

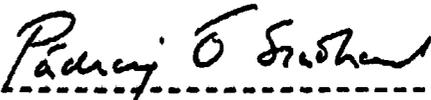
Cardinal James McGuigan:
Tormented Prince of the Church

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A dissertation submitted to complete the regulations for a Master of Arts degree in Atlantic Canada Studies at Saint Mary's University, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

August 1995.

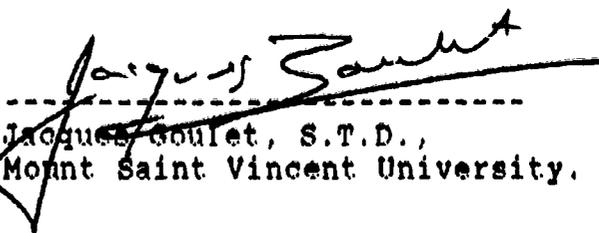
Approved by:



Pádraig Ó Siadhail, Ph.D.,
Saint Mary's University.



Kenneth MacKinnon, Ph.D.,
Saint Mary's University.



Jacques Goulet, S.T.D.,
Mount Saint Vincent University.



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DEDICATION:

To those at the Chancery of the Archdiocese of Toronto who released as much information as they dared, withheld only the data as they had to, and destroyed as few records as they felt necessary. This dedication is addressed especially to the executor of Cardinal McGuigan's estate, Archbishop Leonard Wall.

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ABSTRACT

Although largely forgotten by today's secular world, half a century ago the Prince Edward Island born cardinal, James McGuigan, was perhaps the best known Catholic churchman in Canada. A brilliant administrator, he was reputed to have been the youngest archbishop in the Catholic world when he was appointed to Regina, at the age of 35. Five years later he was moved to Toronto, where he became the first cardinal for that minority within a minority--the English Speaking Catholics.

McGuigan was a compassionate priest identified by his charming smile and great booming laugh. He was the heroic archbishop of Regina, the one who suffered a nervous breakdown upon realizing the apparently impossible economic conditions there. This revelation occurred at the beginning of the Great Depression and at the start of another terrible Prairie drought. Fortunately, in a short time he largely recovered and as a "beggar bishop" stabilized the enormous debt of the Archdiocese of Regina that was mounting "at a terrible rate". Transferred to Toronto the prelate was able to take advantage of the war time boom and post war economy to pay off an encumbrance three times that of his former posting, while handling the almost overwhelming multilingual influx that changed that

city from the "Belfast of Canada" to one in which Catholics were the largest religious group.

This thesis will not only present a general biography of McGuigan, but will also attempt to understand the sources of his recurring emotional problems, to what extent they were overcome, and how his emotional instability affected his work for the Church.

INTRODUCTION

In the years following the end of the Second World War, when religion was still an important public event, the Prince Edward Island born cardinal, James McGuigan, was arguably the best known Catholic churchman in Canada. Reputedly, he had been the youngest archbishop in the world, and, after his later appointment to Toronto, he became the first cardinal for that Canadian double minority, the English speaking Catholics.(1) Having a charming smile, and great booming laugh, McGuigan was also known for his sympathy for the poor. Being a churchman of his times, he became a great Marianist who influenced, and then beheld the declaration of her bodily assumption as church dogma. Unfortunately, he seems to have died in near despair having seen the Church with its Medieval attitudes severely weakened, if not destroyed. As well, he became bed ridden for nine years following a stroke.

Administratively, he was first rate. During the early 1930s, McGuigan lowered himself to a "beggar bishop" (2) to save the Archdiocese of Regina from bankruptcy and to preserve the Canadian Catholic Church's credit rating. In the 1940s, he largely eliminated the much greater debt of the Toronto Archdiocese, and in the post-war period he was able to handle the tremendous wave of immigration that changed the religious and ethnic face of Ontario.

However, the price was high, sometimes too high. McGuigan suffered a nervous breakdown at the beginning of the Great Depression and was affected by its lingering results for the rest of his life. As a result he developed an obsession concerning things financial that tended to crowd out the spiritual relief he so desperately needed.

In addition to describing McGuigan's life, this dissertation will exhibit some of the history of the Catholic Church in Canada and will, by necessity, interact with national and international history from 1894 to 1965. Finally, one chapter, the eleventh, will attempt to understand the cardinal's unfortunate psychology by looking at his personality and its formation.

In the first major section of the dissertation, I shall describe the stressful training and life of the priest during McGuigan's time as well as discuss the hierarchy through which he moved to attain the cardinalate.

In the long second section, I shall write a general biography of the cardinal showing how he was a "Sunny Jim" up to about his 30th year. Simultaneously, I shall demonstrate the increasing stress he felt. This difficulty was coincident with his meteoric rise through the Church's hierarchy in Western Canada and culminated in his appointment to bankrupt Regina as archbishop when only 35 years of age. Within four months he had his first

nervous breakdown. After an intense struggle to recover during the fall and winter of 1930-31, he returned to Regina Archdiocese to stabilize its finances. However, the man who emerged from his distress was not "Sunny Jim", but one who was sadder and wiser and who had to struggle the rest of his life against extreme mood swings. Despite this difficulty, he rose rapidly to become archbishop of Canada's most prestigious English speaking diocese at the age of 40, the nation's first English speaking cardinal at 51, and a nominal papal candidate a dozen years later.

In the final section I will demonstrate that McGuigan probably suffered from manic depression, and show how he dampened sufficiently his emotional extremes to leave a much better built church than the one he inherited. Unfortunately, or perhaps fortunately, McGuigan was forced to retire just before the secularization of the 1960s radically changed Canadian society and severely weakened the influence of organized religion. In this final section I will also attempt to answer three questions: What were the causes of his emotional problems? To what degree did he overcome his difficulties? And how much did his instability affect his work?

Since little has been written about, or by the cardinal, he is little known to younger generations. A modest man, McGuigan generally limited himself to ecclesiastical

affairs. For example, there are his Regina sermons (in English, French and German), a few introductions to religious tomes and a number of reports on the financial state of the Archdioceses of Regina and of Toronto. There are his sermons in the Catholic Register, and a few joint missives with other bishops. Lastly, there was the weekly column in the Toronto Telegram, which was largely written by priests at the University of St. Michael's College, something that explains the columns' extraordinary range of topics and styles.(3)

In spite of being a very private man, the fact that he was cardinal meant that McGuigan also had a public image. His 1945 appointment to the College of Cardinals made the front pages of many Canadian newspapers, as well as the New York Times. Two years later the Marian Congress, which he headed as personal representative of Pope Pius XII, brought the McGuigan back to public attention. His indignation, aroused by communist persecution of the Catholic Church in Eastern Europe, also made the front pages of the Toronto papers.

On becoming a prince of the Church,(4) McGuigan had to play his new role for the home town crowd. Toronto held a grand parade and civic reception which ironically was hosted by the mayor who was an Orangeman. Charlottetown followed with a similar celebration, but without an Orange

chief magistrate. Even Qubec City, where McGuigan had studied for the priesthood during the First World War, staged a large public welcome hosted by the primate of Catholic Canada, Cardinal Jean-Marie-Roderigue Villeneuve. McGuigan also made semi-public appearances by accepting honorary degrees. In 1939, the Catholic University of America honoured their former canon law student with a Doctorate. Niagara University (Buffalo, N.Y.) followed with another degree. In 1942, the University of Toronto celebrated his achievements six years later, and Laval University granted both McGuigan and Prime Minister Louis Saint Laurent honours in 1952. A decade later, Dalhousie felicitated McGuigan. Finally, in 1964, St. Dunstan's presented its aged alumnus with his last degree, in absentia (5).

A few minor books have been written about the cardinal, the first being William Perkins Bull's From MacDonell to McGuigan, A History of the Growth of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto (1939). Henry Somerville, editor of the Catholic Register, produced a thin, and rather fawning tome, To Rome and Home (1946), that told of McGuigan's trip to Rome to receive the Red Hat. Two years later McClelland & Stewart rushed a biography, James Cardinal McGuigan, into production. This was to tap the interest following the Marian Congress. The claim of the author, Claude Laing

Fisher, that brevity was the best form for a biography demonstrated the book's limitations.(6)

It required the cardinal's 25th episcopal anniversary, in 1955, to bring him strongly back to the public eye. The Toronto Star ran a important article on the event. As well, in the early 1960s, just before he retired, the Globe and Mail Magazine conducted a lengthy interview.

In 1965, it was briefly noted that the elderly priest had suffered a crippling stroke, but little public attention was paid to him until he died nine years later. At that time the usual mix of expressions of sincere sorrow and platitudes were heard. At least Toronto's Saint Michael's Cathedral was filled for the funeral Mass.

Almost immediately after his death Sister Magdalene Barton S.O.S. wrote a paper of 48 pages on McGuigan as part of her thesis course at University of Ottawa. Generally, however, interest in the cardinal did not revive until the 1980s. In the latter part of the 1980s, I produced 150 words for the Canadian Encyclopedia, as well as four pages for the Untold Story: The Irish in Canada. More recently, Father Joseph O'Neill wrote a perceptive article on his Eminences' relation to the Holy Name Society and Marxism. Following this, "Ned" Belliveau, a retired Catholic reporter for the Toronto Star, produced a major article on

the late cardinal and his dispute with that newspaper. Belliveau wrote this for the Catholic Register.

Nevertheless, there never has been a thorough biography, nor open discussion of the cardinal's emotional problems. Both will be addressed to some extent by this thesis. I hope to write a full biography later, having been drawn into this subject by my father's death in 1982. Initially, this event led me to trace our family tree. Following was a study of the Irish in Prince Edward Island and, ultimately, the cardinal.

As I discovered, information on the cardinal was rather limited. I was not a Purcell who discovered McGuigan's diaries,(7) assuming such ever existed.(8) This lack of private material also made it impossible to write an inner biography. The best that I could do was to produce the psychological assessment in Part 3.

Most of the information on the cardinal is held by the Archives of the Archdiocese of Toronto (AAT), where there are many catalogued letters and a large number of unidentified photographs. When I was working for them, the archivist, Sister Frieda Watson, told me the original plan was not to allow any of his correspondence to see the light of day. Subsequently, a limited number of his general letters were opened to certain researchers. I discovered, however, even if one could read a letter, one could not

necessarily photocopy it. This attitude was in stark contrast to that of the Archives of the Diocese of Charlottetown where I was permitted alone into the vault and also into the St. Dunstan's University collection. Although un-catalogued, and only generally organized, these holdings yielded much material on the cardinal's early years and valuable information on his time in Western Canada, especially Edmonton and Regina.(9)

Other church archives were accessed mostly by mail. For example, the Archives Descheletes in Ottawa yielded one of McGuigan's financial reports from the Toronto years, and the Brothers of the Christian School (St. John De la Salle) had information on their recently revealed scandals which started late in the cardinal's time. Other sources that should have been more accessible or comprehensive were not. The Archives of the Archdiocese of Edmonton had a limited amount of his correspondence and there was no space for researchers. Regina had almost nothing except his pastoral letters, McGuigan having taken virtually all his missives to Toronto where six decades later, they are still sealed by AAT. In Winnipeg where the Prince Edward Island born Archbishop Alfred A. Sinnott lived, correspondence was not fully catalogued nor accessible, even by mail. More useful was the Grand Seminary of Qubec which had information on McGuigan's years there, while its associated

institution, Laval University, also supplied some information from that time.

Of the few secular archives which had relevant material, the best were the National Archives of Canada in Ottawa and the archives of the University of Prince Edward Island. The National Archives possessed the papers of Senator Charles Murphy as well those of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF). During the 1930s Murphy helped McGuigan on his begging tours to save the Archdiocese of Regina from bankruptcy. Murphy also corresponded with Archbishops Henry J. O'Leary of Edmonton and Alfred A. Sinnott concerning the McGuigan's 1930 setback. The CCF papers had information on the conflict between the party and elements of the Regina clergy. The University of Prince Edward Island material included St. Dunstan's Red and White Magazine and Prince of Wales' College Times. The University also had a number of photographs of the cardinal before and after he entered the priesthood, and its collections possessed many prospecti as well as a number of miscellaneous references to him.

Newspapers were useful. The Catholic Register of Toronto (for much of its time called the Canadian Register) had considerable gold buried under much dross. I had free access to that ore courtesy of the University of St. Michael's College. The college even allowed me to borrow

microfilm copies for reproduction at another library. The Western Catholic Reporter and the Prairie Messenger covered the archdioceses of Edmonton and Regina similarly, while secular journals such as the Globe and Mail, Toronto Star, Charlottetown Guardian, Québec Chronicle, Regina Leader Post, and Edmonton Bulletin, gave a different perspective on religious events, as well as general background material from the cardinal's times, and information on these places where he lived there.

However, without more information concerning McGuigan's quarter century as archbishop of Toronto, a fatal block in this labour would have been encountered. Two things came to my aid--the 1990 Sesquicentennial Anniversary of the Archdiocese of Toronto, and the trust that I gained from a number of priests.

Toronto's 1990 Anniversary featured a major historical conference at the University of St. Michael's College. A large number of references to McGuigan were heard, and several books emerged, one providing access to dozens of hitherto closed letters. The best of these books were John Moir's Church and Society and Mark McGowan and Brian Clarke's Catholics at The 'Gathering Place'. As well, during the incumbency of Father Carl Matthews S.J., as editor of the Catholic Register, at least two articles appeared on the cardinal containing hints of his emotional

problems. About this time, dissertations also began to emerge concerning the Archdiocese of Toronto. Most were ethnic related, especially concerning the Italians. However, sporadically they referred to more of McGuigan's letters such as the closed political file.

The final key to unlocking the cardinal's life was the trust that I built with a number of clergy. Since McGuigan's two living religious secretaries (now both raised to the episcopate) generally would only talk of the happy days, and the chancery's long-time secular secretary seems determined to carry to the grave what she experienced in her more than half a century of service to at least four archbishops, I sought information from the next level. These were people who had also worked in the chancery, or who had been connected with McGuigan in some important way. Three of them, all priests ordained by the by him, must be singled out here for their assistance.

The first of these, Monsignor Vincent Foy, had been sent by McGuigan to Laval University to study canon law. Later, he served as the presiding judge on the Church's Provincial Marriage Tribunal. He was a frequent guest at the cardinal's "famous" at-home Monday night bridge games and engaged in long discussions with the cardinal when the priest drove his superior home after work. A defender of Catholic orthodoxy, Monsignor Foy had been asked by Father

Edward Jackman O.P., historian of the Archdiocese of Toronto, to write the cardinal's biography. However, being retired and feeling he lacked the time and energy, he declined. Instead, he kindly supplied me with an abundance of information from both his files and his memory.

Father John McGoey, a Scarborough missionary, had spent many years in China, but, along with most other Christian proselytizers, was expelled after the 1949 communist victory. McGoey was assigned to the Caribbean where, in 1960, he received a surprising call from his superior, the Very Rev. Francis Diement. McGoey, who had a reputation as a counsellor, was asked to accept the cardinal as his guest for about a month. He did. McGuigan and McGoey met daily, and the old man bared his soul. Thirty years later, when I contacted this cleric, he passed on what he thought was proper.

The final priest, the Rev. Edward Lawlor, was a great admirer of the cardinal, but also knew his foibles and was not shy to speak of them. Lawlor, as part of McGuigan's social program, built cooperative housing in Oshawa, Ontario. When I wrote this priest six years ago, he not only gave general information on the cardinal, but also painted character sketches of some of his eminence's appointees, including seminary rectors. Ultimately, he volunteered to share his considerable knowledge concerning

the Second Vatican Council, as well as the archdiocese's history.

Despite financial problems due to lack of "jobs, jobs, jobs" and my resultant distress, I persisted in this project and must thank my supervisor, Pádraig Ó Siadhail, Ph.D., (chair holder in Irish Studies at Saint Mary's University), and my major reader, Kenneth MacKinnon, Ph.D., professor of English at Saint Mary's University, as well as Jacques Goulet, S.T.D., of the Department of Religion at Mount Saint Vincent University, for their constructive criticisms and sympathy in this struggle. Also, I must give kudos to Terrence O'Malley of Athol Murray College for reading the Saskatchewan chapters, and to my mother, Stella Marie Healey, for perusing the entire text. Finally, I must thank Colin Howell, Ph.D., of Saint Mary's University for chairing my defence.

NOTES:
to the Introduction

(1) English speaking Catholics were a double minority in that their numbers within the church, when combined with the slightly superior number of French speakers, still did not quite make up 50% of those Canadians who claimed to be religious believers. McGowan, Mark G. and Clark, Brian C, Catholics at the 'Gathering Place', p xxii.

(2) McGuigan uses the phrase, "I shall be a beggar for the rest of my days", in corresponding with Senator Charles Murphy about Regina. National Archives of Canada, (NAC), The Senator Charles Murphy Papers, MG27 III B8. Vol 19, 27 April 1931, p 7559.

(3) Father Fred Black C.S.B. to author, 9 January 1991. Father Black was one of a number of priests at The University of St. Michael's College who helped make this dissertation possible. The Basilians who wrote these articles used to have a good time commenting on how many different styles His Eminence used!

(4) The Red Hat was one of three symbols of office for cardinals, the other two being the red biretta and the topaz ring. McGuigan's Red Hat still hangs above the altar at Saint Michael's Cathedral.

(5) The Prince Edward Island Heritage Museum, an outline of Cardinal McGuigan's life.

(6) This claim to brevity came from Lytton Strachey's Eminent Victorians. Unfortunately, Fisher's book lacked the "becoming brevity" of Strachey's biography of Cardinal Manning. Fisher merely was brief.

(7) E.S. Purcell wrote the first biography of Cardinal Henry Edward Manning. This was done only four years after His Eminence's 1892 death. Purcell had acquired access to sources unavailable elsewhere, including Manning's diaries. "Manning, Henry Edward, The New Encyclopædia Britannica, Micropædia, volume 7, p 786.

(8) Bishop Leonard Wall told Alice McGuigan that a number of Cardinal McGuigan's files would have to be deleted by people with a "good sense of discretion". Mrs. Alice MacNeil to author, 3 June 1984, p 2.

(8) As Raymond Huel pointed out at the meeting of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association in Calgary during 1994 there are problems accessing religious archives. Some are totally unorganized and are only staffed part

time by retired clerics. Ecclesiastical archives are under canon law and only the bishop or chancellor has keys to them. Lastly, some religious have no sense of history and, of course, others want to protect the church against itself. "Archives Profile", CCHA Bulletin, Fall 1994, p 3.

PART I:

The Formation of the Priest

Chapter:
God's Lonely Friend

In this chapter we shall first look at the formation of the priest, especially in McGuigan's time, then examine the hierarchy through which he moved to the cardinal's level. This will enable those not familiar with the priesthood to understand what is discussed in the following chapters.

1. The Formation of the Priest

The priest is the minister of Divine worship and especially of the higher act of worship: sacrifice. In Catholicism this sacrifice is Divine, being the figure and renewal of Calvary. Not only does the priest offer the Divine Sacrifice, but also he forgives sins, blesses, preaches and sanctifies.(1)

The priest's life is stressful since he must attempt not only to save his own soul, but is also responsible for his parishioner's salvation. In general, he must accept at least two burdensome promises--chastity and obedience. The first, celibacy, presents the greatest ordinary challenge to the priest.(2) A state that is generally viewed as unnatural in today's society was seen more broadly in McGuigan's day as a noble and necessary ideal. At the seminary this virtue was encouraged by daily

confession to one's spiritual advisor, the reception of sacraments, saying prayer and limiting social intercourse to public areas. These places included the refectory, the chapel and the classroom. Of course, women were excluded, except possibly as service staff. The instructors would stress the Church's reasoning on the need to be celibate and reinforced this by emphasizing one's self interest in going to Heaven rather than Hell.

Still, contemporary objections to celibacy had to be considered. In the 1907 edition of The Catholic Encyclopedia, the challenge of the rise of science was obvious in several arguments against continence. It was said even then that chastity, being opposed to the reproduction of the species, was unnatural. However, the writers of the Encyclopedia pointed out that millions of people were celibate due to social conditions of every sort, as well as moral law. Also, an appealing, but strained, analogy was drawn to certain beautiful flowers that are so only because they are infertile.

An admittedly more serious challenge was that the observance of chastity required men of such exceptionally strong character and high principles that many priests must fail. While admitting past scandals, the Encyclopedia claimed that numerous clergy had for centuries lived in fidelity when elevated by prayer and

strengthened by Divine Grace. On the one hand, the example of the priests of France and Belgium in the 19th century was cited. It was said that no candid student of history would hesitate to admit that the immense majority of secular priests had lived lives that were clean and upright. On the other hand, it was allowed that the priests of Germany and Ireland might not be of such high standard, but, if this were true, it was only because of the admixture of denominations in those countries.(3)

After his arrival in Toronto, McGuigan would have problems with priests attracted to women. This situation seems to have come as a surprise since he apparently was not aware that all the letters from women "enamoured of priests" during his predecessor's time had been destroyed.(4) More aware of homosexuality, McGuigan warned his seminarians not to have "special friendships" with their fellow students.(5) Then, late in the autumn of his career, certain Christian Brothers abused their charges at Uxbridge. Again, the cardinal seemed unaware. Perhaps, he was too much out of touch to sense what was happening.

The second promise, obedience, meant that the priest had not only to obey God, but also was subject to his bishop. If he were a curate, or assistant priest, he would be under his rector, and, like his immediate superior, was

subject to the dean of the area and to any cleric representing the bishop, such as a vicar general.(6)

McGuigan as archbishop had perhaps too much experience with disobedient clergy. In Regina, Father Athol Murray, with his excessive ecumenism and lack of common sense was something of a loose cannon causing the archbishop many political problems.(7) In Toronto, scandalous incidents involving apparently drunken priests caused McGuigan to institute his "Blue Laws", (8) while allowing the local newspapers to have a field day concerning the antics of some clergy.

Unlike the religious (regular) priest, the secular cleric did not have to take a third promise, i.e., poverty,(9) but was to maintain himself at a "respectable" level. In order to gain sufficient financial support the priest was normally assigned by his bishop to an ecclesiastical office, or benefice. From this he had the right to collect all emoluments including stipends for Masses and curial rights for burials. When infirm, or old, he became a charge to his superior.(10)

As McGuigan would discover when appointed archbishop of Regina, the early 1930s was not a time for his priests to gain a respectable living. This was due to the combination of the Great Depression and the "Dust Bowl".(11) As mentioned before, he had to become a

"beggar bishop", travelling several times to Central Canada, in order to obtain money to support his starving clerics through the terrible Prairie winters.

How was the priest formed? First he had to be inspired to make the sacrifice. The young, intelligent, religious boy who was a potential cleric was taught to see the priest as the representative of Christ among men. As a priest he was to carry on the Saviour's work of saving souls. This would be done in His name and with His power. The candidate was taught what should be believed and what must be done. He learned to forgive sins, and to offer the Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ. In fact, he was another Christ.(12) For those who believed, this idealism was indeed inspiring, although the difficulty in carrying it out probably was not fully realized at the time of making the decision.

Since the Council of Trent, the actual formation of the priest has been done in a seminary. This is an institution where candidates receive their academic and spiritual training. Traditionally, there were two types of seminaries, the preparatory (or petit) and theological (or grand). In the petit seminary, the candidate did a six year classical course. This usually consisted of subjects such as Latin, Greek, English, and at least one modern language, rhetoric, elocution, history, geography,

mathematics and natural science, Gregorian Chant, Thomistic Philosophy and bookkeeping.(13)

In McGuigan's case he spent his first three years of higher education in a secular classical institution. This was Charlottetown's Prince of Wales College. Only following this did he complete the last three years of classical training at St. Dunstan's, the Island's Catholic college. The latter was run like a junior seminary. Its courses, which largely continued those from Prince of Wales, were similar to those of a junior seminary (14) The daily schedule consisted of arising at 6:00 a.m., dressing in silence and in modesty before praying and studying in advance of Mass. Finally at 7:30, the boys, having had their souls nourished, were allowed to feed their bodies. The actual school day started with recreation (no boisterous or rough play being allowed), class followed for most of the morning hours, with dinner taken at 11:30 a.m. After this was a chance to visit the Blessed Sacrament, or to play or study, before classes which took the remainder of the afternoon. Another recreation period was permitted at 4:00 p.m. followed by study then rosary in the chapel. Finally at 6:30 p.m. supper was served. In the evening occurred the last exercise and study periods followed by bed at 9:00 p.m. Fifteen minutes were given to prepare in silence for

sleep, and at 9:30 the light of common dormitory was extinguished.

Discipline was strict: no liquor, no immoral songs, no bad language, and no immodest acts. Students were not to strike their companions, nor were they to be insubordinate to their superiors.(15) Religious practice was further encouraged by celebrations. One such event was St. Thomas Aquinas Day (Philosopher's Day, March 7).(16)

St. Dunstan's attempted to meet the challenge of modern science and politics. Darwin was rejected out of hand, having no one to speak for him, and Marx was, of course, anathema. However, it does not seem to have occurred to the educators that their Thomistic philosophy might be out of date.(17) Therefore, graduates moved into the modern world being at best biased against it and at worst unable to handle secular challenges without loss of faith.

Following the preparatory seminary, those who wished to attempt ordination attended the grand seminary. This is where they finally received their theological education. Generally, the academic year opened with a retreat of 8 to 10 days. Several months of class would follow, then another retreat preceded Christmas. Classes resumed in January for several months until it was time for the highlight of the year--the Trinity Sunday ordinations.

These would be done for the seniors immediately after a final retreat.(18)

McGuigan attended the Grand Seminary of Québec. Here the subjects taught included Moral Theology, several divisions of Dogmatic Theology, Canon Law, Ecclesiastical History and Sacred Scripture. These were spread over four years.(19)

Because in McGuigan's time St. Dunstan's College taught philosophy for the last two years of its degree program, he only had to attend the Grand Seminary of Québec for four years (versus six) before becoming a priest. The working languages were French and Latin,(20) tongues he knew. The seminarian proceeded through a series of certificates such as his Licence in Canon Law, and a Doctorate in Theology, before his ordination which occurred in Prince Edward Island on 26 May 1918, or two weeks after Trinity Sunday.(21)

Two years before ordination came perhaps the most stressful event. This was when the seminarian had to accept or reject the subdiaconate. This ceremony was performed by the local bishop. The candidate was warned again to consider the burden he was taking on before he stepped forward and bound himself to his prelate with a vow of eternal chastity. If he dared make the move, he would give up all hope of marrying.(22)

Finally, at the end of his fourth year, having survived an overload of work, sexual temptation, loneliness and isolation from his family, daily confessions, the appearance of the same faces day after day, week after week, and month after month, (as well as the institutional food), the young man who had persevered, and who hopefully gained life long friends, knelt again before his bishop. Then, in the presence of all those who were aspiring for the same glorious day, he was ordained priest.

II: The Hierarchy

The new ordinate usually started out as a curate (or assistant) to the parish priest. This was his baptism of fire. He would learn to manage the parish, to be consoler to the hurt, advisor (spiritual and otherwise) to his people, and obedient to his pastor as well as to his bishop. This position would have be stressful, even if he had no superior, because there was usually insufficient money to maintain the parish, almost unending hours of work, and the need to earn the respect of the parishioners. Some breakdowns occurred. However, most priests survived by discovering a balance in their lives by leaving sufficient opportunity for private prayer and meditation. As well, time for vacations--even if it meant

leaving the country--as well as space for physical exercise and social development were needed. If he survived, and had sufficient talent and piety, the priest might become a pastor in his own right. Eventually, he might even be granted the honorific title of monsignor, as McGuigan was at only 32. (23) This was as far as the vast majority of priests go. The point, however, was not to "get ahead", but to save one's soul by helping others save theirs.

Even if he did not become a monsignor, the priest might still rise higher to become a bishop. The Catholic Church taught that the bishops were successors to the Apostles. The candidate's acceptability as a prelate depended upon the recommendation of a group of local bishops, with the pope making the final decision. The priest had to be at least 30 years of age and be in good ecclesiastical standing since his ordination (which must have been at least 5 years previously). As well, he had to be of legitimate birth! The candidate must have been skilled in canon law, or theology, and be willing to take an oath of fidelity to the pope before he could be consecrated.

To help him govern his diocese, the bishop was granted three types of power: legislative, judicial, and coercive. Legislating, he made ecclesiastical laws; judging, as a father, either directly, or through others functioning

in his name, he made assessments of guilt or innocence. Acting coercively, he enforced his judgements which usually concerned worship, preaching, administering of sacraments, as well as safeguarding faith and morals, especially those of the young. In the above he was limited by canon law and by local legislation created by provincial councils of bishops.(24)

Generally, the bishop had to reside in his diocese for at least nine months each year, unless given special leave.(25) He had to visit Rome once every five years to venerate at the tombs of Saint Peter and Saint Paul,(26) when he gave the pope a report on his diocese in Latin. An exception existed if he were from overseas, then the ad limina visit needed to be undertaken only once every 10 years.(27) Other duties of the bishop included being on the throne of his cathedral (28) for the great feasts of the liturgical (i.e., church) year. These included Christmas and Easter. From his cathedra, or throne, he preached to the people, taught the truths of faith and conducted religious ceremonies. As well, he had to visit all parts of his diocese within 5 years, something he normally did while Confirming,(29) or admitting children into spiritual adulthood.

Of course, the bishop's responsibility were more trying than that of the ordinary priest. Thus men of

administrative ability, as well as personal holiness,(30) were needed to control the many priests and parishes under his jurisdiction. In return for these duties he had a few prerogatives beyond those of the simple priest. These included precedence over all visiting bishops and archbishops (with the exceptions of his own archbishop, the papal delegate, and the prelate of the national diocese. And, like cardinals, the bishop could choose his own confessor.(31)

Next in the hierarchy were the archbishops, or chief bishops. These bureaucrats were normally metropolitans, that is, they had a number of largely independent bishops under them. For example, when McGuigan was archbishop of Regina, his suffragan (or associate) prelates were the bishops of Gravelbourg, Prince Albert and Saskatoon, as well as the abbot-nullius of Muenster, Saskatchewan.(32) In addition, McGuigan had his ordinary duties in the Archdiocese of Regina. This area was bounded by his suffragans' territories, the whole being an episcopal province and run as an episcopal corporation.

The archbishop's power was signified by his pallium (or woollen shoulder cover). This he wore during formal liturgical occasions.(33) His status was similar to a bishop with some additional prerogatives. For example, in his own archdiocese he had precedence over most visiting

prelates. However, the prelate of the national diocese and the papal delegate still outranked him. Thus, when McGuigan was archbishop of Toronto (or even cardinal there), he was of lower status than the archbishop of Québec, even during the rare times the latter was not a cardinal.(34) Finally, the fact that McGuigan moved from Regina to Toronto as archbishop shows that a prelate may move horizontally as well as vertically.

Being archbishop was also more stressful than being a bishop. It was at this level that McGuigan discovered his psychological limits when he was 35 years old. These limits, as I shall show in later chapters, were set both by the terrible conditions in Saskatchewan and by a family tendency to emotional problems.

Higher than the archbishop stood the cardinal, who was next only to the pope. The cardinal was a prince of the church and functioned, in democratic terms, as a cabinet minister or senator. His position was to assist the pontiff in governing the largest Christian denomination. The cardinal was also one of the papal consultants whose advice was given to, but not necessarily followed by, His Holiness.

The cardinalate existed in three varieties: (i) those who resided in the area of the Italian capital and were bishops of suburban dioceses (cardinal bishops); (ii)

those who lived outside the environs of Rome, and who were prelates of dioceses or archdioceses (cardinal priests, as McGuigan was in Toronto); and (iii) those who were mere priests, but worked in the Vatican (cardinal deacons).

The cardinal was chosen by the pope in consultation with the curia (or the Vatican's central governing office). On consecration he received as insignia of his office, a red biretta, a topaz ring and the Red Hat. The latter two used to be given in a secret pontifical ceremony.(35) After the cardinal's demise, his Red Hat was suspended above the altar of his cathedral, as was McGuigan's, or in the vault of his grave. This display symbolized that the cardinal was usually a bishop, or an archbishop. Thus, his higher role was somewhat of a part time nature and something of an honour.

The cardinal was usually assigned a titular, or nominal church, in Rome. McGuigan was given Santa Maria del Popolo, which was built on the site of Nero's tomb.(36) His memorial church in Hunter River, Prince Edward Island, is appropriately called "Saint Mary's of the People".

The cardinal's chief perquisite was to elect the pope from his own ranks. Traditionally, he was addressed as, "Your Eminence". The only prelates dwelling in his country who outranked him were the pope's representative

and the archbishop of the national see, if the cardinal were not the latter.

The stress level of such a prelate tended to be even higher than the archbishop's since, if he were a metropolitan, he had both a number of bishops or archbishops under him, his own duties as local archbishop, as well as new duties in Rome.

McGuigan was never close to becoming pope. However, whether or not he wanted to be, he was in the running during both 1958 and 1963. It was even reported that he led an early ballot the former year,(37) but being too old, too subject to depressions, and not at all Italian, he needed not to have feared such a burden.

First as a seminarian, then as an ordinate, the priest was under great pressure in carrying out his duties, especially as both moral and social conditions changed while the Church did not. If he were talented enough to make his way through the hierarchy, he had to learn to handle even more stress. Also, simultaneously, he had to maintain his spiritual life as a simple priest. Like other professionals, he took his work home, but unlike unbelievers he could claim the compassion of the God he served while having faith that he would be rewarded in the hereafter for his earthly sacrifice.

For James McGuigan the busy life of a young priest was perhaps not as lonely as it would become when he ascended the hierarchy and had to "leave the human race" (38). As a prelate he was more occupied than before and had to rely more on his faith to compensate for lack of sufficient human interaction and to stabilize his fragile emotions.

Notes: God's Lonely Friend

- (1) Boudinhon, Auguste, "Priest", The Catholic Encyclopedia, (TCE), 1907 edition, vol 12, p 406.
- (2) Verieck, Mary Jeanne etc, "Role Commitment Process Revisited: American Priest, 1970 and 1985", The Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 1988, vol 27, p 525.
- (3) Thurston, Herbert, "Celibacy of the Clergy", TCE, 1907, vol 3, p 483.
- (4) McGoey, Father John to author, 30 April 1990. McGoey writes that "several torrid, but (previously) unopened love letters from women enamoured of priests" were destroyed by him and some other seminarians cleaning up Archbishop McNeil's mail after the prelate's death.
- (5) Lawlor, Father Edward to author, 24 November 1993. Lawlor says that in the 1960s the vice rector of St. Augustine's seminary, Father Leonard Wall, led a raiding party on a seminarian's room discovering two men who had just been ordained sub-deacons in bed together! These "special friends" were immediately expelled.
- (6) Meehan, Andrew B., "Rector", TCE, 1907, vol 12, p 676. The rector is the priest who presides over missions or quasi-parishes or is the local superior of a religious house. The vicar general exercises episcopal jurisdiction at the discretion of the bishop. Fanning, William H. W., "Vicar General", TCE, 1907, vol 15, pp 402-403. The dean is often in charge of a rural area and oversees such things as the state of the parishes and missions. Dunford, David, "Dean", TCE, vol 4, pp 659-660.
- (7) Archives of Notre Dame College (AND), The Athol Murray Papers, 15 June 1934. McGuigan, Archbishop James to Reverend Monsignor Andrea Cassulo, p 1.
- (8) McGuigan, Archbishop James to "Dear Father", 26 June 1940, p 3. Letter courtesy of Monsignor Vincent Foy.
- (9) Secular clergy, who are the usual parochial priests, live independently while the religious clergy, such as the Jesuits, follow the rule of their order and live together in groups. The religious take the three vows (or promises to God) of poverty, chastity and obedience while the secular clergy only make promises to their bishop to be chaste and to obey their superior. Attwater, Donald, A Catholic Dictionary, pp 447, 481.
- (10) See (1), p 407. Curial rights refer to charges for the burial service.

(11) Dustbowl is a common term for that area where droughts are frequent and the top soil blows, creating clouds of dust.

(12) Viéban, Anthony, "Seminary, TCE, 1907, vol 13, p 694.

(13) See (12), p 702.

(14) Prince of Wales, being a secular, government funded institution, did not teach religion or philosophy. Its neutrality was perhaps the best policy in such a religiously divided province as P.E.I.

(15) MacDonald, G. Edward, The History of St. Dunstan's University, pp 181-182. Of course, the ideal was just that. Nearby bootleggers supplied liquor to those who dared to go to them. p 185.

(16) See (15), p 188.

(17) See (15), p 204.

(18) See (12). Trinity Sunday is one week after Pentecost or seven weeks following Easter. Whittaker's Almanack, 1995, p 84. Ordinations might also occur at Christmas.

(19) Archives of the Diocese of Charlottetown (ADC), Bishop Henry O'Leary Papers. The marks of Abbé James McGuigan from the Grand Seminary, Québec City, 1914-1918. Dogmatic Theology attempts to prove Church dogmas from Scripture and tradition, while Moral Theology studies the correctness of acts in the light of God's laws,

(20) See (15), p 201. At St. Dunstan's philosophy was taught in Latin. Greek was also given, but in smaller doses.

(21) "Ordination to Local Priesthood", The Watchman, 31 May 1918, p 2. The reason that McGuigan was late being ordained was probably that this ceremony was being done at home, rather than with his fellow seminarians at the Grand Seminary.

(22) See (3), p 481.

(23) Gerein, Rt. Rev. Frank, An Outline History of the Archdiocese of Regina, p 52. There are three groups of monsignori. In order of rank from low to high they were the P.C. (Papal Chamberlain), the P.H. (Prelate of Honour) and the rare P.A. (Prothonotary Apostolic). Monsignor Foy

is a P.H. He says that there are no P.A.s in Toronto today. Foy, Monsignor Vincent to author, 22 January 1990.

(24) VanHove, A. "Bishop", TCE, 1907, vol 2, pp 581.

(25) McGuigan, in order to go on his begging tours, received special permission from the Pope to be away for up to six months. National Archives of Canada, (NAC), MG27 III B8, volume 19, file 89. McGuigan, Archbishop James to Senator Charles Murphy, 16 November 1932, p 7883.

(26) Veneration, as opposed to adoration, means honouring what the image represents. This object may be a Saint, for example. The object shows an aspect of the Infinite, while adoration means directly worshipping God. Protestants and most Anglicans believe in worshipping God directly, so want nothing such as icons standing between them and the Divine. This often gives their churches somewhat of a barren appearance, bereft of statuary, the tabernacle light and votive candles. Strong, John S. "IMAGES: Veneration of Images", The Encyclopedia of Religion, vol 7, pp 100-101.

(27) See (24), p 587.

(28) Boudinon, Auguste, "Cathedral", CE, 1907, vol 3, pp 438-39. The cathedral was not necessarily the largest church in the diocese. For example, the pope's cathedral is not Saint Peter's, but Saint John Lateran. Comaskey, Bernard J. "Cathedral", New Catholic Encyclopedia, NCE, 1967. Vol 3, p 247.

(29) See (24), p 588.

(30) Recently, the trial of Bishop Hubert O'Connor of Prince George, British Columbia for sexually molesting Native schoolgirls when he was a young priest shows not all bishops are holy. He admitted that he was probably the father of at least one child. "Catholic Bishop, Student Were Lovers Lawyers Tell Judge; Prelate Likely Father of Children born in 1960s", Vancouver Sun, 17 October 1992, A 1, "Court orders new trial for Bishop O'Connor", The Catholic New Times (CNT), 17 April 1994, p 13 and Wiesner, Bishop Gerald to author, 8 February 1994.

(31) See (24), p 585-86.

(32) When McGuigan started in Regina, he had only two suffragans, the bishop of Prince Albert and the abbot-nullius of Muenster. However, by 1934 the archdiocese was further subdivided into the dioceses of Gravelbourg and Saskatoon, thus he finished with four suffragans. Gerein,

Frank, "Regina, Archdiocese of Regina", NCE, 1967. Vol 12, pp 202-03. Traditionally, the abbot-nullius was not only in charge of his abbey, but also the surrounding area, so he had a small diocese like a bishop. Muenster was one of only two such in North America, the other being in North Carolina. Dlouhy, Maur John, "Abbot-Nullius", NCE, 1967. Vol 1, p 10.

(33) Braun, Joseph, "Pallium", CE, 1907, vol 11, pp 427-29.

(34) When Cardinal Jean-Marie-Rodrigue Villeneuve, archbishop of Quebec, died in 1947, McGuigan was the only cardinal in Canada. He remained so for the next six years until Archbishop Paul Émile Léger was appointed to Montréal. This was more than a decade before Archbishop Roy of Québec became a cardinal. Voisine, Nive, "Villeneuve, Jean-Marie-Rodrigue", Canadian Encyclopedia, 2nd edition, 1988, p 2264 and Le Bel, E.C., "Roman Catholic Church", Encyclopedia Canadiana, 1975, Vol 9, p 64.

(35) Sägmüller, Johannes Baptist, "Cardinal", CE, 1908, vol 3, pp 333-35. The Red Hat was the "Boy George"-like apparatus that has a wide brim and braided tassels hanging from it.

(36) Somerville, Henry, To Rome and Home, p 12.

(37) "Cardinal McGuigan's Dies at 79", Toronto Star (TS), 9 April, 1974, p 1.

(38) Shaw, J. G., Edwin Joseph O'Hara, An American Prelate, p 37.

PART II:
The Biography

Chapter 1
The Happy Days
To 1920

In Aghadrummymond Townland, County Monaghan, Ireland, stood Johnston's Chapel. Officially known as Saint Mary's Roman Catholic Church, it received its popular name from the Protestant farmer, David Johnston, its caretaker. About the time of the American Revolution, responding to a Father McArdle's appeal for money to finish the building, Johnston not only donated 30 sovereigns, but also brought his family into the Church of Rome. This act so surprised the pastor in this religiously embittered area that he gave Johnston his blessing and predicted that his descendants would, for generations, help build and maintain the church. Furthermore, the cleric prognosticated that many of the caretaker's offspring would become priests who would learn easily and make great progress in their studies. More than a century later, and 3,000 kilometres across the broad sweep of the Atlantic Ocean, was born James Charles McGuigan, Canada's first English speaking cardinal. He was the great-great-great grandson of David Johnston.(1)

James McGuigan's life would progress from his Prince Edward Island (P.E.I.) cradle to the Canadian West during his first quarter century. Like everyone else at birth, he knew nothing of this world nor anything about religion.

Unlike most others he became an expert in both. This education began at his mother's knee and at his father's enterprises. His training then moved through his country school, teachers' college and up to the seminary.

The world into which little "Jimmy Charlie" was born on 26 November 1894 was essentially Protestant. His village, Hunter River, was overwhelmingly so, his province, Prince Edward Island, had a Dissenting majority; his country, Canada, was about two thirds Protestant and his empire, the British, was ruled by the nominal head of the Church of England, Queen Victoria.

The boy's father, George McGuigan, was a modestly successful general store owner, hotel operator, small-time farmer, and horse-drawn taxi operator.(2) James' mother, Annie Monaghan, was the great-great granddaughter of David Johnston. Both McGuigan's father's and mother's ancestors had come to Prince Edward Island about 1840 as part of the "Monaghan Settlers".(3) The cardinal's parents had eight children.(4) James was the third child, and the first boy to live past infancy.

As there was no Catholic Church in Hunter River, the McGuigans attended Mass by driving their team nine kilometres to Saint Augustine's Church in Rustico. A pleasant enough trip on the red clay roads when warm and dry, the journey tested them body and soul during

blizzards.(5) The parish priest, Jean Chiasson, spoke French in those parts of the Holy Sacrifice that were not already in Latin.(6) This exposure, combined with the French taught in Hunter River School,(7) was enough to make McGuigan fluently bilingual.

Jimmy Charlie attended the local secular school starting about 1900. At that time he would have been just over five-and-a-half years of age.(8) When walking to class, the young man was confronted with the symbols of Protestant hegemony. Upon leaving his parent's house-and-store complex, he would see the Orange Hall just up the street, then turning north on the main road between Charlottetown and Summerside, he would sweep by the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches before reaching the high board fence marking the latter's boundary with the grounds of the white-washed country school.(9)

The school originally had but one room which was crowded with "80 or 90" children.(10) However, by the time McGuigan was in his third year, the building had been divided into two sections: one for the principal and one for his assistant.(11) Under this arrangement, the new school master was Amos Monaghan, the boy's uncle.(12) Class times in a typical country school of this era ran from 9:00 a.m until 4:00 p.m., with one hour for lunch and two ten minute breaks during the day.(13) The academic

year stretched from the first of July until Christmas and from early January until the 30th of June, with breaks in the spring and fall to assist on the farm.(14)

At Hunter River School, the subjects taught besides the normal "'readin', 'ritin' and 'rithmetic", included in the higher levels, French and Latin. The basic subjects were spread through the equivalent of ten grades with the assistant teaching the more crowded lower grades while the principal supervised the advanced levels.(15) Although the headmaster's classroom was too small,(16) his students were thoroughly taught. Unfortunately, the assistant, "Cassie" MacLeod, instructed her charges only "fairly well".(17) Additionally, the Prince Edward Island school system was notorious for its teachers' short time of service. This was due to its niggardly pay,(18) and Hunter River was no exception in either duration or pay. Therefore, it was not unexpected that during the winter of 1900-04 both Amos Monaghan and his assistant resigned.(19) As fate would have it, another Catholic principal, Andrew Cullen, was then employed, and according to the school visitor, he became one of "one of our best teachers", while the assistant, "Gussie" Binns, was doing "fine work" with her charges.(20)

Not only did McGuigan receive a formal education, but the common school system was probably a factor in

forming his ideas on Catholic education. The 1876 Prince Edward Island School Act that secularized instruction was seen by some, including Charlottetown Bishop Peter McIntyre, as demonstrating Protestant domination. This view appears to have influenced McGuigan to later support the separate schools in the West and Ontario. However, the non-denominational system could cut both ways. For the Catholics in Hunter River, it worked in their favour, at least during McGuigan's time with two Catholic teachers in a row, producing a more neutral religious environment.

Jimmy Charlie made rapid progress and seems to have completed the ten grades in seven years. Now, almost twelve years of age, and desiring to become a teacher, he wished to train at Prince of Wales College in Charlottetown.(21) But first, he had to pass the stiff entrance examinations.(22) Also, not all examination subjects were offered every year in every common school. Fortunately, in apparent anticipation of some soon-to-be-graduated students applying to the college, the necessary courses in botany, agriculture and scientific temperance were added to the Hunter River curriculum in 1906-07 and 1907-08.(23)

The Prince of Wales' examinations were usually held in five centres (24) and those of July 1907 took place on the

first Tuesday of that month. The stocky little red haired boy did very well considering both his age and the fact that only about half of the students passed any one sitting.(25) He received a total mark of 496 (out of 800) and succeeded in all the subjects.(26) In spite of his passing the tests, McGuigan did not enter the College in September 1907. His parents thought him too young.(27) Presumably, he spent the next year helping them run their businesses.

In the autumn of 1908, "Jimmy" McGuigan finally began at Prince of Wales. This was a good time to start since the new (1900) building had just been expanded, making the model school more practical.(28) As well, the principal, Dr. Samuel Napier Robertson, was well broken in to administration. He had already spent five years directing the institution.(29)

Upon entrance all students had to attend the model school. Those who sought a third class licence did only one term and then wrote their examinations. Students desiring a second class certificate studied a full year, and took the appropriate tests. If a pupil wanted a first class licence he, or she, would attend two full years before being examined. Finally, those who completed three years received a diploma that could admit them into

degree granting colleges.(30) McGuigan decided to try to qualify for a diploma.

He finished fifth out of 94 students in his first year, (31) third out of 38 survivors of the second year,(32) but dropped to fourth place upon graduation.(33) In that final year the young man took the Governor-General's Bronze Medal as best teacher as well as receiving an honours diploma. Thus he was qualified to enter second year at, for example, Dalhousie or Acadia College.(34)

For this young collegian, life at Prince of Wales had not been all work and no play as a classmate's letter demonstrates. Writing many years later, the top student of McGuigan's years, Robert MacLauchlan, M.D., reminded His Eminence of the time that the dour John MacDonald had continued his Shakespearean dialogue shouting "Banquo, Banquo, Banquo" over the rising fumes of a stink bomb. MacLauchlan also told of how he wanted to put his hand on the shoulder of the husky red haired lad, who had "like a storm cut me down in French". Getting more serious, the physician wrote of how by an accident of birth they had been born into different faiths and were taught to hate each other. However, he had discovered that his fellow student was a "good Dogan" and proposed a meeting of Prince of Wales alumni in Toronto. The cardinal, remarking on the mood that MacLauchlan had so

"delightfully betrayed", said that as soon as he had a spare moment he would write.(35) Despite this correspondence, it is not known that such a reunion occurred.

Having qualified for admission to higher colleges, Jimmy wanted money so he would not be a burden on his parents who were helping his sisters through convents, and who would soon assist his younger brothers to gain a higher education.(36) Initially, McGuigan obtained money from teaching at Covehead, P.E.I., during the spring of 1910.(37) By then he had completed his second year at Prince of Wales. The next growing season he instructed at Ten Mile House, starting about four months before his graduation, which was in May 1911.(38) Continuing his employment after leaving Prince of Wales, McGuigan taught at Stanley Bridge. During the 1911-1912 year his base salary as principal was a wonderful \$300.(39) He also received his first class teacher's license.(40)

Following graduation from Prince of Wales, McGuigan had waited somewhat over a year while teaching before resuming his academic training. When he did, he finally attended his first Catholic school: St. Dunstan's College. Affiliated with Laval University, the institution offered a six year Classical Course leading to a Bachelor of Arts. McGuigan, with three college years finished, was admitted

to fourth year, but was given leave to do one fifth year course: Philosophy.

St. Dunstan's, like many other colleges of that time, did not believe in giving its students much rope with which to hang themselves. As explained earlier it was run much like a seminary forcing the boys to follow a rigid regimen of mass, mess, class and recreation. Not only were the students generally restricted to campus, but visitors were confined to the parlour. This room was located on the first floor far from the common dormitory on the fourth level.(41)

James McGuigan seems to have spent most of his first year studying, the chief exception being his role as captain of the signal corps.(42) In the 1913 convocation he took the majority of the fourth year language prizes (he was also second in both fourth year Greek and fifth year philosophy) and tied for first place in fourth year history.(43) Significant at this graduation was the presence of the new Bishop of Charlottetown, 34 year old Henry Joseph O'Leary. O'Leary had arrived on the Island the day previous, and this probably was the first time he set eyes on the young man who would play such an important role in his life.(44)

The next academic year Jimmy seems to have spent more time in extracurricular activities. He was a forward on

the senior rugby team when they defeated St. Francis Xavier College 4-0 on a muddy November field. He was the associate editor of St. Dunstan's student magazine, the Red & White, secretary of the senior debating team and Minister of Public Affairs for the Conservative Government in the Mock Parliament.(45) Here, he opposed women's suffrage.(46) McGuigan was also on the executive of the St. Dunstan's Amateur Athletic Association,(47) played the role of Magister Salunum (master of ceremonies) on Philosopher's Day (48) and was a prefect. At this time he was described as having a sunny disposition, as being "socialistic" with his possessions, and feeling that nothing was too good for his friends.(49)

Surprisingly, unlike the previous year, Jimmy did not seem to win any prizes upon graduation.(50) Nevertheless, in the Laval University examinations which counted for his dream of becoming a priest, he was the best of those St. Dunstan's students who wrote.(51)

When Jimmy had been at Prince of Wales, and when teaching in the country, he apparently had not forgotten his religious duties. In Charlottetown, he roomed with a family chosen by his parents.(52) Thus he had ample opportunity to attend Mass at Saint Dunstan's Basilica. It is probable that when instructing at Ten Mile House in 1911, Jimmy stayed with his uncle, Father Peter Dunstan

(P.D.) McGuigan, who was parish priest at nearby Tracadie Cross.(53) One may be sure that the nephew went to Mass regularly. When at Stanley, in order to attend the service, he would spend the weekends on a farm near Saint Anne's Church, Hope River.(54) He also consulted with his old parish priest, Jean Chiasson, concerning his vocation. Would he go to Dalhousie College for pre-medicine or St. Dunstan's for pre-theology? He chose the latter, part of the reason being financial.(55)

McGuigan's desire to study for the priesthood seems to have been nurtured by his home environment and by the fact that both a paternal and maternal uncle were clergy.(56) At this time, Catholic families encouraged religious vocations hoping that one son would become a priest and a daughter, a nun. This was believed to make it easier for the parents to attain Heaven.(57) It is likely that young James growing up in an atmosphere of family piety, saw his uncles as models of an ideal he wanted to attain. Unfortunately, the intense religiosity and bourgeois ambitions of his aspiring family may have created "an addiction to perfection" that could be a prominent factor in one of James's uncles and one of his sisters becoming mental patients. McGuigan, apparently similarly affected, overcame his emotional collapse when he was given proper help and therefore was not hidden away like his ill relatives were.

Meeting O'Leary was the another factor in the young man's decision to enter the clergy. O'Leary was everything McGuigan could not be physically (i.e., thin and handsome). Undoubtedly, this led the young man to idealize him. The bishop was the "purest priest" that McGuigan had ever known and had never "lost the state of grace of his Baptism." (58) This idealization demonstrates the degree of Catholic perfectionism that McGuigan saw in his mentor. Here, with all its strengths and weaknesses, was a powerful formative influence on the young man's personality.

At the time of McGuigan's entry into the seminary, the Catholic Church was slowly moving from its self imposed state of seige. The thaw had begun under Pope Leo XII (1878-1903). In reaction to the threatened loss of the working class, he had promulgated the famous 1891 encyclical, Rerum Novarum. Leo criticised both capitalism and socialism while stating that private property was a natural right. As well, the family was to be the essential unit of society and the inevitability of class warfare was rejected. It was also declared that there was need for state intervention to protect the worker, who had the right to a living wage and the right to organize. Finally, the encyclical emphasized religion's role in establishing justice and charity. (59)

Even though Leo was a progressive on social measures, he was not so in theology. The Catholic Church felt at all costs that Modernism must be destroyed. There was open hostility to Marxism, Darwinism, and objective Bible criticism. In 1893, his encyclical, Providentissimus Deus, ruled out the possibility of Biblical error (60) and his successor, Pope Pius X (1903-1914), had the 1906 Bible commission declare that Moses had written all of the Pentateuch, despite this having been previously shown to be impossible.(61) Of course, if one did not accept such irrationality, then to him an anathema! anathema! anathema!

The fight against Modernism was total. Vigilance committees were set up in each parish to look for it, seminarians were indoctrinated in Saint Thomas' Scholastic System, and all priests and teachers had to take an oath against the perfidious idea.(62) As a result, until the mid 20th century Catholic seminaries became sheltered ghettos, and Rome was a byword for intellectual sterility.(63)

Almost 20 years of age, having graduated from St. Dunstan's, and encouraged by O'Leary as well as by financial assistance from the Connolly Estate,(64) James McGuigan was eager to enter the Grand Seminary of Québec.(65) This move was memorable for more than one

reason. The cacophony of the First World War had become conspicuous by the time of his registration in September 1914. Despite, or perhaps because of, the eventful background distractions, McGuigan's first year was a great success. At the convocation of 14 June 1915 he was the best student in his moral theology class receiving a Licence in Philosophy with great distinction.(66)

By the time of the next commencement (where the seminarian received his Licence in Canon Law, summa cum laude), (67) the war had begun to make its presence felt strongly in Québec. On 21 January 1916 a war lecture was held at Laval. In attendance were the suffragan of Québec, Bishop Paul E. Roy; the prelate of the newly erected archdiocese of Regina, Olivier-Élzear Mathieu, as well as the crème de la crème of French-Canadian society. The speaker, Marcel André, stated that the War was not being fought for the sake of Britain, nor was it for the survival of France. It was a crusade to save Canadian freedom.(68) Despite this claim, the Québec masses were not convinced. Lacking the jingoism of English-Canadians, having little interest in war events, even when acted out on French soil, knowing that three quarters of a million servicemen were already dead,(69) and seeing the war economy starting to boom, the French-Canadians did not volunteer for the military as readily as most other Canadians. Neither was McGuigan going to

suddenly drop out and march off to the slaughter, although a number of his cousins had, and at least one would make the ultimate sacrifice.(70)

The 1916-17 school year opened with the second collapse of the nearly completed Québec Bridge.(71) Studies concluded more quietly with the spring convocation at Laval. Here McGuigan received both a Licence in and Bachelor of Theology, with great distinction. Again the students were suitably attended to, this time by the Governor-General of Canada, the Duke of Devonshire. He stated perhaps too boldly that Germany had deliberately set herself to dominate the world in defiance of all the laws of God.(72) Conveniently, he ignored that imperialism had been Britain's story for three centuries, and that she had no intention of giving up her Empire despite the rise of nationalism in such diverse places as Ireland and India.

This talk was given during the bloody 1917 stalemate on the Western Front. This deadlock created a terrible crisis for the Allies. Because of horrendous losses, Prime Minister Robert Borden announced on 18 May 1917 that the promise of an all-volunteer army was dead. Men would now be conscripted.(73) Borden's disclosure provoked considerable consternation in English Canada and caused Québec to stir to rebellion. Rallies were held in Québec

City, and a riot ensued in Montréal following the Senate's third reading of the conscription bill.(74) However, the resistance was temporarily mollified because of the many exemptions that included seminarians such as McGuigan.

In the early spring of 1917-1918, as the abbé worked toward his doctorate in theology, the German Army broke through on the Western Front. This caused Borden to cancel all exemptions.(75) This led to a terrible riot in Québec City with clashes between the proletariat and the Toronto Infantry during Easter Weekend 1918. Four civilians died and three soldiers were shot before peace was finally restored following the declaration of Martial law.(76)

Even though Québec City was now calm, the military situation continued to disintegrate on the Western Front. This led Laval to dispatch its own tank corps, (77) and an officers' training program was started at the school.(78) McGuigan, despite his military experience, certainly did not participate in the former, nor, it seems, did he partake of the latter. However, the archbishop of Québec, Cardinal Louis N. Bégin, did his bit for the Allies by continued to lead prayers for victory, (79) despite pleas by Pope Benedict XV for an absolute and immediate cessation of hostilities.(80)

That fearful spring James Charles McGuigan became James Charles McGuigan, D.Th. On 26 May 1918 he was ordained at his native parish of Saint Augustine's by his mentor, Bishop Henry J. O'Leary.(81) It now seemed necessary for Father McGuigan to help the bloodied Allies, at least spiritually. On 4 August speaking at Saint Dunstan's Basilica, he asked the congregation's prayers in the triumph of our "just cause", and for their dead sons who were having their "last long sleep" far away in Flanders.(82) That month the reinforced Allies reversed the breakthrough, and McGuigan pressed for victory. He met departing boys at the Charlottetown Drill Shed, heard their confessions and, perhaps incongruously, enrolled them in the Holy Name Society.(83)

All the sacrifices seemed to be rewarded on the eleventh hour of the eleventh day of the eleventh month when Imperial Germany surrendered. The Allies had won, the Bosch has been destroyed and, at long last, peace seemed at hand.

The coming of the end had been obvious some days before, and on the cold evening of 7 November the happy citizens of Charlottetown held a torch-light parade. They marched from City Hall to the City Market to hear short addresses by dignitaries including Bishop O'Leary.(84) On the first Sunday following the official surrender, O'Leary said a

Victory Mass at Saint Dunstan's Cathedral claiming that the triumph had been God's will. Given this, he reminded the faithful that they must not hate the vanquished.(85)

By this joyful time James McGuigan had assumed a new role. He had been appointed professor of mathematics chemistry and physics at St. Dunstan's College.(86) Unfortunately, the autumn of peace was also the autumn of death, this being the time of the infamous Spanish Flu.(87) On 7 October, the provincial government ordered all schools, theatres and churches closed, the latter action producing the strange "churchless Sundays" of 1918.(88) There were to be no public funerals, and all burials were to take place within 24 hours.(89) Drug stores remained open around the clock, and merchants were not allowed to permit crowding.(90)

St. Dunstan's College instituted a policy of isolation. Still the virus arrived. Many students became ill, and the main building resembled a hospital ward with the faculty, the Sisters of Saint Martha, and a number of students nursing the stricken.(91) Two undergraduates, Francis Daley and Michael Rooney, died. Professor McGuigan was Rooney's spiritual director and, as the student neared his premature end three days before the victory was declared, he was informed of his fate by the

priest. Accepting his fate, Rooney responded, "God's will be done". Shortly thereafter he expired.(92)

Having assisted his now dead student, McGuigan found himself deathly ill with infection. Fortunately, he was cared for by a trained nurse, Sister M. Bernard MacIntyre, and survived--almost intact.(93) Unfortunately, the outcome of this illness was that the young priest lost much of his hearing, an injury that forced him to wear an aid for the rest of his life.(94) Despite this irritation, McGuigan not only resumed his teaching, but also took on responsibility for the Junior Debating Society. He made it a winner.(95) Also, he was very popular among the students and made many friends among the faculty.(96)

During the college break of the summer of 1919, the young priest journeyed to Winnipeg to assist Archbishop Alfred A. Sinnott, a Prince Edward Island native who had risen high in the Church. In August Sinnott wrote O'Leary saying:

When Father McGuigan leaves...at the end of this month, I shall be absolutely alone. I am at my wit's end. I do not know what to do. I cannot preach six sermons on Sunday... I shall weep when Father McGuigan goes. He has been of the greatest assistance to me. A more genial, pious, devoted, capable priest, I do not know. I would make him Rector of my cathedral and name him Bishop, if I could.(97)

McGuigan left as scheduled since the rededication of Saint Dunstan's Cathedral was set for the 24th of September. The church had been reconstructed by O'Leary after the 1913 fire that totally destroyed it.(98)

That fall McGuigan was transferred to the "Palace" to act as one of his mentor's secretaries.(99) This was the true start of his future administrative career, something he had obtained a brief introduction to in Winnipeg.

Seven months later on March 1920 occurred an event that changed the young priest's life--the death of Émile J. Legal, archbishop of Edmonton.(100) On 25 August, it was announced that Henry O'Leary had been appointed Legal's successor.(101) O'Leary left the Island on 27 November, taking his most brilliant priest, Rev. Dr. James McGuigan, with him.

McGuigan had now completed his happy days. Never again would he seem to demonstrate the same peace of mind. Apparently he had succeeded in becoming the genial, pious and dedicated priest that he had striven to be. Sinnott's enthusiasm for him demonstrated both the young cleric's administrative abilities and personal holiness. These qualities displayed the effect of the Québec Seminary in polishing the rough diamond that had arrived as a seminarian. There he had become not only theologically

educated, but also may have been influenced by its Jansenism,(102) if his drop in weight as shown in photographs,(103) means anything. Although McGuigan had imagined that he would spend the rest of his life teaching at quiet little St. Dunstan's College,(104) a greater field of endeavour opened up, one which would reveal his psychological limits to a very disturbing degree. However, this was not yet apparent as Father McGuigan dutifully followed Archbishop O'Leary to the "last best west".

Notes: Chapter 1

(1) Monaghan, Father St. Clair S.J. editor. "The Johnston Chapel" and "The History of the Johnston Family" in The Prince Edward Island Descendants of David Johnston, pp A1-A6; B1-B5. Father Monaghan gives two versions of the chapel story, the chief difference being that one says the cleric who Johnston approached was a bishop and that the church was actually a cathedral. I have chosen the "more likely" version. The church in question was practically rebuilt by a Father B. Duffy and reopened on 14 September 1884.

(2) Public Archives of Prince Edward Island, (PAPEI), The Bernard Map, Accession 4238. The Ladies' Auxiliary of Hunter River, The Story of Hunter River 1767-1967, pp 36, 37, and Rubio, Mary to author, 30 January 1993.

(3) George McGuigan's paternal grandfather signed his lease on 1 May 1844. PAPEI, Government Deeds, Sullivan Estate Papers B 9, p 54. During 1839 several large ship loads of County Monaghan settlers arrived in Charlottetown and some settled Kelly's Cross whence came the cardinal's mother. MacGuigan, Father Gerald S.J. The J.D. MacGuigans, p 2; O'Grady, Brendan, "The Monaghan Settlers" The Abegweit Review, vol 4, no 1, 1985, pp 62-74 and McGuigan, Peter, "The McGuigan-Goodwin Confusion on Prince Edward Island", The Canadian Genealogist, June 1984, p 96. There seems to be no connection between the county name and the family Monaghan.

(4) The first child, Martin Aeneas, born in December 1890, or just over a year after his parent's marriage (5 November 1889), died July 1891 and is buried at Saint Joseph's Church Cemetery, Kelly's Cross, Prince Edward Island (PEI). The second Martin Aeneas, 1897-1938; Peter Dunstan, 1902-1925; and Mary Margaret 1892-1981 are buried with their parents in the Catholic Cemetery on St. Peter's Road in Charlottetown. James Charles, 1894-1974; Alice Patricia, 1913-1987 are buried in Toronto (James at Saint Augustine's Seminary Vault, and Alice at the Catholic cemetery at Thornhill). It is assumed the John Patrick; 1908-1975 is buried in Edmonton and Gertrude Angelina; 1899-1951 is interred in Montréal. Archives of Diocese of Charlottetown (ADC), Restricted Church Records, Saint Augustine's 1890-1920; (1) Monaghan, p 56; and The Prince Edward Island Heritage Foundation and Museum, P.E.I. Genealogy Marriage Register #13.

(5) Saint Augustine's was the ancestral church of McGuigan on Prince Edward Island. The cardinal's paternal grandparents, James McGuigan and Margaret McKenna, were married there on 23 February 1852. See (3) McGuigan, Peter, p 96.

- (6) Interviews: Miss Frieda Peters, 26 May 1993, and Sister Catherine Reid, 23 May 1993. James used to listen very closely to Chiasson's sermons, so he improved his French.
- (7) Public Archives of Prince Edward Island (PAPEI). "The School Visitor's Report" (SVR) 1902, The Legislative Assembly Journal of Prince Edward Island (LAJ) 1902, Part II, Statistical Tables, p A14 and SVRs, 1902-1907, Part II, Statistical Tables.
- (8) It is assumed the McGuigan started school on 1 July 1900. Bell, Marilyn to author, 5 July 1992.
- (9) See (2) The Story of Hunter River, 1767-1967, p 29, pp 52-54 and The Bernard Map.
- (10) "Archbishop McGuigan is Honoured", Charlottetown Guardian, (CG), 22 July 1939, p 1. It seems that McGuigan exaggerated the numbers slightly since the greatest class in all his years was 79. However, the class never went below 60 even when there was only one teacher. (See (7)).
- (11) PAPEI. SVR 1902, LAJ 1903, Part II, Statistical Tables, p A-43.
- (12) See (1), p 55 and (2), The Story of Hunter River, p 16.
- (13) PAPEI. SVR 1901, LAJ 1902, Part III, Appendix C, p 79.
- (14) See (8).
- (15) PAPEI. SVR 1905, LAJ 1906, Appendix A, Part II, Statistical Tables, Advanced Graded Schools, p 26.
- (16) See (11) p A-9.
- (17) PAPEI. SVR 1903, LAJ 1904, Appendix D, Part III, p E-7.
- (18) PAPEI, Accession 3288, item no. 1. Hopkirk, Gail, Prince Edward Island's First Normal School--A History, 1859-1969, p 87. The average length of service was three years.
- (19) See (17) and PAPEI, SVR, 1904 LAJ 1905, Part II, Abstract of School Returns for the Year Beginning 1 July 1904. p 45.

(20) PAPEI. SVR 1905, LAJ 1906, part III, appendix D, p 8. The reason that McGuigan received two Catholic teachers is unknown. The fact that one each came from his paternal and maternal areas of Lots 22 and 29 may have had something to do with it, since the cardinal's father was now the most prominent merchant in the community. McGuigan, Peter, "The Cardinal and the Island", The Island Magazine, F/W 1994, p 27. Cullen resigned in the spring of 1906. SVR 1906, LAJ 1907, part III, appendix D, p 6.

(21) Founded in 1829, Prince of Wales was the public school for training in the classical subjects. But, it did not begin to function until 1836 and in 1879 the college absorbed the Provincial Normal School. Ninety years later the institution was combined with St. Dunstan's University to form the University of Prince Edward Island. See (18), p 55 and MacDonald, G. Edward, The History of St. Dunstan's University, p 440.

(22) For example in 1910, of 447 candidates, only 212 passed. PAPEI, SVR 1910, LAJ 1911, Appendix E, p 2. Report of the Principal of Prince of Wales College and Provincial Normal School, 1910. The low pass rate was the result of the school's strict standards in the belief that the students must be ready to succeed in places other than P.E.I. This policy, of course, tended to leave the "dregs" for the Island until the arrival of adult education in the 1930s when they finally had a chance to succeed. Croteau, J. T., Cradled in the Waves, pp 12-13.

(23) PAPEI. SVR 1906, LAJ 1907, Part II, Statistical Tables, Advanced Graded Schools, p 26 and SVR 1906, p 26. Scientific Temperance was an anti-alcoholic indoctrination course. At Prince of Wales matriculation examinations, it appeared in the Physiology Paper, one of the questions being: "What were five advantages that the abstainer had over the drinker?" SVR, 1907, LAJ 1908, Appendix F, p 8, Matriculation Examinations. This philosophy continued throughout the college years. For example, in the 1909 Class II teacher's examinations, the physiology paper asked for three objections to the use of tobacco and for four bad effects on the human system from using alcohol as a beverage. SVR, 1909, LAJ 1910, Appendix F-continued, Examination Papers License, Examination 1909, Class II, p 38. This, plus the Irish religious tradition of being teetotalers, likely influenced McGuigan, especially since his brother Martin had a problem with liquor. MacNeil, Alice to author, 29 November 1983, p 2.

(24) PAPEI. SVR 1907, LAJ 1908, part XVII, General Report, p 5. The sites were Charlottetown, Summerside, Montague, Souris and Alberton and PAPEI. SVR 1907, LAJ 1908

Appendix F, Examinations Papers, pp 1-9. No time limit was printed on the examinations for English or Latin. French took 1.75 hours, the History of England and Canada took 2 hours, as did each of geography and botany (which seemed to cover physiolog. and agriculture under the header science). Arithmetic candidates received 2.75 hours as did those taking the geometry and algebra test. Therefore, it would have taken at least two days to write the examinations. It is not know what arrangements were made for out of town students. One may assume that the college was conscientious in helping its young candidates finding safe, affordable, and convenient accommodation as there were no on-campus residences.

(25) See (22).

(26) The Prince Edward Island Department of Education Matriculation Examinations, 1907. McGuigan received 62 in English, 57 in History, 86 in Arithmetic 46 in Science, 57 in Geography, 61 in French, 60 in Mathematics and 67 in Latin. To pass, a student would have to make 50% in English and arithmetic, and 35% in all other subjects. It appears mathematics seems to have covered both algebra and geometry.

(27) Archives of the Archdiocese of Toronto, (AAT), MGAA01.14. 1942. The Biography of Archbishop McGuigan.

(28) See (18) p 91-92. The added space allowed whole classes of 23 to be split among the five model school teachers and undergo their professional training for a week without worrying about the academic part of their work. The student teachers would meet one of the model school instructors at 8 am to discuss the lesson they had prepared, then would test it on themselves. An hour later each group would go to the model teacher's class and observe the techniques used, spending the rest of the morning there. At noon they would meet and discuss what they had observed with another official, the training master. They met the same instructor later in the day to discuss readings that would be assigned from the school management course. Nevertheless, student teachers could not actually direct a class until a sixth, floating teacher was hired in 1913, p 93. Thus it seems that McGuigan received his actual classroom practice by instructing at country schools in the springs of 1910 and 1911. SVR, 1910 LAI 1911, part II, Statistical Tables, pp 16-17.

(29) See (18), p 84.

(30) The subjects tested as shown by the second class licence examinations of June 1909 and the first class tests

of 29 May 1911 generally continued the grade school subjects. However, Greek and trigonometry were taught in the second year. The third year seemed to continue the second year classes, and teaching was allowed, if not required in the second term of the third year. PAPEI, SVR 1909 LAJ 1910, Licence Examinations 1909 Class II, pp 28-42 and SVR 1911 LAJ 1912, Licence Examinations 1911 Class I, pp 9-25.

(31) PAPEI. SVR 1909, LAJ, 1910, Part II, Appendix E, Report of Prince of Wales College and Provincial Normal College (Report) pp 5-8.

(32) PAPEI. SVR 1910 LAJ 1911, Part III, Appendix E, Report, pp 4-5.

(33) McGuigan's slippage was due to two older women who registered after having taught school. They were Annie McGrath who was 30 years of age in 1910, and Laura Bain who was 19. McGuigan was only 16 that year. McGrath, a relative of Bishop Charles Leo Nelligan, married Samuel Robertson, principal of Prince of Wales, while Laura Bain became a missionary to India. Both women later took masters degrees. Pigot, Frank to author, 2 July 1991, Townshend, Patricia to author, 18 June 1991 and PAPEI, SVR 1911, LAJ 1912, Appendix E, Report, pp 2-3.

(34) Annie McGrath who received high honours in 1911 went to Dalhousie for her BA. She received credits for Latin 2, Greek 2, French 2, English 2, Mathematics 1, and Chemistry 1 in a four year course. Armour, Charles to author, 26 July 1991. McGuigan who went to St. Dunstan's with honours received credit for third year Latin, French Greek, history and English, where the third year was part of a six year course for Laval's classical BA. He was also admitted to 5th year Philosophy and completed his degree in only two years. "Honor Roll of Saint Dunstan's College", The Charlottetown Examiner (EX), 30 May 1913, p 4 and Saint Dunstan's College Prospectus, 1914-1915, "Classical Course", pp 13-15 and The Prospectus of Prince of Wales College, 1915-1915, pp 22-23.

(35) AAT MGAA03.01, 31 August 1950. MacLauchlan, Dr. Robert to Cardinal James McGuigan.

(36) "Closing of Rustico Convent", EX, 25 June 1913, p 1. George McGuigan donated the Domestic Economy Prize and his 2nd daughter, Gertrude Angelina, won the prizes for Christian Doctrine, General Proficiency and Vocal Music. She later became Sister Saint George, rector of Marianopolis College in Montréal. The Marian, "History of Marianopolis College", June 1947, p 68. George's sons,

James, Martin, John and Peter attended St. Dunstan's College. Centennial Booklet and Directory, 1954, p 121.

(37) PAPEI. SVR 1910, LAJ, 1911, part II, Statistical Tables, pp 16-17. McGuigan taught at Covehead until the end of June 1910. He had a second class license. SVR 1910, "General Report Department of Education Licenses Issued 1 October 1909-30 September 1910, p XLVII.

(38) PAPEI. SVR 1911, LAJ, 1912, part II, Appendices to the Report on Public Accounts, Appendix A, Salaries and Bonuses Paid to Teachers for Year Ending 30 September 1911, p 6. The previous teacher had resigned before 1 April 1911, so McGuigan must have taken over immediately to get 84 days before 30 June. SVR 1911, "Statistical Tables", p 22.

(39) PAPEI SVR 1912, LAJ 1913, Appendix A, p 9 Queen's County and "Teacher's Supplements", EX, 2 June 1912, p 2.

(40) PAPEI SVR 1913, Statistical Tables, pp 28-29.

(41) See (34), Saint Dunstan's... and Harvey, France to author, 25 August, 1991. Saint Dunstan's was opened in 1855 as the successor to Saint Andrew's Seminary. It became affiliated with Laval as a college in 1892. By 1942 its degrees were starting to be recognized, but 27 years later was united to Prince of Wales to give birth to the University of Prince Edward Island. See (21) MacDonald pp 54-57, 170 and 335.

(42) Red and White (R&W), May 1913, p 68. McGuigan was lieutenant in charge of the army cadet signal corps at the college. That year they were inspected by Major L. E. Outhit of Halifax. McGuigan's group was rated as having made good progress for a newly organized group. He might also have partaken in other extra-curricular activities. However, the newspapers seem to have concentrated on senior events.

(43) See (34) "Honor Roll...

(44) "Splendid Reception to New Bishop", EX, 29 May 1913, p 1. The cardinal's uncle, Father Peter D. McGuigan, attended O'Leary's consecration in Bathurst, New Brunswick. "Reception Planned for New Bishop", EX, 23 May 1913, p 1. Perhaps Father McGuigan mentioned his brilliant nephew.

(45) R&W, December, 1913, pp 50, 62-63, 68-69.

(46) R&W April 1914, p 71 and "Mock Parliament at Saint Dunstan's College", EX, 31 March 1914, p 1.

(47) See (45), p 65.

(48) See (46), R&W, p 70. This day was in honor of Saint Thomas Aquinas.

(49) R&W June 1914, p 33.

(50) "Convocation of Saint Dunstan's", EX, 4 June, 1914, p 1 and (41) Harvey, France. McGuigan had already captured most the previous year's convocation awards and seems to have wanted to do as well as he could in the Laval's examinations. For the fifth year, (or the first year of philosophy), there were two sets of examinations. The original group at St. Dunstan's, covered history, geography religion and literature while shortly after Laval examined languages. In sixth year St. Dunstan's tested history, chemistry, astronomy and religion while Laval examined philosophy, mathematics and physics. It is strange, however, that McGuigan did not even get honours at St. Dunstan's for 6th year religion with mark of 90%. It is possible that his name was simply left out of the newspaper's list.

(51) Interview: Mr, Justice Mark MacGuigan, 23 August 1992. James McGuigan's average for the 1914 Laval examinations was 91.1%, or 0.4% more than at St. Dunstan's a month earlier. However, in 1913 where his St. Dunstan's final average had been 94.3%, his Laval mean was only 67.9 %. At this time he showed a marked weakness for composition in Latin while demonstrating a very strong translation ability in this language. See (41) Harvey.

(52) Alice (McGuigan) MacNeil to author, 18 October 1983, p 1. The person was Mrs. Elizabeth (Lizzy) Callaghan who operated a boarding house at 52 Douglas St., Charlottetown. Ted Creighan to author, 7 February 1995.

(53) "Death of P.D. McGuigan", CG, 17 November 1937, p 1.

(54) Interview: Father Francis Bolger, 8 September 1993.

(55) "Cardinal Sees Cause for Fear in the World ", Halifax Mail Star, 17 May 1962 p 3. McGuigan received a D Law from Dalhousie University.

(56) See (9), The Story of..., p 35 and (1), p 55.

(57) MacDonald, Heidi, "A Century of Anglican Women Religious in Nova Scotia, 1891-1991", pp 12-13.

(58) Cullen, Sister Ellen Mary, The Sisters of Saint Martha of Prince Edward Island, Vol 1, p 144. This is an unpublished document.

(59) Bokenkotter, Thomas, A Concise History of the Catholic Church, p 303.

(60) See (59), p 313.

(61) See (59), p 312.

(62) See (59), p 317.

(63) See (59), p 319. The Catholic Church remained Medieval in its outlook in more than its theological ideas. Pope Pius XI believed in the hierarchial order of mankind, so was no friend of democracy. P 345.

(64) ADC, Connolly Estate Papers. McGuigan received \$100 in 1914, \$200.25 in 1915, 1916 and 1917, while in 1918 he was given \$100.25 for his half year. When at Prince of Wales he received \$75.00 for his second year. These scholarships were for Irish Catholic boys and were from the estate of the well-to-do Irish born P.E.I. merchant, Owen Connolly.

(65) Sylvain, Philippe, "Université Laval", The Canadian Encyclopedia, (CE), 2nd Edition, p 2218; and Voisine, Nive and Cameron, Christina, "Séminarie de Québec", (CE) p 1977. Laval was founded in 1852 as the university of the Grand Seminary which had been established in 1663. Laval had four faculties: arts, law, medicine and theology. In the 1960s the university and seminary moved to Cité University. Later the seminary transferred to another location. Today the magnificent old buildings of the Grand Seminary and Laval are still standing and are still used housing, among other things, the museum of the archdiocese of Québec.

(66) "Distribution of Diplomas at Laval University", Québec Chronicle, (QC), 18 June 1915, p 5. Here he was called Charles McGuigan.

(67) Archives of the Diocese of Charlottetown, (ADC), Bishop Henry O'Leary Papers. James McGuigan's examination marks at Laval for the 1915-16 academic year.

(68) "War Lecture At Laval University", QC, 21 January 1916, p 3.

(69) By Armistice Day 8,500,000 soldiers would be dead. Espisito, Vincent, "World War Two". sections 5 and 18, Encyclopedia Americana, Vol 29, pp 249 and 389.

- (70) "Prince Edward Island Honor Roll", Charlottetown Guardian (CG), 24 July, 1918, p 6. Joseph "Jody" Connolly who died on the Western Front was a cousin of McGuigan through the former's paternal grandmother. McGuigan, Hugh, Growing Up on St. Patrick's Road, Family Chart, npn.
- (71) "Calamity overtakes Quebec Bridge", EX, 12 September 1916 p 1. 13 workers died as this "Eighth Wonder of the World" fell for the second time. The first collapse was in 1907 and 75 died. Hilliday, Hugh, "Quebec Bridge Disasters", The Canadian Encyclopedia (CE), vol 3, p 1803.
- (72) "Laval Confirms Degree on Duke of Devonshire", QC, 18 June 1917, p 3 and Genest, Jacques to author, 7 April 1994.
- (73) Morton, Desmond, "World War I", CE, p 2343. Borden was a Nova Scotian, born in Grand Pré. Brown, Robert Craig, "Borden, Sir Robert Laird", CE, vol 1, p 252.
- (74) "Policemen Hurt in Conscription Riots in Montreal", QC, 31 August 1917, p 1. This followed, by some weeks, the passage on 3rd reading, of the conscription bill. "Conscription Bill Gets Third Reading in Senate", QC, 9 August 1917, p 1.
- (75) See (73), Morton, p 2343.
- (76) "St. Roch's Was the Scene of Serious Disorders and Loss of Life Last Night", QC, 2 April 1918, p 3. The first person killed was a worker who was returning home from his job.
- (77) "Laval's 'Tank' Recruits Depart", QC, 24 April 1918, p 4. The officer in charge was Lieutenant Paul Gouin, son of the Premier of Québec.
- (78) "Form Training Corps at Laval", QC, 7 May 1918, p 5. This was modeled after the Canadian Officer's Training Plan at the University of Toronto.
- (79) "Sunday next is a Day of Prayer", QC, 4 January 1918, p 4.
- (80) "Ordination to Local Priesthood", Watchman 31 May 1918, p 2.
- (81) "Pope Will Not Be Party to German Offensive", CC, 10 May 1918, p 3. Benedict refused even though the offence might have ended the carnage. See (59), p 346.

(82) "Remembrance Day at the Cathedral", CG, 5 August 1918, p 1. McGuigan also contributed \$15.00 to the Knights of Columbus Army Huts. These were front line canteens and rest stations. O'Leary's gift of \$1000 was the most generous. ADC, Bishop Henry O'Leary Papers, 2 July 1918.

(83) AAT, MGAA03.01. 10 March 1942. Nolan, Joseph Patrick to Archbishop James McGuigan.

(84) "War is Over", CG, 8 November 1918, p 1.

(85) "Great is the Lord and Greatly to be Praised", CG, 18 November 1918, p 1.

(86) R&W December, 1918, p 80.

(87) Thomas Francis, "Influenza", The Encyclopædia Britannica (EB), Vol 12, 1974 edition, p 242. The Spanish Flu of 1918 was a pandemic, that is a very widespread and unusually severe outbreak. Most of the deaths occur not from the disease itself, but from associated illnesses such as pneumonia. This outbreak took 20,000,000 lives. It was, and is still, the worst to date.

(88) "Influenza Epidemic", CG, 7 October 1918, p 3.

(89) "Board of Health Passes Resolutions on 'Flu' Epidemic", CG, 12 October 1918, p 1.

(90) "Public Notice" CG, 14 October 1918, p 1 and "Board of Health Passes Regulations", 16 October 1918, p 1. The police were to disperse crowds at funerals of which there was no shortage.

(91) See (86) p 70.

(92) See (86) pp 73-74.

(93) See (58) p 16. Sister Mary Bernard MacIntyre was a graduate of Saint Joseph's Hospital in Glace Bay, N.S. She died in 1977. Sister Josephine Keyzer to author, 12 January 1995.

(94) AAT, MGAA01.34. 20 August 1958, Alger, W. Ross to Rev. Father John O'Mara. McGuigan did not have a telephone in his office, it was in an outer room where his secretary would answer it. He probably had trouble hearing over the device.

(95) R&W, April 1919, p 73.

(96) R&W, December 1919, p 76.

(97) ADC. Bishop Henry O'Leary Papers, 12 August 1919.
Sinnott, Archbishop Alfred A. to Bishop Henry J. O'Leary.

(98) "The New Saint Dunstan's Cathedral", Catholic Register, CR, 25 September 1919, p 1.

(99) ADC. Bishop Henry O'Leary Papers, 4 November 1920.
From the secretary to the apostolic delegate to Rev. Father J.C. McGuigan.

(100) "The Late Archbishop Legal", (CR), 18 March 1920,
p 1.

(101) "Advancement of Bishop O'Leary", EX, 25 August 1920,
p 2. The paper also talked of the loss of bishops Sinnott,
McNally and Morrison from the Island-born priesthood.

(102) Jansenism is a condemned version of Catholicism.
Among other things, it saw the body as evil. Cognet, Louis,
"Jansenism, pp 873-875.

(103) Photographs of McGuigan for the classes of 1912 and
1919 at Saint Dunstan's and 1917 at the Grand Seminary show
a marked drop in weight during the latter year.

(104) "Cardinal McGuigan's Silver Jubilee", Toronto Star,
(TS), Star Weekly Magazine, 14 May 1955, p 1.

Chapter 2

Too Far, Too Fast

1920-1930

During the early 1920s, McGuigan was a nascent star in O'Leary's constellation. The young priest was involved in adjusting to a new environment, trying to cope with deaths within his family, assisting his mentor in his great "brick and mortar" developments, and maintaining a friendly relationship with Sinnott.

However, in the latter half of the decade, the young priest became a bright stellar object in his own right. By his 33rd year McGuigan had attained several major archdiocesan positions. These included the rectorship of Saint Joseph's Cathedral and the highest level of the monsignorate. Unfortunately, his luminosity became too great and using an analogy to the formation of the astronomer's black hole, he may be said to have collapsed into himself.

Archbishop Sinnott was of two minds concerning the move of O'Leary and McGuigan to Edmonton. On the one hand, he was pleased that they would be "so close" (1000 kilometres versus 2500 kilometres) and suggested that O'Leary contact their fellow Maritimer, Bishop John Thomas McNally of Calgary, for advice. On the other hand, the archbishop of Winnipeg wrote, "You are going to take Father McGuigan with you. Well that is bad news". Seeking to obtain the

latter's services, the archbishop of Winnipeg offered to trade one of his priests for McGuigan. O'Leary declined the suggestion.(1)

The mentor and protégé arrived in the Alberta capital by train on the evening of 7 December 1920.(2) The next day, O'Leary was installed at Saint Joachim's Church.(3) He and McGuigan took up temporary residence in Strathcona, Edmonton's "south side" rival. Initially, the men rented several places.(4) Finally, on 24 July 1921, O'Leary took possession of Saint Anthony's Church as his pro-cathedral.(5) Soon he enlarged its rectory using brick, (6) thereby providing comfortable quarters for himself, McGuigan, and the regular parish clergy.

The early 1920s were a time of unrest and rapid social change. Post war inflation peaked in 1920 and was followed by marked unemployment.(7) Locally, the United Farmers of Alberta came to power. Promoting advanced educational and health-support policies, and giving marketing assistance to grain growers, they attempted to move the new province ahead. Also, the government encouraged settlement.(8) For example, a large number of Scottish Catholics were settled in central Alberta. This particular initiative was due to the leadership of O'Leary and the Scottish priest, Father Andrew MacDonell.(9) Religious problems continued as Protestants attempted to

proselytize the Ukrainian Catholics despite the appointment of Niketa Budka as their first national bishop.(10) Pope Benedict XV died in January 1922 (11) and, within a month, was replaced by Achilli Ratti who took the name of Pius XI.(12) The attempt of the West to overthrow Lenin during the Russian Civil War failed, thereby preserving the greatest challenge to Christianity since the French Revolution. Finally, the Irish problem that so fascinated O'Leary,(13) and apparently bored McGuigan, continued to haunt Britain due to the failure of the 1921 Anglo-Irish Treaty to satisfy Irish nationalist political demands.

In his early days in Edmonton, McGuigan seemed to function well as the archbishop's secretary. On 7 February 1921 he wrote his mentor's brother, Bishop Louis O'Leary of Charlottetown, stating that there was "very very much to be done both materially and spiritually", but that he had hardly enough work to keep himself busy as yet.(14) McGuigan's duties included being with Henry O'Leary in the late summer on Confirmation tours,(15) serving briefly as editor of The Western Catholic,(16) helping to welcome the visiting primates (17), and attending the installation of bishops.(18) As the young priest's administrative experience grew, O'Leary continued to increase his assistant's responsibilities. In 1923, for example, McGuigan, who was now both chancellor and vicar general,

(19) was assigned the duty of administrating the diocese for three months while his superior made his ad limina visit.(20) During these early years, one important contact that McGuigan made was with the Catholic Church Extension Society of Canada in Toronto. Through this organization he formed a friendship with Monsignor Thomas O'Donnell, later bishop of Victoria and archbishop of Halifax.(21) Also, he was on good terms with the latter's successor, Monsignor John Blair,(22) who would become so important during McGuigan's Regina years.

The young priest also kept up correspondence with a number of his former associates at St. Dunstan's College (23) and visited Prince Edward Island regularly, although not usually when O'Leary did.(24) Of course, the archbishop travelled there to see his brother and to recruit priests while the young cleric went home to see his family. McGuigan did his part in advertising the Canadian West. For example, on a trip to Charlottetown in 1924, he addressed the Catholic Women's League. He talked of the immensity of the archdiocese of Edmonton (sixty times the area of Prince Edward Island) and said that Alberta was the country of the future. However, he cautioned that this time was not at hand due to a slump in the economy. The new chancellor of Edmonton also told of the Oblates who brought Christ to the Prairies, spoke of how cosmopolitan the West was, praised O'Leary for his

brick and mortar work, and stated how wonderfully the Island priests were doing in the land of the big sky.(25)

McGuigan's work was interrupted that year as death started to stalk his family. During the spring, he had gone home to visit his ailing father. Writing to O'Leary, the priest demonstrated his tendency to minimize reality when he stated that although he was enjoying himself "very well", his father's illness "dampens a little, the pleasure of the holiday". At least, he added that he was able to comfort his mother and that alone made the trip worthwhile.(26)

In October, McGuigan received a telegram saying that his father had only a short time left to live. Being unable to reach O'Leary,(27) the priest assumed permission to leave and promised to return as soon as possible.(28) Arriving in Charlottetown a few days later, he found his father dead. On 25 October McGuigan said the funeral Mass at Saint Dunstan's Cathedral assisted by two clerical uncles, Fathers Martin Monaghan and P. D. McGuigan, as well as by two cousins who were also priests.(29) He then returned to Edmonton.

The Edmonton Archdiocese during the mid 1920s was in a phase of great expansion. This growth occurred despite a continued cycling of drought and rain that made farm income unstable.(30) The growth in the archdiocese was in

reaction to a persistent shortage of churches and priests, and difficulties in keeping the separate school system viable.(31)

The first major project, the building of Saint Joseph's Cathedral, came as a result of overcrowding at nearby Saint Joachim's Church. Six Masses on Sunday could not handle the demand.(32) O'Leary decided that the edifice should be built in Edmonton proper, not, as Saint Anthony's had been, in a remote section of Strathcona. Therefore, the new structure was constructed on Jasper Avenue some blocks west of the downtown core. Opened by the archbishop on 22 March 1925, Saint Joseph's was initially merely a very large basement church.(33) McGuigan became its first pastor.(34)

Two years later came the second project, the opening of the Catholic college at the University of Alberta. O'Leary wrote that Catholics attending the institution were "losing the faith as fast as they are able."(35) In order to maintain his good relations with the Christian Brothers who were scheduled to teach at the college, and apparently because of other commitments, O'Leary had sent McGuigan to their 75th anniversary celebrations in Toronto. This occurred in May 1927. The Edmonton vicar general spoke at Saint Michael's Cathedral in the presence of three men who would soon be very important in his life,

Archbishop Neil McNeil, Senator Charles Murphy and philanthropist Frank O'Connor. Here, the Edmonton priest praised the founder of the Christian Brothers, Saint Jean-Baptiste De la Salle, declaring that "Those who instruct others unto justice shall shine as stars for all eternity."(36) How these words would come back to haunt them!

The same year that the successful Catholic College Campaign was launched, another major project was started: the re-establishment of the Edmonton Scholasticate as Saint Joseph's Seminary. Founded in 1917, the structure soon was too small for both the Oblate and diocesan candidates. As a result, in June 1927, the Oblates left the archdiocese and established a new seminary at Lebret, Saskatchewan. O'Leary renamed the former Scholasticate of the Immaculate Conception for the patron of the archdiocese and appointed McGuigan as its first rector.(37)

In 1928, having constructed a rectory for the new cathedral,(38) O'Leary followed up with the opening of the O'Connell Institute. Located across the North Saskatchewan River from downtown Edmonton, the orphanage was financed by the eccentric New Brunswick born sugar magnate J.D. O'Connell, to whom the local papers innocently referred as a "child lover". It was then given

to the Sisters of Charity of the Refuge. On 6 September 1928, O'Leary blessed the buildings. This is the place where McGuigan would find shelter in his dark period from September to December 1930.(39)

Not only had the brick and mortar work progressed, but also spiritual events occurred. Following the 1926 Eucharistic Congress in Chicago that O'Leary described with some exaggeration as the "greatest external manifestation (of faith) ever witnessed on Earth", (40) an important local spiritual celebration took place; O'Leary's silver sacerdotal anniversary. At Saint Joseph's basement Church on 19 September 1926, McGuigan gave an eloquent eulogy praising his superior for building more than 40 churches and chapels.(41) The actual date of the anniversary occurred two days later. At this time McGuigan announced to the Cathedral congregation that Pope Pius XI had honoured the archbishop by appointing him as an Assistant to the Papal throne.(42) O'Leary was but 47 years of age.

By the next year McGuigan's meteoric rise reached new heights. As mentioned before, by 1923 he had become both chancellor and vicar general of the Archdiocese. Two years later he was made rector of Saint Joseph's Cathedral. Now, in 1927, not only had the young priest become rector of the seminary, but he was also appointed

dean of the Edmonton District,(43) and was raised to a prothonotary apostolic, the highest level of the monsignorate.(44) McGuigan was only 32 years old and had earned his accelerated promotions on account of his "wonderful ability and untiring service."(45) He was reputed to be the youngest of his apostolic rank in Canada.(46)

McGuigan initially found that there were great problems obtaining staff for the seminary since only two Oblates remained.(47) As a result he confessed that "We were at sea the first years", but claimed that the time was "filled with consolation and encouragement because the young men settled down for the most part gladly under conditions that were not always considered entirely adequate."(48) The seminarians were very much impressed with their rector. He looked dignified, and was kind in his manner. His nickname, according to the high spirited young men, was "Mons". This, of course, was derived from his ecclesiastical rank (49) and it was even reported that his celebration of the Eucharist was "really a transportation into Heaven". Unwisely, however, he had taken on the load of performing both administrative work and teaching canon law.(50)

Unfortunately, before long there was something seriously amiss. As early as 1925 McGuigan had written his friend

and fellow Islander, Charles Leo Nelligan, stating that he could not "continue as of yore" and would have to get a secretary.(51) In early 1927 McGuigan took a six-month leave to pursue a doctorate in canon law at the Catholic University of America. Unfortunately, he never seems to have found time to complete it,(52) even though he would be teaching the subject at Saint Joseph's Seminary later that year. This became his first academic setback. After returning to Edmonton, his bizarre behaviour in the seminary chapel appears to have started. He would, when alone, press the consecrated ciborium to his head and beg God's help.(53) McGuigan's actions showed how desperate he was becoming. Over-stressed by taking on too much responsibility too soon, having seen death strike his family, and letting his dissertation slip out of his hands, McGuigan was showing the first signs of his coming nervous breakdown.

Other events were now conspiring to play a critical role in McGuigan's future. In 1929 the wheat crop reached an all time high. The next year it failed and, in general, would not revive for a decade.(54) In the autumn of 1929 the stock market crashed plunging the world into the decade long Great Depression. In 1930 the Liberal Government in Ottawa was defeated and the Tories under Richard Bedford (R. B.) Bennett formed the administration. This followed the defeat of the Saskatchewan Liberals by

the Conservatives under John Thomas Milton (J. T. M.). Anderson. Both new governments were unenlightened economically, and to boot, Anderson was anti-Catholic. He demonstrated this by quickly introducing several such bills into the legislature.(55)

The other event that played a vital role in McGuigan's future was the 26 October 1929 death of Regina's archbishop, Oliver-Elzéar Mathieu. In 1911, this former rector of Laval University had come to Saskatchewan as the first bishop of Regina. He successfully guided the archdiocese through the Great War and "Roaring 20s".(56) Unfortunately, his work left considerable debt. Given the stock market crash as well as the great drought, the encumbrance became almost unpayable. This is the terrible reality with which McGuigan would come face to face when appointed Mathieu's successor.

With all in place but the actual appointment to Regina, the only thing that might have saved the young cleric was his extraordinary vacation during the summer of 1929. That year, three locally important ecclesiastical events occurred on P.E.I. The first was the centenary of Saint Dunstan's Cathedral, the second was the Golden Jubilee of Saint Joachim's Church in Vernon River, and the last was the 75th anniversary of St. Dunstan's College. McGuigan attended all three.(57) He also had much free time to

visit his family and relatives. All in all, it should have rejuvenated him for the oncoming battle.

Unfortunately, given the problems he was having with reality, this break was not sufficient. In August he returned to Edmonton set for a fall.

Six months later, in February 1930, came the announcement that Monsignor McGuigan had been chosen as archbishop of Regina. The Edmonton Bulletin editorialized that the position would be difficult. But, it was also stated that the 35 year old cleric was experienced in all aspects of administration, was an authority on canon law, and had gained the esteem of his peers. Therefore, it was claimed that there would be no problems which were unsolvable. Incidentally, it was also asserted that the archbishop was the youngest in the Catholic world.(58)

On 15 May 1930, McGuigan was consecrated at Saint Joseph's Cathedral. O'Leary said the Mass with Archbishop Arthur Belliveau of St. Boniface and Bishop John Kidd of Calgary as his French and English co-consecrators. Sinnott was in the sanctuary.(59) A grand civic dinner followed in the chateau-like Hotel Macdonald, and while the archbishop's "little earthly mother", as well as the premier of Alberta looked on, McGuigan spoke of being unable to linger as "it is God's will that I go". He also

received something he would soon need very badly--a purse of gold.(60)

Four days later the archbishop boarded the train for Regina. With him were most of the bishops who had been at his consecration, including O'Leary and Sinnott.(61) On the evening of what had been a cold, rainy 21st of May, McGuigan was installed at Holy Rosary Cathedral as "the dying sunset sent streamers of dusky light across the sanctuary." He received a new McLaughlin-Buick courtesy of his priests and parishioners.(62) It would soon be disposed of for very pressing needs.

Now everything was in place. A great drought had entered its second summer; the Great Depression into the seventh month of a decade-long grip on the economy; Premier Anderson had introduced more anti-Catholic legislation in the spring.(63) Federally, Prime Minister R. B. Bennett was beginning an unsuccessful attempt to put the country back on its feet. McGuigan had inherited a sinking ship and was totally separated from O'Leary. His psychological limits would be tested and, unfortunately, would be found wanting.

Notes: Chapter 2

- (1) Archives of Dioceses of Charlottetown, (ADC), Bishop Henry O'Leary Papers. Sinnott, Archbishop Alfred A. to Bishop Henry O'Leary, 20 August 1920, p 2.
- (2) "Delighted with Alberta Climate", 10 December 1920, p 2; "Hearty Welcome to O'Leary", 8 December 1920, p 3; Edmonton Bulletin, (EB), and Archives of Archdiocese of Toronto (AAT), MGAA01.04b. McGuigan, Cardinal James to R.A. MacLean, 7 May 1957, p 1. Also on the train were Sinnott and McNally. "Installation of Archbishop Henry J. O'Leary", Catholic Register (CR), 9 December 1920, p 1.
- (3) See (2), AAT.
- (4) See (2), AAT.
- (5) "Catholic News of the Week" ("CNW"), CR, 11 August, 1921, p 3.
- (6) ("CNW"), CR, 18 August 1921, p 3.
- (7) "We Had It Before--Let's Not Have It Again", Charlottetown Guardian, (CG), 26 September 1945, p 8. This was a Government of Canada advertisement.
- (8) MacPherson, Ian, "United Farmers of Alberta", The Canadian Encyclopedia, (CE), p 2216 and "Alberta Farmers Have Captured Government Control", EB, 19 July 1921, p 1.
- (9) "Scottish Settlers", CR, 29 November 1923 p 3 and "Father MacDonell Reports Hebridean Settlers Satisfied", Western Catholic, (WC), 20 November 1924, p 3. These people settled in the Red Deer area which is half way between Edmonton and Calgary. "Homes Sought in Canada for Hebridean Fisherman", CR, 21 August 1924, p 3. "Canada Jottings", ("CJ"), CR, 29 November 1923, p 3. The Western Catholic was the official organ of the Diocese of Calgary and the Archdiocese of Edmonton.
- (10) ADC, Bishop Louis O'Leary Papers. 7 January, 1925, O'Leary, Archbishop Henry to Bishop Louis O'Leary. The archbishop of Edmonton said that he was "having a very hard fight here to save the Ruthenians" (Lat. Russians). (Today these people are known as Ukrainians as the former term is considered pejorative). McGowan, Mark, "Toronto's English Speaking Catholics, Immigration and the Making of Canadian Identity", in Creed and Culture, The Place of English Catholics in Canadian Society 1750-1930, p 238, note 64.

- (11) "Thousands Pay Tribute to Departed Pontiff", Charlottetown Examiner (EX), 24 January 1922, p 1.
- (12) "Pope Pius XI is Crowned Yesterday", EX, 13 February 1922, p 1.
- (13) The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1921, p 309. O'Leary was on the national committee of the "Self Determination League for Ireland of Canada and Newfoundland"
- (14) (ADC), Bishop Louis O'Leary Papers. McGuigan, Father James to Bishop Louis J. O'Leary, 7 February 1921, p 2.
- (15) "CNW", CR, 3 August 1922, p 3 and WC, "Confirmations", 27 August 1925, p 9. That year the Confirmations were scheduled from 30 August to 8 September.
- (16) See (2) AAT, p 3.
- (17) "Reception of Ruthenian Prelate" WC, 15 September 1921, p 7.
- (18) "Bishop Prud'homme's Consecration", WC, 27 October 1921, p 1.
- (19) The Prince Edward Island Heritage Foundation and Museum (PEIHM), 8 November 1972, p 2. Wall, Most Rev. Leonard to Mrs. Alfred Hennessey. The Chancellor is the archivist of the diocese and the Vicar General takes care of its administration, in the bishop's name. He does not do his jurisdictional work even though he is an assistant bishop. Forbes, Eugene A. "Chancellor, Diocesan" New Catholic Encyclopedia (NCE), 1967, Vol 3, p 446.
- (20) CR, "Canada Jottings", 29 November 1923, p 3 and "Archbishop O'Leary Back from Rome", EE, 8 March 1924, p 1.
- (21) "Deep Thanks", CR, 12 July 1923, p 5. McGuigan, Father James to Right Reverend Thomas O'Donnell; Hannington, Brian, Every Popish Person, p 190 and "Devout Throng Church", Halifax Herald, 17 January 1936, p 1. For information on Church Extension refer to (11) McGowan... p 219-232 and O'Shea, Father Art, A.E. Burke, pp 42-60.
- (22) "Monsignor J. J. Blair Again Honored", CG, 14 April 1924, p 1.
- (23) "Alumni", Red & White, (R&W), December 1921, p 65. He was called "Father Jimmy" by those at the college.

(24) O'Leary appeared at the Convocations of 1921, 1922, 1923, 1925, 1928 and 1929. McGuigan was on the Island at the time of the 1924 Convocation. He was also on the Island in 1922, 1925, 1926 and 1929 although not necessarily at convocation time. "Commencement Exercises at Saint Dunstan's", Charlottetown Examiner (EX), 1 June, 1921, p 1; "Large Attendance at Saint Dunstan's Closing", CG, 1 June 1922, p 1; "Alumni", R&W, December 1922, p 55; "Commencement Exercises at Saint Dunstan's", CG, 1 June 1923; "CJ", p 1, CR, 22 May 1924, p 3; "Personals" CG, 17 June 1924 p 6; "Commencement Exercises at St. Dunstan's College", CG, 29 May 1925; "Island Boy Meets Death in Boston", CG, 23 October 1925, p 1; "Personals", CG, 8 June 1926, p 3; "Archbishop O'Leary will Visit Old Home", EB 3 May 1928, p 1; "Archbishop O'Leary Left for East", WC, 20 June 1929, p 1 and "Saint Dunstan's Cathedral Raised to Dignity of Basilica", Patriot, (PAT), 24 June 1929, p 1.

(25) "Doctor James McGuigan of Edmonton Addresses CWL" CG, 7 June 1924, p 3.

(26) Archives of Archdiocese of Edmonton, (AAE), Archbishop Henry O'Leary Papers. 30 May 1924, McGuigan, Father James to Archbishop Henry O'Leary.

(27) O'Leary seems to have been in Oklahoma. "Monsignor Kelley Consecrated Bishop of See of Oklahoma" WC, 18 October 1924, p 1.

(28) AAE, Archbishop Henry O'Leary Papers. 19 October 1924. McGuigan, Father James to Archbishop Henry O'Leary.

(29) "Funeral of Late George McGuigan", CG, 27 October 1924, p 5 and MacDonald, George Edward, The History of St. Dunstan's University, p 305.

(30) The mid 1920s were good years for crops in the West. But, the very severe drought of the early part of the decade returned in the late 1920s. Hill, H. "Drought", CE, p 627.

(31) Cashman, Tony, Edmonton's Catholic Schools: A Success Story, p 152.

(32) "New Cathedral at Edmonton to Start Very Soon", CR, 24 April 1924, p 3.

(33) "Solemn Opening of St. Joseph's Cathedral", WC, 25 March 1925, p 1. This event occurred on 22 March 1925. The cathedral was not finished until the 1960s. "Saint Joseph's Cathedral to be Completed", WC, 8 February 1961, p 1.

- (34) See (2) AAT, p 1.
- (35) ADC, Bishop Louis O'Leary Papers. 15 December 1920, O'Leary, Archbishop Henry to Bishop Louis O'Leary, p 3.
- (36) "Christian Brothers Celebrate 75th Anniversary of Their Coming to Toronto", CR, 19 May 1927, p 1 and "Service Delivered at St. Michael's Cathedral by Rt. Rev. J.C. McGuigan", CR, 26 May 1927, p 6.
- (37) O'Brien, Rev. A.D., "A Brief History of Old Saint Joseph's Seminary", in St. Joseph's Seminary: 50th Anniversary 1927-1977, p 8.
- (38) "Residence of Archbishop is now Nearing Completion", WC, 1 March 1928, p 1. It was opened on 19 March. "More Than 5,000 Persons View Palace of Archbishop O'Leary", EB, 20 March 1928, p 2.
- (39) "Orphanage to be Gift from Child Lover", EB, 23 January, 1928, p 2 and "O'Connell Institute to be Blessed on Thursday, September 6", WC, 23 August 1928, p 1. Some called O'Connell "freakish" with his 58 years of picnics for orphans. Also, Pilon, Sister Divine Heart to author, 7 October 1922.
- (40) "Archbishop O'Leary Returns From Great Chicago Pilgrimage", EB, 30 June 1926, p 1 and "Canadians to Chicago", CG, 16 June 1926, p 1.
- (41) "He Built Churches", EB, 18 September 1926, p 8.
- (42) "Archbishop O'Leary is Roman Count", EB, 21 September 1926, p 1. and "Pope Honors Jubilee of Archbishop O'Leary of Edmonton", CR, 7 October 1926, p 3. An assistant to the pontifical throne is also a Roman count. Such a prelate outranks all but cardinals and the pope. O'Leary also automatically became a Roman Count. Van Leidre, Peter C., "Assistants to the Papal Throne", NCE, p 963.
- (43) "Presentation of Addresses and Purse to Rev. Doctor McGuigan, V.G.", WC, 1 September 1927, p 1 and "Division into Deaneries", WC, 21 July 1927, p 1.
- (44) "High Honor Comes to Doctor McGuigan V.G.", WC, 13 October 1927, p 1.
- (45) "Alumni", R&W, December 1927, p 18.
- (46) "Solemn Investiture of Rev. Doctor McGuigan V.G.", WC, 20 October 1927, p 1. This was to occur on Sunday, 27 October.

(47) See (37) p 8.

(48) See (2) AAT, p 2.

(49) Giorio, Sister Rose Ann to author, Christmas, 1988, p 2.

(50) Gillis, Father Adolphus to author, 6 March 1989. p 1.

(51) AAE, Archbishop Henry O'Leary Papers. 2 April 1925. McGuigan, Father James to Seminarian Charles Leo Nelligan. Nelligan was about to be ordained in Prince Edward Island and would replace McGuigan as rector of the cathedral in the late 1920s. He later became Bishop of Pembroke, Ontario. It is said that between them, McGuigan and Nelligan, knew two thirds of the general population of Edmonton by name. McGoey, Father John to author, 30 April, 1990, p 2. Also, in his early days McGuigan was a missionary priest so he knew all the parishes and missions in the Archdiocese first hand. See (2), AAT, p 2.

(52) Antony Zito to author, 7 July 1989. McGuigan was at the Catholic University from January to June 1927. The version of McGuigan's dissertation that this author discovered at St. Augustine's Seminary in Toronto was not the final draft.

(53) See (51) McGoey, p 4.

(54) Danysk, Cecilia, "Farm Employment Plans of the 1930s in Prairie Canada", Prairie Forum, vol 19, no 2, p 237.

(55) Appleblatt, Anthony, "The School Question in the 1929 Saskatchewan Provincial Election", The Canadian Catholic Historical Association: Study Sessions, (CCHA), Vol 43, 1976, p 89.

(56) "Archbishop Mathieu of Regina Dies", EB, 28 October 1929, p 1 and "Archbishop Mathieu of Regina Died Saturday, October 26", WC, 31 October 1929, p 1. McGuigan attended the funeral since O'Leary was absent from Edmonton. "Archbishop O'Leary Home For Rome Tuesday, October 15", WC, 17 October 1929, p 1. "Church and State Honor Archbishop Mathieu in Funeral", WC, 7 November 1929, p 1. When Mathieu was appointed to Regina in 1911, he was appointed bishop. Four years later, the see became an archdiocese. "Mathieu, Oliver Elzéar", Encyclopedia Canadiana, Vol 6, p 411.

(57) Solemn Consecration at St. Dunstan's Basilica", CG, 27 June 1929, p 1. Saint Dunstan's was raised to a

minor basilica three days before the rededication and the parishioners were asked to fast on the day previous to the rededication ceremony, "Alumni Reunion", R&W, December 1929, pp 32-37 and "St. Dunstan's Raised to the Dignity of a Basilica"; Pat, 24 June 1929. "Memorable Service at Vernon River", CG, 27 July 1929, p 1 and "\$30,000 Donated to St. Dunstan's", CG, 8 August 1929, p 1. Unfortunately, most of the money would be lost in the upcoming stock market crash.

(58) "Edmonton Priest New Archbishop of Regina", EB, 17 February 1930, p 1 and "New Archbishop is Widely Esteemed", CG, 4 March 1930.

(59) "McGuigan Consecrated With Solemn Pomp", EB, 15 May 1930, p 1. His date of consecration had been changed from 16 June to 15 May, apparently because of desperate conditions in Saskatchewan. "Consecration of Monsignor McGuigan on May 15", CR, 24 April 1930, p 1.

(60) "400 Gather to Bid Vale to McGuigan", EB, 16 May 1930, p 15.

(61) "Catholic Clergy Leave for Regina", EB, 19 May 1930, p 9.

(62) "Most Reverend James McGuigan Consecrated Archbishop Regina", CR, 29 May 1930, p 1, and "Archbishop McGuigan Duly Installed in Regina", WC, 28 May 1930, p 12 and "Ceremony To Mark Welcome Tonight to Archbishop McGuigan", Regina Leader Post (RLP), 21 May 1930, p 1.

(63) Huel, Raymond, "The Anderson Amendments and the Secularization of Saskatchewan Public Schools", CCHA: Study Sessions, 44, (1977), p 63. Religious instruction in grade 1 using French was now forbidden.

Chapter 3

Darkness unto Dawn

May 1930-December 1931

The year-and-a-half from May 1930 to December 1931 was perhaps the most traumatic time in the life of James McGuigan. Despite increasing emotional problems, he had taken on the awesome responsibility as archbishop of Regina. Then, in only four months, he collapsed under the strain. This setback was followed by an amazing recovery, but he was never quite the same person again. He returned to Regina accepting this new reality, and was able to employ an exceptional series of spiritual and financial moves which allowed him to keep the loyalty of both the faithful and his debtors, even though these efforts would make him a self-proclaimed "beggar bishop".

On 11 September 1930, in the sacristy of the great and ornate Notre Dame Basilica in Ottawa's lower town, Archbishop McGuigan was preparing for the imminent consecration of Monsignor Jean-Marie-Roderigue Villeneuve as his suffragan for Gravelbourg, Saskatchewan.(1) However, since arriving in Regina the archbishop had been tormented by the spectre of the bankruptcy of the Archdiocese of Regina, and the ensuing ruination of the Catholic Church's credit in Canada. This threat stemmed from certain previously mentioned economic, environmental, ecclesiastical and political events.

Adding to his burdens, McGuigan had discovered recently that two of his senior administrators, both Québécois, were leaving Regina.(2) Now, there seemed to be no one to whom he could turn for administrative help in his debt ridden archdiocese. His prayers to God were to no apparent avail. Neither had his begging for the "sweet intercession" of Holy Mary, the patroness of his cathedral,(3) shown any apparent results. Consequently, there had been no release from those months of disturbed sleep and worrisome days. There seemed to be nothing that he could interpret as an answer. The situation had become utterly intolerable.

Suddenly, as the newspapers reported, just before he was to give his sermon, the archbishop was overcome, and was unable perform. All the training as O'Leary's secretary and vicar general, and the three years as rector of Saint Joseph's Seminary were for naught. McGuigan had entered the deepest phase of his "dark night of the soul."(4)

Eight days later the shattered archbishop and his embarrassed mentor arrived by train at Edmonton. Something, yet to be diagnosed, had happened to the young prelate. No warning signs had been seen or, at least, were admissible at this stage. Nothing that O'Leary had done, such as the long vacation he gave his protégé the previous summer, seemed to make possible the avoidance of this situation. Certainly, the first few years of

McGuigan's tenure at the seminary had been trying, but the young priest appeared to handle it well.(5) Surely, those rumours of his nocturnal visits to the Blessed Sacrament at the seminary were just stories or, at worst, only a passing phase.(6)

Unfortunately, or perhaps fortunately, McGuigan had only lasted four months as archbishop in Regina. The result for O'Leary was a very serious crisis. Action had already been taken, however, for when O'Leary and Sinnott passed through Regina on their way to Villeneuve's "enthronement" in Gravelbourg, the archbishop of Winnipeg said that he was ready to join his colleague whenever McGuigan felt well enough to speak.(7) Also, two doctors, one a nerve specialist, had been called in to assist. O'Leary, in his oversimplified interpretation of the young archbishop's condition, had contended that nothing was wrong with McGuigan but "the mental attitude." However, he admitted that his protégé must be humoured. The stricken prelate was placed in the newly acquired O'Connell Institute. Here he occupied the guest suite, engaged in long disconsolate walks and received back rubs.(8) His spirits seem to have been lifted by the apparently carefree squealing of the little children, and by the "tender solicitation" of Mother Mary (Nolan) of the Annunciation, a nun to whom he was forever grateful.(9)

On 17 October 1930, O'Leary wrote Sinnott stating that even though McGuigan was much better, he was still insisting upon resigning as archbishop.(10) O'Leary accepted Sinnott's previous offer to meet them, but whether the conference actually took place is not known. In any case, nine days later McGuigan assisted in a benediction. (11) Further progress was soon made. In mid-November, a circular letter stated that the archbishop of Regina had appointed Monsignor A. J. Janssen as his vicar general. Also in this missive, Janssen wrote that the young prelate had left for Rome a few days earlier.(12) Apparently contradicting this was a letter from O'Leary to Senator Charles Murphy of Ottawa on 6 December saying the trip had been delayed and that McGuigan was hospitalized in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, suffering from what the archbishop of Edmonton now admitted was "a partial nervous breakdown."(13)

Happily, this was not the final step toward permanent confinement. Instead, it was the nadir from which a rapid climb to full functioning began. For example, in January 1931 McGuigan wrote to Janssen asking him to renew the Catholic Women's League in Regina.(14) Then, in mid-February, the archbishop finally returned to the Saskatchewan capital. He immediately organized an Easter collection to help support his seminarians who were

scattered hither and thither costing him \$6,000 per year (15) in a bankrupt archdiocese.

The desperate times demanded a furtherance of spiritual life in Regina. To accomplish this, the archbishop desired to bring the Franciscans from Edmonton to hold retreats. The day before his 1930 consecration, McGuigan had gone to the Franciscan Monastery in the Alberta capital and, in what must now have seemed almost like another life, told them of his plans.(16) A year of negotiations would follow before he would discover whether or not these mendicants agreed to come.

Now, McGuigan was back in the "swing of things". The difficult adjustment to his new position was finally being made after the shock of the new appointment which had crushed him like a dead weight. However, given the conditions under which he had to labour and the type of person he was, his collapse seemed inevitable. Luckily, he was offered the best chance of recovering due to his early sheltering, the kind, but firm treatment he received, his faith in God, in Holy Mother Church and because of a reanimation of his faith in himself.

Although returned, McGuigan had not yet made his official reappearance in Regina. Instead, he made a gentle entry in February 1931 by saying Mass on several Sundays at Holy

Rosary,(17) before the evening of 8 March when he finally met his parishioners at the cathedral auditorium.(18)

By the time of McGuigan's return, the Anderson government had another setback prepared for the Catholics. Religious emblems had been banned from schools.(19) However, the archbishop seems have to take this in his stride. Thus, the "papists" continued to make the best they could of a bad situation, just as they had in 1929-1930 when Anderson had first introduced anti-French and anti-Catholic school instructions.(20)

To help bring the debt under control, McGuigan (who had already set up a committees of Diocesan Consultors) now established a group of secular financiers.(21) This was necessary for at the end of 1930 he had estimated the episcopal corporation's net debt as about \$300,000. Despite the total encumbrance, McGuigan felt it imperative to establish four new Regina parishes even though this action would increase the debt by one third. This proposed spending was part of a general expansion of church facilities which he had apparently organized in December 1930, and for which a final cost of almost \$400,000 was estimated.(22)

McGuigan continued to press ahead against the twin problems of stabilizing finances and revitalizing spiritual life. For example, part of the reason for church building

was to counter the communists who were making inroads among the Poles of the city. The multilingual priest, Father A. J. Gocki, felt it imperative to build a church, Saint Anthony's, for them. The archbishop supported the priest's appeal for funds in the Catholic Register, (23) but could offer the cleric no money.

McGuigan had estimated the interest on the corporation at \$18,000 per year.(24) Writing him in April, Sinnott said that the position of the Archdiocese of Regina was "simply desperate" and advised the archbishop to contact the Catholic Church Extension Society of Canada in Toronto requesting \$6,000 to \$10,000 a year assistance for five years. Also, Sinnott offered to pay the interest on \$5,000 of Regina's debt for the same period and to lend his financial expert, Rev. Dr. J. E. Cahill.(25)

Shortly thereafter, corresponding with Senator Charles Murphy, McGuigan mentioned that Monsignor John Blair at Extension had indeed promised the money requested. Also, the archbishop now had a better idea of the archdiocesan debt. To his astonishment and consternation, he discovered that it was four times his original guess. It was at least \$1,200,000! The interest due was now estimated at an overwhelming \$40,000 to \$50,000 per annum. McGuigan stated that he would be "a beggar for the rest of

his days", and that the archdiocese was "bankrupt in other ways as well."(26)

Having announced a 30 year annuity at 8.3%, McGuigan wrote his priests pointing out that their share was due 1 November, as was the cathedraticum, or archbishop's supporting fund. He also made them responsible for the insurance on the parish property,(27) forbade borrowing without his permission, and declared that no one "under pain of sin" could take one's full salary if at least the interest due on the parish debt had not been taken care of. At the same time, he indicated that if the conditions seemed impossible, his door was always open.(28) This borrowing restriction was reinforced in the 1932 Annual Report when McGuigan pointed out that no increased debt of any amount--no matter how trivial--was permitted under pain of suspension and therefore loss of income.(29)

Unfortunately, the drought continued to break all records.(30) Therefore, help was again sought from the Almighty. In late May 1931 McGuigan authorized prayers and processions for rain.(31) Sadly, these exhortations were in vain. On 19 June the temperature approached 40 celsius, (32) three weeks after a terrific dust storm had destroyed 75% of the wheat crop in one area.(33) The harvest would again be lost.

In general, the economic conditions in the spring of 1931 were also discouraging with more workers forced onto welfare. Ottawa had been informed of the terrible conditions. However, Prime Minister R. B. Bennett was having trouble believing the reports. Therefore, he sent his labour minister, Gideon Robertson, to investigate the southern Prairies. Robertson was stunned by what he saw, terming it, "the greatest national calamity that has ever overtaken this county."(34) Bennett's reaction was swift. Fearing a revolution, he established a national system of camps under strict control for single men.(35) More positively, an Unemployment and Farm Relief Act with \$20,000,000 capital was passed. It proposed to continue the previous government's shared cost programs with provincial and municipal governments. As part of this package, the national railways agreed to construction that would create a total of more than \$70,000,000 worth of work relief under tight Federal strictures.(36)

Despite all this bad agricultural news, McGuigan finally received some good tidings for on 10 May 1931 an agreement with the Franciscans to buy the archbishop's palace was made.(37) McGuigan had already left the building and, for the sake of economy, set up his chancery in Holy Rosary's sacristy while living at the rectory next door. He had also taken on the responsibility of pastor at the cathedral.(38) Soon, however, he was back at the palace as

the Franciscans had kindly offered him Mathieu's suite in the large house.(39)

Unfortunately, the seminary collection for Easter 1931 had been a disappointment. It yielded less than half of the amount that the archbishop needed to support his candidates (40). Discouraging as this must have been, McGuigan pressed forward, but took the advice of Bishop Edwin J. O'Hara of North Dakota to put spiritual matters first. In May McGuigan organized the first Eucharistic Congress in the city. During this celebration, he would demand that all Regina clergy (except four left on duty for emergencies) attend a working luncheon to discuss the "very pressing financial problems."(41)

Both O'Leary and Sinnott offered their support by attending the congress. Many masses were held. Holy Rosary Cathedral had services for the English speakers, who seemed to be mostly of Irish descent. Saint Mary's Parish celebrated Masses in German; the unfinished Saint Anthony's honoured the Almighty in Polish while Saint Theresa's had Hungarian services. As well, Bishop Villeneuve offered the Holy Sacrifice in French.(42) Despite a mid-winter like snowstorm, following 34 degrees celsius less than a week earlier,(43) the congress was a great success. Almost 100 priests attended the luncheon (44) while the locals were agog at the closing Medieval

procession. Children marched around Holy Rosary Cathedral carrying banners while dressed in different coloured costumes. McGuigan followed, walking under a canopy of gold and scarlet. He blessed the people as little girls scattered flower petals in his path. The Knights of Columbus, dressed in their formal attire, brandished erect swords in salute. Latin hymns were sung, and O'Leary closed the proceedings in the white and gold flagged cathedral by giving a sermon on the Blessed Sacrament.(45)

With the spiritual events taken care, the archbishop was driven to return to financial difficulties. Throughout the summer of 1931, he continued in his desperate struggle against the rising tide of debt. On 18 August, for example, McGuigan established the Federated Catholic Charities of Regina. This office centralized various relief agencies. Also, the necessity of cooperating with civil authorities was stressed, even if it were with Premier Anderson.(46)

Furthermore, O'Leary, Sinnott and the bishop of Calgary, John Kidd, came to McGuigan's assistance. They produced a joint letter explaining the abysmal plight of Regina and outlined a plan to solve the problem. In a missive that would be sent to various Canadian prelates (47) and, especially, to Archbishop Neil McNeil of Toronto,(48) it

was stated that McGuigan needed almost \$500,000 from outside sources, since Regina could only cover charges of approximately \$650,000 on a debt of at least 1,200,000.(49) The archbishop and his Regina chancery clergy had pledged themselves to pay the interest on \$100,000 for five years, the scattered communities of nuns and groups of priests would cover \$50,000 and parish priests and their people would take care of an accumulation on half a million dollars on principal. How did McGuigan plan to cover a residue of almost \$500,000? As previously mentioned, Extension had promised \$6,000 to \$10,000 a year for 5 years. This he could use for the interest covering up to \$125,000 at 8.3% The archbishop then proposed a scheme by which various Canadian prelates would give him a set amount for the same period. The amounts would range from \$375 per year for Victoria to \$1,500 from Toronto, Kingston, Hamilton and London. By this means he could cover the interest on over \$210,000. That left him with the duty of trying to pay the gain on perhaps \$125,000--about \$10,000 per year (50)--at a time when Saskatchewan teachers earned approximately \$1000 annually.(51)

To cover this remaining sum, McGuigan proposed travelling up to six months a year to relatively richer dioceses in order to beg.(52) Of course, wherever he went he would have to obtain permission of the local ordinate to solicit. He planned to speak at Masses, appeal at

meetings, and go door-to-door to the homes of better off Catholics. This meant that some Catholics would be hit twice--once by the collection plate and once by the archbishop himself.

On the first day of the autumn of 1931, the archbishop of Regina left for southern Ontario.(53) He appeared with Archbishop McNeil at the National Convention of the Canadian Catholic Student's Mission Crusade which was held at the University of Toronto. Speaking in Convocation Hall, McGuigan told how Extension had established 600 chapels in the West, shocked young Catholics with stories of priests starving in southern Saskatchewan; and explained how, with their prayers and generosity, they could help build a church "without a spot or wrinkle."(54) He also made an appeal to the Ontario Catholic Women's League, which was meeting simultaneously for its diocesan convention. Then, the archbishop toured Ontario centres such as Pembroke, Ottawa, London, Sault Ste. Marie, Hamilton and Alexandria.(55)

Apparently the trip was a success. Eastern newspapers had previously carried many stories of the drought.(56) The Knights of Columbus as well as the Catholic Women's League, mobilized their forces in both Ontario and the Maritimes. They were to supply clothing sent by fast freight to Regina, and to arrange collections of money.(57)

James McGuigan had completed his first year and a half in Regina. "Sunny Jim" was no more. The archbishop had survived his breakdown, and what had emerged was a sadder, but wiser man. Still subject to bouts of extreme moodiness, he fought to remain stable in order to avoid bankruptcy of his fief and the ruination of the credit of the Catholic Church in Canada. To offset these, he instituted a program of strict financial accounting. A successful Eucharistic Congress had been held and a modest program of church construction was undertaken. The Franciscans had arrived and started holding retreats. The appeal of O'Leary, Sinnott and Kidd showed promise, but had no guarantee. Meanwhile, his autumn appeal in Ontario was helping to hold back the tide. Ultimately, McGuigan was prepared to humble himself by being a mendicant for the rest of his life.

Notes: Chapter 3

(1) "Gravelbourg's First Bishop elevated at Ceremony at Ottawa". The Regina Leader Post (RLP), 11 September 1930, p 1.

(2) "Two Well Known Prelates Will Leave Regina Shortly", RLP, 11 September 1930, p 10. Some claimed that their leaving was due to the appointment of an English speaking archbishop.

(3) Archives of Archdiocese of Regina, (AAR). Circular letter, p 74, 17 September 1931. McGuigan, Archbishop James to his clergy.

(4) The "dark night of the soul" describes the silence of God to the repeated prayers of the distressed believer and the resultant affect on the apparently abandoned person. Job is the classic example. McGuigan seems to have become immobilized rather than to have lost his faith. McGoey, Rev. John to author, 20 April 1990, p 2. The sermon was given by McGuigan's suffragan, Abbott Severin Gertkin, of Muenster, Saskatchewan. "The Elevation of the Bishop of Gravelbourg", Ottawa Evening Citizen, 11 September 1930, p 1.

(5) Giorio, Sister Rose Anne to author, Christmas 1988, p 3. McGuigan seemed to be playing a mature version of his "Sunny Jim" personality.

(6) McGoey, Father John to author, 30 April 1990, p 4. This breakdown seems to be confirmed by a letter in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Toronto which states that McGuigan was "absent and under medical treatment". MGAA03.01, Archives of the Archdiocese of Toronto (AAT), 24 September 1930. To Rev. J.H. Nicholson, Mount Carmel Church, New Waterford, Nova Scotia.

(7) Archives of Archives of Edmonton, (AAE) (Private and Confidential). 17 October 1930. O'Leary, Archbishop Henry to Archbishop Alfred A. Sinnott. McGuigan apparently was not yet willing, or perhaps unable, to talk about his problems.

(8) AAE. 21 Sept 1930, O'Leary, Archbishop Henry to Archbishop Alfred A. Sinnott.

(9) Archives of Archdiocese of Toronto (AAT), MGAA 03.01, 10 April 1952. Annunciation, Rev. Mother Mary (Nolan) to Cardinal James McGuigan, and Divine Heart, Rev. Sister (Pilon) to author, 22 August 1989.

(10) See (7).

- (11) "Prelates invested in Edmonton", Catholic Register, (CR), 6 November 1930, p 1.
- (12) AAR. Circular Letter p 17. 18 November 1930. Janssen, Monsignor A. J. to his clergy. It was written that, on 29 October, McGuigan sent him to live in the archbishop's palace and, on 7 November, the archbishop appointed Diocesan Consultors. McGuigan was reported to have left Edmonton for Rome. "Sedley Priest Appointed Vicar General", RLP, 13 November 1930, p 14.
- (13) National Archives of Canada (NAC), MG 27 III B 8. Vol 23, p 10037, 6 December 1930. O'Leary, Archbishop Henry to Senator Charles Murphy. O'Leary said McGuigan hoped to return to Regina in two to three months.
- (14) AAR. Pastoral Letter p 23-28. 25 January 1931. Janssen, Monsignor A. J. to his clergy. As the Vicar General, Janssen was acting bishop until either McGuigan returned or was replaced. McGuigan's location when he wrote is not stated, but it was probably Rome.
- (15) AAR. Pastoral Letter p 35-37. 18 February 1931, McGuigan, Archbishop James to his clergy. He also gave Lenten Regulations.
- (16) MacDonal, Rev. Father Thomas More, Regina Cleri Major Seminary, 1931-1954, (RCS), p 1.
- (17) "Celebrates Mass", RLP, 23 February 1931, p 2.
- (18) "Many Attend Function for Archbishop", RLP, 9 March 1931, p 3. Unable to get away from his obsession concerning debt, McGuigan talked of the cost of the proposed parishes and of the collections not being as large as they should have been for these buildings.
- (19) Huel, Raymond, "The Anderson Amendments and the Secularization of Saskatchewan's Public Schools", CCHA, 47, 1980, p 65. In February Anderson had announced the banning of French instruction in grade 1. "French Instruction to be Abolished from First Grade", RLP, 18 February 1931, p 1.
- (20) See (19) Huel, p 66. Legislation had been introduced to eliminate Québec teacher's licences and religious instruction in French.
- (21) NAC, MG 24 III B8. p 7870-71. McGuigan, Archbishop James to Senator Charles Murphy, 27 May 1931. McGuigan mentioned setting up a committee of laymen to help solve

the crisis. The diocesan consultors had been established in November. See (12).

(22) AAR. Pastoral Letter, p 41-43, McGuigan, Archbishop James to Clergy, 11 March 1931. McGuigan calculated his net episcopal corporation's debt as the difference between assets of \$517,781.51 and debits of \$812,229.40 or about \$300,000. He said that he would personally pay the interest on \$20,000 of the debt while the parishes and communities of nuns would cover the interest on the remainder. By saying that he would personally pay he seems to have meant that he and the chancery officials would cover the chancery debt interest. This left the parishes to pay their debt to the corporation and to other non-episcopal debt holders. Ultimately, he was responsible for all parish debts and "Church Buildings now Under Construction in City Will Cost \$100,000", RLP, 19 February 1931, p 3. The new churches would be Saint Joseph's Hall, on Winnipeg Street, Little Flower on College Avenue, Saint Patrick's Hall on 2nd Avenue and Saint Anthony's Hall on 15th Avenue. It was later proposed to spend \$295,000 on such things as a provincial house for the Oblates and a rectory for Saint Joseph's Church. Nevertheless, it seems that only two of these churches were built: Little Flower and Saint Anthony's. They might have been financed by Extension, thereby not increasing the archdiocese's debt.

(23) "The Future", CR, 19 March 1931 p 5. Father A. J. Gocki tells of 100 families of Poles.

(24) See (22) AAR. p 42.

(25) See (21) NAC. p 7850. 10 April 1931. Sinnott, Archbishop Alfred A. to Archbishop James McGuigan. The interest was to be 6%.

(26) See (21) NAC. p 7858-60. 27 April 1931. McGuigan, Archbishop James to Senator Charles Murphy. He said he would be in the East to see Murphy and that a bit of "prudent propaganda" would help his begging. The total debt was that of the Regina archdiocese minus those of the two suffragans Prince Albert and Gravelbourg. Both received Extension money separately from Toronto. It appears that the abbot-nullius of Muenster was treated as part of Regina by Extension. "Extension, Financial Statement", (CR), 14 April 1932, p 5; and Archives of the Diocese of Charlottetown (ADC), 28 August 1931, Sinnott, A. A. and others to the Bishops of Canada, p 3.

(27) AAR. Circular letter, pp 53-54. 1 May 1931. McGuigan, Archbishop James to his clergy.

- (28) AAR, Circular Letter, Archbishop James McGuigan to Clergy, 17 September 1931, pp 84-85.
- (29) Annual Report of the Archdiocese of Regina, 1932, p 35.
- (30) "Rainfall during May lightest in History of Local Records" RLP, 8 June 1931, p 2.
- (31) AAR. Pastoral Letter, 29 May 1931, p 61. McGuigan, Archbishop James to his clergy.
- (32) "Relief from Heat Wave Thought Near", RLP, 7 June 1931, p 10.
- (33) "Estimate of Crop Loss by Storm as High as 75 Percent", RLP, 26 May 1931, p 1.
- (34) Brennan, Patrick H., "Thousands of our men are getting practically nothing at all to do", Urban History Review, (UHR) Vol XXI, no. 1, October 1992, p 36. The official rate of unemployment in Regina and Saskatoon was 27%.
- (35) "Military Camps for Unemployed", RLP, 16 July 1931, p 1.
- (36) "Relief Work at \$70,655,000" RLP, 15 July 1931, p 11. In about a year Bennett would scrap the make work plan for cheaper, and more degrading, direct welfare. In October 1930 the amount was \$80,000,000. "\$80,000,000 Will Be Used as Relief to Assist Unemployed", RLP, 2 October 1930, p 13.
- (37) See (16), p 4. The Franciscans probably received the palace at a token price.
- (38) "Holy Rosary Parish Change is Announced", RLP, 27 April 1931, p 2. The former rector, Fr J. J. O'Neill, returned to the USA so McGuigan replaced him. The archbishop's palace became a spiritual centre in memory of Mathieu.
- (39) See (21), p 5. McGuigan was able to resign as rector at the cathedral by getting his fellow Islander, Rev. Dr. Peter F. Hughes, from O'Leary and appointing him to the position. "Comes to Holy Rosary", RLP, 8 July 1931, p 3.
- (40) AAR. Circular Letter p 57 and Pastoral Letter, p 59, both 13 May 1931. McGuigan said "The collection to which you contributed so generously fully measured up to my hopes, but it still fails to cover even one half of what our seminarians cost..."

- (41) AAR, Pastoral Letter, 13 May 1931, Archbishop James McGuigan to Clergy, pp 45-48.
- (42) "Solemn Procession Thursday to Close Catholic Congress", RLP, 20 May 1931 p 2. Spiritual events aside, McGuigan could not escape thinking of the debt.
- (43) "Prairie Heat 93 Degrees Above Zero", RLP, 14 May 1931 p 1, and "Farmers in West Welcome Mid-Winter Blizzard", CG, 21 May 1931, p 1.
- (44) "Special Ceremonies Held Thursday for Catholic Congress", RLP, 21 May 1931. p 2.
- (45) "Congress Ends Thursday with Special Rites", RLP, 22 May 1931. p 15. White and gold were the papal colours.
- (46) "Catholic Charities Conference for Regina", CR, 27 August 1931, p 1. At the meeting initial meeting of the Federated Charities, McGuigan described his recent trip through the parched country. He was appointed its honorary chairman. The board was mixed, having both secular and clergy as well as both sexes.
- (47) See (26) ADC. 28 August 1931, p 3. McGuigan said he would be begging for some months and that the reputation of the Church in Canada was in danger, if he failed. Contributions be submitted by 1 November. Archbishop James McGuigan to Bishop Anthony J. O'Sullivan, 10 October 1931.
- (48) Archives of Notre Dame College, (AND). Athol Murray Papers. 20 August 1931. Murray, Rev. Father Athol to Archbishop James McGuigan. McNeil was going to present it to the September meeting of the Ontario and Québec hierarchy. Murray told of his visit to Toronto and audience with Archbishop McNeil who said that if Regina declares bankruptcy it would affect the credit of the Church in Canada and possibly the United States. McNeil was also much impressed with the work of the United Church in supporting their churches in the dried out area.
- (49) There is a \$100,000 error in the letter to the three bishops since the total is only \$1,100,000. However, this amount came out shortly before the secular financier's calculation of \$1,300,000 or more.
- (50) See (26), ADC, p 2.
- (51) "Separate Board to Bar Press from Sessions" RLP, 27 January 1931, p 2.

(52) See (26) NAC, Murphy, p 7856. 17 November 1931. At this point McGuigan had \$10,000 of the \$16,000 he wanted per year from the bishops to cover the interest.

(53) "Archbishop McGuigan goes to London", RLP, 21 September 1931, p 8. His immediate reason for going was to attend the "enthronement" of his former Calgary suffragan, John Kidd, as bishop of London, Ontario.

(54) "McGuigan Says Priests Starving in Southern Saskatchewan", The Toronto Globe, 3 October 1931, p 13 and "Thousands Attend Impressive Ceremony on College Grounds", 5 October 1931, p 11. High school student, Vincent Foy, (later Monsignor Foy) was in attendance.

(55) "Strong Appeal by Archbishop at Convention", RLP, 17 October 1931, p 8.

(56) See (48).

(57) "Ontario Rushing More Aid For West", RLP, 17 October 1931, p 1. The Red Cross, the United Church and the Catholic Church were cooperating. Clothing, as well as Ontario fruit, was sent free by the national railways at request of the United Church. "Catholic Women send Food and Clothing to Needy Westerners. See also CR 12 November 1931, p 1 and "Knights of Columbus to Help the West", CR, 17 December 1931, p 7.

Chapter 4

Sadder But Wiser

January 1932-March 1935

In the 1932-33 period, Archbishop McGuigan showed what he could do. Despite facing an unparalleled and disastrous combination of environmental, economic, religious and political conditions, he performed very, very well. The archbishop continued his personal begging in the East. He developed the idea of the Salve Regina Fund, and evolved the surprisingly successful diocesan bazaar. He established a system of religious education for adults and summer vacation schools for children. Several much needed churches were built and a local seminary was started. McGuigan saw incipient fascism among the German-Canadians fade away, but had much greater difficulty in handling the drift toward socialism among his followers. As fate would have it, administrative help arrived in the appointment of a fourth suffragan, and in the defeat of the Tory governments, both provincial and national. Finally, the prelate accepted with extreme reluctance his "reward"--the see of Toronto which had over three times Regina's debt.

When 1932 began, Prime Minister R. B. Bennett predicted rather prematurely, that the worst of the Depression was over.(1) With the wheat crop cut by about 60% since 1928, (2) and prices having fallen to an all time low of less than 40 cents per bushel,(3) many farmers had lost

everything. In December 1931, McGuigan's chancellor, Monsignor A.J. Janssen, wrote to Monsignor John J. Blair saying that the original Red Cross estimate of 3,000 farming families on welfare was a marked underestimate. Now, 2,000 more families were in danger of starvation, and the temperatures had already dropped to -20 celsius.(4)

While Janssen was working for those who were in danger immediate starvation, McGuigan concentrated on the longer term spiritual/financial problems. Facing a serious shortage of income with which to maintain his out-of-town seminarians, he devised a plan to train them more economically. He would ask the Franciscans to turn his old palace into a scholasticate and to staff it themselves. Moreover, these mendicants were having severe financial problems in operating the building as a retreat centre. Despite their begging and contributions by local parishes, by late January it was necessary to eliminate both milk and butter from the friars' diet. Thus, they were encouraged to accept the archbishop's offer. That month McGuigan met with their local superior, Father Celestin Joseph, to discuss the proposal. However, it took six months to obtain consent from the Montréal headquarters. Only on the Feast of the Visitation of Mary to Elizabeth (2 July 1932) did the good news arrive. The archbishop, just finishing his morning Mass, thought the acceptance was indeed providential.(5)

That year McGuigan also organized a series of Lenten lectures at Holy Rosary Cathedral. One was for the Christian Education of Youth; the other, the Cathedral School of Catechetics, educated adults in church doctrine.(6) Previously, in September (1931), a Priest's Eucharistic League had been organized. At that time the archbishop talked of the beauty of the rising of the Sacramental Sun during morning Mass, and of the duty of spending one hour per week adoring God in the presence of the Blessed Sacrament. The conditions of membership were easy and the privileges great, he said. Finally, the blessed relief from the world's cares was available by simply closing the church door to be alone with the Lord who had said at Golgotha, "Will you not watch one hour with me?"(7)

A year later, this sacerdotal duty was reinforced when the archbishop wrote a pastoral letter telling his priests of their duty to sanctify every day, of their obligation to practice those "old fashioned" virtues of prayer and penance, and of the necessity to set aside one day per week for mortification of the ever-too-willing flesh.(8)

Of course, McGuigan kept in contact with his Extension benefactor, Monsignor John J. Blair who had continued supplementing those priests who had given up their salaries in lieu of Mass intentions. Then, in February 1932, the

archbishop astounded the administrator by sending to him \$400 collected in Saskatchewan. McGuigan said that "it may have seemed strange that a diocese which has to appeal to...charity in order to avoid financial disaster should take up such a collection. But, I am confident God will bless our diocese". Then, he told Blair that he was being constantly "bothered" by the Poles of Saint Anthony's Parish because he had not yet been able to give them the \$500 promised for lumber used to build their church. Therefore, could some kind soul send the beleaguered prelate that amount? The archbishop mentioned that he had said Mass in an abandoned beer parlour at Manor, Saskatchewan. Fortunately, the local bank was for sale at a greatly reduced price of \$2,000. This building would make a suitable rectory and chapel. Accordingly, "Would one of your readers not be to secure...imperishable riches in the solid bank of Heaven" by covering the cost of this earthly storehouse? The archbishop also told of children at Holy Rosary School who were supporting two of his seminarians at a total cost of \$600 per year. Perhaps, schools elsewhere could help this priestly education. He finished with an apology: "I have begun by offering you a widow's mite and I close with quite a list, which may astonish you...[but] charged before God with the care of this jurisdiction...[I must] beg in God's name the means whereby the Church's honour may be preserved."(9)

The next week McGuigan wrote Blair with a another idea to extend his pleading. He was being forced to dip into the trough once again because only half of the \$40,000 to \$50,000 yearly interest on the archdiocesan debt had been obtained. A fund called the Salve Regina was proposed, its very name suggesting "Save Regina". The idea was that 200 individuals, parishes, or other organizations would give him \$100 each per year for five years. Those contributing would have daily Mass offered at Holy Rosary Cathedral, and a special altar would be erected to Our Lady in thanksgiving if the appeal were successful.(10) Blair immediately agreed to run the advertisement in the Catholic Register's "Extension" page.

The fund was an instant success. In its first week it was worth \$735.19 in spite of competition from seven other appeals on the same page.(11) To reinforce his pleas, McGuigan, after being in Québec on church business,(12) returned to Ontario to beg. Consequently, the fund soared to over \$1200 for several weeks in March 1932.(13)

Unfortunately, the weather in Saskatchewan did not appear promising for the upcoming growing season. Father Athol Murray of Wilcox, Saskatchewan, wrote McGuigan in February telling that great dust storms, typical of summer, had already appeared, and that the ground was cracked to an incredible depth.(14) Amazingly, only two months later

Murray wrote his superior with good news: the Saskatchewan desert was now history. Rain had poured for days, the roads were gumbo, and the sloughs were overflowing.(15) Suddenly, it appeared that a good growing season was at hand.

During this happy time, Bennett stunned the country by announcing that Federal participation in joint work projects would be cancelled. Costs were simply too great, at least for one who was so profoundly ignorant of Keynesian economics.(16) The masses would now have to do with cheaper welfare, rather than relief work. Times were so desperate that this relief work had been sought even though it meant workers could be occupied only one week in eight or nine,(17) while underfed or ill-clothed.(18)

To make things worse, as spring turned into summer, the now dreaded dry heat replaced the wonderful vernal rains. However, as late as 27 July the Prairie wheat crop was estimated at about normal for the first time in three years.(19) Following this, due to continuing heat there was a considerable reduction in volume. Unfortunately, the rains in late August reduced the quality as well.(20) Still, Saskatchewan's 1932 crop was almost twice that of 1931.(21) This partly offset Bennett's cutback.

That summer McGuigan continued to attack on the spiritual front. He organized religious Vacation Summer School to teach the rudiments of the faith to Catholic children attending the public institution. To oversee the program, a committee of five priests was established,(22) with the Catholic Women's League accepting the duty of obtaining such things as bedding and food as well as providing transportation for the children.(23) Although the program did not reach all needy offspring, the archbishop was pleased, planning to redouble the efforts the following year.(24)

In September more good news arrived. The Franciscans had opened Regina Cleri Seminary. McGuigan, who wrote from Ontario where he was again begging, explained that: "Our poverty compelled us to put the former archbishop's palace to a more definite use. In point of fact, I am unable to continue paying fees for future priests of the archdiocese to outside institutions".(25)

Now, having reduced costs, McGuigan developed yet another idea to generate income: the autumn Diocesan Charity Bazaars. Under this scheme, the parishes would collect the proceeds of their bazaar and keep all but the cathedraticum, or their proportion of the archdiocesan debt, the insurance cost of their property and the administrative costs for the program. The result was that

the local churches received from less than one-third to one-half of the proceeds. This small amount became an important source of funds for desperate rural parishes.(26)

With these successes in hand, it was time for McGuigan's very premature ad limina visit to Rome. This journey was to present the archbishop's report to the pope and, undoubtedly for the pontiff to get a close look at the prelate's behaviour. On 30 September 1932, McGuigan had an initial meeting with Pope Pius XI. Subsequently, he travelled to Hungary to recruit priests for his cosmopolitan diocese. Here, he received a rousing welcome and conferred with Cardinal Justinian Seradi.(27) Also, he was able to obtain at least one seminarian, Michael Vezer,(28) who transferred to Regina Cleri. On 18 October McGuigan again met the pope (29) before travelling home via Ottawa. There he was reached Senator Murphy who had found additional funding.(30)

Also, by this time, the Salve Regina Fund was failing for lack of attention. As well, donor fatigue seems to have set in. Seeing this while in Rome, McGuigan obtained an agreement that benefactors would receive an Apostolic Blessing with a plenary indulgence at the hour of death.(31) Even this benefit was not sufficient reinforcement for personal begging. Thus in 1934, when drought intensified again, McGuigan made plans to be a

mendicant in the virgin territory of New England,(32) an unlikely area indeed.

Regrettably, while the archbishop had been on his ad limina visit, misfortune struck the archdiocese. In November, the Lebret Indian School had been destroyed causing a \$250,000 loss.(33) This institution had been established to Christianize the Natives.(34) Regarding this, the correspondence of McGuigan and Blair is enlightening on contemporary White attitudes toward the Natives. On 19 March 1931, the head of Extension responding to the archbishop's appeal for \$500 for a Native chapel, stated that, "The Red Man has not learned to be thrifty and even with the best possible disposition, he is seldom in...money, but will contribute a certain amount of work."(35) Three years later, when McGuigan appealed for money for another modest house of worship, Blair commented on "the simple childlike Faith of our Indians, slow to take up the plough, but [who] will build the chapel under the direction of the Black Robe." At least he admitted that, "The Lord died for these poor Red Men and dusky members of our Church."(36)

The same spring (1934) Bennett wrote McGuigan saying that he could not rebuild the school--yet. However, if finances "continued to improve", the prime minister would undertake the task during the coming season.(37) That season

passed, as did the autumn and the following winter. It was not until 1935 that Le Bret was finally reconstructed.(38)

Summing up the year, McGuigan's 1932 annual report showed that the low point of the archdiocese's finances had apparently been passed. Times were still desperate, but it seemed now that there was hope of eventual recovery. To expedite this, a system had been established by which parishes were to pay the interest on their share of the money borrowed from the Chancery at 6%, were to be assessed at 8.3% on their part of the episcopal corporation's encumbrance to outside sources as well as to contribute to the cathedraticum. But even those with no debt had trouble making all these payments. At the same time, a fair number of indebted parishes covered two out of three obligations. And, surprisingly, a few paid all three assessments while some even slightly reduced their total indebtedness.(39)

McGuigan was encouraging, even to those pastors and parishes who could do nothing. He mentioned Rev. Dr. M. C. Sauner of Odessa, who had denied himself his salary in order to cover the interest and a small portion of the principal on his parish debt. Of course, this also meant that the priest could pay none of the corporation's assessment, nor much of the cathedraticum.(40) He was forgiven. Speaking of the village of Holdfast, the archbishop wrote that it had been "very much tried" with

"a tremendous debt". Reassuring the people, he addressed them so: "Courage, dear people of Holdfast. Our Blessed Lady will eventually smile on your farms and prosperity will return..."(41)

McGuigan continued that he had begged the interest on more than half of the parish debts and had credited those parishes that could pay nothing on their share of the corporation's debt with a donation so that their encumbrance did not increase.(42)

Commenting on the diocesan bazaar, the archbishop pointed out that it had been a means for country parishes to meet their obligations to the Chancery and others. He was pleased that the 1932 total was \$14,647.21. Small as it seems, given the times the amount was very helpful. \$4372.68 was returned to the parishes after expenses and their insurance was paid.

Three chapels had been built at no cost to the diocese thanks to Extension. Also, two new religious orders had arrived. The Sisters of Social Service had taken up residence in east Regina, and the Sisters of Loretto came to Little Flower Parish.

Of course, McGuigan thanked the bishops and archbishops of Canada for their contributions as well as those seculars who had sacrificed. Therefore he reiterated his promise of

daily Mass for them. These gifts had been inspired by the letter of O'Leary, Sinnott and Kidd as well as the Salve Regina Fund.

In closing the prelate noted that he had been able to pay the first instalment on the archdiocesan debt, and that financial conditions were "slightly better than last year." However, he cautioned that the strict economy had just started to lead to progress against the immense encumbrance, and again he warned his pastors that no further borrowing without his permission was tolerable.(43)

Having explained the financial situation to his people, McGuigan turned to another problem: the year long void in Gravelbourg Diocese. This vacancy had recently arisen because Bishop Villeneuve has been appointed the archbishop of Québec. Fortunately, help arrived in March 1933 with the coming of Monsignor Arthur Melanson.(44) After waiting over a year for further assistance, the Diocese of Saskatoon was carved out of the Regina's north west corner.(45) Therefore, McGuigan's position now seemed somewhat better at least administratively.

The nadir of the Great Depression came in 1933.(46) As well, the spring of 1933 was late,(47) but at least the soil moisture was good even in the dry south west.(48) It seemed possible to hope for two crops back to back.

Therefore, the prayerful storming of Heaven would continue. Countering the invocations, a plague of grasshoppers appeared due to warm moist conditions (49). As well, temperatures of more than 40 degrees celsius followed, and toward the end of the season an early frost occurred.(50) The result was an almost 50% reduction of the wheat crop from 1932.(51) The gains of 1932 had been lost and another desperate winter loomed.

The Great Depression also had presented major challenges to the Vatican. Reacting to the gains of communism, Pius XI issued a social encyclical. On the 40th anniversary of Rerum Novarum (1931), the Pontiff released Quadragesimo Anno. He modified Leo's praise of private property by speaking out against the excess accumulation of assets. Pius reiterated his predecessor's idea that it was necessary to pay a living wage and felt that state intervention might be necessary to establish social justice.(52)

Related to this encyclical was the local problem of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF). This social democratic party had arisen from a 1932 Calgary meeting at which delegates protested the latest failure of the capitalist system, and produced what they envisioned as a solution. The next year they met in Regina and passed the famous Regina Manifesto which called for

nationalization of key industries and the establishment of a welfare state by a democratically elected CCF government.(53)

The response from the Catholic Church was decidedly cool, especially in reactionary Quebec. Archbishop Georges Gauthier of Montréal proscribed the party on the basis of his misinterpretations of the encyclicals Rerum Novarum and Quadragesimo Anno.(54) Contrary to this reading was the example of the British Labour Party. Commonly said to be socialist, it was led by a conspicuous Christian, Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald. Also, Cardinal Francis Bourne of Westminster called the Party a "Bulwark of Christianity."(55) Now, the question remained whether or not the CCF was socialist in the proscribed sense.

Meeting at Québec City in 1933, the Canadian Catholic bishops spoke of the need to regulate both capital and labour in order to stop the spread of Marxism. The prelates also echoed Pius' statement that excessive profits were morally wrong.(56) The CCF was not mentioned by name, probably because this might have caused a split between the French bishops who wanted to condemn it outright, and the English prelates who were not so sure that the party should be proscribed. The upshot was that the CCF was still tarred with the socialist brush, if not the communist one.

In December, a number of Saskatchewan Catholic CCFers addressed a letter to the Canadian bishops pointing out that a committee of Jesuits and Dominicans of French-Canadian extraction had studied the problem and found the party suspicious, but not condemnable. Furthermore, the laymen stated that the editor of the Toronto Catholic Register, Henry Somerville, had noted not only that the word "socialism" had several meanings, but also that he did not believe that the CCF was proscribed. Finally, the authors stated that they could not leave the party to its mostly unbelieving leaders. Nevertheless, the fact that the organization was an outgrowth of the Protestant Social Gospel was probably a factor in the official Catholic resistance. (57)

Two months later in February 1934, McGuigan and the Saskatchewan hierarchy issued a joint pastoral on socialism. Still unable to decide whether the CCF was legitimate, they talked of forsaking God as the major cause of the world economic crisis. This abandonment had allowed a concentration of power in the hands of a few through unbridled ambition. Therefore, a reaction had set in that gave rise to radical political parties. Even though the document admitted that there were different forms of socialism, and that some even tolerated religion, the prelates dared not state that any form of socialism could be Christian. Summing up, the local bishops declared

themselves to be neutral in political affairs (58) at least concerning legal parties, one of which was the CCF.

The problem then moved from the theoretical to the real because of one priest, Father Athol Murray, rector of Notre Dame College in Wilcox, Saskatchewan. In May 1934, damning the torpedoes and ploughing straight ahead into the sea of politics, he expelled two of his students for joining the CCF.(59) McGuigan became concerned fearing that the controversy would mean a return of the anti-Catholic bigotry of 1929 (60). Immediately, Murray was called to task and told he "must under no consideration ...take any action...that might further complicate the delicate situation."(61) About this time, McGuigan and the Saskatchewan CCF leader, Major James (M. J.) Coldwell, corresponded. Coldwell pointed out that his party had restrained itself from attacking Murray and other priests who had violated the professed political neutrality of the church. Furthermore, he said that the philosophy of the CCF was to distribute more fairly the abundance that Providence had showered upon the world. For his part, McGuigan admitted that Murray had indeed violated the joint pastoral, and reaffirmed that no priest was to use his influence for, or against, any lawful party.(62) Political peace was reestablished, but the CCF was not yet out of the woods. For example, in 1943 the bishops of Ontario felt

they had to reexamine the whole question of Catholics voting for the party.(63)

Having put Murray back in harness, McGuigan now had to face another bleak agricultural prospect in 1934. On 23 April the province had been swept by a dust storm "without precedence", (64) and, a few weeks later, the roof of Vibank Convent was blown away.(65) For the moment June rains cut the blowing soil, thereby saving the grain crop.(66) Unfortunately, by the end of July, after weeks of drought, the crop was reduced to the previous year's disastrous level.(67) Excessive heat was followed by sudden frost. The result was that on 20 September McGuigan wrote Blair saying that, "We face the worst conditions yet in the history of the diocese..." The archbishop added that he did not know how he could support his country priests in the coming winter. All he could do was to remind them to trust in Divine Providence and have recourse to the Blessed Virgin Mary.(68) Yet, not all the news was bad, for as the fourth desperate winter approached, outside help had continued to arrive. Grateful members of the Saskatchewan Legislature gave a vote of thanks to those jurisdictions that had assisted. They noted not only that big Ontario did the most by sending 157 of 312 boxcars of food and clothing, but also that little Prince Edward Island was second with 60 carloads.(69)

This was also the year of the destruction of the Anderson Government and the return to power of Jimmy Gardiner's Liberals. This occurred on 20 June 1934. Moreover, a significant number of CCF members were elected.(70) The next day, the new government announced the cancellation of the Anderson school acts.(71) More intractable was unemployment, easily the worst problem. Unfortunately, Gardiner could not create much relief work without Ottawa's cooperation. Notwithstanding this fact, he spent \$50,000 on such work, but this amount paled in comparison to his 1934 direct welfare expenditure of \$1,500,000. Bennett, now fearing the worst after Anderson's defeat, started spending again on capital projects. In 1934 he disbursed \$450,000 for an art deco Federal building in Regina, and the next year rebuilt Lebret at a cost of half a million dollars.(72) This would soon be shown to be insufficient to maintain the life of the Federal Tories.

The death of the saintly archbishop of Toronto, Neil McNeil, had occurred in May 1934. McGuigan attended the funeral and spoke of McNeil's demise as being a loss for the whole Canadian church.(73) Seven months later the archbishop of Regina was apparently stunned by hearing that he had been named as McNeil's successor. On Christmas Eve 1934, McGuigan tearfully announced to his parishioners his transfer to the preeminent diocese of English Canada.(74)

He was but 40. The Regina Leader-Post editorialized that the archbishop had successfully handled a situation exceeded by none, that all branches of Christianity saw him as broad minded, and knew him to be a gentleman.(75)

A few days later the administrator of Toronto, Monsignor Francis Carroll, arrived and explained that archdiocese's terrible financial and political situation.(76) At the same time, Henry O'Leary had become seriously ill in Edmonton. McGuigan left immediately after hearing the bad news from Carroll to see his former mentor.(77) These two events: the revealing of Toronto's \$4,000,000 debt, (78) and the threat to the health of O'Leary seemed to have panicked McGuigan. The next thing known was that the archbishop, encouraged by Sinnott, was in Rome attempting to refuse the new duties.(79) In three weeks he had four extraordinary meetings with Pope Pius XI.(80) These were sufficient to convince the youthful, but faltering, prelate that he could handle the much heavier load in Toronto.

The archbishop returned to the New World in late February 1935, stating that at he "would be lonesome for the West" having spent all" of his priesthood there. But being a servant of the Church, he would enter into his new work with zest and enthusiasm.(81)

Four thousand people attended the March 15th farewell for their prelate at the Regina armouries. Here McGuigan

stated that he was sure that he would never again have to suffer such trying conditions as he had in Regina. Somehow he also claimed that he did not have a single unpleasant recollection of his time there!(82) On St. Patrick's Day 1935, the archbishop left Union Station after shaking hands with all 500 well wishers.(83)

James McGuigan had served as archbishop of Regina for almost five years, facing the toughest assignment of any Canadian prelate. Initially overwhelmed, he conquered his near despair and found effective ways of coping with shortages of finances and vocations. The situation even required that he humiliate himself by becoming a beggar and giving up his home. His Salve Regina Fund was a stroke of genius, or perhaps desperation. Personally recruiting the Franciscans to create a seminary in his former home was indicative of his ability to utilize better very limited resources. The tough spiritual discipline that he forced on his clergy gave them the tools to cope with their trying positions. His Religious Vacation Schools, the Cathedral School of Catechetics, and the Priests' Eucharistic League showed his ability to keep the faith alive under trying circumstances. Overall, McGuigan's economic efforts had at least held the line, and that was almost a miracle in itself. With the overwhelming drought coming back in 1934, it is amazing that the archbishop had been able even to keep his head above water. The Great Depression reached

its nadir in 1933, but the Prairie Provinces' economies continued to disintegrate until the late 1930s.(84)

McGuigan's political efforts, although not totally successful, at least led to a compromise with the CCF that made political peace. Finally, his ability to separate the laity from their money, and parents from their sons and daughters, became almost the stuff of legend. Is it any wonder that Archbishop McGuigan was moved from Regina to the "Belfast of Canada", (85) a city with even greater challenges for the church.

Notes: Chapter 4

- (1) Brennan, Patrick H. "Thousands of our men are getting practically nothing at all to do", Urban History Review, (UHR), vol XXI, no 1, October 1992, p 38.
- (2) "Poll Elevators Place 1932 Wheat Crop at 204,826,000", Regina Leader Post, (RLP), 15 October 1932, p 1. The 1931 crop in Saskatchewan was only 130,000,000 bushels while in 1928 the crop had been 321,215,000 bushels.
- (3) Friesan, Gerald, The Canadian Prairies: A History, p 385. An attempt was made to hold the line at \$1.00 per bushel.
- (4) "Conditions in the West Daily Becoming Worse", The Catholic Register, (CR), 10 December 1931, p 1.
- (5) MacDonald, Reverend Thomas More, Regina Cleri Major Seminary, 1931-1955. (RCS), p 7, 10-11. Among others, the Catholic Women's League had been holding grocery showers but they were not sufficient.
- (6) Archives of Archdiocese of Regina (AAR). Pastoral Letters, McGuigan, Archbishop James to Clergy, 30 January, 1932, p 95-96; "First Lectures", RLP, 2 February 1932, p 3, and "Sermon Series Begins Sunday at Holy Rosary", 6 February 1932, p 8.
- (7) AAR. Circular Letter. McGuigan, Archbishop James to his Clergy, 17 September 1931, p 70-72.
- (8) AAR. Pastoral Letter. McGuigan, Archbishop James to his Clergy, 4 September 1932, p 148-151.
- (9) "Essential Needs", (CR), 4 February 1932, p 5.
- (10) "The Archdiocese of Regina" CR, 11 February 1932. p 5. Salve Regina (Latin) means "Hail Holy Queen".
- (11) "Salve Regina Fund" CR, 18 February 1932 p 5. In competition were The Missionary Dollar Club, The Little Flower, Mary's Burse, Our Lady of Perpetual Help, Saint Joseph's Burse, Souls in Purgatory Burse and The Holy Sacrifice Fund.
- (12) "Will Return Monday", RLP, 16 March 1932, p 3. McGuigan attended the installation of his former suffragan, Monsignor Villeneuve. This "enthronement" had moved Villeneuve from a McGuigan's suffragan to primate of Canada in one fell swoop.

(13) "Salve Regina Fund", CR, 10 March 1932, p 5. The value was \$1,282. On 24 March the value had increased by \$1,280.50.

(14) Archives of Notre Dame College, (AND). Murray, Rev. Father Athol to Archbishop James McGuigan, 25 February 1932, pp 1-2. Murray said that farms valued at \$100-120 per acre were now selling at as low as \$20 per acre.

(15) AND. Murray, Rev Father Athol to Archbishop James McGuigan, 3 May 1932, pp 1-2. The bombardment of Heaven had paid off said Murray. McGuigan was in Hamilton begging.

(16) "Keynes, John Maynard" The New Encyclopædia Britannica, Micropædia, 1992, vol 6, pp 823-825. The solution for the Great Depression that had befuddled laissez-fair economists was to spend our way out. This Keynes presented in his 1935 classic, The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money. In general this expenditure was not realized until the Second World War. Exceptions were countries, such as Nazi Germany, which by rearming cured their local economic depression.

(17) See (1), p 36.

(18) See (1), p 38. Engineering staff were distressed by the sight of ill clad men labouring in cold weather.

(19) "430,000,000 Bushel Crop Expected", (RLP), 27 July 1932 p 1. The prairie average was 450,000,000 bushels.

(20) "Rains holding up Harvesting in Province" RLP 25 August 1932, p 3. In mid August, heat reduced the crop. "Hot Weather Cuts Yield in Province", RLP, 16 August 1932, p 14.

(21) See (2).

(22) "Organized Catechetical Instruction in the Archdiocese of Regina", CR, 2 June 1932, p 1. McGuigan quoted Matthew xxxviii, "Going therefore teach ye all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost..." Prizes were to given to the best students. AAR. Circular Letter, McGuigan, Archbishop James to his clergy, 3 September 1932, p 141. Regarding the Vacation Summer School examinations, the Baltimore Catechism was to be used. Such topics as the existence of God, the Marks of the True Church, and the Real Presence were to be undertaken. Examinations were to be written on 30 October, preferably in English or French, p 142-146.

(23) AAR. Pastoral Letter, McGuigan, Archbishop James to his Clergy, 10 May, 1932, pp 111-112. Each subdivision of the Catholic Women's League to be "fishers of children". If the canvassers were refused at a home, they were to pray and go back, again and again.

(24) AAR. Circular Letter, McGuigan, Archbishop James to his clergy. 3 September 1932, p 141.

(25) "Seventeen To Study at Seminary", RLP, 14 September 1932, p 9. McGuigan had been in Ontario that spring too. "School Plans for Catholics This Summer", RLP, 23 May 1932, p 1.

(26) AAR. Circular letter, McGuigan, Archbishop James to his clergy. p 215, 16 November 1933. "The success of our diocesan bazaar has surpassed our fondest hopes and has brought unity of action from every corner of the diocese".

(27) "Archbishop McGuigan Lands in New York...", RLP, 5 November 1932, p 2. McGuigan, who was in some ways a political naïf, thought that Mussolini had the best run country in Europe.

(28) Interview: Father Michael Vezer, 13 August 1992. At this time Father Vezer was planning to return to Hungary to settle after a 60 year absence and the overthrow of the Communists and Nazis. However, his health was poor and he died 15 August 1994 at 82, apparently in Regina. Hungarian names such as Santha and Koch occurred among the priests in Regina. The former arrived before 1930, the latter in 1930 or later. Le Canada Ecclésiastique, 1930, p 802.

(29) See (27).

(30) National Archives of Canada, (NAC), MG27, III, B8. Vol 19, Senator Charles Murphy Papers, p 7883. Murphy, Senator Charles to Archbishop James McGuigan, 16 November 1932. For example, a Mr. A.W. Robertson of Montreal had promised a generous \$300 per year for 5 years. p 7883. McGuigan to Murphy, 16 November 1932. McGuigan said that he had paid the chancery interest last year, p 7884. McGuigan to Murphy, 17 November 1932. He then asked Murphy for \$100 per year for 5 years.

(31) "Salve Regina Fund", CR, 8 December 1932, p 5. An apostolic blessing is an exposition of the Blessed Sacrament and the priest's blessing of the ill with the sacrament. A plenary indulgence is a total remission of temporal punishment due to sins. It accompanies the above

act. Forshaw, Bernard. "Apostolic Blessing", The New Catholic Encyclopedia, 1967, vol 1, p 683.

(32) Archives of Diocese of Charlottetown, (ADC), 25 September 1934. McGuigan, Archbishop James to Bishop Anthony O'Sullivan. Financial problems persisted despite occasional checks from Murphy and the fact that the archbishop was surprised by Salve Regina suddenly yielding \$3,800 after many weeks of no, or piddling, contributions. (See "Salve Regina Fund", CR, 17 August 1933 p 5 and the weeks before and after). The yearly amounts contributed to Regina by Extension (the suffragans being treated separately) were (1931) \$9,104.00; (1932) \$16,520.65; (1933), \$13,400.00 plus \$12,559.40 for Salve Regina and (1934) \$13,147.00 plus \$5,538.50 for Salve Regina. See CR "Our Annual Report" or our "Financial Statement", p 5 for 30 April 1931, 14 April 1932, 11 May 1933 and 19 April 1934.

(33) "Lebret Indian School Burns", RLP, 14 November 1932, p 1. 225 children were left homeless. The school was owned by the Dominion Government, but staffed by Oblates who were a Catholic order of priests. McGuigan seems to have had his first close look at the Natives when he escorted Sinnott on his confirmation tour to northern Manitoba in 1925. Impressive were the Natives kneeling in the snow as the Great Chief of Prayer, Sinnott, passed, and the children seemed more knowledgable concerning prayers than those in nearby white communities. "Pastoral Visit to Indians by Their Bishop", CR, 9 April 1925, p 5.

(34) "Churches Confess Historic Sin", Catholic New Times, vol 17, number 20. 21 November 1993, p 1. The churches now admit that these schools destroyed Native culture by separating children from their family and village.

(35) "New Settlers and Aborigines", CR, 19 March 1931, p 5.

(36) "After 50 Years", CR, 26 April 1934, p 1.

(37) NAC, MG26 K M1075. The Richard Bedford Bennett Papers, p 246560, 16 February 1934 Bennett, Prime Minister R. B. to Archbishop James McGuigan, and p 246541, McGuigan to Bennett, 10 January 1933. McGuigan also asked if it is possible to have higher education for Native children at the new Lebret.

(38) Gerein, Rt. Rev. Frank, An Outline History of Archdiocese of Regina, p 88.

(39) Annual Report of the Archdioceses of Regina: 1932.
(ARAR), pp 16-19

(40) ARAR, p 22.

(41) ARAR, pp 25.

(42) ARAR, p 22-25. The parishes and religious communities owed money to both the chancery and "the loan company". McGuigan was responsible ultimately for the parish's debts to the "loan company" as the chancery had sanctioned them. These totalled \$500,000. The parishes also owed the chancery \$200,000, while the administration itself had a "floating debt" of \$500,000. Perhaps McGuigan had consolidated all the debts to external sources into one annuity at 8.3%.

(43) ARAR, p 33-35.

(44) "Rt. Rev. L.J. Melanson Consecrated 2nd Bishop of Gravelbourg", CG, 2 March 1933, p 1 and "Gravelbourg Bishop for Quebec Post". RLP, 15 December 1931, p 1. He was from Québec Province and was to be enthroned on 9 March.

(45) "Saskatoon Diocese Erected", CR, 29 March 1934, p 1. Also, "Enthroned as First Bishop of Saskatoon", RLP, 19 April 1934, p 8.

(46) See (3), p 385. It would take the Second World War to bring employment back to its peak.

(47) "Relief Camps to Stay Open", RLP, 26 April 1933, p 1.

(48) "Good Moisture over South West", RLP, 3 April 1933, p 1.

(49) "Grasshopper Infestation Severe in South East", RLP, 7 June 1933, p 1. "Autos Skid on Masses of Grasshoppers over Saskatchewan Highways", 26 June 1933, p 1, and "Tons of Hopper Bait Shipped", 12 June 1933, p 1. The insects were so thick that they clouded the sun.

(50) "Heat Up to 106 Degrees in Saskatchewan Again", RLP, 28 July 1933, p 1 and "Early Frost Nips Gardens", RLP, 1 August 1933, p 1.

(51) "Drought, Hoppers Cause Huge Cut in Wheat Output", RLP, 12 September 1933, p 5.

- (52) Bokenkotten, Thomas, A Concise History of the Catholic Church, p 308.
- (53) "CCF's Thirteen Planks Decided", RLP, 19 July 1933, p 1 and "War on Capitalism Aim of Manifesto Announced by CCF", 20 July 1933, p 9.
- (54) "Prelate Scores CCF", RLP, (editorial), 20 September 1933, p 4 and "Prelate Condemns CCF Movement", RLP, 18 September 1933, p 1.
- (55) See (58).
- (56) "Both Communism and Capitalism rapped in Pastoral Letter", RLP, 22 November 1933, p 9.
- (57) See (55) "Memorandum--Catholics in the CCF", NAC, MG28 vol 65, file 1. The Social Gospel was an attempt to apply Christianity to the world. A. Richard Allen, "Social Gospel". The Canadian Encyclopedia, 2nd edition, 1988, p 2026.
- (58) "Catholic Church Neutral, Says Bishop", RLP, 23 May 1934, p 2. The letters of McGuigan and Coldwell.
- (59) "Charge Catholic CCF Students Face Expulsions", RLP, 16 May 1934, p 3 and "Catholic Youths Quit CCF Group at Wilcox", 17 May 1934, p 1.
- (60) AND. Athol Murray Papers, 15 June 1934. McGuigan, Archbishop James to Most Rev. Andrea Cassulo, p 3.
- (61) AND, Athol Murray Papers, 23 May 1934. McGuigan, Archbishop James to Rev. Father Athol Murray.
- (62) See (58)
- (63) "The Bishops and the CCF", Globe And Mail, (G&M), (editorial), 22 October 1943, p 6.
- (64) "Seeded Areas Swept by Sunday Dust Havoc" RLP, 23 April 1934, p 1.
- (65) "Roof Torn Off Vibank Convent by 60 MPH Wind", RLP, 9 May 1934, p 1.
- (66) "Drought Ended in Prairies", CG, 13 June 1934, p 1 and "Rains in June Save Crop in Dry Year", RLP, 10 July 1934, p 1. Ominously, the moisture in the soil was below normal even after the rains.

(67) "Hot, Dry Weather Reduces Crop to Level of Last Year", RLP, 26 July 1934, p 8.

(68) "Regina Letter", CR, 20 September 1934, p 5. McGuigan, Archbishop James to Monsignor John J. Blair.

(69) "Thanks Vote Extended for Aid Sent Saskatchewan Drouth Areas", RLP, 1 December 1934, p 9. The third province was British Columbia with 50 box cars. Places in P.E.I. that contributed included North Wiltshire and Hunter River. "Three Carloads of Vegetables Arrive from P.E.I.", RLP, 1 December 1931, p 4.

(70) "Liberal Landslide", RLP, 20 June 1934, p 1. 49 Liberals and 5 CCFers were elected, but not one Tory was. The Conservatives destroyed many of their administrative files before surrendering power to the Liberals.

(71) "Repeal of Anderson School Legislation Plan, Gardiner", RLP, 21 June 1934 p 2.

(72) See (1), p 40 and "New Lebert Indian School to Cost \$500,000", RLP, 12 July 1934, p 1.

(73) "Universal Tribute to Late Archbishop", CR, 31 May 1934, p 1.

(74) "Toronto Post for Regina Archbishop", RLP, 24 December 1934, p 1. Strangely, McGuigan signed himself as "Elect of Toronto" in January 1933. Catholic University of America Archives, McGuigan, Archbishop James to Bishop James Ryan, 18 January 1933.

(75) "Archbishop McGuigan's Elevation" RLP, 27 December 1934, p 4.

(76) "Archbishop's Enthronement in February", RLP, 31 December 1934, p 1.

(77) "Progress Made by Archbishop", RLP, 2 January 1935, p 10. O'Leary seems to have had a nervous breakdown worrying over about his deteriorating heart and the increasing debt of the Separate School. Cashman, Tony, "Edmonton's Catholic Schools: A Success Story", p 151-52 and Archives of the Archdiocese of Edmonton, (AAE), 29 July 1937. Archbishop Henry J. O'Leary to Rev. Father Louis O.M.I.

(78) McGoey, Father John to author, 30 April 1990, p 3.

(79) Foy, Monsignor Vincent to author, 9 September 1991, p 2. Sinnott had a personal motive in encouraging McGuigan

to reject Toronto. The archbishop of Winnipeg wanted the position!

(80) "Bishop McGuigan Received by Pope", RLP, 4 February 1935, p 1. It did not seem to take four meetings to change McGuigan's mind and there was other business to take care once the archbishop had accepted his charge.

(81) "I Will be Lonesome for the West, M'Guigan Says", RLP, 28 February 1935, p 8.

(82) "4,000 Regina Persons Attend Farewell", RLP, 16 March 1935, p 11.

(83) "Reginans See McGuigan Away; More than 500 at Union Station", RLP, 18 March 1935, p 2.

(84) Danysk, Cecila, "The Farm Employment Plans of the 1930s in Prairie Canada", The Prairie Forum, vol 29, no 2, p 237.

(85) "Catholics Rap City Officials", Toronto Globe, 12 October 1935, p 2.

Chapter 5

No Calm Before the Storm

1935-1939

Archbishop McGuigan's first half decade in Toronto involved many of the problems that he had faced in Regina. Of course, Toronto's debt was much bigger, but the means of paying it were also much greater. Adding to his financial problems, however, was the funding of the separate school system. Unlike western Canada, this institution received little or no corporation taxes.(1) As well, the lack of separate high schools was seen as a danger to faith, and to the advancement of Catholics in the secular world. Adding to this burden was the necessity to support Toronto's Saint Augustine's Seminary. Political polarization was probably much more extreme and dangerous in Toronto than in Regina, and as in Regina, there were problems with some of his priests. Finally, the archbishop had to face the death of both his mother and his spiritual father before he was confronted with the difficulties of war time administration.

James McGuigan, unlike his predecessor, Neil McNeil, did not enter Toronto surreptitiously. Upon arriving in 1913, McNeil had told his administrator, Monsignor John Kidd, not to let anyone know on which train he was coming and even held his installation on the day that most priests could not attend: Sunday.(2)

Although McGuigan found celebratory displays rather distasteful, he undertook his public role just as he had on his departure from Regina. On 20 March 1935, 15,000 people were waiting at the Union Station for their new apostolic leader, and 75,000 individuals lined the streets leading from the station to his residence at the Head of Wellesley Place.(3) After his "enthronement", McGuigan visited the appropriate religious institutions and on Sunday, March 24, held a great civic reception at Maple Leaf Gardens. This event drew the rink's second largest crowd to date, 17,500 people. Also, as in Regina, the archbishop lingered, this time for two hours in order to shake hands with all those who wished to meet him.(4)

With the public duties disposed of, McGuigan immediately had to face two pressing problems: the huge Archdiocesan debt and the funding of the separate school system. In Regina, he had collapsed under an apparently unpayable debt of \$300,000. Now, he faced an encumbrance of over thirteen times as large: \$4,000,000. Of this \$1,500,000 was on the chancery itself with the remainder owed by the seminary, parishes, and very likely some religious communities. Unfortunately, a number of these parishes could not cover even the interest on their debts to the chancery, let alone pay the archbishop's support, or their share of the encumbrance of the episcopal corporation.(5) In spite of these difficulties, McGuigan appeared to be handling the

problems well, at least initially. Writing to Bishop J. A. O'Sullivan of Charlottetown on 29 May 1935, the new archbishop of Toronto declared that he was "very busy, but (that) things have been pleasant enough since I came here". He added that as in Regina, "the financial problems will be the greatest difficulty, although both priests and people seem kind and willing to co-operate."(6)

McGuigan's plan of attack was also similar to that used in Regina. There were to be severe restrictions on loans and expenses, priests had to pay back the parish debts at 2% per year (having obtained half of the needed funds for capital projects before even starting), and they had to make all collections such as Peter's Pence. Of course, the richer parishes were also to be charitable to the poorer ones.(7)

Although they were the apples of his eye, the archbishop was also tough financially on his seminarians. Monsignor Vincent Foy, who attended Saint Augustine's Seminary between 1934 and 1939, reports that bursaries had been established by the laity. Still, McGuigan insisted that the graduates pay \$80 per year for 8 years, apparently for laundry service.(8) As well, the archbishop brought in an efficiency expert. One result was that the Sunday morning bacon and eggs disappeared while too many variations of apple graced the seminarians' tables.(9)

When Foy entered graduate studies after ordination, McGuigan's financial restraints again impinged on him. The monsignor reports that he was sent to Laval University to study canon law, but was denied the traditional monthly stipend of \$30 in the name of another of the archbishop's economy drives. As a result the young priest had to obtain his money from Mass stipends, minus any Masses that he said for himself. Under this arrangement he had difficulty making ends meet and so asked his Toronto superior for a small allowance at the start of the second year. McGuigan replied that there was no money. At the start of Foy's third year, the archbishop agreed to \$10 per month. The young priest was relieved, only to discover that he had been denied his normal Christmas bonus of \$25! Finally, to add further insult to injury, Father Foy, who had been promised by the archbishop that he would not have to pay the \$80 per year laundry, was charged nonetheless, but only for four years.(10)

Still, McGuigan could show real compassion when his clergy demonstrated sufficient need--even if it cost him money. In 1944 Father Foy developed tuberculosis and was clearly not recovering in Hamilton's Mountain Sanatorium. The archbishop, who had previously granted the ailing man an allowance of \$25 per month, made all the right moves sending him across the border to Gabriel's,

New York State. This was not easy given the patient's medical condition, but at least there he recovered.(11)

Given such economic restraints, some progress had to be made against the debt. This was shown in financial figures at the end of 1935. McGuigan had been able to balance the budget, but only because the Catholic millionaire, Frank O'Connor, gave him a gift of \$200,000.(12) This allowed McGuigan to pay the cost of discounting and selling \$1,500,000 worth of bonds that had been offered in April.(13) Also, since expenses had exceeded income by less than the residue from the O'Connor gift, the archbishop was able to finish with an excess of \$42,404.67. (14)

The next year, McGuigan was again able to balance his budget, this time without any extraordinary revenue. In doing so he paid \$30,000 on the chancery's principal while having the parishes reduce their encumbrances by \$95,000. (15)

In attempting to pay the debt, the archbishop reassured the poor and unemployed that they were not expected to contribute to his \$4,000,000 Diocesan Debt Fund. Nevertheless, he felt that there was a considerable number of employed who did not consciously realize that they had an obligation to help him.(16) He again asked that very poor parishes be adopted by others, or by groups, as

these impoverished parishes could not even start to free themselves from debt.(17)

Despite imposing this burden, McGuigan dared to request extra donations to refurbish the shabby interior of Saint Michael's Cathedral.(18) He also founded a few desperately needed parishes. Finally, he requested that volunteers help to recapture the estimated 4,000 young people who had no chance for Catholic instruction and consequently had drifted away. This work was to be done by organizing recreational clubs and by establishing instructional classes at the parishes.(19)

Unfortunately, the slowly and irregularly recovering economy suffered a setback in 1937.(20) As well, when in 1936, Mrs. Ambrose Small contributed half of her \$2,000,000 estate to the Archdiocese of Toronto,(21) and three years later when Frank O'Connor willed much of his \$7,000,000 holdings to the church, these gifts went toward archdiocesan institutions,(22) rather than the corporation's debt. Therefore, the archbishop was left with the long and tedious problem of scrimping and saving to pay the money that the archdiocese owed. At the same time, the investment in institutions, such as private schools, would mean more income for the religious orders running them, thereby offsetting, indirectly, some of the corporation's encumbrance.

The other pressing problem was funding the Separate School Board. This institution was independent of the chancery, paying a token \$1 per year in rent.(23) Yet, Catholic education was of vital concern to the archbishop, who was also honorary chairman of the large Toronto branch of the Separate School Board.(24) With the end of the Great Depression not yet in sight, the badly underfunded Ontario Separate School Boards were still very hard pressed to remain solvent.

To overcome this problem, the Catholic Taxpayers Association had been founded in 1931 by Toronto businessman, Martin Quinn. He negotiated an agreement with the Ontario bishops allowing them to stand back and let the laity have a chance at getting a share of the funding.(25)

Initially, Fortune seemed to smile on Quinn and his separate school supporters. On 19 June 1934, one day before Jimmy Gardiner ousted Anderson in Saskatchewan, Mitchell ("Mitch") Hepburn's Liberals beat the Tories in Ontario.(26) "Mitch" was a witty speaker, a populist, and a somewhat dissolute farmer who engaged in stunts such as selling government limousines and closing the lieutenant governor's residence. Moreover, he was also sympathetic to the separate school's problems.(27)

Of course, many Protestants were not in agreement with the premier on this last issue. Consequently, fierce

resistance developed immediately against any concessions. Quinn reported that the Orangemen had printed 50,000 pamphlets attacking any possible surrender.(28) Hepburn was forced to defend his Protestant orthodoxy from vicious attacks by extreme anti-Catholic elements.(29) When McGuigan arrived from Saskatchewan nine months after the Ontario election, he initially avoided commenting on the separate school fight.(30) However, during his 24 March 1935 assembly with the faithful at Maple Leaf Gardens, the archbishop made it clear that he supported his predecessor's educational policies, which included a demand for a share of corporation taxes.(31)

In spite of the uproar, Hepburn was now ready to act on his controversial proposal. On 4 February 1936, the Globe headline screamed, "SEPARATE SCHOOLS SHARE CORPORATION TAX".(32) In spite of doubts by Quinn and other Catholics, the premier had kept his promise. Consequently, the separate schools of Ontario were to receive a \$5,000,000 windfall.(33) The resulting Protestant outrage knew no bounds. The Orangemen claimed that the premier had a pact with his friend, Frank O'Connor,(34) while at Queen's Park the Tories bitterly attacked Liberals for undermining the common school.(35) A joint letter by the Anglican, Baptist, United and Presbyterian Churches opposed the legislation as "unfair", (36) and the Ontario Education Association split along denominational lines, the majority

feeling that the new law was a "betrayal." (37) Still the legislation passed.

Now it was time to put the law to political scrutiny. This test occurred at the poll at East Hastings on 9 December 1935. The Tories brought in the heavy artillery--the Rev. T.T. Shields. Shields, having been expelled from the Baptist Convention of Ontario for unwarranted attacks on the orthodoxy of some professors at McMaster University, had brazenly established his own congregation in Toronto. (38) A few days before the Hastings election, he attacked the Catholics at a Conservative Party meeting claiming that no "devout Papist" could be a true citizen of a "Protestant" state. When it was pointed out that Catholic boys had died fighting in the Great War, Shields then contradicted himself by saying that he "was not talking about individuals." The next night the preacher entered into a debate with the Liberal member for Windsor, Major James Clark. Clark silenced the hostile crowd by explaining that he, a Protestant, had commanded Catholic soldiers during the Great War and that he had personally seen a number of them give their lives for the Dominion. Contemptuously, Shields dismissed this argument as being beneath a reply. (39)

On the election day, the Tories took the seat (40) and the mood of the Ontario electorate was clear. Three-and-a-

half months later, Hepburn moved to repeal the corporation tax bill, claiming that it had faulty drafting. Then followed the wildest 20 minutes yet seen in the Ontario Legislature as the Tories "rubbed it in". Amid the uproar one Conservative member was shown the door when he refused to sit down. His seat was draped with the Union Jack.

Less disruptive was the right wing Globe and Mail which described Hepburn's repeal as "statesmanship." (41) And, McGuigan, while disappointed, recognized the political realities by simply regretting the cancellation but showing no great emotion. (42) It would be another half century before the Catholics were granted "full" funding. This action would again open old wounds. (43)

On 11 May 1937, as a result of the cancelling of the corporation tax bill, Toronto's Separate School System closed its "Fifth Form" (grades 9 and 10) and removed the telephones. This action saved a desperately needed \$48,000. (44) However, not all Catholic taxpayers were happy. A "secret" meeting to discuss the decision was called at Columbus Hall. It did not remain unknown for long. McGuigan apparently had the meeting cancelled--at least that is what an unsigned typewritten notice on the hall door implied. The obedient, but disappointed laity trudged home angrily. (45)

Politics also impinged on the church in other ways. During the 1930s as societies tended to polarized between communism and fascism, the Catholic Church favoured the latter and was slow to recognize that the extreme right also had a murderous intent.

McGuigan was so frightened of the communists that he believed that revolution was only a few years away in Toronto.(46) Therefore, when the Catholic Legionnaires marched against both communism and fascism, he hastened to assure the right-wing priests that the demonstration was not aimed at their version of politics.(47)

However, the immediate problem in Toronto was the Marxists. Despite the opposition of the Christians, capitalists, and the main political parties, the communists gained two surprising electoral successes during December 1936.(48)

Because of the economic setback in 1937, and despite the increased reaction against them,(49) the communists continued to make electoral gains. In December 1937 they gained a third member, the redoubtable J.B. Salsberg as alderman for Ward 4.(50) This upped the ante. In January 1938 Father Daniel Lord was brought in by McGuigan. Lord, a Jesuit, urged Catholics to use the tactics of the radicals, who he pointed out in an admiring way, were militant 24 hours a day. Also, he referred to the

archbishop as a "consecrated whirlwind".(51) During the Holy Name Rally in June 1938 more was heard about extreme politics. Both communism and fascism were condemned as repressers of Catholicism in Europe. Also, the aforementioned Catholic Legionnaires, veterans of the Great War, were organized into a militant group.(52) Thus Catholicism seemed to be adopting the methods of the extremists. Such action was undoubtedly encouraged by the Toronto City Police who shocked the public with a wild estimate that there were 20,000 Communists in the urban community.(53)

The apparently threatening situation came to a head in the civic election of January 1939 where a concerted effort was made to oust the city hall Marxists. David Balfour, the only Catholic on council, challenged the rookie Salsberg in Ward 4. (54) Supporting the anti-communist effort, the Globe and Mail ran a number of front page editorials demanding that the Marxists be tossed out.(55) The campaign was largely a success because only the incumbent with a British name, Stewart Smith, was returned.(56) It seemed the electorate would rather deal with the devil whose name they knew, rather than with the "foreign" ones whose monikers they did not like.

One unforeseen outcome of the anti-communist campaign was that McGuigan's radio priest, Father Charles Lanphier, was

in trouble--again. In 1937 he had been suspended by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), along with the Presbyterian radio preacher, the Rev. Morris Zeldman, for engaging the latter in a denominational war after the minister had attacked the Catholics.(57) Now, two years later, Lanphier had been unable to contain himself in the exciting campaign to rid city hall of the Marxists. In clear violation of the CBC's directives not to engage in political broadcasts within 48 hours of an election, he attacked the liberal Toronto Star for daring to support a communist alderman as the best candidate.(58) In his defence Lanphier tried to argue that he was making a religious, not a political speech, and even hinted at Red influence in the CBC.(59) He received the support of Balfour, who also claimed that the issue was not politics--but atheism,(60) and of the future right wing premier of Ontario, George Drew, who described the communists as "gangsters."(61)

Not impressed was Gladstone Murray, head of the radio corporation, and again McGuigan had to go to bat for his radio priest. Another agreement was made that allowed Lanphier to broadcast on the condition that he did not again violate the rules.(62) That he was never suspended again was probably due to McGuigan keeping a tighter rein on his radio preacher.

At the other end of the political spectrum was fascism. The invasion of Ethiopia by Italy had not been sufficient reason to turn Pope Pius XI against the fascists, and excesses by the Reds in the Spanish Civil War subsequently reinforced the Vatican's support of the right wing. In the end it was only the actions of Adolf Hitler against the Catholic Church which made the pontiff aware that the one closest and sneaking up behind was not the Marxist, but the fascist.

In Toronto, the rise of Mussolini had presented a more serious problem for Italian-Canadians than had Hitler for the German-Canadians. Initially, the glowing press reports of his wonderful reorganization of Italy instilled a sense of pride among many Italian-born and Italian-descended. However, the invasion of Abyssinia widened the split between Catholic and Protestant Italians and also caused suspicion among the "Anglos" who dominated the city. Right wing Italians were supported by the local consul and by some fascist priests, all of whom attempted to indoctrinate the faithful in the belief that they were really overseas Italians. Some people accepted this line as shown by the number of laity who contributed gold and silver to help finance the conquest of Ethiopia.(63) Others such as left wing Italians, who were often members of the United Church, resisted being brainwashed and engaged in fights with the rightists.(64)

At the Holy Name Rally of 1936, McGuigan came to know the fascists first hand. The Germans-Canadians of Saint Patrick's Parish were cheered as they goose-stepped up Yonge St. under their religious banners, while Italian-Canadians surprised the archbishop by giving him a fascist salute as they passed his reviewing stand at De la Salle College.(65)

However, as the war approached the support of the Italian-Canadians' lessened for Mussolini. Many of these people were Canadian born, and consequently they tended to reject the claim to their loyalty by Italy.(66) Still, popular prejudice against the Italians remained strong among Torontonians of British background and would find an outward expression when Italy invaded France in 1940.

As if political and economic problems were not enough, again McGuigan had to face difficulties with some of his clergy. Father Peter Bart's conviction after three trials in Toronto appeared in the Leader-Post.(67) Several more cases of priestly misconduct added to the scandal that McGuigan had to endure during his first two years in Toronto.(68) The final straw occurred when the archbishop was on his ad limina visit to Rome in May 1937 when not one, but two priests, were convicted in separate incidents before the courts. First, Father James Crowthers received 10 days for reckless driving on Spadina Avenue. It seems

that he not only hit two cars and a factory wall, but was driving down the wrong side of the six lane street! Drinking was suspected, but he was not jailed on that. When he was released after only four days, sectarianism quickly entered the case. The ever-vigilant Orange Order claimed that the priest had been freed by the Catholic Attorney-General, Paul Leduc, who was supposedly under the influence of the hated Frank O'Connor.(69) The day after Crowthers' release, Father John Coles was fined for "indecent in a public place". He had been caught parked with a nurse, but was actually fined for having an open bottle of beer.(70)

Less than a week later, when McGuigan arrived in New York City on his return from Rome, he was met by his secretary, Father John Harris, who informed him of the bad news. It is stated that the archbishop said not a word on the the 700 kilometre drive to the Ontario capital.(71)

When faced with a problem, McGuigan would grab the bull by the horns. Therefore, he responded to the clergy's misconduct by calling his curates and rectors to a meeting at Saint Augustine's Seminary. With his high pitched voice carrying across the spring fields, the archbishop invited any priest who was not prepared to live up to the ideal to rip off his clerical collar then and there, and leave. None did. However, one later described

the scene at the seminary lecture hall. He said that they were:

dressed down like naughty children by a raving maniac whose pride was hurt and not one priest of any age had the guts to stand up and quietly say: 'Your Grace, I hope you know that we feel just as badly about this as you do'. I was never so ashamed of being a priest.(72)

The chief outcome of the lack of discipline was McGuigan's "Blue Laws". These stated that no priest could drive until eight hours after his last drink and, if his mother was not in the car, no other woman was to be either. The penalty would be immediate suspension from his duties and therefore the loss of income.(73) Although some thought the Blue Laws ultra vires,(74) they seem to have worked and no public scandals were known to have dogged McGuigan for the rest of his career.(75)

The late 1930s was a time of personal loss for the archbishop. In February 1938 he had to rush home to inter his brother, Martin, who died unexpectedly of pneumonia.(76) Before he could leave the Island, however, then came the stunning news that Archbishop Henry O'Leary had died in the West.(77) McGuigan did not attend his funeral, probably because his mentor's death would have been too much to bear considering the funeral he had just presided over, and due to his own mother's failing health. Two months later, on 14 May 1938, the archbishop finally lost the one who had borne him and so he returned to the

Island to bury her.(78) Now, he was without both his "spiritual father", and his "little earthly mother".

Another death, that of Pius XI in February 1939, virtually closed McGuigan's pre-war years. Grieving for the man who had convinced him to try Regina again and to accept the burdens of Toronto, the archbishop stated that "Christianity has lost a saint."(79)

The conclave for a successor made headlines around the world as the Nazis attempted to influence the selection.(80) As well, ridiculous speculation floated about that the archbishop of Québec, Cardinal Villeneuve, would be selected to succeed Pius XI.(81) Of course, Giovanni Pacelli was elected taking the name of Pope Pius XII. McGuigan thought the choice was "glorious" and stated that he personally knew the new pontiff.(82) Pius was also a favourite of the democracies and was said to a firm, but kind leader.(83)

A summer trip to Prince Edward Island to bless the window at Saint Augustine's Church, Rustico, which commemorated his ordination, and to receive a grand reception by his former neighbours at Hunter River, completed the archbishop's time home for the 1930s.(84) The Royal Visit to Toronto in the spring of 1939 (85) had been another pleasant interlude before the terrible storm building in Europe.

James McGuigan had finished his introduction to Toronto. He had accepted the defeat of the separate school bill, and withstood vicious attacks by the Rev. T. T. Shields, as well as those of the Orange Order in this "Belfast of Canada". Despite the archdiocese's continuing financial problems, a start had been made on controlling, and even reducing, the \$4,000,000 debt. The cathedral had been brought up to par. Unfortunately, most of the brick and mortar work and the problem of funding separate high schools still remained to be faced. At the same time a number of the Church's institutions had been graced with handsome buildings and the Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies was opened at St. Michael's College in 1936.(86) Discipline had been restored among the clergy. The most extreme fascists were leaving the country while the communists appeared to be defeated. McGuigan had now lost half his family, and would have to prepare the church in Toronto to be as ready as possible for the oncoming tide of bloodshed and war.

Notes: Chapter 5

(1) "Archbishop McGuigan Regrets Repeal of Separate School Act", Catholic Register (CR), 1 April 1937, p 1. McGuigan said both Alberta and Saskatchewan gave the Catholics a proportional share of the corporation taxes when he lived in those provinces. However, the separate school board of Edmonton still built up a great debt in the Depression. Cashman, Tony, Edmonton's Catholic Schools: A Success Story, p 152.

(2) Boyle, George, A Pioneer in Purple: The Life and Work of Archbishop Neil McNeil p 124. The administrator, Rt. Rev. John Kidd, later bishop of Calgary and London, Ontario, did not even know on which train McNeil was arriving until the archbishop-elect wired him from Sudbury and told him to "Meet me at the station", adding "Tell no body". This seems to have been part of the somewhat eccentric personality of the archbishop. This oddness was not only not demonstrated by his holding his installation on Sunday but also by his long almost silent walks with a companion which were punctuated by irregular conversations initiated only by His Grace.

(3) "Cheering Throngs Greet Archbishop", Globe, 21 March 1935, p 11.

(4) "17,500 People Join in Greeting to Archbishop", Globe, 25 March 1935, p 1. McGuigan visited St. Joseph's College and Loretto Abbey, for example. Canadian Communist leader, Tim Buck, drew 17,000 to Maple Leaf Gardens in 1934. "17,000 People Hear Tim Buck", Regina Leader Post (RLP), 3 december 1934, p 11.

(5) Archdiocese of Toronto, "Report of the Auditors of the Episcopal Corporation for the Year Ended December 31st 1935", Statement of Chancery Revenue and expenditure, pp 3-7. Surprisingly, the Catholic population of the Archdiocese of Regina was virtually the same as Toronto's according to the 1931 Census. Regina had about 155,000 Roman Catholics while Toronto had approximately 170,000. Of course, economic conditions in Regina diocese were far worse than in Toronto since the Prairies also had an environmental crisis. Therefore McGuigan's real per capita debt in Toronto was probably somewhat less than three times Regina's. The Seventh Census of Canada, 1931, Vol II, Table 41, pp 524-26, 528-30 and national census district map between pages 104 and 105.

(6) Archives of the Diocese of Charlottetown, (ADC), McGuigan, Archbishop James to Bishop A. J. O'Sullivan, 29 May 1935.

(7) See (5), "Report of the Auditors...", pp 10-11.

- (8) Foy, Monsignor Vincent to author, 22 November 1993, p 4.
- (9) Foy, Monsignor Vincent to author, 22 January 1990, "Seminary Days", pp 1-2.
- (10) See (9) "Archbishop McGuigan and Finances", p 3. Foy was sent to Québec because the Second World War had isolated Rome where McGuigan wanted the priest to go.
- (11) See (9) "Archbishop McGuigan and Finances", p 3-4. Father Vincent Egan, was the man who got the archbishop to grant Father Foy the \$25 per month allowance and had McGuigan move Foy to Gabriel's, New York.
- (12) "Philanthropist, F. P. O'Conner Gives \$500,000 to Charity", Globe, 8 August 1935 p 9. Among the other beneficiaries were Saint Michael's Hospital (\$125,000), the Newman Club at the University of Toronto (\$25,000), the Christie Street Hospital, \$10,000 and the Toronto Star's "Fresh Air Fund", \$1,000. "Senator F. O'Connor, Noted Philanthropist, Dies After Long Illness", the Globe and Mail, G&M, 22 August 1939, p 7.
- (13) "Archdiocese Offers \$1,500,000 4% Bonds", Globe, 29 April 1935, p 14. These were to mature in 1945 at 4.15%. See also (4), p 4.
- (14) See (5), "Report of the Auditors...", p 4.
- (15) The Archbishop of Toronto Presents to His Devoted Clergy and Laity His Archdiocesan Report for the year 1936, pp 1-3.
- (16) See (15), p 1.
- (17) See (15) "Who Will Adopt a Parish", p 8.
- (18) See (15) "Saint Michael's Cathedral", p 15. To encourage donations, the archbishop had a weekly series run in The Catholic Register on the history of the cathedral and the progress of its refurbishing.
- (19) See (15) "Our Catholic Youth", p 11-12.
- (20) "Business Cycle" Encyclopædia Britannica (EB), 1973, Vol 4, p 474 and "Market Panic", G&M, 20 October 1937, p 2. On October 18, 1937 stocks dropped to the lowest point since 20 July 1933.

- (21) "Mrs. Ambrose Small Bequeaths \$2 Million", Globe 1 April 1936, p 11. Also, she contributed \$2,000 for the souls of priests. Her husband, a theatre magnate, had mysteriously disappeared 17 years earlier. "Court in Toronto Rules Ambrose Small Still Alive", Edmonton Journal 27 March 1923, p 1.
- (22) "\$7 Million Left by Frank O'Connor", G&M, 31 August 1939, p 4.
- (23) "Charges Laid to Roman Catholic Schools Branded False", Globe, 17 April 1936, p 13. It seems that the money was for school rental.
- (24) "Separate School Board Proclaimed by Acclimation", Globe, 2 July 1936, p 9.
- (25) Walker, Franklin, Catholic Education and Politics in Ontario: A Documentary Study, Vol 2, pp 354-359.
- (26) "People Swash Henry Ministry: Liberals Elected 5 to 1", Globe, 20 June 1934 p 1.
- (27) Saywell, John, "Hepburn, Mitchell Frederick", The Canadian Encyclopedia (CE), vol 2, second edition p 979.
- (28) "School Tax Fight Grows More Bitter", Globe, 2 February 1935, p 12.
- (29) "Hepburn to Hear Orange Protest ", Globe, 14 February 1935, p 12.
- (30) "New Archbishop Remains Silent of School Tax", Toronto Star, (TS), 20 March 1935, p 1.
- (31) See (4).
- (32) "SEPARATE SCHOOLS SHARE CORPORATION TAX", Globe, 4 February 1936, p 1.
- (33) "New Law, New Tax for Schools" Globe, 8 February 1936 p 1.
- (34) "Hepburn Denies O'Connor Pact", Globe 5 February 1936, p 5.
- (35) "Bitter Battle on School Tax Looms in House", Globe, 14 February 1936, p 11.
- (36) "Catholic Share in Taxes Protested", Globe, 12 March 1936, p 11.

(37) "Educationists Divide in Amity on School Tax", Globe, 15 April 1936, p 1 and "Hepburn Tax Called 'Betrayal'", Globe, 17 April 1936, p 13.

(38) Sinclair-Faulkner, Tom, "Shields, Thomas Todhunter", (CE), vol 3, p 1991. Among Shields' claims was that Catholicism was opposed to Christianity. "Catholicism Opposes Christianity", Globe, 4 May 1936, p 13.

(39) "'You're Crazy', Yells Heckler as Shields Attacks Catholics", Globe and Mail, (G&M), 2 December 1936, p 2 and "Appeal for Catholics at Shields' Meeting", G&M 3 December 1936, p 8.

(40) "Conservative Victory in East Hastings", Charlottetown Guardian (CG), 10 December 1936, p 1.

(41) "Hepburn Repeals School Tax Act", G&M 25 March, 1937, p 1, "MacAulay is Ejected From House" and "A Triumph of Statesmanship" (editorial). Hepburn did not dare redraft or resubmit the bill. "Hepburn Rejets Roman Catholic Overtures For New School Bill", G&M, 4 April 1937, p 1.

(42) See (1). McGuigan admitted that there had been faulty drafting in the corporation tax law.

(43) Wilson, J. Donald, "The Separate School", CE, volume 3, second edition, p 1980. In 1987 the Ontario government granted the separate schools "full" funding.

(44) "Separate Schools Close 5th Form and Take Out Telephones...", G&M, 12 May 1937, p 9. This outcome had been hinted at as early as mid February. "Separate School Rate at 11.5 Mills", G&M, 17 February 1937, p 9. The Protestants insensitively invited Catholics to come to the public school. "Catholics Invited to Public School", 21 May 1937, p 4.

(45) "Archbishop Forbids Meeting of Catholics and Protest Stops", G&M, 4 June 1937, p 4.

(46) Pennacchio, Luigi, "'The Torrid Trinity' Toronto's Fascists, Italian Priests and Archbishops During the Fascist Era, 1929-1940", pp 241. Catholics at the "Gathering Place", Certain clerics of Italian birth cooperated with the Italian counsel to try to indoctrinate Italian-Canadians into the Fascist Empire. These priests saw this as a way to preserve the Italian culture of their parishioners in the city in which they perceived an Irish-Catholic Church administration within a Protestant hegemony.

(47) See (46), pp 242.

(48) "Members of 1937 Toronto Council", G&M, 8 December 1936, p 4. In January 1935 the CCF had taken the mayoralty. The next year the voting was changed from January to December so a second election occurred in 1936. "Toronto's Mayor and Board of Control", G&M, 2 January 1935, p 1; "McBride Mayor by 5,687 Over Hunt", 3 January 1936, p 1 and "Robbins Wins Huge Majority", 8 December 1936, p 1.

(49) "18,000 March in Holy Name Celebration" Globe, 22 June, 1936, p 13 and "20,000 Hear Communism Flayed at Holy Name Rally", G&M, 14 June 1937, p 4. The Holy Name Society was an organization devoted to fostering clean speech and pure minds among men. They had an annual June parade to De la Salle College and the archbishop normally addressed them. Also, the pope had condemned communism and Nazism in March 1937. "Pope Assails Red's Theories in Encyclical", G&M, 19 March 1937, p 21 and "Pope Pius Wages War on Nazis", 27 March 1937, p 1.

(50) "Days' Election as Mayor is Conceded", G&M, 7 December 1937, p 1. Ward 4 having a large number of Jews also elected Nathan Phillips. Later he became the first Hebrew mayor of Toronto. Phillips was also on good terms with Cardinal McGuigan who arranged for the mayor and his wife to meet three pontiffs. Salsberg is still alive and states that he had nothing against McGuigan. Interview: 6 July 1995.

(51) "Urges Radical Ways to Beat Radicalism", G&M, 18 January 1938, p 4. Lord also wanted to establish a Catholic Front to oppose all radicals, left and right. "Catholic Front is Priest's Plea", G&M, 20 January 1938 p 4.

(52) "Roman Catholics Urged to Dedicate 200,000 Men to Defence of Flag", G&M, 6 June 1938, p 5.

(53) "Police Probe Said to Reveal Huge Increase in Communist Ranks", G&M, 13 June 1938, p 4

(54) "David Balfour to Fight Alderman Salsberg in Ward 4 on Issue of Communism", G&M, 14 December 1938, p 4

(55) "Vote to Clean Toronto of Moscow", G&M, 29 December 1938, p 1 and "A Challenge to Toronto Churches", G&M, 30 December 1938, p 1. The editorials described the communist candidates as suave, lacking both horns and cloven hooves!

- (56) "Mayor, Board Re-elected, Buck Runs 6th", G&M, 3 January 1939, p 1. There were six communist candidates and two others who would not denounce the Marxists. "Six Communist Candidates Bring Red vs anti-Red Election to Fore", G&M, 31 December 1938, p 4. J.B. Salsberg and John Weir, who was of east European origin were the two Marxist members defeated.
- (57) Power, Michael, "Fr. Lanphier: Toronto's radio priest", Catholic Register, 19 September 1992, p 2 and National Archives of Canada, (NAC), The W.L.M King Papers, C-3737, Vol 256, 3 September 1937, p 218147. Lanphier was head of St. Michael's Radio League. "Radio League Formed in Toronto", Catholic Register (CR), 13 July 1993, p 1.
- (58) "Lead Boycott Against Star, Priest's Threat", G&M, 2 January 1939, p 1. Lanphier used to work for the Star in his college days. It was also known as the "King Street Pravda" to its reactionary opponents. The Star was the most successful daily in Toronto.
- (59) "Lanphier Hints at Red Influence in Radio", G&M, 6 January 1939, p 13.
- (60) "Doubts Right of CBC To Ban Radio Address", G&M, 13 January 1939, p 8.
- (61) "Drew Calls Radio Ban Absurd", G&M, 13 January 1939, p 1.
- (62) "Lanphier Can Broadcast, But Time Not Reserved", G&M, 25 January 1939, p 4. Lanphier's show was "The Ontario Catholic Hour".
- (63) "Italian Women Here Give Gold to Duce", TS, 25 November 1935, p 1.
- (64) "Toronto's Italians Fight in Street over War Issue", TS, 13 August 1935, p 18.
- (65) "18,000 March in Holy Name Celebration", Globe, 22 June 1936, p 13.
- (66) "Toronto Italians Are Not Enlisting Under Roman Eagle", Globe, 5 October 1935, p 13, "Toronto Italians Declare Loyalty to Canada", G&M, 20 September 1937, p 5, and "Italy Orders New Toronto Youth Home to Join Army, But He Refuses", G&M, 12 April 1939, p 4.
- (67) "Lad Riding Bicycle is Fatally Injured When Struck by Car", Globe, 22 August 1933, p 9; "Father Peter Bart Faces Third Trial Over Boy's Death", Globe, 13 November 1934, p 4

"Father Bart Found Guilty of Negligence", Globe, 16 November 1934, p 1 and "Priest Found Guilty Again", Regina Leader Post, (RLP), 16 November 1934, p 20.

(68) "Reckless Driving Charges Face Father Culliton", Globe, 2 July 1935, p 14 and "Two Priests in Hospital After Three Vehicle Crash" Globe, 10 April 1936, p 1. The fact that the last two belonged to a different diocese than Toronto, and were acquitted mattered not a whit to the anti-Catholics.

(69) "LOL Protests Release of Father James Crowthers", TS, 4 May 1937, p 28.

(70) "Priest and Nurse Fined on Charge of Indecency", G&M, 5 May 1937, p 28. Indecency seems to have meant having an open beer bottle, not to romantic/sexual acts. McGoey, Father John to author, 10 May 1990, p 1

(71) Lawlor, Father Edward to author, 17 November 1992, p 3.

(72) McGoey, Father John to author, 30 April 1990, p 3.

(73) McGuigan, Archbishop James to "Reverend and dear Fathers", 26 June 1940. The original issue of the Blue Laws was on 6 July 1937. My copy of this letter is courtesy of Monsignor Vincent Foy.

(74) McGoey, Father John to author, 10 May 1990, p 2.

(75) Recent convictions of religious brothers for physical and sexual assault against their charges starting about 1960 shows that control was breaking down late in McGuigan's years, if not earlier. Of course such scandals did not become public until recently.

(76) "Death Last Night of Dr. M. A. McGuigan", CG, 21 February 1938, p 1. Martin, a dentist, had trouble "holding" his liquor. Probably this contributed to the cardinal's caution about alcohol. McNeil, Alice (McGuigan) to author, 29 November 1993, p 2.

(77) "Death Saturday of Archbishop O'Leary", CG, 7 March 1938, p 1. O'Leary died on the 5th in Victoria B.C. of heart disease.

(78) "Funeral of Mrs. Annie McGuigan Held Yesterday", CG, 18 May 1938, p 3.

(79) "Christianity Has Lost a Saint Says Archbishop McGuigan", G&M, 10 February 1939, p 2.

(80) "Religious Pope Out of Date Nazis Declare", G&M, 11 February 1939, p 1 and "Agents Striving to Sway Vote of Cardinals", 16 February 1939, p 1.

(81) "Villeneuve Still First as Choice for New Pope", G&M, 23 February 1939, p 3. Villeneuve's rise from priest to cardinal was astounding. In 1930 he was bishop of Gravelbourg, in 1932 he became archbishop of Québec and primate of Canada. A year later, at 50, he was appointed cardinal. Voisine, Nive, "Villeneuve, Cardinal Jean-Marie-Roderigue", The Canadian Encyclopedia, volume 4, 2nd edition, p 2264.

(82) "Leaders Here See Continuity in Papal Policy" G&M, 3 March 1939, p 15.

(83) "Democracies Hail Pacelli as Pope", G&M, 3 March 1939, p 1.

(84) "Archbishop McGuigan is Honored", CG, 22 July 1939, p 1 and "Toronto Dignity Visits Island", 22 July 1939 p 6.

(85) "Toronto Welcomes Their Majesties", G&M, 22 May 1939, p 1. McGuigan was introduced to their Majesties at the University of Toronto.

(86) "New Buildings Dedicated at St. Michael's", Globe, 16 September 1936, p 2. McGuigan, a classicist, said that this institution was a direct descendant of the great pre-Reformation schools set up by cathedrals. The institute is a research centre for Medieval studies. Also, St. Michael's Hospital Received A New Wing, "New Wing At St. Michael's Hospital", G&M, 9 September 1937, p 4.

Chapter 6

Dealing with the Devils

September 1939-December 1945

The years of the Second World War were more trying for Archbishop McGuigan than for most others. So much so that in late 1944 he seems to have suffered a second nervous breakdown. This appears to have been directly related to the stress of his great high school campaign, to the pressures caused by the war, and the emotional collapse of his friend, Bishop Charles Leo Nelligan.(1)

Until 1943 McGuigan's chief concerns had been more international than local. Would Britain survive after the loss of France, that "eldest daughter of the Church" ? Would Hitler capture the Soviet Union and win the war, or would the United States come to the aid of the desperate Allies? Also, international problems impinged on the local area. For example, bigotry against German-Canadians and Italian-Canadians was common in Toronto, and there were great difficulties accepting communist led meetings against the German invasion of the Soviet Union.

With the Red Army turning the tide against Hitler in the 1942-1943 period, McGuigan's cares became more parochial. The war boom had enabled him to cut the archdiocesan debt by 50% and run a high school campaign that would be over subscribed by almost that percentage. As well, the

Canadian National Missionary Exhibition was a wonderful success. However, the Rev. T. T. Shields continued to rage against Québec's resistance to conscription in particular, and to its Catholicism in general. The near victory of the CCF in Ontario during 1943 reopened the question of whether the Catholic Church could continue to condemn the party as socialist. This antipathy had continued despite McGuigan's accommodation with Coldwell in Saskatchewan that had been an important precedent, given reactionary Québec's opposition to things that smacked of socialism.

Shortly after the outbreak of hostilities in September 1939, McGuigan issued a pastoral letter condemning aggression by those "devoid of belief in the spiritual destiny of man". He also pledged that Canada would stand steadfastly at the side of Great Britain.(2) The archbishop ordained that the Peace Prayer, "Pro Pace", be recited at every Mass until the conflict ended, and that parents lead children in reciting it at home. Lastly, he decreed that a Holy Hour be held each Sunday afternoon or evening in all churches until peace was achieved.

Putting themselves behind the war effort, the Toronto Knights of Columbus opened a drive to establish army huts as in World War I. McGuigan was honorary chairman of the local \$30,000 Knights' campaign.(3) Again, typical of

the 1930's campaigns, the collection had to be extended since the war economy had not yet come into full effect.(4)

St. Michael's Club was established in downtown Toronto with the support of the Catholic Women's League. It provided a dormitory that slept 86 military men. It also had a library, as well as a piano, radios, and a canteen that sold snacks (including cigarettes). The facility operated 24 hours a day and was open to servicemen of all creeds.(5)

Following Germany's victory over Poland in September 1939, the "sitzkrieg" developed in the winter of 1939-1940. Then, on 10 May 1940, the Germans launched their spring offensive. Slashing through the Ardennes Forest, they captured Paris and compelled France to drop out of the war within six weeks. In the process the Allied Army of the North was trapped against the sea at Flanders. King George VI of Britain called for an international day of prayer on Sunday, 26 May 1940, and McGuigan wrote to his clergy paralleling the appeal of His Majesty to His Holiness's latest plea.(6) The archbishop encouraged the greatest possible number of communicants on that day, emphasizing that confessions would be held all day Saturday as well as Sunday morning. In order help turn back the whirlwind of death, seven Masses were offered at the cathedral alone.(7) A few days later came the "Miracle of Dunkirk"

as hundreds of British ships risked attack by the Luftwaffe to rescue 340,000 British, French and Belgian soldiers. This act of salvation was seen by many as an answer to the fervent prayers throughout the empire.(8)

One event during the fall of France that had serious local repercussions was Fascist Italy's "stabbing France in the back". Mussolini had attacked France from the south-east while she was hopelessly trying to stop the blitzkrieg from the north. All the suspicions and biases of Toronto's Anglo-Saxons against the Italian-Canadians now rose to the surface. Stores lost windows in the Italian district along St. Clair Avenue and a boycott of these merchants was attempted in the Ontario capital.(9) Ottawa reacted too. The arrests of hundreds of Italian men, and a few women, by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) was authorized on the basis of alleged fascist activities. Some prisoners would be held until the end of the war, even though most arrests were not justified.(10)

Among those taken into custody was the last Toronto priest who supported the extreme right, Father Riccardo Polticchia. His arrest forced Archbishop McGuigan make another intercession for a priest. Polticchia was so stunned by his arrest that, after being released, he spent the remainder of the war selling Victory Bonds and sending food packages to Britain!(11)

In attempting to alleviate this worsening ethnic situation, McGuigan spoke of reconciliation at the June 1940 Holy Name gathering at De la Salle College in Toronto. He appealed for a halt to the discrimination against Canadians of German and Italian descent. Then, apparently forgetting the feelings of Québec nationalists, he asked that all be loyal to the flag that had protected Canada "for nigh on 200 years."(12)

With France prostrate, Germany was now prepared to invade Britain. Only one thing stood in the way: the Royal Air Force. Again, the king called the British Empire to prayer. McGuigan responded by starting a novena to Our Lady of Victory.(13) Three weeks later he reinforced the message by talking of a "victory drive" while addressing the military assembled at Saint Michael's Cathedral.(14) Before the autumn had passed the tide had turned in the Battle of Britain. Again, it was thought that prayer had worked.

This defeat forced the Nazis to look for other worlds to conquer. On 22 June 1941, they carried out their most audacious plan yet--the unprovoked attack on the Soviet Union. This invasion presented a major problem for the Catholic Church. On the one hand, Pope Pius XII had been so appalled by the Soviet attack on Finland in December 1939, that he sent cash to the Finns even though they were almost

entirely Protestant.(15) On the other hand, he coldly rejected an attempt by the German foreign minister, Joachim von Ribbontrop, to manipulate the Vatican into accepting an anti-Soviet treaty. The Nazis had proposed this in return for promising better treatment of Catholics in occupied Poland and in the Third Reich.(16)

In Toronto, officials, both civil and ecclesiastical, were also in an ideological tight spot. The great anti-Red campaign of December 1938 had left only Stewart Smith on city council. A year later even he was defeated, but another Marxist, Bill Lawson, replaced Smith.(17) Ottawa was urged to act, and it did. In June 1940, the Communist Party was outlawed under the Defence of Canada Regulations. Party members, including Lawson, were either arrested or driven into hiding.(18)

However, by Christmas 1941 the Soviet Union was in critical condition with the Germans at the gates of Moscow. If the Soviets collapsed her resources would reinforce the German army which might then conquer the world. But, how could the Catholic Church help their mortal enemy? Cardinal Arthur Hinsley, archbishop of Westminster, found a way. He made a clear distinction between the Soviet people and their evil ruler. Therefore, the citizens could be assisted without directly aiding Stalin.(19)

In the spring of 1942, with the Germans now threatening the oil fields of the Caucasus, pressure increased to help the Soviets. In Canada this would mean regularizing relations with the Communist Party. Ontario Premier Mitchell Hepburn led the way by having Lawson released from jail in late July 1942.(20) Two months later, on 25 September 1942, with the Nazis on the outskirts of Stalingrad, the fugitive communists, including the national leader, Tim Buck, and the Ontario chief, Stewart Smith, surrendered. They took a calculated risk that they would soon be released and their party rehabilitated. Hepburn, and his Minister of Justice, Gordon Conant, agreed appealing to Ottawa on behalf of the Marxists. On 6 October 1942, after only 12 days of incarceration, the prisoners were set free.(21)

Smith's claims of "spiritual bonds" that would link Canada and the Soviet Union forever (22) hardly impressed McGuigan. However, by this time great pro-Soviet rallies had started at Maple Leaf Gardens, the Canadian Aid to Russia Fund having been established in June 1942.(23) Apparently putting aside for the moment his exaggerated fears of communist strength in Toronto,(24) the archbishop of Toronto felt he had to send a token representative to these gatherings which had become respectable enough to draw both Hepburn and the Ontario Lieutenant-Governor, Albert Matthews.(25)

Unfortunately, the archbishop's stand-in, Father Thomas Manley, was photographed by the Toronto daily papers while shaking hands with the Soviet ambassador. The apostolic delegate in Ottawa, the Very Rev. Ildebrando Antoniutti, immediately telegraphed McGuigan, pointedly reminding him that priests were being killed in the USSR, and demanded copies of all news clippings relating to Manley's appearance. The upset archbishop gave the task to his secretary, Monsignor John Harris. Contrary to orders, it is said that Harris protected his superior by holding back some of the articles.(26) Never again was McGuigan caught in such an awkward position, even though he later sent at least one other priest to meet Soviet officials.(27)

Despite the necessity of war time inter-religious cooperation, and the discovery by many Protestants that Catholics actually read the Bible,(28) certain ministers such as Toronto's T. T. Shields continued to stir the pot of hatred. Among other things, he sent his provocative Gospel Witness to Franco-Ontarian M.P.P.s. It claimed that the Pope was supporting Hitler and Mussolini.(29) Shields also attacked the War Mass which had been held at Parliament Hill on 1 September 1941. For example, during a general Protestant meeting in his Jarvis Street Baptist Church, claims of Catholic "encroachment" were heard, stories of Roman "paganism" were told, and tales of Papist resistance to conscription were attested to.(30)

Eventually, McGuigan became extremely insulted by Shields' antics, especially his repeated demands that the apostolic delegate be expelled. The archbishop wrote the Toronto Telegram, deploring the printing of such inflammatory messages.(31) The prime minister, William Lyon Mackenzie King, also expressed his disgust.(32) Still, the preacher would not shut up. He stated that he was not biased and claimed that could support his accusations.(33) The preacher turned up the heat by declaring that civil war would follow if Québec did not agree to conscription.(34) Fortunately, the weapons of hatred were taken from his hands. In 1944 problems replacing decimated regiments fighting in the Low Countries led Prime Minister King to invoke the 1942 referendum that permitted conscription.(35) This time, unlike during World War One, there was no serious civil disobedience in Québec.

Despite the terrible problems caused by the conflict, one positive outcome of the war was the end of the Great Depression. The bad times had not ceased immediately because wages rose more slowly than inflation.(36) However, as early as October 1939, the war time boom was starting. This was shown by the welfare load lessening in Toronto.(37) Further progress was shown in 1944 when the Federation of Catholic Charities reached its campaign goals for the first time since 1929.(38)

Signs of the improving economy also became apparent when McGuigan released his 1942 Archdiocesan Report. As a result of his great tightness with money, and the willingness of the laity to make real sacrifices, the archbishop was able to announce that the financial encumbrance of the episcopal corporation had been halved since 1935. Now it stood at only \$2,098,166.77. He was also pleased to note that a modest program of church building had been completed over the past seven years. Six new houses of worship had been constructed in Toronto and seven elsewhere.(39) Also, he had rebuilt two burned churches, established a number of rectories for both parishes and missions, and had set up catechetical centres to instruct potential converts. An addition had been made to St. Michael's Hospital, a new Loretto College had been built in Toronto, and repairs were made to the fire damaged convent of the Loretto Sisters at Niagara Falls. The Sisters of Social Service had been brought to Toronto in order to serve the Hungarians, and the University of St. Michael's College had not only housed the Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, but also had constructed Brennan Hall with its meeting rooms and residence.

The general appearance of church buildings had also improved. The dirty greyness of the Great Depression was fast disappearing, while messy altar linens, tawdry vestments, and unbecoming sacred vessels were becoming

things of the past. Of course, McGuigan mentioned the generosity of the late Senator Frank O'Connor and other benefactors. Lastly, he reiterated that the fight against the debt must not be relaxed and reemphasized that better off parishes must continue to share with poor ones.(40)

The next year McGuigan produced the most important religious display during wartime Toronto. This was the Canadian National Missionary Exhibition held 15-19 October 1943. As archbishop, McGuigan was its patron. There were many displays overlooked by a scale replica of the statue of Christ that towered over Rio de Janeiro.(41) Naturally, there was much talk about the sons of the Church who were fighting to preserve religious freedom.(42) Two missionary bishops from China, Paul Yu Pin of Nanking (Nanking) and the Canadian-born Cuthbert O'Gara, primate of Hunan, were the centres of attraction. Speaking at Columbus Hall, Yu Pin talked of "a new China being born", one that was "ripe for harvest". Unfortunately for him, the crop would not be the kind he expected. O'Gara, having been a prisoner of the Japanese for six months following the capture of Hong Kong, had much to say. Still missing, however, was the Toronto missionary, Monsignor John Mary Fraser of the Scarboro Foreign Mission. He was a virtual in Japanese-occupied Manila.(43)

McGuigan, who spoke during the closing Mass, was also honoured by being made an Assistant to the Papal Throne and a Roman Count. He was 48, or one year older than O'Leary when he was so appointed. Finally, the archbishop made available for viewing the hand-written scroll from the pope available for viewing.(44)

Despite the success of the Missionary Exhibit, the archbishop was still very concerned about Catholic adolescents. For example, in the spring of 1943 he pleaded that "No sacrifice of time, of energy, of material means can be considered too great for this sublime work of fashioning and moulding the minds, the hearts and the lives of our youth..."(45) This concern led directly to his great high school campaign. At this time, Catholic students had only secular high schools to choose from, if they could not afford the four private Catholic collegiates, or could not gain entrance into the four small public high schools run by nuns and religious brothers.(46)

At Christmas 1942, the Holy Name Society announced that it had taken up the archbishop's challenge to establish secondary schools. Its president, Vincent Reid, stated that McGuigan felt that it was "more important to build Christianity into the hearts of boys than to build the greatest cathedral."(47) The drive was organized around

the occasion of the archbishop's sacerdotal anniversary in May 1943. Three weeks later on 20 June, in order to initialize the \$900,000 campaign, Reid presented the archbishop with a \$50,000 cheque. In response, the enthusiastic McGuigan said that he would sell his pectoral cross and ecclesiastical ring to give teenagers an education second to none. He also stated that he could not bear to see his boys and girls passing fine collegiates on their way to his poor schools.(48)

Nevertheless, for some unknown reason, the campaign did not actually start until 16 March 1944, when 6,000 volunteers went to work in the 105 parishes and 30 missions of the archdiocese.(49) It was a great success with employment approaching a new high (50) and almost \$1,700,000 pledged by mid-May. This money would be put in bonds until the end of the War (51) and was assumed to be sufficient since it was almost twice the minimum goal.

After the problems of communism and fascism earlier in the war, McGuigan had to face a familiar difficulty in 1943--the CCF. As mentioned before, he had come to an understanding with M. J. Coldwell that the church's neutrality regarding legal parties would be upheld. Nevertheless, most Catholics thought that the 1934 statement by Montréal coadjutor archbishop, Georges Gauthier, condemning the CCF remained the church's official

position(52). This was accepted despite supporting articles by Henry Somerville, editor of the Canadian Register, and McGuigan's political advisor.(52) Still, the archbishop of Toronto was leery of the CCF, no doubt because of his inordinate fear of communism and the CCF's nominal Protestant leadership.

In the summer of 1943, the CCF came within a hair's breadth of becoming the government of Ontario by taking 33 seats against 38 for the victorious Tories.(53) Better late than never, it seemed that the Canadian Catholic Church had to make a decision. Three bishops, including McGuigan, examined the situation and on 21 October 1943 issued a statement that Catholics could vote for any party that upheld Christian principles (54). Few were in a position to notice that this was quite different from McGuigan's Saskatchewan declaration that a party only had to be legal to be acceptable.

The Globe and Mail, following Somerville's lead in The Canadian Register, headlined that "Bishops Permit Catholics to Vote for CCF Party."(55) The Liberals were appalled.(56) Emphasizing the acceptance, the national CCF leader, M. J. Coldwell, reaffirmed that the party stood for democracy and opposed communism.(57) Yet, since the bishops had not dared to speak the name of the group, there was doubt for those who wished to oppose the CCF. On

second thought the Globe changed its mind, quoting the Catholic North West Review. This journal editorialized that the CCF was not the party meant by the bishops. The newspaper's attitude was probably in reaction to such anti-Catholics as Harold Winch, head of the CCF in British Columbia.(58)

In December 1943, apparently still agonizing over the problem, McGuigan stated that private property was necessary for democracy.(59) Coldwell, now apparently totally exasperated, issued a statement upholding private property, and again reminded the archbishop that this was also the position of the British Labour Party, which had been approved by the late Cardinal Bourne of Westminster.(60) Ultimately, this debate became academic, at least in Saskatchewan, for on 16 June 1944 the first social democratic government in the western hemisphere was formed by the CCF. It had the help of many Catholics.(61) The Church's shilly-shallying was over. The people made the decision that the bishops had not dared make.

Now, in late 1944 the war was coming to its climax. The Red Army had pushed the Germans back into Poland and the Nazis' last desperate attempt to split the Western armies at the Battle of the Bulge fell well short of the mark. Five months later Hitler committed suicide, and on 8 May 1945 the "Thousand Year Reich" collapsed. To Archbishop

McGuigan this was a "day of joy exceedingly great, due to God from Whom all blessings flowed." He hoped that a world of peace, justice, and freedom would follow.(62) Then, in August, as almost an anti-climax, Japan surrendered after suffering two atomic bomb blasts.

For six long years McGuigan had laboured while the Nazis threatened Western democracy and Christianity. Despite irritations such as wartime blackouts,(63) rationing of meat,(64) shortages of tea, coffee, fuel oil,(65) and coal,(66) as well the fulminations of T. T. Shields, the archbishop had done very well. He had obtained the funds that he thought were necessary for Catholic high schools. The debt had been markedly reduced. That the laity and the public had been inspired by the great Missionary Exhibit of 1943 was demonstrated by the large post-war classes at Saint Augustine's Seminary.(67) The alliance with the Soviet Union had been a real trial but, at least, the problem of the CCF was taken out of the archbishop's hands.

Great difficulties still loomed. There were disturbing reports about the death camps in Europe and of those apparently uninjured dying weeks after the atomic bombing(68). Millions were threatened with starvation in Europe as it had been impossible to plant crops, and because most of the animals had been slaughtered during the

fighting.(69) The USSR had occupied Catholic Eastern Europe and bishops of the United States had little faith that the Soviets really wanted a strong Poland (70) or fraternal relations with Czechoslovakia.(71) Offsetting this bleak picture was the fact that at least post-war negotiations between East and West were ongoing. Perhaps, in the end there would be true peace. All McGuigan could do was offer his and his people's prayers.

Notes: Chapter 6

- (1) "Controlling Toronto's Military Chaplains in War: The Roles and Influence of Archbishop McGuigan, Prelate Owen and Chaplains during the Second World War", Hamilton, Rev. Thomas James. Canadian Catholic Historical Association meeting, Montréal, Québec, 8 June 1995. It may be that Nelligan's breakdown was over shortage of overseas chaplains partly due to McGuigan's reluctance to part with his priests.
- (2) "Archbishop Issues Pastoral Letter on War Situation", Catholic Register CR, 7 September 1939, p 1. Three days later, Canada declared war and, unlike World war 1, she had not followed Britain's lead immediately. "Canada Declares War", Globe and Mail, (G&M), 11 September 1939, p 1.
- (3) "K of C Launches Army Hut Drive", G&M, 29 January 1940, p 4. The national campaign was for \$200,000. Army huts were rest areas near the front.
- (4) "Toronto Huts Fund Short of Objective", CR, 8 February 1940, p 1.
- (5) "St. Michael's Club for Servicemen", CR, 23 January 1941, p 8, "Toronto C. O. Says Catholic Club For Active Service Doing Splendid Work", 30 January 1941, p 3, and "Catholic Women's League War Work is Praised by Archbishop on Jubilee", CR, 8 November 1945, p 9.
- (6) "Public Prayers Sunday, May 26, For Victorious Peace", CR, 23 May 1940, p 1. Actually, McGuigan announced this day of prayer for victory three days before the G&M published the king's request. His Majesty spoke to the Empire that Sunday appealing for the rescue of the Allied soldiers while the pope's plea was for peace.
- (7) "Pray God Give Wisdom To the Leaders of Allies So Right May Triumph", G&M, 27 May 1940, p 4.
- (8) "See Dunkirk Evacuation as Answer to Prayers", G&M, 3 June 1940, p 4.
- (9) "'Down With the Jackals', Toronto Residents Cry as Windows of Italian Stores are Smashed", G&M, 11 June 1940, p 4.
- (10) "The Day Freedom Died". G&M, 9 June 1990, D5. About 300 men from both Toronto and Montreal were arrested, but Luigi Pennacchio (See (11)) says that few of the arrests were justified. The Italians were simply caught up

in a wave of xenophobia. The women arrested were kept in Kingston Women's Prison.

(11) Pennacchio, Luigi, "The Torrid Trinity: Toronto's Fascists, Italian Priests and Archbishops During the Fascist's Era, 1920-1940" in Catholics at the 'Gathering Place', ed. by Mark G. McGowan and Brian C. Clarke, p 244.

(12) "Roman Catholics of Toronto Show Loyalty at Big Meeting", G&M, 24 June 1940, p 4. McGuigan agreed with Churchill that France had gone soft with pleasure. Paradoxically, the Nazis were promoting "strength through joy".

(13) "Day of Prayer Asking Victory Unites Creeds", G&M, 9 September 1940, p 4. McGuigan stated that what had worked at Dunkirk would now save Britain.

(14) "Victory Drive Predicted by M'Guigan", G&M, 30 September 1940, p 4. He said, "As Christians you will not fear, and as Canadians you will not flinch".

(15) "The Pope Sends Cash to Finns after Denunciation of Russia", G&M, 27 December 1939, p 1 and "Nazis Invade Russia", G&M, 23 June 1941, p 1.

(16) Ribbontrop Tells the Pope Reich Ready to Join Vatican in anti-Bolshevik Crusade", G&M, 12 March 1940, p 1.

(17) "Election: Mayor Day Returned by Narrow Majority...", G&M, 2 January 1940, p 1. Salsberg and a third communist candidate, Fred Collins, were also defeated. City council decided not to give the beaten anti-communist, David Balfour, a vote of appreciation claiming they did not want to give one to Smith also. However, Balfour, the only Catholic on council, took it personally. On leaving, angrily quoted Shakespeare saying, "Ingratitude, more strong than a traitor's arm, quite vanquished him". "Council is Silent on Vote of Appreciation to Balfour", G&M, 5 January 1940, p 4.

(18) "Communists Held in Jail", G&M, 26 September 1942, p 1.

(19) "Archbishops Pay Tribute to Russian Army Valour", G&M, 8 September 1941, p 7. Cardinal Hinsley succeeded Cardinal Francis Borne as archbishop of Westminster in 1935. An anti-fascist, he criticized Pope Pius XI for accepting the conquest of Ethiopia by Italy and founded the "Sword of Spirit," an inter-church political and religious group that spread to Toronto where it gave a series of public lectures. Hinsley died in 1943. "Hinsely, Arthur",

The New Encyclopædia Britannica, Micropædia, (EB), vol 5, pp 936-37 and "Sword of Spirit For Canada's Armed Forces", CR, 9 October, 1941, p 8.

(20) "Hepburn Act Typifies National Need", G&M, 27 July 1942, p 4. Lawson had been arrested 3 months previously and was now suffering from a lung infection.

(21) "Tim Buck, 15 Associates are Conditionally Released", G&M, 7 October 1942, p 1. Hepburn wanted no conditions.

(22) "Buck Heralds Drive in Africa as Start of Front", G&M, 10 November 1942, p 4. This occurred at the "Salute to the Soviets Rally".

(23) "Toronto's Homage is Paid to Russia at Monster Rally", G&M, 23 June 1942, p 1. L'Internationale was heard.

(24) See (11), p 241. McGuigan was so afraid of a local revolt by the communists that in 1937 he had written the dying Henry O'Leary stating that "within a few years, we will have a [religious] persecution similar to Spain".

(25) See (21) and (23) and "Demand for Total War is Made by Speakers at Pro-Russian Rally", G&M, 22 September 1942, p 1.

(26) Foy, Monsignor Vincent to author, 9 September 1991, p 3.

(27) For example, in 1944 he sent Father Joseph McHenry to meet the Russian ambassador, Mr. Zaroubin, at a Queen's Park reception. "Reception Honors USSR Ambassador", G&M, 20 November 1944, p 11.

(28) "Catholic Biblical Association Meets in City, August 27-28", G&M, 17 August 1940, p 9.

(29) "Religious War Possible Here, House Warned", G&M, 7 March, 1941 p 5. Shields was not even Canadian born, but a native of England. Faulkner, Tom Sinclair, "Shields, Thomas Todhunter, The Canadian Encyclopedia, (CE), Second Edition, vol 3, p 1991.

(30) "Encroachment by Catholics is Protested", G&M, 17 September 1941, p 5. These objection were made despite the fact that the Catholics were the largest group in the Canadian Army, "Catholics Lead in Army Ranks", G&M, 28 May 1943, p 1. Shields never let facts get in his way.

(31) Archives of the Archdiocese of Toronto, (AAT), MGDS 43.84 (a) quoted in John Moir's Church and Society,

pp 216-218. In this advertisement Shields also worked the Globe and Mail over the coals and had previously called the paper the "lowest thing on earth".

(32) "Shields Called a National Disgrace", G&M, 25 July 1943, p 1. King was a Protestant.

(33) "Shields Says Newspaper Won't Stop Him", G&M, 12 July 1943, p 5.

(34) "Will Eight Provinces Consent to Bear Quebec's Blood Cultures", G&M, 4 November 1944, p 10. This was another of his controversial advertisements for his Sunday pastorals.

(35) "Archbishop McGuigan for Affirmative Vote", CG, 27 April 1942, p 7. McGuigan admitted that this was only his personal opinion and that he could not order Catholics how to vote on conscription. Québec rejected the referendum almost 3 to 1 and the rest of the country accepted it by about 2 to 1. Lemieux, Vincent, "Referendum", CE, Second Edition, vol 3, p 18.:

(36) "Charities Meet Heavy Demand", G&M, 4 October 1940, p 9.

(37) "Decrease is Recorded in Toronto Relief Costs", G&M, 16 October 1939, p 4. The numbers also fell because of armed forces recruitment.

(38) Catholic Charities Campaign Objective Reached for First Time Since 1929", CR, 1 January 1944, p 8.

(39) Elsewhere meant the deaneries of the Archdiocese of Toronto. These were Toronto East and West, Barrie, and Saint Catharines. "Archbishop Speaks on High Schools at Four Deanery Meetings", CR, 15 May 1943, p 12. In the same period the chancery debt had been reduced from almost \$1,000,000 in 1935 to \$308,251.28, or by over two thirds. The Archbishop of Toronto Speaks from His Heart to His Own Beloved People, A Vital Message No One Should Fail to Read, "Retrospective of Seven Years and Vision of the Future", pp 2-3.

(40) McGuigan had no direct connection to institutions such as Loretto College or St. Michael's Hospital (except through their clergy). On the other hand, as they were Catholic he would help them whenever he could such as by fund raising or attending their convocations. "The Archbishop Visits Loretto Abbey", CR, 4 April 1935 and "Cornerstone Laid at Saint Michael's College", 15 May 1943, p 12.

- (41) "Motives and Ideals of Canadian National Missionary Exhibition", CR, 16 October 1943, p 5.
- (42) "Cardinal Sings Closing Mass of Great Missionary Exhibition" CR, 30 October 1943, p 1.
- (43) "First Canadian National Missionary Exhibition", CR, 23 October 1943, p 8.
- (44) "Holy Father Blesses First English Canadian Missionary Exhibit", CR, 9 October 1943, p 1. The Latin document started the archbishop's name with "Mac".
- (45) "The Archbishop Speaks on High Schools at Four Deanery Meetings", CR, 15 May 1943, p 12.
- (46) "Holy Name Drive for New High Schools", CR, 26 December 1942, p 12.
- (47) "Archbishop Pontificates at Mass on Anniversary of his Consecration", CR, 22 May 1943, p 12
- (48) "\$50,000 Given for Building of Roman Catholic Schools" G&M, 21 June 1943, p 4. It was mentioned that the in seven years the population of the archdiocese had doubled to 350,000. The end of Orange Toronto was coming.
- (49) "Prelate Calls for \$900,000", G&M, 28 February, 1944, p 4. Part of the money was for St. Augustine's Seminary and some was for recreation facilities.
- (50) "Employment at a New High", CG, 16 October 1943, p 10.
- (51) "Archbishop's Fund Well Over Top", G&M, 18 May 1944, p 4. According to the 1948 Diocesan Bulletin, the amount actually collected was \$1,502,000. "Cardinal Issues Annual Report of Archdiocese", CR, 6 March 1948, p 6.
- (52) Beck, Jeanne, "Contrasting Approaches in Catholic Social Actions During the Depression: Henry Somerville, the Educator and Catherine de Hueck, the Activist" in Catholics at the 'Gathering Place', edited by Mark McGowan and Brian C. Clarke, pp 225-226.
- (53) "Liberal Swept Out", G&M, 5 August 1943 p 1. Two communists were also elected to the provincial parliament, J. B. Salsberg and the displaced Cape Bretoner A. A. MacLeod. Salsberg said that he would support the CCF even though the party felt it was the kiss of death. During the campaign the Canadian Register ran advertisements for both

the Tories and CCF. These contradicted each other on whether the CCF was a legitimate party for Catholic votes.

(54) National Archives of Canada (NAC) MG 28 IV 1 volume 97. David Lewis to E.B. Joliffe, 29 September 1943. Tells of Father Emile Bouvier S.J. investigating the CCF for the Catholic Bishop's meeting in October.

(55) "Bishops Permit Catholics to Vote for CCF Party", G&M, 21 October 1943, p 1. The meeting was in Québec City.

(56) "Liberals Fear Bishop's Act Help to CCF", G&M, 21 October 1943, p 1. Not only had Montréal Auxiliary Bishop Gauthier said that the CCF was proscribed in 1934, but Cardinal Villeneuve said the same four years later.

(57) "The Bishop and the CCF", (editorial), G&M, 22 October 1943, p 6. Another factor may have been the anti-Catholic attitude of Toronto's first CCF Mayor, James Stewart.

(58) Gordon, Stanley, "Winch, Ernest Edward, CE, volume 4, second edition, p 2352 and "The Mask is Off", G&M, 12 November 1943, p 6.

(59) "Private Property Right Upheld by McGuigan", G&M, 6 December 1943, p 4. This was declared at a meeting of the Bishop's Committee for Social Justice.

(60) "Answer Made to R C Bishops by Coldwell", G&M, 7 December 1943, p 3 and "Catholic Church Neutral, says Bishop" Regina Leader Post (RLP), 23 May 1934, p 2.

(61) Kambeitz, Teresita, "Relations Between the Catholic Church and the CCF in Saskatchewan, 1930-1950", The Canadian Catholic Historical Association: Study Sessions, 46, 1979, p 50 and "CCF Sweeps Saskatchewan", G&M, 16 June 1944, p 1.

(62) "Church Leaders Thankful to God for European Peace", G&M, 8 May 1945, p 4.

(63) "Blackout Tonight", G&M, 18 June 1941, p 5. This was a civil defence advertisement. The test was for two minutes at 10:28 pm.

(64) "Meat Rationing in Canada Early in May", CG, 1 April 1943, p 1. This was no April Fool joke as meat was rationed to two pounds per family per week.

- (65) "Ottawa Prohibits Oil Heating" , G&M, 21 May 1942, p 1 and "Tea and Coffee on Ration List", CG, 27 May 1942, p 1. The rule was on one's honour.
- (66) "Says Coal Shortage May be Critical", CG, 20 May 1943 p 1. Householders were to turn off their heat immediately.
- (67) The people cry 'Send us priests', p 54. The largest class was in 1955. One of its graduates, Aloysius Ambrozic, is archbishop of Toronto.
- (68) "Delayed Burns from Atomic Bomb May Cause Death", G&M, 23 August 1945, p 13 and "Unhurt by Atomic Bomb, Japs Die Weeks Later", 4 September 1945, p 7.
- (69) "Support the Pope's Fund", G&M, 19 June 1944, p 4 and "Catholics to Aid War Victims", 12 June 1945, p 2. The pope's fund was established to thank God for saving Rome from destruction. Some Protestants wanted Rome bombed supposedly as a military target. Other motives may be ascribed.
- (70) "Bishops Stand Opposes USSR", G&M, 20 November 1944 p 2, "Wants Strong Poland After War, Says Stalin", G&M, 6 May 1943, p 1 and "High Treason Charge Pending Against 16 Poles", 8 May 1945, p 3.
- (71) "Russians and Czechs in Friendship Pact", CG, 13 December 1943, p 1.

Chapter 7

The Glory Days

December 1945 - March 1953

The life that Cardinal McGuigan had in the early post-war period could well be termed his "glory days". His election to the College of Cardinals, his appointment as the pope's personal representative to the Marian Congress, his role in the declaration of the bodily Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and his virtual annihilation of the archdiocesan debt were glorious.

Unfortunately, the secular reality included many less celebrated events. The failure to establish post-war peace at Christmas 1945 led to Soviet occupation of Catholic Eastern Europe and the suppression of the Church there. The fear that the Soviets were developing the atomic bomb, and that the United States might use it again, created a sense of terror throughout the world. Also, the establishment of the Hope Commission, with its anti-Catholic tenor, threatened for five years the very existence of the separate school system in Ontario.

On 23 December 1945, the radio carried the surprising news that James Charles McGuigan had become Canada's first English speaking cardinal. Having received no official confirmation of this appointment, McGuigan was profoundly sceptical and had his secretary, Monsignor John Harris, state only that there was no information available.

However, in the late morning, Harris received a telephone call from the Most Rev. Ildebrando Antoniutti, apostolic delegate to Canada. The secretary handed the receiver to McGuigan who said, "Good Morning, Your Excellency", then was stunned to hear Antoniutti respond, "Good Morning, Your Eminence."(1)

Later that day McGuigan held a hurried press conference. Here he emphasized that this appointment was not important personally; it was a recognition of Canada's significance in the post-war world. Especially, it was an acknowledgement of the coming of age of that minority-within-a-minority: the English-Speaking Catholics. Now the Church had a cardinal for both its French tongued majority and its large English-speaking minority. McGuigan claimed that his new position would in no way affect his duties as archbishop of the nation's most prestigious English speaking diocese. He also admitted how unworthy he felt for such an honour, stating that, "in vely truth it is the greatest surprise of my life."

Internationally, the significance of his appointment and of the 31 other new princes of the Church was not only that the Italians lost their absolute majority in the College of Cardinals, but also that the College had been universalized. For example, its earliest representatives had been selected from China, and colonial Africa. The

first cardinals from Holland since the Reformation, and from Armenia in centuries, were chosen as well.

Furthermore, Pius showed his compassion toward ruined Germany by appointing no fewer than three eminences from there and risked further irritating the Soviets by selecting two members from behind the rapidly closing Iron Curtain.(2)

Interest in these appointments brightened considerably the generally dismal first post-war Christmas. With mass hunger stalking Europe, and disturbing stories of what the Soviets were doing in Eastern Europe, there had been little room for optimism. Then, on Christmas Day 1945 came joyful news that desultory week-old peace negotiations between the victors had begun to progress. An agreement to sign treaties for a liberated Europe had been accepted by the Soviet Union, the United States, and Great Britain.(3)

Three days later came the dreamed-for but totally unexpected news that accords had also been initialled for controlling the atomic bomb, and acceptances for settling disputes in the Far East were about to be approved.(4)

It appeared that true peace had come following a war that had cost tens of millions of lives and had destroyed much of Europe, as well as entire cities in Japan. For the faithful, this peace agreement in the season of Our Saviour's birth was most significant. Nothing could be

more appropriate, nothing could be so beneficial as a symbol of the True Faith.

With the heady effects of this news, McGuigan left almost immediately for Rome.(5) He was the first cardinal-designate to arrive and had planned to stay until 12 March to observe Pope Pius' seventh anniversary.(6)

Unfortunately, the spirit of Christmas reconciliation was soon lost. Mistrust was rampant among the former allies. For example, a Soviet atomic spy ring had been broken in Ottawa during the previous autumn.(7) In the new year this led to irresponsible speculation that the USSR had not only the atomic bomb, but possessed a "better" one.(8) Debate continued in the United Nations on Soviet occupation of north-west Iran, and on the attempt by the old colonial powers to reassert their authority in south-east Asia. Also, when the consistory to create the new cardinals opened in February, the Hungarian primate, Archbishop Josef Mindszenty, was absent. Only extreme pressure by the West forced the Soviets to change their story that they had to have the permission of a missing commander to authorize his departure for Rome.(9)

Pope Pius XII had never trusted the communists, even when the long sought permanent peace seemed at hand during Christmas 1945. Therefore, he had warned them "not to commit crimes condemned by others."(10) When ominous

reports continued from Eastern Europe, he lashed out at the Soviets, using the consistory as a vehicle.(11) Moscow responded in kind by claiming that the pontiff was supporting the resurgence of fascism by appointing three new German cardinals.(12) The Soviets also made too much of the fact that one of the new American cardinals, Francis Spellman, had attended a reception given by Franco's Spain.(13)

Despite Soviet criticism, the initiation rite was successful. The inauguration concluded on 22 February 1946 with the granting of topaz rings to the new cardinals and their assignment to titular churches in Rome.(14) After being delayed for a week by poor flying weather, McGuigan left for London, where on 12 March, he had an audience with King George VI and Queen Elizabeth. This was said to be a great success as the cardinal archbishop of Toronto was in a grand mood and soon had the shy, stuttering monarch laughing.(15) That evening McGuigan flew to Ireland to attend the funeral of the Irish-born American cardinal, John Glennon.(16) There the new Canadian Cardinal was honoured by Prime Minister Eamon de Valera. This was probably McGuigan's first visit to the land his ancestors had left almost exactly a century earlier. He then returned to London, sailed to Halifax,(17) finally arriving back in Toronto on 27 March 1946.

Despite an attempt by several members of Toronto city council to delay McGuigan's reception to a "more appropriate time", (18) the city went all out for its first cardinal. (19) For example, he was invited to lay a wreath at city hall for those who had made the ultimate sacrifice in the war just ended. In attendance were the mayor, Robert Saunders, who stood stiffly on one side of His Eminence, and David Balfour, still the only Catholic member of city council, who was at attention on the other. Here the cardinal spoke of feeling like Saint Paul in that he was a citizen of "no mean city." A motorcade was assembled to go to Queen's Park where McGuigan, who was introduced as a distinguished visitor, declared that he hoped that he would on no occasion demonstrate any act of disloyalty to his province. (20) As in 1935, he also spoke to the assembled faithful at Maple Leaf Gardens. This time he dwelled on the fear that the West would slip into a permanent state of preparedness for war, even burying its cities underground to escape the atomic bomb. (21)

Regardless of his claims to the contrary, McGuigan did suffer increased demands on his time now that he was more than a local hero. The bishop of Antigonish, James Morrison, simply insisted that the cardinal come to St. Francis Xavier University to receive an honorary degree at its 1946 convocation. McGuigan felt that he could not refuse, given his childhood memories of the prelate. (22)

Of course, the cardinal sensed that he could not skip nearby Prince Edward Island even though he was trying to avoid too much extra strain in response to doctor's orders.(23) Neither did he refuse the invitation of his former suffragan, Cardinal Villeneuve to visit Québec City. This was also the city where the archbishop of Toronto had received his Doctorate in Theology twenty-eight years earlier.(24)

As a result of all this touring, it was not until late May that McGuigan was finally left alone to attack the lingering financial, spiritual, and political problems of his archdiocese. At least the war boom had been good in reducing the chancery and seminary debts to virtually zero. As well, figures at the end of 1947 showed that the total parish encumbrance had been cut by one million dollars to \$700,869.72 (25) from five years earlier.(26) Encouraging too was that the post-war recession was not what had been feared.(27)

Additionally, by 1947, considerable brick and mortar work had taken place. McGuigan had received a new residence in North York without cost to the archdiocese, due to the generosity of a number of benefactors.(28) Not needing his former home he turned it into the Neil McNeil Orphanage, jesting that he hoped that it would be a "howling success."(29)

Using the 1944 high school collection, new schools were planned in Toronto and Welland. In the Ontario capital, two new private high schools for boys were to be constructed as well as three institutions for girls.(30) Although started in 1947 the new school erection presented difficulties. The total cost of institutions was now estimated to be \$4,500,000, or three times the final collection! Fortunately, the religious orders contributed their own money to make up at least part of the difference.(31) Unfortunately, the rapid growth of the suburbs north of the city of Toronto meant that demands would continue for churches and separate schools. Despite this, McGuigan appeared confident. Using the example of financing of churches, he pointed out that "experience of the past is there to show that parish needs can always be supplied through the generous self sacrifice of pastors ready to accept the sorrows and the joys inherent in the founding of parishes, supported always by loyal, united and faithful flocks."(32)

Testing this faith, the cardinal approved two more financial drives during the 1948-1951 period, neither of which compared to his 1944 high school drive. The first seemed to be an option--the construction of a building for the exclusive use of the renowned St. Michael's Choir High school. The second was a \$200,000 general expansion campaign.

Having \$50,000 on hand, a personal gift that he received when made cardinal, McGuigan donated it toward the \$200,000 school cost. He then led the \$100,000 public campaign which started in February 1948.(33) However, there was opposition. To some, this project seemed an extravagance especially when the separate schools needed the cash so much more than a small specialized institution which served only the best boy singers.(34) Initially, only \$77,000 was raised;(35) yet, two and a half years later, the school opened and appears to have been completed as designed.(36)

Less controversial was the cardinal's \$200,000 Archdiocesan Seminary and Expansion Campaign that commenced on 20 May 1951. Sixty percent of the proceedings would go to the seminary and the rest to the parishes. This campaign was needed since the Roman Catholic population of Toronto had doubled in the previous decade and a half.(37) Moreover, McGuigan desired financing for not only the metropolitan area, but also the Niagara Peninsula, and for the Midland Region. In Metropolitan Toronto, there were 55,000 Catholic children between the ages of five and ten years while the churches had parishioners speaking so many languages that they resembled a mini-United Nations. The campaign started off on the right foot with over \$20,000 being gathered on the first day!(38) Also, .

McGuigan hoped to gather \$18,000 per year for the next 20 years to rebuild St. John's Training School.

Spiritually, there were two outstanding religious events during these post war years. The first was the Marian Congress held at Ottawa in 1947. Here McGuigan was papal representative; the other was the declaration of the dogma of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, an event for which the cardinal had pressed the Vatican.

The Marian Congress took place in Ottawa from Wednesday the 18th to Sunday the 22nd of June. Crowds practically doubled the population of the sleepy Canadian Capital (39) during this, one of the last of these displays before the Second Vatican Council.

McGuigan's selection as papal delegate was not only symbolic of the coming of age of the Catholic Church in Canada, but also the location of the congress on the divide between the two solitudes had a meaning of its own.

Canada's only cardinal (40) opened the proceedings at the cathedral in the lower town by reading the pope's message in English and French.(41) Over the next few days events such as an outdoor midnight Mass offered by the apostolic delegate, an radio broadcast by the pope (42) and various religious processions filled the warm and sunny days.(43)

The papal delegate also was tendered a dinner by Prime Minister Mackenzie King (44) and received an honorary degree from the University of Ottawa where he spoke morosely of a civilization on the verge of destruction.(45) The most bizarre event of the Congress was the honouring of the visiting cardinals by the governor general, Viscount Alexander of Tunis,(46) a well known Orangeman.

The congress concluded with a two and a half hour Pontifical High Mass on Sunday 22 June. Cardinal Spellman of New York further dampened the supposedly joyful atmosphere with a sermon on the terrors of the atomic bomb. Happier was the singing of the famous Dionne Quintuplets. Unfortunately, when they left during the blessing with the Host, part of the crowd followed begging for autographs, roughing reporters and scaling fences in a mad pursuit. As the Globe and Mail commented, the word "solemn" was taken out of the ceremony.(47)

Non-Catholics turned a dollar by renting to pilgrims and and priests. However, not all were so friendly. The Rev. T.T. Shields ventured to the national capital to fulminate against this latest demonstration of Catholic "paganism" (48) and the Jehovah Witnesses erected a sign outside the main entrance to the congress saying simply "Jesus Saves."(49)

The 1950 declaration of the bodily Assumption of Blessed Virgin Mary created a much larger wave of Protestant protest than had the Congress in Ottawa. On 1 May 1946 a poll of all the bishops in the Catholic world showed that 97% agreed that it was opportune to declare as dogma(50). Only a few had the wisdom to recognize that this proclamation would create an insuperable barrier to Christian union but, of course, Catholics naively thought that any reunion would be on their terms. McGuigan pressed hard for the doctrine and even claimed that he influenced the pope's decision.(51) His fascination with the Mother of God seems to have existed ever since he learned about her at his "little earthly" mother's knee. His belief in Marianism was again demonstrated in the 1930s when, as archbishop of Regina, he constantly urged devotion to her.(52) Now that her day was at hand, he must be in Rome for the ceremonies. On 1 November 1950, Pius XII declared the Assumption a matter of faith stating that since her soul was incorrupt, her sinless body could hardly be otherwise.(53) McGuigan was enthralled. He stated that the "spiritual experience will ever abide with me" and that the ceremony was "an unforgettable sight."(54)

Many Protestants were not amused. The 1854 Dogma of the Immaculate Conception had not been accepted by most other Christians, and neither would this latest papist declaration be acknowledged. Canon Wilkinson of Saint

Paul's Church in Toronto called the assertion "unbiblical and superstitious."(55) In London, England, the Protestant Alliance proclaimed that it would gladly become a Catholic journal, if sufficient evidence for the declaration were presented.(56) And, of course, Shields made his usual enlightened remarks.(57) Responding to such criticism, the Vatican lamely suggested that the opposition was the result of a "misunderstanding" and proposed a committee be established to dispel such feelings.(58) Nevertheless, the ecumenical difficulty remained and would come back to haunt the Second Vatican Council.

Despite all these religious distractions, Communism remained the most potent threat for the church. Trouble had started before the war ended when the Soviets, having liberated "Catholic" Poland, refused to recognize the war-time government established in London. Instead, Stalin set up a puppet administration in Warsaw. Also, in Hungary the interference with Mindszenty's trip to receive his Red Hat was indicative of much worse things to come--show trials of clerics and others.

For McGuigan the most important show trial was that of Cardinal Mindszenty in 1949. The two men had met at the 1946 induction and again at the Marian Congress where Mindszenty told McGuigan stories of Soviet atrocities

that made the latter's blood run cold.(59) Nevertheless, the primate of Hungary returned home only to be arrested two days after Christmas in 1948. The chief charge was of treason for resisting the secularization of Catholic schools, and another was for illegal money trading.(60) Pius XII immediately excommunicated all Catholics who cooperated in the arrest,(61) while McGuigan declared that, with the arrest of this haughty aristocrat, "the last voice of freedom in Hungary had died."(62)

Allegedly stripped naked, beaten, denied water and sleep, as well as being sexually tempted, Mindszenty eventually signed a confession. Regaining his composure he soon retracted all but the money trading charges. Then he faced the consequences. It was hoped his life would be spared. It was. He received life in prison.(63) An emergency meeting was called in Rome with the princes of the church being given only five days to arrive.(64) Of course, the more distant prelates could not attend on such short notice. McGuigan, at a Toronto press conference, roared angrily that the Reds lacked truth and justice.(65) Like Rome, he could merely rage in his impotency.

In spite of the upsetting distraction of show trials, McGuigan could not get away from the separate school problem. The system had continued to struggle to stay afloat in the political storms of the early post-war

period. Then, a major burden appeared when the 20 man Royal Commission on Education in Ontario (the Hope Commission) was established. Set up in 1945 by the Ontario government under Mr. Justice John Andrew Hope, the commission was to recommend methods to rationalize the province's education system. Hope was described as a "stuff shirt bigot" by one of his opponents, but "never was a shirt so charmingly stuffed", countered one of his friends.(66)

McGuigan's assistance was vital for the four Catholic representatives on the commission. It was he who convinced Arthur Kelly, the leading Catholic barrister in Toronto, to become a member of the investigation.(67) It was the archbishop of Toronto who succeeded in keeping the French and English speakers from each other's throats. In this he succeeded despite the divide and conquer tactics of some Protestant commissioners and fears by the French that their fellow Catholics would might abandon the fight for intermediate schools (grades 7-8) in return for full funding of elementary levels.(68) Finally, it was McGuigan who persuaded at least three of the Catholic commissioners not to resign when some of the cardinal's suffragans interfered with their independence.(69)

Meeting in April 1945, the bishops and the Catholic commissioners drew up their goals. They wanted to receive

the education taxes of non-Catholics who sent their children to the separate school since these went to the public institution. As well, the separate school supporters wanted the establishment of intermediate schools within the Catholic system and subsidies for grades 9 and 10 .(70)

Unfortunately for the Catholics, it soon became apparent that the commission would not be so accommodating. The Separate School representatives were repeatedly questioned concerning their establishing denominational schools in areas where they had previously attended the public school. It was explained that this formation was probably due to the Catholics being forbidden to have religious instruction in the common school.(71) Also, in 1946 it became apparent that the commissioners were leaning toward restricting the separate school to its constitutionally guaranteed six grades rather than the ten grades for which the minority hoped.(72)

Eventually the Catholic commissioners became resigned to accepting six fully funded grades, but only if they controlled religious education in the higher levels.(73) Not agreeing to this, some bishops held out for all or nothing and, as mentioned before, tried to interfere with their commission representatives. McGuigan backed the

representatives. Therefore, he never lost their confidence.(74)

When it became clear that the Catholics would only get full funding for the elementary grades with no priestly access to the higher levels, the question of a minority report arose. Some of McGuigan's suffragans wanted to release it immediately, but he urged caution in order not to risk loss of full funding for the lower grades. Eventually, it became time for the report to be drawn up. This occurred in December 1948.(75)

Two years later, on 22 December 1950, Hope released his document.(76) It recommended that the schools, both public and separate, be divided into three great sections. The first, ending at the grade 6, would terminate the separate institution. Contracting this was the minority paper.(77)

When the Hope Commission's report was introduced at Queen's Park, the legislators apparently could not help but howl at the political naivety of its framers.(78) The document was shelved, just as the premier had let the cardinal know it would be (79) and a very disappointed Judge Hope was left to lick his political wounds.

Not laughing, however, were the Protestants. They sensed a sell out so demanded that the report be implemented immediately even though there was obviously no political

will to do to. Frustration followed. Unfortunately, for the Catholics, it was back to square one as the whole report, including full funding of the elementary grades, had been thrown out. Catholics had their schools, but these were still underfunded with bankruptcy threatening. Fortunately, Premier Leslie Frost saved the separate school system by slowly increasing funding over the next decade and by allowing the introduction of publicly-funded separate intermediate schools.(80) Ultimately, the Catholics received what the Protestants feared, a somewhat better funded and slightly extended separate school system.

Just as the Hope Report was on its way to the dustbin, the 1950s arrived. The sixth decade of the 20th century opened with the Soviet Union largely recovered from World War II, and possessing the atomic bomb. The Korean War (1950-53) led to the spectre of annihilation. Then, unexpectedly, on 6 March, 1953 the last great dictator passed from this world. The Globe and Mail headline screamed: "STALIN DIES". On the verge of developing the hydrogen bomb, he had been ultimately obliterated. Pope Pius XII prayed for his soul, but Québec Premier Maurice Duplessis branded the late Soviet leader the anti-Christ. (81) No matter what Stalin had been, his death, and the end of the Korean War a few months later, terminated the first phase of the Cold War.(82)

Internationally, things were considerably worse in 1953 than in 1945 when McGuigan was made cardinal and peace had seemed at hand. It would take decades of negotiations between the East and the West to free themselves from their rigid mind sets concerning each other's intentions. All the while the spectre of annihilation was increased through technological advance. Ecumenism remained a distant dream, and the doctrine of the Assumption had been written, for better or for worse, in stone. As well, Mindszenty would languish in communist jails for many more years.

McGuigan continued his seemingly endless work to meet the demands of burgeoning post-war Toronto, one of the fastest growing cities in North America.(83) The Hope Commission was dead, yet the separate school system itself was not free from danger of interment. Fortunately, the archdiocesan debt was virtually a thing of the past. Now, the cardinal felt he could dip further into the pockets of the faithful, and he did. At 59 years of age, he would find himself engaging in one last great flurry of building before retirement was forced upon him by failing health.

Notes: Chapter 7.

(1) Somerville, Henry to the Catholic Press of America, Profile Contest, Fordham University. "James Charles Cardinal McGuigan". p 1.

(2) "McGuigan Named Cardinal with 31 Others by Pius XII", Globe and Mail (G&M), 24 December 1945, p 1. On 15 December the Catholic Register had run an article on the four previous Canadian cardinals. Was this a case of serendipity?

(3) "Big Three Break Stalemate; Agree on Peace Pact" G&M, 25 December 1945, p 1.

(4) "BIG 3 RE-ESTABLISH UNITY, G&M, 28 December 1945, p 1.

(5) "Leaving for Rome for Red Hat Rite", G&M, 8 January 1946, p 4. Unlike the American Cardinals who left later by air, McGuigan took a ship, the Gripsholm, from New York to Naples.

(6) "Cardinal McGuigan in Rome after Auto Ride From Naples", G&M, 24 January, 1946 p 1. Cardinal Villeneuve did not sail until early February. It may be that McGuigan left for Rome so early as part of his therapy for a recovery from an apparent nervous breakdown in late 1944.

(7) Bothwell, Robert, "Gouzenko, Igor Sergeievitch", Canadian Encyclopedia, (CE), volume 2. second edition, p 915.

(8) "New Better 'A' Bomb Developed in Russia...", G&M, 9 January 1946 and "Atomic Secret Leaks to Soviet Reds", 16 February 1946, p 1.

(9) "Cardinal Delayed by Russians, Flown to Rome by U.S. General", New York Times (NYT), 20 February 1946, p 1.

(10) "Pope Warns Nations Not to Commit Crimes Condemned by Others", G&M, 25 December 1945, p 1. He was warning them not to do what the Germans and Japanese had done.

(11) "Vatican Challenge", G&M, 20 February 1946, p 8.

(12) "Soviet Organ Hits New Card List", (NYT) 28 January, 1946, p 1.

(13) "Only Two American Cardinals at Spanish Embassy Dinner", G&M, 25 February 1946, p 2 and "Spellman Denies Rumours Linking Him with Franco", 27 February 1946, p 7. McGuigan did not attend. "M'Guigan Among Absentees at

(13) "Franco's State Dinner", Toronto Star, 25 February 1946, p 17.

(14) "27 New Cardinals Given Rings and Assigned Charges", G&M, 23 February 1946, p 7. McGuigan's titular church was Santa Maria del Popolo, built on the site of Nero's tomb. He received his symbolic Red Hat on February 21.

(15) MacNeil, Alice (McGuigan) to author, 18 October 1983, p 3. Also with McGuigan were the other cardinals of the "Empire Trinity", Bernard Griffin of Westminster and Norman Gilroy of Sydney, Australia.

(16) Somerville, Henry, To Rome and Home, pp 46-47 and "Cardinal Glennon's Body on Way to America", Irish Times, 14 March 1946, p 1. The "Empire Trinity" attended Glennon's funeral. This death is possibly the reason that McGuigan had left before Pius' anniversary.

(17) "Cardinal McGuigan", Halifax Chronicle, 23 March 1946, p 3. Before he left London McGuigan had said Mass for Canadian servicemen at Cardinal Griffin's great Byzantine-style cathedral at Westminster. In Halifax he met his former associate from P.E.I. and the West, Archbishop John T. McNally.

(18) "Council, 12 to 4, Favors Reception To New Cardinal", G&M, 19 March 1946, p 5. What "more appropriate time" could there be than when he arrived and was received at Queen's Park?

(19) "Toronto Goes All Out in Welcome Ceremony for Cardinal McGuigan", G&M, 28 March 1946, p 4.

(20) "Toronto Welcomes City's First Cardinal Archbishop" G&M, 28 March 1946, p 15. Saunders was an Orangeman as were the four city councillors who voted against McGuigan. Saunders voted for the cardinal's reception. "Thumbnail Sketch of New Alderman", Globe, 4 January 1935, p 4.

(21) "Cardinal Sounds Call to Check Power Greed", G&M, 1 April 1946, p 15.

(22) RGS 11 9515, Archives of St. Francis Xavier University, (ASFX), Rt. Rev. P. J. Nicholson Papers. 22 January 1946, p 3. Nicholson, Rt. Rev. P. J. to Cardinal James McGuigan. Bishop James Morrison was a friend of the cardinal's parents when he was a priest in P.E.I.

(23) Archives of the Diocese of Charlottetown, (ADC), Bishop James Boyle papers. 10 April 1946, McGuigan, Cardinal to Bishop James Boyle.

- (24) "Thousands to Welcome Cardinal McGuigan", Quebec Chronicle-Telegraph, 25 May 1946, p 1.
- (25) Archives of Loretto Abbey, (ALA). The Diocesan Bulletin, 25 February 1948, npns.
- (26) "Retrospect of Seven Years And a Vision of the Future", in The Archbishop of Toronto Speaks From His Heart to...., 1943. p 2.
- (27) "We Had It Before--Let's Not Have it Again", Charlottetown Guardian (CG) 26 September, 1946 , p 8.
- (28) See (25).
- (29) "Former Archbishop's Palace Home for Infants", G&M, 24 February 1948, p 5.
- (30) The girl's schools received only half as much funding for construction per school. Was this outcome sexist, or were there only half as many girls in high school as boys? The difference might also reflect the relative costs of study areas. The boys would be sent to learn chemistry or physics in the laboratories while the girls were taught to cook in kitchens or to sew in simply furnished rooms. Of course, the girl's education, in itself, was a form of sexist stereotyping.
- (31) "The Cardinal Speaks to His People", Canadian Register, (CR), 7 April 1951 p 4.
- (32) See (25) The Diocesan Bulletin.
- (33) "Cardinal Opens \$100,000 Campaign", G&M, 27 February 1948, p 4. \$50,000 more seems to have been contributed by other sources before the campaign and "Choir School for Catholics", G&M, 7 February 1948, p 8.
- (34) "Anonymous Objector to New Choir School", (CR), 24 January 1948, p 1. In reality the education of the students was complete, more than just music. As well, their fees went to the Separate School Board and the institution was a major source of vocations and "Cardinal Announces Plan to Build New Home for Cathedral Choir School", G&M, 3 January 1948, p 8.
- (35) "Construction to Start on School", CR, 31 January 1948, p 1.
- (36) "Cardinal Blesses First Choir School in Canada", CR, 24 June 1950, p 1.

- (37) "Toronto R. C. Population Doubled over 15 Years", G&M, 28 April 1951, p 5.
- (38) "Magnificent Response of Archdiocese to Cardinal's Appeal", CR, 26 May 1951 p 12.
- (39) "Marian Congress", G&M, 14 June 1947, p 12.
- (40) The death of Cardinal Villeneuve in January 1947 left McGuigan as the only Canadian cardinal. "All Quebec Mourns as Death of Cardinal Villeneuve Announced in California", G&M, 18 January 1947, p 7.
- (41) "50,000 See Opening of Marian Congress", G&M, 19 June 1947, p 1.
- (42) "Marian Congress Mass at Midnight in Ottawa Heard by Huge Crowd", G&M, 20 June 1947, p 7.
- (43) "Thousands Pray as Host Carried in Big Procession", G&M, 22 June 1947, p 1 and "Blazing June Sun Wilts Huge Crowds at Ottawa Congress", p 17. The crowds exceeded these who had seen the King and Queen of England in the summer of 1939.
- (44) "Quits, in Pink, Motor to Attend Marian Congress", G&M, 21 June 1947, p 15.
- (45) See (42).
- (46) "Legate, Governor General, Cabinet Ministers Banquet Guests", CR, 28 June 1947, p 7.
- (47) See (43) and "Dionne Separated From His Quints by Milling 1000s at Congress", G&M, p 17.
- (48) "Great Protestant Rally, Hear T.T. Shields at Metro Tabernacle on Thursday and Friday" (advertisement), Ottawa Citizen, 19 June 1947, p 3 and "Paganism Seen in Roman Catholic Church by Shields", Globe, 27 April 1936, p 13.
- (49) "Dignitaries from Far-Off Countries Attend Church Congress", G&M, 19 June 1947, p 17.
- (50) "Rosary Sunday Holy Hour", G&M, 7 October 1946, p 15.
- (51) Archives of the Archdiocese of Toronto, (AAT), MGAA01.03. McGuigan to Archbishop Anthony O'Sullivan, 21 January 1950.

(52) Barton, Sister Magdalen, "A Confident Voice That Preached Big", University of Ottawa, Graduate Studies paper, 1975, p 39.

(53) "Assumption", The New Encyclopædia Britannica, (EB), Micropædia, vol 1, pp 647-48. There is no explicit mention of the Assumption in the New Testament.

(54) AAT, MGAA03.01. 25 November 1950. McGuigan, James Cardinal to Mary Gallagher.

(55) "An Anglican Preached Against the Assumption", CR, 2 December 1950, p 4

(56) "Show Us Proof of Definition to Papal Dogma", G&M, 28 October 1950, p 8.

(57) "The Pope's 'Definition' of Doctrine of Assumption of the Body of Mary to Heaven and its Implications", G&M, 28 October 1950, p 8 (advertisement).

(58) "Catholic Congress to Review Debate on Assumption", G&M, 14 August 1951, p 3. The congress was planned for Rome, 27 October to 1 November.

(59) "Last Voice of Freedom Stilled in Hungary, says Toronto Prelate, G&M, 28 December 1948, p 5.

(60) "Cardinal is Arrested on Charges of Treason", G&M, 28 December 1948, p 1. All monetary transactions, even on the church's behalf, had to be conducted through state banks.

(61) "Catholics Involved in Mindszenty Arrest Excommunicated" G&M, 28 December 1948, p 1.

(62) See (59).

(63) "Jail Cardinal for Life", G&M, 8 February 1949, p 1.

(64) "Call Cardinals to Rome for Secret Consistory", G&M, 10 February 1949 p 1.

(65) "Travesty of Justice, Truth, says McGuigan of Sentence", G&M, 9 February 1949, p 10.

(66) Walker, Franklin A, Catholic Education and Politics in Ontario: Vol III, p 13, 18.

(67) See (66), p 21.

(68) See (66), p 36.

- (69) See (66), p 57.
- (70) See (66), p 22 and "Court Gives Ruling Against Roman Catholic Wives", Globe, 27 September 1934, p 5. Wives having Protestant husbands could not assign their share of the family's school taxes to the Separate School Board.
- (71) See (66), p 39.
- (72) See (66), p 49.
- (73) See (66), p 52.
- (74) See (66), p 58.
- (75) See (66), pp 63, 66.
- (76) "Hope Report Proposals All Hinge on Key Items for Three Great Levels", G&M, 23 December 1950, p 3. and "Cardinal Objects", 22 December 1951, pp 1, 69-70.
- (77) See (66), p 70.
- (78) See (66), p 80.
- (79) See (66), p 81.
- (80) See (66), p 77.
- (81) "Churchill Says Nothing About Death of Stalin", G&M, 7 Mar 1953, p 3.
- (82) Bothwell, Robert, "Cold War", CE, volume 1, 1988 edition, p 457.
- (83) Brown, Horace, "Toronto, Ontario", Encyclopedia Canadiana, vol 10, p 100.

Chapter 8

The Last Hurrah

April 1953-April 1961

Following Stalin's death, Cardinal McGuigan was active for another decade. During this time, his three greatest financial drives became unprecedented successes while the recently formed Toronto Metropolitan Separate School Board staggered under the weight of an unheard-of immigration influx.(1) To the benefit of the Catholics, the 1950s saw the virtual end of both the Orange Order and Communist Party as major players in Toronto's political world. The centenary of St. Dunstan's University seemed to give McGuigan respite from the terror of the "Annihilation Bomb", the fear of which filled the churches at Easter 1954. Finally, the end of the decade saw the death of Pope Pius XII, the election of Pope John XXIII, as well as the request by McGuigan for a successor after more than three decades of excessive labour.

In 1953 Cardinal McGuigan's physical health was still good, although by the end of the decade his ageing would become apparent. Fortunately, during this time he was not alone in his struggle for shortly after he became cardinal, McGuigan was given an auxiliary bishop, Benjamin I. Webster.(2) When in 1954, the latter was appointed bishop of Peterborough, Ontario, the cardinal received a replacement, his former secretary, Francis V. Allen.(3)

Less than a year and a half later, with the Italian immigrants being such an important constituency and the pressure of the newcomers continuing unrelentingly, a second auxiliary, Francis Marrocco,(4) was appointed.

Considering the endless flood of immigrants, McGuigan needed all the help he could get. By 1956 there were 70,000 Italians in the archdiocese and most were Roman Catholic. Also, there were 18,000 German Catholics all belonging to one parish, having but three priests. To assist these and other ethnic groups, twenty-four new parishes were to be organized. They would offer services in twenty-one different languages across the province.(5) By the end of the decade, the face of Ontario would be changed, and Protestantism would be on the way to losing its dominance.(6)

Demographic changes also affected the financial outlook of the archdiocese. With the wave of newcomers clearly making obsolete McGuigan's \$200,000 campaign, a new track had to be attempted. Therefore, in 1955 the archbishop launched the first of his three great drives: a massive campaign for parish construction.

The *raison d'être* for the 1944 high school collection had been McGuigan's silver sacerdotal anniversary. Its \$700,000 goal was easily exceeded, although even this turned out to be far from sufficient. Now, eleven

years later, for his 25th episcopal celebration, a two year \$3,000,000 Jubilee Campaign was launched. This would not only supply much needed churches, but also would reduce the remaining parish debts, strengthen credit, and be used to establish an emergency fund.(7) The cardinal was confident that the drive would be oversubscribed. To assure this he emphasized that God was the only security in the Atomic Age.(8) In fact, the goal was exceeded by more than one million dollars.(9) This success occurred even though the campaign was simultaneous with St. Michael's Hospital appeal for \$5,105,000.(10) Its drive succeeded handsomely.(11)

Since the early 1950s McGuigan had also anticipated the replacement of both St. John's Training School and the House of Providence.(12) As both buildings were decrepit and would soon be condemned, it was necessary to launch the two other great campaigns.

In 1955, the same year that he initiated his grand parish campaign, the cardinal's appeal for a new St. John's Training School was instituted. This would allow the replacement of the east-end landmark that had educated those boys who were "more sinned against than sinning."(13) Just as he had used two different financial sources to hold back the rising tide of debt in Regina, McGuigan succeeded this time by tapping a different source

from the Jubilee Campaign, i.e., those dioceses whose delinquent boys were treated at St. John's.

The institution was to be rebuilt at Uxbridge, north of Toronto, and would continue to be run by the Brothers of the Christian School (Saint John Baptiste De la Salle). The original plans had called for an expenditure of \$2,000,000 to \$2,500,000. The cardinal knew that he could not raise such an amount given the reputation that delinquents had. Therefore, new drawings were made, thereby cutting the cost to \$1,500,000. Fortunately, he had on hand about \$400,000 given by the Ontario Government for such purposes, and \$237,000 from sale of part of the old school site.

McGuigan anticipated that the provincial government would grant him another \$200,000 leaving him less than \$700,000 to raise. Furthermore, since only about one third of the inmates would be from the Toronto Archdiocese, most of the money should have come from other dioceses. To his disappointment, McGuigan discovered that this was not so. For example, the prelates of Hamilton and Sault Ste. Marie did not feel that they could help at all.(14) Also, Bishop John Cody of London was forced to reduce his \$50,000 offer by almost two-thirds because of the cost of his own building program and the possible division of his diocese. In contrast, Kingston gave a generous \$10,000 despite the fact that very few of its delinquents were at St. John's.(15)

Writing to an old Edmonton associate, E.Q. Jennings, now bishop of Fort William, the cardinal requested \$30,000. (16) Embarrassed, Jennings answered that this newly established diocese could not give more than \$2,000 or \$3,000 (17), even though 7% of the residents of St. John's were from there. McGuigan made a counter proposal, and Jennings agreed to it. This was that the bishop could probably raise \$15,000 over 5 years.(18) On 31 December 1957 McGuigan wrote to Jennings stating that he had paid \$1,260,000 for the new building which left him a half million dollar debt. The cardinal added, "How it was done, I do not know."(19)

The school opened in September 1957 with a fine spread in the Canadian Register. However, the cardinal would have been stunned if he had lived to witness the convictions among some of the Christian Brothers for abusing their charges. This problem seems to have begun almost as soon as the new school opened, if not earlier.(20)

McGuigan's third 1950s campaign, the \$3,000,000 House of Providence Building Fund, opened on 17 February 1958. The collection was scheduled to last only two months and the money was to replace the 103 year old termite-infested structure on Power Street. The cardinal declared that it was "almost a miracle" that the school had not been condemned earlier, and but for the grace of God, it would

have burned.(21) The building had, at the time of replacement, 650 mostly incompetent residents of all races and religions. As well, it sometimes housed teenagers overnight and offered two meals per day to the poor as it had in the Hungry 30s.(22)

McGuigan wished to raise \$3,000,000, assuming that he would get a matching grant from the Government of Ontario. As well, he wanted the Sisters of St. Joseph to run the home rather than "give it over to the state" as he felt that a certain degree of private charity must exist in order to protect such institutions.(23) In launching the appeal, the cardinal hosted a dinner for 2200 people. At the head table were figures ranging from the president of the Toronto-Dominion Bank to the federal minister of finance, to the sister-directress of the House of Providence. The cardinal mentioned that he hoped to obtain \$1,000,000 from sympathetic firms and \$2,000,000 from the faithful. To further encourage donations, he described the home as a "grand old house of mercy and deep Christian love."(24)

On another occasion he spoke to his priests assembled at the auditorium of St. Michael's Choir School concerning his campaign. Saying that he had come without a penny from Regina, McGuigan pulled out his still empty pockets while tears ran down his face. Then, he announced a \$10 per

month pay raise, the rub being that for the first three years the priests would "volunteer" the increase to the House of Providence campaign!(25)

On Sunday 9 March 1958 the parish collection commenced. It was a great success. Within three months the \$2,000,000 was on hand.(26) The commercial part of the financial campaign also seems to have been worthwhile despite an economic downturn. The institution reopened in Scarborough as Scarborough Villa on 29 January 1962.(27)

A pleasant distraction for the cardinal occurred during the summer of 1954. This was the centenary of his alma mater, St. Dunstan's University. McGuigan, its most distinguished graduate, attended the reunion which lasted from August 3rd to 5th. He was in great spirits and, after opening the celebrations with Pontifical High Mass, seems to have settled down to further enjoying himself. Sitting on the verandah of the old main building he held court, as it were, chatting with friends, former classmates, and relations.(28) The rector, Father Raymond V. MacKenzie, also assigned a young priest to assist the cardinal. One of the first things His Eminence requested was to go to the library where he happily perused old copies of the college's magazine, The Red and White.(29) At the closing dinner, McGuigan speaking from the head table talked of St. Dunstan's progressing from "a sort of out-at-the-elbows

school" of one building in his day, to six edifices and 300 students that day. As well, he reminisced that his old teachers were men of whom any university would be proud and, with a twinkle in his eye, commented how wonderfully it had changed, "especially since I left".

On a more serious note, the cardinal spoke of the eclipse of the arts, predicting a return to their rightful place after science had its run. As well, anticipating Gorbachev's statement about Europe, McGuigan mentioned the growing internationalism that would lead to "one great, happy and unified world". Of course, he thanked God for the little college.⁽³⁰⁾ Little did he, nor did than anyone else, anticipate that in only fifteen years it would be just a memory.

The atomic threat had continued to colour the 1950s, but in 1956 a chance came to end the Cold War. Between 24 and 26 February, Nikita Khrushchev made his now famous denunciation of Stalin. Unfortunately, the West hardly blinked and the threat of nuclear annihilation remained. But, this attack on the great dictator encouraged the rise of nationalism in eastern Europe. Both the Poles and Hungarians revolted during the autumn of 1956. Khrushchev flew to Warsaw and negotiated a peaceful settlement which gave the Poles considerable freedom within the Soviet sphere. Tragically, Hungary insisted on withdrawing

completely from the Warsaw Pact. Their rebellion was repressed--brutally.(31)

In Toronto, with its significant Hungarian population, excitement was high. Masses for the rebels were said at Saint Elizabeth of Hungary Church.(32) Marches, supported by other ethnic groups, were held to the cenotaph.(33) However, not all Torontonians agreed with these particular demonstrations. For example, the Civic Employee War Veterans Association objected to the use of the monument, pointing out that the Hungarians had been an enemy in the Second World War.(34) Nevertheless, most people in the West supported the rebels as "freedom fighters" while the Soviets, with their own Cold War mentality, probably viewed them as unrepentant fascists who had to be put down as viciously as the Nazis had been, only a decade earlier.

The Russian repression led to a mass exodus, and by mid November a Canadian-Hungarian Fund had been established. McGuigan contributed \$1,000. The first refugees arrived in Toronto that month as the cardinal reported that "large sums of money" were coming into his office. To his frustration, he had no way of getting the currency to the still imprisoned primate of Hungary, Cardinal Mindszenty. In the short run all McGuigan was able to do was to authorize a Mrs. Rose Vaszary to go to Gander, Newfoundland, to meet incoming refugees.(35) At the same

time, the Canadian government offered free passage (36) and an "unlimited supply" of jobs (37) to those seeking freedom.

Not only had the cardinal archbishop of Toronto sent Mrs. Vaszary to meet Hungarians, but now that they were here, he enlivened their first Canadian Christmas by playing the role of Saint Nicholas. McGuigan presented a cheque to the pastor of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary Church to purchase 50 gold wedding bands for those engaged.(38)

Regrettably, not all that concerned the refugees was sweetness and light. Eventually, Canadians began to tire of constant appeals.(39) As well, due to low admission standards at the University of Sopron, refugee students did not do well here. Only one of the transferees to the University of Toronto had a Ph.D. by 1960.(40) Also, a number of criminals had also been admitted in the mad rush to help the freedom fighters, and a number of them lived up to their reputations.(41) Finally, some refugees found they could not adjust to the vagaries of capitalism so returned to the "socialist paradise".(42)

For the Church the end of the 1950s came with the death of Pius XII on 8 October 1958, that not only saddened McGuigan, but also radically changed the Church. The cardinal, having stated that Pius had "never ceased striving for peace," flew to Rome to vote for a successor.

Of course, he was not even a contender not being Italian and not having good health.(43) In Canada, papal attention focused on the only other cardinal, Paul Émile Léger, archbishop of Montréal.(44)

Just as in 1939, when Berlin attempted to influence the election of the pontiff, Moscow now added its two cents worth by calling for a "peaceful and progressive" pope.(45) This aroused the ire of the cardinals.(46) Strange as it seems, Moscow received what it wanted in Angelo Roncalli, while McGuigan, who apparently favoured Archbishop Giovanni Bastista Montini, was disappointed.(47) Surprisingly elected on 25 October 1958 as a mere caretaker pope, it was Roncalli, as John XXIII, who called the Second Vatican Council.

With the administrative load increasing and his age affecting him, the cardinal asked the new pope to allow him to resign.(48) The proposal was accepted after a successful search for a successor by McGuigan's senior auxiliary, Bishop Francis Allen. Allen discovered that "there was only one possibility", Philip Pocock, archbishop of Winnipeg.(49) McGuigan agreed, as did Rome, and on 21 April 1961 Pocock became archbishop of Toronto in all but name.(50) McGuigan was finally relieved of the crushing burden that he had assumed three decades earlier in Regina.

The cardinal's last hurrah was over. The communist party destroyed by Khrushchev's denunciation was no longer a force in Toronto's civic affairs; the Orange Order, drowning in the wave of newcomers, was beyond hope, and the "one he did not vote for" was pope.(51) The cardinal's statement at the St. Dunstan's centenary that "Rome needs a good house cleaning", (52) would now be put to the test by a pope who is alleged to have said that there were "some problems in the Church that only morticians will solve."(53)

McGuigan could be satisfied that his last three financial campaigns were successes. The Jubilee Campaign had netted \$4,000,000. The eight million dollar Scarborough Villa was the most modern institution of its kind in North America, and the new St. John's Training School seemed a fine place to treat those boys "more sinned against than sinning". The local demographic crisis had been reduced by the restriction of immigration during the recession of the late 1950s.(54) Given the respite, the parish problem appeared to be solvable. As well, it seemed that pressure on the separate school system should decrease for the same reason. Unknown, however, was that demands on parishes and separate schools would soon be affected by an unprecedented fall in the birth rate and by a general decline in church attendance. Even though this slippage had occurred in Europe decades earlier,(55) the church in

North America acted as if the situation would never change. As a result it would be saddled with great half empty convents and seminaries built only three decades earlier.

Unfortunately, a chance to end the Cold War had been squandered allowing technological advances to make accidental nuclear annihilation seem even more probable. The Hungarian Revolution had produced mixed results-- political freedom for those who fled and continued economic security for those who did not. Finally, with the death of Pius XII came the end of the old ways. Now, the Second Vatican Council would turn the eyes of many from . . . obliteration to another life, and the cardinal, in declining health, would look with apprehension on the "good house cleaning" he had proposed eight years earlier.

Notes: Chapter 8

- (1) "Separate Schools Face Crisis", Globe & Mail, (G&M) 3 December 1959, p 5. Enrolment had jumped over 300% since 1943, i.e. from 12,149 to 37,373.
- (2) "Auxiliary Bishop of Toronto Goes to Peterborough", G&M, 27 April 1954, p 1. Getting Webster was probably the result of both McGuigan's extra duties as a cardinal and his 1944 health problems.
- (3) "Monsignor F.V. Allen New Auxiliary to McGuigan", G&M, 5 July 1954, p 1.
- (4) "Appoint Second Auxiliary Bishop for Toronto", G&M, 8 December 1955, p 7.
- (5) "House of Worship Vital to Immigrants", G&M, 8 September 1956, p 7. 300,000 new Canadians had arrived in Toronto in the previous 8 years.
- (6) "Protestants Warned They Will be Minority", G&M, 20 February 1959, p 1. At this time the proportion of Catholics was 42% in Ontario.
- (7) "\$3,000,000 Goal of Archdiocese", G&M, 28 January 1955, p 4 and "Ringing of Bells Starts Cardinal's Fund Collection", 16 March 1955, p 16.
- (8) "Cardinal's Fund Now At \$257,000", G&M, 24 March 1955, p 5.
- (9) "Deeper Spiritual Awakening Found by Churches in 1955", G&M, 28 December 1955, p 7.
- (10) "New Equipment to Ease Duties of Hospital Sisters." G&M, 12 January 1955, p 15.
- (11) "Fund for St. Michael's Exceeds Its Objective", G&M, 27 April 1955, p 5. More than \$5,500,000 was pledged.
- (12) HP 3401 G81 4. Archives Deschâtelets (ADES). "The Cardinal Speaks to His People", 8 April, 1951, pp 6-7.
- (13) Archives of Diocese of Thunder Bay, (ADTB), Bishop E. Q. Jennings Paper. McGuigan, James Cardinal to Bishop E.Q. Jennings, 31 December 1957, p 2.
- (14) ADTB. Bishop E. Q. Jennings Papers. McGuigan, James Cardinal to Bishop E.Q. Jennings, 31 January 1955, pp 1-2.
- (15) See (13), p 1.

(16) See (14), p 2. Jennings was a fellow Maritimer from New Brunswick.

(17) ADTB, Bishop E.Q. Jennings Papers, Jennings, Bishop E. Q. to Cardinal James McGuigan, 8 February 1955.

(18) ADTB. Bishop E. Q. Jennings Papers. Jennings, Bishop E. Q. to Cardinal James McGuigan, 20 February 1955.

(19) See (13). It seems the McGuigan received very little from other dioceses, at least initially. However, over five years he may have obtained considerably more, this adding up to the missing money.

(20) MacDonald, Rev. Brother Prudent to author, 17 October 1993. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's production, The Boys of Saint Vincent, was inspired by the Irish Christian Brothers of Newfoundland who are not directly related to the De La Salle Christian Brothers (Brothers of the Christian School) in Ontario. Unfortunately, several of the latter have also been convicted of abusing their charges and, in the Ottawa region, a larger number of the French-speaking Brothers of the Christian School have been jailed for such crimes as far back as 1960. On the other hand, this abuse is not a religious problem per-se, but is caused by a small percentage of males in positions of trust. These include doctors, camp counsellors and school teachers who are attracted to power through violence against, and sexuality with, children. Rolheiser, Fr. Ron, "Scapegoating Priests", Western Catholic Reporter, (WCR), 6 September 1993, p 5.

(21) "Launch Fund to Build New Home". G&M, 18 February 1958, p 5.

(22) "House of Providence Seeks \$6,000,000", G&M, 5 March 1958, p 4.

(23) See (21).

(24) "Cardinal Thrills at Response to Appeal for Senior Citizens", Canadian Register, (CR), 22 February 1958, p 1.

(25) Foy, Monsignor Vincent to author, 22 January 1990, "Finances", p 4.

(26) "House of Providence Fund at \$2,000,000", G&M, 17 May 1958, p 9.

(27) "500 Aged Leave Termite House For New House of Providence", G&M, 29 January 1962, p 4. The total cost was \$8,000,000 not the \$6,000,000 that McGuigan originally thought. Also, this was not the last campaign for McGuigan. In October 1960 he announced a drive for more high schools, but resigned within six months. This enterprise was left for his successor. "Cardinal Announces Campaign to Provide More High Schools", CR, 10 October 1960, p 9.

(28) Large Influx to St. Dunstan's Alumni Members for Centennial", The Charlottetown Guardian, (CG), 3 August 1954, p 1.

(29) MacDonald, Father Allan to author, 7 May 1989, p 2. MacDonald was the young priest. He recently retired from the Department of Sociology at the University of Prince Edward Island, a successor to St. Dunstan's.

(30) "Cardinal MacGuigan (sic) Voices Warm Tribute at Centennial Function", (CG), 5 August 1954, p 1. Perhaps McGuigan's enthusiasm was a reaction to the spring panic about the "Annihilation Bomb", an extremely radioactive Hydrogen device, the fear of which had filled the churches at Easter.

(31) "Khrushchev, Nikita", The New Encyclopædia Britannica, (EB), Micropædia, Vol 6, p 844.

(32) "Permit Use of Cenotaph For Hungarian Tribute", G&M, 1 November 1956, p 5.

(33) "Hungarians Here See Rebellion as Desperate Cry", G&M, 25 October 1956, p 8.

(34) See (32).

(35) "Hungarian Relief Fund Boosted by Churches", G&M, 28 November 1956, p 10. During the rebellion Mindszenty was released from house arrest by the rebels, but had to flee to the United States Embassy when the revolt failed.

(36) "Free Passage for Refugees", G&M, 29 November 1956, p 1.

(37) "Unlimited Supply of Jobs for Hungarians", G&M, 1 December 1956, p 1. Both this and the above were announced by Jack Pickersgill, Secretary of State.

- (38) "Fifty Gold Rings for Refugees Cardinal's Christmas Gift", G&M, 27 December 1956, p 1. Mrs. Ward Markle found a jeweller who sold them for an unbelievable \$5 each and McGuigan presented the check to cover them to Father George Simor of St. Elizabeth of Hungarian Church on Christmas Eve.
- (39) "Feels People Tired of Hungarians", G&M, 5 July 1957, p 1.
- (40) "Only One Hungarian Student Wins Degree", G&M, 12 December 1960, p 5. Both the University of Toronto and the University of British Columbia bent over backward to teach the refugees English and to help them as much as possible toward their degrees.
- (41) "Five Hungarians Get Jail Terms", G&M, 5 July 1957, p 5. They had broken into shops.
- (42) "Nine Hungarians Return Home; More to Follow", G&M, 19 April 1957, p 10 and "Sixty-Three Hungarians Reject Canada and Fly Home", 25 September 1957, p 9.
- (43) "James Cardinal McGuigan", G&M, 11 January 1957, p 1. McGuigan was crossing the street in his neighbourhood with another priest, Kenneth Robitaille, when he was struck from behind by a truck driven by Peter Boccia. McGuigan spent several weeks in hospital with a broken, dislocated right arm as well as abrasions. He was reluctant to try to write again until his penmanship improved. Sister Joan Murphy R.N. to author, 5 October 1989. Both Robitaille and Boccia are still alive, but are reluctant to discuss the accident. Also in 1960 McGuigan collapsed at the pulpit and was unconscious for five minutes. "Cardinal Collapses at Pulpit", G&M, 2 May 1960, p 1.
- (44) "Cardinals Seek Pastoral Pope", G&M, 13 October 1958, p 1. Villeneuve had been a rumoured possibility in 1939.
- (45) "Envoys Attend Final Service for Pius XII", G&M, 20 October 1958, p 2.
- (46) "49 Cardinals Aroused by Moscow's Attempt to Influence Conclave", G&M, 21 October 1958, p 17.
- (47) Lawlor, Father Edward to author, 1 May 1992, p 3
- (48) "McGuigan Calls on Pope John", G&M, 6 November 1959, p 1. He had a private audience.

(49) Lawlor, Rev. Edward to author, 22 June 1992, p 2.

(50) "Pope Names Pocock to Follow McGuigan", G&M, 18 February 1961, p 1. Pocock was 60, or six years younger than McGuigan. The cardinal thought this cigar chomping, quipping prelate was orthodox in his beliefs. He soon learned differently. Also, Pocock is said to have insisted on total power, but this was not publicly announced at the time. Interview: Fr. Robert Scollard, C.S.B., 10 October 1989.

(51) See (47), p 2.

(52) See (29), p 2. McGuigan seems to have meant that the Curia needed a "good house cleaning". Apparently Pope John XXIII's idea was for a much more thorough job.

(53) Lawlor, Father Edward to author, 15 August 1992, p 6.

(54) "Immigration Total Cut Two-thirds by Ottawa Move", G&M, 12 April 1958, p 2.

(55) Grant, John Webster, The Church in the Canadian Era, p 168.

Chapter 9

Where Does the Love of God Go?

April 1961-April 1974

McGuigan's end was tragic as so much of his life appeared to be. The Second Vatican Council was too radical a change for the old man and seemed to open the door for the victory of birth control among the Catholic masses. As well Mary's role appeared threatened by ecumenism. To complete his near despair, the cardinal was crippled by a stroke in 1965. Left bedridden and inarticulate for his final nine years, McGuigan bore the emptiness of his existence until death relieved him from his earthly misery.

The Second Vatican Council (Vatican II) had been the stunning dream of Pope John XXIII. When John became the surprised, and surprising, 12th ballot papal victor, he had an opportunity to attempt to make the church relevant to the modern world. On 25 January 1959 the new pope announced the council and declared that its goal was to bring the unity of all Christian peoples.(1) Protestant churches showed an immediate interest. In Canada, for example, both the Anglican and United Churches were prepared to discuss reunion with Rome.(2) In Britain the archbishop of Canterbury, Geoffery Fisher, was so enthusiastic that he made an unprecedented visit to John the following year.(3) This event led to charges by some Protestants that Fisher was selling out to the Papists.(4)

Finally, the World Council of Churches, meeting in Rhodes, Greece, in the summer of 1962, indicated it was prepared to send observers to the council.(5)

On 5 June 1960 John set up 10 preparatory commissions as well as two secretariats under a central commission. Among the members of this latter organization were the two Canadian cardinals, James McGuigan and Paul-mile Lger.(6) Up to fifteen other Canadian prelates, and 10 priests, also served in the Council's preparatory stages.(7)

After almost three years of preparation, Vatican II opened on 11 October 1962 with 2000 bishops attending. In his opening address, Pope John urged the bishops to undertake a great renewal of the church.(8) Following his lead, the majority of Council Fathers rejected the initial schemata, or proposals, produced by the Curial dominated commissions. In their place were substituted more progressive documents. However, the conservatives resisted making the schema on the Sources of Revelation the focus of their intransigence. The Catholic definition of both Revelation and the Bible as sources on God was at the heart of the difference between the Catholics and Protestants.(9) On 16 November 1962 a conservative draft of Revelation was introduced and defeated. However, the vote was a little less than the two thirds needed, and it appeared that the conservative amended version might be

accepted. At this critical point John stepped in and ordered that it be redrafted.(10)

Still the Council lacked focus at least until Cardinal Suenens, primate of Belgium, suggested that they concentrate on the Church, rather than the papacy as the First Vatican Council had.(11) He had scored a bull's eye. The first session of the assembly wrapped up shortly thereafter with the conservative schema under heavy revision and the issuance of a Message to Humanity.(12)

McGuigan, Lger, and some other prelates had an audience with the pope before heading home.(13) Arriving in Montreal two days after the closing of the council, the cardinal archbishop of Toronto stated that he was satisfied with the sessions and their frank discussions.(14) Lger, flying in a few days later, said that the second session would progress more rapidly since the Council Fathers were now more familiar with the schemata and procedures.(15)

With the first session of the Ecumenical Council finished, and Pope John's successful role in helping to defuse the Cuban Missile Crisis completed,(16) concerns began to be expressed about his health. At 83 he had been in better condition and had a younger mind than the 68 year old McGuigan. Now, however, the pontiff's age was showing. On 3 June 1963, John XXIII, one of the most beloved pontiffs, died. Although McGuigan apparently had not voted

for him, the cardinal now called Roncalli the pope of unity and was even politically astute enough to thank him for appointing a coadjutor to Toronto.(17)

Shortly thereafter the College of Cardinals assembled in Rome to elect the new pontiff. Unlike 1958, there were no media reports that McGuigan was leading any ballots.(18) In apparent compensation, he finally saw elected the one he seems to have originally wanted. On 21 June 1963, the "indecisive" Giovanni Batista Montini became Pope Paul VI. (19).

After having been suspended since the death of John, the Vatican Council resumed on 29 September 1963.(20) During the second session there were serious discussions on the "excess veneration of Mary" (21) as well as on the "clarification" of the concept of collegiality (or sharing of papal power by the bishops).(22) The pope countered the first idea by claiming that Mary was a link between Catholics and the growing number of Protestants who honoured her.(23) Regarding the second point, Paul stated that infallibility limited collegiality.(24) Case closed.

Debate also raged over the declaration freeing the Jews from the charge of Deicide, and allowing Catholics freedom of conscience in religious belief. To no one's amazement, by the end of the second session, neither had been acted upon. They were put over to the next

assembly.(25) Probably the chief outcome, at least for the laity, was that the vernacular Mass was promulgated as part of the schema of the Constitution on Sacred Liturgy.(26) However, this change was also delayed. In fact it took a year to bring the bill to final vote, and more time to implement the new Mass. As a result, in Canada there was no vernacular Mass until the spring of 1965.(27) Also, McGuigan's fears that the Canon of the Mass would be changed from Latin to the vernacular were soon realized.(28)

The third session of Vatican II opened on 14 September 1964. This would be the McGuigan's last appearance as well as the most turbulent session to date. Although the Fathers passed three schemata (versus two in the second session),(29) the most controversial news was that the proposal to drop the charge against the Jews for killing Christ, and the schema on freedom of conscience again failed to reach a final vote. This latter defeat led to a "revolt". On 19 November, Cardinal Paul-mile Lger and two American princes, Albert Meyer and Joseph Ritter, collected a 890 name petition which demanded that the question go to the final tally immediately.(30) The pontiff disagreed stating that the bill needed more study since it had just been introduced, with a minor revision. Also, against the wishes of the majority, he declared Mary to be the "Mother of the Church".(31) As with some of his other decisions,

this led to the charge that Paul had at least violated the spirit of the council.(32) As well, the birth control debate erupted when Cardinals Lger, Sueuens, and Alfrink created a great stir by calling for a reappraisal on the church's position on contraception.(33)

The third session of Vatican II ended on 26 November 1964. Unfortunately, during these meetings McGuigan's health showed further disintegration. He did not make even one speech. When asked about this, Lger said that the Toronto cardinal's presence "spoke loudly enough".(34) But when he returned to Canada, McGuigan did speak. Addressing the media, he said that the news of the "revolt" had been vastly exaggerated. The dispute was, he stated, a matter of the "conservatives sticking to the old line and the liberals wanting more freedom."(35)

McGuigan continued to feel poorly, and was not able to complete his New Year's 1964 levee. This was the first one he missed since coming to Toronto almost three decades before.(36) Also, it seems that the cardinal was very depressed at this time.(37) True, his health was poor. However, considering his life-long conformity to the church's doctrines opposed to birth control, even by natural methods,(38) it is not surprising that he would be distressed over the debate at the council. Was it any

wonder that he is supposed to have said that the church would be Protestant within 50 years?(39)

Even before Lger and the others created their stir at the council by talking on birth control, Pope Paul had authorized a new study of the contraception problem. However, he emphasized that the old norms were in effect, at least until the report was released.(40) However, many of those pressing for a quick decision wanted approval of the pill for birth control purposes.

During the autumn of 1964, it was reported that Pocock had previously instructed his priests to allow women to use the birth control pill for 18 months after the issue of a child.(41) About the same time, Paul re-emphasized that only he had the right to decide such questions.(42) Still the hubbub continued. During the third sitting of the Council, a book entitled Contraception and Holiness was issued by three professors at the University of St. Michael's College in Toronto. The most prominent of these was Pocock's ecumenical expert and the university's popular professor of theology, Father Gregory Baum.(43) A brilliant Jewish convert from atheism,(44) Baum headed the Ecumenical Institute at the college.(45) He also advised Pocock at the Council. McGuigan felt that Baum was far too liberal, and the aged traditionalist was very upset by Pocock's allowance of the birth control pill.

Therefore, It is not surprising that upon seeing the new archbishop and his confidant together in Rome, the cardinal is alleged to have muttered, "Here come the Pill and the Baum."(46)

The increasingly unorthodox Pocock required more than a snappy quip from McGuigan to stop him. As early as the first session of Vatican II, the cardinal had approached Pope John complaining of his successor's liberalism. Asked by the pontiff to put the complaints in writing, McGuigan did so and arranged for the letter to be mailed. Many months passed, yet no answer was received. The old cardinal became increasingly upset, feeling he had been deserted by Rome. Later he took into his confidence Father Vincent Foy, the presiding judge of the church's Provincial Matrimonial Tribunal. Foy discovered that the letter had never reached Rome but had been intercepted under Pocock's authority.(47) This interference seems to have been justified on the grounds that the cardinal was "out of it".(48) Increasingly this view was probably true. But McGuigan had detected an lack of orthodoxy in Pocock that would be soon cause frowns in Rome, and became a major factor in denying him the cardinalate. At the same time, McGuigan's plan to return as archbishop was unrealistic. He wanted Monsignor Thomas Fulton as his coadjutor and then to have Pocock shipped off to a smaller archdiocese, such as Halifax.(49) Given the cardinal's declining health, as

well as Rome's reluctance to change boats in mid-stream, there was little chance of this ever happening. Perhaps Pope John had just been humouring the old cardinal by asking for a report on Pocock.

As the debate on the "pill" raged, rentng the fabric of the church, McGuigan's premature ageing continued. In April 1965, the cardinal had to be hospitalized for a few weeks, but returned home somewhat better. Then, on Saturday, 17 July 1965, he suffered a massive stroke. McGuigan was 70 years old, well overweight, and a smoker. Therefore, he had three of the classic conditions for such a disaster. Appallingly, he did not die, but awoke on Monday crippled and inarticulate.(50)

Being a true believing Christian, McGuigan knew there was redemptive value in suffering. Ultimately, he acknowledged that he had no choice but to accept his terrible condition and attempt to parallel it to that of the One hanging on the cross. Still, at times, he must have felt depressed and angry as did his stricken cousin, Father Elliott MacGuigan, S.J. Father MacGuigan, once a star athlete and later a professor of canon law, also had been immobilized by a stroke. Some mornings he would wake only to be terribly depressed when he realized that he was still paralysed. At other times, he would show an understandable

lack of patience with visitors for whom he could only write simple notes and speak words with difficulty.(51)

The private care of the cardinal was costly, given that his whole house was dedicated to him alone. Consequently, there was talk of putting him in a nursing home. Available was the less-than-a-decade old Scarborough Villa. However, his caretakers, Monsignor John O'Mara, and the Sisters of St. Martha, defended the cardinal's at home treatment because of his sacrifices and accomplishments. Therefore, the old man stayed, beloved by most of his people, defied by many of them, and suffering in silence.(52)

McGuigan officially resigned as archbishop on 30 March 1971.(53) In reality he had given up all his powers nine years earlier, apparently at the insistence of Pocock.(54). On Monday evening, 8 April 1974, the cardinal suffered a massive heart attack that finally freed him from his bodily chains. He was 79 and had been out of the public eye for almost a decade. Still Saint Michael's Cathedral was filled to overflowing one week later on the cold, damp and overcast Easter Monday his funeral was held. Cardinals Maurice Roy, primate of Canada; and George Flahiff, Archbishop of Winnipeg were there as well as the apostolic nuncio, Guido Del Mestri; and Pocock.(55)

McGuigan's last decade-and-a-half had been one of deep suffering and terrible frustration. It was made bearable

by his faith that the pain was meaningful, and that it would lead to a infinitely better place where he would at last find peace in the love of God. The cardinal had not been effective at Vatican II, even though at least one of his priests felt he would have dominated it had he been in his prime.(56) The one he had not voted for died after setting the locomotive of change in motion. Now, McGuigan thought the one he had wanted was trying to get the train back on the tracks. McGuigan's major error had been accepting Pocock as his replacement, but he was not alone in this. His auxiliary, Francis Allen, saw the appointment of the archbishop of Winnipeg as the "only possibility", and, of course, John XXIII had concurred. Unfortunately for the traditionalists, Pocock had been influenced by the spirit of the age and by Baum.

The cardinal's failed attempt to have Pocock replaced had been supported by the traditionalists who saw the Medieval church they knew slipping away. Even though Pocock seemed to be in step with the majority of prelates, he was not a big enough fish to fry considering the others with whom the Vatican was displeased. The birth control debate had been very trying for both the Church and McGuigan and led to a permanent breach as demonstrated by events later in the 1960s.(57) Still, it could be said that the caution that Rome had shown in opposing the "pill" demonstrated considerable practical wisdom since from the mid-1960s

there were reports that women using the medication were prone to strokes.(5f)

The old cardinal ended his life with his religious faith under pressure, much in the manner that his political and economic faith had been tested in Regina. Unfortunately, there was no Earthly solution this time. It was a sad ending for a man who tried to do good. If he did not do the right thing, it was often through no fault of his own. Outside forces over which he had no control, or unconscious drives in his inheritance, severely constrained him on occasions. Given this situation, the question remains: "Where does the love of God go?"

Notes: Chapter 9

- (1) Bokenkotter, Thomas, A Concise History of History of the Catholic Church p 356.
- (2) "Response Encouraging to Vatican", G&M, 27 January 1959, p 1.
- (3) "Friendly Coexistence Call Made by Anglican Primate", G&M, 2 December 1960, p 1.
- (4) "Primate Greeted Cordially", G&M, 3 December 1960, p 1 and "Conversion Rumours Disturb Canterbury", G&M, 9 February 1961, p 8.
- (5) "World Council of Churches", G&M, 14 August 1962, p 2.
- (6) "Cardinal McGuigan, Improves", Charlottetown Guardian (CG), 19 July 1965, p 1.
- (7) "Canadian Prelates Shared in Early Work for Council", Canadian Register, (CR), 6 October, 1962, p 1, and (6).
- (8) See (1), p 358.
- (9) Trisco, Father Robert F., "Vatican Councils", Encyclopædia Britannica, (EB), 1973 Edition, Vol 22, p 914. Changes in matters such as the Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation meant delays. For example, the constitution was not passed until the fourth session. Since this document looked at the relation of scripture and tradition, it was central to attempts to establish ecumenism.
- (10) See (1), p 360.
- (11) See (1) p 360.
- (12) Heston, Edward, "Vatican Council, Second", The Encyclopedia Americana, (EA), 1989 edition, Vol 27, p 912. The eventually enacted schemata were four Constitutions (on the Church, on Divine Revelation, on Sacred Liturgy, and on the Church in the World Today); nine Decrees (on the Pastoral Office of Bishops, on Ecumenism, on the Oriental Catholic Churches, on the Ministry and life of Priests, on the Education for the Priesthood, on the Adapted Renovation of the Life of the Religious, on Missionary Activity of the Church, on the Apostolate of the Laity, and on the Media of Social Communications). Finally, there were three Declarations (on Religious Freedom, on the Church's Attitude toward Non-Christian Religions, and on Christian Education). The better known

documents were not full schemata, but sections such as the one freeing the Jews from the charge of Deicide. Originally it was part of the fourth chapter of the draft on Ecumenism, but was passed as part of the Declaration on the Church's Attitude to non-Christian Religions. See (7), pp 915-918.

(13) "Canadian Cardinals Have Audience with Pope", CR, 12 December 1962, p 3.

(14) "First Canadians Return", G&M, 11 December 1962, p 3.

(15) "Vatican Council Moving Slowly, Cardinal Says", G&M, 19 December 1962, p 8.

(16) The Cuban Missile Crisis almost led to the end of the world as the United States forced the Soviet Union to withdraw its missiles from Cuba after having stationed its own rockets in Turkey. Pope John intervened several times and helped defuse the situation. "Locking Horns at the Precipice", G&M 29 June 1991, p C1 and Cogley, John, "John XXIII", The New Encyclopædia Britannica, Micropædia, vol 6, p 575.

(17) "The Pope Dies: His Last Words, A Call for Unity", (G&M), 4 June 1963, p 1.

(18) "Thousands mourn McGuigan, as a brilliant, yet humble man", The Toronto Star, (TS), 9 April 1974, p A-3. McGuigan roared laughing when he read the report in an Italian newspaper that he had lead one of the early ballots for pope in 1958.

(19) Johnson, Paul, "Kitchen Pope, Warrior Pope", Time, 26 December 1994, p 42. John nicknamed Paul "Amleto" (Hamlet) for his indecisiveness. Apparently contradicting this, Bokenkotter said some years ago that John dropped hints that he wanted Paul as his successor. See (1), p 361.

(20) See (9).

(21) "Rome Puts Emphasis on Biblical Research", G&M, 3 October 1963, p 15. Some of the Latin American Fathers spoke of the excess veneration of Mary as did Cardinals Paul Léger and Augustine Bea. The latter had been John's right hand man. "Excessive Devotion to Mary Criticized", CR, 26 September 1964, p 1.

(22) "Clarify Issue of Infallibility, Prelate Says", G&M, 11 October 1963, p 8. The prelate who wanted clarification was Cardinal Sheehan of Baltimore, Maryland. Léger said infallibility made relations with other Christians

difficult. "Infallibility 'Pressed' at Times", CR, 10 October 1964, p 1.

(23) "Pope Calls Mary Unity Link", G&M, 12 October 1963, p 10.

(24) "The Vatican: Decrees Mark End of Third Session", G&M, 28 November 1964, p 7.

(25) "Vatican Council Declines Debate on Two Reforms", G&M, 3 December 1963, p 12. Cardinal Bea, said that the issues had been put off, not put away.

(26) See (12). The Vernacular Mass is said in the local language, rather than Latin.

(27) "Worshippers Show Minimum Response to New Style Mass", G&M, 8 March 1965, p 1.

(28) Interview: Father Robert Scollard C.S.B., 10 October, 1989. The Canon of the Mass is the time where the Host is consecrated.

(29) In the second session only the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy and the Degree on the Media of Social Communications were passed. In the third sitting the "Dogmatic Constitution on the Church", the "Decree on Ecumenism" and the "Decree of Near Eastern Churches" were completed. See (12).

(30) "Religious Liberty Issue of Revolt in Vatican Council", G&M, 20 November 1964, p 1. Over 1000 Father actually signed the petition. U.S. Protestant observers noted the lack of American style democracy in Paul's decisions, thereby totally misunderstanding the Catholic administrative tradition.

(31) "Prelates Plea Rejected by Pope, Revolt Founders", G&M, 21 November, 1964, p 1.

(32) See (30).

(33) See (1), pp 362-63.

(34) "Canadian Prelates Come Home", CR, 28 November 1964, p 1.

(35) "Cardinals Confident Declaration Will Pass", G&M, 23 November 1964, p 13. The nuclear bomb also became a major topic of the third session. "Pope Backed Schema Rejected by Council", G&M, 10 November 1964, p 33.

(36) "Women at Queen's Park Levee Cause a Few Eyebrows to Rise", G&M, 2 January, 1964, p 17. McGuigan was said to be exhausted from participation in Vatican II.

(37) Lawlor, Father Edward to author, 15 December, 1991, p 1.

(38) "News of the World", CR, 28 May 1925, p 1; "England's Birth Rate Now Lowest in Entire World", 11 March 1926 and "Birth Control Kills Old British Race", 30 January 1930, p 1. Strangely, that "eldest daughter of the Church", France, had a birth rate almost as low as England while Spain had much higher rate.

(39) Lawlor, Father Edward to author, 22 June 1992, p 5.

(40) "New Study of Birth Control is Announced by Pope", G&M, 24 June 1964, p 27. Nature would allow a woman a maximum of about six months sterility following birth.

(41) "Roman Catholics Allowed Birth-Bar Pills, If Aid Sought", G&M, 20 October 1964, p 1. However, Pocock's apparent allowance of 18 months use of the "pill" artificially extended this non-pregnable period by a year. Pocock, himself, talked of the pill to trigger the infertile period. "Denies New Policy on 'Pill'", CR, 31 October 1964, p 4.

(42) "Pope Retains Right to Decide Issue of Family Limitation", (G&M), 24 October 1964, p 42.

(43) "Priest Urges Changes to Aid Church Unity", G&M, 16 January 1961, p 5. Baum said that we would have to change "a little bit", but that no changes in the sacraments or hierarchy would be necessary to make "our faces... transparent" to other Christians.

(44) "Toronto Priest Expert on Protestants", G&M, 8 April 1961, p 18.

(45) "Foster Study of Church Unity at Saint Michael's", G&M, 19 June 1961, p 5.

(46) Lawlor, Father Edward to author, 22 June 1992, P 4. Bishop John Mara, formerly McGuigan's secretary, denied the story to me, and he seems to have been with Pocock at all the sessions of Vatican II that he and the cardinal attended. On the contrary, a number of other priests have independently told me this story.

(47) Foy, Monsignor Vincent to author, 20 December 1991, "Cardinal and Archbishop Pocock", pp 2-3. Father John O'Mara was in charge of the house when the cardinal tried to have Pocock replaced. Foy, Monsignor Vincent to author, 7 August 1993, p 3.

(48) Mentioned by Paul Laverdure to author, 13 October 1988. Dr. Laverdure, then a student, worked on McGuigan's papers at the Archives of the Archdiocese of Toronto.

(49) See (47), p 3.

(50) "Cardinal Improvement Satisfactory", CG, 20 July, 1965, p 2. It was thought that he would be confined to bed for "a week or two", but also that he would not be able to return to his duties for an indefinite time and Archives of the Archdiocese of Toronto, (AAT), MGAA 03.01. Confined to bed most of the day, the cardinal experienced a horrible existence relieved only by his faith that there was meaning to his bodily imprisonment, and that he would eventually gain Heaven. His diet was bland, no salt, no carrots, olives or spinach. Occasionally, however, he was permitted diverse foods such as strawberries. He was given medicine three times a day. This included nicotinic acid to prevent beriberi and pellagra, which is a form of nerve dysfunction. His chief caretakers were two Little Brothers of the Good Shepherd, assisted by a number of Sisters of St. Martha who acted as housekeepers. Six-thirty was wake up time. This was when the cardinal received his first pills. His dentures would be replaced, his clothes changed, and a cigarette would be offered. Mass followed in the chapel which was next door to his bedroom. For this his whole bed would be rolled in. McGuigan received Holy Communion regularly, "assisted at the Sacrifice of the Mass" by his mere presence and was said to be pleading for God's mercy for his people; Breakfast followed. Then, his eminence did not object he would be bathed. A drive around the neighbourhood, or a push around the grounds in his wheelchair would follow. At noon lunch and more medicine were administered. Another ride, or push, followed. At 5:15 yet more pills were given and dinner was served. At this meal often would be McGuigan's former secretary, Monsignor John O'Mara, who lived in the house. Finally, at 8 PM, the old man would be put to bed. Archives of the Archdiocese of Toronto, (AAT), MGAA01.40 a & b; Name withheld to author, 30 November 1989; and "A Tribute to Our Cardinal", CR, 25 May 1968, p t-1.

(51) Interview: Father Elliott MacGuigan S.J., Pickering, Ontario, 23 October 1988. Father MacGuigan was a relative of the cardinal through his paternal grandmother.

- (52) Lawlor, Father Edward to author, 17 July 1992, p 8.
- (53) "McGuigan resigns, Pocock succeeds him", G&M, 31 March 1971, p 10.
- (54) See (28).
- (55) "A Magnificent Farewell", CR, 27 April 1974, p 1. McGuigan died on the Monday before Easter. By Church law he could not be buried during the latter part of Holy Week, which would have been the most convenient time.
- (56) Interview: Monsignor Ralph Egan, 12 August 1993.
- (57) "Roman Catholics Ask for Statements on Birth Control", G&M, 1 May 1965, p 10. It was not until 1967 that the pope's commission reported. It held to the old line. In 1968 the Canadian Bishops meeting in Winnipeg emphasized freedom of conscience so approved limited use of the birth control pill. Rome received their decision "with satisfaction". Foy, Monsignor Vincent, "Tragedy at Winnipeg", Human Life International, reprint 13, nps and Carter, Alex, A Canadian Bishop's Memories, pp 199-200.
- (58) "'Pill' Has Caused Deaths, Cleveland Doctor Says", CR, 2 May 1964, p 9.

PART III:
McGuigan's Psychology

Chapter:
The Mind Within

No one knows anyone else's mind completely--not the beloved's--not even one's own. However, there are degrees of ignorance ranging from the totally uninformed to the almost psychologically intimate. The biographer who does not know his subject personally, or who, like the present writer, only knows him from family stories, and from brief childhood memories, is initially close to being supremely ignorant.

Fortunately, I discovered enough of Cardinal McGuigan's correspondence in scattered depositories and gained trust of sufficient people who had inside knowledge of him to raise myself almost to the psychologically intimate level.

Cardinal McGuigan was commonly said to be a manic depressive.(1) Since he suffered severe mood swings, it is useful to define this disease. Manic depression involves emotional extremes from potentially suicidal despair to possible criminal acts due to manic energy. It is punctuated by periods of seeming normal mental health.(2) The disease usually has its onset about the 30th year and persists for decades in both men and women. It also seems to have a marked genetic element and, in

creative people, the highs, if modulated enough, may allow the victim to function very well for some time.(3)

McGuigan's personality seems to fit the description of manic depression. After his happy days, he broke down and went into a severe depression at 35, having shown signs of great distress several years earlier. This is demonstrated in the ciborium incident(s) at the chapel of Saint Joseph's Seminary. Even previous to that, as in 1925, he admitted that he had been working too hard-- something which is often a symptom of a deeper problem. At this time McGuigan was 30 years old.(4)

Not only did the cardinal's age fit that defined for manic depression, but also his family background showed a tendency to psychosis in general. One of the cardinal's paternal uncles, Alfred, died insane at the Prince Edward Island mental hospital two years before his nephew's birth. Alfred was 38 years old and like James seems to have been obsessed with money desired or owed.(5) The same year that his uncle's death occurred, McGuigan's closest sibling, Mary, was born. She became increasingly bizarre after spending some years teaching in Hunter River and working in a Charlottetown bank.(6) Like the prelate, who through his position is forced to "leave the world", Mary became solitary. After her parents' deaths she was isolated in their big duplex in the P.E.I. capital, cut off

by the demise of two of her brothers, and by the departure of the rest of the family. Eventually, she died in a Montréal mental hospital suffering from "psychose avec artériosclérose", (7) while the cardinal also had a psychosis and, in the opinion of the priest who counselled His Eminence for a month in 1960, showed signs of arteriosclerosis.(8)

Because of the dearth of available hospital records, and of the existence of privacy restrictions on information of even the long dead, it cannot be proven that the cardinal was a manic depression. Nor, for the same reasons, can it be shown conclusively that his uncle or sister suffered from the disease. However, the limited evidence available seems to support the unprofessional opinion of the priests who knew him to varying degrees, i.e., that he was indeed a manic-depressive.

Whatever the cause of the instability in McGuigan's moods, the effect was at times devastating for his personal relations. When high he would inflict his great plans upon those around him, even when it was late at night.(9) When low, or suffering from exhaustion, his nit picking could make meetings go on interminably.(10) However, the amount of work that he could do when high, but not too exhilarated, may have tempted him to desire this feeling. Unfortunately, the crashes which followed

left him very sleepy, drained of energy and depressed. Duties seven days a week (11) gave him no time to overcome his sleeplessness. The result was that he became irritable and sometimes prone to rages. In his desire to accomplish more for the Church than was wise, he was similar to a drug addict--desperately wanting a fix, despite knowing the long term deleterious effects.

For the purposes of this dissertation it is not as important to medically classify what McGuigan's emotional problems were as it is to come to an understanding of his tormented personality by answering the three questions postulated in the introduction. (i) What were the origins of his emotional instability? (ii) How did he recover from his 1930 breakdown, given the limited psychiatric tools available then? (iii) And how did he maintain whatever stability he was able to achieve?

Looking at the origins of his instability, not only was there a history of mental illness in the McGuigan family, but also the "Sunny Jim", who existed before his 35th birthday, was perhaps not quite as luminescent as he seemed. This author's grandmother is reputed to have said that no one could be that happy, constantly smiling and humming to himself.(12) It seems that the young man was ignoring too many of life's difficulties. And, if nurture

as well as nature were behind his instability, something beside genetics may have influenced his breakdown.

For example, Irish Catholics in both the old and new country were under pressure to abandon their culture. In Ireland they were a majority without power. Therefore, they tended to adopt the English language and, to a lesser extent, the Protestant faith. In Prince Edward Island Catholics constituted a large minority without the vote until 1830 and were subject to discrimination until well into the 20th century.(13) Such families' children were often under great pressure to succeed while not denying their cultural traditions. Consequently, fear of failure could be a great hindrance especially for the sensitive child as McGuigan is assumed to have been.

Additional assimilation pressure resulted from the fact that the McGuigans were one of only three or four Catholic families in an overwhelmingly Protestant village. This isolated them at least on Sundays when they could not attend either of the community churches. Also, their Catholicism may have affected them in other ways. It took George McGuigan two decades to be successful at his enterprises even though they consisted of a store, a hotel, a farm and a taxi service.(14) Perhaps, the rival McLeod Brothers store was more profitable simply because the owners and majority of patrons were Protestant, or because

George McGuigan was riding too many horses at the same time.

Tending to contradict assimilation was the previously mentioned 19th-century belief in many Catholic families that at least one son and daughter should join the clergy. Among the children of George McGuigan and Annie Monaghan, one son and one daughter became members of religious orders, and another son almost did.(15) As well, the family harboured a desire that James would rise to bishop.(16) Probably they had little idea how much this step would isolate him.

Another source of McGuigan's difficulties would have been his family's move into the professional class. This commenced with two of his uncles, P. D. McGuigan and Martin Monaghan, becoming priests. Jimmy's father, who was the son of an illiterate Irish-born Prince Edward Island farmer,(17) eventually became a successful store-keeper. Therefore, the young James would be expected to maintain the family's newly established respectability. He tried. At 16, he was school principal at Stanley Bridge. Then he trained for the priesthood at the Grand Seminary where he did exceptionally well, so well in fact that O'Leary pressured him to finish his course early and return to Prince Edward Island for service.(18)

Up to this point McGuigan seemed to handle the pressure well, as evidenced in the glowing tribute by Sinnott in 1919. However, by 1925, he was showing signs of strain, writing that he could not continue working as in days "of yore". He was slowly giving way to the pressure, something he had allowed to increase through a sense of duty, ambition, or unconscious drive. McGuigan's collapse seemed inevitable given the dire circumstances which confronted him in the drought-stricken, economically-devastated, and anti-Catholic Saskatchewan of 1930.

The psychiatric tools in use at that time were very limited. Psychopharmic drugs would not be available for another decade. Insulin shock therapy was not announced until 1933;(19) and electroshock treatment was not available for five years after this date.(20) Finally, lithium carbonate, the current choice of treatment for extreme moodiness, was not on the market until 1970.(21). Nor does it seem that McGuigan received psychotherapy in Edmonton. O'Leary, writing to Sinnott, talked of what appeared to be treatment by a general practitioner and neurologist. It is possible, however, that the stricken archbishop did receive some psychoanalysis in Milwaukee after his apparent setback late in the autumn of 1930. But the real basis of his recovery was perhaps his own motivation, and what amounted to the discredited moral therapy of the Victorians. This was the kind, but firm,

treatment of the mentally ill who for maximum hope of recovery would have to be hospitalized early and given individual treatment.(22) This is precisely what happened to McGuigan. After the Ottawa incident, he was taken back to Edmonton almost immediately and given to the "tender solicitation" of Mother Mary of the Annunciation. Probably the atmosphere of the orphanage with its caring for children, had a soothing effect on the archbishop. Possibly the place simply turned out to be a much needed retreat for a man who had been granted what he needed, not what he wanted.(23)

Given his work load, maintenance of his stability became a major difficulty for the archbishop both in Regina and Toronto. The loneliness of his position as bishop contributed to McGuigan's problems since he seemed to lack psychologically intimate friends in either archdioceses. This was in contrast to his life as young man. He had many friends at St. Dunstan's College and maintained some degree of contact with them in later years through correspondence and occasional visits. His letters mention Henry FitzGerald, classmate, star athlete, and valedictorian of the class of 1914.(24) Also, McGuigan's "truest friend" was his former Charlottetown altar boy, William Power, later of Chicago.(25) And there was his episcopal friend, fellow Islander and associate in Edmonton and Ontario, Charles Leo Nelligan.(26)

Especially in Toronto, McGuigan probably had no one with whom was very close. His brother, John, who was almost 15 years younger, lived there but briefly.(27) Shortly, before John arrived in Toronto, the cardinal's gifted sister, Mother St. George, (28) had come to the Ontario capital while seriously ill. The cardinal visited her frequently until she suffered her premature death in 1951.(29) His relationships with other women, such as Mrs. Katherine Underwood, were either through their husbands,(30) or because of gratitude, as with Mother Mary of the Annunciation.(31)

To help him survive the loneliness at least during the Toronto years, McGuigan adopted close companions from among his clergy, especially his priestly secretaries. There were three men who stand out: John Harris, Francis Allen, and John O'Mara.

John Harris had been ordained by McGuigan in Regina and was brought to Toronto when the archbishop transferred there. This priest was almost always in a good mood around his superior, even though he was somewhat of a diamond in the rough.(32) McGuigan, being grateful, raised Harris to the monsignorate at a rather early age. This violation of archdiocesan precedence, caused hackles to be raised. As a result, the ceremony was performed at Saint Augustine's Seminary during a "diocesan blackout".(33)

Francis Allen was a much different person. The son of a convert, Allen had four other religious among his siblings. Although he was not an athlete as Harris had been, neither was he a diamond in the rough. He was in fact somewhat effeminate, but a very fine priest who was also pleasant and very even tempered.(34) Concerned about McGuigan's excessive labour, Allen attempted unsuccessfully to divert his superior to reading detective novels.(35) The cardinal appointed Allen as his second auxiliary bishop.

John O'Mara was upbeat and somewhat laid back. Always smiling, he was intelligent and gracious like Allen.(36) O'Mara also took care of McGuigan, both before and after his stroke. However, he also became one of the liberal priests (37) who distressed the old cardinal so much. This caused O'Mara to split his loyalties between McGuigan and Pocock. He was raised to the bishopric by the latter.

Being a deeply spiritual man, the cardinal sought the solace of Jesus,(38) and being a Catholic meant he believed that he had an extra weapon in his arsenal--the intercession of the saints, especially Jesus' mother, Mary. As mentioned before, following his breakdown, the archbishop of Regina had his cathedral, Holy Rosary, dedicated to Mary, the Queen of the Rosary. This commitment could be said to have worked since he handled

the terrible 1934 drought much better than the similar one in 1930. (39)

Given his devotion to the Mother of God, it was not unexpected following his transfer to Toronto, that McGuigan would become a leader in pressuring the pope to declare the dogma of the Bodily Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. In 1946 the cardinal had a petition supporting the Assumption sent to the Vatican. (40) Overjoyed when Pius XII declared the dogma in 1950, McGuigan rushed off to Rome to take part in the ceremonies. (41) His claim that there was nothing to fear when in Mary's favour now seemed vindicated, and he even spoke openly of visions of her. (42) As a result, McGuigan was very upset at the attempts during Vatican II to water down her role in the name of ecumenism.

The cardinal also believed in that other religious solution--the miracle. For example, he visited holy men such as the "miracle worker" of Italy (43) and Brother André. In Ontario, McGuigan was interested in the local stigmatic, Mrs. Eva McIsaac of Uptergrove. Starting during the Second World War, and apparently inspired by Therese Neumann of Germany (44), McIsaac would fall into a trance late on Friday afternoons. What appeared to be blood then issued from her forehead and palms. The cardinal visited and was said to have seen the name of the persecuted archbishop, Aloysius Stepinac, written in "blood"

on her forearm. Doubting its miraculous origin, McGuigan wiped off the liquid and the name did not reappear. Thus, he became convinced that Mrs. McIsaac was not genuine. Subsequently, the Canadian Register carried a warning that the Archdiocese of Toronto gave no sanction to the happenings in Uptergrove.(45)

McGuigan's three chief non-spiritual distractions were walking, playing bridge and taking vacations. His habit of occasional strolls began at least as early as the autumn of 1930 when recovering in Edmonton. Apparently lost in his tormented thinking, he would wander for miles.(46) Upon coming to Toronto, and living at the Head of Wellesley Place, he would sometimes walk across the great two decked Bloor Street Viaduct. At times, he would stroll with Father Francis Allen; other times he went with Father Kenneth Robitaille. It was in 1957 that McGuigan, while on a walk near his new home in North York, was hit from behind by a truck.(47) It seems that he never recovered fully, yet he continued this form of exercise (48).

McGuigan played bridge six days a week in Saint Michael's Cathedral rectory, and again on Monday evenings at his home. At the rectory's dining room, cards were dealt from 12:30 p.m. to 1:30 p.m. However, in later years as business pressed, the games ran closer to half an hour.(49) The cardinal loved to win and was not above giving little

hints, even though he played a good game. Even if there was not a quorum, he would amuse himself by playing solitaire. During the 1950s Monday night games featured three regulars: the cardinal, Bishop Francis Allen, and Monsignor John O'Mara. Monsignor Vincent Foy believes himself to have been the most frequent fourth person. Dinner, and a glass of sherry, preceded the contest. Before each game there was a little ceremony. It was assumed that the cardinal had drawn the Ace of Spades and the priest who drew the next highest card became his partner (50). The contest would last until His Eminence retired promptly at 9:00 p.m.(51) Unfortunately, McGuigan continued to play bridge even when so distracted by problems, or disoriented by ageing, that he ruined the game for his partner.(52)

The cardinal attempted to take vacations, but found this difficult, for he felt his responsibilities hanging over him like the sword of Damocles. In contrast Pocock travelled to Ireland with other bishops, not on church business, but simply to relax.(53) The best McGuigan usually managed was to get home to Prince Edward Island in August. Sometimes, as in the 1954 St. Dunstan's reunion, he forgot his cares and was upbeat. At other times, such as 1945, he complained that he was not able to get much rest.(54)

McGuigan was well known as a compassionate priest. As noted previously, he was the spiritual director to at least one of the victims of the Spanish Influenza at St. Dunstan's College in 1918. An analogy to an army medic might be drawn. Father McGuigan went into battle to provide support and was severely wounded. In his deafness, he suffered a permanent injury like many military had in the First World War just drawing to a close. Later, in Saskatchewan, he encouraged the sorely-tried people of Holdfast, by saying that Our Lady would soon smile upon their parched fields. Finally, even though it cost McGuigan money, he had Father Foy transferred to New York State where the priest finally recovered from his lingering tuberculosis. The above demonstrated that, at times, McGuigan could overcome his almost pathological obsession about debt in order to be the idealist he wanted to be.

When feeling well, McGuigan could also be witty. In blessing Father Foy before the latter was to give a sermon, the cardinal quipped, "Be brief, be bright and be gone". Another time at a Monday night bridge game, when the priest dealt the wrong card, the cardinal said playfully "You shall die in your black weeds."⁽⁵⁵⁾ And even when in a rage, McGuigan might be unwittingly amusing. Once, the pastor of Holy Rosary Parish in tony Forest Hill Village asked McGuigan for a loan. The priest wanted to add a steeple in order to give his church the opulence of nearby

Timothy Eaton United Church. Unfortunately, the archbishop was in one of his many austerity drives and the pastor soon had full knowledge of the archdiocese's economic goals. Meeting a number of priests for lunch shortly after, McGuigan grew warm on the subject and, with a flushed face, roared that there would be "no ivory towers in this diocese". He added that the pastor, who was sworn to poverty, "would steal the coppers off his dead mother's eyes!"(56)

McGuigan's focus--nay obsession--on church finances was his major problem. This fixation was the result of his fiscally conservative upbringing, and probably became set because of his breakdown over the Regina debt. The preoccupation demonstrated the limits of his recovery and probably led to a second nervous breakdown in 1944. His fiscal obsession showed in several ways. Not only did he force his seminarians to do with less, but also he underpaid some of his Chancery staff to an "almost criminal degree". This is clear in the case of one woman who had been hired to work there during the Great Depression. She was promoted to a secretarial position where she often dealt with the archbishop's financial matters. Trusted and talented, this person was still kept on a very niggardly salary even though she was supporting her mother and helping her two sisters through nursing school. Still

alive, she is reported to be unable to speak kindly of McGuigan.(57)

It seems that the cardinal realized that he had problems at least as early as 1929. That year a James C. McGuigan of Edmonton wrote a counselling company in New York for an assessment. He was told that he was a worrier. McGuigan also evaluated his own personality, rating his thinking as average, or perhaps a bit above, his will as normal, but less than he needed to be fully efficient, and his feeling as average. To combat his worrying, he was advised to fill his mind with worthwhile things, and since he had trouble remembering people's names, it was suggested that he spell the person's name to himself on being introduced.(58)

For obvious reasons McGuigan was also obsessed with atheism. This explains his exaggerated fear of communism as well as his panicky 1937 letter to the dying O'Leary about the blood that would soon be running in the streets of Toronto. Also, this dread is probably the reason that he agonized over Catholics voting for the C.C.F. despite its Christian humanistic base.

Driven by ambition for the church and by fear of his own failure, the cardinal sought to do everything instantly. At times, however, even he realized his limits. For example, writing to Katherine Underwood in 1948, McGuigan explained his inability to meet her as being "due to a long

and tiresome meeting with some bishops". Therefore, he stated the "instinct of self preservation persevered over meeting old friends."(59)

Just as so many in our society are obsessed with sex, the priesthood seems obsessed with avoiding it. The Catholic ideal of purity must have caused McGuigan to suffer inordinately as a teenager since the desire would be so new, and so insistent, even into his middle years. Somehow, he seems to have been able to put things into perspective. An example of such abnegation is that of a man who entered a monastery. When later interviewed, this monk was asked if he thought of sex, or even masturbated. He answered, yes--sometimes he did. Then, putting things into context, he added that he did not do many bad things. He attempted not to get angry with a brother monk but, yes--sometimes he did, and he tried not to despair about the world but, yes--sometimes, he did that too.(60) Even if McGuigan could not be perfect, he could think that his mentor was. Claiming O'Leary was "the purest priest whom I have ever known", the cardinal went on to make the big claim that the archbishop of Edmonton had "never lost the grace of his Baptism."(61)

The outcome of all the emotional problems, and the possible effect of his physical troubles, (his weight problem, his hearing difficulties, and his moon face)

helped to create a rather strange person. This oddness showed when McGuigan was conducting a Confirmation. He was attempting again to give up smoking. Monsignor John Harris, seeing his superior chewing gum, whispered, "Gum, Your Grace". Without changing his expression, the archbishop took out a large wad of gum which he coolly deposited under the arm of his throne!(62) This was typical, and led to one priest allegedly remarking "Cardinal McGuigan, now there was a strange man."(63)

As a mature prelate he was much different than his somewhat older fellow Islander, Bishop Francis Clement Kelley of Oklahoma City. McGuigan was so absorbed into his role that he almost seemed to lose his identity. For example, the only thing he ever seems to have written about himself was an introduction to a book of why priests choose such a life. McGuigan talks of the idealism of the vocation mentioning the too-well-to-do young man who kept all the commandments, yet found no peace of mind. But he rejected Jesus' suggestion that he give up all his possessions and follow Him.

In McGuigan's foreward there is no mention of family, nor of episcopal influence in his priestly vocation, the whole document being abstract and impersonal.(64) In contrast, Kelley's 1939 autobiography, The Bishop Jots it Down, seems

to tell more of his personality and, of Prince Edward Island history, than his position.(65)

Although the precise disease that affected McGuigan is not known with certainty, this information was not necessary for our purposes. The important thing was the impact of the cardinal's emotional instability on his performance. He was fortunate to have recovered as far as he did, even if, for the rest of his life, he was bothered by the fear that he was drifting away from reality.(66)

McGuigan's strategizing techniques extended his periods of well-being, but his very nature of being an obsessive personality militated against his peace of mind. His worry-driven temper was legendary among his priests and his oddness was, at times, on public display. Yet, he remained witty, with a booming laugh and, along with his compassion, these were perhaps his best known characteristics, at least in public.

Notes: The Mind Within

- (1) McGoey, Father John to author, 26 January 1992, p 1; Foy, Monsignor Vincent to author, 20 August 1993, p 1 and Lawlor, Father. Edward to author, 22 June 1992, p 7.
- (2) Simms, Andrew C.P. "Mental Disorders and Their Treatment", The New Encyclopædia Britannica, Macropedia, (EB), 1991, Vol 23, p 962.
- (3) Fieve, Ronald, "Manic Depression", The Encyclopedia Americana, (EA), 1989, Vol 23, p 234.
- (4) McGoey, Father John to author, 30 April 1990, p 4.
- (5) Archives of the Archdiocese of Edmonton (AAE), 2 April 1925. Archbishop Henry O'Leary Papers. McGuigan, Reverend Father James to seminarian Charles Leo Nelligan.
- (6) Interview: Miss Lillian McGuigan, 18 May 1988. Alfred was also the second born in his generation and Fraser, J. A. to author, 9 March 1989. Alfred died 18 October 1892.
- (7) The Legislative Assembly Journal of Prince Edward Island, 1910, Annual Report of the Public Schools of Prince Edward Island, Board of Education Teacher's Licences, 1 October 1908-30 September 1909. Issued, p XLIX, Mary McGuigan, third class; and MacNeil, Alice (McGuigan) to author, 12 March 1983, p 6.
- (8) McGoey, Father John to author, 30 April 1990, pp 3-4, and Denise Champagne to author, 30 December 1991.
- (9) Interview: Bishop John O'Mara, 7 October 1988. The ever smiling O'Mara found McGuigan's late night planning irritating.
- (10) Foy, Monsignor Vincent to author, 22 January 1990, "Qualifications", p 2. Foy used to call McGuigan's secretary, Rev. John O'Mara, and ask about the cardinal's mood asking, "Good Day or Bad Day?" If it were not a good day, Foy would find some more opportune time to discuss business concerning the marriage tribunal he headed.
- (11) Foy, Monsignor Vincent to author, 22 January 1990, "Recreation", p 1.
- (12) Interview: Miss Lillian McGuigan, 15 September 1993.
- (13) Croteau, J. T., Cradled in the Waves, p 134 and interview with Mrs. Cletus Murphy, 13 September 1992. Mrs. Murphy is a relative of Archbishop Sinnott and said that

while caring for an elderly P.E.I. lady, she was dismissed. The patient had discovered that she was a Catholic.

(14) The Mercantile Agency Reference Book for the Dominion of Canada, January 1892, p 615; July 1897, p 675; July 1901, p 690; July 1908, p 663; July 1914, p 820 and July 1921, p 877, The Bernard Map, Public Archives of Prince Edward Island, (PAPEI), accession number 4238, The Story of Hunter River, 1767-1967, p 36 and Rubio, Mary to author, 30 January 1993.

(15) Annual Report of the Archdiocese of Regina, 1932, p 9. John was a seminarian who was organizing Summer Vacation Schools in Saskatchewan.

(16) "Cardinal Welcomed By Native Parish", CG, 20 May 1945, p 5.

(17) Public Archives of Prince Edward Island (PAPEI), Government Deeds, Sullivan Estate, 1877 B, p 211.

(18) Archives of the Diocese of Charlottetown, (ADC). Henry O'Leary Papers. Abbé James McGuigan to Bishop Henry O'Leary, 31 December 1917.

(19) "Shock Therapy", EB, 1989, Volume 10, p 754.

(20) Pardos, Herbert, "Mental Illness", (EA), 1989, vol 18, p 702.

(21) See (3), p 235. The American date for release was 1970.

(22) Bonnell, John Sutherland, "The Case of E. O. Brown", The Island Magazine, Vol 27, S/S 1990, pp 11.

(23) In the opinion of at least one of McGuigan's priests, the cardinal received what he needed, not what he wanted in his 1930 breakdown. McGoey, Father John to author, 30 April 1990, p 2.

(24) "Convocation of St. Dunstan's", The Charlottetown Examiner, 4 June 1914, p 1. McGuigan thrilled the dying FitzGerald by visiting him in full regalia as a cardinal during 1946. Archives of the Archdiocese of Toronto, (AAT), MGAA03.01. 10 September 1946. MacEachern, Rev. Colin to McGuigan.

(25) AAT, MGAA03.01, 12 March 1951. McGuigan to C.J. Burnie. McGuigan visited Power in Chicago, and Power had recently spent a weekend in Toronto as McGuigan's guest.

AAT, MGAA03.01. Mrs. William Power to Cardinal McGuigan, 19 June 1951 and William Power to Cardinal McGuigan, 15 June 1951.

(26) Father Robert Scollard C.S.B. said that when no one else could see McGuigan, Nelligan could. Interview: 10 October 1989. McGuigan's other episcopal friend was Thomas O'Donnell, head of Extension, bishop of Victoria and archbishop of Halifax. O'Donnell died in 1937 and McGuigan buried him in the Nova Scotia capital. See Also: Every Popish Person, pp 190-195.

(27) AAT, MGAA03.01, 2 February 1953. Wall, Rev. Monsignor Leonard to Cardinal James McGuigan. John had just moved his family to Toronto and he would be introduced to the parish by Wall.

(28) AAT, MGAA 03.01. 8 December 1949. Ellis M.B. to Cardinal James McGuigan. He talks of Mother Saint George's sacrifices for Marianopolis College as rector.

(29) Interview: O'Brien, Sister Ann, 28 October 1989. Mother McGuigan died in 1951 during her 52nd year. Sister O'Brien says the cardinal cried on her shoulder when his sister died.

(30) AAT, MGAA03.01. 15 June 1955. Katherine Underwood to Cardinal James McGuigan. Underwood talks of "still seeing you and My Dear Ed sitting by the fire...discussing...world affairs".

(31) AAT, MGAA03.01. 13 May 1942. McGuigan, Archbishop James to Archbishop John Hugh MacDonald. Here he says he must say Mass for Mother Annunciation on a very quick visit to marry his brother John; and 10 April 1952. Mother Annunciation to Cardinal James McGuigan. She said she always felt like a "big shot" when he came to their Edmonton orphanage.

(32) Foy, Monsignor Vincent to author, 7 August 1993, p 2. Harris was a native of New Hampshire, but went to college at St. Thomas College in New Brunswick.

(33) Foy, Monsignor Vincent to author, 29 May 1990, p 1. A diocesan blackout means that it was not publicised.

(34) Foy, Monsignor Vincent to author, 30 June 1993, p 2.

(35) See (11), "Recreation", p 3.

- (36) See (34), p 2. O'Mara was the son of a well to do family.
- (37) Foy, Monsignor Vincent to author, 7 August 1993, p 3.
- (38) AAT, MGAA03.01. 22 April 1948. McGuigan, Cardinal James to J.J. Harnell on death of wife says "We all go through the valley of the shadow of death, but need fear no evil if we are faithful to Him".
- (39) Of course, it cuts both ways. McGuigan may have survived better simply because in 1934 he had four suffragans versus two in 1930 and much more episcopal experience and more outside support.
- (40) "Cardinal McGuigan Announces Petitions Will go to Rome", Catholic Register, (CR), 12 October 1946, p 1.
- (41) AAT, MGAA03.01. 25 November 1950. McGuigan, Cardinal James to Mary Gallagher. Later, when a woman wrote saying she was going blind, McGuigan told her that he would ask Our Lady to preserve her sight. He was about to leave for the Marian Congress at Guadeloupe, Mexico. MGAA03.01. 3 October, 1951. McGuigan to Mrs. Jennie Killoran.
- (42) Lawlor, Father Edward to author, 17 July 1992, p 4 and 22 June 1992, p 1.
- (43) "Cardinal to Visit Monk Hailed as Miracle Worker", (G&M), 24 March 1956, p 15.
- (44) Neumann claimed to be nourished only on Holy Communion, but it is known that hysterics can go more than three weeks without food. She would not submit to a closer second examination, after doubts concerning the outcome of the first, were raised. Therefore, her claim was suspect. "Neumann Therese", EB, 1991, Vol 8, p 620.
- (45) Lawlor, Father Edward to author, 23 December 1992, pp 2-3 and Foy, Monsignor Vincent (interview) 19 June 1993.
- (46) Archives of the Archdiocese of Edmonton (AAE), Archbishop Henry O'Leary's Papers to Archbishop A. A. Sinnott, 21 September 1930; and (10) "Recreation", p 1.
- (47) See (10), "Recreation", p 1. This accident led to a bitter dispute between McGuigan and his insurance companies the result of which is still not public. The Canada Insurance Adjusting Company offered the cardinal \$1000 for his hospitalization even though he calculated the amount at \$2,000-3,000. McGuigan described their claim of "uncertain medical procedures" as "stupid" and foolishly threatened to

bring the case before the Catholics of Toronto. Cutting off his nose to spite his face, the cardinal stated that he would accept nothing, rather than the \$1000. Told to get a lawyer, since the companies claimed "a certain liberty" in their offers, the now outraged prelate declared that only behind the Iron Curtain would a cardinal be treated so badly. Further, he told them to send a "real man" and they could solve the problem face to face in five minutes. AAT MGAA03.01. McGuigan's correspondence of 27 August, 28 August, 11 September (two letters), 12 September and 19 September 1957.

(48) Interview, Father Lawrence Murphy S. J., 28 September 1989.

(49) See (11), "Recreation", p 2.

(50) Foy, Monsignor Vincent to author, 23 May 1994.

(51) See (11), "Recreation", p 2.

(52) Interview: Father Edwin Platt, 2 July 1990

(53) Foy, Monsignor Vincent to author, 20 August 1993, p 2.

(54) AAT, MGAA03.01. Hobberlin, Alecia to Archbishop James McGuigan, 3 August 1945. This letter occurred during McGuigan's recovery from his ill health of 1944.

(55) See (10) "Wit & Humor", p 2. In other words, Foy would not "get the purple", i.e. become a monsignor. Of course, he did.

(56) See (10), "Finances", p 8.

(57) Name withheld by author, 22 September 1990.

(58) AAT, MGAA01.05, 7 May 1929. Pelman Institute of America to James C. McGuigan, Box 570, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada.

(59) AAT, MGAA03.01 McGuigan, Cardinal James to Katherine Underwood, 30 April 1948.

(60) Coren, Michael, "Fifth Column: Men", G&M, 4 May 1994, p A 26.

(61) Cullen, Sister Ellen Mary, The Sisters of Saint Martha of Prince Edward Island, vol 1, pp 144, 145.

(62) Foy, Monsignor Vincent to author, 22 January 1990, "Recreation", p 4.

(63) See (53), p 2.

(64) Kane, George L. Why I Became a Priest, pp iii-vii. "Introduction" by James Cardinal McGuigan.

(65) Kelley, Bishop Francis Clement, The Bishop Jots it Down.

(66) Interview: Mrs. Francis McGoey, 20 October 1988.

Conclusion

James Charles McGuigan is not significant simply because he was a Canadian cardinal. After all, four princes of the Church preceded him, and at least six have followed. He was not important simply because he was from Atlantic Canada, nor is he worth studying on account of a great, or prominent, personality. His national significance lies in his being the first cardinal for that almost invisible double minority--the English-speaking Catholics. Internationally, his appointment was significant as part of the globalization of the College of Cardinals. Finally, the study of his life demonstrates what a motivated person suffering from severe emotional illness was able to achieve in the days before shock treatment and psychotropic drugs.

English-speaking Catholics in Canada have tended toward social invisibility. This is because the terms "English Protestant" and "French Catholic" seemed to cover all the bases in both popular knowledge and, until recently, in historical writing. Yet, as far back as the 1881 census one third of Canadian Catholics were English speaking,(1) and recent surveys indicate that half of those claiming to be followers of Rome live outside Québec.(2) In retrospect, the critical breakthrough for English speaking Catholics came when they received their first cardinal, James Charles McGuigan. This appointment coincided with

the emergence of Canada as an important post-war victor. In other words, both the country and the Catholic Church came of age simultaneously.

At last it became almost fashionable to be a Catholic in the "Belfast of Canada". This was noted on McGuigan's return to Toronto. A grand civic reception was held at city hall, followed by a parade to Queen's Park for his reception as a distinguished visitor. At the common level, one priest who bore a vague resemblance to His Eminence reported that he had been addressed as "Sir" by a Protestant passing him on the street.(3) Still, there was not total acceptance of Catholicism, for Ottawa dared not send public greetings fearing an anti-Catholic backlash(4) and some Orange councillors in Toronto attempted to set back McGuigan's reception to a "more convenient time".

His appointment affected areas outside Ontario. There was pride in Prince Edward Island that such a colossus had come from such a little place; there was happiness in Regina that their former archbishop had brought honour to the city and its province. In Edmonton feelings were similar, while in Québec City it was noted with pride that the cardinal was yet another in a line of princes of the Church who had graduated from the Grand Seminary. Even Catholic Ulster

felt interested enough to speculate whether the cardinal's ancestors had come from County Monaghan. (5)

McGuigan's new status made him the "first among equals" of the English-speaking Canadian hierarchy. He was appointed the pope's representative at the Marian Congress and was able to encourage several members of the Hope Commission not to resign, even though some of their bishops had ordered them not to accept any compromise.

McGuigan's appointment was also significant as part of the internationalization of the College of Cardinals. The Italians had now lost their absolute majority, and within three decades the first non-Italian pope in centuries would be selected and although there would be no Black princes for almost twenty years (6), at least there was a cardinal from Africa, albeit colonial Africa. (7) The first cardinal from the Far East had been selected, (8) and two men from behind the Iron Curtain were also made members of the College (9).

The appointment of the archbishop of Toronto also jibed with Pius's erection of a solid front against Stalin. McGuigan, like the pope, was deathly afraid of communism. The selection of cardinals from Germany and Eastern Europe, as well as from colonial Africa, again showed Pius's anti-Marxist bent. The pope's attitude was in line with the Cold War mentality developing in the United States,

although the Vatican and Washington did not always see eye to eye over such things as extradition of refugees to the Soviet Union.(10) McGuigan was also part of the traditional opposition to artificial birth control. Thus, he fitted into Pius's team in another way. However, in the 1960s when the fight really began to hold the line against contraception, Pius XII was dead, and McGuigan, as well as most of the cardinals from that time, had retired.

Although his mental health was questionable, McGuigan accomplished a tremendous amount of good. His financial ability was demonstrated by the Salve Regina Fund, and other similar ideas that enabled Regina to at least meet the interest on its debt. McGuigan's acumen was also demonstrated by his 1944 high school campaign that was heavily oversubscribed and by his paying off most of Toronto's \$4,000,000 archdiocesan debt in little more than a decade. Finally, his three successful financial drives during the 1950s showed that his administrative ability had not yet been destroyed by decades of excessive work.

The cardinal encouraged his people keep the faith. In Saskatchewan he established a seminary on a shoestring budget, organized summer vacation schools, established religious classes for adults and held the great 1931 Eucharistic Congress. In Toronto he continued similar tactics heading the Great Missionary Exhibition and

established social clubs to recapture adolescents who had drifted away from the church. Later, McGuigan held "Rosary Rallies" that filled the city's biggest stadiums during the post-war period.

The decline of Nativism was in part due to the cardinal's quiet diplomacy and his ecclesiastical skills. He bore the barbs of the Rev. T. T. Shields in largely private suffering and played a cautious role relative to the Orange-controlled mayoralty of Toronto as well as the Protestant-dominated government of Ontario. All the while he helped, in effect, to subvert the Protestant hegemony by making welcome hundreds of thousands of displaced persons and other immigrants, many of whom were Catholic.

The archbishop's relationship to French Canadians was much less adversarial than Henry O'Leary's. On the one hand, O'Leary had exiled Edmonton's French priests to rural parishes.(11) On the other, the cardinal worked hard to expand French high school education in Toronto.(12) Still he identified with English Canada, despite his four years at the Grand Seminary and his bilingualism. This was demonstrated in the 1942 conscription plebiscite, when he advised his people to vote "yes".(13)

Looking at the debit ledger, McGuigan never solved the separate school problem. The Hepburn amendments turned out to be unworkable. Therefore, the separate boards were

forced to bear the threat of bankruptcy for decades afterwards as immigration overwhelmed them. It was only Premier Frost's recognition of the political power of the Catholics that finally allowed their schools more funding. These gifts permitted the system to stagger from crisis to crisis in a less dangerous manner until the 1980s brought a more liberal attitude that finally gave it financial security. Although it had taken a very time to get sufficient funding, McGuigan's low-key approach may have been more effective than the aggressive attitudes of some of the other bishops.

Unfortunately, the cardinal's political efforts were not always successful. In the late 1930s he failed to realize until it was almost too late that the most threatening opponents of bourgeois democracy and religion were not the Marxists, but the fascists. And despite his efforts to get rid of the Communist Party of Ontario, it was not clerical opposition, but the party's reaction to the unveiling of Stalin's atrocities, that finally destroyed it. Also, it was the ordinary Catholics who took the initiative on both the question of voting for the C.C.F. and on the use of artificial contraception.

While McGuigan's success in helping to establish the doctrine of the Assumption was personally satisfying, the declaration raised yet another barrier to ecumenism. The

cardinal's idea that Rome needed "a good house cleaning" seemed acceptable in 1954. However, during the Second Vatican Council, he appears to have felt that reform would lead to Protestantism and a rejection of the role traditionally envisaged by Rome for the Blessed Virgin, against birth control and for the Latin mass.

In this dissertation McGuigan has been painted as a much more complex person than the stereotyped prelate with the great booming laugh who simply observed much of the change in Toronto from a "Protestant" to a "Catholic" city. It has been shown that he helped significantly to effect the transformation. As well, considerable formerly-hidden information on his emotional problems has been provided; and his imperfect recovery before psychiatrists had all those little pills to prescribe has been documented. It is hoped that those interested in psychology, as well as religion, will benefit from the cardinal's problems being recorded.

If McGuigan could not be a happy man here on Earth, at least he believed he could earn entrance into a much better place. Unfortunately, his efforts to attain Heaven by serving the Church seemed inversely proportional to his peace of mind. However, given his nature and nurture little else could be expected.

Notes

- (1) Murphy, Terrence and Stortz, Gerald, Creed and Culture: The Place of English Speaking Catholics in Canadian Society, 1750-1930, p xix.
- (2) Voisine, Nive and Choquette, Robert, "Catholicism", The Canadian Encyclopedia, 2nd edition, volume 1, p 379.
- (3) "All Walks Pay Tribute to Cardinal McGuigan", The Globe and Mail, (G&M), 27 December 1945, p 4. By his addressing the cardinal look alike as "Sir, the passer by was assumed to be Protestant.
- (4) National Archives of Canada, (NAC) Mackenzie King Papers, reel C 9877, page 346415. King, Prime Minister Mackenzie King to Cardinal James McGuigan, 26 December 1945. The prime minister sent a telegram rather than make a public announcement. On December 24, 1945 Jack Pickersgill, advisor to Prime Minister Mackenzie King wrote his superior thus, "I was sure you did not want to comment publicly, but you could send a telegram." National Archives of Canada (NAC), C9877, p 34646.
- (5) McMahon, Theo to author, 26 December 1990.
- (6) Laurian Rugambwa was the first Black cardinal. He was appointed in 1959. Keesing's Contemporary Archives, 1959-1960, p 173.
- (7) The prelate was Cardinal Clemente de Gouveia from Lourenço Marques in Portuguese Mozambique. "List of Nominated Cardinals...", New York Times, 24 December 1945, p 3.
- (8) This was Cardinal Thomas Tien of China. See (7).
- (9) They were Cardinals Joseph Mindszenty of Hungary and Adam Sapieha of Poland. See (7).
- (10) "Protests by the Pope on Forced Reparations by Britain and the US", G&M, 25 February 1946, p 1.
- (11) Cashman, Tony, The Edmonton Separate School System: A Success Story, p 105.
- (12) "Cardinal Opens New Bilingual High School", G&M, 20 September 1948, p 5. It was designed to serve French speaking students from all over Toronto
- (13) "Archbishop McGuigan For Affirmative Vote", Charlottetown Guardian (CG), 27 April 1942, p 7.

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MGAA01.05,
MGAA01.14,
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