

**CSCH President's Address 2018**

**For Whom the Bard Tells:  
The Role of the Canadian Society of Church History in  
Shaping Religious Historiography**

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Because of the Canadian Society of Church History (CSCH), I can tie a single Windsor knot. While the internet taught me *how* to do this, it was the 2005 Annual Meeting of the CSCH that provided the *why*. I was not sure how my knowledge of Irish Baptists in the Second World War would play to a room full of historians – many of whom I knew by reputation – but I knew I had to at least dress like I belonged there. I had no concept of the nurturing academic world I was about to enter and, had I known, my intestinal health that spring would have been better. On the other hand, that fear motivated me to acquire the aforementioned fashion-related skill which has proven quite helpful. No regrets.

While anecdotal, self-indulgent, and not even remotely intellectual, I offer that preceding tale as a light-hearted example of the ways in which this society can improve the life of a burgeoning academic. The support my work has received over time has fostered in me an excitement for the discipline of history, as well as a desire to champion collegiality over rivalry; a sentiment not necessarily enjoyed in other academic realms. This address has given me the opportunity to reflect upon my time in the CSCH as I have moved from nervous graduate student to nervous professor; from having no idea what a member-at-large was, to my only slightly more

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informed role as your president.<sup>1</sup> This nostalgic journey led me to the research that forms this article. What you are about to read is an unapologetically biased look at the role the CSCH has played in shaping trends in Canadian and religious history.

Thanks to the work of Bruce Guenther, Eric Fehr, and Paul Laverdure, we have a collection of presentations and writings that have been a delight to pour over. I hope I can do some justice to these CSCH-ers as this presidential address was designed to celebrate their achievement of cataloguing, exploring, and making readily available such a robust collection of Canadian stories, religious stories, and intersections of the two. I will take us through a very brief review of a certain kind of history before exploring some of the trends that have shaped historical work for the past fifty years. Next, some papers noted in the CSCH index will provide evidence that annual meetings influenced subsequent historical work. Following that, I am hoping to present some of the observations I have made before offering a few ideas for the future (as much as that is a risk for us historians). At the risk of sentimentalizing, I believe the spirit and personalities of this society have done as much to shape Canadian historiography as the topics themselves.

### ***The Bardic Tradition***

Like a good historiographical descendant of Thucydides, I have attempted to maintain a detached and analytical approach to my research. Critics of historiography gave me pause that this address would become, in the words of Christopher Norris, “extravagant metaphorical whimsy [and] a kind of sophisticated doodling on the margins of serious, truth-seeking discourse.”<sup>2</sup> However, I began to warm to the academic element of this topic while doing some research on St. Patrick for a class I was teaching. I came across Joseph Campbell’s *Romance of the Grail* in which he argues, “many of the earliest Irish monks had been . . . bards, before their conversions, and . . . brought to their Christianity something of the earlier sense of a common spiritual ground to be recognized.”<sup>3</sup> Despite the Synod of Whitby formally bringing the Celtic Church under Roman strictures, Irish missionaries like Columbanus, holy sites like Iona, historical works like that of Bede, and the Irish penchant for collecting non-biblical literature ensured that the fruits of Patrick’s labour profoundly shaped Western Christian thought. Though fraught with potential historiographical peril, the present age affords an opportunity to reconsider

the bardic traditions of countless lands, nations, and tribes before us as a wealth of information about how to show and tell well-researched history to a gathered collective.

Rowan Williams' comment about the formation of the Gospels seems particularly fitting as he asserts that the New Testament "is not a simple record of what happened," but that the enduring legacy of these texts came from the "hugely creative and innovative attempt to make one story out of a set of memories."<sup>4</sup> Arthur Lower likewise cautions his readers that the historian's task is to take a collection of independent stories and somehow put them in step with each other in the hopes of presenting a common theme.<sup>5</sup> While this can add fuel to the fire of historical criticism (and cause defenders of scriptural inerrancy discomfort), we know that much of our research originated in the spoken word and was written later for posterity; with all the potential for contamination that implies. After all, historical research has shown us that even elements of what we now call the Bible were written accounts of oral traditions passed down through generations of the faithful.

Christianity is, of course, not alone in this regard as any culture or religion with ancient roots finds the same patterns of dissemination in their own origin stories. In an age when the former methodologies and structures of authority are all suspect, there does seem to be a renewed desire for the individual to find their identity within compelling narratives. Stories seem to be able to transcend the challenges of knowing by submitting information in ways that are evocative and emotionally rewarding. Such attachment to emotionalism could signal the end of true historical discourse, but I would offer a challenge that the culture and technology of this age present us with the opportunity to combine the art of the bards at the fire with the academics in the archives.

This combining of creative story-telling with rigorous research is nothing new and we will return to this topic a little later in the address. For now, I want to take these concepts of post-modernity and historiography and root them in the more localized and shared experience of the past fifty years of the CSCH. Contained within the work of Dr. Guenther et al. is a rich tapestry that reveals the main point of this paper: we write better history because of each other.

### ***Post Colonism***

There is nothing quite like a snappy title to grab the attention of potential readers. In 2001, Paul Laverdure's inflammatorily titled "The Jesuits Did It!" certainly grabs the eye, but, once you learn that it is about

the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln, it also piques the interest. In the same year, Marguerite Van Die produced a fascinating case study about the influence of financial investors over Protestantism from 1867 to 1891 and utilized alliteration to present her findings in “Politics, Patronage and Protestants.” Mark McGowan’s poetic “We Endure What We Cannot Cure” explained Protestant and Catholic tensions in late nineteenth-century Toronto, while Norman Knowles used a direct quote from his research to describe his paper in “Fighting Manfully Onward.”<sup>6</sup> Sandra Beardsall’s 1999 presidential address, “The Three-Headed Calf,” employs a powerful image in her examination of the CSCH (and reveals a certain *gravitas* that supersedes the pun-heavy title you are currently reading).<sup>7</sup> The reason for highlighting these few examples is to point out that such a desire for titillating titles was not always the concern of our colleagues and that is something that should be noted.

Prior to 1977 most papers favoured description over flourish in their titles. Goldwin French’s “The Political Ideas of the Methodists in British North America up to 1850;” John Moir’s “The Sectarian Tradition in Canada;” and John Webster Grant’s “Immigration and the Churches in the Age of Laurier” are prime examples of such explanatory titles.<sup>8</sup> This is not meant to serve as a condemnation – far from it! It is fascinating to chart the development of scholars having more fun with their titles because it is a later 1970s development that was neither needed nor appreciated previously. Of course, there are always exceptions as John Henderson’s 1969 address, “Abominable Incubus: The Idea of the National Church in Upper Canada,” demonstrates.

The three-part title reveals a development I refer to as “post-colonism” because the colon became an integral element of the title during the 1970s and beyond. Allow me to demonstrate. Part one (pre-colon): the clever, funny, witty, engaging element of the title. Part two (the colon): this grammatical feature lets the reader know that the tone of the title is about to shift from provocative to explanatory. Part three (post-colon): explains what the presentation is actually going to explore. Hence, this overly cute – though accurate, I would argue – term post-colonism. With the exception of a couple of years in the late 1980s, post-colonism was the norm for titles from around 1977 and on.

I have had numerous conversations with other members in which we all confess that our research can sometimes yield quotes so funny, vile, clever, or indicative of their time that we cannot help writing “out of our way” to ensure their inclusion. Even when cut from the printed version of

the presentation, the discovery of a good quip can be as rewarding as a successful day collecting data. The creation of clever titles, or the idea that some tangential quotes are just too good to pass up, is the point I am trying to make. The post-modern penchant for deconstructing grand narratives has yielded some pleasing results but it has also increased the perception that the historical discipline is irrelevant. This thinking is something many of us combat on an institutional level and within the classroom. I begin every semester asking how many people are taking this course out of desire or requirement; my experience is that the latter is the majority. Post-colonialism, while not unique to our society, displays our awareness that historiography needs to be packaged – if I can use so mercenary a term – in increasingly creative ways, even to a room of interested colleagues.

This goes to my earlier point that we have shaped each other's interests and what we decide to include in our presentations. I do not want to overstate the case; our own research interests remain the primary motivation for writing and presenting. However, as David Weale's "God's Exiles," or Wallace Mills' "The Fork in the Road," or Richard Ruggle's "House Divided Against Itself," or Elizabeth Muir's "Petticoats in the Pulpit" illustrate, we believe that pithy pre-colon titles are as important as the explanation found post colon.<sup>9</sup>

### *Panel Discussions*

We tell stories. Some of the best stories we tell each other are of the more obscure, unknown people and events that we believe possess an import that outweighs the attention they have received. We combat myths, abolish pre-conceived notions, alter established thoughts by introducing new information, and honour the seemingly insignificant. Canadians are not known to be interested in either religion or their own history and that necessitates some concerted planning for a society dedicated to expounding on both those topics. While the collegial atmosphere of the society, and the casual dinner discussions, can yield profound insights and shape future research, it is important to take some time to look at the intentional ways this society has created influence. Panel discussions address issues of prominence at the time as well as challenging members to consider new topics in the future.<sup>10</sup>

While the publication of Ramsay Cook's *Regenerators* almost necessitated the 1986 panel on his work, other discussions have been proactive and inspirational in their abilities to increase the popularity of certain topics.<sup>11</sup> By way of example, in 1991 Brian Clarke, Hans Rollmann, and George Rawlyk hosted "Revivalism and the Writing of

Canadian Religious History” that gave significant bumps to both historiography and Evangelical Protestantism in subsequent years.<sup>12</sup> To scan presentations from 1992 is to encounter numerous titles including words like “fundamentalism” and “evangelicalism” in the post-colonialism section. The panel from that year also carried its predecessor’s torch by asking what it is that church historians do and how historians can discern authentic Christianity (an evangelical question if ever there was one). Martin Rumscheidt’s question, “How Ought Church-Historians to do Church-History?” is just one example of a structured discussion’s notable ability to shape subsequent historiography.

The topic I want to conclude this section with is the society’s fourth most popular theme of all time: Women and religion. During the 2017 meeting it was noted that there were, arguably for the first time, more female presenters than males. This is an important increase that, I would argue, truly began in 1990 with Lucille Marr’s panel: “Recovering Women’s Experience in Church History.” Thirty-four papers are counted under the moniker Women and religion and, while the first pre-dates Marr’s panel by six years, there is a noticeable increase in the decades that followed.<sup>13</sup> Marr herself presented “Sunday School Teaching: A Women’s Enterprise” in 1991; a year that also saw Ruth Compton Brouwer’s “Transcending the ‘Unacknowledged Quarantine’: Putting Religion into Canadian Women’s History,” John Graham’s, “The Haven: A Toronto Charity for Women, 1878-1913,” and Eldon Hay’s “Letitia Simson: Covenanter Private and Public Person,” presentations that answered Marr’s challenge to recover these important experiences.

1992 saw even more crossover as historians within the society began to look at the experiences of evangelical women in Canadian history. Sharon Cook wrote about the role of evangelicalism and the Temperance Movement in forming her definition of women’s culture. Marilyn Färdig Whiteley introduced the society to Annie Leake Tuttle and the ways in which autobiography helped her find a voice within evangelicalism. Miriam Ross, somewhat akin to Marr’s look at women in Sunday School, used the example of Hannah Maria Norris to show how nineteenth-century women shaped the world of Christian missions. This is not to say that only women can/should undertake such topics; 1992 also yielded David Elliot’s counter-intuitive work “The Feminist Impulse Within Fundamentalism” – two ideas that are rarely held together in a positive way.

Historians see the value in diverse points of view and struggle to incorporate as many of these as possible in order to ensure the most full-

orbed expression of any given topic. While some have dismissed unfairly feminist history as agenda-driven research, the CSCH has enjoyed a robust collection of priceless scholarship – and leadership – because of the academics who deem such tales valuable. While I would like to point to the obvious merits of such topics and assume that the quality of such work will stand on its own, I find myself thinking that would be sadly naïve. The profound and disturbing regression in many social arenas of life as it pertains to women means that these stories are of increasing value in the twenty-first century. While the #metoo movement has brought some increased accountability, there have been staggering strides taken in the opposite direction from some very public platforms (and political offices). While it is likely beyond the scope of our society to affect change on such national stages, the fact remains that recovering the voices of women in religious histories remains of the utmost importance.

### ***Going Forward***

A few years ago, Emily Carr’s 1929 masterpiece “Indian Church” re-emerged on the national scene as it became embroiled in a renaming controversy. The quality and content of the painting was not in question, nor was the character of the artist. Unlike the accusations related to residential schools that swirled around men like John A. Macdonald and Egerton Ryerson at roughly the same time, no one argued that Carr was an agent of Native oppression. While there were those who believed changing the name was disrespectful, others put forward the argument that the artist would likely be in support of the change due to her belief that Indigenous people were a beautiful element in the mosaic of Canadian culture. Ultimately, it was decided to change the name of the painting to “Church in Yuquot Village” – a decision that came about not without opposition.<sup>14</sup>

I bring this up because it is indicative of a very important trend within the Canadian academy in this present age. In the wake of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the disgraceful fact that residential schools remained extant until very recently, it is incumbent upon historians to proclaim these tales of atrocities. Perhaps the myths of Canada and the First Nations people are the most important myths we are called to combat. Like the desire in the 1990s to see the experiences of women in Canada recovered, we are now being called upon to recover (or perhaps discover) Native voices and provide places for such voices to be heard. From 1990 to 2009 fourteen papers were written on the topic of First Nations, making it one of the more popular choices for scholarship. However, only Peter Bush’s “The Native Residential Schools and the

Presbyterian Church in Canada” specifically addressed this issue. This is not to say that other papers have not referenced the issue within the larger context of their research; it is simply to point out that more work can be done in this area.

Marguerite Van Die and others brought this issue up at Ryerson University in 2017 and wondered how the CSCH could become a society that included more Indigenous research. In keeping with tradition, the year following the meeting yielded a pleasant amount of scholarship related to the previous year’s discussion. We began our 2018 gathering by acknowledging the fact that we were located on Treaty 4 land and, in our fifth session, we enjoyed two papers on “Indigenous Expressions of Christianity in Canada.” After lunch, our next session featured three more papers on “Religion, Missionaries, and the Numbered Treaties.” We were honoured with a tour of First Nations University and allowed access to Treaty maps and the perspectives of a few of the students who attended. This is a society that values Indigenous voices and already possesses within its ethos a warm and inviting spirit.

The struggle that remains is not one of desire or ethos but of methodology. In my work on churches in the War of 1812, I desired to bring First Nations’ voices into my research. I found out very quickly that my desires were not going to be met because theirs were not the kind of tales a white boy was going to put in his dissertation. The 1812 experience through Native eyes was part of a culture, and told in ways, that I could not duplicate nor fully understand. Fair enough. I have been a part of numerous conferences on 1812 and almost every single one of those conferences featured a panel on Indigenous involvement on both sides of the war. However, without exception, the people presenting on such panels were white and male and their research was predominantly based on the writings of so-called Indian agents and other colonial officers.

So, the discussions around the table in downtown Toronto in the Spring of 2017 haunt me still. The reality of our location in 2018 does much the same. How can the CSCH be a more inclusive community of scholars? In order to offer some possible suggestions and to conclude this address, I look to the technology of this present age and the story-telling practices of former ages.

### ***Netflix, YouTube, and Digital History***

Netflix changed everything. In an age that has witnessed the



sensationalism of Jordan Peterson, academics can no longer deny the impact that streaming services like YouTube can have on the academy – or at least the popular perception of what the academy is about. The money Peterson receives from his YouTube celebrity status means that he can fund any research he so desires without worrying about grant applications ever again; that is a powerful advantage. The ability to binge shows means that people want to consume their entertainment and education (Netflix documentaries are incredibly popular) without having to wait longer than a few seconds for the continuation of the story. While people lament the loss of the written word and the publishing industry records financial losses year after year, that does not mean people are reading less. One has to look only at the magical realm of Harry Potter to realize that books can still carry significant cultural weight. After all, the music industry has seen a steady decline in profitability that mirrors the decline in mainline churches in Canada for more than a decade, but that does not mean that people are no longer interested in music. They are simply finding alternate ways to access their favourite bands.

In her lectures *The Uses and Abuses of History*, Margaret MacMillan correctly states that our digital age is full of plenty of poorly-constructed popular history; but that is only half of the problem. On institutional levels, there can be a lot of pressure from administrations both to bolster class numbers and to develop a strong (and financially beneficial) online presence. That is problematic in that many in this age will, if given the choice, listen to a lecture on their phone or computer rather than attend a class. This is the world in which we live and, again, while it is unlikely that the CSCH will effect change on such a deep cultural level, I believe we can benefit from combining many of the elements that I have discussed in this address.

It is true that this is an age given over to sensationalism, but our post-colonialism reminds us that we have always been aware of the fact that engagement is part of good historiography. The panel discussions have proven highly effective in driving research that has greatly benefitted and deepened this society's ability to support new scholars and remain relevant to the discussions of faith from a Canadian perspective. As we delve into the realm of Indigenous history, I believe it is important not just to report on the stories of our First Nations, but also to adjust our methodologies to see their oral/bardic element of historiography as a legitimate academic discipline. I believe that the world we live in now would greatly benefit from a more rigorous version of bardic history that is not only concerned with telling the epics and recounting the heroism of the past, but also with using the oral traditions passed down through generations to critique them.

While few academic societies would disagree with the desire to include Indigenous voices, it appears that such desires rarely move past lip service. Which brings me to my final point: the collegial and supportive ethos of the CSCH is the most valuable commodity we possess when it comes to this topic. We have proven time and again that we listen to each other and when one of our colleagues posits an interesting idea or expresses a desire to expand on an under-examined element of history, we tend to listen.

In a discussion with a graduate student at the University of British Columbia, I learned that she is researching inclusion as it pertains to museums. In short, some people go to museums for academic reasons, others bring their children, others go for personal interest, or because of a particular exhibit, or even utilize the museum as an interesting place for a romantic date. Each type of person gains something different from the museum based on the desires that brought them there in the first place. In other words, two groups of people in the same museum on the same day may have very different experiences and, in some way, experience two different museums. Their agendas shape what they see, why they see it, and how the experience is remembered. Her research, and it is research museums are growing increasingly interested in for obvious reasons, explores how the museum can provide the best version of itself for as many different types of people as possible. The financial benefit is obvious, but the struggle is a simple one: true inclusion always means actual change. Hence the story of Emily Carr's painting and the fallout from one museum's desire truly to explore what it means to honour both the artist as well as acknowledge that words like "Indian" have aided in the appalling damage done to Indigenous peoples.

The internet has forced us to contend with the so-called democratization of information and reduced the need for libraries and archives in popular perception. Historians know the dangers of this because one of the best ways to shape a people is through myths and one of the best ways to build such myths is to limit people's access to legitimate sources. However, as I have watched numerous short films made by Indigenous peoples in the Idle No More movement, I came to realize that these digital archives were going to be important to understand better how twenty-first century Natives were attempting to navigate their space in a Canada that they feel is more willing to listen than in the past. I began to see how many of these young people (and they are mostly young) were attempting to reach out to the white settlers of Canada in a medium that allowed them voices and faces. Even though I love to read, I found it helpful to watch

these films (some of them only a few minutes in length) in order to grasp the themes and witness the passion of these people as they told their stories in compelling ways. They shared their stories, stories I have longed to hear, in ways that made sense to them but were designed to bring awareness to interested parties outside their respective communities. I found myself being thankful that YouTube and other online sites provided an opportunity for communication and awareness that has not been available before now. What an age to be alive! Those videos, and the 2017 panel discussion on Indigenous voices, were the inspirations behind this talk as I wondered how we could truly bring the voices of First Nations to our collective and be shaped by the histories we will hear.

### ***Conclusion***

In the last session of our 2017 meeting, we had a presentation from a scholar whose topic did not fit the traditional scope of our society's stated aims. Numerous emails went back and forth between the man, his son, and our Executive as we debated whether or not this paper had a place in the CSCH. The decision was ultimately made less on criteria and more on sentiment, compassion, and a desire to provide a positive experience for the people involved. I fear this sounds dismissive of this man and his work, but I do not mean that at all. Rather, I hold this up as an example of the kinds of issues inclusion creates, but also as an example of how a problematic situation evolved into a wonderful experience.

The session was well-attended by regular members as well as a multi-generational contingent of his family. It was a delight to see the joy on the faces of those relatives as they watched the patriarch of their clan share his wisdom with a room full of scholars. That could be lost in other societies, but I think it is worth noting and celebrating. The opportunity afforded this man speaks to the character of the CSCH more than anything else I can think of in recent memory. I close with this story because I believe that character, more than numbers or academic rigour, has the potential to guide us into the new world that is forming. Such willingness to create a space for others will bring to us an increasing breadth, depth, and diversity; with all the accompanying headaches, sure, but also some new ideas we would not otherwise encounter.

In *On Grand Strategy* Cold-War historian John Lewis Gaddis speaks of the importance of marrying aspirations to capabilities.<sup>15</sup> Citing numerous military successes and failures from Xerxes, to Napoleon, to Vietnam, he argues that knowing where we want to go is rarely the problem. Situations become untenable when we fail to take a sober and

realistic inventory of where we currently reside. Honestly assessing the “geography” (capabilities) upon which we stand can help reveal the path towards – and the obstacles that stand between – our desired destination/aspiration. Aspirations are unlimited as they live within our minds; capabilities live in this world and provide both the limitations and tools needed to achieve our goals. If including more voices is the aspiration of the CSCH, this paper has been a celebration and reminder of some of the capabilities we already possess that, I believe, can help us achieve this laudable goal. Solid scholarship, creativity, humility, and a gracious ethos that seeks to include new voices are some very useful tools and I would like to suggest contemporary technology as a limitation that could be turned to a strength.

Perhaps it is time to find new uses of social media to help scholars present their ideas. Perhaps historians from bardic cultures that celebrate story-telling will find a voice within our society if we can embrace a more narrative methodology. Perhaps we can do that in ways that are academically rigorous and that transcend the baseless opinions and popularity contests that seem to dominate current online discussions. Perhaps more people will learn about women in Canadian history, or evangelicalism, or gun-toting Methodists – if the topics are presented on a platform that is more readily accessible than academic monographs. Perhaps we can raise the profile of all academics to provide a foil for Jordan Peterson’s current monopoly over internet academia. Perhaps this will become the age of the peer-reviewed academic film. Perhaps our ability to use these new media will even get our various administrations off our backs as our popularity increases! After all, the internet taught me how to tie a Windsor knot in 2005, but the CSCH was the reason why I wanted to learn in the first place. The internet gives us the “how” to expand our work to a wider circle of established and burgeoning scholars, but the desires of this society to constantly push into new areas provides the why.

I hope this paper has shown that the CSCH has a history of making historiography creative, fun, and engaging without compromising academic rigour. I hope it has shown that we have both shaped, and been shaped by, our colleagues in the society. Since the 1970s we have known that our research needs to be framed creatively if we hope to reach anyone with it; in the twenty-first century, perhaps we need to become creative with our use of media as well. If “the medium is the message,” as Canadian scholar Marshall McLuhan asserts, then utilizing video, websites, blogs, and social media creatively is the way we engage today.

The digital medium takes the place of the pithy, funny, interesting pre-colon title because the very fact that it is available in a creative online format is interesting in and of itself. With the medium carrying the pre-colon load, we are free simply to present our research to an ever-increasing collection of people and benefit from the research of wider base of scholars than ever before. In other words, we are free to experience our colleagues' post-colonism works.

### ***Endnotes***

1. Thank you to Robynne Rogers Healey for painstakingly walking me through our annual business meeting.
2. Christopher Norris, *Derrida* (London: Fontana, 1987), 79.
3. Joseph Campbell, *The Romance of the Grail: The Magic and Mystery of Arthurian Myth* (Novato, CA: New World Library, 2015), 18-19.
4. Rowan Williams, *Why Study the Past? The Quest for the Historical Church* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 7.
5. Arthur R.M. Lower, *Canadians in the Making* (Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co., 1958).
6. Mark McGowan, "'We Endure What We Cannot Cure': John Joseph Lynch and Roman Catholic-Protestant Relations in Toronto, 1864-1875: Frustrated Attempts at Peaceful Coexistence," *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1984): 89-116; and Norman Knowles, "'Fighting Manfully Onward': Masculine Christianity and Working-Class Religion in Canada, 1880-1930," Paper presented at the CSCH annual conference, 1996.
7. Sandra Beardsall, "The Three-Headed Calf: Triple Vision and the Canadian Society of Church History," *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1999): 197-211.
8. Goldwin French, "The Political Ideas of the Methodists in British North America up to 1850," incorporated into Goldwin French, *Parsons and Politics: The Role of the Wesleyan Methodists in Upper Canada and the Maritimes from 1780 to 1855* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1962); John S. Moir, "The Sectarian Tradition in Canada," in *The Churches and the Canadian Experience: A Faith and Order Study of the Christian Tradition*, ed. John Webster Grant (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1963), 119-32; and John Webster Grant, "Immigration and the Churches in the Age of Laurier," published as "The Reaction of WASP Churches to Non-WASP Immigrants," *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1968): 1-15.

9. David Weale "God's Exiles: An Examination of the Doctrine of Anglo-Israelism Among the Immigrant Followers of the Reverend Donald McDonald in Prince Edward Island, 1830-1867," published as "God's Exiles: A Theology for Immigrants"; Wallace Mills, "The Fork in the Road: Religious Separatism vs. African Nationalism in the Cape Colony, 1890-1910," *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church* (1978): 37-54; Richard E. Ruggle "A House Divided Against Itself: The Denominational Antagonisms of the Grand River Missions," *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1978): 1-10; and Elizabeth Muir, "Petticoats in the Pulpit: Three Early Canadian Methodist Women," *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church* (1984): 26-49.
10. A word on the methodology I am using to note popularity: this will not be ground-breaking nor overly insightful, but, as I combed through the fifty years of topics, I took special note of those ideas that occurred ten times or more as indicative of popularity.
11. "Church History and Historians" is a popular topic in that there were thirteen presentations in total. Of those, three were specific to Cook, and all of them were from 1986. Cook does not meet the popularity criteria established, but given the panel and that three different people wrote about his work, I thought it was worth noting.
12. Historiography is the fifth most popular theme of the society with a total of twenty-seven papers dedicated to this topic. Evangelical Protestantism also became a popular topic in the years following Clarke's panel as fifteen new papers were added to the list.
13. The presentation has already been noted: it was Muir, "Petticoats in the Pulpit."
14. A good article on this from May 2018 can be found at the following link: <http://artmatters.ca/wp/2018/05/emily-carrs-church-in-yuquot-village/>
15. John Lewis Gaddis, *On Grand Strategy* (New York: Penguin Books, 2018).







