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[Aller au sommaire du numéro](#)

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Résumé de l'article

Cette étude examine les initiatives privées et les stratégies de surveillance mises de l'avant par l'archevêché catholique de Toronto, afin d'empêcher, entre autres, la pénétration du communisme dans ses rangs. Des informateurs et des «espions» catholiques tenaient l'Église au courant des activités communistes auprès des communautés ethniques, des organisations religieuses et du monde universitaire. Une importante campagne d'éducation et de moralisation fut lancée par l'Église afin de créer un rempart contre l'influence des «rouges.» Ces actions mettent en lumière le rôle historique des associations volontaires dans la protection de l'ordre public et le maintien de la sécurité nationale. La gestion de l'ordre public est redéfinie ici comme un phénomène pouvant s'exercer en dehors du champ exclusif de l'État. Cette analyse veut élargir les concepts de sécurité nationale et d'ordre public en examinant l'interaction entre le privé et le public.

Private Policing and Surveillance of Catholics: Anti-communism in the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto, 1920-1960

Paula Maurutto

"THE HOLY SEE is terribly afraid of Communism, the centre of which, in Canada, is Toronto," wrote Toronto's Roman Catholic Archbishop James McGuigan in 1937 upon returning from the Vatican.¹ "It is unfortunately making progress here and I would not be at all surprised if, within a few years, we have a real persecution similar to that in Spain." While an exaggerated claim, such beliefs framed the perceptions of many English-speaking Catholics in the city.² Threatened by what appeared as a profusion of socialist organizing,³ the Archdiocese of Toronto had by the 1930s developed an extensive infrastructure to seek out, regulate and prevent the spread of communism.⁴ As the Toronto Red Squad, a branch of the police department, was using coercive tactics to thwart communist-related activities, the

¹ Archbishop James McGuigan to Archbishop H.J. O'Leary, Toronto, 1 June 1937, McGuigan Papers (Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto, Toronto (ARCAT)).

² The term English-speaking Catholics is used to differentiate the established hierarchy of the Church, those who arrived from Ireland and Scotland in the 1800s, from Catholics emigrating from Eastern and Central Europe after World War I.

³ At the time, the Church equated socialism with communism. See Gregory Baum, *Catholics and Canadian Socialism: Political Thought in the Thirties and Forties* (Toronto 1980).

⁴ Ontario, and in particular Toronto, was deemed by the Archdiocese a spawning ground for Bolshevik organizing; the Communist Party of Canada was secretly founded in Guelph in 1921, and the Social Democratic Party of Canada and the Socialist Party of North America were gaining momentum in the province. Moreover, by the 1930s, the CCF was achieving a stronghold within the province.

Paula Maurutto, "Private Policing and Surveillance of Catholics: Anti-communism in the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto, 1920-1960," *Labour/Le Travail*, 40 (Fall 1997), 113-36.

Catholic Church was deploying a variety of means to avert this apparent danger, including the surveillance and infiltration of socialist groups, and a pervasive moral and educational campaign aimed at newly arriving immigrants. While it conducted its own investigations, the church's endeavours were supported by state officials. It obtained intelligence information from the Red Squad as well as secret Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) reports. These actions went far beyond the realm of religious proselytizing or philanthropic endeavours. The strategies employed by the Church amounted to an active policing and surveillance of individuals, operating independently from law enforcement agencies but intertwined with state political initiatives.

Such activities by non-state organizations are, for the most part, overlooked in studies on political surveillance. Most analyses of political or national security emphasize the state as the apex in the maintenance of social order. For example, in historical works by Gregory S. Kealey and Reg Whitaker, among others, surveillance tactics adopted by extra-state institutions when examined are typically discussed as incidental to public order.⁵ These works reflect the common understanding of policing as consisting solely of the state sanctioned actions of the criminal justice system. An examination of the activities of the Archdiocese of Toronto, however, reveals a Church that was actively involved in the private policing and surveillance of individuals. The anti-communist activities of the Catholic Church point to a need for re-evaluating and extending common notions of the processes and techniques involved in safeguarding national security.

The term private policing is typically used in the criminology literature to distinguish non-state organizations involved in preserving social order from the state *criminal justice system*. The term commonly refers to an earlier practice when much of the responsibility for public order rested with individual citizens.⁶ This is contrasted with the development of the modern police force in early 19th century London in response to a changing industrial society. More recently, the term private police has been applied to community-based programs such as "Neighbourhood Watch" or private security personnel hired by corporations.⁷ These definitions,

⁵Gregory S. Kealey, "State Repression of Labour and the Left in Canada, 1914-1920: The Impact of the First World War," *Canadian Historical Review*, 73 (September 1992), 281-314; Reg Whitaker and Gary Marcuse, *Cold War Canada: The Making of a National Insecurity State, 1945-1957* (Toronto 1994); Reg Whitaker, "Origins of the Canadian Government's Internal Security System, 1946-1952," *Canadian Historical Review*, 65 (June 1984), 154-83.

⁶According to Clifford D. Shearing, the creation of the new London police in 1829 marks the "symbolic turning point in a gradual but steady transfer of responsibility for policing from private to public hands." See his article "The Relation Between Public and Private Policing," in Michael Tonry and Norval Morris, eds., *Modern Policing* (Chicago 1992), 403.

⁷According to Shearing and Stenning, private policing also includes private forms of surveillance such as electronic monitors, video cameras, as well as amusement park attendants dressed as Disney characters or the arrangement of flower beds in parks. See their

however, rarely consider non-state policing and surveillance as a continuous historical phenomenon that has always been intertwined with and operating alongside the criminal justice system. The term "private policing" tends to be almost exclusively used to describe a corporate agenda concerned with securing private property; the role of private philanthropic policing and surveillance is rarely considered.⁸

This oversight might be partly attributed to how private philanthropic institutions enforce discipline, which often does not conform to traditional forms of surveillance and punishment. Public authorities secure social control through the threat and deployment of coercive force, and private corporate police attempt to prevent crime through the knowledge that one is being monitored, as in the use of video cameras. Philanthropic control, although it may at times resort to punishment, is more concerned with minimizing social risk by regulating and reforming behaviour.⁹ It is this concern with moral regulation that distinguishes philanthropic policing from private corporate policing. In evaluating the role of corporate security systems, Shearing, Stenning and Addario posit that corporate policing is concerned less with moral reform than with reducing risk.¹⁰ Philanthropic institutions, by contrast, are concerned specifically with instilling the "right kind of character." These institutions, as demonstrated in Mariana Valverde's work, promise to deliver a subjectivity that will solve social problems by reforming the way we govern ourselves.¹¹ In fact, Valverde proposes that non-state organizations are often more successful than the state in reforming citizens. This reflects the dichotomous public/private relationship, within which institutions operating in the private realm, including philanthropic and corporate institutions, are much less confined by the legal boundaries and limits of privacy. Although liberal governments are legally confined to public affairs, Nikolas Rose and Valverde note that they often participate in moral reform efforts by providing the legal framework for voluntary action

articles, "Snowflakes or Good Pinches? — Private Security's Contribution to Modern Policing," in Rita Donelan, ed., *The Maintenance of Order in Society* (Ottawa 1982); "From the Panopticon to Disney World: the Development of Discipline," in Anthony N. Doob and Edward L. Greenspan, eds., *Perspectives in Criminal Law* (Aurora 1985).

⁸A new approach has emerged within the criminology literature — the pluralist perspective — which does question the centrality of the state. It continues, however, to identify private policing as a corporate agenda. See Shearing, "The Relation Between Public and Private Policing."

⁹For works on moral regulation see the special issue of *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 19 (Spring 1994).

¹⁰Clifford D. Shearing, Philip C. Stenning, and Susan M. Addario, "Public Perception of Private Security," *Canadian Police College Journal*, 9 (1985), 367-90.

¹¹Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925* (Toronto 1991).

and by supporting private campaigns through funding and information.¹² It is precisely this interaction between private and public institutions, a relationship Valverde terms the "mixed social economy," that is central.¹³ This conceptualization disrupts the image of two clearly defined, bounded and separate spheres. It opens up the possibility of exploring how the public sector is linked to private forms of social reform, and how private policing and surveillance participate in securing public order. By exploring these interconnections, the idea of the state as the sole guarantor of social order is deconstructed, bringing to light the role of the private charity sector in preserving public order and national security.

English-speaking Catholics and the Immigrant "Problem"

By the mid 1920s the established hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese consisted primarily of Scottish and Irish immigrants. Many of the latter were descendants of those who came to North America during the potato famine of the 1840s. While these Catholics initially encountered hostility and institutionalized bigotry as they settled in a largely Protestant environment, by the late 1800s they were embedded within the social and economic mainstream of Ontario society.¹⁴ Following their participation in World War I, they became increasingly rooted in society, developing their own sense of a Canadian identity to the extent that, as Mark McGowan has documented, old Irish associations were being replaced by new Canadian organizations.¹⁵ Anti-Catholic sentiments, however, continued to prevail among many Protestants. Moreover, as English-speaking Catholics adopted this new Canadian identity, conflicts with French-speaking Catholics began to proliferate. As both were vying for status as the official "Catholic" voice in Canada, the Archdiocese of Toronto found itself often at odds with the Church in Québec.

Most analyses of the Canadian Catholic response to communism have dealt exclusively with the Church in Québec. Few works, if any, refer to the activities of Catholics in Toronto. Yet, the Catholic Church in Toronto, under the direction of Archbishop Neil McNeil from 1912 to 1934 and Archbishop James McGuigan

¹²Valverde, *The Age of Light*; Nikolas Rose, "Beyond the Public/Private Division: Law, Power and the Family," *Journal of Law and Society*, 14 (Spring 1987), 61-76.

¹³Mariana Valverde, "The Mixed Social Economy as a Canadian Tradition," *Studies in Political Economy*, 47 (Summer 1995), 33-60.

¹⁴See Gordon Darroch and Michael D. Ornstein "Ethnicity and Occupational Structure in Canada in 1871: The Vertical Mosaic in Historical Perspective," *Canadian Historical Review*, 61 (September 1980), 305-33, for a detailed study of the 1871 census which reveals that Irish Catholics were well represented in all occupational categories, although they were significantly over-represented as labourers.

¹⁵Mark McGowan, "Toronto's English-Speaking Catholics, Immigration, and the Making of a Canadian Catholic Identity, 1900-1930," in Terrance Murphy and Gerald Stortz, eds., *Creed and Culture: The Place of English-Speaking Catholics in Canadian Society, 1750-1930* (Montréal 1993), 204-45.

until 1971, developed a number of strategies and techniques to prevent communist infiltration among newly arriving immigrants and to ensure a loyal English Canadian Catholic community.¹⁶ Seditious acts that threatened to destroy the Canadian social fabric also challenged the now entrenched patriotism of English-speaking Catholics. Thus, Catholic anti-communism reflected both a religious ideological opposition as well as the interests of a privileged class attached to its private property and liberal institutions.

In Toronto, the Church was particularly concerned that communism would take hold among the thousands of immigrants arriving from Central and Eastern Europe. The majority of these recent arrivals, many of whom were practising or nominal Catholics, emigrated from Hungary, Italy, Malta, Poland, Lithuania, and Ukraine. The Catholic population in the Archdiocese of Toronto increased from 85,000 in 1920 to over 164,000 by 1935, and in 1941, Catholics in Toronto represented 16 per cent of the city's population.¹⁷ Their working-class backgrounds and lack of fluency in English resulted in their concentration in low-paid and unskilled jobs.¹⁸ Deeply rooted prejudices against foreigners and lingering hostility towards Catholics further hampered their employment prospects. In addition, the Church viewed their religious devotion, which did not conform to Irish standard practice, as promoting idolatry. Their foreign values and customs were taken as evidence of their predisposition to superstitious beliefs and radical ideologies. With little relief and few jobs available, Catholic leaders feared these immigrants were potentially ripe for communist organizing. After all, the Communist Party of Canada had been quite successful in recruiting immigrants.¹⁹

Founded in Ontario in May 1921, with twenty-two members, the Communist Party of Canada (CP) operated underground until 1924. Although the executive was largely British born, 95 per cent of the rank and file by 1929 was composed of immigrants, primarily from Finnish, Ukrainian and Jewish ethnic groups.²⁰ Despite

¹⁶Archbishop James McGuigan was appointed Cardinal in 1946.

¹⁷In the 1930s, the Archdiocese of Toronto extended from the Niagara Peninsula to Georgian Bay in the North, and from Long Beach in the West as far as Oshawa in the East. Newman Club of Toronto, *The Ontario Catholic Year Book and Directory* (Toronto, 1920; 1935); *Census of Canada 1941*, 98-1941.

¹⁸McGowan, "Toronto's English-Speaking Catholics."

¹⁹Jeanne Beck, "Henry Somerville and the Development of Catholic Social Thought in Canada: Somerville's Role in the Archdiocese of Toronto, 1913-1943," PhD thesis, McMaster University, 1977; Brian F. Hogan, "Salted with Fire: Studies in Catholic Social Thought and Action in Ontario, 1931-1961," PhD thesis, University of Toronto, 1986; McGowan, "Toronto's English-Speaking Catholics."

²⁰*Report of the Sixth National Convention of the Communist Party in Canada* (May-June 1929), 12, cited in Watson Kirkconnell "Communism in Canada and the U.S.A.," *Canadian Catholic Historical Association, Historical Studies*, (1948), 41-51. The failure of the Finnish revolution forced many socialists to leave the country after World War I, and many of them came to Canada. The Ukrainian community in Canada was composed of two groups: those

some gains, by 1929 the Party had yet to draw a significant following; its membership totalled 2,876, and in the Ontario provincial election that year, the CP polled a mere 1440 votes.²¹ During the Depression, its membership did increase, particularly among the poorest elements of society. While the Party did poorly in the 1935 federal election, by 1936 two communists were elected to the Board of Control and one to the Board of Education. In the 1939 Toronto municipal election, Tim Buck, the Party leader, registered 45,112 votes.²² Most of those voting for the CP, however, were not full-fledged communists, but supported communist attacks against low wages and insufficient government relief. At a time when few groups championed the cause of the destitute and the unemployed, many turned to the CP for hope. Nevertheless, the Party never gained sufficient support to significantly challenge the status quo. Its national membership barely exceeded 16,000, a level achieved by 1939. Moreover, as Ivan Avakumovic notes, most of the East European membership "was often unwilling or unable to participate in those Communist activities ... the CPC considered essential."²³ They tended to limit their participation to communist events within their respective ethnic communities.

Policing Radicals: The Toronto Red Squad, The RCMP and the Archdiocese

To the Archdiocese of Toronto, however, the Party's denunciation of religion as the "opiate of the masses" and its promotion of atheism and supposedly free love threatened to undermine the sanctity of the family and eradicate religious freedoms. As such, Catholic leaders were determined to prevent this "evil menace" from taking hold within ethnic communities. Its first task in fighting communism was to gain intelligence of their clandestine operations, propaganda techniques and various strategies. Obtaining such information was not a difficult task, as the Church relied on its established relationship with the local police. Although the Toronto police force counted many Orangemen on its staff, it collaborated with the Catholic Church on a number of occasions. For example, the two organizations worked together on initiatives to reduce crime in the city, and often the Inspector of Police by-passed official channels in placing delinquent youths under the

emigrating during the Tsarist regime were predominantly pro-Communist, while those arriving in the twenties were typically anti-Communist. The latter group had experienced the failure of an independent socialist Ukraine. Lita-Rose Betcherman, *The Little Band: The Clashes Between the Communists and the Political and Legal Establishment in Canada, 1928-1932* (Ottawa 1982), 10. For other works on the Communist Party in Canada see Irving Martin Abella, *Nationalism, Communism, and Canadian Labour: The CIO, the Communist Party and the Canadian Congress of Labour 1935-1956* (Toronto 1973); Ivan Avakumovic, *The Communist Party in Canada: A History* (Toronto 1975); Norman Penner, *The Canadian Left: A Critical Analysis* (Scarborough 1977); William Rodney, *Soldiers of the International: A History of the Communist Party of Canada, 1919-1929* (Toronto 1968).

²¹ Avakumovic, *The Communist Party*; Betcherman, *The Little Band*, 11, 75.

²² Watson Kirkconnell, *The Seven Pillars of Freedom* (London 1944).

²³ Avakumovic, *The Communist Party*, 37, 115.

supervision of Catholic youth leaders to prevent them from appearing before the courts.²⁴ Moreover, at an ideological level, the anti-communism shared by the two organizations was coloured by fascist overtones (the Vatican at this time supported Mussolini's government and several Catholics in Canada viewed fascism in a favourable light).²⁵

Furthermore, the Church defended both federal and municipal police attempts to subvert communism.²⁶ The Toronto Red Squad, a branch of the municipal police department under Chief Constable Brigadier-General Denis C. Draper, was notorious for its brutal treatment of dissidents. The Squad, commonly known as "Drapper's Dragoons" for its heavy-handed repression of communists, would club and jail members for distributing propaganda, it prohibited meetings in "foreign" languages, prevented the Party from campaigning during elections, and used tear gas — for the first time in Canada — to break up meetings. And in August of 1931, the Red Squad arrested nine of the Party leaders under Section 98 of the Criminal Code, legislation so broad that strong criticism of the government could merit incarceration.²⁷ While labour groups, many of which were estranged from the Communist Party, demanded a public investigation of the harsh actions deployed by the Red Squad, members within the Catholic Church counteracted public indignation by applauding the police actions. In a *Globe* article, Catholic clergy and members of other religious and financial groups sanctioned the Squad's attempt as an effort to uphold justice and democracy.²⁸

The Church endorsement of the Red Squad and RCMP operations enabled it to elicit secret information on communist maneuvering within the city. Confidential RCMP surveillance records compiled in 1923 appeared among Archdiocesan files. The files chronicled the range of communist activities throughout Canada and focused on the vulnerability of immigrant groups, specifically Ukrainians and

²⁴ Annual Activity Report of the Catholic Big Brother's Association, Toronto, circa early 1930s, McNeil Papers (ARCAT).

²⁵ Luigi G. Pennacchio, "The Torrid Trinity: Toronto's Fascists, Italian Priests and Archbishops During the Fascist Era, 1929-1940," in Mark McGowan and Brian Clarke, eds., *Catholics at the "Gathering Place": Historical Essays on the Archdiocese of Toronto, 1841-1991* (Toronto 1993), 234.

²⁶ In response to rumours that Prime Minister King had considered disbanding the RCMP in 1926, several members of the Catholic Church wrote to the Honourable Colonel George E. Amyot declaring the necessity of such a force for the security of the country. One letter went as far as to suggest that the RCMP and the Catholic Church were the "two stabilizing institutions in this country." J. B. Maclean to McNeil, Toronto, 6 August 1926, McNeil Papers (ARCAT).

²⁷ Betcherman, *The Little Band*; Suzannie Michelle Skebo, "Liberty and Authority: Civil Liberties in Toronto, 1929-1935," MA thesis, University of British Columbia, 1968.

²⁸ *The Globe*, 19 August 1929, cited in Betcherman, *The Little Band*, 64.

120 LABOUR/LE TRAVAIL

Finns. Page after page revealed the extensive means by which the Party attracted youths into the communist ranks.²⁹

The principal subjects taught are the Ukrainian language, ... revolutionary songs, and such smatterings of history, economics and science as will implant in the children atheistic, revolutionary and communistic opinions and prejudices. Every effort is made to induce the children to regard Russia (including the Soviet Ukraine) as a model country; to hate religion, patriotism, and the government ... and to desire and expect a revolution by violent methods.³⁰

The report recounted how at least 90 Ukrainian children were attending communist after-hour schools in Toronto.

When in 1932 Archbishop McNeil requested information on communist activities in Toronto, Chief Constable Draper readily forwarded extensive intelligence reports compiled by Inspector Douglas Marshall of the Toronto Red Squad. One report documented the range of communist movements in Canada. Other files provided detailed accounts of propaganda techniques and emphasized the Party's success among immigrants. Ethnic societies suspected as subsidiary organizations of the Party were disclosed, and many of them later appeared in the *Catholic Register* as associations for Catholics to avoid. Still other reports exposed how many youth organizations were in fact communist fronts designed to indoctrinate the future generation. The Inspector was particularly outraged with the concerted effort to entice youth into the Young Communist League

With the training that is being given the children of tender years, to oppose Law and Order, defiance of Police Order, and no check being made on these teachings, the result can only be one thing, revolution. These children will, say in ten years time, be militant and absolutely revolutionary, and unless steps are taken ... we are going to have a huge population of foreign extraction who will be prepared to go to any length to attain their own ends.³¹

Although Inspector Marshall conceded that he did not know the exact number of Communists in Toronto, his estimate based on the circulation of the Party paper, *The Worker*, was in the range of 40,000, an obvious exaggeration.

These reports painted the Communist Party as an organized movement of sedition determined to subvert democratic freedoms and manipulate people into becoming pawns of Soviet power. Communists, according to police sources, were playing on the misfortune and destitution of immigrants. While the Party achieved only mediocre success in municipal and provincial politics, the reports depicted it as an imminent danger that would ultimately culminate in civil unrest.

²⁹ Abbe Philippe Casgarain to McNeil, Toronto, 7 March 1927, McNeil Papers (ARCAT).

³⁰ "No. 210, Notes Respecting Revolutionary Organizations and Agitators in Canada," Toronto, 31 January 1923, Ruthenian Catholics, McNeil Papers (ARCAT).

³¹ Inspector Marshall's Reports, Toronto, 21 April 1932, 30 May 1932, McNeil Papers (ARCAT); Draper to McNeil, Toronto, 7 June 1932, McNeil Papers (ARCAT).

These reports, coupled with the information gathered through the Archdiocese's own surveillance, were taken as confirmation that a communist conspiracy was at hand. According to Archbishop McNeil, 28,000 Catholics in his Archdiocese had joined the Communist Party, and he was determined to find out the causes of this dissident behaviour.³² In the 1930s, Archbishop McNeil commissioned a systematic survey of each Parish in his diocese. Initially, the Archdiocese relied on its own informants, lay Catholics who attended ethnic functions and reported on any inkling of communist meddling. But Archbishop McNeil opted for a more systematic method; he hired his own spy, Catherine de Hueck, to police ethnic organizations within local parishes.³³ De Hueck, a Catholic who had fled the Russian Civil War, was an optimal choice. Her Russian heritage and ability to speak several Slavic languages allowed her easy entry into communist organizations.³⁴ Living among the immigrant poor, in October 1931, de Hueck began infiltrating communist organizations and compiling a survey of their activities. Each week she would update the Archbishop on the operations of the Communist Party. Her assignment included a visit to New York, the communist headquarters in North America, to obtain newspapers and periodicals destined for Canada and to elicit information on communist activities in Toronto.

In 1932, she presented Archbishop McNeil with an extensive survey of her investigation, a ninety-five page document on communist activity in Toronto.³⁵ The report included a comprehensive analysis of membership profiles, party structure and activities, propaganda techniques, and various schemes to attract immigrants. Communist promotional campaigns in Toronto were successful, she suggested, because they employed systematic planning; the city was divided into sectors each with its own organizer who was responsible for canvassing the area and for attracting workers and the unemployed to communist events. De Hueck recounted how educational and recreational activities, the ethnic press, and foreign language speeches were designed to appeal to the sentiments of immigrant communities. The Communist Party in Toronto, she claimed, published 48 papers in 18 languages. All forms of relief, including professional assistance from lawyers,

³²Eddie Doherty, *Tumbleweed: A Biography* (Milwaukee 1948), 149.

³³For works on Catherine de Hueck see Jeanne R. Beck, "Contrasting Approaches to Catholic Social Action During the Depression: Henry Somerville the Educator and Catherine de Hueck the Activist," in Mark McGowan and Brian Clarke, eds., *Catholics at the "Gathering Place"* (Toronto 1993); Shane P. Carmody, "Catherine de Hueck and Catholic Action in Toronto 1930-1936," Unpublished paper, May 1985; Catherine de Hueck Doherty, *Fragments of My Life* (Notre Dame, Indiana 1979); Doherty, *Tumbleweed*; Lorene Hanley Duquin *They Called Her the Baroness: the Life of Catherine de Hueck Doherty* (New York 1995); Hogan, "Salted with Fire;" Elizabeth Sharum, "A Strange Fire Burning: A History of the Friendship House Movement," PhD thesis, Texas Technical University, 1977.

³⁴Doherty, *Tumbleweed*, 150.

³⁵Catherine Doherty, "Little Mandate," cited in Sharum, "A Strange Fire Burning," 40; Doherty, *Tumbleweed*, 150.

doctors, and dentists were provided to the poor as a means of luring them to the Party. She described attempts by Party leaders to infiltrate non-communist organizations. What de Hueck found most jarring was their work among school-aged children. Debating societies, social newspapers, summer camps, after hour schools, and underground activities were organized by professors and teachers to inculcate radical ideologies in these youth. Moreover, "Atheistic Sunday Schools," as de Hueck referred to them, were held in private homes under the guise of National Language Schools. Their location was changed each week in order to avoid police detection. A further tactic, she noted, was the organization of societies such as the League of Youth Against War and Fascism, which lacked an outward communist association, but was, in fact, used to draw new members to the Party.³⁶

In addition to the report, a parish by parish survey was conducted. In one map entitled "Communist Activities in St. Patrick's Parish," a parish in downtown Toronto, 33 black dots marked the location of residences, rooming houses, bakeries, restaurants, pubs, theatres, non-Catholic churches, bookstores and a "suspicious looking store," all thought to be places of communist activity. A good number of these establishments were owned by Finns or Ukrainians.³⁷ The surveillance reports supported the suspicions of the Archbishop who believed that communists were preying on innocent, ignorant immigrants who, although not inherently rebellious, were being swayed by cunning and unscrupulous communist propaganda.

The Archdiocese's surveillance and use of spies to police ethnic communities illustrates the historical importance of private policing by philanthropic institutions. It also demonstrates that policing was not limited to the criminal justice system, and that religious organizations did more than preach. To characterize the Church's operations as an extended branch of the state would be misleading; the Catholic Church had its own interests in eliminating "atheistic communism" and was much more influenced by anti-communist directives emanating from the Vatican.³⁸ Moreover, there is no evidence to suggest that the Church circulated its

³⁶Outline of Communist Activities, 1, 2, Catholic Action Papers (Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Ottawa, Ottawa) cited in Sharum, "A Strange Fire Burning," 42-7; Doherty, *Tumbleweed*, 150; "Baroness de Hueck Tells of Her Fight Against Communism," *Social Forum*, 1 (March 1936), 1; Gustave Sauve, "Moscow in Canada," *Social Forum*, 1 (March 1936), 2.

³⁷De Hueck's map on Communist Activities in St. Patrick's Parish, Toronto, circa early 1930s, McNeil Papers (ARCAT). St. Patrick's Parish was encompassed by College St. at the north end and went as far south as Front St.; it began at Spadina Ave. and extended west to Elizabeth St.

³⁸The Vatican issued two papal encyclicals, *Rerum novarum* (1891) and *Quadragesimo anno* (1931), that denounced communism as an enemy of the Church. The encyclicals called upon all Catholics to work toward the eradication of communism. For an analysis of the impact of the encyclicals on the Catholic Church in Ontario see Hogan, "Salted with Fire," 1-45.

reports to the local police. Yet, both institutions benefitted from an exchange of services; the Church backed police retaliation and in return was kept abreast of the CP's activities. This points out how securing citizens, a project undertaken by both the state and voluntary organizations, operated at multiple and intersecting levels. The means adopted to govern individuals, however, were quite distinct.

Creating a Bulwark against Communism: The Depression Years

While the Toronto Police Department relied on repressive coercion to punish dissidents, the Catholic Church secured its congregation by seeking to reform beliefs and instill a sense of moral fibre. The excessive deployment of force by the Red Squad may have been successful in forcing many communists underground, but it was limited in its ability to effect a conversion of mind and always risked hardening attitudes. Legally entrenched democratic rights prohibit the explicit involvement of public authorities in the moral reform of individuals. The Church, however, specifically sought to morally regulate private behaviour. As Archbishop McNeil stated in a 1933 brochure, *The Red Menace*,

... by intensive action we must educate the people to a conversion of mind. It cannot be done by force or by law. It must be done by the power of the word, written and spoken. Then, and then only, can we hope for a return to Christian ideals and to Christian institutions, where charity and justice reign.³⁹

The Archbishops during the 1930s successfully launched an anti-communist campaign to ensure a bulwark against communism. In McNeil's view, the education of immigrants was paramount.

Sunday sermons warned members to steer clear of subversive organizations, and afternoon radio broadcasts spoke of the ills of communism.⁴⁰ Catholic demonstrations reminded audiences that religious gatherings were outlawed in the USSR,⁴¹ and study clubs were formed to educate the unemployed on the ideological dangers lurking in their midst. Services were provided in foreign languages and new ethnic Churches were built to retain the loyalty of immigrant families. To protect the easily-influenced minds of youths, a concerted effort was made to enrol immigrant children in separate schools. The Legion of Decency, a branch of the Catholic Welfare Bureau, was devised to root out indecent and objectionable community

³⁹McNeil, "The Papal Solution," *The Red Menace*, Toronto, 8 September 1933, McNeil Papers, (ARCAT).

⁴⁰Pope Pius XI to pastors in Toronto, 3 November 1930, McNeil Papers (ARCAT); Mr. G. Murray, General Manager, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation to McGuigan, Toronto, 4 January 1939, McGuigan Papers (ARCAT).

⁴¹Joseph H. O'Neill, Rev., "Archbishop McGuigan of Toronto and the Holy Name Society: Its Role as a Force Against Canadian Communism," *Canadian Catholic Historical Association, Historical Studies* (1988), 61-77.

events. The Legion protested against stage shows promoting "red propaganda," and denounced communist fund-raising events. It monitored labour organizations suspected of being organized by left-wing radicals, such as the Ontario Federation of the Unemployed and the Federation of Democratic Associations. Blacklists of films, books and magazines promoting socialist ideals were compiled.⁴²

The Ontario Catholic press regularly printed articles on the persecution of religion in the USSR, as well as clandestine activities within the country. At the same time as the Communist Party newspaper, *The Worker*, promoted Bolshevik ideologies, the *Catholic Worker* was circulated at factories and communist rallies throughout Toronto. Food wrapped in the *Social Forum*, another Catholic paper, was often left behind for workers in factories.⁴³ The editor of the *Catholic Register*, Henry Somerville, was unrelenting in his editorials on the communist exploitation of immigrant poverty. To distribute newspapers and leaflets, the Church recruited university students from St. Michael's College.⁴⁴

Speaking engagements supporting Christian freedom were encouraged among the laity. Catherine de Hueck was often invited to speak publicly on the "Red Menace." As a former spy she was considered an expert on the issue. At one address in 1933, de Hueck, accompanied by lay Catholic Mrs. Harris McPhedran, spoke to over 500 women from different religious denominations. Their lecture on "What can women do to help in the present crisis," encouraged women to enter the homes of "these homesick lonely foreigners," for only with "a little sympathy and understanding by voluntary workers" could communism be "successfully combated." This sympathy, however, did not extend to a condemnation of the destitute conditions to which many of these immigrants were subjected to during the Depression. Instead, de Hueck and her supporters denounced direct relief for promoting idleness, humiliation and vagrancy. Rather, they suggested "how much wiser [it is] to have each person work for what he or she receives if they only sweep the streets." As McPhedran noted: "What are we doing to conserve the fruit and vegetables which go to waste each year in Ontario? ... We could use the unemployed to pick, preserve and store them at little cost to the Government."⁴⁵ The dignity and pride of men, they argued, could only be maintained if they were transformed into contributing members of society. To provide concrete evidence of what "women can do to help," de Hueck, McPhedran and Catholic reformer Helen McCrea, opened a Russian Restaurant — the Tachainick. They boasted that through their efforts, 33 people had been removed from the relief rolls in only three weeks. Their

⁴²Rev. Michael J. McGrath to McGuigan, Toronto, 17 May 1939, McGuigan Papers (ARCAT); Financial Reports of the Catholic Adjustment Bureau, Toronto, 1939, McGuigan Papers (ARCAT).

⁴³Hogan, "Salted with Fire," 104-5.

⁴⁴Sharum, "A Strange Fire Burning," 81.

⁴⁵Mrs. Harris McPhedran to the Honorable J.H. Robb, Minister of Health, Toronto, 13 April 1933, McNeil Papers (ARCAT).

success was extended to other business ventures such as a tailor shop, a bicycle repair store and a handicraft workshop, all opened in Slavic residential areas. Initiatives such as these, they claimed, reduced men's dependence on society: they "restore[d] their self respect and incidentally rescued several of them from communism."⁴⁶ Work, not the dole, would prevent contact with the numerous halls spreading left-wing propaganda. The great appeal of these lectures is proven by the range of associations seeking de Hueck as a speaker, including the Toronto Board of Trade and the Toronto Rotary Club, where she was the first woman to address their organization.⁴⁷

The extent of the Church's anti-communist hysteria is evident in the controversy that emerged over the Canadian Commonwealth Federation (CCF) in the 1930s. Until the 1940s, any group espousing left-wing ideas was suspected of communist ties. The confusion over the CCF, founded in 1932, emanated from the Canadian Catholic Church's interpretation of two papal encyclicals, *Rerum novarum* (1891) and *Quadragesimo anno* (1931) that spelled out the Vatican's position on political movements.⁴⁸ In England, Catholic Bishops did not consider the Labour Party as falling under the Vatican's repudiation of socialism, but the Canadian Catholic Church was confounded over whether, as a socialist party, the CCF was condemned under the papal encyclicals. Adding to this dilemma were exaggerated accusations that the Party was in effect overrun by communists. A report to Archbishop McNeil in the 1930s alleged that "the communists have driven a wedge in the socialist party known in Canada as the CCF ... [they] have bored deeply into the directing organism of the CCF Party in Canada."⁴⁹ While fabricated, such reports did place the CCF under the suspicious gaze of the Church. In 1934, a pastoral letter issued by Archbishop Gauthier of Montréal denounced the Party as a radical organization opposed to Christian doctrine. Church leaders throughout the rest of Canada were more cautious, warning Catholics of its potential socialist underpinnings, but not formally denouncing the CCF.⁵⁰ Nonetheless, even though

⁴⁶Mrs. Harris McPhedran to the Honorable J.H. Robb, Minister of Health, Toronto, 13 April 1933, McNeil Papers (ARCAT).

⁴⁷Baroness' Clippings, Combermere, 1930-1937, Madonna House Files, cited in Sharum, "A Strange Fire Burning."

⁴⁸The encyclicals supported the right to private property as the basis of individual and social rights, even though they called for a restructuring of the excesses of capitalist economics and individualism. Socialism was equated with communism, and vehemently repudiated for promoting the use of violence, the overthrow of the natural order, and for restricting religious freedoms. See Anne Freemantle, *The Papal Encyclicals in Their Historical context, The Teachings of the Popes from Peter to John XXIII* (New York 1963); Virgil Michel, *Christian Social Reconstruction: Some Fundamentals of "Quadragesimo Anno"* (Milwaukee 1937).

⁴⁹Anonymous letter to McNeil, Toronto, circa 1934, McNeil Papers (ARCAT).

⁵⁰Baum, *Catholics and Canadian Socialism*. For other works on the Catholics reaction to the CCF, see Beck, "Henry Somerville;" Murry G. Ballantyne, "The Catholic Church and the CCF," *Canadian Catholic Historical Association*, (1963), 33-45; Walter D. Young, *The Anatomy of a Party: The National CCF 1932-61* (Toronto 1969), 210-5.

Archbishop Gauthier's declaration applied only to his diocese, Catholics across Canada believed that the CCF had been condemned by the Church.⁵¹

In Toronto, the editor of the *Catholic Register*, Henry Somerville, took issue with the Québec declaration, arguing that the Party's platform in no way offended Christian values. He, along with Murry Ballantyne of the *Catholic Beacon* in Montréal, tried to persuade Church officials that the CCF was not a communist front but, rather, was akin to the British Labour Party in England. Indeed, as Ballantyne argued, the CCF "was perhaps even capable of being made our strongest defense against communism."⁵² Somerville convinced McGuigan that to forbid Catholics "from supporting the CCF would alienate the working class and identify the Church in their view as the supporter of an unreformed and oppressive capitalism."⁵³ The debate culminated in a plenary meeting of the Bishops of Canada on 13 October 1943. By then, the CCF had modified its platform, giving assurances to the business community, and had become involved in an open conflict with the Communist Party over control of unions.⁵⁴ The Bishops' conference concluded that similar to "the older parties," the CCF platform was "indifferent" to and not opposed to Christian principles. The official report released by the Bishops, however, simply declared that Catholics were "free to support any political party upholding the basic Christian traditions of Canada;"⁵⁵ it did not specifically name the CCF for fear of seeming to favour the Party. According to Walter Young, the decree was so "ambiguous as to amount to almost a reiteration of the original condemnation."⁵⁶ Hence, many Catholics continued to assume that the CCF was censured by the Church. Eventually Catholic editorials in both the *Catholic Register* and the *Beacon* clarified the Church's position.⁵⁷

In light of its excessive reaction to left-wing movements, the Church's response to fascism is of particular interest. Throughout the 1930s, the Church maintained a tempered response to fascism. At one point, in 1938, it issued an apology for having suggested that fascism was a menace equivalent to communism.

⁵¹Ballantyne, "The Catholic Church and the CCF," 34.

⁵²Ballantyne, "The Catholic Church and the CCF," 36.

⁵³Beck, "Henry Somerville," 394.

⁵⁴The Seventh National Convention in 1942 marked a change in direction for the CCF Party; the ideology of social ownership and co-operative production advanced in the Regina Manifesto was abandoned for a more open system that promoted "personal property for more people." Its initial doctrinaire opposition to the war turned to support for the war effort in 1940 and for conscription by 1942, and the new Party policy adopted a less militant approach, focusing instead on post-war peacetime solutions that advocated reconstruction, stability and welfare socialism. Young, *The Anatomy of a Party*, 106-9; Baum, *Catholics and Canadian Socialism*, 127.

⁵⁵"The Church and the CCF," Toronto, circa 1943, McNeil Papers (ARCAT).

⁵⁶Young, *The Anatomy of a Party*, 211.

⁵⁷Ballantyne, "The Catholic Church and the CCF," 42; Baum, *Catholics and Canadian Socialism*, 131.

Even after public opinion in Canada turned against Mussolini following his invasion of Ethiopia, and despite the clash between the Pope and the Italian Government over domestic policy in 1936 and the adoption of Nazi-like racial laws in 1938,⁵⁸ the Archdiocese of Toronto refrained from taking a strong position against fascism. While the Archbishops opposed anti-semitic activities and participated in mass protests against the persecution of Jews in Germany, they failed to seriously question fascist ideology.⁵⁹ When the Archdiocese initially proposed a demonstration in Toronto against both communism and fascism in 1938, for example, pressure from the German and Italian Catholic congregations convinced Archbishop McGuigan to revoke his stand on fascism.⁶⁰ In the end, the parade was limited to a protest against communism. In an attempt to prevent any conflict with the ethnic parishes, Archbishop McGuigan forwarded an apology to German and Italian Catholic Legionnaires stating: "there certainly never was any intention to condemn any particular form of Fascism now existing or to hurt the sensibilities of any of our Catholic people ... sorry that any misunderstanding has arisen and I'm very eager to dispel it."⁶¹ The apology was also sent to an Italian priest, Reverend Pellicelita, who was latter interned by the RCMP during World War II; McGuigan eventually obtained his release.⁶² While socialist groups were being condemned, the Archdiocese was, at least indirectly, defending Catholics sympathetic to fascist ideologies.

The most invasive means by which the Archdiocese enforced its moral regulation was through the Catholic Welfare Bureau, a benevolent organization formed in 1922 to administer welfare activities for Catholics. At the onset of the Depression, provincial and municipal governments continued to provide grants to charities. Social welfare, however, was considered a private initiative to be administered through the already existing voluntary agencies. Thus, relief was distributed, for the most part, on a denominational basis, and one of the eight main

⁵⁸Tensions between the Vatican and Mussolini were exacerbated after the conquest of Abyssinia in 1936 when the Italian Government instead of privileging Catholicism as the state religion in the empire, merely adopted a policy of religious toleration. The publication of the government's 1938 manifesto on racial purity and the subsequent anti-Semitic legislation elicited a denunciation from the Pope. See Peter S. Kent, "The Catholic Church in the Italian Empire, 1936-38," Canadian Historical Association, *Historical Papers* (1984), 138-50.

⁵⁹For the Church's opposition to the persecution of Jews in Germany see John S. Moir, *Church and Society: Documents on the Religious and Social History of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese in Toronto from the Archives of the Archdiocese* (Toronto 1991), 226-30.

⁶⁰Fr. Daniel Ehamn to McGuigan, Toronto, 10 June 1938, McGuigan Papers (ARCAT).

⁶¹McGuigan to Revs. Sanson, Pellicelita, Balo and Ehman, Toronto, 11 June 1938, McGuigan Papers (ARCAT).

⁶²Pennacchio, "The Torrid Trinity."

relief-granting agencies in Toronto was the Catholic Welfare Bureau.⁶³ Initially, private agencies worked to supplement public relief from the House of Industry and aided those ineligible for the dole such as transient men. In 1931, with the establishment of new regulations under the Division of Social Welfare, every welfare recipient had to first apply through a private agency. This new arrangement, designed to root out fraud, had the effect of augmenting the intervention of voluntary agencies in the private lives of individuals. Those in need of relief were now forced to divulge their private selves to philanthropic workers who maintained detailed files on each case. Thus, Catholics who relied on benevolent agencies became increasingly vulnerable to the moral reform efforts of the Church. Given its increased ability to monitor families, the Catholic Welfare Bureau was also able to ensure that children were enrolled in Sunday School and that families were participating in what the Church deemed "appropriate and acceptable" leisure activities.⁶⁴ This administration of relief by voluntary agencies on behalf of the state indicates how charity operates as a mixed social economy. The state was not directly involved in moral regulation, yet it clearly provided the legal infrastructure for Catholic benevolent agencies to interfere in private lives.

The Communist Party of Canada actively targeted those receiving aid from Catholic charities. They readily accused the Church of ignoring the unemployed and of further demoralizing and pauperizing those on relief by providing insufficient aid. Members of the Party tried to entice those lined up at Catholic soup kitchens with promises of better relief and services at communist halls. Police reports verified that such tactics were quite successful in luring men away from the Catholic House of Providence.⁶⁵ Father Michael J. McGrath, superintendent of the Catholic Welfare Bureau, outraged at the number of men receiving aid from non-Catholic houses of refuge, wrote to the city in 1939 complaining that "now there [was] no means of offering them work or [to check] whether they [were] involved in any part of the present crime wave."⁶⁶

In addition to the Catholic Welfare Bureau, a settlement house was formed to provide aid to those who failed to meet the stringent criteria for government relief. In September 1934, St. Francis Catholic Friendship House opened at 122 Portland Street, Toronto, in a working class area inhabited mostly by Czechoslovakians, Poles, Russians, Ukrainians, and Jews.⁶⁷ Although the formation of the settlement

⁶³For a discussion of relief in Ontario during the Depression see James Struthers, *The Limits of Affluence: Welfare in Ontario, 1920-1970* (Toronto 1994); Roger E. Riendeau, "A Clash of Interests: Dependency and the Municipal Problem in the Great Depression," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 14 (Spring 1979), 50-8.

⁶⁴Marion Bell, "The History of the Catholic Welfare Bureau," MA thesis, University of Toronto, 1949.

⁶⁵Rev. M. J. McGrath to McGuigan, Toronto, circa October 1938, McGuigan Papers (ARCAT).

⁶⁶McGrath to McGuigan, Toronto, circa January 1939, McGuigan Papers (ARCAT).

⁶⁷De Hueck to McNeil, Toronto, 1 July 1934, McNeil Papers (ARCAT).

house was first discussed as a means to counteract Protestant efforts at luring new Canadians, the catalyst for its opening was the growing fear of Communist "conversions." The House, founded during the Depression, was strategically positioned across from the Protestant Church of all Nations and a Communist Hall. This location enabled Catholics to counteract the appeal of communists among the unemployed. During elections, settlement workers posted "VOTE FOR CHRISTIANITY" signs across from the "VOTE COMMUNIST" slogans.⁶⁸ The Archdiocese hired Catherine de Hueck to run the house.

The *Friendship house* offered a range of services: soup kitchens, clothing distribution, English language classes, and a shelter for single men. In the first month, the House provided 1200 meals, and by February 1935 this number had increased to 2300 per month.⁶⁹ Suitable activities to prevent adults from engaging in vice, or worse yet communist subversion, took the form of drama and dance classes, cooking lessons, religious study groups, and book talks. To attract children, after-school recreation was available. These activities functioned to inculcate a sense of self-improvement and responsibility, and moral education was a component incorporated into every event. For example, dinner in the soup kitchens was always followed by a discussion of social issues and Catholic teachings. These strategies, de Hueck claimed, averted hundreds of transient workers and poor immigrant families from communism.⁷⁰

In a paradoxical turn of events, de Hueck's accomplishments soon came under attack. Opposed to the *Friendship House*, several priests called for an inquiry into its canonical status. Many objected to the House's financial status; funds were obtained largely through soliciting donations. Moreover, the clergy disapproved of de Hueck's personal life; she was a single mother due to her estrangement from her husband. Ironically, de Hueck was also accused of being a communist herself. Her constant discussions on communism were mistaken by some as evidence of communist sympathies. Furthering these unfounded allegations was the accusation that one of the staff at a similar House in Ottawa had been deported as a communist.⁷¹ On 15 August 1936, a Commission of five priests was established to look into the matter. The Commission concurred, not surprisingly, that the settlement house would be best administered by local priests. Following de Hueck's dismissal, Archbishop McGuigan requested that she continue investigating communist activity, which she did until 1938 when she left for the United States to set up additional settlement houses.⁷² She returned to Combermere, Ontario in 1947 and founded *Madonna House*, a training site for lay apostolate to the poor.

⁶⁸John Fitzgerald, retiring editor of the Montréal *Beacon*, Toronto, circa 1934, McNeil Papers (ARCAT).

⁶⁹Sharum, "A Strange Fire Burning," 68-70.

⁷⁰Sharum, "A Strange Fire Burning," 68-70; Hogan, "Salted with Fire," 104.

⁷¹Rev. Francis to McGuigan, Toronto, 18 December 1936, McGuigan Papers (ARCAT).

⁷²Hogan, "Salted with Fire," 123-5.

Cold War Politics within the Catholic Church

As the federal government pursued collective security through international military alliances and nuclear deterrence, national security on the home front was also being safeguarded by extra-state institutions.⁷³ During the Cold War, the Catholic Church was involved in its own practices of containment. It continued to police suspect communities and maintained a pervasive moral and educational campaign designed to curtail internal dangers and preserve freedom and security. These activities, however, have been largely ignored in accounts of the Cold War era which tend to be framed by a state-centred approach. For example, Whitaker and Marcuse's extensive work on the Cold War includes a detailed discussion of extra-state and non-corporate institutions but their analysis maintains a state-centred bias.⁷⁴ Those extra-state institutions that participated in a Canadian version of "McCarthyism" — right-wing groups, the media, avid anti-communists such as Watson Kirkconnell and Pauline McGibbon and the Toronto Alert Service, to name a few — are characterized as having played a rather minor role in the formation of a Cold War outlook. As Whitaker and Marcuse suggest, "it is hard to know how much, if any, influence such services actually had, since the numbers and importance of their subscribers is unknown. Certainly, they had little influence relative to comparable groups in the United States at this time."⁷⁵ The Catholic Church may not have been as influential as the state or business in shaping a political and popular agenda, but it was an important force that helped consolidate a postwar outlook. Catholic anti-communism and reform efforts permeated the private lives of thousands of Catholics and others living in Toronto. That it had a significant impact on the communist movement is evident in the Party's attempt to defend itself against the Archbishop's accusations. In 1949, the Communist paper *The Tribune* reproached McGuigan for his "fascist plot" to destroy democratic freedom and militant trade unionism.⁷⁶

The Cold War was not simply an international, state or corporate concern; it also operated as a mixed social economy in which government interests merged with the goals of private voluntary institutions. The activities of the Catholic Church demonstrate how extra-state institutions were involved in engendering

⁷³For an analysis of how the private family sphere was involved in promoting "domestic containment" in the United States see Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York 1988).

⁷⁴Whitaker and Marcuse, *Cold War Canada*.

⁷⁵Whitaker and Marcuse, *Cold War Canada*, 276. See also Reg Whitaker's article "Fighting the Cold War on the Home Front: America, Britain, Australia and Canada," *The Socialist Register*, (1984), 23-67. In this article, Whitaker does present an analytical distinction between "state repression" and "political repression," the latter referring to a wider "political system" outside the state, typified by "McCarthyism" in the United States. This political system, however, is still characterized as an extension of or as propelled by the state.

⁷⁶J. Bacon to McGuigan, Toronto, 22 August 1949, McGuigan Papers (ARCAT).

moral behaviour and political values that worked to consolidate the Cold War agenda. It is the interlinking between public practices and private initiatives that explains, in part, the success of post-war strategies in ensuring a Canadian public that supported an arms race and a doctrine of collective security.

During this era, federal and provincial interests did use Catholic anti-communism to their benefit. The Catholic vote in Québec was essential to the federal strategy of collective security and to an increased international role in NATO. Politicians, including Prime Minister St. Laurent, Secretary of State for External Affairs Lester Pearson, and Union Nationale premier Maurice Duplessis, sought to capture the Québec electorate by dramatizing the Soviet peril to Catholic audiences. St. Laurent, for instance, in a 1949 speech at the Richelieu Club in Québec, singled out a Bishop in the audience and suggested that Soviet domination could result in the Bishop's imprisonment, as had happened to so many men of the cloth under communist rule.⁷⁷ Such Liberal practices, Whitaker and Marcuse note, were successful in convincing Catholics that Canadian troops in Europe and later in Asia, "were standing on guard for God, church, and family against the armies of darkness."⁷⁸ This federal anti-communist rhetoric, although directed to French-speaking Catholics, gave more legitimacy to the Catholic crusade throughout the country.

In Ontario, the conservative government of George Drew was likewise seeking an ally in the Archbishop of Toronto for its war against the "commies."⁷⁹ In a June 1945 letter to Archbishop McGuigan, Premier Drew outlined his concern over the growing momentum of Soviet power within the province; "the fact is that the communists have more votes than ever before. They have an active, vigorous, well financed organization. I believe their propaganda will continue to be as active as ever." As he fuelled the Archbishop's fears, Drew encouraged an intensified Catholic moral campaign. For as Drew claimed, "there is a very real need for an educational campaign showing what their purpose really is."⁸⁰

Attempts to sway the Catholic vote do not suggest that the Church was a malleable instrument shaped by government interests. Anti-communism was well entrenched in the Archdiocese of Toronto before the Cold War. Rather, state

⁷⁷R.D. Cuff and J.L. Granatstein, *Ties That Bind: Canadian-American Relations in Wartime, from the Great War to the Cold War* (Toronto 1977), 149.

⁷⁸Whitaker and Marcuse, *Cold War Canada*, 266.

⁷⁹Premier Drew, notorious for his red-baiting ideology, had been maintaining a secret Special Branch of the Ontario Provincial Police, a "Gestapo," based on the old Red Squad. See Gerald L. Caplan, *The Dilemma of Canadian Socialism: The CCF in Ontario* (Toronto 1973), 168-90.

⁸⁰Ontario Premier George A. Drew to McGuigan, Toronto, 31 May 1945, 14 June 1945, McGuigan Papers (ARCAT). In the 1940s, two members of the Communist Party were voted into the Ontario legislature, Joe Salsberg in the Jewish Spadina district (1943-1955) and Alex MacLeod in the Bellwoods riding (1943-1951). A number of communists had also been elected to the Toronto Board of Education.

initiatives and Catholic goals can be seen as merging over a common agenda to secure the nation against revolutionary movements. Federal and provincial governments may have had a greater advantage in creating a Cold War national outlook, but a pervasive pro-Cold War public opinion would not have been achieved without the consent and more importantly the participation of extra-state institutions. The Catholic Church in Toronto was indeed a compelling force, actively involved in containing the spread of communism.

As the Gouzenko affair had disclosed how trusted public servants had engaged in espionage, so too was the Church concerned with disloyalty amidst its own congregation. Rumours that the Church itself was infiltrated by "commies" intensified the surveillance of ethnic communities. By the late 1940s, suspicions were mounting over communist aims to penetrate all aspects of immigrant life, including ethnic parishes and local priests. Within Toronto, allegations regarding the Slovenian community led to a 1949 commission on the "Religious Condition among New Canadians of Slovenian Descent."⁸¹ The investigation concluded that many Slovene families living in Toronto were estranged from the Church, and that this was indeed the outcome of communist propaganda. In addition to the report, the names of individuals living in Canada under assumed identities who before emigrating had been associated with the CP were divulged to the Archbishop. One of these persons was the president of the Slovenian branch of the Holy Name Society in Toronto. Ironically, the Society was a Catholic devotional confraternity known for its anti-communist activities.⁸² Moreover, complaints from parishioners revealed that at least two priests were affiliated with the Communist Slovenian People's Party. One Reverend was denounced by churchgoers for advocating communist ideals and "basing his treatment [of Slovenians] on their political affiliations." He was also accused of hosting meetings of the Slovenian People's Party in Church halls.⁸³

In the late 1940s, when concern was mounting over the presence of extreme leftist groups on university campuses, McGuigan promoted the formation of Catholic committees to "quietly size up the extent of communist activities" in universities.⁸⁴ Catholic students warned the Archdiocese that university associa-

⁸¹Report on the Religious Conditions among New Canadians of Slovenian Descent, Toronto, circa 1949, McGuigan Papers (ARCAT).

⁸²See Father Joseph H. O'Neill, "Archbishop McGuigan of Toronto and the Holy Name Society: Its Role as a Force Against Canadian Communism," *Canadian Catholic Historical Association*, 55 (1988), 61-77.

⁸³Fr. Jakob Kolaric to McGuigan, Toronto, 31 July 1952, McGuigan Papers (ARCAT); Confidential correspondence to McGuigan, Toronto, 14 July 1951, McGuigan Papers (ARCAT); F. Turk to McGuigan, Toronto, 5 April 1955, McGuigan Papers (ARCAT); Rudolf Cujis to McGuigan, Toronto, 6 March 1955, McGuigan Papers (ARCAT).

⁸⁴McGuigan to Robert Lindsay, CFNC President, Toronto, 16 January 1947, McGuigan Papers (ARCAT); Toronto Newman Club to McGuigan, Toronto, 22 November 1948, McGuigan Papers (ARCAT).

tions were being overrun by the Reds, and reports informed McGuigan that some recent immigrants had obtained teaching posts at Canadian universities for "the explicit agenda of spreading communism in Canada."⁸⁵ In response, the Canadian Federation of Newman Clubs (CFNC), formed in 1942 to foster unity among Catholic students, resolved in 1947 to combat communism on university campuses.⁸⁶ McGuigan encouraged the development of surveillance committees and financed the activities of the University of Toronto Newman Club.⁸⁷ The CFNC was successful in convincing other student bodies to protest the spread of communist ideals in the National Federation of Canadian University Students — the main secular student movement.⁸⁸

In addition to policing by Catholics, McGuigan was closely associated with the Toronto Alert Service, a secular organization "dedicated to the task of gathering information" and alerting citizens to subversive operations in Canada and Soviet domination abroad.⁸⁹ Marjorie Lamb, the director of the Service, in stipulating the objectives of the Service, claimed that:

it is not the function of the RCMP to distribute information concerning Communists or communist activity. In the area of communist infiltration of ideas and psychological warfare ... their job is not to act, but watch and know. To see that the communists do not obtain their objectives in these areas is the job of every loyal Canadian.⁹⁰

The Service was, in part, subsidized by the Catholic Women's League.⁹¹ Moreover, McGuigan supported Lamb by circulating the Service's publications, encouraging Catholics to attend Lamb's anti-communist study clubs, and inviting her to address Catholic gatherings. The Civic Election Alert, a branch of the Alert Service, would inform the Archbishop of candidates sympathetic to communism. Not only did McGuigan distribute these names to all the churches in the various wards, but he

⁸⁵E. Dubois to McGuigan, Toronto, 8 December 1947, McGuigan Papers (ARCAT).

⁸⁶For information on the communist infiltration of university campuses see Paul Axelrod, "Spying on the Young in Depression and War: Students, Youth Groups and the RCMP, 1935-1942," *Labour/Le Travail*, 35 (Spring 1995), 43-63.

⁸⁷McGuigan to Robert Lindsay, CFNC President, Toronto, 16 January 1947, McGuigan Papers (ARCAT); Toronto Newman Club to McGuigan, Toronto, 22 November 1948, McGuigan Papers (ARCAT).

⁸⁸Catherine D. McLean, CFNC External Affairs Chairman to McGuigan, Toronto, 30 January 1947, McGuigan Papers (ARCAT).

⁸⁹"She's Redhead Who's Out to Beat the Reds," *Toronto Telegram*, 30 January 1959.

⁹⁰Marjorie Lamb, *Communism in Canada* (Toronto 1958), 2.

⁹¹Marjorie Lamb, "Opportunities Unlimited: A Time of Choice," *Vital Speeches of the Day*, 26 (New York, 15 March 1960), 11.

also requested that pastors encourage their congregations to vote against Labour Progressive candidates.⁹²

At the same time that the federal state was ensuring deterrence through an arms race, the Church was participating in containment through its moral and educational campaign. The Archdiocese's strategies, including weekly sermons and social study clubs on "Atheistic Communism," continued to denounce communist threats.⁹³ The *Catholic Register* exacerbated concern over Soviet domination with such headlines as, "Over nine thousands priests and nuns killed or arrested by Reds."⁹⁴ Speakers series were organized by the Church; at one conference, Watson Kirkconnell, an extreme anti-communist university professor, was invited to speak.⁹⁵ Kirkconnell had written the government pamphlet on communism in Canada, a distorted analysis of a country about to be overrun by Soviet power.⁹⁶ As new evidence of communist penetration surfaced, the Church immediately attempted to quash its success.

To counteract the communist penetration of unions, the Archdiocese formed labour schools in the 1950s. Involvement in the workers' movement was a priority for the Church, as the Vatican encyclicals *Rerum novarum* and, more so, *Quadragesimo anno* encouraged labour associations as a means of protecting workers against unscrupulous capitalists. The development of communism was blamed on the excesses of capitalism, and, as McGuigan noted in 1961, "Communism had had its appeal for one reason: because it presents itself as a solution to the economic problem."⁹⁷ Although the Vatican promoted participation in trade unions, it opposed any revolutionary activities; unions were to seek more cooperative approaches rather than attempt to dominate business relations.

While a National Catholic Union emerged in Québec, the expediency of a similar movement for the rest of Canada was a contested issue.⁹⁸ Since the early 1900s, the Québec Church opposed affiliation with the American Federation of Labour or any international labour organization, insisting instead that Catholics participate in confessional unions. Such proposals placed Catholics outside Québec in a precarious situation. In response, Archbishop McNeil argued that a National Catholic Union was not feasible. His alternative was the formation of labour schools to promote Catholic leadership in the workers' movement. Father Charles

⁹²Lamb to Wall, Archdiocese of Toronto Chancellor, Toronto, 1949-1958, McGuigan Papers (ARCAT); Lamb to McGuigan, Toronto, 1958-1960, McGuigan Papers (ARCAT); Marjorie Lamb, *Communism and You* (Toronto, 28 January 1962).

⁹³"'Atheistic Communism' study clubs," *Register*, 18 October 1947; "HNS Central Study club on Atheistic Communism," *Register*, 1 November, 1947.

⁹⁴*Register*, 8 July 1950.

⁹⁵Kirkconnell, "Communism in Canada and the U.S.A."

⁹⁶See Whitaker and Marcuse, *Cold War Canada*, 277-9.

⁹⁷Article by McGuigan, Toronto, circa 1961, McGuigan Papers (ARCAT).

⁹⁸For a discussion of the union movement in Québec see Fraser Isbester, "A History of the National Catholic Unions in Canada, 1901-1965," PhD thesis, Cornell University, 1968.

E. McGuire, who was placed in charge of the schools, drew on his contacts in the union movement and obtained prominent leaders to address his students. The schools were reasonably popular; they boasted over 700 participants, and became known for their "leading role in unmasking communism."⁹⁹ Several union members, including those affiliated with the International Chemical Workers and the United Packing House of America sought out McGuire's schools to assist in liberating their unions from communist control.¹⁰⁰ The schools worked, in part, to counter the formation of a strong labour activism and they reinforced a Cold War outlook.

The goals pursued by the Catholic Church during the Cold War were not dissimilar to those of the state. Internal security in the public sphere was ensured, as Whitaker and Marcuse note, through the "erection of controls to screen out 'security risks' among civil servants and immigrants; the elaboration of internal surveillance techniques to keep watch over dissident political activities; the dissemination of propaganda warning citizens of the dangers of Communism and celebrating the benefits of the Free World."¹⁰¹ The Catholic Church was pursuing a similar agenda through its spies, informants and surveillance of immigrants, its university committees to assess subversive activities, and its moral and educational campaign to create a Canadian and Catholic bulwark that would defend not just religious freedom but the nation as a whole.

Conclusion

The activities pursued by the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto demonstrates how national security and a political Cold War ideology was assured through the interplay of a multiplicity of forces extending beyond state or corporate powers. Extra-state organizations have historically participated in the policing of citizens; they are not simply confined to religious devotions or to social welfare.¹⁰² These extra-state forms of surveillance point to the pervasive nature of policing and the extent to which such surveillance permeates private life. Policing is not merely a coercive force; it operates at multiple levels. In this sense, private policing is emblematic of Foucault's work on discipline.¹⁰³

⁹⁹"Toronto Labour Schools Noted for Unmasking Communism," *Register*, 31 August 1957.

¹⁰⁰Hogan, *Salted with Fire*, 263; Beck, "Henry Somerville."

¹⁰¹Whitaker and Marcuse, *Cold War Canada*, 22.

¹⁰²See for example, Kelly Hannah-Moffat and Mariana Valverde, "Saving the Prisoner or Prison? Private Philanthropy and State Punishment in turn-of-the Century Ontario," *Canadian Journal of Law and Society*, forthcoming; Margaret Little, "The Blurring of Boundaries: Private and Public Welfare for Single Mothers in Ontario," *Studies in Political Economy*, 47 (Summer 1995), 89-109.

¹⁰³Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York 1977).

Such private means of monitoring and regulating behaviour, however, cannot be subordinated and subsumed under state power or dominant interests. Securing citizens is ensured through the intersection of public and private institutions, and voluntary organizations are capable of making their own claims on the state. For instance, during the 1930s the Toronto Red Squad relied on endorsement from social groups to justify its heavy-handed approach against the Communist party. As well, the government's Cold War policy would not have been as successful without groups within civil society that shared this concern. State agendas are, in part, shaped by the interests of a plurality of extra-state organizations, while these institutions are simultaneously being influenced by the state.

Focus should therefore be placed on the mixed social economy between public policy and private initiatives. While Valverde uses the "mixed social economy" as a means of analysing philanthropic social services, the approach can be used to make sense of the multiple, contradictory and interlinking techniques and technologies deployed to maintain national security. Policing should not be considered the exclusive property of the state, or limited to private corporate surveillance. This opens up the possibility of exploring how private life is policed by a plethora of moral, social and legal bodies.

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