Historical Papers
Communications historiques

The De-Greening of the Irish : Toronto's Irish-Catholic Press, Imperialism, and the Forging of a New Identity, 1887-1914

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Volume 24, Number 1, 1989

Québec 1989

URI: https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/030999ar
DOI: https://doi.org/10.7202/030999ar

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Publisher(s)

The Canadian Historical Association/La Société historique du Canada

ISSN

0068-8878 (print)
1712-9109 (digital)

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Cite this article

McGowan, M. G. (1989). The De-Greening of the Irish : Toronto's Irish-Catholic Press, Imperialism, and the Forging of a New Identity, 1887-1914. *Historical Papers / Communications historiques*, *24*(1), 118–145. https://doi.org/10.7202/030999ar

Article abstract

Traditionally Canadian and American historians have assumed thai Irish Catholics in urban centres constituted highly resistant subcultures in the face of a dominantProtestant majority. In Canada, scholars have stated that these Irish-Catholic subcultures kept themselves isolated, socially and religiously, from the Anglo- Protestant society around them. Between 1890 and 1918, however, the Irish Catholics of Toronto underwent significant social, ideological, and economic changes that hastened their integration into Toronto society. By World War One, Irish Catholics were dispersed in all of Toronto's neighbourhoods; they permeated the city's occupational structure at all levels; and they intermarried with Protestants at an unprecedented rate. These changes were greatly influenced by Canadian-born generations of Irish-Catholic clergy and laity.

This paper argues that these social, ideological, and emotional realignments were confirmed and articulated most clearly in the city's Catholic press. Editors drew up new lines of loyally for Catholics and embraced the notion of an autonomous Canadian nation within the British Empire. What developed was a sense of English-speaking Catholic Canadian identity which included a love of the British Crown, allegiance to the Empire, and a duty to participate in Canadian nation-building. In the process, a sense of Irish identity declined as new generations of Catholics chose to contextualize their Catholicism in a Canadian cultural milieu. The press expressed a variant of the imperial-nationalist theme, which blended devout Catholicism with a theory of imperial "interdependence." This maturation of a new identity facilitated Catholic participation in the First World War and underscored an English-speaking Catholic effort to evangelize and anglicize "new" Catholic Canadians. By the end of the war, Toronto's Irish Catholics were imbued with zealous Canadian patriotism, complemented, in part, by their greater social integration into the city's mainstream.

The De-greening of the Irish: Toronto's Irish-Catholic Press, Imperialism, and the Forging of a New Identity, 1887-1914

MARK G. MCGOWAN

Résumé

Traditionally Canadian and American historians have assumed that Irish Catholics in urban centres constituted highly resistant subcultures in the face of a dominant Protestant majority. In Canada, scholars have stated that these Irish-Catholic subcultures kept themselves isolated, socially and religiously, from the Anglo-Protestant society around them. Between 1890 and 1918, however, the Irish Catholics of Toronto underwent significant social, ideological, and economic changes that hastened their integration into Toronto society. By World War One, Irish Catholics were dispersed in all of Toronto's neighbourhoods; they permeated the city's occupational structure at all levels; and they intermarried with Protestants at an unprecedented rate. These changes were greatly influenced by Canadian-born generations of Irish-Catholic clergy and laity.

This paper argues that these social, ideological, and emotional realignments were confirmed and articulated most clearly in the city's Catholic press. Editors drew up new lines of loyalty for Catholics and embraced the notion of an autonomous Canadian nation within the British Empire. What developed was a sense of English-speaking Catholic Canadian identity which included a love of the British Crown, allegiance to the Empire, and a duty to participate in Canadian nation-building. In the process, a sense of Irish identity declined as new generations of Catholics chose to contextualize their Catholicism in a Canadian cultural milieu. The press expressed a variant of the imperial-nationalist theme, which blended devout Catholicism with a theory of imperial "interdependence." This maturation of a new identity facilitated Catholic participation in the First World War and underscored an English-speaking Catholic effort to evangelize and anglicize "new" Catholic Canadians. By the end of the war, Toronto's Irish Catholics were imbued with zealous Canadian patriotism, complemented, in part, by their greater social integration into the city's mainstream.

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En histoire canadienne et américaine, on a toujours affirmé que les Irlandais catholiques constituaient une sous-culture, qui s'opposait fermement à la majorité protestante.

Pour le Canada, on a soutenu que les Irlandais catholiques s'étaient isolés de la communauté protestante par une barrière sociale et religieuse. Pourtant, entre 1890 et 1918, à Toronto, d'importants changements dans leurs activités et leur mentalité ont accéléré leur intégration sociale. Quand s'est déclarée la Première guerre mondiale, les Irlandais catholiques étaient dispersés dans tous les quartiers de Toronto; ils avaient pris leur place dans tous les milieux et à tous les niveaux; leurs mariages avec les protestants avaient atteint un taux sans précédent. A l'origine de ces changements, il y avait l'influence des générations d'Irlandais catholiques, prêtres et laïques, nés au Canada.

Notre article soutient que la presse catholique de Toronto confirmait et soutenait ces changements sociaux, idéologiques et viscéraux des Irlandais catholiques. Elle proposait une nouvelle définition du loyalisme et adoptait l'idée d'un Canada autonome dans l'Empire britannique. En conséquence, il s'est développé dans la communauté catholique de langue anglaise une nouvelle identité, qui comprenait l'attachement à la Couronne britannique, l'appartenance à l'Empire et l'obligation de participer à l'établissement d'une nation canadienne. C'est ainsi que l'identité irlandaise s'est estompée graduellement, au rythme où les nouvelles générations choisissaient d'adapter leur catholicisme à la culture canadienne. La presse présentait une variante de la thématique impérialisme-nationalisme en associant le catholicisme fervent à "l'interdépendance" impériale. L'avènement d'une nouvelle identité a favorisé la participation des catholiques à la guerre et maximisé l'effort des catholiques anglophones pour évangéliser et angliciser les "nouveaux" Canadiens catholiques.

À la fin de la guerre, il y avait chez les Irlandais catholiques de Toronto un patriotisme apostolique qui s'expliquait, en partie, par leur intégration sociale.

No detail was left unattended. The Sisters of St. Joseph had decorated their convent and school in red, white, and blue flags and garlands for the passing of the troops on 1 January 1916. The separate school children were herded to the edges of Queen's Park Crescent and sang gaily as ten thousand volunteers of the Canadian Expeditionary Force marched by on the first leg of their journey to the killing fields of Flanders. Among these fresh recruits were some of the 3,500 Catholic volunteers from the city of Toronto. For those who remembered Toronto as the "Belfast of North America," it was a strange sight to see nuns and Catholic school children singing and cheering a mixture of Catholic and Protestant volunteers off to fight for the glory of God, King, and Empire.[1] In sixteen months, the war had made many Protestants and Catholics more aware of their shared concerns as Canadian citizens of the Empire: the defence of religion, the welfare of Canada, and duty to the Crown. Victory Loan drives, joint fundraising campaigns for Catholic Army Huts and social services, and statements of common purpose by church leaders in wartime had forged bonds of religious unity in Toronto that sharply contrasted with the sectarian violence of the 1850s and 1870s. For the city's forty-three thousand Catholics, most of whom were of Irish descent, the war was merely another rite of passage on their journey to integrate themselves into a British Protestant Canada.

1. Community of St. Joseph Archives (Toronto), *Annals of the Sisters of St. Joseph, Toronto* 2 (1 January 1916): 500.

Traditionally, historians have regarded nineteenth-century Toronto as a crucible of Orange-Green sectarian tension, rooted in centuries of socio-religious hatred transplanted from Ireland and characterized by episodic ritual violence.[2] In the years immediately after Confederation, Irish Catholics in Toronto demanded religious equality, political patronage, and separate denominational schools, while advocating Home Rule for their kinfolk in Ireland. To sustain Irish-Catholic solidarity, they organized nationalist associations, laid equal claim to the streets of the city, and welcomed the radical politicians from the homeland to speak in Toronto. Moreover, Irish-Catholic leaders lobbied municipal, provincial, and federal politicians for what they considered a "fair share" of representation and patronage. This public assertiveness was counterbalanced by a religious defensiveness, as Irish Catholics developed parallel health, educational, and social services, distinct and independent from those of Protestant Toronto. Some scholars have described the Irish-Catholic community as an uprooted peasant culture struggling to survive in a hostile Protestant city. The sectarian bitterness which ensued gave birth to an Irish-Catholic subculture — "the other Toronto" — in which Catholic values grew and remained distinct from the surrounding WASP milieu.[3] While this theory of the Irish in Toronto has been tested and disputed for the mid-Victorian period, it cannot account for the transformation of Toronto's Catholic community during the Laurier-Borden years.

By the time of the Great War, the "green" factor in Toronto's Irish Catholicism — its vociferous Irish nationalism and religious isolationism — was fading quickly. The ethnicity of Irish Catholics — as in all ethnic groups in this country — was a fluid thing, constantly altering itself as a result of internal group dynamics and external stimulae. The Irish-Catholic community did not change entirely, although the "wearing of the green" became more a fashion of 17 March than of the other days of the year. After the 1880s, Irish Catholics gradually integrated themselves into all levels of Toronto's socio-occupational structure, from blue-collar worker to medical doctor. As this process of social "enracinement" matured, Catholics of Irish descent, in conjunction with much

2. Gregory S. Kealey, *Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism, 1867-1892* (Toronto, 1980), 98-123; Murray W. Nicolson, "Irish Tridentine Catholicism in Victorian Toronto: Vessel for Ethnoreligious Persistence," Canadian Catholic Historical Association, *Study Sessions* 50, book II (1983): 434-35; Nicolson, "The Irish Experience in Ontario: Rural or Urban?" *Urban History Review* 14 (June 1985): 40; Philomena O'Flynn, "Old Problems in a New Environment. The Reactions of Irish Catholic Editors to Orangeism in Canada," *Bulletin of Canadian Studies* 8 (Autumn 1984): 211; and Martin Galvin, "The Jubilee Riots in Toronto, 1875," Canadian Catholic Historical Association, *Report* 26 (1959): 93-107.

3. Murray W. Nicolson, "The Other Toronto: Irish Catholics in a Victorian City, 1850-1900," in *The Canadian City: Essays in Urban and Social History*, eds. Gilbert Stelter and Alan Artibise (Ottawa, 1984): 328-57; Nicolson, "The Irish in Ontario," 39; and Jeanne Beck, "Henry Somerville and Social Reform: His Contribution to Canadian Catholic Social Thought," Canadian Catholic Historical Association, *Study Sessions* 42 (1975): 91-108.

smaller groups of Scottish, English, and anglicized German Catholics,[4] cultivated a unique sense of Canadian nationalism, based on an unfaltering devotion to the Catholic church and its doctrines, and a Canadian patriotism linked to a moderate British imperialism. In Toronto, the children and grandchildren of pre-Confederation Irish immigrants shifted their primary focus of loyalty from Ireland to Canada and the Empire. By 1910, Canadian-born and educated priests directed the community's concerns to things Canadian, St. Patrick's Day parades faded into memory, one third of Catholic marriages were "mixed," and Catholic clubs and schools unabashedly oriented themselves to asserting a Catholic claim to full Canadian citizenship. The combination of Canadian clerical leadership, the passing of the "famine migrants," and the conscious choices being made by Catholics with regard to organizational affiliations, marriage, and patriotism hastened the community's integration. Through these "lived experiences" of their daily life, as transmitted through the agency of the Catholic press, Toronto's Irish Catholics opened themselves to a new self-identification and cultivated for themselves a new "English-speaking Catholic" identity.

This paper explores the contours and rubric of this social and ideological shift as it appeared in the Catholic press in Toronto prior to the Great War. The editorials and features of the Catholic weeklies in the city helped to define and give a loose ideological framework to the dramatic social changes taking place in Toronto's Catholic clergy, schools, families, and voluntary associations. Ever mindful of its small, fragile, and parochial circulation, the press was intimate with the social and emotional realignment taking place in the Toronto's Irish-Catholic community. Accordingly, the effusions from Toronto's Catholic weekly newspapers merely underscored developments in remnants of the Irish-Catholic community itself, articulated the ideological changes, and confirmed the new emotional ties being nurtured and adapted by the descendants of Irish-Catholic immigrants and their other English-speaking coreligionists. Ideologically, the press revealed a new sense of Canadian Catholic identity and a confidence in Canada as a great nation within the world's greatest empire. The Catholic weeklies developed a "modified Imperialism" that called for a strong united Canada within an empire of interdependent states, wherein military obligation was to be determined by each individual member. This maturing British-Canadian Catholic citizenship also inspired a sense of mission in Toronto's Catholics, and was partially responsible for a home mission effort designed to recreate European immigrants in the English-speaking

4. The flow of Irish-born Catholic immigrants to Toronto slowed considerably after Confederation. By 1911, the census reported only 5 per cent of the entire population of Toronto as Irish-born. Marriage and baptismal records indicate that Catholics in the city were overwhelmingly Irish by surname, but Canadian by birth. Assessment data for inner-city and suburban parishes confirm that in 1911, 80 to 90 per cent of Catholics in a given parish were of Irish origin. By the end of World War I, however, inner-city parishes demonstrated higher levels of eastern- and southern-European residents, and marriage registers indicated new Catholic migrants from Scotland and England. In St. Mary's parish, for instance, 97 per cent of household heads had Celtic names in 1890, compared to 64 per cent in the same district thirty years later. Archives of the Archdiocese of Toronto (ARCAT), Marriage Registers, all parishes, 1890, 1895, 1900, 1905, 1910, 1915, and 1920; City of Toronto Archives (CTA), Tax Assessment Rolls, 1891, 1901, 1911, and 1921.

Catholic image. The expression of a new "English-speaking Catholic Canadian" in the Catholic press resembled many of the tenets of Anglo-Canadian imperialist-nationalism, although it lacked its Protestant underpinnings, zealous militarism, anglomania, and Loyalist mythology. Similarly, while approximating the religious zeal of French-Canadian Catholicism, this new "English-speaking" vision sought to limit French-Canadian control of the church outside of Quebec. In short, Toronto's English-speaking Catholic identity borrowed from both of Canada's "solitudes" but was assimilated by neither. By 1914, World War I presented these transformed Catholics and their press with an opportunity to demonstrate their loyalties clearly, and distinguish themselves as Canadians "first."[5]

The Irish-Catholic experience in Toronto appears unique when compared to other Irish-Catholic communities in Canada and the United States. In spite of the fact that there are few studies of Canadian Irish Catholics for the twentieth century, one can still discern that the waning of Irish consciousness among Toronto's Catholics stood in sharp contrast to developments in other urbanized Irish-Catholic communities. In Ottawa, Montreal, and Winnipeg, Irish Catholics had to contend with a large French-Canadian population within the walls of their own church, while defending the integrity of their faith against English-Canadian Protestants. Daily reminders that they were a "double minority" — religiously and socially — helped them embrace their Irishness more fully as a badge of distinction from the two "majority" groups.[6] Toronto's Irish Catholics, however, did not face this double threat first hand. They firmly controlled the social and political apparatus of Catholicism in Toronto, without competition from French Canadians or "new" Canadian Catholics. Having only to coexist with a Protestant majority, Catholicism itself was the badge of distinction. Thus, without the same pressures faced by their cousins in Ottawa or Montreal, Toronto's Irish Catholics did not cling tenaciously to the "green," and it faded in importance among new Canadian generations of Catholics.

Similarly, the Toronto experience deviates considerably from the historiography of Irish-Catholic communities in the United States. Contemporary American ethnic, religious, and urban historians have explored the "ghettoized" behaviour, formidable municipal political activities, and zealous Irish nationalism of Catholics in Boston,

5. *The Catholic Register* (hereafter *Register*), 4 July 1901; this claim was repeated on 31 March 1921.

6. John S. Moir, "The Problem of A Double Minority: Some Reflections on the Development of the English-speaking Catholic Church in Canada in the Nineteenth Century," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 4 (April 1971): 53-67. For selected urban studies see Robin Burns, "The Montreal Irish and the Great War," Canadian Catholic Historical Association, *Canadian Catholic Historical Studies* 52 (1985): 67-81; Robert Choquette, *Language and Religion: A History of English-French Conflict in Ontario* (Ottawa, 1975); Raymond Huel, "The Irish-French Conflict in Episcopal Nominations: The Western Sees and Domination Within the Church," Canadian Catholic Historical Association, *Study Sessions* 42 (1975): 51-70. See also D.S. Cross, "The Irish in Montreal, 1867-1896," master's thesis, McGill University, 1969.

Chicago, New York, and other cities.[7] Many scholars consider the waning of Irishness to be a feature of American-Catholic culture only after the achievement of Irish Home Rule in 1922.[8] With the birth of the Irish Free State, American Catholics felt satisfied that they had fought and won the good fight and could now proceed to other concerns. These American conceptual frameworks of Irish-Catholic behaviour are not applicable to Toronto. As this study suggests, Toronto's Catholics had redirected their primary focus of loyalty in the three decades prior to 1922, and they were successfully integrating themselves into the mainstream of Toronto life, socially, economically, residentially, and intellectually. While the Philadelphia Irish demonstrated similar patterns of social behaviour,[9] the embrace of British North American society by Toronto's Irish Catholics, as evidenced in their press, makes for an interesting and perhaps unique study.

Since 1825, the Catholic weekly newspaper had been a prominent feature in Irish-Catholic life in Toronto. As many as eight newspapers had served the Catholic community prior to 1887, none of which survived into the twentieth century.[10] Few statistical reports of paid subscriptions for the nineteenth- or twentieth-century Catholic weeklies have been preserved, thus making it difficult to resolve the question of the extent of their circulation or the impact of their message. Parish annual reports dating from the Great War, however, indicate that perhaps between one quarter and one half of families in a given parish subscribed to a Catholic weekly.[11] Those who did subscribe

7. Selected works include: Oscar Handlin, *Boston's Immigrants: A Study in Acculturation* (New York, 1968); Jay Dolan, *The Immigrant Church: New York's Irish and German Catholics, 1815-1865* (Baltimore, 1975); John Tracy Ellis, *American Catholicism* (Chicago, 1975); Milton Gordon, *Assimilation and American Life* (New York, 1964); and Thomas Brown, *Irish-American Nationalism, 1870-1890* (New York, 1966). The most impressive recent study is Kerby Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and The Irish Exodus to North America* (New York, 1985).

8. Lawrence McCaffery, *The Irish Diaspora in America* (Bloomington, 1976) and Joseph P. O'Grady, *How the Irish Became Americans* (New York, 1973) are typical of this school of thought.

9. Dennis Clark, *The Irish in Philadelphia: Ten Generations of Urban Experience* (Philadelphia, 1973).

10. The newspapers included *The Canadian Freeman* published by Francis Collins from 1825 to 1834, *The Mirror* published by Charles Donleavy and Patrick McTavey from 1837 to 1854, *The Catholic Citizen* published by Thomas and Michael Hynes from 1854 to 1858, *The Canadian Freeman* by J.G. Moylan and J.J. Mallon from 1858 to the 1870s, *The Tribune* briefly during the 1870s *The Irish Canadian* (hereafter *IC*) by Patrick Boyle from 1863 to 1892 and unsuccessfully in 1901, and finally *The Catholic Weekly Review* (hereafter *CWR*) published by Philip de Gruchy and Gerald Fitzgerald from 1887 to 1892. For an overview of press development in this period, consult Gerald Stortz, "The Irish Catholic Press in Toronto, 1887-1892," *Canadian Journal of Communications* 10:3 (1984): 27-46 and Stortz, "The Irish Catholic Press in Toronto, 1874-1887," Canadian Catholic Historical Association, *Study Sessions* 47 (1980): 41-56.

11. Parish Spiritual Statistics, 1916-1922. Analysis of Toronto municipal tax assessment rolls for selected parishes indicates that Catholic household size prior to the Great War varied from 4.5 to 5.2 persons. In 1918 St. Joseph's parish reported 250 subscriptions for 1,912 parishioners, or papers for 13.1 per cent of the parish population. If the minimum average household size of 4.5 is accounted for perhaps as many as 250 out of 425 families received a weekly Catholic newspaper. See Appendix A.

usually had a choice between papers varying in political partisanship, degree of clericalism, and shade of Irish nationalism. Patrick Boyle's *Irish Canadian* (1863-92) had been a vociferous advocate of Irish Home Rule, anti-imperialist sentiment, and Canadian annexation to the United States. Its circulation prior to its demise was listed at fourteen thousand across Ontario and, judging from its advertising patrons, it catered to Irish Catholics in all walks of life.[12] After 1887, Boyle's principal Catholic nemesis was *The Catholic Weekly Review*, an intellectual weekly appealing to professional and white-collar Catholics, and with a circulation of close to eight thousand.[13] The *Review* was Conservative in its politics, low-key in its Irish nationalism, and vociferously loyal to the magisterium of the church. It also fought with Boyle's *Irish Canadian* on political, religious, and nationalist issues, while denigrating the rival editor as "a puissant figure among tap-room politicians." This on-going battle between the *Canadian* and the *Review*, and in particular their confrontation over the visit to Toronto by Irish radical William O'Brien in 1887, revealed the strain that had gripped the community as the Irish nationalism of the past was challenged by a more Canadian present-mindedness.[14]

In 1892, the decline in the need for a distinctive Irish-Catholic nationalist voice was evident when the clergy intervened to end the newspaper war. Tired of the endless bickering and financial troubles of the two papers, Archbishop John Walsh consolidated his control over the press and amalgamated the *Irish Canadian* and *Catholic Weekly Review* into a new paper, *The Catholic Register*. Except for an unsuccessful revival of Boyle's broadsheet in 1901, the city never again supported a newspaper that was distinctly Irish nationalist and Roman Catholic in its opinions and vision. The death of Boyle that same year, and the humiliating financial situation in which he left his paper, underscored the changes taking place in Toronto's Irish-Catholic community. To his contemporaries, Boyle's demise symbolized the demographic changes in the Catholic community and, in particular, the passing of a generation of pre-Confederation Irish migrants who had sustained the Home Rule issue in Toronto and "gave direction to the influence of the lay Catholic body."[15] The new *Catholic Register*, under editors James Teefy, csb (1893-95), Patrick Cronin (1998-1905), and Alfred Burke (1908-15), distanced itself from the old nationalist constituencies, looking instead to Toronto, North America, and the Vatican for the lion's share of its news. Much the same can be said of the London-based *Catholic Record*, which assumed the role of the *Register's* rival in Toronto, although the London

12. *McKim's Directory of Publications* (Toronto, 1892). For advertising analysis, see Appendix B.
13. *CWR*, 19 February 1887. Canada, National Archives (NA), Macdonell Family Papers, Vol. 42, "Catholic Weekly Review Subscriptions, 1893," p. 36. This brief listing of subscribers included two professionals, seven business, eight clerical, four semiskilled, three unskilled, and two unstated. Occupational classifications are based on Peter Goheen, *Victorian Toronto, 1850-1900* (Chicago, 1970), 229-30. Each subcriber was located by address in *Might's City of Toronto Directory* (Toronto, 1892). This middle-class orientation was confirmed in the thrust of its advertising. See Appendix B.
14. *CWR*, 24 November 1888. For more detail on the O'Brien visit, see Gerald Stortz's detailed narrative account in "An Irish Radical in a Tory Town: William O'Brien in Toronto, 1887," *Eire/Ireland* 19 (Winter 1984): 35-58.
15. *Register*, 8 August 1901.

paper had a substantial national circulation.[16] Both papers were brought under clerical control, thus ending a period when a lay-controlled press could fire the occasional volley of criticism at the church, or perhaps dangerously exacerbate anti-Catholic feelings.[17]

The emphasis once placed on Irish news in Toronto's Catholic press in the nineteenth century waned after 1892. Previously, the Home Rule campaign and the career of Irish Parliamentary Party leader Charles Parnell had been followed closely by all Catholic weeklies.[18] After Parnell's death and the division of his party, however, Irish politics failed to capture the imaginations of newspaper editors, and Irish political news faded in importance in Toronto's Catholic weeklies. When the Home Rule issue was periodically resurrected, editors cloaked it in a discussion of the "self-determination of peoples," with the Canadian-imperial relationship being praised as an excellent example for Ireland to follow. As one editor put it, "If Canada is loyal today, it is because it has enjoyed self-government, and if Ireland enjoyed the same, it would earnestly uphold the honor [*sic*] of the British Empire and the flag, and the Empire would become so much the stronger in itself and more respected abroad."[19]

This comparison between Canadian and Irish imperial status was neither new —having been suggested prior to Confederation — nor would it run its course prior to the Great War.[20] When civil strife ripped Ireland apart after 1916, and the Anglo-Irish treaty was finally promulgated in 1922, both the *Register* and the *Record* waxed philosophically on Ireland's and Canada's status as autonomous "dominions" in a an Empire of equals.[21] Their observations on the Irish situation lacked the emotional verve of the previous generation of writers; columnists discarded their maudlin appeals for the "motherland" and adopted a rational discussion of Wilsonian principles of self-determination as applied to Ireland. The comments of the Catholic press were those of a bystander, puffed up by Canada's example as an autonomous power in the context of a

16. *Catholic Record* (hereafter *Record*), 28 January 1915; *The Canadian Newspaper Directory* (Montreal, 1899), 75; ibid. (1919), 45.

17. In this period it is striking to note the clergy's takeover of the Catholic press. Between 1887 and 1918 the *Record* was directed by three priests, George Northgraves, Lawrence Flannery, and James T. Foley. Similarly, the *Register* counted Fathers J.R. Teefy, csb, Alfred Burke, and Thomas O'Donnell among its first seven editors. Clerical annoyance at the free-wheeling dissent, so typified by Irish nationalist editor Patrick Boyle, was evident in Lynch's comments in *IC*, 8 May 1888. As late as 1911, Archbishop Fergus McEvay instructed the clergy to monitor the Catholic press and be on the lookout for anything that smacked of modernism. ARCAT, Fergus P. McEvay Papers, Private Circular to the Clergy, 4 April 1911.

18. *IC*, 12 July 1888, 1 November 1888, 29 November 1888, 8 August 1889, and 8 October 1891; *CWR*, 25 January 1890, 8 February, 27 December 1890, and 8 August 1891; *Record*, 8 February 1890, 27 December 1890, 24 January 1891, 4 April 1891, 17 October 1891, and 29 November 1891.

19. *Record*, 13 July 1901.

20. ARCAT, Archbishop John Joseph Lynch Papers, Lynch to Archbishop Thomas Connolly of Halifax, 1 February 1866 (copy).

21. *Record*, 31 December 1921 and 16 December 1922; *Register*, 15 December 1921, 5 January 1922, 19 January 1922, and 22 June 1922.

great world empire.[22] Thus, through Ireland's problems, Toronto's Irish Catholics had come to love and appreciate Canada more.

Except in cases of extraordinary acts of violence or bloodshed, Irish news and Irish-Catholic cultural events in Toronto were also given low priority by editors prior to World War I. From its inception, the *Catholic Register* did not consider Irish news, politics, or cultural events its chief mandate. Although it admitted to being interested in the Home Rule issue, its pages came to place greater emphasis on religious, social, and political matters without an Irish flavour or preoccupation.[23] The *Register*'s greater concentration on local and archdiocesan affairs, however, reduced the paper's circulation among non-Torontonians who had formerly patronized the *Register*'s predecessors.[24] From 1893 to 1914 reports on St. Patrick's Day festivities, Irish politics, and local Irish news were reduced. A column entitled, "From the Motherland," which included small news snippets from Irish countries, was renamed "Irish News" by 1895, then banished to the back of the paper, and finally eliminated by 1901. Instead, the *Register* redirected its attention to Canadian news, the wars in the Philippines, China, and South Africa, pronouncements from the Vatican, and, after its purchase by the Catholic Church Extension Society in 1908, Canadian home missions.[25]

This "de-Hibernizing" of the Catholic press reflected a more general process of emotional realignment taking place at the social, ecclesiastical, and educational levels of the Catholic community. Irish-Catholic male voluntary associations were quickly becoming a fixture of the past. Former nationalist associations — the Emerald Benefit Association and the Irish Catholic Benevolent Union — had deteriorated province-wide to fewer than two hundred and 267 members respectively. The ICBU was only able to stave off total collapse by accepting women as members by 1905, although this proved to be only a temporary respite. By the end of the Great War both societies were moribund.[26] Even the membership of the Ancient Order of Hibernians paled in comparison to the numbers of Catholic men who joined such religious and beneficial associations as the Knights of Columbus, the Holy Name Society, and the Catholic Mutual Benefit Association, all of which advocated a mixture of Catholic devotionalism, fraternalism,

22. *Register*, 18 July 1918, 5 December 1918, 19 December 1918, 20 March 1919, 17 June 1920, 15 July 1920, 5 August 1920, 15 December 1921, 5 January 1922, 19 January 1922, and 22 June 1922; *Record*, 10 April 1920, 14 July 1921, 31 December 1921, and 16 December 1922.
23. *Register*, 5 January 1893. In this first issue the *Register*'s editor, Father J.R. Teefy, csb, concluded that the paper's *raison d'être* was "Our God's, our country's and truth's." This mandate was confirmed 26 January, 2 February, and 9 February 1893.
24. ARCAT, Archbishop John Walsh Papers, directors' report on the "Catholic Register" Printing and Publishing Company, 31 December 1895; *The Canadian Newspaper Directory* (Montreal, 1899), 107 and ibid. (1905), 108.
25. Mark G. McGowan, " 'A Watchful Eye': The Catholic Church Extension Society and Canadian Catholic Immigrants, 1908-1930," in *Canadian Protestant and Catholic Missions, 1820s-1960s: Historical Essays in Honour of John Webster Grant*, eds. John S. Moir and Thomas McIntire (New York, 1988): 221-43.
26. *Detailed Report of the Inspector of Insurance and Friendly Societies* (Toronto, 1895 to 1920).

and Canadian patriotism.[27] Similarly, Toronto's separate schools had a dearth of Irish literature and poetry in their prescribed separate school texts and there were few visible extracurricular activities that reinforced a sense of Irish culture.[28] Finally, even the church itself had outgrown its dependence on Irish personnel. By 1915, over 60 per cent of secular clergy in the archdiocese of Toronto were Canadian-born and Canadian-trained, including all of its archbishops after 1899.[29] The Canadian composition of the clergy, the school curriculum, and the mandate of lay associations, all reinforced the passing of a purely Irish stamp on Toronto Catholicism.

If the press reflected this general movement away from Irish tradition and culture, it remains moot as to what influences filled the world view of those Catholics to whom Ireland was a distant memory and less relevant to their daily lives. Murray Nicolson has seen this void filled by an increased Irish identification with the Catholic church and her Tridentine devotions.[30] This religious redefinition of Irish culture, however, only accounts for part of the transformation of the Irish-Catholic community in Toronto. Once again, the *Register* and its more avowed Liberal rival, the London *Record*, reflected the growing trend among Toronto's "Irish" Catholics to redefine their focus of loyalty as Canadians and citizens of the British Empire. Catholic newspapers demonstrated four significant themes which consituted the bone and sinew of their maturing Canadian identity: negativity to certain American social mores and American imperialism; a deep love for Canada; affection for the British Crown; and rejection of Imperial Federation but support of an Empire of interdependent partners. In doing so, the press outlined a unique model of imperialism: on the one hand, Canada was viewed as part of a larger empire to which it owed constitutional and military allegiance and, on the other hand, Canada was seen as self-governing in internal matters, reserving for the British Crown its role as head of the Canadian state.

27. By 1910 the York County Board of the Ancient Order of Hibernians had only 273 members, while the newly established Toronto Council of the Knights of Columbus included 131 charter members. By 1918 the latter had jumped to six hundred members, while the former steadily declined. *Detailed Report of Inspector...* 1910, 1915 and 1920; *Columbiad*, September 1918; *Knights of Columbus, Toronto Council 1388, Seventy-Fifth Anniversary, 1919-1984* (Toronto, 1984).

28. *Canadian Catholic Readers, Third Book* (Toronto, 1899) and *Canadian Catholic Readers, Fouth Book* (Toronto, 1899). The *Register* reported that the "Wearing of the Green" had been replaced by the "Maple Leaf Forever" in many schools: *Register*, 15 November 1894 and 4 July 1895. For a sample of children's poetry and verse, see the *Separate School Chronicle* 1 (May and June 1919), or *Cathedral Magazine* (Hamilton) 1 (April 1917): 29-33, or *St. Joseph's Lilies* 6 (June 1917): 50. The schools had completely redirected themselves from the curriculum described by Murray Nicolson in "Irish Education in Victorian Toronto: An Ethnic Response to Urban Conformity," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 17 (1984): 287-306.

29. ARCAT, Priests' Files, 1890-1940; Father Edward Kelly Papers; *The Official Catholic Directory, Almanac and Clergy List Quarterly* (Milwaukee, 1901-11); *The Official Catholic Directory* (New York, 1912-13); *The Ontario Catholic Directory* (Toronto, 1914-20). For a statistical analysis of the clergy by birth and education, see Mark George McGowan, "'We are all Canadians,' A Social, Religious and Cultural Portrait of Toronto's English-speaking Roman Catholics, 1890-1920," Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1988, 93-104 and 506-08.

30. Nicolson, "Irish Tridentine Catholicism in Victorian Toronto," 415-16.

Despite the flirtations of Boyle's *Irish Canadian* with the prospect of the American annexation of Canada, few other Catholic editors entertained the notion of "Canada as a free state in the American Union" as an alternative to the British Empire.[31] While not entirely anti-American in their behaviour, three other contemporary Catholic journals were extremely critical of American social mores and American "aggression" abroad. "Republicanism," asserted the *Catholic Weekly Review*, led to "godlessness."[32] Other editors and columnists agreed that divorce, free love, birth control, irreligion, and an "orgie [*sic*] of extravagance" awaited Canadians if they joined the United States.[33] The press also opined that American insistence on the separation of church and state would spell the end of Ontario's partially funded separate school system.[34] For proof of possible American attacks on Catholic rights, some columnists in the *Register* cited American atrocities against Filipino Catholics during the Spanish-American War. One journalist, working under the pseudonym "Teresa," declared that this war was a waste of "the valuable lives of brave men for no other purpose than the gratification of the evil passions that are only too rampant in a certain section of the United States."[35] Thus, the alleged violence and corruption of American society, and its character of "expansion and conquest," strengthened the resolve of the Catholic press to rid itself of notions of annexation.[36]

The print media's disenchantment with the United States mirrored similar movements in the Catholic community. In the 1890s the Catholic Mutual Benefit Association, the largest Catholic fraternal association in Canada,[37] won independence from its American parent after a bitter struggle. The battle against the Americans for a separate beneficiary underscored some of the Canadian Catholic apprehensions of the republic to the south. American CMBA initiatives to cut off funds to Canadian dissenters and to block "foreigners" from Canada from the supreme executive sparked Canadian Grand Secretary O.K. Fraser to comment, "We look for fair play because we are C.M.B.A. men and we are left shivering in the cold because we are Canadians."[38]

31. *IC*, 24 March 1892. Other annexationist suggestions by Boyle were in the issues of 25 October 1888, 10 January 1889, 2 October 1890, 5 February 1891, 10 December 1891, 28 April 1892, and 1 September 1892.
32. *CWR*, 18 May 1889.
33. *CWR*, 25 October 1890; *Record*, 22 December 1900 and 31 December 1904; *Register*, 23 March 1906, 25 January 1917, 8 March 1917, and 27 May 1920.
34. *CWR*, 17 August 1889; *Register*, 4 April 1912.
35. *Register*, 12 May 1898. Teresa continued her attacks on 19 May, 26 May, 23 June, and 30 June 1898.
36. *Register*, 28 July 1898, 10 December 1898, 13 July 1899, 20 July 1899, 24 August 1899, 26 October 1899, 25 May 1902, and 7 May 1903; *Record*, 18 November 1899 and 9 December 1899.
37. The Catholic Mutual Benefit Association or CMBA claimed nearly sixteen thousand members nationwide in 1900. By 1905 there were 19,686 paid members in Canada, of which 10,253 were in Ontario. Toronto claimed seven parish branches of the CMBA in 1900 and eleven by 1915. Given member-per-council ratios, Toronto had at least 425 members at the turn of the century. See *The Canadian* 10 (September 1904) and 11 (December 1905); *Register*, 12 January 1911; Archives of Ontario (AO), Charles J. Foy Papers, Grand Council Meeting, November 1922.
38. *Record*, 16 May 1891.

Separation was complete by 1893. What had begun as a simple statement of financial independence by Canadians, ended in an outpouring of Canadian pride by CMBA members, and a resolve not to be discriminated against because of their Canadian citizenship. Even the Ancient Order of Hibernians, when faced with the pro-German sentiments of its American parent order in 1914, was forced to declare independence.[39]

The Catholic press found its antidote to American values and paternalism in Wilfrid Laurier's prophecy that the twentieth century would belong to Canada. After 1900, features, travelogues, poetry, and hard news increasingly reflected a Catholic infatuation with Canada. The *Register* and *Record* dedicated gallons of ink to such issues as citizenship, national pride, Canadian history, pluralism, national unity, and loyalty to the dominion. Love of God and love of country, according to the Catholic newspapers of the time, were integral to the idea of "Christian patriotism," and the state, it was averred, depended on the "grace and gospel of the Church for its progress."[40] Catholic weeklies informed their Toronto readers that partiotism was possible even if one belonged to a religious minority, and they compared the Irish-Catholic situation to that of recusant Catholics in England or patriotic Catholics in the United States.[41] Editors then directed Catholics to engage themselves in community affairs, politics, and nationbuilding, in the confidence that they were full citizens of Canada and the empire.

Unlike their Protestant neighbours, however, Irish Catholics could not lay claim to the United Empire Loyalist heritage that historically linked Protestantism to unyielding duty to the Crown, Canadian nation-building, and Anglo-Canadian values. Irish Catholics could only look back on the refugees of failed potato crops in the 1840s, or migrants responding to demographic pressure in post-Napoleonic Britain. Lacking Loyalist antecedents, the press and schools tapped into "Catholic" founders of Canada. Poems and stories recalled the bravado and piety of Canada's Catholic pioneers in the "heroic age" of New France, the Macdonells of Glengarry, the Canadian spirit of Thomas D'Arcy McGee, or the Catholics who helped defeat the Fenian invaders.[42] Through the example of early Catholic explorers and missionaries, who themselves were credited with the founding of Toronto, the city's Irish Catholics tied themselves to a tradition of loyalty and faith which could be woven into the fabric of Canadian history.[43]

39. AO, Charles J. Foy Papers, Box 3, File 14, "To the National Board of the Ancient Order of Hibernians in America from the County Board of Carleton County, Ontario," n.d., accepted unanimously; Patrick O'Dowd to Charles Foy, 10 August 1915. The Foy Papers contain motions of separation from nearly every region of Canada. Each branch pledged itself to the cause of the Empire and rejected Irish-American anglophobia.

40. Reprinted from the *New World* in the *Register*, 30 November 1905. Similar claims can be found in *CWR*, 27 August 1892.

41. *Record*, 12 July 1890.

42. Note J.E. Fenn, "Canadian History in Rhyme," exclusive to the *Register*, 7 July 1904. A good overview of the loyalist myth can be found in Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (Toronto, 1970), 128-33 and 140-42.

43. Although there are copious references to these sentiments, some poignant reflections on the Irish themselves are found in *Register*, 11 August 1898, and on the French-Canadian heritage in *Register*, 23 August 1894. Essays and poems on the French-Canadian missionaries, the Macdonell settlers, and the founding of Fort Rouille (Toronto) appeared frequently in the *Catholic Weekly Review*, *Register*, and *Record*.

Historical roots aside, the patriotism expressed by Toronto's Catholic press was undeniably focused on Canada. In 1897, the *Register* printed Father Francis Ryan's declaration that the very nature of a Catholic's religious vocation made him the stuff from which good citizens were moulded: "a bad Catholic can never be a good Canadian, and a good Catholic must always be a good Canadian."[44] On Dominion Day 1901, the *Register* commented that strong Canadian citizenship was both good in itself, and good in its capacity to unify diverse groups in the dominion: "July 1 is the day upon which genuine Canadianism is left unfettered and unencumbered. Leading Orangemen and leading Catholics... joined in the procession with perfect confidence in the spirit of the day and celebration... perhaps in good time we shall come to a full realization of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's aspiration the other day: 'Canada first, Canada last, Canada all the time, nothing but Canada'."[45] Confirmations of Catholic loyalty were replete in quotations from the leading "Irish-Catholic" politicians of the day, in light-hearted poetry and verse, and in editorials. The speeches of Charles Fitzpatrick, Laurier's minister of Justice and Irish-Catholic spokesperson, were frequently reprinted in the *Register* because they best reflected "the patriotic convictions of Catholics," and the hope that "Canadian citizenship [would] produce the best fruit of practical Christian liberty."[46]

Canadian patriotism became a badge of honour worn by the Catholic press in Toronto in the early twentieth century. The hope of editors that divisions in Canada could be consumed in a greater Canadianism was the poignant message in the *Register* on 14 February 1901:

> Canada is a colony now growing to be a fine young lady.... She is no longer an infant and the time has passed when every inhabitant in this land must refer to some old-country centre as his birthplace. The majority of the people of this grand country were born right here; in very many cases their parents are natives of this land too. While none can find fault in a Canadian feeling proud of his English, Irish, Scotch, or French blood, nevertheless we have gotten beyond that stage where we feel this is an adopted home only. The majority of our people are proud to acknowledge Canada as their native land, and while they always shall have a warm spot in their hearts towards the home of their forefathers, nevertheless there can never be the same feeling in that way there was some fifty years ago. Canada is rapidly becoming a land of Canadians; of Canadians who know no other love than that toward their glorious country. It is as it should be.[47]

In one stroke, Patrick Cronin of the *Register* revealed the extent to which the Irish-Catholic descendants had forged an emotional attachment to Canada. More importantly, Cronin's statement looked beyond the loyalty issue to a Catholic perception of the very essence of Canadian citizenship. All "ethnic" groups in Canada were envisioned as forming one unified Canadian body and, as such, religious and racial disharmony

44. *Register*, 13 May 1897.
45. *Register*, 4 July 1901.
46. *Register*, 16 October 1902. Other interesting patriotic editorials and reprints can be found in the *CWR*, 25 June 1887 and 25 October 1890; *Record*, 25 October 1890, 25 March 1899, 6 July 1901, 27 July 1901, 3 May 1902, 22 August 1914, and 10 July 1915; and *Register*, 20 July 1893, 30 July 1896, 5 April 1900, 3 July 1902, 26 March 1903, and 20 July 1911.
47. *Register*, 14 February 1901.

would be quelled. The citizens of the dominion would be Canadians first and nation-builders, a sentiment shared by the *Register* and other Catholic leaders and periodicals.[48] Enkindled by the flames of patriotism, Catholic weeklies became one of the principal advocates of Catholic involvement in community affairs and politics.

It is imperative to realize that this zealous Canadianism, as evidenced in the press, was merely a reflection of a greater social transformation among Toronto's Irish Catholics themselves. The alleged nineteenth-century Irish-Catholic urban enclaves and "ghettos of the mind" did not survive the century. A sense of rootedness in Canada developed as greater numbers of Toronto's Irish Catholics owned their own homes, migrated to more affluent and spacious suburbs, acquired jobs requiring greater literacy and skill, and integrated demographically with the host community of Protestants. By World War I, home-owners in some suburban parishes accounted for between 50 and 80 per cent of the total Catholic household heads in any given parish.[49] In St. Helen's parish alone, the 119 persisting household heads, between 1900 and 1910, augmented their home-ownership rate from 46.2 per cent to 82.4 per cent, thus offering a potent example of the increased wealth and rootedness of the community.[50] Such suburban parishes as St. Helen's, Our Lady of Lourdes, and Holy Name exemplified the new breed of Toronto Catholics who chose to leave the inner city, purchase or build their own homes, and engage themselves more fully in the mainstream of Toronto life.

The occupational diversification of Catholics in Toronto from 1860 to 1920 was also impressive. In 1860, 45 per cent of Catholic males were classified as "unskilled," while at least 70 per cent could be listed as "blue collar."[51] Sixty years later, individual parish studies reveal that unskilled workers constituted roughly 30 per cent of the working household heads in inner city parishes and as low as 16 per cent in some suburban parishes. Even in the poorest of parishes, St. Paul's, the "labourer" classification declined between 1890 and 1920 from 21.7 per cent to 11.5 per cent. Conversely, most parishes witnessed a dramatic rise in white-collar workers, as Catholics acquired greater literacy

48. Helen Kernahan, "Why Canadians Should Love Canada," *St. Joseph's Lilies* 8 (December 1919): 122-24; M.L. Hart, "Things We Might Have," *St. Joseph's Lilies* 1 (September 1912): 10-11; St. Michael's College Rare Book Room, Dean W.R. Harris, "Our Own Land," speech to Old Boys' meeting in Beamsville, Ontario, 3 September 1900; NA, Charles Murphy Papers, "Speech," n.d., p. 21716; *Record*, 29 October 1898, 25 March 1899, and 22 August 1914; *Register*, 16 October 1902, 26 March 1903, 13 February 1908, 9 October 1919, and 1 December 1921.

49. See Appendix C. The link between home-ownership and rootedness is discussed in Michael Katz, *The People of Hamilton, Canada West* (Cambridge, 1975), 140-41.

50. Based on the author's linkage of the assessment rolls of 1901 and 1911 for St. Helen's parish in West Toronto; McGowan, "We Are All Canadians," 496-97.

51. ARCAT, Holograph Collection, Father Jean Jamot, "Census of City Wards," c. 1860. My thanks to Brian Clarke for access to his calculations for this census.

and new generations accepted clerical positions.[52] This growth of a Catholic clerical class and decline in blue-collar occupations requiring less skill indicates, at an aggregate level, better Catholic dispersal across class lines, and a liberation from the traditional Irish-Catholic stereotype of "unskilled" navvies.[53] In addition, Catholics secured employment in the police and fire departments, at one time two stereotypically "Protestant" bastions in the city.[54] Such wide occupational diversification was openly encouraged by the hierarchy and the press. Archbishop Neil McNeil (1912-34), a former blacksmith, offered his support to local trade unions, while urging Catholics to seek better jobs and higher education. Similarly, the *Register* advocated hard work, education, and occupational mobility as the means to successful citizenship. By 1908, it could boast that "the day... when a Catholic would be rejected on account of his religion is rapidly passing, even in Toronto, and our young men and women are given places of trust wherever honesty and capability are recognized."[55]

The clergy and the increasingly literate, Canadian-born, and suburbanized Catholics of Irish descent together were the principal agents of change in the entire Catholic community. Given the greater degree of Catholic rootedness and occupational diversification in Toronto, it is not surprising that a greater number of younger Catholics married non-Catholics. By 1920 nearly one third of all solemnized marriages in Toronto were interfaith.[56] When Archbishop Denis O'Connor (1899-1908) attempted to stem the tide of Catholic-Protestant "mixing," the Catholic laity defied him by marrying outside of the church, and several parish priests sponsored appeals to the Apostolic Delegate for the mixed-marriage dispensations that O'Connor steadfastly refused to grant. Many priests realized that, although interfaith marriages were undesireable, they were a growing fact of life in a pluralistic society and had to be tolerated lest a whole generation of Canadian Catholics chose their non-Catholic lovers over the church.[57] New generations of Catholics made other choices confirming their Canadian orientation. They joined new Catholic associations such as the Knights of Columbus and Catholic Women's League, both of which formalized Irish-Catholic loyalty to Canada through public "flag waving," visible support to social services and military events, and the formal inclusion

52. See Appendix C. For the purposes of this study, five sample parishes were selected based on wealth, size, location, prestige, and age: St. Paul's (inner city, fd. 1822); St. Mary's (inner city, fd. 1852); Our Lady of Lourdes (midtown-suburbs, fd. 1886); St. Helen's (suburbs, fd. 1875); and Holy Name (suburbs, fd. 1914). Manuscript censuses from 1901-21 were not available; therefore, all calculations are aggregate figures based on City of Toronto Archives (CTA), Assessment Rolls, 1891, 1901, 1911, and 1921.

53. Ibid.

54. CTA, *Annual Reports of the Chief Constable* (Toronto, 1907, 1911, and 1924); Assessment Rolls, Ward 2, Division 3, 1901, 1911, and 1921 document the case of TFD Captain James C. Hurst.

55. *Register*, 28 February 1908; see also 18 October 1900, 16 February 1905, and 27 July 1911.

56. See Mark G. McGowan, "The Catholic Restoration: Pope Pius X, Archbishop Denis O'Connor, and Popular Catholicism in Toronto 1899-1908," Canadian Catholic Historical Association, *Historical Studies* 54 (1987): Appendix C.

57. Ibid.; see also Secret Vatican Archives (Rome), Apostolic Delegate's Correspondence, Box 89, file 89.20, J.R. Teefy to Donatus Sbarretti, 20 August 1906. Reports submitted to Rome indicate that at least 188 mixed marriages were contracted at Toronto City Hall in 1901-02.

of Canadian patriotism as a pillar of each association.[58] Similarly, this patriotic reorientation of Catholic adults was underscored by a lusty Canadianizing influence displayed in separate school textbooks, poetry, compositions, and extracurricular activities of Catholic students.[59] Throughout, Catholics assumed that being fully Canadian in no way compromised their Catholic faith. Given the greater social integration of the city's Catholics, the Canadianization of the Catholic press is understandable.

The Irish Catholic's maturing love affair with Canada prompted a media reappraisal of their relationship as Canadians to the British Crown and the empire. In the nineteenth century, Toronto's Irish Catholics and their newspapers had been coldly indifferent to the British Crown, given the events in British-occupied Ireland. In 1887, on the occasion of Queen Victoria's golden jubilee, Toronto's Archbishop John J. Lynch absented himself from celebrations, several Irish nationalists on the separate school board boycotted the jubilee parade, and in like fashion, D.A. Sullivan wrote in the *Catholic Weekly Review* that he saw little reason to rejoice "the continued existence of one particular person" other than to render "Caesar" his due.[60] Gradually, however, Catholic newspapers began to distinguish between the Crown, as head of state, and the machinations of British politicians at Westminster, who were blamed for the Irish question, among other things. In 1892, the *Review* set aside its former hostility when it asserted that "the Queen is not English, not even British. It is well she is blessed with subjects who didn't care what she is, so long as she is the lawful Queen. The Boyne and her crown are thereby kept at a safe distance."[61] This distinction between imperial head of state and domestic British politicos having been made, the Catholic press hailed Victoria's diamond jubilee in 1897. The *Register* called for all Canadians to "unite cordially" in a "display of loyalty to the Queen," while the *Record* thanked God for the blessings received under the reign of Victoria and especially the "civil and religious liberty" enjoyed by Catholics "under the British flag."[62] Similarly, the death of the Queen in 1901 brought forth heartfelt sorrow from Catholic editors and the clergy, one of whom referred to Victoria as "our deceased mother."[63]

The Irish-Catholic expression of attachment to the Crown deepened during the reigns of Edward VII and George V. The latter was praised for his attempts to amend the "anti-Catholic" coronation oath, while the former was lauded for his religious tolerance,

58. *Register*, 5 September 1919; I.J.E. Daniel and D.A. Casey, *For God and Country: A History of the Knights of Columbus Army Huts* (Toronto, 1922), 13.

59. *Register*, 15 November 1894, 4 July 1895, 16 January 1902, 12 February 1903, 17 November 1910, 27 April 1911, and 19 June 1913. *Separate School Chronicle* 1 (June 1919): 11. The *Canadian Catholic Readers* contained an abundance of Canadian poems, historical vignettes, and stories. Public-school history, geography, and reading texts, which were also used in the schools, also reflected many Canadian and imperial themes.

60. *CWR*, 9 July 1887 and 4 June 1887; ARCAT, Lynch Papers, Lynch to Cardinal Taschereau, 26 April 1887 (copy); Letterbook 5, Lynch to Bishop John Walsh of London, 15 June 1888; Letterbook 4, "Pastoral Letter to all Catholics in Toronto," 18 February 1888.

61. *CWR*, 4 June 1892.

62. *Record*, 3 July 1897 and *Register*, 3 June 1897.

63. *Record*, 2 February 1901; *Register*, 24 January 1901. Even Patrick Boyle had changed his mind about the Crown; see *IC*, 31 January 1901.

his warm friendship with Franz-Josef, the Catholic emperor of Austria, his pursuit of justice for Ireland, and his own wish to purge the antitransubstantiation clause from the accession oath. Moreover, Edward became the darling of the Catholic press in Toronto when he approved his niece Ena's conversion to Catholicism, a precondition of her marriage to King Alphonso of Spain.[64] By building up the personalities of the monarchs themselves, and outlining their independence from cabinet decisions in the British House of Commons, the Catholic press made it possible for Catholics of Irish descent to proclaim the monarch as the Canadian monarch, without tying the Crown too closely to events in Ireland. What resulted was not necessarily the "veneration" of the Crown, akin to Anglo-Protestant Canadian Imperialists of the day, but an incorporation of the role of the monarch into the English-speaking Catholic view of Canada. At the same time, making such distinctions about the Crown contributed to the ongoing imperial debate among Catholics, and perhaps cast new light on the Canadian participation in the imperial family.

By the turn the century the Catholic press in Toronto was the most visible example of modified imperial sentiment emanating from the Irish dominated Catholic community. In 1900, the *Register* declared American annexationist sentiment to be dead, and instead proclaimed that "[the] British connection of the closest and warmest character, involving an active participation in the great and most important affairs of Empire, is the predominant wish of the Canadian people as a whole. Not to acknowledge this fact is to deliberately close one's eyes and walk in the ways that are not this country's ways."[65] While the *Register* was prepared to "walk" in the country's ways, it was apprehensive of being caught in the brambles of jingoism and militarism that it heavily identified with the ultra-Protestant "Orange" Imperialist lobby, which it regarded as inimical to the interests of the Catholic church.[66] Similarly, the *Record* warned "jingoists" that Catholics would rally to the defence of the Empire in the time of an emergency, thus proving that "loyalty is better proved by acts than by words."[67]

The Boer War proved to test the resolve of the Catholic press' warming to the Empire. At first the *Register* had criticized Laurier's raising of Canadian volunteers without the consent of Parliament. The *Register* claimed that this and the engagement of war by British Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain, also without the consent of Parliament, were an affront to responsible government. Patrick Cronin argued that, if the Canadian Parliament was deprived of its exclusive jurisdiction in domestic affairs, then "Mr. Chamberlain is the only ruler in Canada. The Canadian people don't count, and don't seem to wish to count."[68] Cronin was also disturbed by the Imperialist's jingoistic ebullitions against the Transvaal, and suggested that perhaps peace could be negotiated without military intervention against the Boer republics. In this spirit, Cronin lambasted Imperialist Sam Hughes as "the cheapest talker in Canada... [who] could

64. *Record*, 17 August 1901, 11 July 1903, and 17 September 1904; *Register*, 12 May 1910.
65. *Register*, 22 March 1900.
66. *Register*, 6 September 1900; *Record*, 9 April 1898 and 22 April 1899.
67. *Record*, 9 April 1898.
68. *Register*, 26 October 1899, 19 October 1899, and 28 December 1899.

never get a corporal's guard to follow him across a potato patch."[69] The *Register's* apparent antiwar stance embarrassingly conflicted with the prowar enthusiasm of Father Francis Ryan, rector of the cathedral in Toronto and federal Justice minister Charles Fitzpatrick, who visited Toronto and declared the war to be "an honour to this country."[70] Even the *Record*, tied as it was to Laurier and his policies, supported the voluntary force and even defended the draconian measures taken by British troops against Boer property.[71]

As the war dragged on, however, the *Register* retreated from its earlier position and formally endorsed the war effort, as its rival newspaper had done. The first signs of the *Register*'s retreat came in November 1899, when it published a poem hailing the victory of Irish troops over the Boers at Majuba Hill. Later, in December, the paper touted Fathers O'Leary and Matthew, chaplains in the volunteer force, as splendid examples of Canadian Catholic loyalty to the imperial cause.[72] In similar terms, the *Register* praised the efforts of two Catholic officers from Toronto, in addition to highlighting the names of Canadian Catholics wounded in action.[73] The paper also reassured readers and critics that its opposition to the war had solely been based on the circumvention of Parliament by Laurier and Chamberlain, and this was not to be interpreted as disloyalty.[74] Part of the *Register*'s editorial thrust was the war's impact at home, especially the growing schism between francophones and anglophones over Canada's participation. Recognizing that the social fabric of the nation might been torn to shreds, the *Register* criticized both French- and English-Canadians who refused to set their national prejudices aside and be Canadians first.[75]

At the end of hostilities in South Africa, Toronto's Catholic press continued to address the issue of imperial defence. Editors rejected Imperial Federation as a "surrender" of Canadian autonomy and reiterated the sole right of the Canadian Parliament to decide the nature and extent of Canada's military commitments. Neither paper rejected military participation, but both advocated Canadian control. In 1902, the *Register* warned Laurier to send delegates to the imperial conference "who are loyal to Canada and her responsible government, who will not turn the hands of the clock back under the 'loyal' pretext that Greenwich time is good enough for the colonies."[76] That same year, the *Register* and the *Record* praised Wilfrid Laurier for his defence of Canadian domestic autonomy during his visit to England. The *Register* added that

69. *Register*, 20 July 1899, 3 August 1899, 17 August 1899, 24 August 1899, 31 August 1899, and 5 October 1899.
70. *Register*, 10 November 1899.
71. *Record*, 18 November 1899, 25 November 1899, 16 December 1899, 24 March 1900, 29 September 1900, and 9 February 1901.
72. *Register*, 14 December 1899, 2 November 1899, and 1 December 1899.
73. *Register*, 3 January 1901 mentions the names of Captains Mason and Macdonell, the latter presumably Archibald Hayes Macdonell of St. Helen's parish in Toronto. The paper added stories of Canadian units, troop movements, and Catholic heroism to its weekly reports of the war; see the issues for 15 November 1900, 20 December 1900, and 3 October 1901.
74. *Register*, 28 December 1899.
75. *Register*, 21 December 1899.
76. *Register*, 6 November 1902.

Canada was a "most important factor in the Empire," but she had to be careful that her independence was not swallowed by the "vortex of imperialism" in its militaristic form.[77] It was not surprising then that the *Register* applauded Laurier's firing of Lord Dundonald, the "imperialist" general of the militia, who had tried to put Canada on a "war footing" with the United States.[78]

In 1903, the *Register* published a series of six editorials that laid out its position on imperialism most unequivocally. The paper regarded the imperialistic overtures of British Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain with extreme caution. It rejected any changes in the structure of the Empire that would lessen the autonomy of the colonies, and in particular, their control over their own domestic affairs. The *Register* also rejected the extension of low British tariffs on colonial exports if it meant the surrender of colonial power. The *Register* argued that the British officials themselves knew that "the new [trade] policy was intended to modify the liberties of the self-governing colonies."[79] Chamberlain's advances for imperial unity were seriously questioned after Britain appeared to sacrifice Canadian interests in the Alaska boundary dispute. Patrick Cronin voiced sympathy with Laurier's desire for separate Canadian treaty-making powers, and referred to the status of the dominions as "silent ready sacrifices upon the exigency of the hour to the diplomacy of England."[80] The *Register*'s own imperial vision was then clarified: Canada and Australia should "undertake the exercise of perfectly autonomous powers," and negotiate a bond of interdependence with Britain. In this light, the *Register* urged all citizens who valued "liberty and self-government" to stand up against Chamberlain's "new imperialism" and support a great Empire of autonomous partners under one crown.

The theory of imperial "interdependence," of Canadian autonomy within the context of the British Empire, was not unique to the *Register*. With the exception of a few Catholic extremists on either side of the imperialism-nationalism debate, this middle policy appeared to be the most attractive to English-speaking Catholics in Ontario after 1900. Father James Foley, editor of the *Record* prior to the Great War, wrote a series of letters on the naval question to Charles Murphy, a Catholic member of Parliament for Russell, in which he defended "sound Canadianism" as "the only sound imperialism": "it appears to many a sturdy and disgusted Canadian that the two parties are wrangling over which naval policy is best for the Empire. Is it treason to be a Canadian? I think you find that downright Canadianism is neither treason nor bad politics. 'A nation within the Empire' is Imperialism enough for most of us who don't relish the tendency to eliminate the first term of the motto."[81] According to Foley, what Catholics wanted was "A nation (but a *nation*) within the Empire." Murphy thought so much of these comments that he wrote to Laurier, informing him that Foley probably spoke for the majority of the

77. *Register*, 21 August 1902; *Record*, 26 July 1902 and 12 October 1902.
78. *Register*, 9 June 1904.
79. *Register*, 15 October 1903, 22 October 1903, 12 November 1903, and 19 November 1903.
80. *Register*, 29 October 1903 and 22 October 1903.
81. NA, Charles Murphy Papers, Vol. 10, Father James T. Foley to Murphy, 25 March 1913, 4134-35; see also Foley to Murphy, 13 June 1913, 4137-44; Foley to Murphy, "Liberal Circular No.8," no date, 4145-49; and Foley to Murphy, 17 December 1913, 4158-61.

Catholics in Ontario, and adding that a Liberal platform based on "Canadianism" might guarantee the party election in at least thirteen Ontario constituencies where the proportion of English-speaking Catholic vote was high.[82]

This "moderate imperialism" was a shared concern of both the *Record* and the *Register* throughout most of the first decade of this century. In fact, until 1908 there were few substantive differences in the papers except for the *Register*'s accent on local Toronto news and the *Record*'s suppression of regional news in the hope of building a wider audience. Politically, the *Record* had traditionally been Liberal and the *Register* supported both major parties at one time or another, but neither placed politics higher than loyalty to the church. In 1908, however, the *Register* was purchased by the Catholic Church Extension Society and placed under the editorial direction of Monsignor Alfred E. Burke, a confirmed imperial-nationalist.[83] Under Burke, the *Register* retained its moderate imperialism, but added to it a more pronounced appreciation of the benefits of British civilization and a greater sympathy to the Conservative party.[84] Thus, by 1910, the Catholic weeklies offered their constituents two variants of the same "moderate imperialist" theme.

The new leadership at the *Register* also added a "missionary" dimension to moderate Catholic imperialism. As the official organ of the Catholic Church Extension Society, the *Register* fostered a Catholic home mission movement, directed primarily at the preservation of the faith among southern- and eastern-European immigrants across Canada. The *Register*'s sense of mission, however, was as much secular as it was spiritual; while Burke and his colleagues promoted Catholic mission centres and endeavoured to build churches and schools on the Prairies, they openly advocated the extension of the English language and British civilization to "new" Catholic immigrants. French-Canadian Catholics became alarmed at the indifference of the *Register* to the Gallic wing of the church and incensed by the overt anglicization programmes fostered by Church Extension.[85] In 1909, Burke revealed the double-edged sword of the home missions when he editorialized that Canada "should" be Catholic because

> the Catholic Church alone can make it what God seems to have intended... to be the home of a great race destined to achieve the highest ideals of religion and civicism... the

82. Ibid., Vol. 16, Murphy to Wilfrid Laurier, 21 June 1913, pp. 6508-09 (copy).

83. *The Canadian* 10 (December 1904): 5; *St. Joseph's Lilies* 1 (December 1912): 12-13; and Francis C. Kelley, *The Bishop Jots it Down* (New York, 1939), 149.

84. Burke's active Conservatism is confirmed in NA, Sir Charles Tupper Papers, microfilm reel C-3206, A.E. Burke to Tupper, 8 January 1896 and Burke to Tupper, 12 November 1900. Other information regarding the political allegiance of the Catholic weeklies can be found in NA, Wilfrid Laurier Papers, microfilm reel 815, Charles Fitzpatrick to Laurier, 7 September 1904, 89419; and reel 760, Thomas Coffey, proprietor of the *Record*, to Fitzpatrick, 5 October 1898, 27056-7; reel 779, Walter Boland to Laurier, 24 September 1900, 49477. *Record* 3 May 1890, 18 October 1902, and 21 March 1903.

85. ARCAT, Neil McNeil Papers, Bishop P.T. Ryan to McNeil, 26 February 1913; Archives of the Archidiocese of St. Boniface, Adélard Langevin Papers, Langevin to Arthur Beliveau, 20 September 1909, pp. 34286-91; Canadian Church Extension Society (CCES) Office, Minute Book, 19 November 1910.

> other day we heard with amazed satisfaction, a great British Imperialist say: "I admire the Catholic Church in this grand Canadian member of the Empire. I hope for everything from it in the development of an ideal race and government. I would be delighted to see Canada Catholic and a model member of the Empire." And may it be so.[86]

Burke's vision, albeit more anglophile than Foley's at the *Record*, added extra verve to the "moderate imperialism" of Irish Catholics, while merging their religious mission to Catholicize anglophone Canada with the common mission of Anglo-Canadians — to create a strong Canada, steeped in loyalty to British civilization, the English language, and the Crown. Bouyed by Archbishop Bourne of Westminster's dream of English-speaking leadership in the Canadian Catholic church, the Extension Society, Burke, and the *Register* held tight to the idea that "religious duties and patiotic endeavours" would not work at cross purposes. Although Burke had his detractors, he managed to recruit six hundred members for the Extension's Women's Auxiliary in Toronto and quintupled the *Register's* circulation by 1913.[87]

The Catholic press' vision of Canada and the Empire was not isolated from activities in Toronto's Catholic community. Fed on a diet of patriotism and imperialism in the *Canadian Catholic Readers* and the 1910 *Ontario Public School Readers*, separate-school children enthusiastically participated in Empire Day and drilled in several cadet corps after school hours.[88] Although blind militarism was rejected by Catholics in favour of Canadian control of defence commitments, Irish-Catholic men did not shun participation in the regular army or militia units. At least 9 per cent of the volunteers raised for the Boer War were English-speaking Catholics, most of whom enlisted in Ontario or Nova Scotia.[89] Similarly, during World War I, Catholic voluntary

86. *Register*, 18 February 1909.

87. Paid circulation increased from roughly three thousand to seventeen thousand from 1908 to 1911. CCES Office, Minute Book, 2 April 1913. The linking of patriotism and religion can be found in the *Register*, 30 July 1908, 12 November 1908, 18 February 1909, 13 April 1911, and 24 June 1915; and George Daly, cssr, *Catholic Problems in Western Canada* (Toronto 1921), 85. See also NA, Charles Murphy Papers, Vol. 4, file 17, "Address by the Archbishop of Westminster, Montreal, September 10, 1910."

88. Metropolitan Toronto Separate School Board Archives (MSSBA), Board Minutes, 6 May 1912, 29 August 1919, 30 March 1920, 3 May 1921, and 7 March 1922. *Register*, 12 April 1900; *Globe* (Toronto), 24 May 1899.

89. *Register*, 10 May 1900. Carman Miller, "A Preliminary Analysis of the Socio-economic Composition of Canada's South African Contingents," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 8 (November 1975): 223-25. Miller points out that 12.2 per cent of the volunteers were Catholic, and at least 3 per cent were French Canadian. Assuming that the overwhelming majority of the latter were Roman Catholic, this leaves one with a rough estimate of 9 per cent for English-speaking Catholics. Accurate statistics on the proportion of English-speaking Catholics are not available, although estimates from the CEF Chaplaincy Corps, based on the 1911 census, hypothesized that a figure of 10 per cent was fairly representative of the English-speaking Catholic population in Canada. On these grounds, it may be fair to conjecture that English-speaking Catholic participation in the Boer conflict was sufficient, given their place in the Canadian population. NA, Militia and Defence Records, RG 9 III, Vol. 4636, C-0-3, memorandum from J.J. O'Gorman to the Joint Meeting of the Bishops and Archbishops of Canada, 4 October 1917.

associations chose to rally to the defence of the Empire. The Catholic Mutual Benefit Association not only encouraged recruiting but allowed their members to volunteer for duty without cancelling or suspending their CMBA life insurance policies. The Knights of Columbus formed rifle clubs, sponsored recruiting drives, and by 1918 launched a fund-raising programme for recreation halls for troops in Europe.[90] A random sample of 243 Catholic volunteers from Toronto in the Canadian Expeditionary Force reveals that at least one third of recruits had previous militia or military experience. In this light, perhaps Irish Catholics should be included in future discussions of the "Upper Canadian" militia tradition.[91]

At the eruption of war in 1914, the press' articulation of the "Imperial idea" had captured the mood of a new generation of Toronto's Catholics. Utilizing the pages of the *Register*, Archbishop Neil McNeil exclaimed: "You do not need to be reminded of the duty of patriotism. You are as ready as any to defend your country and share in the burdens of Empire."[92] Echoing the sentiments of the prelate, the *Register* and the *Record* advanced Canada as an integral part of the Empire and, as such, duty-bound to raise a volunteer army to fight the German threat to British civilization. For Burke it was another chance to enunciate Catholic loyalty:

> It will prove for us beyond peradventure that we as Canadians are Britishers to the core and that Britain's troubles are our troubles, Britain's shield our safety. We must sacrifice something for this protection.... Our part is to give generously what is our honest toll, whether it be for the army and the navy... what we need is to finish the work effectually — so effectually that "Pax Britannica" may rejoice the world for another half century. The God of Armies is great and wonderful in His dispensations.[93]

Stirred by the words of editors and clergy, and, in some cases, the search for employment and adventure, at least 3,500 Catholic men from Toronto volunteered for overseas service. Priests spoke at recruiting rallies, some churches were converted to barracks, and nursing sisters were enlisted from St. Michael's Hospital. Even nuns and Catholic school children sang the hymns of Empire to departing troops and later wrote verses in tribute of their fallen heroes.[94] Irish Catholics in the city, in conjunction with their press, had come to identify this war as a test to their growing self-identification as Canadians.

St. Patrick's Day 1917 was a time of mourning for one elder Irish-Catholic commentator. "The Gleaner," a regular contributor to the *Record*, lamented that, having observed the Catholic households of Ontario, he could find "no evidence of the nationality of the family." He sensed that the Irishness and old-time Catholicism he had

90. *Register*, 8 October 1914, 31 December 1914, 6 September 1917, 30 June 1917, July 1917, and 19 September 1918; Daniel and Casey, *For God and Country*, Chap. 6; for the activities of the CMBA, consult *The Canadian* 24 (March, June, and December 1918).

91. National Personnel Records Centre, Selected Servicemen's Files; NA, Militia and Defence Records, RG 9 III, Vol. 4220, "75th Infantry Battalion, Register of Recruits." McGowan, "We are all Canadians," 533.

92. *Register*, 20 August 1914.

93. *Register*, 10 September 1914 and 20 October 1914; *Record*, 15 August 1915 and 22 August 1914.

94. McGowan, "We are all Canadians," Chap. 7 and appendices EE to OO.

once known had been lost by a new generation of Catholics who had abandoned Irish traditions, mingled with Protestant neighbours, and, in some cases, left the church entirely.[95] The war raged in Europe, prices soared at home, and the young men and women questioned by staff of the *Register* showed little interest in the "Irish troubles," thus confirming the "Gleaner's" worst fears.[96] The Irish-Catholic community had undergone significant changes and, by the time of the Gleaner's lament, the full effect of de-greening had been felt. Ties to the old "motherland" were now tenuous among generations of Irish Canadians who had never seen Ireland. The Catholic church insulated, not isolated, its flock from Protestant Toronto, as social service cooperation, joint efforts for the war, integrated neighbourhoods, and a high level of mixed marriage stimulated new dialogue between Christian denominations in the city. While a sense of Irishness was dusted off for the feast of the patron saint, or was sometimes rekindled by the resuscitation of old stereotypes in the barroom or public press, a new "English-speaking" Catholic identity was being created, one intimately tied to Catholic roots in Canada and Anglo-Canadian values.

The Catholic weekly press in Toronto helped to refine and frame the ideological dimensions of this social change. In the process they rejected the garrison mentality of French-Canadian nationalist Catholicism as well as their own raucous Irish nationalism of an earlier generation. On the other hand, Irish Catholics did not fall into the arms of Anglo-Canadian imperialists, whose ultra-Protestantism in some cases was deemed a menace to Catholicism. Nevertheless, the opportunity of being a part of "a vaster Empire than has been" was too tempting to ignore. In the twilight years of Victorian Toronto, the press expressed a sincere love of Canada and the sheer delight of being citizens of what they considered the jewel of the Empire. Similarly, the press made the sharp distinction between the Crown and British policy, finding the former to be independent and transcendant of the latter. Their view of the Empire was more tempered than that of Canadian imperial-nationalists in two important aspects: subsidiarity — the right of Canadians to decide the extent of her participation in imperial affairs — and collegiality — that the Empire could function as a partnership of co-equals, without loss of local autonomy. This "Canada, a nation in an Empire" philosophy sustained Irish-Catholic pride in being a Canadian citizen foremost, as well as being a member of the world's greatest Empire. By 1921-22, the Irish-Catholic descendants of Toronto, through their press, viewed the Anglo-Irish treaty as offering the Irish the same status as Canada, in short, the best of both worlds.

It is somewhat ironic that, fifty years after Thomas D'Arcy McGee's death, the Irish-Catholic community in Toronto adapted and contextualized his "new nationality." Maligned by his contemporaries for turning his back on Ireland, McGee's vision was vindicated by the next two generations of Irish Catholic Canadians in Toronto. The creation of a self-reliant Canada, retention of the British tie, rejection of American hegemony, and McGee's own romantic visions of Canadian nation-building were reformulated in Toronto's Catholic press. Unlike McGee, however, the Catholic

95. *Record*, 17 March 1917.

96. ARCAT, Catholic Truth Society Papers, "Results from an Inquiry Among Readers," c. 1919.

weeklies were not "moving along the road too rapidly" for their followers.[97] Intimate with their constituency, they articulated the social transformation of the Irish Catholics of Toronto and the growing pains of a people becoming Canadian.

Appendix A
Circulation of Catholic Papers in Selected Toronto Parishes

Year	Parish	Subscriptions	% of Parish Population[1]
1916	St. Vincent	316	26.7
1918	Holy Family	114	6.8
	Holy Name	65	4.3
	St. Cecilia	210	8.7
	St. Joseph	250	13.1
	St. Leo	50	9.5
	St. Monica	56	12.2
1921	St. Cecilia	185	5.7
1922	Lourdes	250	11.9
	St. Brigid	200	15.4
	St. Joseph	250	13.0
	St. Michael	310	12.9

NOTE

1. This figure indicates the percentage of the parish population that corresponded to the number of subscriptions per parish. Given that Catholic households averaged between 4.5 and 5.2 persons, one can assume that the paper could have actually been read by at least two to four family members. Consequently, the percentages indicated here represent only the bare minimum of the regular Catholic readership in the city.

Source: Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto, Parish Spiritual and Financial Statistics, 1916-22.

97. William Baker, "Turning the Spit: Timothy Anglin and the Roasting of D'Arcy McGee," in *The Untold Story: The Irish in Canada*, eds. Robert O'Driscoll and Lorna Reynolds (Toronto, 1988), 1:496.

Appendix B
Advertisements in Toronto's Catholic Newspapers

Advertisement	*Irish Canadian*[1]	*Catholic Weekly Review*[2]	*Catholic Register*[3]
Clothing/Tailors	10.0%	7.2%	1.2%
Education	1.3%	0.0%	0.0%
Entertainment	1.3%	0.0%	0.0%
Food/Household	5.9%	4.9%	6.1%
General Merchandise	17.2%	2.6%	13.4%
Government	1.0%	3.2%	2.5%
Hotels	3.3%	0.0%	0.0%
Insurance	6.2%	0.0%	6.1%
Lotteries	0.0%	3.7%	0.0%
Patent Medicines	20.8%	19.8%	24.4%
Printing/Books	3.9%	10.0%	1.2%
Professional	12.6%	14.0%	23.2%
Religious Items	1.3%	11.5%	4.9%
Services	1.8%	0.0%	2.4%
Shipping	0.8%	4.9%	1.2%
Spirits/Tobacco	5.6%	0.0%	7.3%
Other	7.0%	13.3%	2.4%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

NOTES

1. Aggregate figures based on five samples: 26 January 1888, 26 April 1888, 13 January 1889, 28 February 1892, and 13 August 1892.

2. Aggregate figures based on seven samples: 17 May 1890, 14 June 1890, 12 July 1890, 16 August 1890, 18 October 1890, and 13 December 1890.

3. Calculations based on first issue of paper, 5 January 1893.

Source: *Catholic Weekly Review*, 1890; *Irish Canadian*, 1888-92; *Catholic Register*, 1893.

Appendix C
Homeownership in Selected Parishes

St. Helen's Parish (suburban)

Particular	1890	%	1900	%	1910	%	1920	%
Household Head	316		532		571		686	
Homeowners	97	30.7	152	28.6	303	53.1	331	48.3
Householders	200	63.3	380	71.4	268	46.9	355	51.7
Tenants	19	6.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total Persons	1506		2683		2933		3590	
Ave. Household	4.7		5.2		5.2		5.4	

Our Lady of Lourdes Parish (midtown)

Particular	1890	%	1900	%	1910%		1920	%
Household Head	104		165		242		372	
Homeowners	38	36.5	49	29.7	95	39.6	142	38.2
Householders	66	63.5	116	70.3	147	60.4	230	61.8
Total Persons	495		788		1275		1868	
Ave. Household	5.1		4.9		5.4		5.1	

Holy Name Parish (suburban)

Particular	1910	%	1920	%
Household Head	74		364	
Homeowners	46	62.2	255	70.1
Householders	28	37.8	109	29.9
Total Persons	327		1760	
Ave. Household	4.4		4.9	

St. Paul's Parish (inner city)

Particular	1890	%	1900	%	1910%		1920	%
Household Head	941		947		1024		894	
Anglo-Celts	908	96.5	890	94.0	876	85.5	733	82.0
Homeowners	192	21.1	185	20.8	202	23.1	168	22.9
Householders	716	78.9	705	79.2	674	76.9	565	77.1

St. Mary's Parish (inner city)

Particular	1890	%	1900	%	1910	%	1920	%
Household Head*	1054		1148		702		523	
Homeowners	269	25.5	304	26.5	199	28.4	125	23.9
Householders	785	74.5	844	73.5	503	71.6	398	76.1
Total Persons	5063		5675		3893		2803	
Ave. Household	4.8		4.9		5.5		5.4	

* Only Anglo-Celtic surnames are included here. In 1890 1,054 of 1,137 (97.3 per cent) of household heads in the parish had Anglo-Celtic surnames, compared to only 523 of 813 (64.3 per cent) in 1920.

Source: City of Toronto Archives, Assessment Rolls, 1891, 1901, 1911, and 1921.

Suburban Parish Social Statistics

St. Helen's Parish

Particular	1890	%	1910	%	1920	%
Professional	4	1.3	6	1.0	10	1.5
Private	10	3.2	0	0.0	4	0.6
Widow/Spinster	17	5.4	50	8.8	83	12.1
Business	31	9.8	67	11.7	77	11.2
Clerical	20	6.3	108	18.9	133	19.4
Skilled	43	13.6	83	14.5	97	14.1
Semiskilled	64	20.2	106	18.6	139	20.3
Unskilled	115	36.4	143	25.1	103	15.0
No data	12	3.8	8	1.4	40	5.8
Total	316	100.0	571	100.0	686	100.0
"Labourers"	76	24.1	48	8.4	54	7.9
Blue-Collar Total	222	70.2	332	58.2	339	49.4

Our Lady of Lourdes Parish

Particular	1890	%	1910	%	1920	%
Professional	8	7.7	9	3.7	24	6.5
Private	5	4.8	0	0.0	2	0.5
Widow/Spinster	13	12.5	57	23.6	86	23.1
Business	13	12.5	31	12.8	43	11.5
Clerical	26	25.0	53	21.9	75	20.2
Skilled	10	9.6	22	9.1	32	8.6
Semiskilled	7	6.7	30	12.4	35	9.4
Unskilled	16	15.4	29	12.0	55	14.8
No data	6	5.8	11	4.5	20	5.4
Total	104	100.0	242	100.0	372	100.0
"Labourers"	4	3.8	9	3.7	16	4.3
Blue-Collar Total	33	31.7	81	33.5	122	32.8

Holy Name Parish

Particular	1890	%	1910	%	1920	%
Professional			0	0.0	6	1.7
Private			0	0.0	1	0.3
Widow/Spinster			4	5.4	35	9.6
Business			6	8.1	39	10.7
Clerical			14	18.9	101	27.8
Skilled			7	9.5	48	13.2
Semiskilled			19	25.7	66	18.1
Unskilled			23	31.1	58	15.9
No data			1	1.3	10	2.7
Total			74	100.0	364	100.0
"Labourers"			10	13.5	15	4.1
Blue-Collar Total			49	66.3	172	47.2

Source: City of Toronto Archives, Assessment Rolls, 1891, 1911, and 1921.