socialism" espoused by CCF leaders at this time is clear. His papers contain a wealth of books, articles and pamphlets dealing with Canadian socialism and the CCF,<sup>19</sup> and his sermons and retreat talks composed during the 1930s and 1940s unabashedly express his "profound belief" in trade unionism, while underlining his concern for the devastating effects of unrestrained capitalism as the central cause for the Great Depression.<sup>20</sup> When the Canadian hierarchy went a step further in 1943 to declare the faithful "...

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of Canada," 7-8 September 1948; *Catholic Register*, 28 June 1969; *Prairie Messenger*, 30 September and 18 November 1948; DSA, BSK (2) 2, Pocock to Clergy, 23 November 1948; DSA, BSK (2) 2, Pocock to Clergy, 15 December 1948; *Prairie Messenger*, 30 September and 18 November 1948; DSA, BSK (2) 2, Pocock to Clergy, 23 November 1948; DSA, BSK (2) 2, Pocock to Clergy, 15 December 1948.

<sup>14</sup> Catholics made up 27% of the population, Protestants, 62.4%, Greek Orthodox 4.2%, Others 6.1%. See Lipset, *Agrarian Socialism*, 35.

<sup>15</sup> Cited in Lipset, *Agrarian Socialism*, 106.

<sup>16</sup> The CCF Convention of 1936 dropped a number of more radical policies taken from the Regina Manifesto, including the nationalization of land. See Lipset, *Agrarian Socialism*, 138 and Teresita Kambeitz, OSU, "Relations Between the Catholic Church and CCF in Saskatchewan, 1930-1950," in CCHA *Study Sessions*, 46 (1979): 54.

<sup>17</sup> Quoted in Jeanne Beck, "Henry Somerville—Catholics and the C.C.F.," *The Chelsea Journal*, September/October 1978, 264.

<sup>18</sup> St. Thomas More College Archives (hereafter STMA), Archivists Subject Files, "Cullinane," and Murray Ballantyne—"Notes on the C.C.F.," 10 December 1942.

<sup>19</sup> ARCAT, Pocock Papers, PO PO 01.

<sup>20</sup> ARCAT, Pocock Papers, PO BA 03.90, Speech Notes—Saskatoon and District Trades and Labour Council, unspecified date, 1940s, and PO SR 3.20, "Obligation to the Working Classes," unspecified date 1930s, and .21, "A Living Wage," unspecified date 1930s.

free to support any political party upholding the basic Christian traditions of Canada, and favouring needed reforms in the social and economic order which are demanded...in pontifical documents,"<sup>21</sup> Pocock had new reason to discern the feasibility of Catholic support for the party. In personal notes composed in May of 1945 he queried:

Is the C.C.F. socialistic in the sense in which the word is used in the encyclicals? That cannot be proved from official statements. Therefore the party cannot be condemned by the church, and Catholic laymen are free to vote CCF.<sup>22</sup>

Catholic priests, on the other hand, would pose a different challenge.



Eugene A. Cullinane, csb

Source: St. Thomas More College Archives (Saskatoon)

As a member of the Congregation of St. Basil, Eugene Cullinane had been assigned to the Basilian-run St. Thomas More College at the University of Saskatchewan in 1939 to teach Sociology, following the rejection of his doctoral thesis proposal at Washington's Catholic University of America. His topic, "The Function of the Catholic Priesthood as a Basic Element

<sup>21</sup> Kambeitz, 46.

<sup>22</sup> ARCAT, Pocock Papers, PO PO 01.15a, Pocock Notes, 27 May 1945.

in the Social Order,” would hold ominous portents for his future in the province. Settled in Saskatoon, Cullinane became convinced that the CCF represented a “purified socialism,” one in sync with the third option to uncontrolled liberal capitalism and atheistic communism called for in the church’s social encyclicals.<sup>23</sup> Following an interruption of three years when he served overseas as an RCAF chaplain during the War, Cullinane returned to Saskatoon in the spring of 1945, and won the support of his Basilian Superior, Fr. Henry Carr, in his desire to officially join the CCF.<sup>24</sup> By this time he had also re-engaged his doctoral studies in the Sociology department at CUA, selecting a new dissertation topic, “The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation: A Sociological Analysis of its Origins and Ideology,” which was soon approved.

While he was careful not to directly politicize his students,<sup>25</sup> Cullinane’s clear partisanship and aggressive tone, including his call for the laity to respond to the Gospel message with a spirit of “fearless apostolic militancy,” soon became problematic for him at St. Thomas More and in the diocese of Saskatoon.<sup>26</sup> Despite increased Catholic support in the 1944 election, in which the CCF won forty-seven of a possible fifty-two seats, Catholics were, in Cullinane’s estimation, “enslaved by the mental tyranny” of the CCF’s association with Socialism.<sup>27</sup> This was certainly the case in Saskatoon, where reaction to his perceived stumping for the party was visceral. Declaring “I hate the C.C.F. just about as much as the devil hates holy water,” Swift Current, Saskatchewan lawyer S.R. Polley was among the more vocal of Cullinane’s critics, threatening to withdraw his son from STM altogether.<sup>28</sup> For his part, Pocock, who had already pressed his engagement program

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<sup>23</sup> STMA, “Basilians,” CRB.1 F.2, McCorkell to Carr, 21 December 1944 and STMA, Archivists Subject Files, “Cullinane”—Murray Ballantyne, “Notes on the C.C.F.,” 10 December 1942 and STMA, “Basilians,” CRB.1 F.2, Cullinane to Carr, 1 May 1945.

<sup>24</sup> STMA, “Basilians,” CRB.1 F.2, McCorkell to Carr, 21 December 1944 and CRB.1 F.2, McCorkell to Carr, 12 June 1945, and Daly, 20. Basilian Superior General Rev. Edmond McCorkell also arranged through Henry Carr to have Cullinane’s name withdrawn from consideration by the Canadian Catholic Conference to replace Fr. Hector Daly SJ as director of the Canadian Youth Organization in the spring of 1945. See STMA, “Basilians,” CRB.1 F.2, McCorkell to Carr, 16, 30 May 1945.

<sup>25</sup> Daly, 15.

<sup>26</sup> Cullinane made the statement as part of a feature article he wrote for the *Prairie Messenger* during a Catholic Action Study Week. See *Prairie Messenger*, 15 November 1945.

<sup>27</sup> The CCF won the 1944 election with fifty-two per cent of the popular vote. See Kambertz, 48. See also letter of Eugene Cullinane, cited in Lipset, *Agrarian Socialism*, 172.

<sup>28</sup> DSA, STM, 15.2.4.1 (8), Polley to Mahoney, 8 January 1946. Catholic opposition to cooperation with the CCF was made clear to Pocock from the time of his installation in the diocese. See ARCAT, Pocock Papers, PO PO 01.20 “A Catholic Parent” to Pocock, unspecified date, 1945, and DSA, MC.DC&I—Hospitals—Catholic & Sask. Government (3) 139 (H), Dr. F.L. Eid to Pocock, 9 September 1944 and *Catholic Register*, 28 June

with the clergy of the diocese that spring by admonishing them to avoid “all political action” in advance of that spring’s Dominion election,<sup>29</sup> sensed the sincerity of Cullinane’s convictions and took a decidedly soft, even fatherly, approach with the young priest. In a letter that December he suggested, “I believe that your place in the public esteem should be above party affiliation,” and that by focusing on the teaching apostolate “...you will be able to carry on political action much more effectively than from the ranks.”<sup>30</sup> However, when Cullinane accepted an invitation to speak on “The Catholic Church and Socialism” at CCF rallies in Edmonton and North Battleford early the next year, Pocock was compelled to require that he cease writing or speaking on the party altogether.<sup>31</sup>

After remaining silent on his political convictions for the remainder of 1946, Cullinane was gradually drawn back into the CCF fold. His release of a position paper, “Eugenic Sterilization—Its Reasonableness and Moral Lawfulness,” in either late 1946 or early 1947 addressed the party’s proposed solution to the problem of “mental defectives” in the province.<sup>32</sup> By 1948 he was being actively solicited by the CCF as a critical operative to help encourage more Catholic support in Saskatchewan.<sup>33</sup> In a decision that would prove his final undoing in the diocese, Cullinane ultimately broke his promise to Pocock, agreeing to re-write his 1946 Edmonton speech in which he outlined

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1969. See also DSA, STM, 15.2.4.1 (2) Cullinane Papers, Eid to Pocock, 7 June 1948 and Cullinane, undated, “My Own Political Convictions.”

<sup>29</sup> ARCAT, Pocock Papers, PO PO 01.15a, Pocock Notes, 27 May 1945.

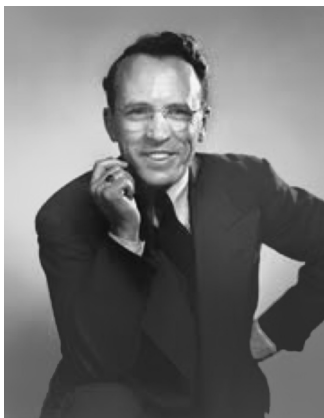
<sup>30</sup> ARCAT, Pocock Papers, PO PO 01.19 Pocock to Cullinane, 28 December 1945.

<sup>31</sup> DSA, STM, 15.2.4.1 (2) “Father E. Cullinane Papers,” Pocock to McCorkell, 4 June 1948 and Daly, 15.

<sup>32</sup> STMA, “Cullinane,” CLB.1 F1.0, Eugene A. Cullinane, csb, “Eugenic Legislation—Its reasonableness and Moral Lawfulness,” unspecified date. Ironically, despite his general tone of support for the CCF, Pocock, ever the professor of moral theology, had entered the debate two years earlier, loudly proclaiming to the Saskatchewan government the church’s moral opposition to eugenic sterilization. See ARCAT, Pocock Papers, PO SU 50.22, Speech Notes, Knights of Columbus—“Sterilization,” unspecified date, 1945 and *Saskatoon Star-Phoenix*, 1 December 1945 and *Prairie Messenger*, 6, 13 December 1945. That September a letter from Cullinane indicating his willingness “to do anything he can which will be in the permanent interest of the C.C.F.” was copied to the government caucus. See Saskatchewan Archives Board (Regina) (hereafter SABR), Douglas Papers, “Catholics,” John H. Sturdy to Government Caucus, 18 September 1948 and Brockelbank to Douglas, 10 November 1947. I am grateful to Robert Dennis of Queen’s University for copies of these documents.

<sup>33</sup> Following the CCF general convention in 1946, Jim Wright, a Catholic party operative from Landis, Saskatchewan, was directed by Douglas to meet with Cullinane in order to ascertain what level of support he would be willing to lend the party. See Saskatchewan Provincial Archives (hereafter SPA), Douglas Papers, “Catholics,” Wright to Douglas, 8 May 1948 and Douglas to Wright, 11 May 1948. See also SPA, Douglas Papers, “Catholics,” Brockelbank to Douglas, 12 April 1948 and Cullinane to Hansen, 5 April 1948.

his personal convictions for joining the party.<sup>34</sup> Eventually published as a five thousand word article in *Commonwealth*, a provincial CCF publication, it was distributed widely by the party in booklet form as “The Catholic Church and Socialism.”<sup>35</sup> In a letter to Basilian Superior General Edmond McCorkell on 4 June 1948, Pocock noted that, while he did not consider Cullinane’s actions to have been malicious, he was concerned that the priest’s “imprudence” would draw unwanted attention to St. Thomas More as a “hothouse of Socialism.”<sup>36</sup> On 10 June 1948 he took the final step of requesting that the Order remove Cullinane from the diocese.<sup>37</sup> The next day he issued a formal prohibition to the clergy against any partisan political activity.<sup>38</sup>



Tommy Douglas

Source: St. Thomas More College Archives (Saskatoon)

<sup>34</sup> Cullinane hesitated when approached later that May by Fred Williams, the Catholic editor of Regina’s CCF newspaper, *Commonwealth*, with his plans to republish the text of his 1946 Edmonton speech from *The People’s Weekly* along with a portion of the letter he had written to H.O. Hansen, the M.L.A. from Wilkie, Saskatchewan, outlining his personal reasons for joining the party, calling it “problematical” and citing the need for permission from both Pocock and Carr. Cited in Daly, 15. The relationship between Jim Wright and Cullinane, however (see footnote 27), would be critical to swaying the priest to direct re-engagement with the party. Following a discussion with Cullinane at Wright’s home in the spring of 1948, he wrote to Douglas “...we have permission to use this letter in any way we see fit in the campaign.” Douglas agreed, remarking on the letter’s significance “...in the hands of intelligent individuals in any constituency wherein there are a number of the Catholic faith.” SPA, Douglas Papers, “Catholics,” Wright to Douglas, 8 May 1948 and Douglas to Wright, 11 May 1948.

<sup>35</sup> DSA, STM, 15.2.4.1(2), Cullinane Papers, “The Catholic Church and Socialism,” published by the CCF, Saskatoon Section, and *Commonwealth*, 2 June 1948.

<sup>36</sup> DSA, STM, 15.2.4.1 (2) Cullinane Papers, McCorkell to Pocock, 4 June 1948, Cullinane to Pocock, 8 June 1948 and Pocock to Williams, 9 June 1948.

<sup>37</sup> DSA, STM, 15.2.4.1, McCorkell to Pocock, 9 June 1948 and Pocock to McCorkell, 10 June 1948.

<sup>38</sup> DSA, Diocesan Circulars, (2) 4, “Political Activity,” 11 June 1948.

While both Baum and Daly have viewed Cullinane's expulsion from the diocese of Saskatoon in terms of the general discomfort of the church and of Pocock in particular with the politicization of the clergy, what has not been clear until now is the full extent to which Pocock's commitment to non-partisan engagement with the provincial government had shaped Cullinane's fate at this critical moment in Saskatchewan's political history. In the spring of 1944, Tommy Douglas had campaigned on a platform similar in generic terms to the mission that Pocock had set for himself in the diocese of Saskatoon: renewal and reform. The cornerstone of the CCF program, however, the drive to establish North America's first government-sponsored plan of socialized medicine, had pitted the two leaders in competing camps. With Pocock charged by his brother bishops in 1946 to represent the private Catholic hospitals, owned and operated by various congregations of women religious and controlling more than half of the hospital beds in the province, and Douglas serving as his own minister of health and determined to implement hospitalization before the end of his first mandate, Pocock would later recall the uneasy negotiations between church and state over the next year and a half, the period coinciding exactly with Cullinane's tumultuous politicization and then removal from the diocese, as being by far the most significant political affair of his tenure in Saskatoon.<sup>39</sup>

The spadework to make hospitalization a reality in Saskatchewan began soon after the CCF victory in June 1944. By August Douglas had established a survey commission charged to liaise with the various healthcare "partners" of the province in order to determine the long-term goals of the new program.<sup>40</sup> Through this initiative, the executive of the Catholic Health Conference of Saskatchewan (CHCS), which included all of the provincial hierarchy, were invited to make representations on behalf of the Catholic hospitals to the provincial government.<sup>41</sup> As the newest and youngest of

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<sup>39</sup> Catholic Hospital Association of Saskatchewan Archives (hereafter CHASA), CHAS100.E.06 (1/4), Mandin to Sister Superior, unspecified date 1943. See also *Prairie Messenger*, 25 September 1983.

<sup>40</sup> The commission was chaired by Dr. H.E. Sigerist, Professor of the History of Medicine at Johns Hopkins University. See DSA, MC.DC&I—Hospitals—Catholic & Saskatchewan Government, (3) 139 (H), Douglas to Ryan, 18 August 1944.

<sup>41</sup> Catholic hospital advocacy in Canada developed in earnest in the 1940s. The CHCS was formed the previous year to enable the Catholic hospitals to liaise with the federal and provincial governments. See National Catholic Welfare Conference, Bulletin No. 23, 1943, "A Statement on Behalf of the Catholic Hospital Association of the United States and Canada in Collaboration with the Department of Social Action" and André Cellard and Gerard Pelletier, *Faithful to a Mission—Fifty Years With The Catholic Health Association of Canada* (Montreal: Catholic Health Association of Canada, (1990), 35, 39 and CHASA, CHAS100.A.01, Minutes, 1943-1954, First Minute Book, CHAS100.E.06(1/4), Mandin to Sister Superior, unspecified date 1943, CHAS100.E.06(1/4), Mandin to Sister Superior, 19 March 1943, CHAS100.F.02, "Briefs," unspecified date, April 1943. Once established,



the Saskatchewan prelates, Pocock was designated by his brother bishops as their representative to work with CHCS president Sr. Jeanne Mandin to negotiate the entry of the Catholic hospitals into the new scheme.<sup>42</sup>

Following consultations with Catholic health professionals, Pocock and Mandin presented a brief on behalf of the CHCS where they outlined their concerns for the maintenance and expansion of the diagnostic, curative and preventative services of the Catholic hospitals under hospitalization.<sup>43</sup> They were overjoyed in March 1946 when Douglas announced that the new legislation would not eliminate private hospitals, and that most of the financial accounts for all hospitals would be guaranteed by the new plan.<sup>44</sup> Addressing the November convention of the CHCS, now known as Catholic Health Association of Saskatchewan (CHAS), Pocock confidently announced that the government's hospitalization laws would safeguard the interests and rights of the Catholic hospitals, and that both public and Catholic hospitals would be equally reimbursed for services rendered.<sup>45</sup> His optimism, however, would be short-lived. With the legislation set to take effect 1 January 1947, a new last minute development threatened to undermine the entire future of Catholic healthcare in the province.<sup>46</sup>

On the afternoon of 27 December 1946, Pocock called an emergency meeting of the CHAS executive in the main lecture theatre of the Regina Grey Nuns' Hospital School of Nursing to review a new policy statement

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the Catholic Health Conference of Saskatchewan cooperated early with the Douglas government. See CHASA, CHAS100.E.05, Mandin to Douglas, 12 July 1944.

<sup>42</sup> Pocock later recalled that the other bishops all had their own reasons for requiring he take the lead. The metropolitan archbishop of the province, Peter Monahan of Regina, was too ill; Bishops Lemieux and Duprat of the French dioceses of Gravelbourg and Prince Albert claimed their English was too weak; and the Abbott-Ordinary of Muenster, Severin Gertkin, asserted that as a monk, it would be inappropriate for him to carry on government negotiations. See D.F. Robertson, *The Sword of Saint Paul—A History of the Diocese of Saskatoon, 1933-1983*, (Saskatoon: Episcopal Corporation of Saskatoon, 1982), 38. See also CHASA, CHAS100.E.05, Douglas to Sr. P. Fortier, 22 February 1945.

<sup>43</sup> DSA, DC&I (3) 143 (H) [1 of 2] "Hospital—St. Paul—Saskatoon" Pocock to Eid, 26 August 1944, CHASA; CHAS100.E.04, W.C. Ryan to Mandin, 13 September 1944 and DSA, MC.DC&I—Hospitals—Catholic & Sask. Government (3) 139 (H), Eid to Pocock, 9 September 1944; *Catholic Register*, 28 June 1969; DSA, MC.DC&I—Hospitals—Catholic & Sask. Government (3) 139 (H), Pocock, "Suggestions—Summed Up," unspecified date, 1944 and Brief "Memorandum," Mandin to Pocock, 30 August 1944; CHASA, CHAS100.F.02, "Briefs," unspecified date, 1944; CHASA, CHAS100.F.02, "Briefs," unspecified date, 1944.

<sup>44</sup> *The Saskatchewan News*, 25 March 1946 and Archives of University of Saskatchewan (hereafter AUS), Government Publications, "Progress in Health Services," August, 1946.

<sup>45</sup> *Prairie Messenger*, 21 November 1946.

<sup>46</sup> DSA, MC.DC&I—Hospitals—Catholic & Sask. Government (3) 139 (H), "Minutes of the Executive Meeting," 27 December 1946 and "Memorandum," unspecified date, December 1946.

from the Saskatchewan Health Service Planning Commission (SHSPC). In particular, the statement outlined new accounting measures that would consider the salaries paid to the sisters staffing the Catholic hospitals as revenue and susceptible to taxation. Including a set of province-wide wage standards for all hospital services rendered in the first six months of the hospitalization laws taking effect, it was clear that the new SHSPC policy directly threatened the financial solvency of the Catholic hospitals of Saskatchewan.<sup>47</sup> Unlike the municipal hospitals, which could raise taxes for capital purposes, the Catholic hospitals depended on the generosity of the sisters in returning their salaries for work as nurses, administrators and secretaries to their institutions in order to cover capital costs and to pay down debts. Suggesting a private meeting with Douglas and the representatives of his planning commission to explain the destructive consequences of the new policy for the Catholic hospitals, Pocock could not have fully grasped the scope of the battle that lay before him.

The SHSPC was chaired by Dr. Fred Mott, a graduate of McGill University Medical School who had been lured by Douglas from his position as Assistant Surgeon General of the United States Army to organize the implementation of hospitalization.<sup>48</sup> Despite his reputation as “a man of integrity and a good listener,”<sup>49</sup> in protracted negotiations over the next year and a half Mott proved enormously inattentive and unsympathetic to the arguments made on behalf of the Catholic hospitals. Arriving without Douglas for the first meeting, scheduled at St. Paul’s Hospital in Saskatoon in early January 1947, Mott bluntly announced to the Catholic delegation, including Pocock, Mandin and diocesan attorney Emmett Hall, the government’s plan to treat what he referenced as the sisters’ “contributed services” as hospital revenue.<sup>50</sup> Mott charged that the government had a responsibility to prevent what he considered to be a strong likelihood, that monies raised through hospitalization would be diverted, tax-free, to the sisters’ various out-of-province apostolates. He further threatened that any public disagreement with the government over the matter would reflect poorly on the Catholic hospitals as charitable institutions.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> DSA, MC.DC&I—Hospitals—Catholic & Sask. Government (3) 139 (H), “Minutes of the Executive Meeting,” 27 December 1946 and “Memorandum,” unspecified date, December 1946.

<sup>48</sup> Malcolm Taylor, *Health Insurance and Canadian Public Policy*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1978), 102-03.

<sup>49</sup> Stuart C. Houston, *Steps on the Road to Medicare—Why Saskatchewan Led the Way*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2002), 93.

<sup>50</sup> DSA, MC.DC&I—Hospitals—Catholic & Sask. Government (3) 139 (H), Sr. M. Irene to Hall, 5 January 1947.

<sup>51</sup> DSA, DC&I, “Hospital—St. Paul Saskatoon,” Notes, “Meeting with Dr. Mott and Mr. Myers,” undated.



Fred Mott, MD

Source: St. Thomas More College Archives (Saskatoon)

Undeterred by Mott's clear bias against the sisters, Pocock met with the religious superiors and delegates of the Catholic hospitals the next week, repeating what had now become the mantra of his theology of engagement: "trust is better than suspicion." Outlining his overall plan for rapprochement with the government, Pocock focused on the need to stress the differences in corporate status between the civic hospitals and the religious communities who administered their own private institutions for the public good.<sup>52</sup> A sub-committee comprising representatives of the different sisterhoods operating hospitals in the province then outlined their proposal for a "points system" in respect to the contributed services problem for the Douglas government. The plan identified standard provincial salaries for the hospital work done by the sisters, including administration, nursing supervision, clerical, laundry, food preparation and housekeeping, with deduction points from the gross for each sister's personal expenses, including room and board, vacation and sick time. Their proposal was that only the deduction points, amounting to

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<sup>52</sup> DSA, MC.DC&I—Hospitals—Catholic & Saskatchewan Government, (3) 139 (H), "Minutes of a Special Meeting," 11 February 1947.

approximately twenty percent of gross salaries earned, would be susceptible to taxation, while the balance of the salary paid to each sister would be deposited directly into each hospital's capital account.<sup>53</sup> A detailed outline of the points system in regard to the sisters contributed services was then included by Pocock and Mandin in a new brief that they prepared for the government, clarifying that the Catholic hospitals, which provided more than half of the hospital beds in the province, were entirely dependent for their survival on the generosity of the Catholic sisterhoods.<sup>54</sup>

With no official movement on the government's policy by January 1948, Pocock began to press the issue more directly.<sup>55</sup> Arranging for a private meeting with Douglas at the Regina Grey Nuns' Hospital on Monday 16 February, he dramatically walked from the table when, once again, Mott arrived without the premier. In a phone conversation later that day Pocock expressed his frustration to Douglas, and arranged to meet the premier that evening to discuss the key concern of "contributed services" and the Catholic hospitals.<sup>56</sup> Having ordered Catholic media silence on the SHCPC discussions as early as 1946, Pocock was outraged the next day by public revelation of their private meeting in the *Regina Leader-Post*, which he and the premier later agreed had been leaked by an unnamed Catholic opposed to the CCF.<sup>57</sup> In perhaps the most tense moment of these discussions, Douglas delicately warned Pocock that any further breaches of these *in camera* discussions would lead to "certain restraint in future negotiations" over the Catholic hospitals.<sup>58</sup> Still, confirming the positive tone of their talks, Douglas wrote to Pocock on 19 February, agreeing in principle that the sisters' services would not be taxed.<sup>59</sup> The two men confirmed the details of the understanding in

<sup>53</sup> DSA, MC.DC&I—Hospitals—Catholic & Sask. Government (3) 139 (H), "Minutes of a Special Meeting," 11 February 1947. This salary scale took information from the 1945 report of the Saskatchewan Catholic Hospital Association for 100 to 400 bed hospitals across the province.

<sup>54</sup> DSA, DC&I, "Hospital—St. Paul Saskatoon," "Memorandum," unspecified date, 1947 and DSA, MC.DC&I—Hospitals—Catholic & Saskatchewan Government (3) 139 (H), Mandin to Mott, 15 January 1947 and Mandin to Douglas, 16 January 1947.

<sup>55</sup> CHASA, CHAS100.E.01, Pocock to Sr. Irene, 3 January 1948.

<sup>56</sup> CHASA, CHAS100.E.01, Sr. Irene to Msgr. A.J. Janssen, 4 February 1948 and Sr. Irene to Pocock, 9 February 1948; CHASA, CHAS100.K.01, Correspondence, 1948-49, Minutes, Regina Meeting of Health Services Planning Commission and Executive of Catholic Hospital Conference of Saskatchewan, 16 February 1948.

<sup>57</sup> DSA, MC.DC&I—Hospitals/Pocock/Saskatchewan Government, (3) 130 (H), Pocock to Douglas, 21 February 1948 and Durocher to Pocock, unspecified date, 1948. Note that Pocock did agree to a more subtle weekly campaign of support for the Sisters' hospitals in the *Prairie Messenger* from 16 January 1947 through 24 April 1947.

<sup>58</sup> DSA, MC.DC&I—Hospitals/Pocock/Saskatchewan Government (3) 130 (H), Douglas to Pocock, 19 February 1948. *Regina Leader-Post*, 18 February 1948.

<sup>59</sup> DSA, MC.DC&I—Hospitals/Pocock/Saskatchewan Government (3) 130 (H), Douglas to Pocock, 19 February 1948.

another private meeting on 27 February, and Douglas remarked that official notification would be forthcoming from Mott's office.<sup>60</sup>

The letter from Mott, dated 2 March 1948, was an enormous disappointment. Offering no acknowledgement whatsoever of the Pocock-Douglas agreement, it returned the discussion to the original tone set by Mott's remarks to the CHCS a year earlier. Once again targeting the financial profiles of the religious sisterhoods, Mott offered to revisit the "contributed services" question on the sole condition of a full disclosure of all bond holdings, debts, debentures and interest costs from the Catholic hospitals.<sup>61</sup> A man of temperate disposition and slow to anger, Pocock had now had enough. In a forcefully written letter to Douglas, he demanded "a clear straightforward answer to a clear, straightforward question" in regard to the sisters' salaries.<sup>62</sup> During a final meeting the next week, Douglas, who clearly wanted this impediment to hospitalization's full implementation resolved, promised Pocock that the next letter from Mott would clarify that the sisters would not be compelled to declare their salaries as revenue, which it did.<sup>63</sup> While Douglas down-played the matter in a *Canadian Register* report the next month as a "bookkeeping issue,"<sup>64</sup> Mott, who had clearly been chastised by the premier for his obstinacy in the matter, blamed the "confusion" on the presence of diocesan attorney Emmett Hall.<sup>65</sup> His mission accomplished, Pocock was more sanguine in his estimation of the agreement. Speaking at a press conference held that fall to announce a million dollar extension to the Sisters of Providence's Notre Dame Hospital at North Battleford, Saskatchewan, ironically the same city where Eugene Cullinane had drawn Pocock's concern for his public alignment with the CCF, he wryly observed, "When they [the government] understand that these sisters are giving their lives to this service, municipal, federal and provincial governments not now providing the hospital with any capital grants, will not see them left in the lurch."<sup>66</sup>

<sup>60</sup> CHASA, CHAS100.M.08, "Legal Counsel," Hall to Sr. Irene, 1 March 1948 and SDA: MC.DC&I—Hospitals/Pocock/Sask. Govt. (3) 130 (H), Douglas to Sr. Irene, 2 March 1948

<sup>61</sup> DSA, MC.DC&I—Hospitals/Pocock/Saskatchewan Government, (3) 130 (H), Mott to Sr. Irene, 2 March 1948.

<sup>62</sup> DSA, MC.DC&I—Hospitals/Pocock/Saskatchewan Government, (3) 130 (H), Sr. Irene to Pocock, 3 March 1948 and Pocock to Douglas 6 March 1948.

<sup>63</sup> DSA, MC.DC&I—Hospitals/Pocock/Saskatchewan Government, (3) 130 (H), Douglas to Pocock, 16 March 1948, Pocock to Douglas, 17 March 1948 and Mott to Sr. Irene, 9 March 1948. See also *Canadian Register*, 28 March 1948.

<sup>64</sup> *Canadian Register*, 6 March 1948.

<sup>65</sup> CHASA, CHAS100.E.01, Sr. Irene to O'Neill, 9 December 1948.

<sup>66</sup> *Prairie Messenger*, 11 November 1948.

More than the story of one man's extraordinary commitment to political or religious convictions, Eugene Cullinane's removal from the diocese of Saskatoon must be understood within the delicate balance of relations between church and state facing his Ordinary, Philip Pocock, in 1940s Saskatchewan. Pocock's deft handling of the "contributed services" question during 1947-48 garnered praise in Catholic circles for his commitment to defending Catholic hospitals on the basis of fairness and equity, but ultimately, this forced his hand in banishing Cullinane from the diocese of Saskatoon.<sup>67</sup> While he consistently showed great patience and personal concern for the young Basilian through the course of his political awakening, Pocock was acutely sensitive at this time to any suggestion of Catholic partisanship, particularly in support of the CCF, amongst his clergy. Emphasizing his concern to Fr. Henry Carr, the Basilian superior at St. Thomas More College, a week after Cullinane's departure, Pocock noted the inquiry from the rector of Saskatoon's Rosary Hall as to whether all Catholics in the diocese were now to vote CCF in the provincial election that fall.<sup>68</sup>

Expulsion from the diocese of Saskatoon in 1948 would prove a personal turning point for Eugene Cullinane. Remaining a Catholic priest, he would leave the Basilian Fathers to take up residence at Madonna House, the Catholic community established in Combermere, Ontario by Catherine de Hueck in 1947. Interestingly, more than thirty years later another Saskatoon priest, Fr. Robert Ogle, would publicly declare himself as a candidate for the CCF's next incarnation, the New Democratic Party, going on to defeat incumbent Liberal M.P. Otto Lang in the 1979 federal election that brought Joe Clarke's short-lived minority government to power. Re-elected in 1980, he remained in office until the Vatican's unease with priest-politicians informed his decision not to seek re-election in 1984.<sup>69</sup>

For Philip Pocock, Saskatoon was only the first stop in what would be a lengthy and varied career in the hierarchy of the Canadian Catholic Church. Appointed next to Winnipeg in 1951 and then to Toronto in 1961, the list of

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<sup>67</sup> Sr. Mandin observed that it had been Pocock's work that saved the Catholic hospitals: "...the success in this matter is due mostly to your work and the confidence that you have inspired in dealing with these men." See CHASA, CHAS100.e.01, Sr. Irene to Pocock, 10 March 1948, and Sr. Irene to Duprat, 12 March 1948. The new archbishop of Regina, Michael O'Neill, declared "No one has a better grasp and understanding of the problems and his sound judgment and keen mind are such treasures that I feel all of us are very fortunate in having him guide us." CHASA, CHAS100.E.01, O'Neill to Sr. Irene, 15 November 1948.

<sup>68</sup> DSA, STM, Pocock to Carr, 15 June 1948.

<sup>69</sup> Interestingly, Fr. Ogle was sent by Bishop Pocock to study for the priesthood at St. Peter's Seminary in London, Ontario in the late 1940s. "Ogle, Robert, 1928-1998" in Encyclopedia of Saskatchewan, [http://esask.uregina.ca/entry/ogle\\_father\\_robert\\_1928-98.html](http://esask.uregina.ca/entry/ogle_father_robert_1928-98.html)

his accomplishments in these Sees, including his government negotiations on behalf of the separate schools of Manitoba and Ontario, his commitment to the spirit of renewal and ecumenism called for at the Second Vatican Council and his creation of Toronto's archdiocesan campaign, ShareLife, is substantial, yet generally unheralded in the annals of Canadian Catholic history. Retiring in 1978 to his first calling as a parish priest at St. Mary's Catholic Church in Brampton, Ontario, Pocock passed to his final reward in 1984 after more than fifty-four years of priesthood, forty of which he spent in ecclesiastical office. Ultimately, his legacy is an unwavering commitment to the church's need to engage with the modern world, a legacy that took root in a substantive way with his work on behalf of the Catholic hospitals in Saskatchewan during the 1940s.





## **Miracles and Wonders: Finding Canadian Medical History in the Vatican Archives**

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I had a close encounter of the canonical kind in my capacity as a hematologist back in 1987 when I was asked to read dozens of microscope slides of bone marrow samples taken from one patient over an eighteen-month period. I was deliberately “blinded” to the details of the case by not being given any clinical information. The bone marrow is the site where blood is manufactured for the body; these samples revealed that the patient had an aggressive form of acute leukemia. I thought that the patient must be dead, and the review was for a law suit. But it turned out that she was still alive, attributing her cure to the intercession of Marie-Marguerite d’Youville who had died two centuries years earlier.

This extraordinary experience led me to marvel at the scientific detail that was submitted for the Vatican’s consideration. I embarked on a long quest in my capacity as a historian—rather than hematologist—to see if I could learn about the other miracles used in canonizations past. Were they also healings from physical illness? Did they involve other atheist doctors like me?

Twenty years later, after several increasingly long trips to Rome and examination of more than 1400 miracles, Oxford published my book, *Medical Miracles*.<sup>1</sup> At the combined invitation of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association and the Canadian Historical Association, I re-examined the Vatican canonization files that had come from Canada for a keynote address in June 2010. This paper is a revised version of that lecture, and like its oral precursor, it stems from my research for *Medical Miracles*. To the best of my knowledge, however, the Canadian miracles—those that I have studied and others cited here that remain to be investigated—are discussed here as a group for the first time.

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<sup>1</sup> Jacalyn Duffin, *Medical Miracles: Doctors, Saints and Healing in the Modern World*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

As most readers will know, canonization is a long process involving a scholarly biography, several subsequent stages, and much waiting. The recognition of saints who are not martyrs requires that they have interceded posthumously to work miracles—at least one miracle before beatification, and another before canonization. Potential miracles are investigated in a forensic process, or “trial,” usually administered by the local diocese. For four centuries, scribes kept track of witnesses and their evidence. Now the sessions are tape-recorded and transcribed typographically and digitally. These files are then sent to the Vatican for consideration. The records pertaining to incomplete causes are held in the Archive of the Congregation for the Causes of Saints. Once a beatification or canonization takes place, the documents may be transferred to the Vatican Secret Archives.<sup>2</sup>

Information on miracles is available in three ways. First, it can be held as a verbatim manuscript or typewritten record of the process in the Vatican archives. These archival files are sealed for the six most recent papacies; in other words, they are open up to the end of the seventh most recent papacy, which at the present time is 1939, the end of the reign of Pius XI. Second, postulators sometimes publish the testimony as a book, in which case a copy might be placed in the Vatican Library where no date restrictions apply. Third, at the time of every canonization a small pamphlet or compendium is printed to summarize the cause for sainthood, usually with information about each miracle; many are available through the Vatican library. The earliest compendia often provided considerable detail about the miracles; through time, however, the space given to miracles in these compendia has been decreasing.

Additionally, two authors have published collections of miracles from recent beatifications or canonizations, citing lengthy excerpts that they gathered through privileged access to printed and archival files concerning the trials. These volumes cover a large number of the miracles currently under seal: in the three volumes by Andreas Resch, 112 of 162 miracles were investigated after 1939; in the collection of Dario Composta, eight of fourteen.<sup>3</sup> Both these collections included miracles worked in Canada.

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<sup>2</sup> For more on the canonization process, see Duffin, *Medical Miracles*, 11-35; Kenneth Woodward, *Making Saints. How the Catholic Church Determines Who Becomes a Saint and Who Doesn't, and Why*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990).

<sup>3</sup> Dario Composta, *Il miracolo: realta o suggestione? Rassegna documentata di fatti straordinari nel cinquentennio, 1920-1970*, (Rome: Città Nuova Editrice, 1981); Andreas Resch, *Miracoli dei Beati, 1983-1990* and *Miracoli dei Beati, 1991-1995*, (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticano, 2002); Andreas Resch, *Miracoli dei Santi, 1983-1995*, (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticano, 2002).

The Archive of the Congregation for the Causes of Saints strictly limits consultation. I have used it to view some canonization compendia that are not available in the Vatican Library and for which no other documents could be found. Obtaining permission to examine the files of incomplete causes is more difficult.

The 1400 miracles that I examined for my book include at least one for each canonization since 1588. Only twelve miracles in this collection took place in Canada: one from northern Alberta, three from Ontario, and eight from Quebec. They were applied to nine causes of five beatifications and four canonizations (the eight Jesuit martyrs were canonized together in one process). The saints or blessed were born from 1593 to 1897 (Table 1). Six were Canadian by birth; the others were born in France; the Jesuit martyrs and two others migrated to Canada and died there. Only two of the group never visited Canada: Jean-Baptiste de la Salle and Eugène de Mazenod. All were members of religious orders; several were founders, such as Marie-Marguerite d'Youville (Grey Nuns), Jean-Baptiste de la Salle (Christian Brothers), and Eugène Mazenod (Oblates).

Table 1. Saints or Blessed whose Miracles were worked in Canada

<i>Name</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Born</i>	<i>Died</i>	<i>Can. or Beat.</i>
<i>Saints</i>				
Jean-Baptiste de la Salle	priest, founder	1651	1719	1900
Eight Jesuit Martyrs				1930
Jean de Brébeuf	priest	1593	1649	
Noel Chabanel	priest	1613	1649	
Antoine Daniel	priest	1601	1648	
Jean de la Lande	layman	1646		
Charles Garnier	priest	1606	1649	
René Goupil	surgeon	1608	1642	
Isaac Jogues	priest	1607	1646	
Gabriel Lalemont	priest	1610	1649	
Marguerite de Bourgeoys	nun founder	1620	1700	1982
Marie-Marguerite d'Youville	widow, founder	1701	1771	1990
C.J. Eugène de Mazenod	bishop, founder	1782	1861	1995
<i>Blesseds</i>				
Marie-Léonie Paradis	nun, founder	1840	1912	1984b
Louis-Zéphirin Moreau	bishop	1824	1901	1987b
Marie-Catherine Longpré	nun, founder	1632	1668	1989b
Dina Bélanger	nun, founder	1897	1929	1993b

Source: Yvon Beaudoin, *Indice dei processi*, Vaticano: typescript, ASV Indice 1047 covers file call numbers RP 1-4255 (1566-1920); ASV Indice 1147 covers call numbers RP 4256-7030 (1920-1982).

The Vatican finding aids to the canonization miracles—meticulously prepared by Canadian Oblate, Ivon Beaudoin—reveal at least another 30 records pertaining to Canadian saints or *miraculés* still waiting to be explored (Table 2). Other guides to Vatican collections of other archives in Rome will help locate papers held by religious orders in Canada pertaining to the lives and deeds of saints.<sup>4</sup> Most of the documents relevant to Canadian miracles are still under seal because their investigations took place after 1939; some are missing and it is best to check on their status with the archives prior to a visit. They include several files on Frère André; three depositions on Kateri Tekakwitha—two from American cities; one on the French saint, Bénilde Romançon, likely used for his beatification; two on the venerable Alfred Pampalon, and other files pertaining to the same causes that I will discuss below. At the death of Benedict XVI, ten more Canadian files will open from the reign of Pius XII ending in 1958. Several other ongoing Canadian causes do not yet have files in the Vatican archives; those records are likely held at the archive of the Congregation for the Causes of Saints. These active causes are publicized in appeals by the postulators and detailed in the media and at websites.<sup>5</sup>

When I delivered this address in June 2010, the auspicious canonization of the second, Canadian-born saint was to take place in the following October. I was unable to view the miracle files of Frère André Bessette because none were open during my research; once, however, a file from his cause was brought to me in error. Nevertheless, we know of the miracle cited for his beatification because it garnered much media attention at that time and since. It was the 1958 cure of liver cancer in Giuseppe “Joe” Audino, a thirty-eight year-old American businessman from Rochester, New York, who had travelled to St. Joseph’s Oratory in Montreal to appeal to the late Frère André; his testimony was collected twenty years later.<sup>6</sup> Evidence from at least three other

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<sup>4</sup> See for example, Luca Codignola, *Vatican. Archives of the Sacred Congregation “de Propaganda Fide” 1622-1830*, (Ottawa, 1996); Luca Codignola, “Les spécificités des archives du Saint-Siège du point de vue de leur utilisation comme sources importantes de l’histoire politico-religieuse du Canada,” *Archives*, 33, 1 (2001-2002): 3-16; Pierre Hurtubise, Luca Codignola, Fernand Harvey, (eds.), *L’Amérique du Nord française dans les archives religieuses de Rome, 1600-1922: guide de recherche*, (Sainte-Foy, Québec: Éditions de l’IQRC, 1999); Francis X. Blouin, *Vatican Archives; An Inventory and Guide to Historical Documents of the Holy See*, (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

<sup>5</sup> See for example, The Cause for Sainthood: Carmelina Tarantino of the Cross, hosted at the website of the Archdiocese of Toronto <http://www.archtoronto.org/carmelina/>; the Cause of Blessed Marie-Rose Durocher, hosted at the website of the Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary, <http://www.snjm.org/>; the Centre Rosalie-Cadron-Jetté, devoted to the cause for her canonization, <http://www.centrerosaliecadronjette.org/> all websites accessed 3 January 2011.

<sup>6</sup> See for example, CBC Digital Archives, “The Miracle on Mount Royal: 100 Years of St. Joseph’s Oratory,” [http://archives.cbc.ca/society/religion\\_spirituality/topics/1437-9368/](http://archives.cbc.ca/society/religion_spirituality/topics/1437-9368/) accessed 18 September 2010.

miracles prior to the beatification reside in the archives (Table 2). At the time of my lecture, the miracle that was used for the forthcoming canonization had not yet been revealed. Four months later, around the time of the canonization, some details were released by a priest at St. Joseph's Oratory on behalf of the family who requested anonymity. We were told that it was a cure of a nine year-old boy who was in a coma following a severe head injury ten years earlier.<sup>7</sup>

Table 2. Unexamined Miracle Files Pertaining to Canada in Vatican Archives

*A. Saints or Blesseds in Table 1*

<i>Name</i>	<i>ASV RP no.</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Place</i>
Jesuit martyrs	4752	1928	Saint-Hyacinthe
"	4753	1928	Chatham, N.B.
Marguerite Bourgeoys	4924	1928	Montreal
"	4923	1932-3	Montreal
"	4925	1946	Montreal
"	6880	1961-2	Montreal
"	6881-2	1962	Montreal
"	6883	1978	Sainte-Anne-de-la-Pocatière
Marie-Catherine de Longpré	8782-3	1968	Quebec
Marie-Léonie Paradis	7380	1955	Rimouski
"	7381	1955	Sherbrooke
"	7382	1957	Sherbrooke
"	7383-4	1968	Sherbrooke
Louis-Zéphirin Moreau	7123	1983	Sault Ste Marie
Marie-Marguerite d'Youville	7984-5	1987	Ottawa

*B. Unexamined Files in ASV Concerning Other Canadian Saints, Blesseds or Venerables*

	<i>born</i>	<i>died</i>	<i>Can/Beat/V</i>	<i>ASV RP no.</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Place</i>
Alfred Pampalon	1867	1896	1991v	7885	1924-5	Liège, Bel.
"				7886	1925-6	Quebec
Bénilde Romançon	1805	1862	1967	4456	1924	Montreal
Kateri Tekakwitha	1656	1680	1980b	6149, 6151	1942	Marquette, US
"				6148	1943	Hamilton
"				6152	1988	Sioux City, US
André Bessette	1845	1937	2010	6906	1950	Montreal
"				6907	1950	Montreal
"				6908	1952	Montreal
"			summary of 3 precedent	6909-11	1965-7	Montreal
Marie Guyart	1599	1672	1980	8805	1971	Gorizia, Italy

Source: Yvon Beaudoin, *Indice dei Processi*, typescript, ASV index nos. 1147, 1147a, 1982.

<sup>7</sup> See, for example, Eric Reguly, "Brother André: The Rocket Richard of Miracles," *Globe and Mail*, 15 October 2011.

Like Frère André's miracles, every other Canadian miracle that I examined was a healing from illness with testimony from many doctors. For the entire set of 1400 miracles in the book, only five per cent were not cures. But those non-medical miracles virtually disappear after 1800 to comprise less than one per cent of the miracles: only two in the nineteenth century and two in the twentieth. In other words, more than 99 per cent of the modern miracles are healings. In this aspect and so many others, the Canadian miracles typify the whole.

All the people healed in my sample were Canadian: four nuns, five children (3 boys, 2 girls—3 of whom were babies), and two young women. The only adult man was a monk. Their illnesses occurred between 1887 and 1978, the most recent being the one for which I had read the bone marrow slides in 1987. Clerics dominate the early cures and disappear after 1927. This demographic change represents an even more extreme version of the same shift to a predominance of lay people and adult women as *miraculés* than that displayed by the entire collection.

Several doctors are named in the Canadian files, many of whom can be traced through the medical literature, professional records, and obituaries in newspapers and the *Canadian Medical Association Journal* (Table 3). They were upstanding leaders of the profession and their communities. For example, the well-known Ottawa doctor, François-Xavier Valade, once examined Louis Riel; his former home remains a landmark in the Byward market neighbourhood. Involved as an expert in the same miracle, Clarence Veniot was the son of a New Brunswick premier and himself served as mayor of Bathurst and as a member of Parliament. Veniot's much younger expert colleague, George Jasper Wherrett, went on to a career in public health, and half a century later, he published a classic history of tuberculosis, the title of which seems to recall his early brush with transcendence, *The Miracle of the Empty Beds* (1977). Louis-Edouard Fortier founded the journal, *L'Abeille médicale*, and recorded the early history of Montreal School of Medicine and Surgery of which he was a professor. Several of these doctors were prominent Catholics and members of the Papal Order of Gregory the Great. Sometimes the published summaries did not name the physicians, and their identities must wait till the archival files are opened.

The diseases healed typified their era. Five of the six earliest from 1887 to 1929, were cures of various types of tuberculosis: three respiratory; two intestinal. Sometimes the diagnosis was established by laboratory demonstration of the germ that causes tuberculosis, Koch's bacillus, which had been discovered in 1882. The next cluster of four miracles were cures of neurological problems: paralysis owing to myelitis (inflammation of the spinal cord) in 1887; hydrocephalus (dilatation of the brain ventricles) in 1939; head injury in 1947; and epilepsy with intracranial bleeding in 1962.

The final cluster of three were cures of malignancy: one of the gut, one lymphoma transformed to childhood leukemia, and one adult leukemia, which was the case I had seen.

Table 3. Some Physicians in the Canadian Miracle Files of the Vatican Archives

Name	Role	Miracle	Year of	
			/	\
			Cure	Testimony
Aubry, Alphonse-David b. 1849	attending	2	1890	1902
Audet d'Orsonnens, of Ottawa	attending	1	1889	1892
Bourget (sent a certificate)	attending	1	1889	1892
Chevalier, Eusèbe-Napoleon b. 1850	attending	2	1890	1902
Collette (Montreal region)	attending	5	1927	1928
Cypihot, Théodule b. 1859 Montreal	expert	1	1889	1892
Drouin, Jeanne b. 1945 Ottawa	attending	12	1979	1987
Duffin, Jacalyn b. 1950, Ottawa	expert	12	1979	1987
family doctor, North Bay	attending	11	1978	1983
Fortier, Louis E. (1865-1947)	expert	5	1927	1928
Gadbois, F.A.(1876-1947) Sherbrooke	attending	3	1912	1955?
Garceau, Joseph-Honoré b. 1863	attending	1	1889	1892
Gaudet, E.T. of Memramcook, N.B.	attending	3	1912	1955?
Hingston, William H. (1829-1907)	expert	2	1890	1902
Hospital for Sick Children, Toronto	attending	11	1978	1983
Migneault, Louis-David (1856-1929)	expert	1, 2	1890	1902, 1902
Paré, surgeon	attending	2	1890	1902
Paulin, J.E. of Tracadie	attending	4	1926	1928
Prince (Montreal region)	attending	5	1927	1928
Richard, of Québec	attending	9	1962	1988
Robert, Charles	attending	5	1927	1928
St. Jacques, Eugène	expert	5	1927	1928
Valade, François-X. b. 1846, Ottawa	attending	1	1889	1892
Veniot, Clarence (1886-1977)	expert	4	1926	1928
Wherrett, George J. (1897-1981)	expert	4	1926	1928

Source: The names, roles, and most birth dates of the physicians were found in the ASV Riti Processi files pertaining to each saint or blessed. Other information, including death dates, was found in the medical literature, professional records, and obituaries in newspapers and the *Canadian Medical Association Journal*.

Tuberculosis vanished from the entire collection of 1400 miracles after 1950, even though a million people still die of this disease every year. In *Medical Miracles*, I argued that its disappearance was owing to the advent of anti-tubercular drugs that made the disease potentially amenable to human intervention.<sup>8</sup> Cancer is the last frontier in the sense that both the public and

<sup>8</sup> Duffin, *Medical Miracles*, 75-76.

the medical profession acknowledge that many patients are deemed incurable. To date, I have found no miracle cures of AIDS.

“Stories” were the theme of our symposium, and these adventures are recounted below in chronological order by the year of the cure. The information collected reflects my preoccupation with medical history. Nevertheless, it will become apparent that these documents could find many other applications in religious, social, and cultural history. From a medico-historical perspective, the main take-away point is that each person was treated with the best medicine available at the time, and doctors were heavily involved with their care. Furthermore, miracles usually fell within the social sphere generated by the clerical order of the candidate for sainthood: they were worked in members of the religious communities founded by the saint or in people who came into contact with the orders through schooling or worship.

Miracle 1. In 1888 in Montreal forty-two year-old Frère Nethelme (formerly François Michon) of the Christian brothers developed a poorly understood problem with walking that was attributed to myelitis, inflammation of the spinal cord. He also vomited blood. Four doctors consulted on his case, but were unable to help, despite prescribing arsenic and strychnine—orthodox remedies at the time. Frère Nethelme’s sense of entitlement and his penchant for purple prose shine through his account. “Because St. Joseph refused to heal me, I turned to his august spouse the very holy Virgin” and to Jesus, “the Sacred Heart and the Precious Blood.” But all these appeals ended in “failure.” Then on the feast day of Jean-Baptiste de la Salle, the founder of the Christian brothers, Frère Nethelme dragged himself to the chapel altar, his “swollen legs” covered in painful sores, “oozing pus.” There, he issued a challenge to the founder: “You could heal me if you wish.” Then suddenly, “after mass, I heard a voice say ‘Get up and walk’, and under the empire of gentle force, I left my crutches, rose with my brothers—with them and like them—I genuflected, and with a fairly steady gait, returned to my place.” Several faces, he reported, “glistened with tears.”<sup>9</sup>

At the trial held the following year, many witnesses from the community testified, including Frère Nethelme’s biological brother who was a priest and the woman who looked after the monks’ clothing. Three attending doctors also spoke in person and a fourth sent a letter. Dr. Garceau had been impressed with the dense loss of sensation; he could jab his examining pin “up to its head” into Frère Nethelme’s flesh without provoking any reaction.

<sup>9</sup> Archivio Segreto Vaticano (hereinafter ASV), Riti Processi (hereinafter RP) no. 3890, Jean-Baptiste de la Salle, 1892, 101-102, my translation. For other examples of *miraculés* who had first appealed to other saints, see ASV, RP 1959, Maria Francisca a Vulneribus, 1851, 65v; Composta, *Il miracolo*, 1981, 125-32.



Reflexes were absent. Garceau testified that he had pronounced the disease as incurable. Two experts were required to corroborate the story and to confirm that the monk was healed. Only Professor Louis-David Migneault reported testing motor function and reflexes, measures that were relatively new additions to the physical examination.

Miracle 2. In 1887, around the same time as Frère Nethelme's infirmity, a young nun developed a severe illness, characterized by abdominal pain, stubborn constipation, bleeding haemorrhoids, general malaise, anaemia, and increasing prostration that forced her to abandon teaching and keep to her bed. Soeur St. Louis de Gonzague (formerly Marie Louise Sara Brisson) had been born in Montreal and "given to" of the Congregation of Notre Dame, because her parents were poor. Over three years, her condition steadily worsened until at age twenty-five she was expected to die. On the night of 6 June 1890, a sister nun kept a candlelight vigil at her bedside. Soeur St. Louis beheld a vision of their founder, French-born Mère Marguerite Bourgeoys, who said, "If only my daughters had more confidence in me!" The sick nun "understood immediately, begged for forgiveness, and asked for healing." She heard the saint promise, "You will be cured." The nursing nun stood nearby holding dust from the Marguerite's tomb; she did not share the vision, but she was startled by the immediate transformation in her patient. She exclaimed, "Can it be that this cadaver is returning to life?"<sup>10</sup>

At the trial twelve years later, in 1902, many nuns testified to the severity and duration of this illness and the wonder of the cure. Three treating doctors and two experts also gave evidence. At thirty-seven years old, Soeur St. Louis was healthy. As usual, the experts had been asked to assure that her story made sense and that she was now cured. Her physician, Dr. Alphonse-David Aubry, admitted that he was "stupefied" by her recovery. A more guarded reaction was expressed by the expert witness, Dr. William Hingston. I was astonished to find the latter in these files—not only because of his prominence as a former mayor of Montreal who had been knighted in 1895 by Queen Victoria, but especially because a 1905 painting of him performing surgery had already graced the cover of one of my books. I felt like I knew him and was amazed to find that he, like me, had been summoned to give medical evidence in a religious investigation. With evident irritation, Hingston responded repeatedly: "I know nothing at all of [the patient's] illness nor of that which is called her cure. I can only repeat that her present condition is healthy."<sup>11</sup> The other expert was the much younger Dr. Migneault who had also examined the previous *miraculé*. He contended that patients might recover from an ailment such as hers, but not so quickly.

<sup>10</sup> ASV RP no. 4927, Margarita de Bourgeoys, 1902, 80-113.

<sup>11</sup> ASV RP no. 4927, Margarita de Bourgeoys, 1902, 307-10, esp. 310.

These doctors were up to date. They used the stethoscope, they spoke of anaemia as an absence of red blood cells, and they disputed the diagnosis of tuberculosis. Robert Koch had identified the tuberculosis bacillus only eight years earlier; it is not clear if it had been sought in the early stages of the case. Revealing modesty rather than good clinical judgment, none of the doctors mentioned doing a rectal examination, although the symptoms included rectal bleeding and the nun claimed to still have hemorrhoids in 1902. Perhaps owing to their dispute and the medical lapses, this case was not the final miracle in the cause of Marguerite Bourgeoys.

Miracle 3. The next healing is similar in that a nun was cured of desperate pulmonary tuberculosis by appealing to her founder. In 1880, Marie-Léonie Paradis, established Les Petites Soeurs de la Sainte Famille at Memramcook, New Brunswick; the order transferred to Sherbrooke in 1895. Soeur Saint Sebastien instigated her appeal to Marie-Léonie with a novena in February 1912, only one week after the founder had died and was buried in Sherbrooke. The nun's sudden healing occurred on the ninth and last day of her novena. The tuberculosis in this case had indeed been confirmed by a demonstration of Koch's bacillus. Soeur Saint Sebastien lived another twenty-six years dying at age sixty-four in 1938. The investigation did not take place until thirty more years had passed; the case was applied to the beatification of Paradis. The Vatican archives holds no less than four files investigating this or other miracles, three from Sherbrooke (1955, 1957, 1968), and one from Rimouski (1955), all currently under seal. My information came from the summary published by Resch.<sup>12</sup> The same case is also described on a website devoted to the cause.<sup>13</sup>

At first, miracles considered in people who were already dead struck me as odd, but I discovered that it occurred with increasing frequency into the twentieth century. Such files are doubly laden with medical testimony: it must be established that the disease that killed the *miraculée* differed from the one that had been miraculously healed. As a result, different sets of doctors are invited to testify on the healed ailment and on the final illness.<sup>14</sup>

Miracles 4 and 5. The two other nuns in this sample appealed to the eight Jesuit martyrs of Canada within eighteen months of each other (8 July 1926; 30 December 1927): the first in Chatham, New Brunswick, the second in Saint-Hyacinthe, Quebec. Both claimed to have recovered from tuberculous peritonitis. In the canonization process, martyrs do not usually

<sup>12</sup> Resch, *Miracoli dei Beati, 1983-1990*, 46-49.

<sup>13</sup> Centre, Marie-Léonie Paradis, "Blessed Marie Léonie (Élodie) Paradis," <http://www.veillee.net/ancestry/paradiselodie.htm> accessed 18 September 2010.

<sup>14</sup> Duffin, *Medical Miracles*, 66-69.

require miracles. In both cases the testimony was gathered quickly—perhaps as added ballast for the cause. But a delay arose when the medical experts in Rome were unimpressed with the diagnoses and the cures.

In the first case, even the treating doctor had begun to doubt his own diagnosis of tuberculous peritonitis. The physicians agreed that without surgery and biopsy the diagnosis had been merely speculative. A reply from the postulators emphasized the dramatic fever and night sweats that Sister Savola had endured to refute the notion that her illness could have been “hysterical”—or “all in her head.”

In the second case, the Roman experts argued that the cure may not have been “perfect,” because one of the examining doctors, Eugène St. Jacques, detected residual firmness in the healed belly. One of the Rome physicians also objected to what he called the “incoherence” of the record. The complaint was refuted by the claim that St. Jacques was a good doctor and a good Catholic, and that the cure may not have been “anatomically perfect,” but it was “clinically perfect.”<sup>15</sup>

This testimony for these two cases was gathered in 1930 only a short time following the cures, and the long-term outcome for these nuns is not known. The depositions on the two cases were printed and bound in white hard covers with gold lettering; a copy resides in the Vatican Library.

Despite the scruples over these healings, the cause proceeded quickly to canonization—perhaps because the saints were martyrs and the miracles signified merely added bonus on a “done deal.” If the cures were “soft,” medically speaking, a certain indulgence could be allowed. The scenario of this cause is a sign of the united front and collective resources deployed by church officials in their zeal to have saints recognized for Canada. Though they were born in France, the Jesuit martyrs were Canada’s first saints—indeed the first saints of North America. The investigation into the two healings suggests that no chances were being taken in the cause; they reflect the greater and earlier promotion of the Jesuit martyrs as saints over, for example, the cause of Marie-Léonie Paradis. They were canonized more than fifty years before her beatification, although her miracle had taken place fifteen earlier than theirs.

After these first five cures, all the remaining Canadian *miraculés* were lay people. This change also conforms to a general trend across the twentieth century away from saints or *miraculés* belonging to holy orders. In recent

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<sup>15</sup> Sacra Rituum Congregatione (SRC), *Quebecen. Canonizationis Beatorum Martyrum Ioannis de Brebeuf, Isaaci Jogues, Sociorum et Societate Jesu .... Novissima Positio supra miraculis*, (Rome: Guerra e Mirri, 1930), 2, 10-12, 15.

times, the Vatican seems to have been impressed more by evidence from outside the confines of a convent or monastery. In the twentieth century, nuns comprised only twenty per cent of all *miraculés*; priests and monks about five per cent.<sup>16</sup> Innocent children were ideal subjects.

The next four Canadian miracles were cures of young children, the first three were boys in 1929, 1939 and 1947. In fact, boys outnumber girls in the all miracle files from all centuries in my entire collection.<sup>17</sup> Children were steadily present between 20 and 30 per cent of all *miraculés* from 1588 to 1999. Child *miraculés* were also prominent in medieval times, and medievalists have used miracle files to explore notions of childhood and parental affection.<sup>18</sup> Once again, these Canadian miracles typify the whole.

Miracle 6. The Cree child, David and his twin John, were among the thirteen children born to Anthony and Alice, baptized Christians who lived by hunting and fishing at Keg River, Alberta. The priest had sent the older siblings to residential school because of the family's extreme poverty. In early 1929, at age nine, David fell ill with swelling and inflammation, stiff neck, and fever. The doctors were not sure of the diagnosis and sent him for observation to the hospital at Fort Vermilion, Alberta. This mission with a hospital, school, and church was run by the Sisters of Providence of Montreal and Sisters of Charity, or Grey Nuns, founded by Marie-Marguerite d'Youville. David's condition rapidly worsened into septicemia (overwhelming infection). With blood and pus running from his nose and mouth, he slipped into a coma.

The Oblate father, Joseph Habay, brought an image of his founder Eugène de Mazenod, and began a novena on 5 May 1929. The whole mission prayed. But David continued to decline and was given the last rites. On the fourth day, a vigil was instigated at the bedside, and the watchers prayed with even greater fervour. By the evening of 9 May, the doctors declared that the boy's death was imminent. Just before midnight, David's kidneys failed, while his pulse and blood pressure were barely detectable. Suddenly at 4 a.m., he improved dramatically: the bleeding stopped, urine began to flow, the blood pressure normalized, and his strength returned. David was so well that he walked alone to participate in the last day of the novena; instead of appealing for a cure, he offered thanks.

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<sup>16</sup> Duffin, *Medical Miracles*, 54-58.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 58-65.

<sup>18</sup> R.C. Finucane, *Rescue of the Innocents: Endangered Children in Medieval Miracles*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997); Barbara A. Hanawalt, "Medievalists and the Study of Childhood," *Speculum* 77 (2002): 440-460.

Several investigations were conducted into this recovery: 1938, 1965, 1967, 1969, 1971. Between the first and second investigations, penicillin had been discovered. As a result, the church investigators were constantly reminded of the grave danger of septicemia in pre-penicillin times. A doctor and two nursing sisters testified. The doctor, an Anglican, was surprised: in 1971, he declared that never, in over fifty years of practice, had he seen such an inexplicable cure.

It is not clear if David testified at any of these trials; the transcripts are under seal. He lived into his fifties, dying around the time of the last process of what was called “medical problems due to inactivity.” The editor who summarized the case wrote that the local religious refer to him as the “piccolo pellirossa” (little redskin); he used this nickname in his chapter title, concluding it with the observation that “the power of God is visible even at north pole.”<sup>19</sup>

Miracle 7. The Oblates were promoting their founder with the next case too. In June 1947, in Hull, Quebec, baby boy Roland tipped out of his stroller and fell over a nine-foot wall landing on his head. The distraught mother rushed her unconscious child to Sacré Coeur hospital and the care of the Sisters of Providence. He had a huge bump on his head, black eyes, and diminished reflexes. X-rays and a lumbar puncture were done. The doctors warned that the child could be permanently blind. The mother—named Eugénie!—planned a pilgrimage to appeal to the Virgin at Notre Dame du Cap, going door to door to collect money for her journey. The early August train trip was long, hot, and miserable; the baby vomited; Eugénie recited her rosary all the way. At the shrine, she washed Roland’s eyes in holy water. An Oblate father noticed her ministrations and, it is said, “took pity on her,” leading her to a relic of Eugène de Mazenod that had been left by a “rich lady.” Together they touched the relic to the baby’s eyes, and they began a novena.

Eugénie went home to Hull maintaining the novena, but her baby was still blind. At the end of the novena, the mother and her daughter were excited when suddenly Roland grabbed at a spoon in her hand. They devised a test: the daughter quickly filled a bottle with milk and waved it some distance from his face. The baby reached for it. A week later, a physician deemed his sight completely clear; that doctor, too, expressed surprise. This cure was judged instantaneous, durable, and unexplained.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Composta, *Il miracolo*, 64-76.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 106-117.

These two cases—miracles 6 and 7— were applied to the beatification of Mazenod in 1975. The saint was canonized twenty years later on the basis of another cancer cure in a 55 year-old auto mechanic from Mexico.<sup>21</sup>

Miracle 8. Between these two healings of boys was the 1939 sudden recovery of another baby boy, 9-month old André Jude, from six months of idiopathic hydrocephalus. Dina Bélanger (also known as Soeur Marie-Sainte-Cécile de Rome) had likewise been invoked with a novena. The expert committee in Rome was disturbed by the lack of medical documentation because most of the care and all of the testimony had been delivered by the family. The experts were concerned because Montreal was an advanced neurological centre, and specialized care should have been easily obtained; however, they admitted that at the time, no specific treatments were known for his condition.<sup>22</sup>

Miracle 9. The 1962 healing of a newborn infant girl, Marie-Josée, was remarkably similar. Her convulsions resulted from intracranial bleeding provoked by use of forceps at her delivery in Hôtel Dieu de Québec. A lumbar puncture confirmed hemorrhage, and she was given Vitamin K intravenously. An unspecified appeal was made to the French-born, Augustinian nun, Catherine Longpré, who had served and died as a nursing sister in the same hospital three hundred years earlier. The witnesses testified seven years later in 1969. Marie-Josée remained physically healthy on subsequent examinations in 1982 and 1984. Longpré was beatified in 1989.<sup>23</sup> No other depositions in this cause appear to be in the Vatican archives, although more could reside at the Congregation for the Causes of Saints.

To the neurological cures summarized here in miracles 6 to 9, we can add the final miracle in the cause of Frère André—the healing from a head injury in an unidentified nine year old boy in 1999.

Miracle 10. The first of the malignancy cures took place in June 1968 when the young woman, Lise Gauthier, recovered from metastatic cancer of the colon, complicated by postoperative peritonitis. The only source that I have seen on this miracle is the short compendium printed at the canonization of Bourgeoys to whom she had appealed.<sup>24</sup> A sealed volume

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<sup>21</sup> Resch, *Miracoli dei santi*, 192-199.

<sup>22</sup> Resch, *Miracoli dei beati, 1991-1995*, 173-175.

<sup>23</sup> Resch, *Miracoli dei beati, 1983-1990*, 437-443.

<sup>24</sup> Congregatio pro causis sanctorum (CCS), *Compendium super vita, virtutibus et miraculorum ... Margaritae Bourgeoys*, (Rome: Guerra, 1982). A copy of this compendium resides in the Vatican Library, call number Miscell III 1076 (8).

of testimony given in 1978 at Sainte-Anne-de-la-Pocatière may contain the complete story.<sup>25</sup>

Miracle 11. The next cancer cure took place in eight year-old Colleen, a girl from North Bay, Ontario. She had been sick since age 5 with an aggressive histiocytic lymphoma that had transformed into acute lymphoblastic leukemia. She received what is still considered to be standard and potentially curable chemotherapy with vincristine, prednisone, and methotrexate. But her cure was ascribed to the intercession of Louis-Zéphirin Moreau, bishop of Saint-Hyacinthe, Quebec, who had died in 1901. An unspecified invocation began 2 June 1978 when the child was on the point of death. But she improved so rapidly that she was discharged a month later. Colleen was seen twice for check ups at Toronto's Hospital for Sick Children in 1978 and 1983; on both occasions she was pronounced healthy. How the family in North Bay came to choose Moreau of Saint-Hyacinthe is still a mystery that may be eventually answered by documents in the archives. Of interest one of the drugs used to treat her leukemia was discovered in Canada.<sup>26</sup>

Miracle 12. In 1977 a thirty year-old Ottawa valley woman developed acute myeloblastic leukemia. She too received standard chemotherapy and her disease went into a remission. When she relapsed only a few months later, her aunt, who was a sister with the Grey Nuns, urged her to appeal to the founder, Marie-Marguerite d'Youville. The aunt offered a medal and a statue of the saint to help her niece pray; novenas were instigated at the bedside, in the motherhouse, and in various communities along the Ottawa valley. According to the aunt it was after ten novenas that the cure finally came.<sup>27</sup> The *miraculée* is still alive and well more than thirty years after her recovery from the most aggressive form of leukemia. This case became the final miracle in the cause of d'Youville, who was canonized at St Peter's on 9 December 1990. I was privileged to attend. The saint's relics were translated from Montreal to her birthplace at Varennes on 9 December 2010.

To these three cancer cures we can add Frère André's much publicized cure of the New York businessman, Joe Audino, in 1958.

Some say that the need for miracles in the canonization process will eventually be abolished.<sup>28</sup> At least two Canadians are said to have been

<sup>25</sup> ASV RP no. 6883, Margarita de Bourgeoys, 1978.

<sup>26</sup> Resch, *Miracoli dei beati, 1983-1990*, 230-237.

<sup>27</sup> CCS, *Marianopolitana. Canonizationis ... Mariae Margaritae Dufrost de Lajemmerais (viduae Youville). Positio super miraculo*, (Rome: Guerra, 1989).

<sup>28</sup> Woodward, *Making Saints*, 207-220.

beatified without approved miracles: François-Xavier de Montmorency Laval (1979) and Marie de l'Incarnation Guyart (1980).<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, a 1971 file for the latter about a miracle investigated in Italy is indexed in the archives (Table 2). Also an enormous “dubio” expresses doubt about her personal worthiness for sainthood.<sup>30</sup> I found no library or archival documents for Laval, nor did I find any for Canadian Marie-Rose Durocher who was beatified in 1982.

On one of my visits to Rome, I interviewed two postulators for Canadian causes—Oblate Roger Laberge and Jesuit Paolo Molinari. Essentially the postulators are diplomats ferrying the documents from several causes through the labyrinthine system.<sup>31</sup> At the time of the interviews on 8 and 9 December 2006, Laberge was handling the causes of Canadians, Maria Clemens Staub, Marcela Mallet, Elizabeth Tongeon, Marie Joseph Fitzbach, and Laval. Molinari was handling Marie Guyart, Kateri Tekakwitha, and Délia Tetreault. They both were shepherding causes from other countries as well.<sup>32</sup> Interested in the amazing stories, they are also aware of the complexities in detecting miracles as a sign of holiness. Laberge, who has served in Africa, thought that developing nations are at a distinct disadvantage, because they cannot provide the most update-to-date, scientific medicine, nor do they have resources to investigate cures to the demanding standards of the process. The imbalance, he believed, is unfair and it stems from the extraordinary power that medical science ironically wields in these matters. Father Molinari agreed, and pointed to the powerful example of the saints' lives, which serve as inspiration. He also described frustrations in his work: everything was set to go for a cure in Toronto in the cause of Kateri Tekakwitha, when the unnamed doctor, “one of the most famous oncologists in Canada,” refused to testify, fearing it would damage his reputation.

This small sample of Canadian miracle stories from the Vatican reflects the discoveries that I made on the whole ensemble. Diseases amenable to miraculous healings change through time—from infections in the pre-antibiotic era, to neurological difficulties in the pre-CAT-scan, pre-neurosurgical era, to cancer in more recent times. At any moment, they address conditions that defy medical science. These cases also show that

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 208.

<sup>30</sup> SRC, *Quebecen. Beat. et Can. ven. s. D. Sororis Mariae ab Incarnatione fund. monasterii ursularum in civ. Quebec. Positio super virtutibus*, (Rome: Geurra e Miri, 1906). For a recent examination of Guyart, see Anne Godlewska, “Body, Place, Space and Identity: The Life of Marie de L'Incarnation (1599-1672),” in Tom Mels, (ed.), *Reanimating Places: A Geography of Rhythms*, (Aldershot: Ashgate Press, 2004), 175-199.

<sup>31</sup> Interview with Father Paolo Molinari, Rome, 8 December 2006; interview with Father Roger Laberge, Rome, 9 December 2006.

<sup>32</sup> CCS, *Index ac status causarum* (Città del Vaticano: Guerra, 1999).



doctors are heavily involved in the Vatican's determination (or could we say "diagnosis"?) of the miraculous—not to identify miracles but to declare the hopeless prognosis, express surprise at the cure, and if at all possible provide a scientific explanation to refute it. As non-partisan and often non-Catholic witnesses, doctors are essential to the process. In fact, the possibility of their third-party, corroborative testimony may be one explanation for why the vast majority of these miracles are healings from physical illness. Theologians may have other suggestions as to why healing for many is a preeminent sign of transcendence. The Vatican seems to sit more comfortably with medical science than scientific medicine sits with religion.

This conclusion may strike theologians and believers as obvious—some readers have called it "thin." But for all its simplicity it is one that has failed to capture the public imagination, nor is it known to physicians. Around the time of the canonization of Frère André, many journalists spawned a flurry of sensationalist reports about the stories of his healings and those of the other saints who were canonized with him. In reaction, several prominent and normally intelligent pundits went out of their way to criticize the whole process of saint-making. They claimed that science was the opposite of miracles—you either believe in one or the other; you cannot have both.<sup>33</sup> Another claimed that to do its work the Church relied on only "pseudo-scientific twaddle," because true science could never endorse miracles.<sup>34</sup> These writers had not read my book or heard this talk—and rather than find my conclusion "thin," they would find it wrong—they could not *believe* it. Yet honest atheists must admit that scientifically inexplicable events occur. The hostility of these journalists emerges from their own belief systems—that there is no God, therefore there can be no wonder. But if the people concerned ascribe the events to God through saintly ghosts, then why should another's belief system trump the views of those most concerned? Such pomposity reveals the socially condoned gulf of incompatibility between believing in science and marvelling at the unexplained.

In terms of Canadian social history, the miracles point to several paths for future research for scholars in disciplines other than mine. They demonstrate changing devotional practices from earlier preference of proximity to a saint's tomb, to the mid-century rise of the long-distance ritual of the novena—which the church had once viewed with suspicion. We also see the community influence of the religious orders that came to Canada--Jesuits, Oblates, and Christian Brothers—or were founded here,

<sup>33</sup> Maragert Wentz, "On a Pill and a Prayer," *Globe and Mail*, 23 October 2010.

<sup>34</sup> André Picard, "Do 'medical miracles' really exist?" *Globe and Mail*, 21 October 2010.

and we recognize rivalry, nationalism, channeling of resources, and power struggles between postulators of different causes.

In the meantime, miracles happen among us, perhaps far more often than we think. Those that rise to the attention of a Vatican process represent the tip of a vast iceberg of transcendent experiences. The gathering of these documents is prompted by political initiatives here in Canada and at the Holy See, and they reflect important aspects of our relationship with the Church at large. I have approached these records as a medical historian, but I recommend them to all historians as a precious resource on the spiritual and social lives of people who rarely get to tell their own stories. In that, if nothing else, they are simply wonderful.

## HISTORICAL NOTE

# “As a Bird Flies”<sup>1</sup>: The Writings of Marie Barbier, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Montreal Woman Religious and Mystic<sup>2</sup>

Colleen GRAY

The writings of women that have come down to us from the medieval and early modern periods continue to proliferate as scholars unearth, transcribe, edit, collect and fashion these documents into publishable formats accessible to expanding audiences. Specifically with respect to the colonial context, collected editions of the writings of well-known female authors, such as, the Canadian mystic, Marie de l’Incarnation, the American poet, Anne Bradstreet and the Mexican mystic, Sor Juana de la Cruz,<sup>3</sup> have, over the years, appeared alongside collections of lesser known colonial women writers, such as the spiritual diary of Ursula de Jésus, the Afro-Peruvian

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<sup>1</sup> Based on a quotation taken from Archives du Séminaire de Québec [hereafter ASQ], ms. 198, “Recueil, touchant la S(œur) Barbier, fille séculière de La Congrégation de Notre-Dame,” 195: “I was born to suffer as a bird is to fly.”

<sup>2</sup> A version of this paper was presented at the meetings of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association, held at Concordia University in May 2010. I would like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their important contributions to the improvement of this paper. Above all, I would like to express my gratitude to the editor of *Historical Studies*, Elizabeth McGahan, not only for suggesting that I submit this work, but also for her subtle and valuable insights.

<sup>3</sup> Marie de L’Incarnation, *Words From New France: The Selected Letters of Marie de l’Incarnation*, edited and translated by Joyce Marshall, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1967); Jeanine Hensley, (ed.), *The Works of Anne Bradstreet*, (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1987); Pamela Kirk Rappaport, (trans.), *Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz: Selected Writings*, (New York: Paulist Press, 2005).

mystic,<sup>4</sup> as well as anthologies containing scattered fragments of female writings that do remain.<sup>5</sup>

Many of these endeavors, part of a proliferation of feminist scholarship that has appeared over the past thirty years,<sup>6</sup> demand that women's voices not be buried in the archives, shrouded by silence, repression and neglect; that they be resurrected, that they be heard.<sup>7</sup> Writing, voice, silence, repression and women are all powerful words, and they have come to haunt me over the years, eventually drawing me into conceptualizing and framing my current project, which aspires to add to this growing body of female writings with a translated, edited and annotated version of the writings of Marie Barbier, a relatively unknown but significant seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Montreal woman religious, superior and mystic. This paper explores some of the challenges encountered in the pursuit of this endeavor and concludes with a discussion of specific examples of her work that have been analyzed to date as part of a larger on-going research project.

Who was Marie Barbier and how do we know about her? Marie Barbier was the daughter of a Montreal habitant, carpenter and church warden, who was born at Ville-Marie on 1 May 1663. Following a number of spiritual illuminations in her youth, Barbier entered the *Congrégation de Notre-Dame* in Ville-Marie at the age of fifteen. She received her habit at sixteen, and the following year, in 1679, she became a professed teaching sister.<sup>8</sup>

When Barbier entered the *Congrégation de Notre-Dame*, an uncloistered teaching institution centered in Ville-Marie and with mission schools scattered

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<sup>4</sup> *The Souls of Purgatory: The Spiritual Diary of a Seventeenth-Century Afro-Peruvian Mystic, Ursula de Jesús*, translated and edited by Nancy E. van Deusen, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004).

<sup>5</sup> For example, *Latin American Women Writers: An Encyclopedia*, (New York: Routledge, 2008); Sharon M. Harris, *American Women Writers to 1800*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).

<sup>6</sup> A plethora of works, exploring diverse writing women spanning many centuries, has emerged from this endeavour. With specific reference to religious women, see such general studies as Peter Dronke, *Women Writers of the Middle Ages: A Critical Study of Texts from Perpetua (203) to Marguerite Porete (1310)*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Elizabeth Alvilda Petroff, *Medieval Women's Visionary Literature*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); Amy Oden, *In Her Own Words: Women's Writings in the History of Christian Thought*, (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1994); Letizia Panizza and Sharon Wood, (eds.) and Susan Haskins, (trans.), *A History of Women's Writing*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

<sup>7</sup> Specifically, Danielle Régner-Bohler, "Literary and Mystical Voices," in *A History of Women in the West*, Volume II. *Silences of the Middle Ages*, (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992), 427.

<sup>8</sup> ASQ, ms. 198, "Recueil," 5, 6, 7, 8; Marguerite Bourgeoys, *The Writings of Marguerite Bourgeoys*, translated by Sister Mary Virginia Cotter, CND, (Montreal: CND, 1976), 70, 97, 67; Archives de l'Archdiocèse de Montréal [hereafter AAM], 525.101, 698-1, Règlements, art. 24 : 50.

throughout the colony's parishes, it had moved beyond its formative period. The institution had been originally established at Ville-Marie in 1657 by Marguerite Bourgeoys, who had travelled to Canada in 1653, as part of the larger French colonial enterprise, with the intention of converting the natives to Catholicism.<sup>9</sup> However, as the non-native population of the colony grew and became more established, Bourgeoys's mission altered and a more structured institution evolved, devoting its efforts to the education of daughters of habitants.<sup>10</sup> On one level this was a practical pedagogical endeavour concerned with teaching girls reading, writing and practical arithmetic. However, on a wider plane, its focus upon religious values places it squarely within the centre of traditional French schooling for girls. Extolling Christian manners and morals, obedience and piety, it was designed to form hearts and souls in orthodox Catholicism, to lead girls away from disorder and debauchery and to prepare them for their future roles as wives and mothers. This pedagogical mission was a deeply human, all absorbing enterprise, based as it was on the belief of such individuals as the seventeenth-century bishop and author, François Fénelon, in the reformability, and the educability of the human being.<sup>11</sup>

It was within the framework of this institution and, as we have seen, from a very early age, that Barbier's religious life evolved. As part of the congrégation, Barbier engaged in the pedagogical work of the institution with diligence and passion within the walls of the Mother House in Montreal, the institution's convent in Quebec City, and in the primitive and isolated missions surrounding these main settlements, often risking her life to do so.<sup>12</sup> Exceptional circumstances, however, only partially reflect Barbier's life-long engagement with the institution. At the Mother House, she also served as the head of the institution's confraternity, the Congrégation des Externes.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, in 1693, Barbier was elected as superior of the congrégation, a position that engaged her in extensive administrative, spiritual and economic responsibilities.<sup>14</sup> Barbier's high profile within the community did not

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<sup>9</sup> For a thorough examination of the broader context of this movement see Dominique Deslandres, *Croire et faire croire: les missions françaises au XVIIe siècle (1600-1650)*, (Paris: Fayard, 2003).

<sup>10</sup> Bourgeoys, *The Writings*, 14, 19, 143; Elizabeth Rapley, *The Dévotes: Women and Church in Seventeenth-Century France*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 101; Patricia Simpson, *Marguerite Bourgeoys and Montreal, 1640-1665*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 183-185.

<sup>11</sup> Martine Sonnet, *L'Éducation des filles au temps des Lumières*, (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1987), 15, 16, 264, 287 and especially chapter 6.

<sup>12</sup> Colleen Gray, *The Congrégation de Notre-Dame, Superiors and the Paradox of Power, 1693-1796*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007), especially Chapter 2.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 33-36.

<sup>14</sup> For an in-depth description of the duties of a superior see Gray, *Congrégation de Notre-Dame*, 85-126.

terminate when she relinquished the superiorship in 1698. Rather, she resumed her teaching duties, her involvement with the Congrégation des Externes, and served in various administrative positions on the community's council almost until her death in 1739 at the age of seventy-six.<sup>15</sup>

From the outset, my attempt to translate and edit Barbier's writings posed numerous methodological challenges. To begin, most of what we know about Marie Barbier is set out in a biography written about her by Charles de Glandelet (1645-1725), a priest and then superior of the Séminaire de Québec, some time before his death.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, most of the extant writings of this woman are also embedded in this text, and, like the writings of so many women in the early modern period, they are difficult to access and to penetrate.<sup>17</sup> It is also important to note that although her writings are, indeed, included and spread throughout the body of this manuscript, her words are not written in her own hand. Rather, they have been copied out and inserted throughout the text at this priest's own discretion, at what he deemed to be appropriate intervals. Nor should we pretend that all of the words within this text attributed to her represent the unadulterated outpourings of Marie Barbier. Rather, very often, Barbier wrote the words that remain within the de Glandelet manuscript at the insistence and under the direction of this priest himself, often against her will or out of obedience to this man who, as her confessor, directed, interpreted and shaped not only her religious experiences, but also her retelling of them.<sup>18</sup> There is also solid evidence throughout the manuscript that de Glandelet tampered with Barbier's writings—crossing out her words, replacing them with other ones, setting out instructions in the margins of the document to delete entire sections of her writings, segments

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<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, especially Chapter 6.

<sup>16</sup> ASQ, ms. 198, "Recueil touchant la S(œur) Barbier." Noel Bélanger, "Charles de Glandelet," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Volume 2, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982). <http://www.biographi.ca/index-e.html>

<sup>17</sup> It was not unusual for the writings of numerous medieval and early modern holy women to be either recorded, transmitted or shaped by their spiritual advisors. See, for example, Angela of Foligno, *Memorial*, translated by John Cirignano, (Woodbridge, U.K.: D.S. Brewer, 1999); Catherine of Genoa, *Purgation and Purgatory: The Spiritual Dialogue*, translated by Serge Hughes, (New York: Paulist Press, 1979); St. Teresa of Avila, *The Life*, translated by Mirabai Starr, (Boston & London: New Seeds, 2007). As cited in Bernard McGinn, (ed.), *The Essential Writings of Christian Mysticism*, (New York: The Modern Library, 2006).

<sup>18</sup> Archives du Séminaire Sulpicien, Paris [hereafter ASSP], ms. 1233, ca. 1779, "Mémoires sur la vie de la sœur de l'assomption recueillis par Mr Glandelet prêtre du séminaire de Québec et son principal directeur," 10. This manuscript contains another version of the life of Marie Barbier as interpreted by the Sulpician priest and superior, Étienne de Montgolfier. See also ASQ, ms. 198, "Recueil touchant la S(œur) Barbier," 51-52, 74.



Even more serious is the fact that Barbier's writings do not stand alone, rather they are surrounded by a narrative which is essentially a *vita*, a sacred biography written by a priest within a specific tradition and for purposes of his own. This document is, therefore, an integral part of a specific and ancient European hagiographical tradition whereby priests wrote about individuals with whom they were acquainted, particularly—but not always—women who demonstrated exceptional spiritual gifts.<sup>20</sup> Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, French missionary priests transported this tradition to the Canadian colony, and for a time it flourished.<sup>21</sup> It is also important to recognize that these sacred biographies were composed for a number of different reasons, probably the least of which was the preservation of the writings of holy women. Undoubtedly many of these documents were inspired by awe and admiration for the spiritual experiences of holy women. However, they were also written for specific theological purposes—to inspire devotion to the passion of Christ—or with precise didactic intentions, to present these individuals as models of sanctity for the laity or for hagiographical purposes, with the specific purpose of drawing the attention of Rome to the “holy person” for eventual canonization.<sup>22</sup> As such, de Glandelet's biography is primarily *his* tale, a vehicle for his own designs and intentions as a priest. A narrative account of Barbier's life does emerge from the manuscript, as does an extensive description of her spiritual trials and tribulations. Much of these descriptions, however, are pervaded with de Glandelet's own attempts to impose meaning on the story of her life, which is essentially, from his point of view, even if events contradict it, the tale of the ideal “virtuous woman religious”—obedient, pious and dutiful.

This becomes very clear from the outset of the manuscript. De Glandelet begins his narrative by setting the stage, describing Barbier's early life, her

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<sup>20</sup> For a classic and much-cited example of this tradition, see Jacques de Vitry, *Life of Mary of Oignes*, (Toronto: Peregrina Publishers, 1993).

<sup>21</sup> Paul Ragueneau, *La vie de Mère Catherine de Saint Augustin*, (Paris : 1671); Claude Chauchetière, *La Vie de la B. Catherine Tegakouita dite à present la Sainte Sauvagesse par le R. P. Claude Chauchetière pretre Missionnaire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, (New York : Cramoisy, 1887); Charles de Glandelet, ASQ, ms. 198, “Recueil touchant la S(œur) Barbier, 11; *ibid.*, *The True Spirit of the Institute of Secular Sisters of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame Established in Ville Marie on the Island of Montreal in Canada*, translated by Frances McCann, CND, (Montreal: Congrégation de Notre-Dame, 1977); *ibid.*, *Life of Sister Marguerite Bourgeoys*, translated by Florence Quigley, CND, (Montréal : Congrégation de Notre-Dame, 1994); François de Vachon de Belmont, “Éloges de quelques personnes mortes en odeur de sainteté à Montréal en Canada,” *Rapport de l'archiviste de la Province de Québec* (1929-30): 144-191; Charles Marie-Madeleine d'Youville, “La vie de madame Youville fondatrice des Sœurs de la Charité à Montréal,” *Rapport de l'archiviste de la Province de Québec* (1924-25): 361-376.

<sup>22</sup> Richard Kieckhefer and George D. Bond, (eds.), *Sainthood: Its Manifestations in World Religions*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 4-5.



formative spiritual experiences and her entry into the congrégation.<sup>23</sup> It is not until the tenth page of the manuscript that Barbier's writings actually appear. At this time de Glandelet "allows" Barbier three pages to describe her early years in her own words.<sup>24</sup> De Glandelet then steps in and proceeds to spend the following five pages<sup>25</sup> expounding upon her brief narrative, contextualizing it within his interpretation of Barbier's virtues, extolling her "tender devotion [...] her attraction for the humble, the hidden, the scorned life, her esteem and affection for poverty...."<sup>26</sup> Throughout the manuscript, Barbier's words are deployed in this manner, embedded within de Glandelet's own authoritative telling and retelling of her tale.

From my first encounter with this manuscript, I believed that the writings of Marie Barbier were diluted, overlain and disempowered by this priest's narrative. However, it was not until I chanced upon Anne Carson's publication of the writings of the seventh-century B.C. Greek poet Sappho that I began to view this manuscript and Barbier's writings from a totally different methodological perspective. In her publication, *If Not, Winter: Fragments of Sappho's Writings*,<sup>27</sup> Carson set out the writings of Sappho exactly as they have come down to us from posterity—as just that, as fragments, scattered and illusive, but fragments nonetheless. Every word, every letter, no matter how unintelligible, no matter how damaged, were treated as precious artifacts, deserving of preservation and interpretation. While perusing this publication, I began to realize that I too could excavate Barbier's writings from their enclosure within the de Glandelet text, no matter how fragmented they were, and place them upon their own blank pieces of paper, to be appreciated in their own right.<sup>28</sup>

I am in the midst of this project at the moment. However, I can, at this preliminary stage, offer some initial observations.

To begin, de Glandelet himself facilitated this task. Throughout the manuscript, he clearly identified each fragment of Barbier's writings as either autobiographical memoirs, letters or "sayings," as well as their context - the date, often the location where they were written, and, in many cases, the reason Barbier wrote them. It is, therefore, due to this priest's careful presentation of Barbier's writings, that once extracted from his

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<sup>23</sup> ASQ, ms. 198, "Recueil touchant la S(œur) Barbier," 1-9.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 13-17.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>27</sup> Anne Carson, (trans.), *If Not, Winter: Fragments of Sappho*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002).

<sup>28</sup> For a detailed discussion of Barbier's writings and the issue of "voice," see, for example, Colleen Gray, "Imaging a Colonial Saint: Reflections on Representation and the Individual," *Studies in Religion* 35, 2 (2006): 307.

narrative, they form a complete distinctly structured narrative in their own right, roughly falling into what I have identified as three chronological and thematic parts: “Awakenings”; “Dark Night of the Soul”; and “Songs of Love and Friendship.”<sup>29</sup>

In the first part, “Awakenings,” Barbier describes the formative years of her life as a young novice and woman religious (ca. 1678-1685). Emerging from this segment is a young woman, between the ages of fifteen and twenty-two, passionately committed to the religious life:

It seems to me [she wrote], that I loved our Lord more then than I do now. I no longer feel my passions. Then I was newly converted and nothing was an effort. If a young girl came to me for encouragement, she never left, but content. When my sisters, even the older ones, took me into their confidence about their trials and tribulations, I sweetened for them what seemed to be intolerable [...] Many who entered the community after me, assured me that they would have left without my encouragement. I do not understand the devotion I had back then, but my devotion was more for others than myself.<sup>30</sup>

Throughout this segment, Barbier describes how she threw herself, body and soul, into her work not only as a teaching sister, but also as a working nun engaged in such menial tasks as the baking of bread or the taking of cows out to pasture.<sup>31</sup> This section of her writings culminates in her election by the community to travel to and establish a teaching mission at Île Saint-Laurent [Île d’Orléans] with a companion, Anne Meyrand, and with a colourful narration not only of the sufferings these two young sisters experienced on their journey from Montreal, but also while living and working in this primitive location.<sup>32</sup> In “Awakenings,” Barbier clearly establishes her mystical arousal, her belief that she has been “touched by God,” her desire for nothing more than to suffer for the expiation of her sins.<sup>33</sup>

The second segment of Barbier’s writings, which I have entitled “Dark Night of the Soul,” covers a much broader span of time (1685-1700). Between 1685 and 1692, Barbier served at the congrégation missions at Quebec, and in the surrounding areas. In 1692, at the age of twenty-nine, Barbier returned to Montreal, where, in the following year, she was elected superior of the institution. In this segment, Barbier chronicles the development of her protracted illness due to a cancer that had formed on her breast, as well as her search for and eventual recovery from this affliction.

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<sup>29</sup> ASQ, ms. 198, “Recueil touchant la S(oeur) Barbier: “Awakenings”: 10-12; 17-24; 31-38, 40-42; “Dark Night of the Soul”: 78, 79, 86-88, 93-96, 97-98, 102-103, 103-116, 135-136, 142-145, 153-155, 163-169, 169-171, 174-175, 176-177, 177-180; “Songs of Love and Friendship”: 194-196, 196-198, 199-200, 200-205, 206, 207-210.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 17, 18.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 36, 37, 40-42.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.



Figure 2. The Congrégation de Notre-Dame convent from rue Saint-Jean-Baptiste, 1684-1768.  
 Source: Archives de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame, 205.050.001, “The Congrégation de Notre-Dame convent from rue Saint-Jean-Baptiste, 1684-1768.” Album photographique, drawing by J.B. Lagace, 1929.

Most significantly, Barbier extensively describes her “Dark Night of the Soul,”<sup>34</sup> a period characterized by intense physical and spiritual suffering, despair and a dreadful sense of abandonment by God. The following excerpt from a letter written by Barbier to de Glandelet on 7 November 1696 dramatically illustrates this phase of this woman’s spiritual journey:

I left yesterday for a retreat. I went to the Mountain mission to be less distracted [...] I suffer a great deal without direction, being between several doors, and not knowing through which one to leave. I thought a retreat would help, not so much myself, but my sisters who suffer from my misery. I prayed with a good heart to our Lord and all of the saints to give to me the grace to know what I must do for his glory. I found myself stripped of all things, not on the outside, like Saint Bartholomew, but on the inside and in a rather extraordinary

<sup>34</sup> The “dark night of the soul” runs throughout the history of western mysticism. See, for example, Foligno, *The Memorial*; St. John of the Cross, *The Dark Night of the Soul*, Halcyon Backhouse, (ed.), (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1988); and more recently, St. Thérèse of Lisieux, *Story of a Soul*, translated by John Clark, OCD, (Washington: ICS Publications, 1976). As cited in McGinn, (ed.), *The Essential Writings of Christian Mysticism*.

manner, from my feet right to my head. I felt so empty that it seemed to me that I was nothing but a carcass....<sup>35</sup>

The final section of her writings, which I have entitled, “Songs of Love and Friendship,” roughly spans the years between 1701 and 1707. In this segment, we encounter a more mature woman, in her late thirties and early forties, who is totally cured of her physical ailment, and who is living and working in the Montreal convent as a teaching sister and administrator. Barbier’s writings during this period of her life reveal a woman who, while remaining strongly attracted to the “interior, the hidden life,”<sup>36</sup> is often preoccupied with practical matters. For example, in a letter to de Glandelet, she discusses the epidemic that is raging throughout both Quebec and Montreal during the winter of 1703.<sup>37</sup> Moreover, she even takes the time to upbraid, and yes even challenge de Glandelet for allowing a secular play to be held at Quebec City: “I am at ease,” she wrote to him in May of 1702 “with the work you have done in the countryside. But why have you allowed a comedy to play at Quebec? [...]. What are you thinking? Are you not the masters?”<sup>38</sup>

This segment also contains many intimate letters written by Barbier, not only to de Glandelet himself, but also to her other spiritual directors, and they serve to further deepen our insight into her complex relationship with these men, their relationship with each other, as well as the nature and extent of their involvement in the progression of her spirituality.<sup>39</sup> The following excerpt from a letter written by Barbier to de Glandelet on 23 January 1707, offers a glimpse into one facet of this relationship:

I have the consolation to write to you as my true father. In that capacity I ask you for your blessing and the continuation of your paternal goodness. Pardon me, if I revive the past. I address myself to my friends of whom I believe you to be the best [...]. I believe that for me the present does not efface the memory of those who are absent. I will never forget your kindness to me. Every day, on leaving prayer, I cast myself at the feet of the very Holy Virgin in our

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<sup>35</sup> ASQ, ms. 198, “Recueil touchant la S(oeur) Barbier,” 102.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 196.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 205.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 199. Barbier is referring here to de Glandelet’s priestly duties. She seems to approve of his missionary work in the countryside, but indicates here that he has been somewhat remiss in the enactment of his urban duties.

<sup>39</sup> The confessor-penitent relationship has been the focus of a number of studies for numerous decades. For insights into this issue see, most recently, Jodi Bilinkoff, *Related Lives: Confessors and Their Female Penitents, 1450-1750*, (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2005) and John Coakley, *Women, Men and Spiritual Power: Female Saints and their Male Collaborators*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006). I am currently engaged in an in-depth analysis of the director-penitent relationship.

small chapel dedicated to her honour, asking her for her blessing for you, in particular, and for all of my friends....<sup>40</sup>

While the writings of Marie Barbier form a distinctly structured narrative insight into a specific period of her life, the narrative is neither scripted nor is it formulaic. Rather, what emerges from her writings are the intense, passionate words of a real flesh and blood woman living and working in the nascent seventeenth and early eighteenth century French colony, a place of vast and lonely distances between town and town and town and countryside, which she, on numerous occasions, traverses. Her writings draw us not only into this wider backdrop, but also into the immediacy of her life as a woman religious. One can, I believe, while reading Barbier's writings, at times readily envision this woman hastily scribbling down the final lines of a letter to her director—perhaps taking time out to do so in the midst of poring over an account book with her *depositaire*, meeting with another sister, or a Sulpician administrator—while an individual waits to post her missive: “I cannot explain any more than this,” she wrote to de Glandelet in February of 1701. “Someone awaits my letter.”<sup>41</sup> One can also hear the voices of other women religious emerging from Barbier's writings, whether they be scolding her for what they perceive to be her dereliction in her duty or in support of her rejection of the comfort and security of the more established missions, and her quest for “the desert,” for the promise of austerity and suffering held out by more remote locations, such as Île Saint-Laurent.<sup>42</sup>

Without question, Marie Barbier's writings are of and within *this* world. Certainly her description of her perilous journey to Quebec City and then the mission at Île Saint Laurent, her concern with the plague that raged throughout the colony testify to this. But Barbier's writings also draw us into another world, the often hidden interior world of the mystic. Hers is not a mysticism<sup>43</sup> in the sense of a sudden, transcendent encounter with God. Rather, her mysticism is reflective of a life-long journey<sup>44</sup> comprising clearly recognizable—though not necessarily predictably chronological—phases: awakenings, oscillations between darkness and light, periodic immersions

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<sup>40</sup> ASQ, ms. 198, “Recueil touchant la S(œur) Barbier,” 208-209.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 194.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 20, 35.

<sup>43</sup> I am presenting here the view of theorists, such as William James and Evelyn Underhill, who expound the “common core” thesis and hold that “mystics, however diverse their reports, are experiencing the same thing.” William Harmless, S.J., “Defining Mysticism,” in *Mystics*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 254. Steven Katz, within the context of numerous studies, has seriously challenged this view. See his *Mysticism and Language*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992) and *Mysticism and Sacred Scripture*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000). To Katz, all mystical experiences are verbally and experientially different. See also Harmless, *Mystics*, 256.

<sup>44</sup> McGinn, (ed.), *The Essential Writings of Christian Mysticism*, esp. xiv.

into what I have identified as “the dark night of the soul,” interspersed with moments of union with God. This is at once a solitary and a shared journey, conveyed in a spontaneous manner, immersing the reader in the complex intensity of her spiritual experiences:

I am completely healed and what I suffer now seems like nothing. Remember, if you please, that you are my father. The obligation that I have to pray for you is great. That is all that I have to tell you. We enter Lent and our Lord wishes us to follow him step by step. I am ashamed that I cannot explain myself to you more than that...<sup>45</sup>

This is a journey deserving of appreciation in its own right, as well as of a probing analysis in terms of the wider themes it reflects: Christian mysticism, gender and religion.

The writings of women that have come down to us from the medieval and early modern periods are growing. The collected writings of Marie Barbier—a lesser-known Canadian woman religious and mystic—can augment and enhance not only our knowledge, appreciation and understanding of this woman, but also this precious body of literature.

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<sup>45</sup> ASQ, ms. 198, “Recueil touchant la S(œur) Barbier,” 194.

## ORAL HISTORY NOTE

### Oral Sources for Religious History

Terence FAY SJ, Nichole VONK, and Gwyn GRIFFITH

Secular scholars search the hard data of the humanities and social sciences for measurable data which can be stored in data banks and sorted for facts. In a similar pursuit, Terence Fay, Nichole Vonk, and Gwyn Griffin found that historians in particular tend to limit their research to documentary and published sources and avoid the less tangible and more meaningful evidence of oral history. Oral history has a methodology with a strict code which can guarantee reliable results. Narrative inquiry is used successfully in oral history when supplemented by library and archival research and thus the results become doubly dependable. Oral history does not pretend to provide perfect conclusions but in the style of postmodern history is willing to provide the best research available at this point of exploration. From research by Fay on Catholic new Canadians, Vonk on United Church women, and Griffith on Protestant deacons, it became apparent that the pursuit of religious freedom is a driving force in the lives of many Canadians, which is captured by utilizing oral history.

In preparing *The New Faces of Canadian Catholics: The Asians*, historian Terence Fay discovered that oral history was indispensable in this study.<sup>1</sup> While traditional archival and library sources assisted, the driving force of this work was qualitative history which put the stories of new Canadians on record before they were lost. The narrative analysis of oral history helped fashion these stories into Canadian history.

Archivists possess the image of neutrality, as Nichole Vonk points out, but in reality when involved in oral history, they create the historical record and make history. Directing the United Church Archives of Toronto in the *Making Room for Women Project* in 2005, Vonk hoped to create a sustainable program to fashion a balanced history for church groups. A

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<sup>1</sup> Terence Fay, *The New Faces of Canadian Catholics: The Asians*, (Ottawa: Novalis, 2009).

network of volunteers were recruited to fill gaps in their story and to provide a balanced history of the United Church. The participants in the Project sought marginalized minority groups such as Aboriginal people and women church workers to incorporate them into the overall history. The methodology of oral history is necessarily utilized to minimize biases which creep into the writing of history.

Human beings love stories and think in terms of stories. Using the methodology of qualitative history, Gwyn Griffith, author of *Weaving a Changing Tapestry: The Story of the Centre for Christian Studies and Its Predecessors*,<sup>2</sup> explains that professional historians collect and vet these stories. She finds that qualitative history is an essential part of research for religious history and goes beyond quantitative history to get at the meaning of historical experiences. This demands that interviewees be carefully selected from a variety of clients, and trained interviewers transcend their bias and record the words and meaning of the speaker with honesty and care. Through qualitative history the warmth of the human voice is preserved without the diminution of abstract propositions. Interviewer and interviewee can spark each other to remember the past and enthusiastically share the understanding of the present.

Directing different research projects for diverse groups, Fay, Vonk, and Griffith came together to share their concerns and interest in oral history and to resolve research problems. They offered these reflections at the Canadian Catholic Historical Association annual conference at Concordia University as a way of revealing their insights to other scholars of religious history.

**1. Search for the Inner Life (by Terence Fay).** As secular historians over the last decades have shown little interest or knowledge about religious history, they reveal little recognition of the importance which religion plays in world history and in the very texture of Canadian history. For instance in the *Canadian Historical Review*, the section “Recent Publications Relating to Canada” does not acknowledge the category of religious history. The review records different branches of history such as Aboriginal, New France, British North America, Military and Foreign Affairs, Political, Social and Labour, Economic and Business, Intellectual and Cultural, and the various provincial histories, but no category of religious history is to be found.<sup>3</sup> In all fairness, books and articles on religion are listed, but under the categories listed above and not in the formal category of Religious History—despite the vast number of articles and books published relating to religion.

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<sup>2</sup> Gwyn Griffith, *Weaving a Changing Tapestry. The Story of the Centre for Christian Studies and its Predecessors*, (Winnipeg: The Centre for Christian Studies, 2009).

<sup>3</sup> *Canadian Historical Review*, 91, no. 1 (March 2010): 183-194.



Today in Canada, Asians are arriving in record numbers. The *Toronto Star* predicts that by 2017, over 50 per cent of the populations of Vancouver and Toronto will be composed of visible minority groups. The Canadian Census of 2001 confirmed that an increasing number of Asians, including Chinese, East Indians, Filipinos, Vietnamese, and Koreans, are taking up residence in Canada.<sup>4</sup> It is often claimed that “Asians are necessarily non-Christians,” or “Asians are Buddhists, not Catholics.”<sup>5</sup> Although only two per cent of Asians are Catholic,<sup>6</sup> the Census shows that 40 per cent of Asian newcomers to Canada are Christians.<sup>7</sup> This is good news for Canadian Christians. Asians are a boon to the Canadian churches and have made a significant impact. They bring with them a rich heritage of culture and religion and are highly individualistic.

Asia-watcher and journalist Thomas Fox writes that “spirituality is the rhythm of Asia ... personal pieties and family rituals shape the flow of life throughout Asia. Asian Christians pass on devotions from generation to generation in the same way that they pass on stories and proverbs intended to teach values and enhance family ties.”<sup>8</sup> Professor Jonathan Tan contends that in North America Asians “choose to establish and maintain their own churches,” and these national churches are thriving. Their congregations provide important social functions that assist Asian communities in sustaining their unique cultural and religious traditions—which assimilation to Euro-Canadian congregations does not provide. Asians prefer participating in and operating their own parishes. Canadian dioceses have ordained many Asian-born Christians to lead Canadian parishes, and Asian-Canadian prayer groups in the parishes are well subscribed.<sup>9</sup> Over a twenty year period the Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto has ordained as priests 31% who are Canadians, 25% Europeans, 24% Asians, 8% Africans, 8% Latin Americans, and 4% from the United States.<sup>10</sup> In addition, the first Asian-born auxiliary bishop, Vincent Nguyen, formerly of Vietnam, was appointed recently to the Archdiocese of Toronto, and more young men and women from abroad are

<sup>4</sup> Statistics Canada 2001, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada K1A 0T6, March 2005, <http://www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/91-541-XIE/91-541-XIE2005001.pdf>, accessed 13 March 2008.

<sup>5</sup> Jonathan Y. Tan, *Introducing Asian American Theologies*, (Maryknoll NY: Orbis Books, 2008), 57.

<sup>6</sup> Thomas C. Fox, *Pentecost in Asia: A New Way of Being Church*, (Maryknoll NY: Orbis, 2003), 31.

<sup>7</sup> These figures are derived from *Statistics Canada 2001*, Religion (95) and Visible Minority Groups (15) for Population, for Canada, Provinces, Territories, Census Metropolitan Areas and Census Agglomerations, 2001 Census - 20% Sample Data, 97F0022XCB2001005, accessed 13 March 2008.

<sup>8</sup> Fox, *Pentecost in Asia*, 29.

<sup>9</sup> Tan, *Introducing Asian American Theologies*, 60-61.

<sup>10</sup> Archdiocese of Toronto, Personnel Office, 2009.

being prepared to serve the Canadian churches, thus making the Canadian churches less Euro-centric.

Interviewing church members about their life-long experiences, the authors have recorded these important documents about their religious lives before they pass beyond us and their historical significance is lost forever. For instance, interviews with deaconesses in the Anglican Church, interviews with United Church members, and interviews with Asian Canadian Catholics record religious traditions which are preparing their congregants for service in their Christian communities. Interviews with those preparing for ministries and church leadership are necessary right now before these life histories disappear from Canadian history.

There is a growing literature of secular information on Canadians and Canadian newcomers in the journals, encyclopaedias, and monographs, but scholars show little interest in plumbing the source of religious inspiration. Secular scholars emphasize the economic, social, educational, and ethnic spheres of research but do not to investigate religious activities which are at the heart of the motivation for most new Canadians. The emphasis of religious history is to record the inner life experiences of change, growth, and acclimatization to the new environment. Thus their arrival, adjustment, life commitment, and integration provide material for analysis to discern the spiritual temperature of new Christians to Canada that guides their lives. Researchers will provide the warmth of personal interviews and ponder the profundity of the religious experiences of new Canadians, and similar studies will further document and analyze the inner transformations occurring while they are still fresh.

In my recently published study, *The New Faces of Canadian Catholics: The Asians*, both the techniques of narrative analysis and the traditional methods of history were employed to incorporate the contemporary experiences of Canadian newcomers into an historical analysis.<sup>11</sup> People love to tell their stories, and stories are everywhere. In her volume *Narrative Analysis*, Catherine Kohler Riessman states that narrative inquiry guides historians to gather contemporary stories to record, access, analyse, and interpret them.<sup>12</sup> As memories are always selective reconstructions and contain plots of their own, historical analysis asks why these stories are being told in one way rather than another. Narrative analysis unpacks the loaded words and weighty meanings behind the storyteller's account. Beginning in the early 1970s, North American postmodern history quickly moved away from general historiography to give attention to the particular histories

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<sup>11</sup> Fay, *New Faces*.

<sup>12</sup> Catherine Kohler Riessman, *Narrative Analysis*, (Thousand Oaks CA: Sage Publications, 1993), 1-7.

of women, family, Amerindians, ethnic groups, rural activities, and other neglected areas of investigation.<sup>13</sup>

The narrative inquiry approach reconstructs the environment in which these events happened, checks them against historical sources, and places them in a meaningful context. Jean Clandinin and Michael Connelly explain in their book *Narrative Inquiry* that the techniques of qualitative analysis are heuristic and do not necessarily seek certainty. Through careful attention to the importance of dialogue, this kind of analysis seeks a clearer understanding in the midst of human ambiguity and complexity.<sup>14</sup> Juanita Johnson-Bailey explains that the delicacy of narrative analysis is “a joyous balancing act among the data, the methodology, the story, the participant, and the researcher.”<sup>15</sup> Norman Denzin, a leader in postmodern approaches to ethnography, assures researchers that their balancing act will ultimately produce an ethnographic report that will present “an integrated synthesis of experience and theory.”<sup>16</sup> Thus the techniques of narrative analysis look at the human condition and are part of postmodern history, and, when they are extended by the historical methods of library and archival research, become doubly effective. We will see that the techniques of both narrative analysis and historiography are employed in tandem throughout a qualitative study.

Once the techniques of narrative analysis are admitted in the service of historiography, the written style and format change, and the style becomes postmodern. Rather than offering a traditional historical survey, the techniques of qualitative analysis allow the human realities of particular individuals to be recorded. Instead of the statistics of quantitative information, qualitative analysis supplies the warmth and informality of real people subjectively telling their stories. Instead of a history which is consistent but sterile in its seemingly seamless narrative, the contradictions, gaps, and uncertainties of real history are allowed to surface in the text.

To prepare our interviewees for a qualitative inquiry, I telephone the volunteers, send them a project description, and make an appointment for

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<sup>13</sup> Stanley J. Grenz, *A Primer on Postmodernism*, (Grand Rapids MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1996), 39.

<sup>14</sup> D. Jean Clandinin and F. Michael Connelly, *Narrative Inquiry: Experience and Story in Qualitative Research*, (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2000), 1-10, 54-55; N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln, (eds.), *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials*, (Thousand Oaks CA: Sage Publications, 1998).

<sup>15</sup> Juanita Johnson-Bailey, “Dancing between the Swords: My Foray into Constructing Narratives,” in *Qualitative Research in Practice: Examples for Discussion and Analysis*, (eds.), Sharan B. Merriam and Associates (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2002), 323-5.

<sup>16</sup> Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, (eds.), *The Landscape of Qualitative Research: Theories and Issues*, (Thousand Oaks CA: Sage, 1998), 80.

the interview. I go to their home if possible, and explain to them their right to answer the questions they choose. I also explain to them that this is a historical study and ask them to give me permission to use their names in the published text. I created a consent form, guided by University of Toronto Research Ethics Unit and the Tri-Council Policy Statement, which I asked the participants to read and sign.<sup>17</sup> The interview guide includes questions about family members, education, arrival in Canada, employment before and after immigration, linguistic difficulties and discrimination encountered, how family decisions are made, generational conflict, cultural retention among first, second, and third generations, inter-ethnic and interfaith marriages, connections to Canadian media, sojourning or permanent residency, prayer life and religious devotions, prayer groups, outreach to community groups, and their ethnic charism in Canada. Thus, we are discussing how we gently probe the inner life of religious persons, their prayer, devotional, and family life and record these historical experiences for the future of Canadians.

For me, secular scholars generally ignore religious research and reveal little interest in the motivational life of Canadian believers or new Canadians—which for these scholars seems irrelevant in comparison with political and economic history. Yet in reality, religious life is the main motivating factor for many Asian Canadians and religious freedom is at the heart of why many newcomers disrupt their lives and, in much stress and strain, fly across an ocean to begin lives anew in Canada. Recording these religious activities of Canadians and newcomers is part and parcel of analysing Canadians, the Canadian commonweal, and constructing a new historical synthesis for the future.

**2. Tool for Archival Methodology (by Nichole Vonk).** Oral history has been a dilemma for many archivists as they look at policies around documents, collection mandates, and researcher priorities. The dilemma stems from early twentieth century ideals of archival qualities: objectivity, neutrality and passivity. While postmodernism is very much alive in archival theory today, it has yet to make it into the day-to-day work of many archives, which are staffed by those who continue to be taught that the professional aspiration is to become a neutral custodian.<sup>18</sup> It has been acknowledged for

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<sup>17</sup> “The *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans* describes the policies of the Medical Research Council (MRC), the Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council (NSERC), and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC)... The Councils believe that this policy statement will benefit research through addressing the paramount need for the highest ethical standards.” [http://www.ncehr-cnerh.org/english/code\\_2/intro01.html](http://www.ncehr-cnerh.org/english/code_2/intro01.html), accessed 15 September 2009.

<sup>18</sup> T. Cook and J. M. Schwartz, “Archives, Records, and Power: From (Postmodern) Theory to (Archival) Performance,” *Archival Science*, 2: 171–185.

years that the very nature of selecting records for permanent retention in archives and not selecting others is not a neutral act. It is an act of power, and this concept is discussed thoroughly in Randall Jimerson's presidential address to the Society of American Archivists in 2005 saying that many of the earliest written records were created to track, create inventories, and list data. For him, it is an act of power to document, memorialize, and provide evidence.<sup>19</sup> As archivists, we rely upon our institutional mandates to guide us in our appraisal of what records to preserve so that we can remain objective in our assessment of the documents. Archivists use a careful balancing act to appraise the evidentiary value, the creator, the subject, the context, and its uniqueness. All things considered not every story is retained.

As a result of this "neutral custodian" legacy, some archives are hesitant to engage in oral history because it is an act of creating historical record, a role that is not part of the traditional responsibilities of receiving, organizing, indexing, and providing access. However, archivists are the most knowledgeable about their institutional collections and are ideally positioned to assist in this creation. They know where the gaps in records are and the best ways to fill them. Donald Ritchie, the prominent oral historian, writes, "There are so many forms and conditions in which donated oral histories may arrive that... an archives cannot afford to be a passive recipient."<sup>20</sup> Archivists must start to build relationships with researchers doing interviews in the field to develop the best practices and guidelines.

Archives also shy away from oral history for more practical reasons. The collection of interviews can be expensive, indexing is time-consuming, and, if the transcriptions are not completed, the interviews are inaccessible to researchers. Until recently at the United Church Archives, we would not accept interviews if the duplicated material was already held elsewhere in the archives because personal narratives were considered less authentic accounts of history than written documents. In 2009 we revisited our oral history appraisal as a result of two important projects. The first project was the research in residential school records which revealed many gaps in documents and an incredible silence of aboriginal students in the records. There is no voice, no testimony, no experience of the students in the schools at that time. The second project is called *Making Room for Women at the Archives* (MRW), which embarked on an oral history of women in church leadership. While both of these projects required specific guidelines for oral history, it is the *Making Room for Women at the Archives* that I will discuss below.

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<sup>19</sup> Randall C. Jimerson, "Embracing the Power of Archives," (Paper delivered at SAA Conference, 2005).

<sup>20</sup> Donald Ritchie, *Doing Oral History: A Practical Guide*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 179.

Jimerson writes that “historians rely on documents and on the integrity of records preserved in archives for much of their contemporaneous sources of information about the past.”<sup>21</sup> For many researchers, memory must be confirmed by documentary evidence. Admittedly interviews do provide this support; however, individual narratives are capable of more than complementing the established historical record with personal anecdotes. Developing a methodology for the *Making Room for Women Project* encourages interviews to be treated with the same critical analysis given to written documents and opens them up to uses for research other than those projects for which the interviews were originally conducted. In conducting these interviews with women it became important to ask a wide range of questions about their specific experiences within the church but also ask broader questions about education, other roles, family life, and their feelings of marginalization. It is an attempt to capture information that not only provides context for those specific church experiences but could be of great interest in other research areas.

Methodology is important in order to treat interviews not just as ‘stories’ but as legitimate experiences of past events. The defined project goals, the selection of interviewees, the development of questions, and the permissions granted allow researchers to perform narrative analysis. Who created the story, what was the purpose, what was their bias, and is there conflicting evidence elsewhere? Records are created for a purpose, and memory is not always accurate. Records contain the information that was important at the moment they were created. In a letter, there is no way to go back and ask for more detail but a skilled interviewer can delve into a narrative at the time of the interview and pursue precise information, which might have relevance to other areas of inquiry. Most significant oral history enables individuals to speak to their historical sources, transforming the practice of history. The narrator is using the interviewee’s recollection but is also interpreting those events. The process and the relationship between interviewer and interviewee are valued as much as the product.<sup>22</sup>

The *Making Room for Women Project* was launched in 2005 at the United Church Archives in Toronto to address specifically the lack of record collections of women. The archives had identified that only 15% of personal papers in the holdings<sup>23</sup> were created by women’s groups and by women who were actively involved in the church at many levels. Women had spent their lives in the church, some in positions of leadership and others

<sup>21</sup> R.C. Jimerson, “Embracing the Power of Archives,” *Archives Power: Memory, Accountability and Social Justice*, (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2009), 19.

<sup>22</sup> R. Perks and A. Thomson, (eds.), *The Oral History Reader*, 2nd Edition, (New York: Routledge: 2006), 10.

<sup>23</sup> Eighty-six of 560 personal papers collections in 2005.

involved in movements which were passing away and leaving no archival record behind. To deal with this lacuna, the MRW Project committee in 2009 initiated an oral history program. The primary goal was to create a sustainable program by involving community members. Following an established methodology, church women were recruited to interview their peers. The committee oversaw a standard protocol for consent, transcription, and deposition in the archives, and this method became an oral history starter kit. Additional guidelines were distributed about the entire process from preview to final interview. A demonstration interview was filmed for use in educational workshops. The archives benefited in many ways from active participation in this program, and a network of volunteers was formed who were interested in filling gaps in the collection. The archives established best practices for interviews ensuring that the archives would receive recordings of good quality and promote awareness about donations of textual records.

Part of the oral history workshop involved discussions around the ethics followed in the interviews. Consent forms can be intimidating because of the legal jargon, but the copyright law in Canada falls on the side of the interviewer.<sup>24</sup> The MRW Project refuses to claim ownership of personal narratives. Interviewees are informed that at any time they may withdraw their consent and the interview will be terminated. After an interview, interviewees can request the removal of their narrative from the archives. The interviewees must also continue to be contacted for any further use of the interview material outside of the original purpose for which it was collected. For example, part of an interview might be used out of context on a website. The United Church guidelines also take into account that many groups have been left out of the historical record, or that other groups have had their oral traditions exploited. It is critical that any methodology addresses ethical issues about recording personal experiences. When the interviews arrive to be deposited at the archives, the full receipt of all documentation about the interviews is expected to be submitted. The archives can verify the interview was given willingly, and the interviewees understand that the purpose of the project was to make the material available to researchers.

The original recording is considered the master copy and the most authentic copy. Written transcripts are useful but they do not contain all of the information that the recording carries, for instance, the emotion in the voice, heavy pauses, laughter, and so forth. While that information may be considered useless in a formal analysis of facts, it helps to shape the researcher's understanding of the context of the past and how events

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<sup>24</sup> Department of Justice, Copyright Act (C-42); Part 11 section 18, Rights of sound recording makers. [http://laws.justice.gc.ca/eng/C-42page-2.html#anchorbo-ga:1\\_II](http://laws.justice.gc.ca/eng/C-42page-2.html#anchorbo-ga:1_II), accessed 25 May 2010.

affected the individuals involved. The original recording is always preferable in research as transcripts are not always accurate reflections of what was said. Fortunately recent advances in technology offer new opportunities to make use of recordings. A good example is the free software, "Stories Matter," offered through the Centre for Oral History and Digital Storytelling at Concordia University in Montreal. It enables the uploading and indexing of interviews which can be shared publicly, and the goal is the liberation of oral historians from transcription.<sup>25</sup> Thus researchers are able to jump to any point in an interview with software like this and listen to certain sections. This is a great advantage over the analog days of forwarding and rewinding, when one hoped the cassette tape would not snap. For archives, it does require the staff to index, maintain the digital format, or plan for migrating it in the future as technologies rapidly become obsolete.

Since the MRW Project launched its oral history program, a church committee guides members who go into the field and gather interviews. We have also worked to identify past interviews of women already in the archives, but which were inaccessible because of media format (e.g. reel-to-reel). These interviews have now been digitized and indexed for access by researchers in the archives. The key to continued success will be sustainability. We now have liaisons in almost every province to work with women identified in their region who can connect with their local archives to create and deposit interviews creating a nation-wide initiative.

It is not a new concept of postmodern history that records, for all the knowledge with which they provide us, are not totally objective but reflect only one aspect of the past. Documents are created with a bias. All researchers understand this when examining archival records. Some researchers have also begun to recognize the role that archival policies play in the selection of historical records, that is, some stories are selected for preservation and some are not. While textual documents continue to make up the bulk of most archives, personal narratives or oral histories are beginning to find a place in archives particularly as technology allows for wide use of the original recordings. What needs to happen now is a greater relationship between archives and researchers doing oral history in the field. The new methodology must provide for long term preservation and better access to the abundant holdings so that oral history will have a stronger presence in historical archives.

**3. Qualitative Religious History (by Gwyn Griffith).** When I was researching for *Weaving a Changing Tapestry: The Story of the Centre*

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<sup>25</sup> Centre for Oral History and Digital Storytelling, Concordia University, "Stories Matter," <http://storytelling.concordia.ca/storiesmatter/>, accessed 25 May 2010.



for *Christian Studies and its Predecessors*,<sup>26</sup> it became clear that history is basically story, and story telling has been an essential part of communicating and understanding of faith throughout history. As in teaching, preaching, and in research methodology, it is the telling and hearing of stories that embodies the truths of religious faith. William J. Bausch, a Catholic priest who incorporates much of the understanding of story from both Jewish and Protestant sources, states that human beings are creatures who think in stories, yet most of us have been trained to think rather in propositions—systematic theology in the Christian tradition still takes precedent over narrative theology.<sup>27</sup> But valuing the right brain as well as the left, stories, as well as creeds, contribute to qualitative research and qualitative history. We love to hear stories and we love to tell them. And it is the interweaving of those stories that become history.

Some historical events can be documented as to time and place, but all events are subject to interpretation. History is always told or written from the perspective and bias of the writer/teller. It is selective in terms of what is researched, how it is interpreted, and what is omitted. Canadian religious history is made up of what those writing it determine is significant and adds to our understanding of that history. Qualitative history is an essential part of religious research as it is for many other disciplines.

Documents in the archives may be written by an individual or a group, sometimes checked with others, but it remains to the writer to determine what is significant and what is to be included in or omitted from the final manuscript. I remember clearly what one of my anthropology professors emphatically told us: “It is not ‘if I had not seen it, I would not have believed it’, but rather it is ‘if I had not believed it, I would not have seen it.’” So it could be that if I was not open to possible significance, I would not have heard it, or written it down.

Oral history is authentic qualitative research. We have moved a long way from thinking that the only valid research is quantitative, based on statistics, samples, or official written documents, although these also can be significant. The goal of historical research is to increase our understanding not only of what has happened, but of the meaning of those experiences for those who lived them, as well as the meaning for the present and future.

In truth, we come to every activity with a bias. That bias comes from our own life experience, our faith and beliefs and from educational studies. When we involve ourselves in oral history, we need to name the biases we

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<sup>26</sup> Griffith, *Weaving a Changing Tapestry*.

<sup>27</sup> William J. Bausch, *Story Telling, Imagination and Faith*, (Mystic, Connecticut: Twenty-third Publications, 1984).

bring to our listening. What emerges in an oral history conversation is the dialectic of two perspectives, that of the teller and the listener, with each eager for the story to be told in its fullest.

What is especially significant about oral history is that in its raw form, it is spoken before it is written. Increasingly history is being documented digitally, so that the speaker's voice is retained. Charlotte Gray in her review in the book section of the *Globe and Mail* wrote: "The challenge in writing accessible historical narrative is two fold: bringing the story to life and knowing the difference between imagination and invention."<sup>28</sup> She criticized author Brian Payton, who wrote *The Ice Passage*, for rarely quoting from primary sources, so that one missed the literary tone of journal keepers and the richness of their process. Hearing from those who speak of their experience is the essence of oral history. The tone is often as important as the words.

There is discipline in the conducting of oral histories. There are usually focussed questions, based on the experiences and insights about which the interviewer is seeking to learn. But sometimes the richest material comes from forays into new subjects. Donald A. Ritchie, in his book *Doing Oral History*, stated that interviewers who remain passive surrender too much of their professional capacity. Both participants in an interview are responsible for its creation and share in its authorship. We sometimes call this participatory research. Ritchie states that researchers can inject the interviews with their own opinions and can challenge interviewees, but he quotes the famous Chicago oral historian, Studs Terkel, who said "an impaired ability to listen can be a dangerous affliction for interviewers."<sup>29</sup>

The interviewee needs to trust that the interviewer respects them, and that their memory and interpretation of their experience is valid. Honesty on the part of the interviewer about her or his own bias and willingness to be open to what is said is crucial without trying to contradict it. This is essential both during the interview and in the transcribing and interpretation of what one hears. Hearing the actual words and the expression used in the recording helps in understanding both words and meaning.

*Weaving a Changing Tapestry* is the story of the Centre for Christian Studies (CCS), which moved from Toronto to Winnipeg in 1998.<sup>30</sup> The book is the story of three deaconess and missionary training schools associated with the Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches, beginning in 1892 and, by 1970, becoming a diaconal ministry training school of the

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<sup>28</sup> *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 2 January 2010.

<sup>29</sup> Ritchie, 8 and 96.

<sup>30</sup> Griffith, *Weaving a Changing Tapestry*.

Anglican and United Churches. I have been part of the school as student, staff, principal and volunteer since 1974; my story has been an intimate part of the CCS story.

With the assistance of the national archives of both the Anglican and United Church, I read every document in the archives pertaining to the Centre for Christian Studies and its predecessors.<sup>31</sup> The printed word provided a framework for what gave life to the story—the interviewing of one hundred graduates, staff and administrative and program volunteers. The earliest former students interviewed graduated in the 1930s, and over 1000 individuals have graduated since that time. Thus the selection of those to be interviewed was an important part of the process. While no interviewee was considered representative, those selected came from a wide spectrum, in terms of years of involvement in the school, geographical location, and intensity of participation. Some were sought because of a particular perspective to fill in part of the story. A few refused to be interviewed, but most were eager to share their experience and perspective. I hoped each would assist me in not only learning what happened, but in analysing the meaning of the experience during the times they were involved in the school.

A list of possible questions was developed as an interview guide. A letter was sent to each potential interviewee, explaining the purpose of the interviews—to broaden an understanding of what was significant in the history beyond printed documents and to bring the story alive. Before the interview, each was asked for permission to use the transcript in the book.

Although the focus was always on the person being interviewed, I shared my experience and my perception of what I had read in archival material and tested those perceptions with the interviewee. We sparked one another to recall more significant incidents, and the interview often became a free wheeling discussion. A final question was what the interviewee would like to learn from reading this story of the school.

I was fortunate to have the time to transcribe each of the interviews myself. I made notes of new insights and questions as I typed. This enriched the understanding which came from the interviews. I read and reread the transcripts making marginal notes. Differences of interpretation of experiences were noted. From these, as well as from the archival documents, I developed themes. As I wrote the manuscript, I included extensive quotations from the interviews. As I moved closer to the final draft, I wrote to each

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<sup>31</sup> The Anglican Church of Canada Archives, 80 Hayden Street, Toronto, ON M4W 3T5. The United Church of Canada Archives, 3250 Bloor Street West, Toronto, ON M8X 2Y4. In addition, historical material not yet submitted to the denominational archives was read at the offices of the Centre for Christian Studies, 60 Maryland Street, Winnipeg, MB R3G 1K7.

interviewee enclosing the pages where they were quoted so they could see the context of the transcript and give their response. A few asked that some wording be changed—the written word does look different from the spoken word—but agreement was reached about what would go into the book.

The result was therefore a collective story about a school that had both positive and negative memories by those who had attended it. The story was made immensely richer by those memories and the shared analysis. Qualitative historical research helps us to understand the present and to retain insights for the future.

## **Conclusion**

The importance of Christian women and Asian Catholics in Canada has already been demonstrated. Yet secular historians and social scientists show little interest in learning about the inspiration in the lives of those heavily involved in the mission of the churches and their other works. A few religious historians have recorded some data that will provide information on the inspiration of committed church workers, the inner experiences of Asians integrating into Canadian life, and the meaning of these encounters. In this process, narrative inquiry and analysis are helpful in bringing these inner experiences to the light of history and constructing a new Canadian synthesis. Archivists have found that by trying to fill gaps in the historical record, they can employ narrative inquiry to create additional history for the benefit of the scholarly community. The methodology of oral interviews creates authentic history that is confirmed by documentary evidence. In the postmodern period, the importance of oral history will increase. The goal of oral research when confirmed by documentary evidence increases our understanding of the events, the meaning for those involved, and the broader significance for the world. Oral religious history is important in learning and teaching, and when its meaning is recorded, analysed, and authenticated a new historical vision will be released.

## THE JAMES F. KENNEY PRIZE

**This prize is awarded annually by the Canadian Catholic Historical Association in honour of its founder, James F. Kenney (1884-1946), for the best essay on any aspect of the history of Catholicism in Canada written in a course by an undergraduate student in any university.**

**Conditions:** Entries must be undergraduate essays between 2500 and 5000 words in length on some aspect of Catholicism in Canada. The author must be a part-time or a full-time undergraduate student in a degree program at an accredited university or college in Canada. The essay must have been written to meet the requirement of an undergraduate credit course during the current academic year.

**Submissions:** Entries shall be submitted by course instructors no later than 1 May 2012. No instructor shall submit more than two entries. Essays must be typed neatly and should not indicate the instructor's comments or grade. Essays may also be submitted electronically. Entries should be sent to the President, Canadian Catholic Historical Association [Dr. Jacqueline Gresko, Corpus Christi College, 5935 Iona Drive, Vancouver, BC V6T 1J7 or [jgresko@telus.net](mailto:jgresko@telus.net)].

**Adjudication:** Entries will be judged by a panel determined by the CCHA. The winner will be announced in the autumn of 2012. There will be no runners-up or honorary mentions. The CCHA reserves the right not to award a prize in a given year should applications not be of sufficient quality.

**Prize:** \$500

[www.umanitoba.ca/colleges/st\\_pauls/ccha](http://www.umanitoba.ca/colleges/st_pauls/ccha)

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**Recent prize winner:** Erika MacRae, Queen's University  
*"Marian Devotion: A Research Paper on the Divine Worship of the Blessed Virgin Mary, The Reconstruction of Sacred and Public Spaces."*



## Abstracts/Résumés

Gregory BAUM

### **The Forgotten Promises of Vatican II**

Vatican Council II made promises related to episcopal collegiality or the co-responsibility of bishops with the pope as well as to the contribution of the laity described as the priesthood of the baptized. This article examines these promises and then shows that subsequent legislation and official guidelines produced by the Holy See have reneged on these promises and restored the monarchical style of the pontifical government. The debate in the Church at this time also deals with the conflict between evangelization and interreligious dialogue, an issue Vatican Council II has not resolved.

*Vatican II a fait des promesses relatives à la collégialité épiscopale c.-à-d. la coresponsabilité des évêques avec le pape, ainsi que des promesses relatives à la contribution des laïcs sous la description du sacerdoce des baptisés. Cet article examine ces promesses, et démontre ensuite comment le Saint-Siège a renoncé à ces promesses par des mesures législatives ultérieures et des directives officielles, et a restauré le style monarchique du gouvernement pontifical. Le débat au sein de l'Église présentement a aussi trait au conflit entre l'évangélisation et le dialogue interreligieux, une question qui n'a pas été réglée par Vatican II.*

Peter MEEHAN

### **“Purified Socialism” and the Church in Saskatchewan: Tommy Douglas, Philip Pocock and Hospitalization, 1944-1948**

Committed respectively to programs of renewal and reform in their roles as bishop of Saskatoon and premier of Saskatchewan, Philip Pocock and Cooperative Commonwealth Federation leader T. C. “Tommy” Douglas took office only weeks apart during the summer of 1944. Eventually meeting in protracted discussions that would determine the fate of the province’s Catholic hospitals under *hospitalization*, the government’s new plan of “socialized medicine,” Pocock saw the perfect opportunity to convince

Catholics, long an “embattled minority” in Saskatchewan, of the need to relate with the secular world on grounds of fairness and equity. His “theology of engagement,” however, was momentarily undermined by the actions of a local partisan priest, Rev. Eugene Cullinane, who proclaimed the party as offering a new, “purified Socialism” that was completely in harmony with the Church’s social teaching. By situating Cullinane’s overt politicization in the context of Pocock’s advocacy of the Catholic healthcare under *hospitalization*, this paper seeks to widen the focus on Pocock’s ultimate decision to expel the young priest from the diocese of Saskatoon while also exposing the heretofore underappreciated efforts of a significant Catholic leader at a central moment in Canadian history.

*Tous les deux engagés dans des programmes de renouvellement et de réforme en tant que respectivement évêque de Saskatoon et premier ministre de Saskatchewan, Philip Pocock et T.C. alias « Tommy » Douglas, chef de la Fédération du commonwealth coopératif (CCF), sont entrés en fonction à quelques semaines l’un de l’autre, au cours de l’été 1944. Quand ils se sont enfin rencontrés pour des discussions prolongées qui allaient déterminer l’avenir des hôpitaux catholiques de la province sous le régime de l’assurance hospitalisation, le nouveau plan gouvernemental de « médecine socialisée », Pocock a saisi l’opportunité idéale pour convaincre les catholiques, longtemps une minorité « crénelée » en Saskatchewan, de la nécessité de se rapprocher du monde séculaire pour des raisons d’équité et d’honnêteté. Sa « théologie de l’engagement » a été, cependant, momentanément ébranlée par les actions d’un prêtre partisan local, Eugène Cullinane, qui proclamait que le parti offrait un nouveau « socialisme purifié » qui était parfaitement en accord avec les idéaux sociaux catholiques. En situant la politisation patente de Cullinane dans le contexte du plaidoyer de Pocock en faveur des soins de santé catholiques sous le régime de l’assurance hospitalisation, cet essai vise à élargir la focalisation sur la décision finale de Pocock de bannir le jeune prêtre du diocèse de Saskatoon, tout en étalant les efforts, dorénavant sous-estimés, d’un dirigeant catholique important à un moment crucial de l’histoire canadienne.*

Jacalyn DUFFIN

### **Miracles and Wonders: Finding Canadian Medical History in the Vatican Archives**

Inspired by her personal experience as an expert medical witness in a miraculous healing applied to the canonization of the first Canadian-born saint, the author explores details of twelve other miracles that took place



in Canada between 1887 and 1978. Using canonization records from the Vatican archives, Duffin identifies thirty other Canadian miracles with their respective causes as an opportunity for future research. Based on an invited keynote address for the Canadian Catholic Historical Association, this essay demonstrates the potential of this source of miracles for the social and religious history of Canada.

*Inspirée par son expérience personnelle en tant que témoin médical spécialiste d'un miracle de guérison attribué à la canonisation de la première sainte née au Canada, l'auteure examine les détails de douze autres miracles qui ont eu lieu, au Canada, entre 1887 et 1978. Grâce à des registres de canonisation provenant des archives du Saint-Siège, trente autres miracles ont été identifiés, avec leur cause respective, comme une opportunité pour des recherches ultérieures. Basé sur un discours liminaire, lors de son invitation à la Société canadienne d'histoire de l'Église catholique, cet essai démontre le potentiel que cette source de miracles représente pour l'histoire sociale et religieuse du Canada.*

Colleen GRAY

**“As a Bird Flies”: The Writings of Marie Barbier, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Montreal Woman Religious and Mystic**

The writings of women that have come down to us from the medieval and early modern periods are growing, and promise to challenge the historical silence of women. This paper presents segments of the author's project: her attempt to fill this lacuna and to add to this important burgeoning body of documents with a translated, edited and annotated version of the writings of Marie Barbier, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Congrégation de Notre-Dame of Montreal nun, superior and mystic.

*Le nombre d'œuvres littéraires féminines, des périodes médiévale et moderne qui nous ont été transmises, continue de croître. Ce qui promet de s'opposer au silence historique de la gent féminine. Cet essai présente des portions du projet de l'auteure : sa tentative de combler cette lacune et d'ajouter à cet important corps florissant de documents une version traduite, éditée et annotée de l'œuvre de Marie Barbier, une religieuse, supérieure et mystique de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame de Montréal du 17<sup>e</sup> et 18<sup>e</sup> siècle.*

Terence FAY SJ, Nichole VONK, and Gwyn GRIFFITH

### **Oral Sources for Religious History**

Oral history is a driving force in religious history and has a strict methodology and reliable results. In tandem with the sources of traditional history, the conclusions are doubly dependable. In the style of postmodern history the results are not written in stone but the best research at that point of history. Terence Fay recorded the immigrant history of Chinese, Filipino, Korean, Tamil, and Vietnamese Canadian Catholics. Nichole Vonk developed permanent new history sources for the United Church Archives. Gwyn Griffith found qualitative history preserved the human voice for the Centre for Christian Studies.

*L'histoire orale est un élément moteur dans l'histoire de la religion, et elle possède une méthodologie rigoureuse et des résultats fiables. En tandem avec les ressources historiques traditionnelles, les conclusions sont doublement dignes de confiance. Selon le modèle de l'histoire postmoderne, les résultats ne sont pas coulés dans le béton, mais sont plutôt basés sur les meilleures recherches disponibles à cette époque-là de l'histoire. Terence Fay a consigné l'histoire de l'immigration des canadiens catholiques chinois, philippins, coréens, tamouls et vietnamiens. Nichole Vonk a créé des nouvelles ressources historiques permanentes pour les archives de l'Église Unie. Gwyn Griffith a découvert, pour le centre des études chrétiennes (Centre for Christian Studies), que l'histoire qualitative conservait la voix humaine.*

# SUBMISSION GUIDELINES

# Historical Studies

Journal of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association

## 1. General Author Guidelines

Published once a year by the Canadian Catholic Historical Association, *Historical Studies* is a fully refereed journal that features articles, critical notes, book reviews and a bibliography aimed at advancing knowledge in the religious history of Canada. The journal accepts comparative and interdisciplinary approaches and welcomes manuscripts from the greatest possible number of researchers, including graduate students. All manuscripts are assessed through a double-blind process that ensures confidentiality. The editorial board considers only unpublished manuscripts and does not consider works of popularization. The journal only publishes English-language articles.

### Submission Guidelines

Manuscripts must be submitted electronically as Word or WordPerfect files. Texts should be double-spaced and should be no longer than 35,000 characters (6,500-8,500 words) or **25 double-spaced pages**, including notes.

Authors whose manuscripts are selected will be required to provide the editors with a revised version of the manuscript in a timely manner following the application of any changes and corrections required.

Articles accepted for publication must be accompanied by an abstract (roughly 150 words) as well as a biographical sketch of the author (no more than 75 words).

### Article Selection and Copyright

Submissions are evaluated by the editors of *Historical Studies* and by board-selected external readers. The editors decide whether to publish, reject or request a revision of each article. In cases of conditional selection, the editors will communicate with the author to insure that the conditions for publication are fulfilled. The editors reserve the right to reject articles that, although acceptable in terms of content, will require in their estimation too much revision in order to meet publication deadlines.

Authors whose work has been accepted for publication in *Historical Studies* assign to the Canadian Catholic Historical Association the exclusive copyright for countries as defined in section 3 of the Copyright Act to the contribution in its published form. The CCHA, in turn, grants the author the right of republication in any book of which the author is the exclusive author or editor, subject only to the author giving proper credit to the original publication in *Historical Studies*.

## 2. Submission Format

As the journal does not possess a secretarial office, we thank you in advance for meeting the following conditions *exactly* so as to help us reduce printing costs and speed up the publication process. The editors reserve the right to reject manuscripts that stray too far from the following formatting rules.

**Reminder:** Texts must not exceed 25 pages, notes included.

Texts should be formatted for standard dimensions (8.5 × 11)... Long quotations and notes should all be **single-spaced** within the text. The first page of the manuscript should contain the title of the article followed by the author's name.

Text should appear in New Times Roman 12 font, with 9 font in the footnotes.

### **Titles, Tables, Figures and Illustrations**

*Historical Studies* does not normally publish articles with subtitles. All tables, graphics, figures and illustrations should be referred to in the body of the text. They should be numbered in Arabic numerals and include an appropriate title or key. Notes on the source, if any, should follow immediately. Maps (vector processing software), graphics (e.g., Lotus and Excel spreadsheets) and tables (spreadsheet or word processing software) must all be submitted in electronic format.

Photographs must be submitted as jpeg files, and include captions, credits and permissions where appropriate.

### **Capitalization, Parentheses, Abbreviations, Dates and Spacing**

Texts should make as little use as possible of capitalization, parentheses and abbreviations.

Centuries should be indicated in written form (i.e. "nineteenth century").

In text references and footnotes, dates should be indicated as follows: day, month, and year (i.e. 1 April 1966).

Paragraphs should be preceded and followed by a 6-point spacing. Make sure to indent the first line of each paragraph. The period ending each sentence should be followed by one space.

## Italics

The use of italics should be reserved for foreign-language terms and titles of books and periodicals.

## Quotations

Authors should endeavour to avoid excessively lengthy quotations (more than ten lines). Quotations of more than three typed lines should be placed as a separate paragraph with a five-space indent on the left, no indent on the right and without quotation marks. Omissions or cuts within quotations are indicated by bracketed suspension points [...].

## Notes

*Historical Studies* employs footnotes for the purpose of referencing. Superscript numbers in-text should be offered sequentially in the paper, and should be placed immediately following punctuation marks. Notes and references should be single-spaced and appear at the bottom of each page.

Bibliographical information should be provided in full when books and articles are first cited. Afterwards, only the name of the author, the first few words of the title and the page number need be mentioned. Never use *op. cit.* *Ibid.* is used only when the previous reference is immediately repeated.

Here are some examples:

### Books

Robert Choquette, *Language and Religion: A History of French-English Conflict in Ontario* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1975), 161-247.

For subsequent references: Choquette, *Language and Religion*, 9-43.

### Edited book

Paul Bramadat and David Seljak, (eds.), *Christianity and Ethnicity in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008).

### Article in book

Mark McGowan, "Roman Catholics (Anglophone and Allophone)," in Paul Bramadat and David Seljak, (eds.), *Christianity and Ethnicity in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 49-100.

### Journal Articles

Elizabeth Smyth, "Congregavit Nos In Unum Christi Amor: The Congregation of the Sisters of St. Joseph in the Archdiocese of Toronto, 1851-1920," *Ontario History*, 84, no. 3 (1992): 230-233.

### Archival

St. Francis Xavier University Archives (hereafter STFXUA), Extension Department Papers (hereafter EDP), Moses M. Coady to R.J. MacSween, 24 March 1953, RG 30-2/1/2963.

### Dissertation

Heidi MacDonald, "The Sisters of St. Martha and Prince Edward Island Social Institutions, 1916-1982," (Ph.D. diss., University of New Brunswick, 2000), 10-12.

### Web Site

Author's name, title of publication, date of publication, <url>, and date accessed.

For example: William Lyon Mackenzie King Papers, MG 26J, Series 13, Diary entry for 10 June 1940, <http://king.collectionscanada.ca>, accessed on 20 June 2005.