

"To Fribe the Porters of Heaven": Poverty,
Salvation and the Saint Vincent de Paul
Society in Victorian Toronto, 1850-1890

by

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The Saint Vincent de Paul Society is probably best known today for its store fronts, its "drop boxes" for cast-off clothes, and its wide distribution of free clothing and furniture. An exclusive emphasis upon the extent of the society's "outdoor relief," however, is misleading. Such an approach overlooks the religious impulse that motivated the members of the Saint Vincent de Paul Society and the society's contribution to the formation of an Irish Catholic community in Victorian Toronto. Founded in Paris in 1833 by Frederic Ozanam for practicing Catholic men over the age of eighteen, the Saint Vincent de Paul Society was an integral part of the nineteenth century revival of French Catholicism. The "primary object" of the society was "the salvation of souls, and in particular the souls of the members themselves" through acts of charity.¹ However, true charity was inextricably linked with the sacramental life of the church. The Saint Vincent de Paul Society therefore promoted an Ultramontane form of Catholicism, a form of piety which centered upon the parish.² New Italian devotions, such as the perpetual adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, as well as devotions to the Sacred Heart and Marian piety, were imported and popularized by the society.³ In its emphasis upon the salvation of its members' souls and the sacramental life of the church, the Saint Vincent de Paul Society resembled a religious confraternity rather than a

conservative version of the Social Gospel. Still less did it have anything in common with social work.

The vertical structure of the Saint Vincent de Paul Society insured that the aims and method of the society would be transplanted with little or no modification. The activity of the society in Toronto was not an ad hoc response to local conditions, but rather conformed to the Ultramontane religious and social program set out in the Manual and monthly bulletin of the society. However, the particular contribution of the society to the development of Catholicism in Toronto depended very much upon local circumstances and upon developments in Ireland.

The failure of the Counter-Reformation to take root in Ireland and the general laxity of the clergy in the fulfillment of their duties in the eighteenth century resulted in the perpetuation of a popular religion which, though it included certain aspects of canonical Catholicism also existed along side of and exterior to the religious life of the church.⁴ By 1830, however, the bishops of Ireland under the direction of Rome had inaugurated an internal and administrative reform of the church.⁵ This reform by the bishops led to the establishment of ecclesiastical discipline and the professionalization of the clergy.⁶ A reformed church, having imposed new standards upon its clergy, could now initiate a concerted campaign to change the religious practices of the laity, and the revitalized hierarchy and clergy launched a "devotional revolution." The devotional revolution marked a dramatic change in popular religion: not only did attendance at mass increase,

but also the range of devotions within the church was vastly expanded. Because this devotional revolution was consolidated only in the generation following the famine of 1845, the massive influx of Irish Catholics in the 1840s presented the church in Toronto with the immense challenge of transforming nominal Irish Catholics into practicing ones.⁷ With the arrival in 1850 of the French and Ultramontane ecclesiastic, Bishop Armand de Charbonnel, the Catholic church in Toronto necessarily embarked upon its own administrative reform and devotional revolution.⁸ In the Saint Vincent de Paul Society, founded only a few months after his arrival, Bishop de Charbonnel saw a lay organization which through its close connection with the church was well suited to promote this devotional revolution.

The main object of the Saint Vincent de Paul Society was religious: to encourage its members in "the practice of religious life" and "to fortify the faith of the poor."⁹ Having "the salvation of its members at heart," the society existed "to maintain its members, by mutual example, in the practice of a Christian life."¹⁰ Charity was a means to an end, the means by which the members of the Saint Vincent de Paul Society gained their salvation. Thus, the visiting of the poor was not primarily a philanthropic exercise; visiting the poor was the "special object" of the society because it was a form of active Christian virtue which required "but little time" and could be "easily practiced" by "men who live in the world."¹¹

The clergy repeatedly stressed in their sermons for the

Saint Vincent de Paul Society that "without charity it was impossible to be saved."¹² Through good works the charitable could lay up in heaven a treasure of merit. "What was given to the poor was only lent to God," asserted Father McCann of Saint Paul's parish.¹³ "When the soul is balancing between two eternities, happy or miserable," Archbishop Lynch explained, "he will repay principal and interest."¹⁴ "In the blessings invoked upon our heads for services done," concurred James G. Moylan, editor of the Canadian Freeman and a member of the Saint Vincent de Paul Society, "we have strong protection in our hour of need." "And," he added, "how near that may be who can say?"¹⁵

"In the exercise of Charity which covereth a multitude of sins," asserted one member of the society, "we could make atonement for the irregularities of our past lives; and labouring for our sanctification ... we escaped the danger of future relapses."¹⁶ However, "Christian works belong to God alone," and the sacraments, especially communion, were essential.¹⁷ Without the aid of the sacraments "our charity would ... be but cold compassion-- a virtue completely human-- praiseworthy no doubt, but imperfect in the eyes of faith."¹⁸

Piety and charity therefore intermingled in the weekly conference meetings of the society. Meetings were opened with prayers by the conference president while the members kneeled.¹⁹ After reciting ^{the} Ave Maria members would take turns in reading a selection from the Imitation of Christ, The Bulletin of the Society of Saint Vincent of Paul, the Manual of the society, or the Gospels.²⁰ Before taking up the cases for relief; the members would consider the meditation of the week. These meditations,

taken individually or together, poignantly expressed the fundamental goal of the society. Members were urged to dwell upon "The small number of the Elect" and the "Certainty of Death." "The shortness of Life & the length of Eternity" only served to underscore the "Folly of Neglecting our Salvation" and being preoccupied by "the vanity of worldly things." Hence, the "Necessity of Charity" and "walking in the ways of God" to avoid the "danger of an unprovided death."

The sacraments of the church were essential, declared the president of the society, W. J. Macdonell, "to preserve the divine flame of charity among us."²¹ Without the sacraments of the church, the work of the society would be mere philanthropy and without any religious significance. As a rule the members of the Saint Vincent de Paul Society were expected to attend the quarterly, city-wide meetings and to receive communion.²² In addition to the quarterly meetings, each parish conference held an annual retreat. At these retreats, besides attending morning mass, members would assist at the forty hours devotion and at the benediction of the Blessed Sacrament.²³ The society also urged its members to say the rosary and impressed upon its members the "necessity" of frequent, that is, monthly communion.²⁴

It is in the annual parish charity sermons and in the readings for the society's weekly meetings that the connection between Catholicism and charity, centering upon the concept of Holy Poverty, was most emphatically expressed.²⁵ The privations of the poor resembled those of Christ, declared Father Teefy of Saint Basil's parish, for Jesus Christ "though he was rich, yet for your souls He became poor."²⁶ Because the poor are the "representatives of Jesus Christ" it could be said that "they

are Himself."²⁷ The garret of the poor is "the tabernacle where Jesus Christ veils himself under the rags of misery, as on the altar he conceals himself beneath the Eucharistic species."²⁸ The poor were God's children. By resigning themselves to their condition they could, in effect, make a virtue of necessity; by accepting their lot they could gain sanctification.²⁹ Poverty instead of being an obstacle to salvation could become the means by which salvation could be gained.

As "our Divine Saviour," the members of the Saint Vincent de Paul Society were assured, "wishes to be recognized under the features of the poor," they can be sure of "the efficacy of the prayers of him who is so near to God, and who is destined to come to your house."³⁰ The members of the Saint Vincent de Paul Society in attending the needs of the poor gained the patronage of those who were near to God. "Let us," declared one member, "devote ourselves to the poor and so 'bribe these porters of heaven.'"³¹ The poor, who were in their suffering so much like Christ, were the "porters of heaven" and their prayers could indeed open the gates to paradise.

Jesus Christ, Catholics were repeatedly reminded, pronounced "woe against the rich, saying it was easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter heaven."³² It was by being poor in spirit, by giving alms and in engaging in self-sacrifice that the rich could gain salvation. The members of the Saint Vincent de Paul Society were urged to ask themselves how could "my caprice" be equal to the needs of the poor?

...should I dare treat Jesus Christ as I have hitherto treated the poor?... I have sometimes spent nights in worldly pleasure, how many have I spent at the bedside of the indigent sick?³³

It was in the giving of alms that "the best antidote against those exaggerations and those daily repetitions of futile expenses" was to be found.³⁴ Thus, the "sight of so many privations is the best preservation against the abuses of riches."³⁵ The presence of poverty encouraged those who were better off to acts of self-denial, to gain the habit of a "simpler life" and thereby to devote their surplus to alms.

If the existence of poverty provided the individual wealthy Christian a singular opportunity to engage in charity, thereby providing for his own salvation, it can also be said that the poor redeemed society.³⁶ The order of society was of divine origin. Although poverty was a natural result of the Fall, "the day of man's first and most keenly felt poverty," property was of God.³⁷ The inequalities of society, stated Bishop O'Mahony, the auxiliary Bishop of Toronto, were "doubtless for the common good; without them society could not exist" because it is "necessary for men to occupy different stations in life." "If all were rich in society," he asked, "who would come down to fill the humble offices of the poor and render the duties that comprise all the workings of society?"³⁸ But if the hierarchical ordering of society is necessary for the "common good" of society it is still more necessary for the realization of salvation.

God gave the rich, Father Teehy explained, "full right to what would not only support life, but would also sustain their rank in society." "Over and above that," he continued, "was superfluous wealth, of this superfluous wealth they were to give to the poor." The rich were stewards of their wealth, and they were "bound to act towards the poor as God acted towards them." By not making a proper use of their wealth, the affluent were warned, God would judge them guilty for their refusal to extend

"their hand to the poor just as the poor man" would be "guilty if he put his hand and took the goods of the rich man." As each rank in society had its duty, society offered an "economy of charity"; "the rich man gave material assistance and the poor man prayers and gratitude, his spiritual graces."³⁹ The order of society, by providing "the most magnificent field for the exercise of Christian virtue" was in effect a divine scheme for salvation.⁴⁰

Conversely, social stability and harmony was guaranteed by religion, that is, by Catholicism. The failure of the wealthy to fulfill their obligations could only loosen the bonds of society. The aid of public relief, where the poor must "brave the fear of showing [themselves] importunate" could only result in "bitter bread."⁴¹ Thus, the poor "instead of uniting their suffering with those of a Saviour God, instead of making them ... a cause and a source of merit, blaspheme Divine Providence ... and give themselves up to despair."⁴² It is only with true Christian charity, asserted James Moylan, that "the yawning gulf is bridged over, and the Rich and the Poor are brought together is Christian sympathy." Without it, "the Tempter" will find "easy access" with the poor who see "happiness and splendor ... from the opposite shore." "Rancour and Envy and Hate" would be given free rein, and property, the "very foundation of civil order" would be threatened.⁴³ When the ties of charity were severed the poor turned away from God, from the church, "the depository and teacher of faith, sound doctrine and the guardian of morals."⁴⁴ From the rejection of divine authority it is but a short step to reject civil authority.⁴⁵

It is this assumption that formed the basis of Catholic polemic against Protestantism. "What other result could we rationally expect from the operation of the Protestant principle

of private judgement " if it was applied to the ordering of society, asked Archbishop Lynch. "If no authoritative tribunal existed for the interpretation of the laws of the country," he asserted, "nothing but anarchy and confusion would be the result."⁴⁶ The effects of the Reformation were unmistakable: "civil society has gone from bad to worse," Archbishop Lynch concluded. "Men of huge capital" exploit their workers by refusing to pay a living wage. Avarice, "the drive to become rich too quickly even though the poor should unjustly suffer," had triumphed. The ties that bound rich and poor had been severed, and civil war could not be a "distant evil."⁴⁷

The doctrine of Holy Poverty presupposed a hierarchical society, a society in which classes were bound by reciprocal duties and in which a premium was placed upon charity and resignation. Implicit in this ideal was a critique of economic individualism and of laissez-faire capitalism. However, Catholic social thought was also marked by an idealization of rural life. Cities were "haunts of vice" asserted Archbishop Lynch; in the country Irish Catholics "sheltered from the cold blast of a friendless world could gain an honest living" and their hearts could be "molded to every noble and religious principle."⁴⁸ This bucolic ideal, by appealing to the past, strengthened Catholic social conservatism. The social ideals of rural society were to be applied without modification in an urban and industrial context.

Far from promoting social change, viewing society from the perspective of Holy Poverty resulted in an emphasis upon charity as a religious responsibility. The socially disruptive consequences of a growing urban and industrial society were a direct result of individualism: the rich forgot their duty of charity and the poor were discontented with their lot. Only Catholicism with

its sacramental aids and inducements could restore the proper relations and harmony of society. The Protestant, declared James Moylan, is charitable "naturally, with as much earnestness and strength as any other man." But his religion "by denying the religious value of works of charity, has taken from him the strongest inducement to struggle on patiently in the work of providing for [the] aged or infirm."⁴⁹ All reform, therefore, began with a return to church. Individual spiritual reform, properly understood, was the key and only legitimate basis for all social reform. Charity, which had as its aim the salvation of souls, reinforced the hierarchical order of society, and by engaging in charity, the rich could ensure that society fulfilled its true purpose as an arena for the salvation of souls.

"Essentially Catholic," declared the Manual of the Society of St. Vincent of Paul, "our society should always maintain as a singular honor, a close connection with the Parochial clergy and Bishops of the Diocese."⁵⁰ "Its intimate union with the Church," the Manual continued, "is for the Society of Saint Vincent of Paul as for all Catholic works, an indispensable condition of stability, and the most necessary of all duties." "We should always remember that we are only laics" and should therefore "observe and follow with an absolute docility the directions which our ecclesiastical superiors may think to give us."⁵¹ "It is the office of our pastor to expose our duties to us," the Manual concluded, "it is ours to discharge them."⁵²

The members of the Saint Vincent de Paul Society were to the "servants" of the church, the "auxiliaries" of the clergy, and it was with this expectation that Bishop de Charbonnel founded the society in Toronto.⁵³ As the Saint Vincent de

Paul Society was established upon a parochial basis, it was in the parishes that the society's activities were centered and the initiative of its members most apparent.

With parish trustees playing little or no role, the parish priests enjoyed a monopoly in the management of parochial property.⁵⁴ The laity, usually members of the Saint Vincent de Paul Society, were appointed to serve, at the parish priest's pleasure, on ad hoc committees established by the clergy to deal with limited and specific parochial issues.⁵⁵ Members of the Saint Vincent de Paul Society often acted as ushers in the parish churches and frequently aided the women's sodalities to put on bazaars, picnics, and garden parties to aid the parish building fund or to liquidate the parish debt.⁵⁶ Because of these contributions, so essential to the operation of any parish, the Saint Vincent de Paul Society was, as Father Laurent of Saint Patrick's parish put it, the "right hand" of the clergy.⁵⁷ But the members of the society could easily view themselves as the representatives of the parish. It came quite naturally to them to take the initiative and present addresses and petitions on behalf of the parish.⁵⁸ Though the parish priest would usually select lay delegates and representatives from the Saint Vincent de Paul Society, the parish priest would remind the members that the initiative belonged to the clergy, and that independent action on the part of the Saint Vincent de Paul Society was zealous but not prudent-- and on at least one occasion their zeal did lead to a confrontation with the Archbishop.⁵⁹

Though at times the actions of the members of the Saint Vincent de Paul Society met with the disapproval of the clergy,

the church was able to galvanize an Ultramontane laity by allowing free scope for the organizational talents of Irish Catholics. It comes as no surprise that the society took pride in exhibiting "to our Protestant neighbors a beautiful example of Catholic charity."⁶⁰ So close was their identification with the church that the members of the Saint Vincent de Paul Society saw in their practice of charity the very symbol of Catholicism. The society through its connection with the clergy not only became a center for the dissemination of Ultramontane ideals and the new Italian devotions, but was also a vehicle for creating a cohesive lay minority who were self-consciously Catholic and were militant defenders of the church. Indeed, it was this new piety which, on the one hand, helped to popularize Ultramontane ideals and, on the other, served to cement the members' loyalty to the church. Through the Saint Vincent de Paul Society, Catholicism in Toronto created a militant minority-- a lay army of the church.

The role of the Saint Vincent de Paul Society in the formation of an Irish Catholic community was not limited to creating a militant and, for the most part, middle-class minority. With public charities under the management and direction of Protestants, Catholic fears of "leakage" were easily aroused. Catholic denunciations of "souperism" and of Protestant "proselytising mills" were common throughout the nineteenth century.⁶¹ "It is high time to protest against the outrageous and indefensible conduct of these would be philanthropists" in their "despicable trade of souperism," thundered the Canadian Freeman. By "taking advantage of the adverse circumstances" of the Irish Catholic poor, these charities were, the Freeman insisted, a "snare" to entrap and convert Catholics.⁶² The out-

door relief of the Saint Vincent de Paul Society to the poorest section of the Irish Catholic community-- widows, women whose husbands had gone elsewhere in search of work or had simply abandoned them, and their children-- was part of the Catholic church's attempt to develop a network of charitable institutions parallel to the public and Protestant dominated charitable voluntary associations.

"Leakage," however, was only one problem confronted by the church. After visiting a mission just outside Toronto in 1852, Bishop de Charbonnel wrote to Cardinal Fransoni, Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda Fide, that he had "never found so much ignorance and rarely as much corruption." Many," he continued, "never go to confession ... and communion, and if not positively Protestants, are so in practice on account of their cold indifference ... and their spirit of independence."⁶³ The religion of the Irish Catholic immigrant with its casual attitude to canonically enjoined observances, which Bishop de Charbonnel found so incomprehensible and horrifying that he could only see the corrupting influences of Protestantism, was a peasant religion, an eclectic mixture of Christian and pre-Christian beliefs.⁶⁴ The task of the church was not simply to "prevent defections from the faith" but to transform the nature of this peasant religion.

"There is almost no catechism in the diocese," complained Bishop de Charbonnel.⁶⁵ The lack of religious education clearly worried the clergy for, as Father Laurent put it, "on the Catholic youth of to-day will mainly depend the progress of the Catholic church of the future."⁶⁶ The Saint Vincent de Paul Society, therefore, took charge of the supervision that should belong to the parents, but "which through carelessness or want of time, they sometimes acquit themselves badly," in order to ensure that

Catholic children attended the Separate Schools.⁶⁷ As for the weekly catechism, the members not only assembled the children on Sunday afternoons, but also assisted the clergy in conducting the classes.⁶⁸ The society's visitors also made sure that children were confirmed and made their first communion-- the initiations into the full sacramental life of the church-- as well as ensuring that they regularly attended Sunday Mass: all of these religious duties which the pre-Famine generation ignored.⁶⁹ Adults too were encouraged to attend church regularly and to fulfill their Easter duties.⁷⁰ Rosaries, crucifixes, prayer books, and religious literature were distributed by the society.⁷¹ These devotional aids were a means of popularizing new forms of piety: the cult of the Virgin Mary, the devotions to the Sacred Heart of Jesus and the Holy Family.⁷² Much of the literature of the Saint Vincent de Paul Society also served to guide visitors in questioning the poor so that they could determine the effect of their efforts in the reform of religious observances.⁷³ Perhaps the most visible effort of the society to influence the ways of the Irish Catholic poor was in its attempt to curtail wakes. The society not only paid for the funerals of the poor, but the members also "prayed in the Houses by the corpses" and attended the funerals to prevent traditional wake games and amusements.⁷⁴

However, it would be misleading to assume that the devotional revolution among the Irish was solely imposed by either the church or a lay elite. Emigrating from a country that itself was experiencing dramatic social change, Irish immigrants had to adjust to an urban and industrial environment. Without skills, with hopes but without the means of attaining them, the

Catholicism of the devotional revolution gave Irish Catholics an identity that could meet their needs in an urban milieu. One of the aims of the Saint Vincent de Paul Society visitors was to "encourage economy and forethought amongst the poor."⁷⁵ True, Holy Poverty placed limits upon the possibilities of self-help. However, many Irish Catholic workers sought the modest goals of self-reliance and independence, some of which ran counter to the ideals of the Saint Vincent de Paul Society, but which may not have been foreign to the recent Irish immigrant: independence, passivity, deference and rebellion existed uneasily within the peasant of pre-Famine Ireland. The church, then, offered Irish Catholic immigrants a possible form of cultural adaptation. The identity of the devotional revolution was not simply imposed from above. The Saint Vincent de Paul Society along with many other Catholic voluntary associations, the parish confraternities, temperance societies, and Irish nationalist societies, was part of a concerted effort by both clergy and laity to create a religious subculture. Voluntary associations like the Saint Vincent de Paul Society not only created a militantly Ultramontane lay minority, but also made possible broad support for the church within the Irish Catholic community. Neither the institutional consolidation of the Catholic church nor the work of the Saint Vincent de Paul Society would have been possible without the support and the contributions, however small, of the laity. If the Catholic church offered Irish Catholics an identity suitable to an urban and industrial setting, it can also be said that the Irish Catholics created a religious subculture and an ethnic community, and in so doing, made themselves.

NOTES

- 1 Manual of the Society of St. Vincent of Paul (London; 1867), p. 30.
- 2 "Visitors Report" in Joseph J. Murphy, "Scrapbook of newspapers clippings about and memorabilia of the Saint Vincent de Paul Soc.-- Toronto," p. 4; Jean-Baptiste Duroselle, Les Débuts du Catholicisme Sociale en France (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1951), pp. 175 and 186-187.
- 3 Roger Aubert, Le Pontificat de Pie IX (Paris: Bloud and Gay, 1963), pp. 463-68; Bulletin of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, September 1872 pp. 295-99, May 1873 p. 152, June 1875 pp. 161-63, February 1889 p. 45, September 1889 p. 257, May 1890 p. 143. Copies of the Bulletin now in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Toronto (A.A.T.) were originally in the libraries of the Saint Patrick's and Saint Basil's conferences.
- 4 David W. Miller, "Irish Catholicism and the Great Famine," Journal of Social History 9 (1975): 89-91.
- 5 Emmet Larkin, "The Devotional Revolution in Ireland," American Historical Review 77 (1972): 630 and S. J. Connolly, Priests and People in Pre-Famine Ireland (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982), pp. 69 ff.
- 6 Emmet Larkin, The Making of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, 1850-1860 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), pp. 488-490.
- 7 Emmet Larkin, "The Devotional Revolution in Ireland," p. 648.
- 8 See M. W. Nicolson, "Ecclesiastical Metropolitanism and the Evolution of the Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto," Histoire sociale/ Social History 15 (1982): 129-156.
- 9 Canadian Freeman, 8 May 1862 and "Toronto Particular Council Report," Bulletin, March 1882, p. 92.
- 10 Manual, p. 20.
- 11 Manual, pp. 30-33.
- 12 See, for example, Irish Canadian, 19 February 1868.
- 13 Irish Canadian, 7 December 1872.
- 14 Irish Canadian, 1 November 1882. See also Irish Canadian, 20 October 1875.
- 15 Canadian Freeman, 22 December 1870.
- 16 "Twenty-Fifth General Meeting Held in St. Paul's Church Sunday the 10th of September, 1865," in J. S. McGivern, ed., A Documentary Contribution to the History of the Saint Vincent de Paul Society in Toronto (Toronto, 1975), p. 57.

- 17 Manual, p. 20 and Conference of Our Lady, Minute Book,
18 June 1854 (hereafter cited as O.L.).
- 18 Manual, p. 422.
- 19 Manual, pp. 49 ff.
- 20 See, for example, O.L., 8 February, 18 June, and 8 October
1854.
- 21 O.L., 18 June 1854.
- 22 The meetings were held on the Feast of the Immaculate
Conception, the First Sunday of Lent, Second Sunday after Easter,
and July 19, the feast day of Saint Vincent de Paul.
- 23 O.L., 18 September and 4 December 1853 and 16 November
1865.
- 24 See, for example, O.L., 8 February, 18 June, 8 October
1854, and 8 February 1857.
- 25 I have borrowed the term from Sheridan Gilley, "Heretic
London, Holy Poverty, and the Irish Poor, 1830-1870," Downside
Review 89 (1971): 64-89. Gilley's brilliant exposition of the
nature of Catholic charity in Victorian London is an essential
contribution to the understanding of nineteenth century Catholic
social theory and social action.
- 26 Irish Canadian, 9 February 1879.
- 27 Manual, pp. 225 and 234-35. See also W. J. Macdonell's
comments in Canadian Freeman, 21 September 1871.
- 28 Bulletin, May 1877, p. 165.
- 29 Bulletin, June 1879, p. 173.
- 30 Bulletin, June 1887, p. 163.
- 31 "Twenty-Fifth General Meeting ... 1865," in McGivern,
ed., A Documentary Contribution, p. 57.
- 32 See, for example, Canadian Freeman, 26 January 1871.
- 33 Manual, pp. 309-310.
- 34 Bulletin, September 1875, p. 260.
- 35 Rules of the Society of St. Vincent of Paul (Toronto,
1861), p. 30.
- 36 Gilley, "Heretic London, Holy Poverty, and the Irish Poor,"
p. 66.
- 37 Irish Canadian, 5 February 1879.

- 38 Irish Canadian, 15 December 1880.
- 39 Irish Canadian, 21 November 1889.
- 40 Irish Canadian, 15 December 1880.
- 41 Bulletin, June 1877, p. 169.
- 42 Manual, p. 10.
- 43 Canadian Freeman, 20 December 1872.
- 44 Canadian Freeman, 6 February 1868.
- 45 Canadian Freeman, 6 February 1862.
- 46 Canadian Freeman, 1 July 1869.
- 47 Irish Canadian, 28 January 1886.
- 48 "The Evils of Wholesale and Improvident Emigration from Ireland," 1864, Lynch Papers, A.A.T.
- 49 Canadian Freeman, 8 June 1871.
- 50 Rules, p. 10.
- 51 Rules, p. 26.
- 52 Manual, p. 233.
- 53 Manual, pp. 6 and 26.
- 54 See "An Act to Incorporate the Roman Catholic Bishops of Toronto and Kingston in Canada, in each Diocese," LXXXII, 29 March 1845, Power Administration I, A.A.T.
- 55 See, for example, "Committee on Ways and Means, Report 1876"; Charles Robertson to Archbishop Lynch, 12 July 1861; Eugene O'Keefe to Archbishop Lynch, 20 October 1877; D. A. O'Sullivan to Archbishop Lynch, 22 July 1884, Lynch Papers, A.A.T.
- 56 "Book of Announcements," Saint Michael's Cathedral, 5 February, 23 July, 21 August 1882 and "Book of Announcements," Saint Paul's Parish, 23 July 1871; O.L., 25 November 1855, 13 April 1856, 17 August 1877, 4 September 1887.
- 57 Irish Canadian, 29 April 1886.
- 58 O.L., 6 February, St. Patrick's Conference, Minute Book, 19 August 1877 and 25 May 1890 (hereafter cited as St. P.).
- 59 See the Globe, 5, 7, 8, and 10 January 1881.
- 60 "Toronto Particular Council Report, 1887-1888," Bulletin, October 1888, p. 349

61 See, for example, J.J. Murphy, "Scrapbook of newspaper clippings," pp. 38-39; Canadian Freeman, 26 June, 6 and 13 November 1862, 23 March 1871, 28 March 1872; St. P., 25 November 1877 and 10 March 1878.

62 Canadian Freeman, 10 June 1969.

63 Bishop de Charbonnel to Cardinal Fransoni, 30 May 1852, de Charbonnel Papers, A.A.T.

64 David W. Miller, "Irish Catholicism and the Great Famine," pp. 89-91 and S. J. Connolly, Priests and People, pp. 100-120.

65 "Explication de la supplique du 2^d Concile de Québec," 22 October 1855, de Charbonnel Papers, A.A.T.

66 Irish Canadian, 16 November 1870.

67 Manual, p. 477; O.L., 3 and 27 November 1853, 19 March 1854, 2 September 1855, 13 April 1879, 4 May 1879, 27 April 1880, 8 September 1880 and St.P., 23 December 1877, 10 November 1878 and 2 March 1879.

68 O.L., 9 October 1853, 22 December 1855, and 27 January 1856.

69 "Summary Statement From 10 November '50 to 1 May 1851," in J. S. McGivern, ed., A Documentary Contribution, p. 37 and Presidential Address-- St. Vincent de Paul Society, Toronto," Bulletin, February 1879, p. 61.

70 "Vistors Report," J.J. Murphy, "Scrapbook of newspaper clippings," pp. 4 and 5.

71 See Hospital Board, Minutes; "Toronto Particular Council Report," Bulletin, March 1882, p. 92; Superior Council Report for the Year (Quebec, 1883), p. 20.

72 Bulletin, April 1872, pp. 125-126, September 1872, pp. 298-300, May 1873, p. 152, June 1875, pp. 161-163, June 1879, pp. 172-181, April 1882, p. 100, and March 1883, p. 70.

73 "Toronto Particular Council Report," Bulletin, March 1882, pp. 92-93.

74 "Summary Statement From 10 November '50 to 1 May 1851," in J.S. McGivern, ed., A Documentary Contribution, p. 37; O.L., 30 October 1853, 4 May 1856, 22 September 1867, 15 December 1872, 24 December 1876, 14 January 1877, 29 August 1880; St. P., 14 February 1875 and 28 March 1886.

75 Bulletin, November 1878, p. 320.