HISTORICAL PAPERS 2013
Canadian Society of Church History

Annual Conference
University of Victoria
3-4 June 2013

Edited by
Bruce L. Guenther, Todd Webb and Marilyn Färdig Whiteley

Canadian Cataloguing in Publication Data
Main entry under title:

Historical Papers

June 2/3 (1988)-
Annual.
A selection of papers delivered at the Society's annual meeting.
Place of publication varies.
Continues: Proceedings of the Canadian Society of Church History, ISSN 0842-1056.
ISSN 0848-1563
ISBN 0-9696744-0-6 (1993)

1. Church History –Congresses. 2. Canada–Church history–Congresses. l. Canadian Society of Church history.

BR570.C322 fol. 277.1 C90-030319-0

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The Story of Howland House: Being the Church on the Margins

BETSY ANDERSON
Emmanuel College

In his 1951 book, *The Household of Faith,* T. Ralph Morton proclaimed that, "it is the duty of Christians today to make experiments in cooperative social living which will point the way to this new living society."[1] Howland House, begun in 1953 as an intentional Christian community connected to the Student Christian Movement of Canada (SCM) and located at 105 Howland Ave. in downtown Toronto, was such an experiment. Largely made up of those who had participated in SCM Industrial Work Camps, Howland House existed through a variety of forms for over twenty years (1953-75). As a 2008 McGeachy Senior Scholar, I have interviewed most of the living residents of Howland House and done extensive background research in order to tell "The Story of Howland House."

The people who were part of this experiment in Christian living were connected to many streams of the social movement in Protestant Churches from the post-war period to the early 1970s, including the founding of the United Church's Lay Educational Training Centres, the continuing leadership of the SCM on campuses across the country, the Religion Labour Foundation in Toronto, and the Work and Life movement of the World Council of Churches (WCC). These many connections temptingly lead one down paths that, while not directly the focus of my Howland House project, hold promise for future research and writing about this period in Canadian church history.

In the research to date, it is evident that the background and

influences that led to the creation of Howland House were national and international, and they form the backdrop of this study. Nonetheless, the creation of Howland House was also a reflection of the interests and opportunities of individuals who found themselves in certain places at certain times in their lives, and made choices that in retrospect can seem intentional but that were often serendipitous and sometimes connected to burgeoning romances. Thus, history is a mixture of linear and intentional actions and unplanned and relational opportunities.

Growing out of Work Camps

My paper presented to the Canadian Society of Church History in 2011 outlined the history of the SCM Work Camps in Canada, a necessary background to "The Story of Howland House," which grew out of the 1953 SCM Student-in-Industry Work Camp at Bathurst St. United Church in Toronto, directed by Bob Miller.[2] However, the impulse to establish Howland House went back at least to the 1949 Work Camp in Montreal and the Montreal COOP that followed it. For a number of years, those who attended SCM Student-in-Industry work camps had been questioning whether a summer experience was enough to build a sustained engagement with Canadian workers as a church. In response, some Senior or Graduate Student-in-Industry work camps were organized which allowed those with previous work camp experience to deepen and evolve in their response as young Christians to the realities of Canadian industrial workers.

The 1949 Montreal Work Camp at Chalmers United in Verdun was one of these. Lex Miller directed it; he had directed the pioneering 1945 Student-in-Industry Work Camp in Welland, Ontario. Many participants had also attended previous SCM Work Camps, although not all in industry.[3] It was a highly formative event on many levels.[4] Muriel Anderson remembers that:

> Many of the study groups were fairly advanced. People had been talking about this theology and economics and unions and industry for quite a long time. Many of the Anglicans in the group who were studying theology were connected to the Society of the Catholic Commonwealth – Father Smyth – Marxism and theology. That theology was running through the study groups and the worship at that work camp and was quite a challenge.[5]

Audrey Tobias remembers that Lex Miller was:

> caught between the social democratic faction and the Marxist faction at the work camp. I was in the Marxist faction . . . we had very deep discussions and we read *Christian Faith and My Job*, the *Communist Manifesto* . . . one learned a lot during those discussions. . . It was our view, and the SCM's too I think, that the future was in the hands of the workers and the proletariat . . . and we had to be there.[6]

Following this formative work camp, many members went on to make a year-round commitment to working in industry. Audrey Tobias lived with other SCMers in Toronto, including Dick Allen who was at the 1949 Montreal Work Camp, at the corner of Bathurst and Bloor. She began work as a looper at the Harvey Woods textile factory at Queen and Ossington, where she continued for seven years.

The Montreal COOP

Seven of the Montreal-based work campers decided to live together in a co-op, eventually known as the "COOP," which became a hub for others from the 1949 Work Camp and SCMers in Montreal who wished to be part of on-going discussions about Christian vocation and daily life.[7] For three years, from 1949 to 1952, more than twenty folks met regularly in Montreal to study, worship, pray, debate, and decide together how they would invest their lives as Christians, whether lay or ordained, in the transformation of the church and the world.

With discussion, debate, and varied experiences, these graduate SCMers chose a variety of routes in the years that followed: work in the trade union and peace movement; participation in the political realm through the LPP (Communist Party) or CCF; continued engagement in the mainstream church and congregational life; or membership in the Society of the Catholic Commonwealth (SCC) as a place to ground and continue one's SCM formation. The COOP came to an end in 1952 when its members, having finished school, married, started families, and found themselves dispersed across the country. Still, many remained life-long friends with a common theology and politics formed by their SCM and work camp experiences.

Society of the Catholic Commonwealth

Frederic Hastings Smyth, who founded the Society of the Catholic Commonwealth (SCC) in 1939, was an Anglo-Catholic strongly influ-

enced by Conrad Noel and the Thaxted parish in London. John Rowe, one of the first SCMers to join the SCC, relates the inspiration Smyth offered in his liturgical theology: "The bread and wine contains in its substance, the life and blood of the people who created it. When taken and transsubstantiated, those are the Body of Christ, the history is the Body of Christ. This was how to integrate our Christian faith with political faith, working people's work was returned to feed you to go out into the world and make the making of bread more just."[8]

In 1947 Smyth was a speaker at one of the summer Arundel conferences, sponsored by the Anglican Fellowship for Social Action (AFSA), at which a few SCMers were present.[9] This is likely the contact that changed the lives of a number of SCMers in this period, some of whom left the United Church and became Anglicans and then joined the SCC. Terry Brown's 1987 thesis on the Society of the Catholic Commonwealth, "Metacosmesis: The Christian Marxism of Frederic Hastings Smyth and the Society of the Catholic Commonwealth," tells the story of this organization. In recent conversation, Terry Brown concurred that the Canadian SCMers, grounded in concrete experience with working class realities through the SCM work camps, brought shape, authenticity, and longevity to this organization. For the SCMers who joined the SCC in the late 1940s and early 1950s, it offered a vocational and theological framework for their desire to connect faith, politics, and daily living in the Canadian post-1945 context. The SCC came to an end in 1967, seven years after Smyth's death.

The commitment of six of them – John and Isabel Rowe, Tom and Sherry Waldon (in London, England), and Don and Alice Heap (in Toronto) – to invest themselves in this form of Christian witness for the rest of their lives rooted the SCC's political and theological thinking in an incarnational practice. Inspired by the worker-priests of France and encouraged by their SCM formation, they lived as a church on the margins, but always with a foot firmly planted in the church of the establishment, through such things as membership in local parishes and participation in church conferences.

In February 1959, they and several other couples who were following a similar vocation created a document entitled "Statement of a Group of Churchmen, Priests and Lay who have chosen to be wage-workers in industry as an expression of their Faith." The Statement argues that this was an incarnational imperative and "for our part, this means that we must express our faith by sharing fully the life of the wage-earning

class. In our opinion, only on the basis of such a life is the preaching of the Word likely to carry much conviction in modern industrial society."[10]

Bob Miller and Howland House

With the example of the Montreal COOP and other influences, Senior Work Campers in Toronto agreed to establish a co-op SCM House in Toronto in 1953 to continue the SCM work camp experience in a cooperative Christian community while working in industry on a year-round, permanent basis. Bob Miller was essential to the initiation and practical execution of this intention. He was Study Secretary for the National SCM at the time, working with Ted Nichols who was General Secretary. Bob had returned from graduate theological studies in Scotland and Basel, Switzerland, in 1951, with many exciting theological ideas and books to offer SCMers. In his memoir of Bob Miller, *The Messenger*, Doug Hall observes that, "Bob Miller was among the first intellectuals in Canada to have read the works of scholars who, during the remainder of the century and beyond, would dominate the Protestant theological scene in the West."[11] In a letter to Doug Hall, prior to his return to Canada, Bob asserts:

> There have to be much more radical experiments in the life of the church than there have yet been. Some of us have to get onto the frontier, where there are no beaten paths of how or what to do . . . The "other" world of the working man that has grown up here in Europe is completely isolated from the church . . . God will have us where the people are, with them in their life and work.[12]

For Bob, the decision to establish a permanent "industrial mission" after the 1953 Bathurst work camp was a start. Roy de Marsh, University of Toronto SCM General Secretary, wrote of it in the SCM's journal, *The Canadian Student*:

> This early realization of the need for involvement in the total life of working-class people, if the church is to share the evangel with them, has developed in more recent camps to the recognition that the answer to the industrial problem can be given only in terms of life-time vocation . . . From the priest-workmen in Europe we are learning something of what this requires of us. Some of our students are discovering this answer by entering a permanent industrial job, either

> before or after graduation, in order to make it their Christian vocation. In Toronto, this summer, a group of these students are making plans to move into a house in the industrial neighbourhood this fall to continue their life and work as members of the working-class.[13]

Dick Allen, who later wrote *The Social Passion,* a seminal book on the social gospel in Canada, remembers the plan that he and his wife Marg had made to move into this "industrial mission":

> In 1952-53, after the 1952 work camp there was a lot of discussion about expanding the work camp experience that a number of us were having into a cooperative residence and to work in industry and respond to the issues and problems of industrial life and industrial society as a community in ways that we found appropriate to our Christian beliefs and our Christian understanding of the nature of society and of human beings. So a number of us went into the 1953 work camp at Bathurst with that in mind.[14]

John and Muriel Anderson, who were participants in the 1949 Montreal Work Camp and the Montreal COOP (1949-52), were also present at the 1953 Bathurst St. Work Camp. They anticipated joining a year-round work camp community once John had completed his settlement assignment for the United Church's Home Mission Board. Muriel and other work campers joined Bob Miller in seeking out an appropriate house and settled on 105 Howland Ave. Close to Bathurst Street United Church and the many industries along the railway line just north of them at Dupont Ave., this was an ideal location for the launch of an "industrial mission." The large homes of the Annex, reflecting a grander time when it had been a northerly suburb of Toronto, were now largely rooming houses, home to many displaced people from Europe following World War Two.

Early Years of Howland House

John and Muriel Anderson had returned to Montreal by the time this three-story semi-detached house across from St. Alban's Anglican Church was purchased for $18,700. The purchase of the house for this experiment in industrial mission had been made possible through six personal loans[15] that covered the $6,500 down payment[16] and a mortgage of $12,200.[17] Gwen Hasselfield, June Eames, Marg and Helen Steenson, Gus Trip, Clarke Deller, David Slater and Doug Brown were part of the original

group of residents. Gus Trip had been at the Bathurst St. 1953 Work Camp, and Gwen Hasselfield at the Mental Health Work Camp housed at Queen Street United Church in Toronto. Clarke Deller, Doug Browne and David Slater had been at the Noranda Work Camp in northern Quebec. In that first year, some, like Marg Steenson, worked in industry while others attended university.

John Anderson had attempted to convince the United Church's Montreal and Ottawa Conference to allow him to take up this experimental industrial mission ministry in 1954, but they urged him to complete his settlement commitments in a congregational setting. Ministering in the six-point Valcartier-Portneuf pastoral charge along the north shore of the St. Lawrence in Quebec, John and Muriel corresponded with Bob Miller in Toronto and fellow COOP participants, Dan and Alice Heap, who were serving an Anglican rural pastoral charge in Kazabazua, Quebec. They discussed options for following a vocation in industrial evangelism. The Heaps and Andersons explored moving into Howland House together, sharing another house together, or living separately but sharing a communal approach to their intention to live out their vocation as "worker priests;" but, for various reasons, they chose different paths. Parallel correspondence with Bob Miller explored the circumstances at Howland House at the time, Bob's plans, and the possibility for John and Muriel to join the Howland House experiment as soon as John's obligations to the Home Mission Board had been met.

Bob's letters reflect a fluid approach to the future of Howland House, revealing the challenges that faced the original vision and the dramas that were an inevitable part of young adults living in close proximity. Those factors required more of Bob's presence and supervision than were realistic, given his responsibilities as SCM Study Secretary.[18] One can deduce from the letters that for a time he considered resigning as SCM Study Secretary, but then he agreed to continue in that role for three more years, after which he became full-time Book Steward for the SCM Book Room.

Bob's tentativeness about the direction of Howland House[19] and his own future are evident in an 6 April 1954 letter in which he warns that the Andersons cannot expect to "come into a house full of people who are working in factories. There is not going to be any readymade group. It is going to have to be built up over time . . . the house is here for any nucleus that wants to move in and take over."[20] In a follow-up letter on 20 April 1954, Bob describes the financial arrangements for the house and suggests

that he and his mother may move out if John and Muriel want to take over the experiment. "The house is in my name, but I shall be happy to change that as soon as anyone else is ready to take it over."[21] However, things settled down, and in a March 1955 letter John confirms the Andersons' decision to join the community in the summer of 1955 and to work with the existing residents, including Bob and his mother, toward their vision of being an intentional Christian community of those working in industry. John writes:

> I would like to start with Howland House as it is . . . and strive gradually to evolve something worthwhile. I feel that Howland has to be tied in more closely with the SCM work camp program and, possibly, with the Religion and Labour Foundation . . . to be recognized by the SCM as an experiment in full-time industrial missions. If the SCM can recognize it as such, perhaps the Churches will also eventually give it support.[22]

John had outlined his sense of call into this form of ministry in a letter to Rev. J.R. Leng of the Home Mission Board on 26 April 1954: "I am still convinced that God's will for me is to go back to work in a factory, to share the life of workers in our society, and to try to be a good worker and a Christian minister. I am aware the present situation of the Priest-Workers in France has heightened the problematic nature of the step. But where Catholicism has failed, Protestantism may succeed."[23]

Howland House Community Life

After an exploratory visit at Easter in 1955, John and Muriel moved into Howland House in July with their three-year-old daughter Elizabeth. Muriel was expecting their second child and it was agreed she would earn room and board ($12 a week) for herself and the children through her work as cook for the community. John had asked the Montreal and Ottawa Conference to retain him, and requested that his call to mission in industry be recognized as an experiment within the United Church. He had hoped that the resolution adopted by Montreal and Ottawa Conference in June 1954 urging the Board of Home Mission to "study the advisability of starting a ministry by ordained men as workers in factories and other fields of industry and under the direction of the Board of Home Mission" might have bolstered his request.[24] While not recognizing his vocational choice in a formal way, the Conference agreed to retain him and to allow him to

remain a part of the United Church pension fund, if he paid his own premiums.

When John and Muriel joined the Howland House Co-op in July 1955 the other household members included Bob Miller and his mother Gladys, Sheila Scott, Fred Heidrich, Marg and Helen Steenson, Dorothy Wing, Bob Van Alstyne and John Lee. A young and recent recruit from the 1955 Student in-Industry Work Camp at Bathurst St., John Lee describes his transition from a foster family to Howland House as "the watershed between my orphan childhood and the family of choice which would endure into my old age."[25] John Lee became a Professor of Sociology at the University of Toronto and a long-time gay activist. His autobiography, *Love's Gay Fool*, includes much information about his experience in the SCM and at Howland House.

The seven-bedroom house had a full capacity of fifteen.[26] Bob's mother, Gladys Miller (known as Mrs. Miller or Mrs. M by her housemates), had been widowed not long after Bob's return to Canada and had agreed to give up her Windermere Ave. home and join Bob in this experiment for which she also made a $3,000 loan toward the down payment. She was remarkably adept at living in this rather unorthodox community of young people while maintaining her own life and connections to friends in the Swansea neighbourhood of Toronto. Mrs. Miller occupied a large and pleasant bed-sitting room at the front of the house. She had two luxuries that she shared with others: a television and a car. With the arrival of the Anderson family, Howland House became a truly intergenerational community that offered an experience of family for all who lived there and visited. Muriel Anderson observes that:

> Mrs. M performed an elder's role in a person-to-person way. She was very affectionate and liked young people. She always helped with the dishes and interwove herself around the cooking and cleaning up. She helped with the shopping because she had a car. Eventually she was feeling firm enough about the community that she could have her Bridge Club over. Keeping the environment home-like was partly because Muriel was there full time and Mrs. M was there as a stalwart part and there were three generations. People felt not only that they were in an industrial mission, but that it was a home with like-minded purpose although different histories. It was kind of an anchor.[27]

The details of the early period are sparse and those interviewed remember the details with different emphases. The house was established

as a co-op and the inhabitants paid room and board. The day-to-day pattern when John and Muriel arrived in July 1955 included morning and evening worship, bi-weekly house meetings, a "Fag List"[28] of daily and weekly chores and periodic speakers and study sessions. Muriel Anderson recalls:

> Yes at the beginning it was quite highly structured. We had worship every night after dinner for about half an hour in the front room. We took turns leading with Bible readings and discussion, prayers and singing from the SCM Hymn Book. We would reflect on the Bible reading; what it meant and how it fit into what we were doing and thinking
>
> House meetings were every two weeks in the evening and the worship schedule and other plans were set there. We took turns chairing. Anything and everything could be put on the agenda . . . We discussed things about the food, adjustments on the rent, financial reports from the treasurer.
>
> We also had study sessions . . . A lot of visitors came through, often through Bob and the SCM and there was the Workers Educational Association. We had C. Wright Mills one evening.[29]

John Lee's autobiography, *Love's Gay Fool*, reports regular house meetings that, among other things, would "address the inevitable frictions between disparate people living two or three to a room."[30] He provides further detail from a 7 September 1955 journal entry: "In a strange vote of confidence, if not affection, I have been elected House Treasurer. This is a responsible job, involving rents, bills, banking, keeping accounts and reporting regularly on our financial situation."[31] Room and board was $12 per week, which covered food and the cook's salary of $19 per week and the mortgage repayment, interest, repairs, and upkeep.

1956 Work Camp

A number of the initial residents left the co-op between 1955 and 1956. Having received inquiries from new folks interested in joining the household, in the winter of 1956 the Howland House Co-opers decided that it would be helpful to host a summer student-in-industry work camp to help focus and confirm their industrial mission purpose and share their experience and commitments with others. Five work campers joined six already engaged in the Howland House community.[32] John Lee had opted to attend the 1956 work camp at Columba House in Montreal led by Vince

Goring, then General Secretary at the Saskatoon SCM. John Anderson was the Work Camp Director in Toronto and Muriel the cook.

Preparation for the work camp began in the spring. A 24 March 1956 letter outlines both practical details, like the cost of room and board, and proposes an exchange of responses to materials prepared by John and Muriel Anderson as a means of doing "preliminary preparation so as to get maximum value for the summer." In the process of preparing and sharing the summer experience, there was much discussion and exploration of why participants were engaged in working in industry as Christians. The notes and outlines for the study life of the Work Camp reflect a continued grappling with purpose and points of connections with industrial workers for Christians.[33] A book list includes a number of Lex Miller's works, including *Christian Faith and My Job* and *Christian Vocation in the Contemporary World*, as well as *Christians at Work*, a publication of the British Council of Churches, and *The Meaning of Work*, a publication of the World Council of Churches.

During the summer, Toronto Work Camp members proposed a weekend conference in Montreal with members of the Montreal Work Camp. The topic was "Ways and Means of Evangelizing the Proletariat." John Lee summarized the discussions in the Montreal Work Camp Log:

> Actually what happened was a discussion of specific projects: the Evangelical Academies of Germany, the worker priests in France, the Sheffield Mission in England, the Iona Community in Scotland and the East Harlem Project in New York. We never did get to the ways and means for Canada.
>
> One of the best discussions arose out of the question: After we have gone into industry and convinced some of the workers of Christianity, what do we do with them? Take them into the bourgeois church? Start a new church? The answers led to Marxism. Clearly our effort must be directed not only at evangelizing the workers so they will join the Church, but changing the social organization so that working class church will replace bourgeois church.[34]

After the summer, some of the work campers continued to live at Howland House while others returned to university elsewhere. John Anderson reports that an effort was made to conduct study sessions in the following winter and to involve a larger circle in regular books discussions, but the focus and energy of community members "shifted outside the House into politics, fellow-worker relationships, peace, church, SCM

Work Camp Committee etc."[35] Through the next period of its life, the Howland House community was made up of a mixture of students, those working in industry, and others, who needed a supportive community as new arrivals to Toronto. Like the Montreal COOP before it, Howland House was always challenged by the tension between being a community of those working in industry with a mission and those who were students.

Middle Years at Howland House

As the 1950s unfolded, and especially during the 1958 depression, it became harder to hold jobs in industry. Muriel Anderson remembers that "SCMers were spotted for being different and offered jobs as foreman or in the office and if you said no, then you would come under suspicion."[36] In 1963, following a series of lay-offs and temporary work, John Anderson, one of the last Howland House members working in industry, took over the theology section of the SCM Book Room, ending his sojourn as a worker in industry and immersing himself in another love: theological books. The Millers and Andersons continued as the core residents of Howland House.

Many Howland House members were active in the anti-nuclear "Ban the Bomb" movement in the 1950s through the Canadian Peace Congress and in the 1960s through the CCND (Canadian Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament). Members of the house became active in the anti-Vietnam War movement and, in the late-1960s, Howland House was a refuge for draft dodgers and resisters, some of whom became friends and long-term residents of the community. They also housed some who came for the famous teach-ins at the University of Toronto in the late-1960s.

Howland House's roots in the SCM also remained essential. In 1968 Don Wilson, returning from several years as General Secretary of the Chilean SCM, lived at Howland House as he worked to rebuild the Canadian SCM from the institutional diminishment it had experienced during the 1960s when it was engaged with – and helped spawn – many radical New Left movements on Canadian campuses.

From the beginning, the Howland House community was strongly connected to Bathurst Street United Church. Many Howland House folks joined in that congregation's ministry with the immigrant and working class community that surrounded it, led first by Rev. Gordon Domm and then Rev. Glynn Firth, an SCMer himself.[37]

Howland House residents worked with marginalized youth through

the Bathurst Street United Hi-C, which was often challenging and sometimes hazardous, as rival gangs interrupted normal teenager activities. Bill Sanders from the East Harlem Parish in New York was hired to be a Youth Worker at Bathurst Street, and he, along with many former SCMers, worked with the immigrant youth seeking to find their way. There were often international students connected to the Ecumenical Institute on Madison Ave., or the United Church Training School, or friends of friends living at Howland House for shorter and longer periods. Bob Miller's development of the SCM Book Room ensured its growth to be an important Toronto resource for theological and other books. His friendship with Emil Fackenheim brought Christian-Jewish dialogue into the living room and many political and social issues were the hot topic of dinner table conversation.

Residents of Howland House, along with SCM friends and neighbours, many of whom were members at Bathurst Street United Church, were also part of the urban renewal movement in Toronto at this time, coalescing around the campaign to stop the Spadina expressway. Jane Jacobs lived at 69 Albany Ave. Recently arrived from a successful battle in New York City to stop the Lower Manhattan expressway, she brought experience and flare to an already established struggle to stop the continued building of the expressway. That campaign achieved success in 1971.

The community at Howland House contributed to a progressive counter-culture presence in downtown Toronto that, together with hippies, university students, and young professionals, and the energy and investments of successive immigrant communities, created a progressive city politics in the early 1970s. This helped to save Toronto from the depression and disintegration of the downtown core that was endured by many American cities at the time.

The End of Howland House

Howland House as a co-op and home of the Andersons in Toronto came to an end in 1975 when they moved out at the request of Bob Miller. When conflict broke out at the SCM Book Room regarding the role of the Book Room Board in relation to Bob's role as Book Room Manager, it quickly escalated when Bob decided to distribute "bonus" cash payments to himself and all the employees from the surplus which had built up over the years of the Book Room's operation under the non-profit status of the

SCM. Some employees, including John Anderson, refused to accept the "bonus" and found themselves in opposition to Bob's interpretation of the Board's intentions and his actions.

Loyalties were tested and, in 1975, the tension and stress became intolerable for Bob; he asked the Andersons to leave Howland House. Although the house had been bought with the shared room and board payments of all those who had lived there over the twenty-two years, it was legally held in Bob's name and he retained ownership, while the Andersons moved to buy their own home for the first time since their 1951 marriage.

Conclusion

The "Story of Howland House" and the SCM work camps that led to its creation is one of those tales whose recovery reminds us of the rich and varied tributaries which have irrigated the field of Christian social engagement in Canada. Howland House occupied an edge and called the church to stay on and connect to this edge. While an earlier generation of students responded to the call of the Student Volunteer Movement "to evangelize the world in this generation," many students in the post-war period felt called to take the radical message of the Bible into working class communities. Anne Campbell, a member of the 1949 Montreal Work Camp, wrote in the March 1950 *Canadian Student* that

> the frontier of the Church today is not necessarily on far-flung wildernesses, but in an industrial plant . . . How can the Church and its message have relevance to people whose daily working situation denies everything creative and human in them? . . . (the church) must do all in its power radically to change the situation so that men can again become creative human beings, with through the power of the Spirit, the possibility of living abundantly.[38]

The 1940s, 1950s and 1960s were a unique time in Canadian church history. The creation of the World Council of Churches, the Second Vatican Council, the radical leadership of the Board of Evangelism and Social Service of the United Church of Canada, the rise of communism in Europe and many newly independent or liberated former European colonies around the world, the Worker Priest Movement, industrial missions, Christian-Marxist dialogue, the Cold War, McCarthyism and the civil rights movement in the United States, the formation of the NDP and

the creation of Medicare in Canada, the rise of liberation theology in Latin America, the disarmament and the peace movement, and the war in Vietnam all created a heady and complex context for Christians committed to social and economic transformation.

While it never fully found its footing as an "industrial mission," Howland House was, for many years, a hub for those working in industry with a Christian vocation and an inter-generational cooperative home for students and others coming to Toronto for the first time. Through visitors and on-going personal relationships, Howland House was connected with and influenced by the Iona Community in Scotland, the Evangelical Academies in Germany, the East Harlem Protestant Community in the United States, the Sheffield Industrial Mission in England, and former SCM members of the Society of a Catholic Commonwealth.

The many personal stories recorded through this project and deposited in the United Church Archives round out the story of the churches' engagement in social change that can be found in the formal records of denominations such as the United Church. "The Story of Howland House" is a story of the edges of Christianity which intersects with the stories of ministers, lay people, and priests committed to serving in industrial and city missions, those who worked in the settlement houses in Canada, the Worker Priest movement in France and England, the Catholic Worker Movement in the United States, the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order, and the Anglican Fellowship for Social Action in Canada, among others. They were part of a stream in the Christian Church that sought to engage the economic and political structures of society with a vision of Christian faith lived in daily life.

Endnotes

1. T. Ralph Morton, *The Household of Faith: The Changing Pattern of the Church's* Life (New York: Association Press, 1954), 115.

2. "The Place Where 'Men' Earn Their Bread is to be the Place of Holiness," *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2011): 129-150.

3. Jack Adams, Dick Allen, Ted Baxter, Alice Boomhour, Anne Campbell, Aileen Cobban, Muriel Fullerton, Vince Goring, Helen Hall, Doug Hawkins, Don Heap, Bob Johnston, Abe Kabayama, Lawrence Lee, Suki Maharaj, Alan McLachlin, Jean and Lex Miller and Davy, Myrtle Morrison, Bill Parsons, Percy Powles, Marg Ritchie, Barb Smardon, Bob Wild, Laurel Tavenner, Audrey Tobias, Nancy Tyrell, Alison Young, Jackie Munro, Marg Trotter,

Marg Peddie, Bruce Mutch, John Anderson, Ralph Persad.

4. Not the least was the fact that five couples emerged from those attending the work camp: Dick Allen and Marg Ritchie, Bruce Mutch and Anne Campbell, Don Heap and Alice Boomhour, Muriel Fullerton and John Anderson, and Alison Young and Lawrence Lee.

5. Interview with Muriel Anderson, 6 February 2009.

6. Interview with Audrey Tobias, 1 May 2009.

7. Muriel Fullerton, Kathy Powles, Helen Hall, Alice Boomhour, Tom Walden, Larry Lee, and Bruce Mutch were original members of the Montreal COOP.

8. Interview with John Rowe, 29 October 2010.

9. Stephen Hopkins, "The Anglican Fellowship for Social Action" provides an excellent history of this organization within the Anglican Church in Canada. See: http://anglicanhistory.org/academic/hopkins1982/

10. Statement of a Group of Churchmen Priests and Lay who have chosen to be wage-workers in industry as an expression of their Faith," Betsy Anderson Personal Papers. The full Statement can be found on the website related to "The Story of Howland House:" www.hhstory@wordpress.com. It argues that clergy and lay members of the church need to live and work with industrial workers in order to learn their reality and testify to the commitment of the church to their lives.

11. Douglas Hall, *The Messenger: Friendship, Faith and Finding One's* Way (Oregon: Cascade Books, 2011), 77.

12. Hall, *The Messenger*, 38.

13. Roy DeMarsh, "Canadian SCM Student-in-industry Projects," *The Canadian Student* (1953): 5.

14. Interview with Richard Allen, 24 February 2009.

15. Gerd Arnborg lent $1,000, Doug Browne $400, Margaret Saunders $1,000, Marg Steenson $1,000, Gus Trip $100, Gladys Miller $3,000. Four of the six lenders, Doug Browne, Marg Steenson, Gus Trip, and Gladys Miller, were among the first residents in the house in autumn 1953. See Muriel Anderson Personal Papers.

16. Muriel Anderson remembers that all but Gladys Miller's were paid off as a priority, Gladys Miller's was repaid by about 1966 at $50 a month. Interview with Muriel Anderson, 6 February 2009.

17. Bob Miller to Muriel Anderson, 20 April 1954, John Anderson Personal Papers.

18. Bob Miller to John and Muriel Anderson, 6 October 1954, John Anderson Personal Papers.

19. In his 11 March 1954 letter to John and Muriel Anderson, John Rowe, Jill Stitchberry, and Dot Wing, Bob Miller outlines many possible developments for Howland House, including talking to John Rowe "about having a more senior group, mostly working, living in the house, and had proposed that he be one of them. He has been planning on this, and hopes to move in at the end of May. He would be the one I would like to have do the Bible Study." John Anderson Personal Papers.

20. Bob Miller to Muriel Anderson, 6 April 1954, John Anderson Personal Papers.

21. Bob Miller to Muriel Anderson, 20 April 1954, John Anderson Personal Papers.

22. Bob Miller to John Anderson, 9 March 1955, John Anderson Personal Papers.

23. John Anderson to J.R. Leng, 26 April 1954, John Anderson Personal Papers. In the midst of the Cold War and following simmering conflict between some bishops and the worker-priests in France, on 4 November 1953 Pope Pius XII laid out terms under which worker-priests would be allowed to continue their vocation within factories and working class communities. 1 March 1954 was the deadline to comply or be removed from the priesthood. Of the 100 or so worker-priests serving at the time, approximately one third complied while the majority refused. See Oscar Arnal, *Priests in Working Class Blue: The History of the Worker-Priests, 1943*-195 (New York: Paulist Press, 1986).

24. Quoted in a paper found in John Anderson's personal papers.

25. John Lee, *Love's Gay Fool*, Chapter Six, p. 1 (www.johnalanlee.ca)

26. Four men in the third floor back bedroom, four women in the front third floor bedroom, Bob in the small third floor bedroom, the children in the back second floor bedroom, John and Muriel in the middle bedroom, and a small second floor bedroom for a male or female single, with Mrs. M in the spacious second floor front room.

27. Interview with Muriel Anderson, 6 February 2009.

28. An army term, short for "fatigues."

29. Interview with Muriel Anderson, 6 February 2009.

30. Lee, *Love's Gay Fool*, Chapter 6, 2.
31. Lee, *Love's Gay Fool*, Chapter 6, 1.
32. The five newcomers were Imogene Walker, Alan Baker, Maqbul Caleb, Robert Wright, and Milt Bierman.
33. 1956 Work Camp file, John Anderson Personal Papers.
34. John Lee, "The Howland House Visit to Montreal Camp," Montreal Work Camp Log, SCM, Box 121 1986.076C, United Church of Canada Archives.
35. John Anderson, review of "Ministry-in-Industry," April 1959, John Anderson's personal papers.
36. Interview with Muriel Anderson, 6 February 2009.
37. A paper on Bathurst Street United Church's history and connection to Howland House can be found at www.hhstory.wordpress.com.
38. *The Canadian Student*, March 1950.

Albertan Oil, Vietnam Christmas: American Revivalism on the Canadian Prairies, 1962-1981

BRIAN FROESE
Canadian Mennonite University

On a warm day in late May 1967, world famous evangelist Billy Graham landed in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada. Speaking with reporters at a press conference before the start of his 30 May to 2 June 1967 crusade, he joked and chatted with and took questions from the gathered reporters. It was a wide-ranging, friendly, easy-going affair carried by the rangy preacher from North Carolina. With the warm twang of his voice mixed with a disarming sense of humor, Graham charmed the audience even as reporters raised controversial topics.[1]

Without question, he was America's favorite – if not the world's – evangelical minister of the gospel. Born in 1918 in Charlotte, North Carolina, Graham himself found salvation at a tent meeting where, in 1934 at age sixteen, he listened to a traveling preacher and received Christ. Over the next several years he lived in a community largely detached from urban modernists, subversive liberals, and social gospelers, a community that read the Bible with a premillennialist cosmology. After studying at Wheaton College and preaching for Youth for Christ in 1947, he set out as an evangelist on his own. He received his big break in Los Angeles in 1949; over the next eighteen years Graham became the pastor to American presidents, met with world leaders on a regular basis, and preached to packed stadiums, arenas, and tents the world over.[2]

In the 1960s, the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association (BGEA) criss-crossed the Canadian west in a series of evangelistic revival crusades mixing Cold War politics and evangelical conversion. Graham and his

associates were heartily welcomed and brought to western Canada the piety of evangelicalism mixed with capitalist virtue and republican ideals. Following a tightly organized strategy, Graham and BGEA enjoyed much success on the prairies. They counted their success by the numbers who made decisions for Christ, but also in the overwhelmingly positive reception they enjoyed by churches, business, political leaders, and media alike. Furthermore, the southern evangelist's crusading in the Canadian west brought to the fore local political issues and religious debate.

In this context Graham was a most fitting personality, and he confirmed what the western provinces were feeling: they were the new west rising. There was some opposition in Winnipeg – mostly by Mennonites – over Graham's support of American soldiers in Vietnam. His handling of opposition, crusade strategy, and network building provide helpful clues to Graham's cultural hermeneutic. With his southern charm, disarming cultural commentary, and optimistic gospel message, Graham and his Association used the context of Cold War politics and apocalyptic dread to raise the profile of western Canada while calling people to evangelical conversion.

Vietnam Christmas and Winnipeg Spring

Six months prior to his descent into Winnipeg, Billy Graham took another much more stressful flight. It was Christmas 1966 and, at the invitation of General William Westmoreland, Graham spent several days meeting with and preaching to thousands of American soldiers before wrapping up his visit to South East Asia by joining Bob Hope on stage. Graham was not the only Christian entertainment brought in by Hope. Christian recording artist Anita Bryant, "the girl back home" representing a more "solid image than the glamour girls," also accompanied him. These spiritual meetings with the troops took place at airfields amongst whirring Huey helicopters and rumbling jets, in field hospitals, and on the Tonkin Gulf in Hangar Bay One aboard the aircraft carrier *Kitty Hawk*. Though a seasoned world-traveler, Graham admitted being filled with fright on these flights as his plane took on high winds and storms, and nearly missed and on occasion nicked treetops. Graham had a first-hand look at what was becoming one of America's most vexing moral dilemmas: the war in Vietnam.[3]

Prior to his first sermon, Graham toured the 93rd field hospital and enjoyed Christmas carol singing with troops, as Cliff Barrows, George

Beverly Shea, and Chaplain (Colonel) Holland Hope read the Lukan Christmas story. Preaching before six thousand troops on a hot afternoon, he spoke about the peace of God that comes through Jesus Christ. He gave the troops the Bible verse John 3:16 and called them to peace and to the forgiveness of their sins. There was an invitation for them to make a decision for Christ: "One by one the hands stole up past bowed heads as hundreds of men engaged in the service of their country quietly became soldiers of God." Some of the soldiers, bowed in prayer, placed their helmets over their gun barrels. Rising to their feet they sang "Joy to the World" while a choir of helicopters gathered in their midst. Over nine days this scene replayed itself several times.[4]

Chaplain B. C. Fairchild escorted Graham throughout the whirlwind week as he was taken to mess halls, field and naval hospitals, schools, and a soccer field. He preached from truck trailer platforms and an aircraft carrier. There was a candle light service with soldiers holding candles in cups as they stood in thick mud. He met with Vietnamese pastors and missionaries. The services included singing groups, such as the 100-member choir the Choraliers at Cam Ranh Bay, and the Sky Trooper Chorus at Hammond Air Base. It was a special Christmas season for Graham and the service men as he visited, preached, signed autographs, and sang carols. On Christmas day, Graham breakfasted with his Methodist and Southern Baptist escort chaplains, held a service at III MAF Amphitheater, visited the U.S. Naval Hospital in Da Nang, and then went to the *Kitty Hawk* where he spent the night.[5]

While the audiences in Winnipeg would be in relative comfort at the Winnipeg Arena and Winnipeg Stadium on warm days and evenings, those soldiers in Vietnam listened to the North Carolinian in a variety of conditions that were hot, rainy, soggy, steamy, and muddy. At times many attending came in fresh from the battlefield of an increasingly controversial war. As planning for the Winnipeg crusade went along its path of polished clockwork-like precision, reverberations of discord came from some churches. Most vocal on the matter of Vietnam were Mennonites, and the world's largest concentration of that pacifist denomination lived in Winnipeg. Days before he met the cameras and reporters in Manitoba's capital city, his team suggested they alert Graham that the Christmas trip to Vietnam and his encouraging words to the American soldiers were disquieting in Manitoba's capital city.[6]

Over the course of that May press conference, Graham was "delighted to be in Manitoba" and confessed a desire to play some golf

while visiting. Yet war hung over the proceedings.[7] He agreed to take questions, but not ones of a political nature. When the issue of his trip to Vietnam arose, he explained his purpose of ministering to both the troops and Vietnamese people, and that when he returned stateside he left Vietnam with more questions than when he arrived. Vietnam, he said, was a mixture of war and peace, where soldiers and tourists were present, though not in the same places.[8]

Graham was perplexed by the realities of Vietnam and admitted that he did not know how it could end. However, he counseled the Winnipeg media that everyone can pray for peace, for war is caused by "lust and the rebellion in the human heart."[9] Furthermore, Christ taught that wars and rumors of wars were signs of the end times. This mixed with our advances in science and technology – which could bring paradise to earth – signaled a flawed human nature corrupted by lust, hate, and prejudice.[10]

There in Winnipeg's palatial Hotel Fort Garry, Graham continued to hold court with local print, television, and radio media. He explained that when history ends with Christ's return, then the utopia people have dreamed of for centuries will be realized and tranquility will reign; there is total world peace coming, but God will bring it about, not us. When asked if he was an optimist for the future, he mused that as a Christian he was an optimist and not a pessimist as were existential writers Jean-Paul Sartre or Albert Camus. In fact, he argued, the current turmoil could end for people can turn to God and with that would come peace. In the situation at hand, he discerned that the United Nations could even help in the work towards peace.[11]

The remainder of the press conference covered segregation, ecumenicalism, and his growing friendship with Catholics and concern that Protestants ignored Mary simply out of anti-Catholic prejudice. Though he avoided questions on abortion, as it was a "hot button" issue in his home state, he was a proponent of birth control – not an uncontroversial subject in mid-1960s North America.[12]

Mennonite concern with Graham and Vietnam linked together his 1965 crusade in Houston with his 1966 trip to Vietnam. At Houston it appeared that Graham criticized the peace movement, specifically a recent march on Washington, while speaking words of encouragement to President Lyndon B. Johnson. A conversation began, at times heated, in the pages of *The Canadian Mennonite*, as writers took Graham to task for not only failing to criticize Johnson at the Houston rally, but extending support to the beleaguered commander-in-chief. Frank H. Epp even took

upon himself the voice of Jesus in a rhetorical flourish to condemn Graham's mass evangelism, insinuating a direct connection between American militarism and evangelism. Others came to Graham's defense, labeling the portrayal of the Texas crusade as not only biased, but dishonest in how comments were lifted out of context and then projected as an unabashed embrace of militarism and not the simple "we will pray for you Mr. President" that is was.[13]

Yet the focus of Mennonite displeasure at Graham came from *The Canadian Mennonite* editorial board. In a series of articles in 1966 and 1967 Graham was excoriated for his emphasis on soul saving at the expense of social justice issues, and – especially as the newspaper editorial board saw it – his lack of public criticism of American foreign policy.[14]

As the Winnipeg crusade drew near, the tone of Mennonite letters and editorial comments in denominational publications intensified. Both criticism and defence of Graham increased through 1966 and 1967. Harold Jantz, editor of the *Mennonite Brethren Herald*, came to his defence, seeing the evangelist as an unfair victim of extremists from the "Sword of the Lord" camp of fundamentalists on the right and United Church liberals on the left. For the most part, however, Mennonite editors and writers were leery of Graham. Most strident among the Mennonite Brethren was John H. Redekop. He saw Graham as a pawn in President Johnson's "blood-stained" foreign policy by giving his talks in Vietnam and offering encouragement to American soldiers.[15] These concerns went beyond denominational leaders and editors, including some in the laity. As one Mennonite layperson wrote:

> I am happy to some extent for the coming crusade . . . However there are some major issues I do not agree with and that is the question on war. From what I have read and learned they are not making less communists [sic] in Viet Nam but are making more. This past Christmas when the Graham team went to Viet Nam they condoned the war all the way, and complimented the soldiers for the marvelous work they were doing there . . . will we as Christians in Canada and U.S.A. support, war and bloodshed or the commission of Christ to love our enemies.[16]

However, not all Mennonites were opposed; in fact, at the congregational level, and amongst many pastors, the crusade was welcomed. One such individual, Wilhelm Janzen, even wrote a tract and sent a copy to Graham, entitled "Christians Ought to Fight." He discussed the Cold War

tension and the spread of communism as portents of great evil in the world against which Christians must fight – for their faith, putting on the "armour of God" and not being afraid of being thought of as "mentally ill." Their war was against the Devil:

> Everywhere in the world is trouble. Communism, which is an anti-Christian movement, stirs up revolutions wherever it can, and turns free countries like Cuba to Communism. Red China seemingly does not want peace in Vietnam but wants war with the U.S. Also wrong teachings and anti-Christian movements make their headways in the free world. Even theologists [*sic*] turn away from Christ and say God has died. Others call historical chapters in the Bible tall stories. Other people replace God by science, and nations sink ever deeper into sin.[17]

Members of Graham's team in Winnipeg discussed in particular an article in *The Canadian Mennonite*, "Our Crisis of Obedience," of 15 February 1966. The situation was described this way:

> The *Canadian Mennonite* is a publication of the Mennonite General Conference, which is extremely pacifist. It is a minority group in Winnipeg but one which I must confess has been very vociferous . . . I feel certain . . . that the question of Viet Nam and particularly Mr. Graham's recent visit there is going to be a subject for criticism and is very apt to come up in the press conference . . . I thought you might want to brief him [Billy Graham] on this, because Winnipeg is the largest center for Mennonites in North America. However, may I say that we have the majority of Mennonite support.[18]

The handling of pacifist protest in Winnipeg was achieved not only by advance warning given to Graham, but also by limiting the conversation itself. Graham's point man in Winnipeg, Harry Williams of Atlanta, Georgia, met with a group of Mennonites from the Charleswood Mennonite Church and they agreed to disagree. In their letter to Williams the Charleswood congregation described their concern with Graham's Vietnam position:

> recent statements by Brother Graham pertaining to certain military actions in the Far East that have greatly distressed us. We fail to see

> how he can preach a gospel of love without recognizing what the fuller implications of this love are for our individual lives and for nation . . . We . . . plead with Brother Graham that his preaching should give expression to the need for reconciliation among men and nations.[19]

The editorials in the Mennonite press were not kind to the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association (BGEA). They described the BGEA's response to Mennonite concerns as perturbed, inferring Williams's inner thoughts: how dare such a small group of Christians take on the large evangelist machine? Williams, in fact, informed them that there would always be differences among denominations and Christians on doctrine and theology; what was going on here was a crusade to win people to the Lord and many of the new converts might even find their way to a Mennonite church when the revival meetings ended.

That meeting was enough for Williams. When *The Canadian Mennonite* editorial board requested a meeting to discuss Graham's "outright support of the Vietnam War" he politely declined, pointing out the irony: "We are continually grateful for the support and involvement of the Mennonite Churches as evidence by their appointment of official representatives for the Crusade Executive Committee."[20] Further requests for meetings were denied and, ultimately, the evangelism team was correct, as many Mennonites volunteered, supported, and advertised for the crusade. When the time came for Graham to field the issue at his press conference that spring day in May, he took the baton from the well-oiled revival machine of the BGEA advance team in Winnipeg – which effectively kept concerned Mennonites at arms length after initially offering to listen to their issues – and the media savvy of a seasoned performer won over both the media and his audience.

Calgary 1966

The road to Winnipeg to observe Canada's Centennial with revival fire was long in the making. Up until then Graham's only appearance north of the 49th parallel was a 1955 crusade in Toronto. However, in the five years before Winnipeg he had a close associate, Leighton Ford, give many crusades throughout Canada with several in the western provinces. Ford criss-crossed through cities of all sizes from Brandon, Manitoba, to Victoria, British Columbia, through Swift Current, Calgary, Abbotsford, Prince George, and many more. Just prior to Winnipeg he was in Calgary.

Ford, born in Toronto, considered to be Billy Graham's "No. 1 assistant," was educated at Wheaton College and Columbia Theological Seminary in Georgia and joined the BGEA in 1955. His ties to Graham ran deeper than most: he married Billy's youngest sister Jean while they both studied at Wheaton, later making their home in Charlotte, North Carolina.[21] Over the course of the crusade, as Ford delivered his earnest message in a folksy manner, he took in his audience with deep, clear, and piercing eyes and an oration skill known for its vivid imagery.

As planning for the Centennial crusade in Winnipeg began, Leighton Ford's crusade in Calgary was held. With their headquarters in the Petro-Chemical Building and the evangelistic meetings held at the Calgary Stampede Corral, Ford held forth from 18 September to 2 October 1966. As Ford's fortnight arrived upwards of ten-thousand volunteer "prayer warriors" fanned out through the city with promotional materials, took a five-week course from which crusade counselors would be selected, and held prayer meetings in churches, factories, and homes.[22] Crusade leaders planned to "mobilize the crusade manpower of the various churches to achieve this objective. With these resources, a penetration can be made into every 'world' of the area . . . the social structure, the labor structure, the professional structure, and the institutional and industrial complex."[23]

Taking the BGEA into the Canadian prairies was significant as the so-called "New West" was emerging. With a growing resource-based economy, especially in oil, Alberta was on the rise with an openly evangelical premier, Ernest Manning, with his own religious radio program. "For many years the Leighton Ford Team has looked forward to Crusades on the Prairies. It is fitting that the City of Calgary, situated as it is in the hub of a prosperous oil, wheat and cattle area, should be the location for this important evangelical thrust." Calgary offered more than growing prosperity and sympathetic political and business leaders, it "offer[ed] fine possibilities for penetrating several neighboring cities and scores of communities with the message of the Gospel. With its strategic location on the Prairies, this key city has excellent highways leading into it from every part of Southern Alberta."[24] Already, in early 1947, there was a rush of excitement in Leduc, Alberta, south of Edmonton as oil and fire soared into the sky. Imperial Oil struck black gold at Leduc #1.[25] Through a confluence of events in the United States and Canada, American investment in Albertan oil production skyrocketed. Among the reasons was a recent decision by the Texas Railroad Commission to lower the level of allowable production of the West Texas oil fields so companies

heavily invested there looked elsewhere for investment and extraction opportunities – and Alberta needed both.[26]

Enter into this story the president of Sun Oil, J. Howard Pew. Caught in the shifts in Texas he looked north to Alberta and, by the mid-1960s, he was heavily involved in Albertan oil production, especially early oil sands development. Upon the oil discoveries in Leduc in 1947 and Redwater in 1948, Alberta was attracting people filling thousands of new jobs; Calgary and Edmonton expanded quickly with thousands of new arrivals both from within and without the province, and prosperity followed.[27]

Alberta slowed oil sands development with the oil discoveries at Leduc and Redwater, not wanting to short-circuit these conventional oil fields. However, as consumption in North America rose dramatically throughout the 1950s, by the 1960s Manning was ready to move on the oil sands. This strategy was to ensure oil sand development well into the 2000s, and it was made possible by an "unspoken compromise between Sun Oil and the Province of Alberta," something Pew had his eye on already during the Second World War.[28]

As premier, Ernest Manning was well aware that oil was Alberta's "golden goose" and wanted its management to adhere to two broad principles: the primacy of private enterprise and government presence to ensure the sands did not dislocate conventional fields. Unlike the history of oil in places like Texas and California, Alberta's petro-economy was not to be handed over to wildcatters. So why would Sun Oil, coming from the Texan context of wildcatters and rapid boom/bust cycles, be interested in Manning's placid Alberta? On one hand, oil sands provided a challenge that appealed to Pew's ambition, and, on the other, like Manning, he was a conservative evangelical Christian. Moreover, Pew was a fan of Manning's radio ministry, even describing one of his sermons as the best he ever heard. The conservative Baptist premier and conservative Presbyterian oilman found common cause in the gift of oil and the gospel of evangelical Christianity. Over the years the two developed a close friendship; their wives summered together in Jasper, and their religious beliefs, political philosophies, and business orientations easily meshed.[29]

People in Alberta also enjoyed the prosperity oil brought (though their economy was already strong thanks to agriculture by 1945), and in a *Time* article from 1952, after Manning won the provincial election, "an Alberta farmwife" explained, "God gave us Premier Manning, and neither the Liberals, the CCF [Co-Operative Commonwealth Federation] nor the

devil can take him away from us."[30] While many would not have understood Manning's victory in such terms, during the 1950s *Time* ran several articles on the Alberta oil boom and idiosyncratic premier who ran a weekly radio ministry as a lay preacher. Conservative politics, evangelical religion, and economic prosperity all seemed to coalesce naturally in post-war wildrose country.

Pew and Graham were connected, just as Manning and Graham had a connection, and Manning and Pew had a friendship that was both business and religious in nature. Pew funded evangelical missions out of his oil wealth and collaborated with Graham and others to start the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Latin America. Politically he was engaged with the conservative wing of the Republican Party and supported Barry Goldwater in the 1964 primaries against rival oilman and liberal republican Nelson Rockefeller. Pew was described as "profoundly distrustful of everything to the left of Barry Goldwater."[31] Graham enjoyed the confluence of oil wealth and evangelical support in the American Bible belt, even receiving a $50,000 donation from the liberal Protestant Rockefellers for the 1957 crusade in New York. Such support for Graham by the Rockefellers was quiet, but even if there was much sunlight between their theologies, Graham was of use to moderate liberal Protestants and business leaders. As Reinhold Niebuhr described his craft, Graham represented the "tradition of America's frontier evangelical piety," and like the Billy Sundays and Dwight Moodys before him, Graham helped populate churches after leaving town.[32] Clearly, the future lay here where oil, evangelicalism and American business and revivalism intersected. In western Canada, American frontier piety found a comfortable home.

As with crusades Graham held before, organization was precise and the language martial. "Blitzes" into neighborhoods were coordinated, "penetration teams," "penetrate the masses," and even "deep penetration" was the rhetoric of evangelical advance as churches were asked to preach sermons linking the crusade to the ongoing evangelism of Calgary while they read his tract "Evangelism – The Church's Task in a Changing World." Pastors were encouraged to screen a Billy Graham film or filmstrip, take the witnessing classes – training and encouraging laity in witnessing – hold home prayer meetings, and have crusade literature available on Sundays for people to pick up.[33]

From the start, Graham worked assiduously to avoid charges of Elmer Gantryism and publicly disclosed finances, donations, collection

plate offerings, and salaries. As with any large scale traveling show, event, or enterprise, precise organization was necessary for everything to come together, and there was earnestness in bringing benefit to local churches and neighborhoods without usurping the role of local leaders. Criticisms were part of the process and the BGEA handled them, at times briskly, in private and when possible as positives in public.

However, despite Alberta's emergence as a powerful and wealthy province, they would have to wait for the evangelist himself for another fifteen years.

Back to Winnipeg

For about a year the BGEA was preparing for the Centennial Crusade in Winnipeg. The organizers were a mixture of local businessmen, educators, and church representatives from dozens of denominations and parachurch organizations. Nothing was left to chance as the BGEA provided the planners with a fifty-one-page organization guide, a schedule setting out the publication of press releases, when to launch door-to-door visitation (with the city divided into zones and teams led by captain, lieutenants), and the release of promotional materials.[34]

When the crusade began on 31 May 1967, like so many before, it opened with about ten minutes of choir singing followed by George Beverly Shea's famous voice. The worship leader, Cliff Barrows, made a few comments on Graham's latest book, *World Aflame*, about the end times. After more singing by Shea, the lean southern preacher took to the stage. As he crossed the stage to his pulpit there was for a week a spotlight on Winnipeg and Canada. American evangelicals turned their gaze northward; *Christianity Today* devoted an entire issue to Canadian Christianity on the occasion of the centennial and Graham's visit and found a mix of growing liberalism, secularism, and hope in an increasingly confident evangelicalism. Canada seemed ready for revival.[35]

Standing there in front of thousands of Winnipeggers in Canada's fourth largest city, the nation's most important point of east-west communication, the center of western Canadian finance, and soon to be hosts of the Pan-American Games, Billy Graham worked off a well-worn script. After an opening prayer, Graham spoke to the crowd, making local references showing he not only read but also internalized the preparation materials provided for him. On this occasion, he observed the significance of Canada's centennial year. After remarking on the religious heritage of

both Canada and the United States, he flattered the audience on the fine weather and fine golfing. Graham mentioned there would be an optional offering and then he preached from the Old Testament announcing, "Armageddon is approaching." It was a deeply eschatological sermon, earnest in his exhortation that time was running out and that now was the time to turn to God, all in the context of a vibrant anti-communism as the Cold War served as a backdrop. Throughout the week, he wove together stories about world leaders, historical figures, popes, and presidents into a chiliastic tapestry of Armageddon. He spoke in a fiery, piercing way; his accent soothing and his cadence varied, which together kept the audience rapt. Then, as always, the choir sang, the altar call was given, and many came forward.[36]

In that Cold War context, communism, Russia, and the atomic bomb formed a hideous trinity confirming that, as the 1960s progressed along a path of increasingly flaunted debauchery, immorality, and lawlessness, the end of days was near. As America stepped into its role as superpower, while Europe lay in ruins and the Soviet Union took its role as satanic agent set against the Kingdom of God as bringer of the apocalypse, America was the bulwark against a gathering evil, even in its moral decline. Thus, personal conversion saved one's soul and contributed to the security of nation and civilization.[37]

This is not to say that American evangelicals did not struggle with the issue of the Vietnam War, for a wide range of opinions testified to the diversity of evangelical thought and action in the 1960s. Graham himself admitted to increased confusion over the war. In the pages of *Christianity Today*, shortly after Graham's Christmas visit to the war zone, the conundrum of the conflict was explored in terms of not only the justness of the war, but also of the proper role of church officials in public debate. Editors at *Christianity Today* even pulled back from Graham's position and questioned American exceptionalism and the claims America might have to a starring role in the Bible. They also challenged what often passed for just war thinking among evangelicals, asking the question whether evangelicals reflexively considered all wars just instead of providing a thought-out critique of pacifism.[38]

The Gift and Affliction of Oil

When the Edmonton crusade of 1980 and Calgary crusade of 1981 finally happened much was made of the already-strong friendship between

Manning and Graham. It was Manning who led the charge to have Graham perform crusades in Canada during the centennial year, with key stops in Alberta. Of course, that did not happen, but he did come to Winnipeg. In Edmonton and Calgary the promotional and media tropes were virtually identical: oil is blessing Alberta and oil is destroying Alberta. Though Manning's political career and the Social Credit party were a decade in the past, he was given a position of honour at the Edmonton crusade, where he introduced Graham one evening, as well as at a Chamber of Commerce lunch. The Cold War atomic imagery of Winnipeg was still present in early 1980s Alberta, but it took a back seat to oil wealth. Edmonton and Calgary, according to Billy Graham, crusade organizers, and Manning himself, were in the clutches of the dark side of prosperity's gift: debauchery, alcoholism, family breakdown, materialism, prostitution, suicide, and murder. These markers of a decaying society – for those concerned – were all high and climbing. As in Texas and California before, oil was bringing dissipation and social corruption to Alberta. Though the experiences were quite different, a Graham associate in Houston claimed that Calgary was like the Texas oil hotspot – rich, decadent, in trouble spiritually, and searching for answers in God. To read the news, Alberta was a frontier society in need of redemption, brought to its knees by sin.[39]

Graham delivered his well-worn and well-received message among the many oil field workers highlighted in media reporting. Yet in the city papers were scores of ads from local companies, contractors, engineers, insurance, real estate, and Christian bookstores welcoming him. Significantly, no ads were placed from any of the majors in the oil economy. In fact, the only "controversy" in Calgary 1981 was how virtually no money from oil corporations funded the crusade – despite it being the richest crusade by donations in Graham's entire career until that point. It was explained that they supported charities of a religious nature – and Texaco Canada was not even approached.[40]

Even as the more secular, urbane, moderate Premier Peter Lougheed kept his distance from the Graham crusades, evangelical frontier piety was on full display: the gifts of God may become our curses. The virtues of individualism and strength for tackling frontier-like challenges so amenable to evangelical Christianity were not absolute. The tension was there in Texas and California where wildcatting was common and later in Alberta where it was curbed; prosperity is difficult and the spirit of individualism and blessings of wealth need guidance. The question was,

from where should it come: the government or God?[41]

Conclusion

These happy times for American revivalism in Canada were made possible not only by a large church-going population eager to volunteer, but also through astute networks formed, often years in advance, with political and business leaders. For Canadian evangelicals it was significant that in observing Canada's centennial Billy Graham would make his second trip to Canada. However, instead of going to Ottawa, Montreal or Toronto, he came to Winnipeg, the gateway to the west. Thus when American media attention turned north at this time, it was to Winnipeg and, by extension, western Canada.

If revivals are akin to entertaining set pieces setting fire to peoples' hearts, melting them to the gospel, the churches and denominations are the structures maintaining the glowing embers, creating efficacious heat for society. As in other burned-over areas in North America in times past, folks in the pews in western Canada found their way to the tents as their leaders looked on with concern. Perhaps part of the benefit for established churches of the traveling preacher are all the extra meetings called, responses written and questions asked of those who live on where the tent poles once stood, reminded that there are many Christianities out there and at home. As business, western growth, and engaged evangelicals came together to host Graham, the future faced west to Alberta. Graham would return in the early 1980s to oil rich Calgary where oilmen would host and a former radio preacher premier would hold the honorary chair of a Graham crusade.

In the 1960s Canadian evangelicals celebrated their faith and understood it in the context of liberal western democratic values as the real prospect of a nuclear apocalypse draped over the Cold War lingered about the crusade. However, it was not just Billy Graham, though his celebrity and folksy preaching and clear integrity played no small part in his reception. The simple gospel message of Graham and the BGEA was eagerly embraced when associate evangelists, such as Leighton Ford, hit the sawdust trails of western Canada.

Along the way over the prairie pathways of the preachers, Graham, Ford, and others brought a mix of evangelical optimism, revival fire, and affirmation not only in their faith, but also in their politics and society. Down to the grassroots of crusade planning were networks not only of

political and business leaders, but also of hundreds of regular folks volunteering time and sweat. The lists of organizations and churches involved show that these were among the most truly ecumenical transdenominational enterprises at the time. So significant was the appearance of Graham and his associate evangelists that liberal Protestants, hard-right fundamentalists, and pacifist Mennonites needed to respond. Despite enjoying the opportunities petro-wealth created for Alberta, and for the revivalist ministry itself, Graham did not refrain from recasting it as problematic. It was a happy gift, but, though some evangelicals saw it coming from God to an evangelically led province, Graham did not bite.

Whether the issue was the nature of the mass revival campaign, a warming of relations with Catholics, or visiting Vietnam and supporting his own president, the BGEA simply could not enter a city and leave unnoticed – even local Christian divisions needed airing. The responses from the BGEA were organized and systematic. Little worried the revival campaign leaders, planners, and preachers even as they took time to understand, somewhat, local church issues. The pending arrival of Billy Graham and his team meant not only countless hours of preparation and training for supporters, but also many hours spent in church basements for detractors wondering how best to proceed.

While denominations by necessity concern themselves with their own theological and doctrinal distinctiveness – peace for Mennonites, ecumenicalism for the fundamentalists – that is not the case for mass evangelism. The revival experience is focused on the individual; people often come out of concern for their own lives, problems, and situations. By necessity, revivalists often work with ecumenical groups of local churches – Billy Graham would not come to a city unless the major denominations were on board and issued an invitation – in an irenic spirit emphasizing commonalities, typically the personal decision of conversion. That was a key to Graham's evangelistic enterprise, not theological precision or doctrinal debate. It was a curious mix: the soothing warm optimistic apocalypse, the hard reality of politics and war, and the affirmation of a locale – even when critical of its prosperity – all brought together for a week.

As Martin Marty observed in the 1970s, in the post-war climate of "settling down" and "soothing anxieties" Graham was part of a general religious trend in America guided by two impulses: interdenominational/ecumenical activities and denominational institutional restora-

tion/construction. Graham's popularity was a mixture of personal traits, political context, and astute positioning within the internal tensions of the broader Christian church and larger culture. He brought with him not only plain-folk southern American theology mixed with the idealism of republican democracy, but also the most friendly accounting of the coming Armageddon, popularizing a flexible pre-millennialism ascendant in evangelicalism while criticizing the affluent comforts and failures of his western audiences. This, combined with a post-war centrism in relation to the larger Christian community, helped to maintain his influence. Therefore, when he encountered the protests of pacifists, liberal Protestants and hard-right fundamentalists, Graham enjoyed the sun in the broad middle, populated more by individuals than denominations.[42]

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A research grant from Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada provided funding for this article.

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The Canada Sunday School Union and Lay Responses to Religious Literature in Canada West, 1843-1850

PATRICIA KMIEC
University of Toronto

In 1846 a local Sunday school in Smith Township, Canada West,[1] sent the Canada Sunday School Union the following report on the status of their school:

> The influence of this school on the community is good. The scholars take great pleasure in perusing the books in the library and committing portions of Scripture to memory, so much so that we are frequently short of teachers to hear them . . . We frequently examine them from the library books, in order to see that they are not taken home and made no use of; we also question them from portions of Scripture which they have previously read or committed to memory, in order to keep the principal truths of the gospel alive in their minds, and fresh in their memory.[2]

As informal and usually lay-run institutions, Sunday schools are often invisible in traditional church records from the first half of the nineteenth century; yet, by the 1840s, there were hundreds of Protestant Sunday schools scattered across the province. Many of these schools were connected to the inter-denominational Canada Sunday School Union (CSSU), an organization established to support the development of Sunday schools and to provide free and inexpensive publications to Sunday schools in the Canadas.

In the 1840s, the CSSU received an annual average of 138 local

reports from Sunday schools in both Canada East and Canada West, with that number reaching more than 200 in certain years.[3] While original records of this communication between the members and the central organization no longer exist, the updates submitted to the CSSU were regularly reprinted in their annual reports, which were distributed to all active members. These reprints may have been shortened, and it is evident that not every report received was included; however, the republished reports present a rare, verbatim description of Protestant Sunday schools from the perspective of lay participants. In fact, taken together, these lay voices reveal much about the religious experience of Protestant communities in early Ontario beyond the Sunday school.

This article provides a preliminary examination of the lay reports published in the CSSU's annual publication from 1843 to 1850. Given the centrality of books, libraries, and reading in the communication between the CSSU and local Sunday schools, this discussion will consider how the rapid development of an evangelical book culture took shape among the laity, including children, in Canada West.

Early Sunday Schools

Sunday schools emerged in the province of Upper Canada in the second decade of the nineteenth century. Both Richmond Hill and Brockville claim to be home to the province's first Sunday school in 1811, and other regions followed this lead shortly after.[4] Sunday schools in the first half of the century were community-run spaces, with very little practical clerical involvement. With the exception of schools operated by High Anglicans in York and Kingston, Sunday schools in Upper Canada were generally non-denominational and served Protestant children of all affiliations within a particular region or neighborhood. As the Methodist *Christian Guardian* explained in 1830,

> The main object of Sabbath Schools is to inform the scholars upon the fundamental principles of Christianity. It is to lay a broad foundation upon which a child may build a structure in his riper years as best accords with his convictions. It has nothing to do with the peculiar doctrines of any branch of the Christian Church, expect as a matter of general information.[5]

As resources became more readily available by the middle of the nineteenth century and clergy became more permanently settled, many

Sunday schools became auxiliaries of particular congregations, but non-denominational Sunday schools remained commonplace into the second half of the century.[6] Because the majority of Sunday schools were shared spaces with cooperative leadership, these schools primarily taught lessons in areas that were agreeable to most, if not all, major Protestant denominations. This included almost exclusively rote memorization and recitation of Bible verses, and, for those children not yet literate, elementary lessons in reading and spelling, for the purpose of reading the Bible.

Sunday schools in Upper and Lower Canada were connected to each other and supported by a non-denominational organization from 1823 onward. Known as the Sunday School Union Society of Canada (SSUSC), this group helped to establish Sunday schools across the Canadas and provided books and tracts to existing schools, particularly in rural areas. The organization operated out of its book depository in Montreal and had created a significant network of book distribution by the mid-1820s.

The SSUSC was succeeded by the Canada Sunday School Union in 1836 and, by 1843, the CSSU had become the central organization through which both non-denominational and, increasingly, denomination-specific schools in both Canada East and Canada West were connected. This union included among its membership Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, and Congregationalists, but evangelical Anglicans and Lutherans also participated.

The CSSU served the same purpose as its predecessor. Led by a committee of laymen of various denominations, it imported and distributed books to local Sunday schools. Almost all of the union's leaders were prominent businessmen and philanthropists in Montreal, including William Lunn, J.C. Becket, and James Orr. Both membership and leadership were voluntary. The CSSU had no real authority in terms of enforcing practices. Instead, it advised, connected, and supplied local Sunday schools.

The Canada Sunday School Union, Books, and Libraries

It is not surprising that the Bible was the most commonly used text in Protestant Sunday schools. That was especially true in the period before 1840, when the Sunday school community was still developing its printing and book distribution methods, and access to literature was relatively scarce in many backwoods communities. Bibles, whether purchased or free, were fairly easy to obtain. A number of agents from Bible societies

and missionary organizations were devoted to circulating the Bible among the newly settled population.[7] By 1840 the Upper Canadian Bible Society alone had sixty local branches and depositories that provided Bibles to Sunday schools.[8]

As early as 1819, Sunday schools were receiving free Bibles and Testaments from these types of organizations. In that year, a report in the *Kingston Chronicle*, from the region's Sunday school union, expressed gratitude to the local Bible Society: "those most excellent institutions, the Sunday Schools, would have had some difficulty in being put into immediate operation, were it not that the superabundance of Testaments enabled your committee to supply them with upwards of 100."[9] This sentiment was echoed throughout the province, and the establishment of new Sunday schools was almost always dependent on the school's organizer first acquiring a Bible.

The Sunday School Union Society of Canada also purchased other religious publications on behalf of the smaller, and usually poorer, schools. The organization's 1824 financial report reveals that £2 was sent directly to missionary and religious tract societies in London for books, and upwards of £50 from local unions across the province was sent to the London (Sunday School Union) depository to supply material to schools in Upper Canada.[10] Given its prominence in the British market, material from the Religious Tract Society (RTS) would have filled the majority, if not the entirety, of these two requests.

The RTS continued to supply Canadian Sunday schools with literature through the 1840s. While records from Canadian Sunday school organizations are limited for the 1830s, by 1840 it is clear that a regular network of distribution had been established between Canadian Sunday schools and the RTS. An announcement in *The Canadian Temperance Advocate* in 1840 presents an update on Sunday school books: "the committee of the Canada Sunday School Union notify, that in addition to their assorted stock of books adapted for Sunday Schools, a fresh supply of libraries, has just arrived from London . . . Each library consists of 101 vols. of the most select works, and cost £6 15s sterling. By the liberality of the [Religious] Tract Society, London, this society is enabled to give them for just £3 10s."[11]

This description of a Sunday school library from the CSSU was typical, as most consisted of around 100 items that were selected by the organization. These libraries included mainly small books, occasionally tracts, and, even less often, periodicals. The majority of Sunday school

libraries in Canada West were established with the help of the CSSU, which not only provided libraries at half price, but also gave many Sunday schools a library free of charge if the organization believed the school to be sufficiently "destitute," in either the financial or spiritual sense. This charitable work was central to the organization's widespread presence. In 1845 the CSSU reflected on the first decade of its work in supplying free materials to needy Sunday schools, noting that, "the Society has been enabled since its organization in 1836 to furnish a gratuitous supply of books to Schools in destitute parts of the country, to the extent of £1,100."[12] By 1843 the CSSU boasted that it had provided over 200 Sunday schools with 36,312 library books, not including tracts and Bibles.[13]

The RTS publications that were provided through the CSSU's libraries fell within the genre of evangelical literature. These stories all included the gospel message, stressing that salvation was only possible through faith in atonement. This type of literature was also always written with extreme clarity, as the tracts and books needed to be easily understood, even where no other religious guidance was available. Other key qualities of evangelical publications of this time, including the RTS' collection, were simplicity and entertainment.[14]

RTS publications were accepted by all major Protestant denominations. Like many other religious societies of the time, the RTS was committed to non-sectarian values in both its organization and content. Unlike many of the other evangelical groups, the RTS managed to maintain strong favour with members and leaders of the Church of England. In fact, the RTS recruited Anglican writers, many of whom, including Legh Richmond, were among their most popular.[15] Children and adults alike often embraced the material the RTS printed; distinctions between these two audiences were rarely made. The appeal of the RTS was broad, because its literature always focused on the central Gospel message.

American books began to enter the CSSU's distribution system in 1845 as a result of increased demand. The inclusion of books from the non-denominational American Sunday School Union was mentioned in the CSSU's 1846 Annual Report where it was explained that,

> Heretofore, the books in the Depository have been principally those of the London Religious Tract Society, and we cannot be better supplied with the same kind of books from any other quarter; but it is

> gratifying to find that the increased demand for the information, has rendered it necessary for us to add to our variety. During the past year we have made considerable additions to our stock, from the American Sunday School Union, which adds considerably to its value and gives increased interest to our operation.[16]

In 1845, the first year that American libraries were available, the majority of the material distributed by the CSSU continued to be that of the RTS which provided forty-seven libraries, while the American Sunday School Union libraries provided only sixteen.[17] Similar distribution rates continued throughout the last half of the 1840s with the 1848 report noting that the previous year the CSSU had distributed seventy RTS and twenty American libraries.[18]

As seen in Table 1, detailed records for the years 1839-44 reveal that among the top items distributed were religious tracts, numbering anywhere from just over 1,000 to 17,690 annually. Library books often surpassed tracts in terms of distribution, with over ten thousand issued in 1840, its most active year. Even in the union's least active year, 1843, 6,056 library books were sent out.[19] Both tracts and books from the CSSU filled the shelves and boxes of Sunday school libraries, and it is not surprising that, when the *Journal of Education* published a statistical account of all libraries in Canada West in 1851, Sunday school libraries accounted for sixty-seven percent of all library material in the province with 50,732 volumes, nearly ten times the number of common school collections and more than forty-five times the province's Mechanics' Institutes.[20]

Table 1

Items Issued from the Book Depository of the Canada Sunday School Union 1839-1844

	Library Books	Elementary Books	Tracts	English Bibles	Hymn Books	Maps	All Other Materials
1839	7,434	3,393	17,690	712	88	75	445
1840	10,329	1,494	9,650	11	96	30	745
1841	8,732	2,588	4,691	75	280	25	1,069
1842	9,908	5,459	2,280	158	742	20	711
1843	6,056	3,011	1,769	136	306	10	478
1844	8,842	3,878	2,350	191	718	10	260

CSSU Annual Report 1843, 18.

Regardless of its lack of practical power, the CSSU promoted particular goals and had clear expectations for the province's Sunday schools. The instructions that the CSSU provided to local schools in their printed annual reports and other publications describe those goals and expectations in detail, explaining that Canadian Sunday schools were to be exclusively religious institutions with a clear aim of individual commitment to the Christian faith. Schools were expected to promote general Protestant morality, piety, and encourage active evangelical and inter-denominational cooperation.

In practice, however, it was not up to the CSSU to define the purpose of the Sunday school. The survival of these schools rested on the continued support and participation of the laity within their local communities. Laymen and women supported Sunday schools by becoming financial subscribers, volunteering as teachers and superintendents, and sending their children to the weekly lesson. What were lay settlers saying about these community Sunday schools? What patterns emerge from an analysis of the communication between local Sunday schools and the CSSU?

Reports of Local Sunday Schools

When local Sunday schools submitted their annual reports to the CSSU, they provided updates on the status of their schools, including attendance figures, the success of pupils, and any concerns of teachers and superintendents. These accounts, however, were dominated by requests for books and libraries, as well as reports on how CSSU libraries had been received in their communities. Consequently, the reprinted reports reveal as much about the practices of early Sunday schools as they do about how evangelical literature was received by lay settlers in the 1840s. This period saw a rapid increase in both the domestic production of evangelical literature and its importation from abroad, yet we still know very little about the role of this emerging book culture in the lives of settler families and communities.

The local reports sent to the CSSU reveal a great deal of diversity among Sunday schools in Canada West in the 1840s. Some schools had hundreds of students, while others struggled to gather a few from their widely scattered settlements. A number of schools had very structured practices, with homework, grade levels, and public examinations, but most conducted only simple exercises in Bible memorization during class time.

Individual superintendents or teachers could influence the operations of local Sunday schools. But, while diversity existed, some important patterns can be seen from schools in various counties across the province, particularly in regards to issues relating to books, libraries, and reading.

The most common sentiment was that there would be more interest in a Sunday school if it had a circulating library. This was expressed both by those schools requesting a library from the CSSU, as well as those reporting on their recent receipt of a library. In 1843 a school from the Oxford district described the benefits of their new Sunday school library in a letter of thanks to the CSSU: "we desire to tender your society our sincere thanks for the very excellent library sent us . . . We find a good library the best inducement that we can hold out to secure attendance of the Sabbath School scholars."[21]

It was not only the young pupils whose interest in Sunday schooling increased when a library was established, but their families as well. An 1847 report from Perth noted that, "there is to be observed an increasing interest on the part of parents and guardians, caused, we think, by the increasing interest taken by the Scholars in the books which they get from us weekly to read."[22] Similar observations were reported from Peterborough in 1848, when it was stated that, "indeed, the prosperity of the schools depends in a great measure on the efficient state of their libraries."[23]

Libraries usually became part of a Sunday school after the school had been operating for some time. So, the observation that people were attracted to a school because of the access to books suggests that they were not seeking religious education alone. They were also looking for literacy education, exposure to new books, and leisurely reading. Religious education was almost always available before a Sunday school acquired a library.

A number of reports indicate that the lending and reading of books from Sunday school libraries was not limited to children. Comments that "both young and old read the books and take much interest in them" were quite common.[24] Typically, children facilitated adult access to the material in Sunday school libraries. Students brought books home, allowing their parents to read independently or with their children. In the first half of the nineteenth century, this would have been a new experience for most settlers, as access to books was limited, particularly outside of major cities.

Parents were frequently mentioned in local communications with the CSSU in various ways, yet their very presence in these reports reveals an

important pattern between Sunday school libraries and family reading practices. Some reports, including one from a Lanark school in 1844, were vague in describing the extent to which parents were using the Sunday school library, stating simply that, "the parents likewise have received much benefit from reading the books."[25] Other reports explain that reading was not only beneficial to parents, but was interesting as well. As an 1848 report from Mosa Township notes, at their school, "the books are read with interest by parents and scholars."[26]

A more detailed report from a Chatham school in 1847 reveals the popularity such Sunday schools could have in local communities. "We have an extensive circulation of our books according to our population," they wrote, "there is from forty to fifty books in circulation every week, they are eagerly sought after and are to be found in every house in the settlement."[27]

While specific details about exactly how reading occurred within the home are not easily available, the reports to the CSSU reveal that the system of book distribution and circulation established by the Sunday school community was effective in bringing literature into settlers' homes where both children and adults participated in reading.

The libraries provided by the CSSU also facilitated basic literacy education for both children and adults. A report from Sophiasburg in 1843 explained that in their community, "the library received at half price from the Canada Sunday School Union has increased very much the desire for reading, there is great need for instruction and for the short time that the school has been in existence there is good ground to hope that it had contributed to making up at least part of the deficiency."[28] Sunday school libraries also provided instruction beyond literacy and religion. That was the case in North East Hope, where, in 1846, the school reported that after the library had been established in the heavily Dutch-speaking community, "it is pleasing to observe the progress [the children] are making in English reading."[29]

The popularity of Sunday school libraries is also evident in the occasional requests that local schools put forth to obtain a new collection of books. A well-established school in Smith Falls wrote to the CSSU in 1844 and provided an update on the state of their library: "our library is getting to be rather stale, of course not so interesting as it was, yet the school is pretty well attended most of the time. I would observe that the books are eagerly sought by the children, but when they are offered one they reply they have had that."[30]

Certainly, books were more prevalent in some areas than others. But, as the above examples illustrate, in at least the occasional town, Sunday school libraries facilitated instruction, practice, and, as early as 1844, preference in reading. The libraries distributed by the CSSU contained basic tracts and books within the growing genre of evangelical literature. Their readers were no doubt attracted to the dramatic stories of conversion, salvation, and spiritual purity. These publications were even more attractive, however, when they were available free of charge, as they were to thousands of settlers in Canada West in the 1840s through their local Sunday school libraries.

The local reports reprinted in the CSSU's annual publication reveal the diversity of interest and purpose these early forms of mass evangelical literature had in Canada West. The books, tracts, and periodicals of Sunday school libraries attracted many children to Sunday school who otherwise might not have attended. They allowed children to bring reading material home to their families and facilitated family reading practices, as well as independent reading for adults and children. They made literature accessible to rural communities in ways that promoted instruction in literacy and English, within an environment that was optional, and allowed an important element of choice and preference for the reader. Lay responses to the CSSU's mass system of distributing Sunday schools libraries were diverse, yet the comments found in local reports reveal an important element of lay agency in terms of reading practices.

Conclusion

Research on the history of reading in early nineteenth-century Ontario remains in its early stages. Given that the majority of literature available to non-elite lay settlers was produced and distributed by Christian institutions, historians have begun to consider the records of religious organizations in the examination of early reading practices.[31] The Canada Sunday School Union, however, as an inter-provincial, inter-denominational organization with mass networks of publication and distribution, has consistently been overlooked. The records of the CSSU, particularly its published annual reports, provide much more than the figures of the material ordered from their book depository (though that data is also included). What is even more significant about these records is the inclusion of local reports, written almost exclusively by lay settlers themselves. These brief conversations provide particularly valuable insight

into the perspective of the laity on a number of issues concerning the history of religion, as well as related questions of literacy, social relations, leisure, education, and childhood.

It is evident from these reports that Sunday school libraries were very well received in their local communities. Children and families actively engaged with the material provided by their local Sunday school library for various religious, educational, and leisurely purposes. The role of libraries became so central to most Sunday schools in the 1830s and 1840s that very few schools could survive without a circulating library.

Future research will determine what the lay voices found within the CSSU records had to say on other religious matters in the first half of the nineteenth century, and will perhaps compare these perspectives with those found in the religious press or official church and congregational records. If this preliminary analysis is any indication, lay settlers were involved in local religious practices in diverse ways, yet in most communities they were consciously participating in order to meet personal and family needs which were determined on their own terms.

Endnotes

1. Upper Canada became Canada West in 1841 and Ontario in 1867.
2. *Canada Sunday School Union Annual Report 1846* (Montreal: Canada Sunday School Union, 1846), 26. (Hereafter, *CSSU Annual Report*).
3. *CSSU Annual Report* 1843-9.
4. Mary Dawson, *The First 150 Years: The Richmond Hill Presbyterian Sunday School* (Richmond Hill, J.E Smith, 1961), n.p; Holly S. Seaman, "The Rev. William Smart, Presbyterian Minister of Elizabethtown," *Ontario History* V (1904): 178.
5. *Christian Guardian*, 27 November 1830.
6. As late as 1849 the CSSU reported more non-denominational Sunday schools than those that were denominational-specific. Both were counted in their annual reports. *CSSU Annual Report 1849*.
7. Janet Friskney, "Christian Faith in Print," in *History of the Book in Canada, Volume 1: Beginnings to 1840*, eds. Patricia Lockhart Fleming and Gilles Gallichan (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 139-40.
8. Friskney, "Christian Faith in Print," 140.

9. *Kingston Chronicle*, 22 January 1819.
10. *Report of the Sunday School Union Society of Canada* (Montreal: Sunday School Union Society of Canada, 1824), 16.
11. *Canadian Temperance Advocate*, 5 (January 1840), 72.
12. *CSSU Annual Report 1845*, 9.
13. *CSSU Annual Report 1843*, 18.
14. Aileen Fyfe, "A Short History of the Religious Tract Society," in *From the Dairyman's Daughter to Worrals of the WAAF : The Religious Tract Society, Lutterworth Press and Children's Literature*, eds. Dennis Butts and Pat Garrett (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 2006), 15.
15. Fyfe, "A Short History of the Religious Tract Society," 18.
16. *CSSU Annual Report 1846*, 11-12.
17. *CSSU Annual Report 1846*, 15.
18. *CSSU Annual Report 1848*, 13.
19. *CSSU Annual Report, 1843*, 18.
20. *Journal of Education for Upper Canada* (January 1851), 12.
21. *CSSU Annual Report 1843*, 40.
22. *CSSU Annual Report 1847*, 37-8.
23. *CSSU Annual Report 1848*, 29.
24. *CSSU Annual Report 1843*, 40.
25. *CSSU Annual Report 1844*, 34.
26. *CSSU Annual Report 1848*, 27.
27. *CSSU Annual Report 1845*, 37.
28. *CSSU Annual Report 1843*, 43.
29. *CSSU Annual Report 1847*, 33.
30. *CSSU Annual Report 1844*, 35.
31. The leading scholarship in this field can be found in Fleming and Lamonde, eds., *History of the Book in Canada*.

Anti-British in Every Sense of the Word? Methodist Preachers, School Libraries, and the Problem of American Books in Upper Canada, 1820-1860

SCOTT MCLAREN
York University

In the spring of 1827, the Methodist preacher Anson Green sent a letter from his post in Ancaster, Upper Canada, to New York. In it, he asked Nathan Bangs, Senior Agent of the Methodist Book Concern, to send a bulk order of Sunday school books to supply enthusiastic young readers along his preaching circuit. Green explained that he was eager to follow the example of preachers working south of the border whose trumpeted successes in establishing Sunday schools and Sunday school libraries had "given a zest to the cause of Sabbath Schools on this circuit, which it never possessed before."[1] Bangs, who had himself laboured as a Methodist preacher in the Upper Canadian backwoods some twenty years earlier, was so delighted to receive Green's letter that he published it in the *Christian Advocate* to demonstrate to his readers that the Methodist Sunday school movement was advancing not only in the United States, but north of the border as well.[2] Indeed, the demand for Sunday school books in Upper Canada must have been considerable. By the end of the summer, the Methodist Sunday School Union had twenty-five book depositories operating in North America, including one in Stoney Creek, Upper Canada.[3]

The cause of Methodist Sunday schools in North America was boosted considerably just about the time Green was putting pen to paper with the establishment of a separate Methodist Sunday School Union designed to counter what was perceived to be the creeping Calvinism of

the officially nonsectarian American Sunday School Union.[4] Nathan Bangs was elected to serve as the denominational Union's first corresponding secretary and immediately published a formal set of guidelines for those preachers eager to establish Sunday schools along their circuits.[5] In the years that followed, Bangs and his successors also set about radically expanding the Methodist Book Concern's Sunday school offerings. Indeed, Abel Stevens, Bangs's biographer and one of the nineteenth century's chief historians of American Methodism, remarked that the Concern's sustained publication of "juvenile literature and periodicals" helped to transform the Sunday School Union itself into a "mighty auxiliary to the Book Concern."[6]

But what became a relatively straightforward and mutually reinforcing relationship between Methodist Sunday schools and the Book Concern in the United States yielded something rather more complicated in Upper Canada. As this paper will argue, Methodist Sunday school libraries north of the border were more than simply denominational sites where Methodists took their first systematic steps toward raising literacy levels across the colony. As ready repositories of books authored and published by Americans, they also had the potential to be interpreted by critics as contested transnational spaces with the capacity to foster subversive ideas about His Majesty's government and even, if the more strident detractors are to be believed, foment open acts of armed rebellion.[7] Yet their growth and the growth of later nonsectarian common school and public libraries in Upper Canada were intimately related. Methodists found themselves at the heart of both movements. The broad principles that animated them in the first sphere influenced and informed their strategies in the second.

Methodists in Upper Canada had always struggled against suspicion on the part of the colony's elite that they were a politically treacherous lot. Although the Church of England clergyman John Wesley founded Methodism in Britain in the mid-eighteenth century, it had not spread to the colony through the agency of loyal British Wesleyan missionaries, but by the determined efforts of radical American Methodist preachers who first crossed the frozen St. Lawrence in the winter of 1790.[8] That origin, especially in the shadow cast by the War of 1812, had long provided the province's elite with all the warrant they needed to discredit Methodists as anti-British and politically faithless. Everyone from Commander Isaac Brock and Lieutenant Governor Francis Gore to rank-and-file Orangemen condemned Methodists "as disloyal because of their American origin."[9]

John Strachan, a prominent Church of England clergyman and Methodism's chief detractor in the colony, added his own flourish to the swirling anti-Methodist rhetoric when he argued that Methodism's "close connections with American Conferences" caused it to be "tainted by religious dissent and republicanism."[10]

American schoolbooks were perhaps the only thing worse than American Methodism for the social wellbeing of the colony – at least according to a long and proud tradition maintained by the colony's Loyalists and conservative political actors since the War of 1812. Indeed, the artillery hardly had time to cool before a letter appeared in the *Kingston Gazette* and the *Montreal Herald* complaining about American books. "They teach us," the writer objected, "to hate the government that we ought, and are bound, to support; to revile the country that we are bound to love and respect; and to think that there is nothing great or good, generous or brave, anywhere to be found but in the United States."[11] John Carroll, who began attending a Methodist Sunday school in the colonial capital of York in 1818, recollected passionate objections on the part of his father to the use of American schoolbooks. "The eulogies on Washington and Franklin, and other American notorieties," he recalled, "used to call out vehement denunciations from father's 'Britisher' tongue."[12] John Strachan, never one to pass up an opportunity to throw a few stones when a crowed gathered, offered his own reproofs in *A Visit to the Province of Upper Canada* published under his brother's name in 1819. He singled out for particular scorn primary schoolbooks, condemning them with seductive consonance for being "pervaded with pernicious politics" and, he added, "breathing hatred to the parent state."[13]

Colonial censure of American schoolbooks of the kind Green was so anxious to put in the hands of his young congregants reached its legislative apogee in the summer of 1847 when Egerton Ryerson, the Chief Superintendent for Education in the province, submitted his *Special Report on the Operations of the Common School Act of 1846* to the Legislative Assembly to defend, in part, Section XXX of the 1846 Act banning the use of "foreign Books" – a euphemism universally understood to mean American books – from all of the colony's common schools.[14] Like conservative animadversions before, Ryerson's report denounced such books "because they are, with very few exceptions, anti-British, in every sense of the word." But Ryerson went further than that – further than all but a small handful of the most outspoken conservatives. "I believe it will be found, on inquiry," the *Report* speculated ominously, "that in

precisely those parts of Upper Canada where the United States Books had been used most extensively, there the spirit of insurrection in 1837 and 1838, was most prevalent."[15] Ryerson's intimations could not have been clearer: American books could not be tolerated in the colony's schools for the simple reason that the reading of such books had led to nothing less than open acts of armed rebellion against the colony's rightful government. What Ryerson's *Report* failed to foreground, however, was the fact that it was precisely in those areas of the colony where Methodists had been the most successful in establishing Sunday school libraries that, "the United States Books had been used most extensively."

Scholars who have written about the American schoolbook question in Upper Canada have tended to take Ryerson at his word. There has also been an unfortunate tendency to conflate the use of textbooks intended specifically for curricular use in the classroom with schoolbooks in Common school libraries. While it is widely acknowledged that the Board of Education, established by the 1846 Common School Act under Ryerson's direction as Chief Superintendent, urged the adoption of textbooks produced by the Irish Commissioners of National Education in the colony's classrooms, his preference for non-American schoolbooks outside that defined curricular context is far less consistent.[16] Setting aside that distinction altogether, however, scholars have been content to observe instead that Ryerson "had a dislike for the wide use of American books," that "American books . . . offended Ryerson and those who shared his Loyalist sensibilities," and even that Ryerson's major objective in establishing control over the colony's "schoolbooks" was to rid "the schools of republican, chauvinist and anti-British literature from the United States, which many teachers and superintendents believed had had a pernicious influence on the minds of young Canadians."[17] Sweeping statements of this kind have been common at least in part because they strike the reader as largely consistent with Ryerson's privileged background. After all, he was the son of a United Empire Loyalist whose family had taken up arms to fight rebels in the Revolutionary War and to defend the colony from American invaders in 1812. Ryerson was also the product of the colony's elite conservative grammar schools where he later found employment as a teaching assistant.[18]

The scholarly consensus expressed by such historians, while credible from one perspective, serves to obscure the important fact that Ryerson understood himself to be something more than a conservative bureaucrat. Ryerson was also a Methodist preacher. Indeed, after challenging John

Strachan's denunciation of Methodists for teaching "what they do not know, and which from their pride, they disdain to learn," in the mid-1820s, he went on to become Methodism's chief public advocate as founding editor of the popular *Christian Guardian* newspaper.[19] During those early years, Ryerson also presided over the Methodist Book Room in the colony's capital where he worked closely with the Methodist Book Concern in New York to import large quantities of American books to stock the shelves of the colony's burgeoning Sunday school libraries.[20] After his appointment to Superintendent of Education in 1844, moreover, Ryerson made the deliberate and not uncontroversial decision to retain his status as a preacher despite his public responsibilities.[21] Anson Green, meanwhile, the same preacher who had written to Nathan Bangs in the 1820s to solicit books for Sunday schools in Ancaster, found himself at the helm the Methodist Book Room and, like Ryerson before him, continued to liaise with Americans to secure ever greater discounts on Sunday school and other books published by the New York Methodist Book Concern for wholesale importation into Upper Canada.[22] When Ryerson put pen to paper connecting the use of American schoolbooks with the rebellions of 1837 and 1838 in his *Special Report*, he knew only too well that Methodist Sunday school libraries all across the colony were bursting at the seams with American books that continued to flow in ever-larger quantities across the border.[23] How can this be accounted for?

It is widely acknowledged that Egerton Ryerson was an astute politician who was adept at playing a long game. When viewed in this broader context, the possibility emerges that Ryerson's objections to the use of American schoolbooks, however vociferous, may have been driven more by political exigency than principled ideology. In other words, although Loyalists certainly did object to American books, his earlier experiences, and his later choices, suggest that Ryerson did not genuinely share their anxieties. Yet by the time Ryerson's *Special Report* was tabled in the Assembly in 1847, he found himself on the cusp of implementing some major reforms to the province's educational system and he knew that he could not afford to be perceived as inattentive to the cultural and political dangers many conservatives in particular believed the United States continued to pose to the colony's future. In other words, Ryerson's decision to institute and defend a ban on the use of American schoolbooks cannot be understood without consulting the wider religious and political contexts in which that decision was taken.

The first half of the 1840s had proven to be particularly difficult

years in the life of the province. They were equally trying for Ryerson and the Methodist cause more generally. Methodist troubles began with the collapse of the precarious union between Canadian Methodists and British Wesleyans in 1840 – a collapse that the latter party blamed chiefly on Egerton Ryerson. Against the imperious wishes of the British Wesleyans, and Jabez Bunting in particular, Ryerson remained unyielding in his use of the *Christian Guardian* to press for the principle of disestablishment in Upper Canada. Things finally came to a head when Ryerson attempted to subvert the authority of the British Wesleyan leadership by directly petitioning the Governor General "to deprive the British Conference of its annual grant from the Imperial Government for the extension of missions in the province."[24] In response, the Wesleyans drew up charges in which Ryerson was singled out for condemnation.[25] Indeed, so rancorous did the infighting become that Ryerson made contingency plans to take a pulpit in New York in the event the Wesleyans succeeded in having him expelled.[26] In the end, however, Canadian Methodists elected to stand by Ryerson rather than bow to Bunting's demands. Seven years later, and just months before Ryerson tabled his *Special Report* in the Assembly, the Union was renewed. Despite the fact that Ryerson's brother John had been instrumental in the rapprochement, and although Egerton Ryerson had resigned from active pastoral duty several years earlier, the goodwill of the Wesleyans must have seemed to him highly tentative in those early months.

Meanwhile, the colony's government had been racked by an ongoing struggle on the part of political reformers to make the Executive Council responsible to the Assembly and thereby curb what they held to be the arbitrary power of the Governor General. In the spring of 1844, Ryerson publicly sided with Governor General Charles Metcalfe in a series of nine tracts that argued in favour of Metcalfe's prerogative to act against the wishes of his counselors.[27] By October, in part thanks to Ryerson's intervention, the conflict reached a plateau when elections returned only a minority of candidates opposed to the Governor General.[28] That Metcalfe was grateful to Ryerson cannot be doubted. Indeed, it was widely believed that Ryerson's appointment as Superintendent of Education was a reward for his service in the controversy. Although Ryerson strenuously denied it, everyone knew he had had his eye on the post for several years.[29] Reward or not, Ryerson had managed in the process to earn himself the resentment of the colony's reformers, including the increasingly formidable Robert Baldwin. Later, when Ryerson was abroad on an extensive

educational tour of Europe and America, Metcalfe was forced from office by illness while Baldwin and his supporters continued to gain influence. Ryerson lost another ally when, in the midst of a massive influx of potato famine victims in 1847, typhus broke out and claimed the life of Roman Catholic Bishop Michael Power, a man Ryerson understood to be a staunch ally in his struggle for public education.[30] Under the circumstances, it is not difficult to imagine how doubtful the ground must have felt under Ryerson's feet. "It is quite certain," his brother John warned him in February of 1847, "that combined and powerful efforts are being made against you by certain parties, no doubt with a determination to destroy you as a public man, if they can. The feeling of the 'radical' party is most inveterate. They are determined, by hook or by crook, to turn you out of the office of Chief Superintendent of Education."[31]

With the reformers so completely disenchanted, alienating the remaining conservatives who continued to support Ryerson's appointment and his agenda must hardly have seemed an option. Conservative concern, moreover, about the widespread harm American books continued to cause across the colony had not declined. On the contrary: the Rebellions of 1837 and 1838 exacerbated the sentiment. "Every Canadian school book," thundered the conservative *Patriot* in December 1838, "ought to be *written* by a Briton, *printed* by a Briton, and *sold* by a Briton."[32] Robert Baldwin Sullivan, Robert Baldwin's cousin and a turncoat reformer, reported as a member of Lieutenant Governor George Arthur's Executive Council that "The books [teachers in Upper Canada] use are all American filled with inflated accounts of American independence and the glorious wars with England." Students who read such books learn that "The British Government . . . is a chimerical monster . . . Ireland is a joyless land of bogs, pigs and catholics [*sic*], and Scotland an out of the way place in which the mountains and the men have a national and barbarous prejudice against decent covering."[33] By the 1840s, even some of the teachers had begun to grumble. One protested that the American books he found in the classroom were "decidedly anti-British," another complained that an unnamed history of the United States depicted "British soldiers in the darkest colours," while yet another objected that these foreign texts distorted history by portraying "the battle of Lundy's Lane [as] a great 'American Victory.'"[34] Regardless of whether or not these books were truly as dangerous as conservative critics stated, Ryerson no doubt felt an urgency to address such concerns in his official policies.

Amid the noise generated by ongoing conflicts in the colony's

political and religious affairs, affairs that loomed especially large for Ryerson at a time when his coveted post was under threat, the difficulty of gauging his sincerity in opposing the use of American schoolbooks seems clear. In order to shed some fresh light on the degree to which Ryerson's concern about American books was either truly based in his lived experiences as a preacher, bookseller, editor, and educator, or largely the rhetorical pretence of a politician calculated to assuage the anxieties of his conservative allies in government, it will be useful to consider in more detail the means by which Sunday schools libraries grew under Methodist sponsorship in Upper Canada, the extent to which books known to have filled those libraries contained sentiments that were truly prejudicial to the British government, and the policy decisions Ryerson took later in his career as Chief Superintendent when his own position was less threatened.

When Anson Green first wrote as a young preacher to solicit books for Sunday schools along his circuit, the Book Concern had only a few offerings in the form of spellers, Testaments, and American reprints of texts authored mostly by British writers. In the early 1830s, largely in response to the establishment of the Methodist Sunday School Union several years earlier, the Concern radically expanded its Sunday school offerings and began publishing books not just for instruction, but specifically for the stocking of libraries. These books, gathered together under the series name the *Sunday School and Youth Library*, were sold in bulk and at inexpensive rates. One of the first catalogues of the series appeared in 1833 and listed some fifty books carrying a total purchase price of $9.78 – less than 20¢ per title on average.[35] Most of these were strictly religious in nature. A very significant number of the titles continued to be American reprints of texts authored by British writers including various catechisms, *Dr. Watt's Divine Songs for Children,* Richard Watson's *Apology for the Bible,* and Eliza Cheap's *The Guilty Tongue.* Over the next fifteen years, however, despite the fact that the pedagogical emphasis of the Sunday school curriculum shifted ever more in the direction of strictly religious instruction, the series was diversified and expanded to include more than four hundred different titles from a variety of genres such as history, biography, travel literature, and science.[36] As the catalogue grew, moreover, the *Sunday School and Youth Library* came to include a much higher proportion of texts authored or edited by American writers.

The titles in this series most likely to offend conservative Canadian sensibilities could be found among the *Youth Library*'s histories and

biographies. By far the most egregious example was abolitionist La Roy Sunderland's polemical *History of the United States of America* published in 1834 as volume 107 in the *Library*.[37] It was full of the kinds of nationalistic rhetoric Upper Canadian conservatives so deplored. Had Nathan Bangs continued at the helm of the Concern during these years, it seems doubtful he would have selected a man like Sunderland to write this book. But Beverley Waugh and Thomas Mason, Bangs's successors at the Concern, had never itinerated in Upper Canada and were probably less attentive to these and other political niceties than they might have been. Indeed, Sunderland was a controversial choice even in the United States. As a strident abolitionist, he might have been expected to take this opportunity to further his antislavery agenda by writing a book that would, for different reasons, make Methodists in the south almost as uncomfortable as it did Methodists in Upper Canada. And although that is precisely what Sunderland did – dwelling at length in several passages on the indignities meted out to slaves across the sweep of American history – his abolitionism is routinely overmastered by his soaring patriotism.[38] "No history in the world," he gushes, "presents so many interesting combinations of piety, wisdom, patriotism, and daring enterprise, as that of these United States, and none exhibits more striking instances of a Divine Providence in the government and direction of the affairs of men."[39]

Indeed, although Sunderland presents a narrative that is chiefly political rather than religious – he passes over Wesley's missionary trip to Georgia in just a few lines and omits George Whitefield's revivals from his text entirely – he takes pains to stress that ultimately it was God who inspired America's political actors.[40] "Let no American youth ever forget," he warns, "the worthy example of those illustrious patriots. They were men who feared God, they constantly acknowledged him, in the great enterprises which engaged their attention, and he, according to his promise, 'directed their steps.'"[41] Although Sunderland writes nothing derogatory about Upper Canada directly, he recounts the individual battles of the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812 in detail, repeatedly contrasting the rapaciousness and barbarity of the British soldiers with the extraordinary restraint and evenhandedness of volunteers in the American militia, who were simply "defending themselves from the cruel encroachments of a powerful foe . . . a superior and vindictive enemy."[42] In fact, these passages occupy almost half of the book. Here, then, is the rare example of a Sunday school book that lived up to all the infamy Upper Canadian conservatives heaped on American schoolbooks more generally.

Importantly, Sunderland's book did not remain a part of the *Library* for very long. By 1839, three years after his controversial *The Testimony of God Against Slavery* was published by the American Anti-Slavery Society, Sunderland's book was quietly pulled from the series and replaced with another title, *The House of the Thief*, by the prolific Eliza Cheap.[43] In 1840, La Roy Sunderland was tried and defrocked by the Methodist Episcopal Church for the stridency of his antislavery writings. That same year he, along with fellow abolitionists, threw his support behind the new Wesleyan Methodist Church.[44] Events unfolding north of the border, meanwhile, may have spared Canadian Methodists the trouble and embarrassment of Sunderland's book altogether. By chance, Sunderland's book appeared in the autumn of 1834, almost midway through a time when, between October 1833 and July 1836, British Wesleyans gained control over the Toronto Book Room, and momentarily ceased importing books from the New York Book Concern.[45] By the time that commercial relationship was revived under the direction of John Ryerson in the summer of 1836, Sunderland's book was no longer available and thus probably never found its way into the hands of Canadian readers.

There were a small number of other books of this kind published by the Concern over the years, perhaps most notably Daniel Kidder's 1849 *The Waldos, or, Incidents of the American Revolution.* Kidder was an important figure in the development of the *Sunday School and Youth's Library,* becoming the corresponding secretary of the Methodist Sunday School Union and editor of Sunday school publications and tracts in 1844. Despite his official role, however, Kidder did not often write for the series and, when he did, he did not generally write books like *The Waldos.* Although Kidder could not resist blaming Britain for the Revolutionary War in this book, he did so in a far more muted and passing manner, simply remarking that it was "on the part of the colonists . . . a *defensive* war."[46] And while Kidder reserved the highest praise for his fellow Americans, suggesting that the prowess of the patriots compared favourably with "Grecian glory . . . and Roman victories," he refrained from heaping abuse on the British forces.[47] Instead, Kidder leaves the political canvas largely blank to concentrate on the personal triumphs and tragedies of the characters in his narrative. He begins with a protracted and emotional description of the conversion of the patriarch of the family to Methodism.[48] He dwells at length on the difficult and emotional struggle that Waldo's two sons underwent before leaving their mother and sister

behind to enlist in the militia.[49] He even devotes a substantial part of the concluding pages of the book to stories about the family dog.[50]

Unlike Sunderland's book, *The Waldos* was published at a time when the relationship between the Toronto Book Room and the Methodist Book Concern was particularly close. Indeed, the Canadian Book Steward Anson Green even advertised this very title when he published an exhaustive list of *Library* volumes available for purchase in Toronto.[51] Although there is no way to know if Green was familiar with the contents of this particular book, it seems highly doubtful that he would have lost much sleep worrying that its saccharine narrative, leavened by the occasional patriotic digression, would somehow spark an insurrection against the British authorities in Upper Canada.

Setting Sunderland's and Kidder's histories to one side, a reader would have been obliged to look long and hard through the Concern's remaining offerings to find even a passing mention of American superiority. One of the few rewards of such an undertaking would have been realized in a single title among Daniel Smith's popular biographies. Smith, a prolific American Methodist author and preacher, penned some fifty books during his lifetime including fifteen "scripture biographies" for the *Sunday School and Youth's Library* published between 1839 and his death in 1852. These short books, printed with accompanying illustrations, included titles on Moses, Daniel, Solomon, Esther, Jonah, Abraham, Samson, Ezra, Nehemiah, Elijah, Elisha, David, John the Baptist, and the apostles John, Peter, and Paul. As one might expect, most of the biographies contain no mention of contemporary events. The one exception can be found in Smith's 1840 *Life of Jonah* where the author includes a brief but extraordinary digression comparing the tyrannical rule of Nimrod with the excellences of government in New England. "I suppose most of my young readers know," he observes, "that few people in the world enjoy greater blessings than the citizen in New-England. Only think of our schools, colleges, Bibles, and churches; of our neat villages and farm-houses scattered over the whole face of the country. Perhaps there is no place where there is more industry, enterprise, intelligence, good morals, and religion."[52] Generally speaking, however, the political commentary one finds in Smith's biographies is much more subtle. In his 1839 *Life of Moses,* for example, Smith's young readers in the United States might have discerned faint echoes of British oppression in his description of the Egyptian captivity: "Their liberty had been wrested from them by the strong arm of oppression; government, which was designed for protecting

the rights of the weak against the strong, and defending the injured against he oppressor, had now become the giant instrument of tyranny."[53] Comments of this kind, however, were framed in terms so general that it is hard to imagine even the staunchest conservative in Upper Canada taking much offense. After all, who doesn't oppose tyranny on paper?

Smith's other "scripture biographies" would have required a similarly close parsing of the text to extract anything that might have been said to speak even remotely to America's political past or present. Instead these books, like the vast majority of titles that appeared in the *Sunday School and Youth's Library*, were all but exclusively religious in character and ambiguous on questions of politics. Indeed, it is not difficult to find instances where American authors passed up obvious opportunities to dilate on the greatness of the United States. Daniel Kidder's revised *Life of Martin Luther* published in 1840, for example, links the Reformation with subsequent increases in political freedom, but without mentioning the United States.[54] William Norris, another popular American Methodist author, says nothing at all about politics in his biography of American missionary David Brainerd published in 1839.[55] In yet another biography of an American missionary, Cyrus Shepard, author Zachariah Mudge is perfectly silent on matters of politics apart from a passing reference to the fact that Shepard's father was "a solider of the American Revolution [who] died on the morning of the anniversary of our national independence."[56] Kidder, in his revised history of the Waldenses published in 1846, freely criticizes Charles II for stealing money from the persecuted religious minority, but is equally generous in his praise for William and Mary for subsequently coming to the sect's financial aid.[57] Indeed, American Methodists even forwent the opportunity to commission their own biography of Columbus, electing instead to publish one authored by British Wesleyan George Cubitt.[58]

So while the titles making up the *Sunday School and Youth's Library* were a mixed bag, and while an increasingly large proportion of them were written by American writers and from an American perspective, the vast majority of the titles could not have been described as "anti-British" in every, or even any, sense of the word. This is a fact that any Canadian Methodist involved in the Sunday school movement would have understood well. Leaders of that movement, including Anson Green, the Ryersons, and other prominent preachers, including some British Wesleyans, would have gained a familiarity with these books and in the process become persuaded that, with one or two exceptions, this literature

posed no threat to the political peace and stability of Upper Canada. Seen in this broader context, Ryerson's objections to the use of American schoolbooks in the colony's Common schools take on a rather different complexion from the one generally ascribed by historians of education. While Ryerson was no doubt sincere in his desire to achieve uniformity across the curriculum by strongly encouraging the adoption of the Irish National Series textbooks, it seems probable that his opposition to American schoolbooks more generally was adopted as a strategy shore up conservative support and thereby prevent the tide of reform resentment from depriving him of his post. At the same time, Ryerson would have understood that he could not maintain a legal ban on American books in the province's Common schools forever without leaving himself and his coreligionists open to the charge of hypocrisy. Thus it is not difficult to understand why Ryerson began to back away almost immediately from the unqualified condemnation of American schoolbooks advanced in his 1847 *Special Report*. Having successfully adopted the role of chief critic, he subsequently found himself uniquely placed to soften that resolve, and by extension the resolve of his conservative supporters, by stages. And that is precisely what he did.

By early 1848, Ryerson was striking a markedly different tone. In his 1847 *Annual Report of Normal, Model, and Common Schools in Upper Canada,* Ryerson tellingly suggests that his earlier efforts to procure textbooks from the National Board of Education Dublin were not undertaken chiefly to displace American schoolbooks, but to encourage standardization across classrooms.[59] At the same time, Ryerson provides a far more nuanced critique of American schoolbooks by quietly narrowing the focus of his censure to geography schoolbooks, and American Jesse Olney's popular geographies in particular, describing them as "almost exclusively American [and] particularly hostile against everything British."[60] In the next breath, however, Ryerson recommends American Jedidiah Morse's "new Geography" as the "most impartial, the best constructed, the cheapest and best adapted geography for Canada with which I have yet met." After describing its many maps and woodcuts, Ryerson notes that the quality of the text prompted him to contact the publishers directly – Methodist publishers Harpers in New York – to arrange for a Canadian edition of the work. "The enterprising publishers have intimated," Ryerson enthuses, "that if I would prepare an additional quarto page or two on the statistics, commerce, &c., of Canada, they would insert it and publish an edition of their geography expressly for

Canada."[61] Morse's geographies were just the beginning. In the months and years ahead, Ryerson continued to soften his stance against American schoolbooks in a subtle but remarkably consistent fashion.

As founding editor of the *Christian Guardian,* Ryerson knew how effective a periodical could be in shifting public opinion. No doubt with his broader educational agenda in mind, Ryerson established the *Journal of Education for Upper Canada* in January 1848. In the June issue later that year, Ryerson reprinted a review of his 1846 *Report on a System of Public Elementary Instruction for Upper Canada* and his subsequent *Special Report on the Operation of the Common School Act of 1846* that appeared in the *Official Monthly District School Journal for the State of New York.* The reviewer, while praising Ryerson's initiatives more generally, takes strong exception to the prohibition of American schoolbooks from schools in Upper Canada. "The intercourse between the contiguous portions of this State and the Canadas," he writes, "occasions considerable dissatisfaction among the masses on account of this provision . . . On this subject there will be increasing public sentiment in favour of using the *best books*, and employing the *best Teachers*, whether of British or American origin. We hope, ere long, to see this restrictive feeling give place to a more generous and liberal policy."[62] There is nothing particularly surprising about the sentiments expressed by this writer. After all, one would expect an American to object to a ban on American schoolbooks. It is striking, however, that that Ryerson chose to use his new *Journal* to disseminate the views of this American to readers in Upper Canada. It seems not improbable that Ryerson's choice was calculated at that moment to create a strategic opportunity for him to reflect further on the ban and to speculate on how his own policies might evolve in the future. Thus in his printed response to the review, Ryerson offers a defence of the prohibition so brief that it amounts to little more than a preface, before hinting that broad changes may be in the offing, especially with respect to the establishment of school libraries. "When we advance a step further in our School System," he writes, "by providing for the establishment of Common School Libraries in Upper Canada, we doubt not but our Board of Education will readily adopt and recommend perhaps nineteenth-twentieths of the admirable and cheap publications which constitute the Common School Libraries of the States of Massachusetts and New-York."[63] Here we find a truly remarkable shift in rhetoric. Indeed, a straightforward juxtaposition of the soaring anti-Americanism found in Ryersons 1847 *Special Report* with the conciliatory sentiments expressed

in this later piece would make it difficult to credit that they were even the product of the same pen. And yet here we find a promise that, not only was the ban on American schoolbooks undertaken as a strictly temporary measure, but also that as Upper Canadian libraries begin to take shape, the province will effectively become an open market to American publishers. Ryerson moved with surprising speed to put that promise in effect.

The 1850 Common School Act appointed trustees for the first time "to take such steps as they may judge expedient, and as may be authorized according to law, for the establishment, safe keeping, and proper management of a School Library" and even provided a grant of up to £3,000 "for the establishment and support" of such libraries.[64] Ryerson consciously measured the success of these libraries against their Sunday school counterparts in both size and ubiquity. Catching up would not be easy. The late 1840s were a time of pronounced growth in denominational Sunday schools across the province and in the libraries that typically accompanied their establishment. Beginning with his *Annual Report* for 1848, Ryerson included statistics for the number of volumes in the province's Sunday school and Common school libraries. That year he reported 46,926 volumes in Sunday school libraries and only 1,579 volumes in Common school libraries.[65] By 1850, the figures stood at 73,662 volumes in Sunday school libraries and just 4,752 volumes in Common school libraries.[66] Sunday school libraries were funded largely by private donation and they were not subject to the provisions or restrictions outlined in the Common School Act. Thus denominational actors were and would remain free to continue filling the shelves of their burgeoning libraries with the cheapest and most readily available books from the United States. Ryerson seems to have understood that, even with government monies at his disposal, the only practicable way to close the gap between Sunday and Common school libraries would be to liberalize his own policies governing the importation of American books.

Ryerson claimed to open a "new epoch in the intellectual and social history of Upper Canada" in 1853 when he issued for the first time a general catalogue of books for public school libraries.[67] Here Ryerson set aside without reservation his earlier policies against the use of American schoolbooks. "It will be seen," he wrote, "that the books selected, embrace nearly the whole field of human knowledge – at least so far as it is embraced in the works of popular reading – including the best works of the kind that issue from both the English and American press."[68] Ryerson distributed his catalogues to school trustees with instructions to select titles

that would be underwritten by the legislative grant provided in the Common School Act of 1850. The only books to be excluded were those "hostile to the christian [*sic*] religion" and "controversial works on theology."[69] Such catalogues were also used to begin stocking the shelves of free public libraries. Although Ryerson did not always approve of the selections local trustees made as a whole, suggesting that libraries were rendered "less useful and attractive than they would have been had a more varied and popular selection of books been made," the overall project was a success. By 1856, the number of volumes in Sunday school libraries had risen to 227,295. Common school libraries, by contrast, now contained more than half that number or 130,961 volumes.[70] Growth of this kind would have been impossible had Ryerson proven unable to persuade his conservative supporters, one small shift at a time, to relax their concern about the widespread use of less expensive editions of books offered by American publishers. In the preface to the 1857 catalogue, Ryerson explained that its purpose was to "render accessible in the remotest municipality of the country, and at the lowest prices, the best books for popular reading that are published either in Great Britain or in the United States."[71] The American reviewer of his earlier *Special Report* would have approved. Just ten years earlier such a statement would have been unimaginable. In the end, it seems clear that the experiences and convictions Ryerson brought to the table as a preacher and denominational bookseller, not as a Loyalist or a conservative bureaucrat, are what informed these broader strategies.

Although historians have generally argued that Methodism throughout the first half of the nineteenth century was obliged to accommodate itself to the demands of the colony's wider political life by shedding its American connections in order to achieve social respectability, we find here a striking example of one case where the current of influence seems to have flowed in the opposite direction. Here Methodism's most prominent preacher, using a platform afforded to him by the colonial administration, prepared the way for the mainstream acceptance of American schoolbooks – books that he knew from his own experience running the denominational Book Room two decades earlier, were not only inexpensive and readily available, but with few exceptions politically benign. No more would men like John Carroll's father complain about the haphazard use of American books in the colony's schools. After all, every one of the books to be found on the shelves of the new Common school and public libraries would have been personally approved by no less a

figure than the Chief Superintendent of Education. The fact that he happened also to be a Methodist preacher, and that a large proportion of the books making up the catalogue were American in both authorship and imprint, no longer seemed to matter.

Endnotes

1. Anson Green, *Christian Advocate,* 13 July 1827, 178.

2. *The Christian Advocate* first appeared under Nathan Bangs's editorship in September 1826. It was an immediate success on both sides of the border. Bangs later noted in his *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church* that within just one year it had attracted some 30,000 subscribers, a figure that "far exceeded every other paper, religious or secular, published in the United States." See Nathan Bangs, *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York: T. Mason and G. Lane, 1838-1841), 3:323. Anson Green, like his fellow preachers in the United States, sold subscriptions along his own preaching circuits. "I read portions of it in my congregations," he observed, "and obtained quite a number of subscribers . . . It is an excellent paper and much needed." See Anson Green, *Life and Times of the Rev. Anson Green D.D.* (Toronto: Methodist Book Room, 1877), 90-1. For more on the spread of American Methodist periodicals in Upper Canada see Scott McLaren, "Before the *Christian Guardian*: American Methodist Periodicals in the Upper Canadian backwoods, 1818-1829," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada* 49, no. 2 (2011): 143-65.

3. "List of Sunday School Depositories" *Christian Advocate,* 3 August 1827, 190.

4. Bangs, *History*, 3:344-346; Addie Grace Wardle, *History of the Sunday School Movement in the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York: Methodist Book Concern, 1918), 61-77; and Stan Ingersoll, "Education," in *The Cambridge Companion to American Methodism* ed. Jason Vickers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 261ff.

5. See *Hints on the Establishment and Regulation of Sunday Schools* (New York: Nathan Bangs, 1827). In addition to advice, *Hints* also contained a catalogue of seventeen juvenile titles such as primers, catechisms, and hymnbooks – all priced by the dozen. A revised and expanded edition of Bangs's pamphlet was published by the Concern in 1833.

6. Abel Stevens, *Life and Times of Nathan Bangs, DD* (New York: Carlton and Porter, 1863), 261-2. See also Bangs, *History,* 3:338-45.

7. These accusations will be cited and discussed in due course.

8. George Playter and John Carroll were among the first to tell the story in print of how the "never-to-be-forgotten" Methodist preacher William Losee first arrived in the colony in the winter of 1790. See George Playter, *History of Methodism in Canada,* (Toronto: Anson Green, 1862), 20-5, and John Carroll, *Case and His Cotemporaries* (Toronto: Methodist Conference Office, 1867), 1:7ff.

9. See Neil Semple, *The Lord's Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism,* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 42; John Webster Grant, *A Profusion of Spires: Religion in Nineteenth-Century Ontario,* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 63-4; and Elizabeth Jane Errington, *The Lion, the Eagle, and Upper Canada: A Developing Colonial Ideology,* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987).

10. See David Mills, *The Idea of Loyalty in Upper Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), 52, and William Westfall, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario,* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 21-8.

11. Quoted in George Parker, *The Beginning of the Book Trade in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 24. See also Michael Peterman, "Literary Cultures and Popular Reading in Upper Canada" in *The History of the Book in Canada*, eds. Patricia Fleming, Gilles Gallichan, and Yvan Lamond (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 1:396.

12. John Carroll, *My Boy Life* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1882), 99.

13. James Strachan, *A Visit to the Province of Upper Canada in 1819* (Aberdeen: D. Chalmers & Co., 1820), 131.

14. Legislative Assembly, "An Act for the Better Establishment and Maintenance of Common Schools in Upper Canada," in *Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada,* ed. J. George Hodgins (Toronto: Warwick Bro's & Rutter, 1899), 6:67. See also Susan E. Houston and Alison Prentice, *Schooling and Scholars in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 237.

15. Egerton Ryerson, *Special Report on the Operations of the Common School Act of 1846* in *Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada,* ed. J. George Hodgins (Toronto: L.K. Cameron, 1900), 7:110.

16. Patrick Walsh, "Education and the 'Universalist' Idiom of Empire: Irish National School Books in Ireland and Ontario," *History of Education* 37 (2008): 648-9. See also Bruce Curtis, "Schoolbooks and the Myth of Curricular Republicanism: The State and the Curriculum in Canada West,

1820-1850," *Social History* 16 (1983): 306. Curtis is one of the few historians to suggest Ryerson's motives were more complex on this question but does so without reference to his identity as a Methodist preacher or against the backdrop of the wider denominational Sunday school movement.

17. Viola Elizabeth Parvin, *Authorization of Textbooks for the Schools of Ontario, 1846-1950* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), 29; Paul Axelrod, *The Promise of Schooling: Education in Canada, 1800-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 39; and Alison Prentice, *The School Promoters: Education and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada* (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 1999), 523.

18. Egerton Ryerson, *The Story of My Life*, ed. J. George Hodgins (Toronto: William Briggs, 1883), 24-7.

19. J. L. H. Henderson, ed., *John Strachan: Documents and Opinions*. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969), 92; Ryerson, *Story of My Life*, 93-4.

20. Although Methodists in Upper Canada did not formally establish a Book Room until 1833, Ryerson began selling books through the offices of the *Christian Guardian* shortly after his election as that newspaper's founding editor. See Green, *Life,* 134; Ryerson, *Story of My Life,* 93-4. Ryerson's first published advertisement for books appeared in the *Christian Guardian* on 11 September 1830. See also Scott McLaren, "Books for the Instruction of the Nations: Shared Methodist print culture in Upper Canada and the mid-Atlantic States, 1789-1851" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2011), 203ff.

21. In response to a hostile piece published in the *Globe and Mail* in the 1840s suggesting that his identity as a preacher constrained his practice as a bureaucrat, Ryerson replied with some warmth, "My office [as Chief Superintendent of Education] has ever been considered as perfectly compatible with the clerical as that of President or Professor in any University or College, and I have held it with the sanction of the Conference." See C. B. Sissons, *Egerton Ryerson: His Life and Letters* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company, 1947), 2:168-9.

22. Bangs, *History,* 4:236-9; Methodist Episcopal Church, *Journals of the General Conference,* (New York: Carlton and Phillips, 1855), 1:461-3.

23. McLaren, "Books," 317-20.

24. Ryerson, *Story of My Life,* 271.

25. Todd Webb, "How the Canadian Methodists Became British: Unity, Schism, and Transatlantic Identity, 1827-54," in *Transatlantic Subjects: Ideas, Institutions, and Social Experience in Post-revolutionary British North*

America, ed. Nancy Christie (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008), 168-9.

26. Ryerson, *Story of My Life,* 269-70; see also Sissons, *Egerton Ryerson*, 1:543-4.

27. Egerton Ryerson, *Sir Charles Metcalfe Defended Against the Attacks of his Late Counsellors* (Toronto: British Colonist Office, 1844).

28. Ryerson, *Story of My Life,* 328ff.

29. J. George Hodgins admits as much in his defence of Ryerson when he notes that Ryerson's interest in the post extended back at least as far as 1841. See Ryerson, *Story of My Life,* 342*ff.* Ryerson also made frequent use of the *Christian Guardian* throughout the 1830s to expound his views on education in the province. See Anthony Di Mascio, *Idea of Popular Schooling in Upper Canada: Print Culture, Public Discourse, and the Demand for Education* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012), 142*ff.*

30. Mark McGowan, *Michael Power: The Struggle to Build the Catholic Church on the Canadian Frontier* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), 213-16.

31. Ryerson, *Story of My Life,* 413.

32. Quoted in James Love, "Cultural Survival and Social Control: The Development of a Curriculum for Upper Canada's Common Schools in 1846," *Social History* 15 (November 1982): 360.

33. Charles R. Sanderson, ed., *The Arthur Papers* (Toronto: Toronto Public Libraries and University of Toronto Press, 1957), 1:151-2.

34. Hodgins, *Documentary History,* 5:276-7, 6:309.

35. *Hints to Aid in Forming and Conducting Sunday Schools: Collected, Amended, and Arranged, by the Editors,* (New York: Published by B. Waugh and T. Mason for the Sunday School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1833), 5-6.

36. In the summer of 1849, Anson Green published a complete catalogue of the series, numbering 419 titles, in the monthly *Sunday School Guardian.* See "Catalogue of Sunday School Books," *Sunday School Guardian for the Province of Canada,* June 1849, 2, 31-2.

37. La Roy Sunderland, *History of the United States of America: From the Discovery of the Continent in 1492, to the Fiftieth Years of Their Independence* (New York: B. Waugh and T. Mason for the Sunday School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1834).

38. Sunderland, *History,* 20, 31, 60.

39. Sunderland, *History,* 6.

40. Sunderland, *History,* 65.

41. Sunderland, *History,* 185.

42. Sunderland, *History,* 177-8.

43. La Roy Sunderland*, The Testimony of God Against Slavery: A Collection of Passages from the Bible, which Show the Sin of Holding and Treating the Human Species as Property* (New York: The American Anti-Slavery Society, 1836). There appears to be no extant copy of the Concern's edition of Cheap's book.

44. Estrelda Alexander, *Black Fire: One Hundred Years of African American Pentecostalism* (Westmont: Intervarsity Press, 2011), 72.

45. McLaren, "Books," 248ff, 300ff.

46. Daniel Kidder, *The Waldos, or, Incidents of the American Revolution* (New York: Lane & Scott for the Sunday School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1849), 27-8.

47. Kidder, *Waldos,* 30.

48. Kidder, *Waldos,* 9-16.

49. Kidder, *Waldos,* 36-44.

50. Kidder, *Waldos,* 98-105.

51. "Catalogue of Sunday School Books," *Sunday School Guardian for the Province of Canada,* June 1849, n.p.

52. Daniel Smith, *Life of Jonah* (New York: T. Mason and G. Lane for the Sunday School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1840), 10.

53. Daniel Smith, *Life of Moses* (New York: T. Mason and G. Lane for the Sunday School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1839), 18.

54. Daniel Kidder, ed. *The Life of Martin Luther* (New York: Published by George Lane for the Sunday School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1840), 5.

55. William Norris, *The Life of the Rev. David Brainerd* (New York: Published by T. Mason and G. Lane for the Sunday School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1839), passim.

56. Zachariah Mudge, *The Missionary Teacher: A Memoir of Cyrus Shepard* (New York: Lane & Tippett for the Sunday-School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1848), 12.

57. Daniel Kidder, ed., *Sketches of the Waldenses* (New York: Lane & Tippett for the Sunday School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1846), 176, 211.

58. George Cubitt, *Columbus, or, the Discovery of America* (New York: Lane & Scott for the Sunday School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1849).

59. Egerton Ryerson, *Annual Report of Normal, Model, and Common Schools in Upper Canada, for the Year 1847* (Montreal: Lovell and Gibson, 1849), 7-11.

60. Olney's *A Practical System of Modern Geography* was first published in 1828. It and related volumes went through almost one hundred editions in the following decades. See Caryn Hannan, ed., *Connecticut Biographical Dictionary* (Hamburg, MI: State History Publications, 2008), 423.

61. Ryerson, *Annual Report 1847,* 14.

62. *Journal of Education for Upper Canada* 6 (June 1848): 175.

63. *Journal of Education for Upper Canada* 6 (June 1848): 190.

64. Hodgins, *Documentary History,* 9:35, 48.

65. Egerton Ryerson, *Annual Report of the Normal, Model and Common Schools in Upper Canada for the Year 1848* (Toronto: Rollo Campbell, 1849), 30.

66. Egerton Ryerson, *Annual Report of the Normal, Model and Common Schools in Upper Canada for the Year 1850* (Toronto: Lovell and Gibson, 1851), 152

67. Egerton Ryerson, *Annual Report of the Normal, Model and Common Schools in Upper Canada for the Year 1853* (Toronto: King's Printer, 1854), 133.

68. Egerton Ryerson, *1853 Annual Report,* 145.

69. Egerton Ryerson, *1853 Annual Report,* 189.

70. Egerton Ryerson, *Annual Report of the Normal, Model, Grammar, and Common Schools, in Upper Canada, for the Year 1856* (Toronto: John Lovell, 1857), 81.

71. *General Catalogue of Books in Every Department of Literature for Public School Libraries in Upper Canada* (Toronto: Printed for the Department of Public Instruction for Upper Canada, 1857), iv.

A New Way to be Woman: Christina Rossetti's Retrieval of Pre-Reformation Catholic Models of Virgin Mothers and Female Saints

DANAE YANKOSKI
American Society of Church History

An article printed in England for *The National Review* in 1862 asked this pointed question in its title: "Why are Women Redundant?" The article went on to interpret the situation this way:

> The problem . . . is an enormous and increasing number of single women in the nation, a number quite disproportionate and quite abnormal; a number which, positively and relatively, is indicative of an unwholesome social state, and is both productive and prognostic of much wretchedness and wrong. There are hundreds of thousands of women – not to speak more largely still – scattered through all ranks, but proportionally most numerous in the middle and upper classes – who have to earn their own living, instead of spending and husbanding the earnings of men; who, not having the natural duties and labours of wives and mothers, have to carve out artificial and painfully-sought occupations for themselves; who, in place of completing, sweetening, and embellishing the existence of others, are compelled to lead an independent and incomplete existence of their own.[1]

For our purposes here, this excerpt highlights two noteworthy things. The first is its grounding in the middle-class Victorian discourse of domestic ideology, which, in its starkest form, said that the place of women was the

home, or the "private sphere," where they were untainted by the rough and dirty world. This construction of gender led to women being conceived of solely as wives and mothers, so that, as is seen in this article, a woman's fundamental value was found in "completing, sweetening, and embellishing the existence of others." As a part of domestic ideology, women were also seen as more spiritually attuned and able than men, both personally and on behalf of others. This discourse is embodied in Coventry Patmore's iconic poem, "The Angel in the House," which he wrote in praise of his wife in 1854.[2] A brief excerpt gives a taste:

> Man must be pleased; but him to please
> Is woman's pleasure; down the gulf
> Of his condoled necessities
> She casts her best, she flings herself . . .

The second thing to note in the excerpt from *The National Review* article is that there was a real and perceived "problem" in the Victorian period of what to do with the increasing numbers of single women. That there were more single women than single men in the Victorian period is statistically true, due in part to the casualties of the Crimean War (1853-6). However, the increasing number of single women was problematic on another level beyond the numerical. Given that the discourse of domestic ideology defined women's roles and value in society in reference to husbands and children, those without these familial relationships were ostensibly excluded from society and thus "redundant." As the above excerpt laments, single women were being "compelled to lead an independent and incomplete existence of their own," which was "indicative of an unwholesome social state."

This article examines some of the ways in which Christina Georgina Rossetti, an Anglo-Catholic British writer who lived from 1830 to 1894, discovered in pre-reformation Catholicism new ways of imagining how one could be an independent, single, Christian woman. Rossetti functions as a case study of a larger trend in Victorian British society to retrieve medieval models and ideals, for a variety of religious, artistic, and political purposes. Rossetti is an interesting case study because she was single by choice (she turned down two offers of marriage), whereas at least some women in her demographic were not single by choice. In particular, this paper argues that, through the model and legacy of female medieval mystics, Rossetti found space to choose celibacy and singleness at a time

when, culturally, socially, and religiously, this was seen as deeply problematic and even suspect.

Perhaps the connection between Rossetti in the nineteenth century and mystics in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries seems unlikely. Of course, Victorian England was in many ways a markedly different context from the medieval period; however, there are some notable commonalities that warrant consideration. A significant one is that, as in the Victorian period, "[d]uring the Middle Ages, for the first time in European history, women outnumbered men."[3] Though not without challenge, mystics often operated within their communities as writers, theologians, and spiritual guides. Mystics who wrote inadvertently offered their lives and writing as inspiration, encouragement, and a model for subsequent generations of women who also sought meaningful ways of being in the world, even if they were not biological mothers or wives. This shared aspect of singleness of many women's lives in the medieval and Victorian periods is significant in our case study, because, despite the Victorian suspicions of celibacy and singleness, Christina Rossetti consistently showed that celibacy was a viable option for women of her day through her lived example and in her writing. And not just as a last resort. Frederick Roden underlines this when he writes that, "the single woman's spiritual life is everywhere elevated in Rossetti's prose, offering an alternative vocation to marriage and motherhood."[4] An example of this comes in her book, *Letter and Spirit: Notes on the Commandments* (1883), where Rossetti describes the celibate woman:

> Her spiritual eyes behold the King in His beauty; wherefore she forgets, by comparison, her own people and her father's house. Her Maker is her Husband, endowing her with a name better than of sons and of daughters. His Presence and his right hand are more to her than that fulness of joy and those pleasures which flow from them . . . She loves Him with all her heart and soul and mind and strength; she is jealous that she cannot love Him more; her desire to love Him outruns her possibility, yet by outrunning enlarges it. She contemplates Him, and abhors herself in dust and ashes. She contemplates Him, and forgets herself in Him . . . a pure oblation of unflinching self-sacrifice.[5]

Rossetti's description could easily be of one of the female medieval mystics, such as Catherine of Siena (1347-80) or Mechthild of Magdeburg (1207-82/94). Rossetti goes on to describe the married wife in this

contrasting way:

> She sees not face to face, but as it were in a glass darkly. Every thing, and more than all every person, and most of all the one best beloved person, becomes her mirror wherein she beholds Christ and her shrine wherein she serves Him . . . Her earthly love and obedience express to her a mystery; she takes heed to reverence her husband, as seeing Him Who is invisible; her children are the children whom God has given her, the children whom she nurses for God. She sits down in the lowest place, and is thankful there . . .[6]

In these side-by-side passages, Rossetti does not dismiss the culturally accepted standard of femininity: that of mother and wife. She never disparaged women who were married; indeed, when her brothers married, she gladly celebrated with them and their new wives, and she was engaged for almost two years herself, from 1848 to 1850, before breaking off the engagement. Yet, as Roden notes, "in Christina Rossetti's poetry we find a subtle reconfiguring of familial relationships. Her work consistently portrays women's preferences for spiritual bridegrooms over love of husbands on earth."[7] And in this reconfiguration of relationships, particularly familial ones, she finds space for another model that, by its very presence, challenges the strictures of Victorian middle-class femininity, as articulated in the discourse of domesticity.

In the medieval period, female mystics were typically assumed to be virgins; or, to put it bluntly, to be a mystic, one had to be a virgin or, at the very minimum, celibate.[8] For mystics, the choice to eschew the responsibilities of wifehood and motherhood meant other roles were a possibility; thus, many of these women took on responsibilities in their communities as spiritual guides, artists, writers, and leaders. Similarly, a life of singlehood and celibacy is a life that Christina; her sister, Maria; and her three maternal aunts, Eliza, Margaret, and Charlotte, also chose. In both the medieval and Victorian periods, celibacy offered a paradigm of being female that opened up new possibilities, both philosophically and practically. In the Victorian period, single, independent women joined nunneries; engaged in work in the political, educational, and philanthropic spheres; and participated in a wide range of societies that gave them both viable work and community. Rossetti, in particular, engaged with the world outside of the familial home by serving at St. Mary Magdalene Penitentiary at Highgate, an Anglo-Catholic house run loosely like a convent, with a mandate to minister to former prostitutes; by supporting

the nascent Protestant sisterhoods, which were directly modeled on pre-reformation Catholic convents; and, perhaps most importantly, by participating in the literary culture of Victorian England, where she became an important and successful member. The opening of such spheres of influence and engagement meant that, as one scholar says: "With the help of the Catholic tradition . . . [women] could now place alongside the Protestant ideal of the married mother in the conjugal home, an icon of a virgin, moral or social mother doing self-sacrificial work with the poor and needy in the public world and introducing a home influence into it."[9] Beyond this, it gave women permission to explore their vocations and skills in an alternative context to the home.

In both the medieval and Victorian periods, a woman by herself was not considered complete. The mystical language of Christ as lover and consummation through marriage to Christ lent credence to the culturally perceived requirements for women to be completed in reference to another. Scholar Julie Melnyck affirms this aspect of the connection between Rossetti and the mystics when she writes that:

> [C]hurch tradition . . . provided a mystical tradition which allowed women greater scope for reimagining the relationship between God and human beings. Christina Rossetti, for example, revived the imagery of Christ as Bridegroom and the Soul as Bride, portraying the feminine figure as the paradigm of Christian experience and providing the mystic with direct knowledge of God as Love.[10]

When the soul is seen as bride and Christ as bridegroom, women no longer needed to marry in order to be completed. Even so, most people in the Victorian context remained suspicious of language that pictured women as the brides of Christ, because this "challenged women's roles as wife and mother and elevates celibacy above marriage."[11] This was seen clearly in the opening excerpt from the *National Review,* where women were seen primarily as "completing . . . the existence of others." While women such as Rossetti were not attempting to deny the necessity of submission to God, in practice this theological emphasis of Christ as lover and bride-groom and a life of intentional singlehood and celibacy brought with it greater practical freedom and independence, as well as spiritual authority.

One brief example of increased independence is demonstrated in a letter that Rossetti wrote to her good friend, Charles Bagot Cayley, concerning her financial situation. (Incidentally, Cayley was one of the men who had proposed to her decades earlier.) As her writing had begun

to provide her with royalties, she was able to live more independently and even sought to pay her brother, William, back for taking care of her over the years. Rossetti writes:

> William made me a home for so many years that (especially now that he has a young family) I am inclined to rate the money-portion of my debt to him . . . I am an indefinite distance off from having much at my pure disposal [considering the sum she wanted to pay back to William]. If I live long enough, that is if I survive certain members of my family, I believe I shall be amply provided for . . .[12]

With the vocation of writing came increased independence, financial and otherwise.

Religion has often been blamed for restricting and repressing women – and, of course, this is justified more often than not; however, Rossetti is at least one counter-example that complicates the narrative that religion is only capable of oppressing women. Regardless, it does so in a way that continues to baffle some twenty-first century scholars because, for Rossetti, religion was not a tool to gain more personal freedom. Diane D'Amico pinpoints this when she observes that, in Rossetti's writing, women contemplatives seek freedom in order to sacrifice for Divine Love, not for their personal freedom.[13] Rossetti's personal subservience to Christ and her willingness to suffer continue to break modern paradigms and categorizations of either progressive feminist or repressed anti-feminist.

To conclude, it is from within the tradition of Christianity, particularly the legacy of pre-reformation medieval mysticism, that Rossetti was nourished and given space to live as a woman, a writer, and a Christian. There are many other ways that Rossetti retrieved and re-appropriated the legacy of the medieval mystics, though it is beyond the scope of this paper to do more than gesture toward them. As one scholar notes, "the way in which . . . religious women from different times and places reached strikingly comparable conclusions on similar questions about the Divine and their place as women within God's creation" is remarkable.[14] Four brief examples of resonant themes in both Rossetti and the medieval mystics' writings are a core emphasis on the fundamental reality of God as Love, the centrality and paradox of suffering, intimacy with Christ in this life, and union with Christ in the next life. Each of these themes, retrieved from the legacy of medieval mysticism, significantly affected Rossetti's theology, her writing, and her lived experience.

Ultimately, her identity as a writer and a woman was inextricably

rooted in her spiritual identity and heritage. Somewhere between the culturally dominant model of marriage and motherhood, which saw singleness as problematic, and the nascent model of the Anglican sisterhoods, modeled on Roman Catholic nunneries, Rossetti discovered her particular identity and vocation. As one scholar put it, "the pre-Reformation church, with its Virgins and saints, its abbesses and mystics . . . afforded new visions . . . for female leadership and intellectual and artistic achievement."[15] Of this, Christina Rossetti is a prime example.

Endnotes

1. "Art. Vii.-Why are Women Redundant?" *The National Review* 28 (1862): 434-60.

2. Domestic ideology is best known from Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall's seminal book, *Family Fortunes* (first published in 1989). This argument has since been significantly refined and nuanced, but is still a dominant narrative in the scholarship. This paper seeks to complicate this construction of masculinity and femininity, even while acknowledging its presence and power in mid-Victorian culture.

3. Elizabeth Alvida Petroff, *Body and Soul: Essays on Medieval Women and Mysticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 7.

4. Frederick S. Roden, "Sisterhood is Powerful: Christina Rossetti's Maude," in *Women of Faith in Victorian Culture: Reassessing the Angel in the House*, eds. Anne Hogan and Andrew Bradstock (Houndmills: Macmillan, 1998), 63-77.

5. Christina G. Rossetti, *Letter and Spirit: Notes on the Commandments* (London: SPCK, 1883), 92.

6. Rossetti, *Letter and Spirit,* 92-93.

7. Roden, "Sisterhood is Powerful," 63-77.

8. Grace M. Jantzen, *Power, Gender, and Christian Mysticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 237. Also, Elizabeth Alvida Petroff, *Medieval Women's Visionary Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986) notes that in the medieval period, virginity was less about whether a person had sex or not and more about freedom from gender itself. This, of course, has mixed implications. A positive implication is explored in the chapter above. A negative implication is that women were not honored as women, and virginity was a way for them to transcend their gender and become more like men, who were seen to be the ideal of humanity. To be

truly spiritual, a woman must be freed of her womanhood. This is one interpretation, one that is certainly not wholly unfounded in the history of Christianity. However, further exploration of this topic, though important, is beyond the scope of this study.

9. Eileen Janes Yeo, "Protestant feminists and Catholic saints in Victorian Britain," in *Radical Femininity: Women's Self-Representation in the Public Sphere*, ed. Eileen Janes Yeo (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 127-48.

10. Julie Melnyck, "Women, Writing, and the Creation of Theological Cultures," in *Women, Gender, and Religious Cultures in Britain, 1800-1940*, eds. Sue Morgan and Jacqueline deVries (London: Routledge, 2010), 41.

11. Diane D'Amico, *Christina Rossetti: Faith, Gender, and Time* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999), 57.

12. Antony H. Harrison, ed., *The Letters of Christina Rossetti* (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1997), 3:99.

13. Diane D'Amico, *Christina Rossetti: Faith, Gender, and Time* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999), 61. Diane D'Amico also makes the particular claim that seeing the nun as the bride of Christ challenged Victorian norms and ideals of womanhood (*Faith, Gender, and Time*, 57).

14. D'Amico, *Faith, Gender, and Time,* 61.

15. Kimberly VanEsveld Adams, *Our Lady of Victorian Feminism: The Madonna in the Work of Anna Jameson, Margaret Fuller, and George Eliot* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2001), 226.

Prairie College, Rapid City, Manitoba: The Failed Dream of John Crawford

MARILYN FÄRDIG WHITELEY
Independent Scholar, Guelph, Ontario

When Robert Alexander Fyfe, principal of the Canadian Literary Institute, attempted to persuade John Crawford to join him in the theological faculty of that Woodstock institution, Crawford was not easy to convince. He relished his role as a Baptist preacher of the gospel and did not wish to exchange the pulpit for the classroom. Crawford only altered his position when Fyfe pointed out to him that, by teaching theology, he would be preaching through every student for the ministry. In 1868 Crawford became part of the faculty of Canadian Literary Institute, where he taught for the next eleven years.

Fyfe was not only a supporter of theological education: he was also a strong advocate of sending Baptist missionaries to the West as it opened up. Crawford was also persuaded by this part of Fyfe's convictions. In 1879, following Fyfe's death, the subscribers of the Canadian Institute voted to move its theological department to Toronto, where two years later it opened as Toronto Baptist College. Crawford, however, did not move with the department. He resigned and quickly began raising support for a school in Manitoba that would educate men for the ministry in the West. Prairie College opened in 1880. It closed only three years later. The school was bankrupt, and no financial support could be found for keeping it open in the face of a movement to centralize all Baptist theological education in Toronto. John Crawford's dream had failed, and the story of Prairie College largely faded from memory. But its story is one part of the history of Baptist education and indeed of higher education in Canada.

John Crawford was born in 1819 near Castledawson, County Londonderry, Ireland. The Crawfords were strict Presbyterians, but John had an independent spirit and, at the age of fourteen or fifteen, he became a Baptist. As a result, his father ordered John out of the house and disinherited him. Through the assistance of Alexander Carson, Baptist pastor and scholar, John was able to prepare himself for the ministry, studying at Edinburgh University and then at Stepney College. After that, according to a family account, he "roamed the earth, building a church in Leeds and a chapel on wheels."[1]

In England, John Crawford met and married Sarah Louise Hackett, who was also originally from Ireland. The couple had two daughters, Emily and Frances. Prospects in England were poor for a Baptist preacher with a family. In 1689, the Toleration Act had allowed freedom of worship to nonconformists who dissented from the Church of England. Nevertheless, Baptists and members of other nonconformist groups found themselves disadvantaged by the numerous restrictions that remained. Many people were emigrating, and John and Sarah decided to go. Selling most of their wedding gifts to finance the journey, the family of four headed for Nova Scotia, probably in 1858. Leaving his wife and daughters with Baptist friends in Halifax, John Crawford left for Toronto and then headed on foot northwest, looking for a settlement that had a group of Baptists with both the desire and the means to support a preacher. That he found in the village of Cheltenham. He returned to Halifax to bring his family to its new home, and it was in Cheltenham that two more children, Hugh and Isabel, were born to the couple.

John Crawford became known as an able and popular preacher, and so he came to the attention of Robert Fyfe. In 1843, Fyfe had become interim principal of Montreal Baptist College, and although he did not feel prepared to accept the offer to remain on a permanent basis, he retained a strong interest in ministerial education. The Montreal school closed in 1849. By 1855, Fyfe was agitating for a school to be founded in Upper Canada. The following year, he and other supporters of the idea set to work raising funds, and the Canadian Literary Institute opened in Woodstock in September of 1860 with Fyfe as principal. It was coeducational and offered a general literary program and also a theological department.

The institute had neither an endowment nor any institutionally-based support. It was financed by subscriptions, and Fyfe spent his summers travelling in order to raise money for the school. In addition to being

principal, he was the sole professor in the theological department, and his teaching schedule was heavy. In an undated letter he wrote,

> I lecture on Theology three times a week; on Church History three times a week. I have a class in Romans twice a week . . . I have a class in Natural Theology three times a week; a class in Mental Philosophy three times a week; a class in Moral Science twice a week; and a Senior Reading Class twice a week . . . I have a Bible class on Sundays, besides preaching as I find opportunity."[2] In 1867, he told the trustees of the institute, "The school has reached a crisis in its history . . . The time has come for reinforcing the teaching in [the Theological] department. At the last meeting of the Trustees a vote was passed authorizing the employment of an additional professor . . . but as no provision was made to raise his salary, such a vote cannot be carried out . . . The Principal *cannot* carry on his work any further in its present shape.[3]

As a result of his plea, Fyfe was given permission to seek out the assistance of John Crawford.[4] His assertion that, by joining the faculty, Crawford would be preaching through every student in the ministry was consistent with Fyfe's own views of education at the Institute. According to his biographer, Theo T. Gibson, Fyfe "regularly re-interpreted the word 'theological' for this part of his institute: his word was 'ministerial.'" The education that the school provided "was capable of giving the churches leadership most relevant to their needs in the shortest reasonable time, without breaking home ties, and enriched by irreplaceable experience in the very province of their intended labours."[5]Convinced by the appeal, Crawford joined the faculty.[66] The family moved to Woodstock, and Crawford lectured in Biblical interpretation and church history at a salary of $600 a year.[7]

While the addition of Crawford to the faculty eased Fyfe's teaching burden, Fyfe's duties as fund-raiser continued to be onerous. In the winter of 1874-5, an outbreak of scarlet fever scattered the students and, even after it was over, many did not return.[8] The need for Fyfe to raise funds was greater than ever, but the Long Depression followed the Panic of 1873, and money was hard to raise. While the literary department of the institute was self-sustaining, theological students were not charged tuition, and this drained the finances of the institute.[9]

There was another possibility for the theological department, but Fyfe resisted it. William McMaster, loyal Baptist and wealthy business-

man, had assisted Fyfe early in the history of the Canadian Literary Institute, but the senator and his pastor, John Harvard Castle, now had a broader vision: the transfer of theological education to Toronto.[10] When Castle made the suggestion to Fyfe, the latter begged him "to leave in abeyance till he, Dr. F., should be 'under the sod.'"[11] He was aware that such an arrangement would increase the school's already onerous financial burden. Soon after Fyfe's death, in September 1878, the matter came up again, and now it became widely though unofficially known that McMaster was willing to give generous support to the move.

The governance of the Institute was in the hands of its subscribers, and on 17 July 1879, a meeting of subscribers was held in Guelph, Ontario, to consider the report of the Investigating Committee appointed by the trustees. At this Educational Conference, as it was called, John Castle skillfully presented the cultural advantages of a move to Toronto and alluded to the promised financial support without mentioning the name of the potential benefactor. With the further assurance that the Woodstock institution would be maintained and even expanded, the subscribers approved the removal of the Theological Department to Toronto. Soon after this, McMaster's name and gift were made known, and the Toronto Baptist College opened in October 1881.[12]

On 28 July 1879, eleven days after the meeting, John Crawford submitted his resignation. He wrote:

> According to the resolution passed at the meeting lately held in Guelph, it will be necessary for one of the present staff of professors in the theological department to retire, in order to make room for the forthcoming president.
>
> After mature & prayerful deliberation, it is my desire to vacate the position I have occupied for the last twelve years. I beg, therefore, to be released from the duties of my office at the close of the first quarter in the coming collegiate year. If, however it may be thought necessary to make such arrangements as will supply my place from the commencement of the year, I will, nevertheless, expect to receive one quarter's salary. This latter arrangement would, of course, suit me best, as I could, under such circumstances, proceed at once to seek other employment.[13]

Crawford did not, however, "seek" employment. Very quickly he made his own employment, for Crawford had a vision.

Soon after Crawford began teaching at the Canadian Literary

Institute, Robert Fyfe had shown interest in the western parts of Canada that were opening up for settlement. In 1869, he suggested that the Ontario Baptists send a delegation to survey conditions there. The two ministers who made the trip came back convinced that "God was calling their churches to reach into the future Province" of Manitoba.[14] Then, in 1871, Fyfe recommended that the Convention send a missionary as soon as enough money was pledged to cover his salary for three years. Fyfe worked efficiently on the project and, in May 1873, Alexander McDonald left Ontario to do pioneering work, opening churches in Winnipeg and elsewhere.

Though Crawford had initially been reluctant to exchange the pulpit for the classroom, he had not only come to see the importance of training men to become ministers: he had recognized the value of Fyfe's vision of "ministerial" education that was provided in the area from which many of the students came and in which they would serve. Now he combined that interest with the concern Fyfe had shown for the West, and, soon after his resignation, Crawford embarked on a journey of about three thousand miles to gather information. After he arrived in Manitoba, Alexander McDonald spent almost two weeks driving him to different parts of Manitoba and the surrounding Northwest Territories.[15] By the time Crawford returned to Woodstock and wrote a letter that was published in the *Canadian Baptist* of 9 October 1879, he had a plan.[16]

The settlers whom Crawford visited wanted pastors, but they could not give them full support. They needed pastors who could support themselves by farming; then, gradually, the church members could take on the responsibility. Furthermore, many prospective pastors would be unable to pay much, if anything, for their education. They needed a training school that had a farm and thus could become self-sufficient. It should be near land on which the students could establish their own farms to further their support. The students themselves would erect the college buildings designed by Crawford. He assured his readers that his earlier experience qualified him for both overseeing the farm and constructing the buildings.

Crawford believed he found the ideal location in Rapid City and its immediate surroundings: "It is a dry and healthy locality. The land is rolling and picturesque, with an excellent soil, a dark sandy loam upon a clay bottom . . . This locality is well watered, and the water of excellent quality. There is also lime at hand, and abundance of fuel to burn it; also clay for brick, and stones for the foundation." Crawford and the current residents of Rapid City believed that it had another strong advantage: they

anticipated that the transcontinental line of the Canadian Pacific Railway would pass through Rapid City, which might become the first divisional point west of Winnipeg. The city would boom in population and land values would increase.

Crawford presented his plan at the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec held in October 1879. The Convention could not officially take on work outside its boundaries, but all "seemed very favourably impressed with the necessity of such a work, and an influential committee was appointed to confer with Dr. Crawford, and to aid him in bringing his scheme into practical operation."[17] Crawford enlisted the help of George B. Davis, who had been a student at Woodstock before going to Chicago to complete his theological studies. Both Crawford and Davis visited churches throughout Ontario to raise money for the new Prairie College. The canvass was thorough: the pastor of the Kemptville and South Gower church later wrote that when Crawford came to the area, "I drove him from farm to farm . . . He gratefully received a dollar, a five or double that."[18]

With such small contributions and without the major donations for which Crawford had hoped, growth of the college fund was slow, but this did not deter him. Sometime in the past he and his father had become reconciled, and Crawford had received an inheritance that enabled him to buy a house in Woodstock. Now he sold the house. With that $4000, an investment by Davis, and the gifts and pledges of those who had responded to the solicitation, it was time to begin. Early in the spring of 1880, Davis traveled to Rapid City with the first party of students. They secured land and went to work, starting to farm and also to build. A second group of students arrived in July. According to George Davis's brother John, "as two of the students had been masons, and another was a first-class carpenter, under their instructions twelve of us built the walls and put up a three-storey building 28 by 34 feet." On the first of October, the building was closed in.[19]

John Crawford's son, Hugh, was among those breaking land and constructing the building. Then shortly after the building was ready for occupancy, John Crawford brought his daughter Emily and two other women, one a student and the other a cook, to take up residence there. Emily had graduated from the Canadian Literary Institute with honours, and when classes began at Prairie College that winter, she and George Davis taught "without salary, to give the institution a start."[20] John Crawford did not stay long, however; he returned home to continue his quest for money to support the fledgling institution.

The following February, Emily Crawford wrote a report that was printed in the *Canadian Baptist*. She first described the setting. The college was

> a substantial stone building, quite common-place looking, three storeys high, 28 by 34. It stands upon a hill that slopes down to the Saskatchewan, and commands a fine view of Rapid City. This embryo metropolis contains 75 houses, 500 inhabitants, and 8 stores. Most of the latter are General Stores – that is, they keep everything, except just what you want . . .
>
> By the time you arrive at Prairie College, you have learned to look upon a log house, with one room, a garret, and a fire, as the height of luxury; so that a stone edifice of three storeys strikes you as imposing. The idea of complaining because the dining room has mother earth for a carpet, because the table is made by driving stakes into the ground and nailing boards to them, because the walls are stone-gemmed sometimes with sparkling frost diamonds – to complain of these trifles never for a moment enters your mind.[21]

The school was there to provide education, and Emily Crawford's father patterned it after the Canadian Literary Institute. Emily provided a vivid description: "'Did the bell ring?' 'Hic! haec! hoc!' 'Study Hours!' There was something refreshing in that familiar call – It brought up memories of C.L.R. days. Indeed Prairie College in many respects, is a 'little faithful copy of its sire.' 'They do so at Woodstock.' 'When I was a member of the Adelphian, we did so.' are final: that settles the question. Prairie College has its Literary Society, its paper, its choir, its debates, its meetings every Friday evening, and last Friday it had an oyster supper."[22]

The basic purpose of the college was to prepare ministers, and the letter went on to describe the spiritual activity of the students. On weekends, they went to nearby settlements to preach, some walking "five, seven, or ten miles to fill their appointments." They met with people who gathered together in log houses. When the students returned, they held a prayer meeting, reporting their activity and asking for "Divine blessing on the day's work." During the summer, some of the students did pastoral work, and altogether five churches were organized by the Prairie College students.[23]

While Emily Crawford and George Davis taught in Manitoba, John Crawford again toured Ontario, attempting to raise funds. His wife and Isabel, his youngest daughter, remained in Woodstock so that Isabel could

continue her education there. Finally, in the fall of 1881, Crawford brought his wife and daughter to the college. When he arrived, he discovered that Davis had decided to resign. Crawford already knew of the possibility, but he hoped the difficulty could be settled. It was not, however, and that winter Davis set up his own school in Prairie City. Financial matters were at the heart of this bitter dispute.[24] Without Davis to share responsibilities, Crawford was overcome with work. The labor was not all academic, for the college had its own farm, and there was much agricultural work to do before the opening of the school term.

Crawford intended that the College would be as near self-supporting as possible, and it depended on the work of all available hands. The students farmed their own nearby allotments and also contributed their labor to the college farm. And Crawford himself worked in ways he might never have expected. Learning that fish were plentiful in Oak Lake, about sixty-five miles away, he took his son, Hugh, with him on a fishing trip. The trip was successful: they returned with over one hundred dollars worth of fish. However, the trip was hazardous, for it was winter. Crawford reported, "One night we could find neither wood nor water, although we drove on until midnight. We had ultimately to abandon our search and set up our tent on the bare prairie, with the thermometer twenty degrees below zero . . . While we were erecting our tent, I had two of my fingers frozen. The ends of them were as hard as a rock, but the frost had not penetrated very far."[25]

Manitoba winters also penetrated the eighteen-inch-thick stone walls of Prairie College, and the "sparkling frost diamonds" described by Emily could not be ignored indefinitely. Eventually the walls were plastered. The Crawfords' apartment was on the second floor, along with three classrooms, while the top story was divided into twelve small rooms, each housing two or three students. The bottom story housed the dining room and kitchen, which had a dirt floor. Isabel wrote that the area "was always damp & disagreeable until we had it plastered & floored. Often we caught frogs & lizzards [*sic*] wiggling about the corners, & one night we went to church forgetting to close the windows & on our return found the whole floor alive. The students got a boiler & sticks & gathered 53 frogs & 300 lizzards [*sic*] off that floor!"[26]

The students had a strong role model in their zealous mentor. John Crawford once walked forty-nine miles to dedicate a church. "This done he walked on preaching 4 more times in churches & school houses. When the last service was over & he was going to start for home, a man & a

horse went with him father and the man taking turns riding the horse. At Minnedosa man & horse were sent back & father walked the 18 miles to the college, arriving in time for breakfast & taught his classes as usual Monday morning."[27]

John Crawford was not the only member of the family to work hard. When his wife and Isabel arrived, they found Emily "in a dirty old dress & a scrubbing pail & mop in her hands." Years later Isabel wrote, "Ma & I were perfectly shocked & started to cry for we had no idea that she had to do hard work. She went out to teach. It was the first time in my life I had seen her dirty & to think of one of us having to scrub fairly sickened me."[28]

John Crawford's wife, Sarah, had grown up in a comfortable home in Ireland and was educated well by private tutors. Now she was put on the college prospectus as teaching "French Reading and English Authors, &c" while her daughter Emily offered "Latin, Modern Languages, Music, Painting and Drawing, &c."[29] Two years later, Sarah was listed as offering "Modern Languages and History," while Emily would teach "Music, Painting, Drawing and English."[30] For that year, the Crawford's youngest daughter, Isabel, was added to the roster. Like its larger model, the Canadian Literary Institute, Prairie College would also accept "literary" as well as theological students, and Isabel Crawford was to teach "Junior English and Reading."[31]

In February 1883, the *Canadian Baptist* published a letter from "A Farmer." Its writer lamented how the Crawford family had "made slaves of themselves to do a work on behalf of the denomination." He went on, "It is a most humiliating fact that the doctor and his family have had to toil and work, and deny themselves of much that we enjoy, because they are endeavoring to meet a want of, and plant a cause for the denomination."[32] Years later, John Crawford's youngest daughter used similar language when she wrote, "The work at P.C. was simply tremendous & when I look back now I pause & ask myself 'How did you do it – The washings were awful & the simple making of the bread & butter for that family was one person's work. I baked every alternate day & washed the days intervening. No galley slave ever worked harder than I did rendering lard, corning *whole cows*, making soap, scrubbing melting snow keeping my eye on a hundred & one things."[33]

Despite the Crawfords' diligent work, the college was struggling. Although Crawford knew of four schools in the United States that were run on a plan of self-support,[34] he did not recognize the greater difficulty

of farming this part of the Canadian West. The weather was an unpredictable factor in all farming. Early in January 1881, George Davis wrote to the *Canadian Baptist*, "Sixty acres of grain promised us plenty for feed and seed all last summer until on the night of September the 12th – just as most of the grain put in late and on sod, was in the milk – there came a nipping frost and one half of our crop was gone."[35] But, in addition, Crawford had misread the climate. When he had visited in 1879, the area was enjoying a wet cycle that continued for the next years. Then the much more common dry cycle returned.[36]

Furthermore the newly-developing area had very limited access to markets. The selection of Rapid City as a location was based on the assumption that the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway west of Winnipeg would go through the town. Instead, however, the railway officials decided on a more southerly route, through Brandon. The area around Rapid City developed more slowly than anticipated, and the price of supplies and of shipping donated stock and machinery was much higher than expected. Thus the farm did not provide the hoped-for support for the school and its students.

By the time of the Baptist Missionary Convention of Manitoba and the Northwest in June 1883, the situation was critical. Crawford was making plans to go to England to solicit funds, but suddenly there was a new factor: Malcolm MacVicar of Toronto Baptist College had come to the meeting. He was a man with a mission. He arrived at Portage la Prairie with the intention of persuading the Manitoba Baptists that all theological education should be centralized at Toronto Baptist College. After discussing the matter, the Convention decided to close Prairie College; John Crawford's dream had come to an end. All that was left for him to do was to close Prairie College and search for a new situation.

Closing the school was a challenge. During its time of optimism, Rapid City had experienced a real estate boom, but that had ended dramatically, and land prices were low. The farm that once seemed to offer secure equity could not be sold. Crawford had poured all his assets into the venture, and now all was lost. Conscientiously he attempted to repay his debts, and in the process he even lost possession of his personal library.

Pioneering missionary Alexander McDonald had moved from Winnipeg across the border to the Dakota Territory. He invited John Crawford to visit him and to preach in the Baptist church in St. Thomas, in the northeast corner of the territory, and there Crawford received a unanimous call to become the pastor. The American Baptist Home

Mission Society underwrote the salaries of ministers in this frontier area, so he would receive fifty dollars a month from the society; out of that he would pay rent for his family's accommodation.[37] So, in the fall of 1883, he left to take up his new pastorate, leaving his wife, his youngest daughter, and some remaining students to wind up affairs in Rapid City.

During its short lifespan, Prairie College made its contribution to the Baptist church. John Crawford and his students converted settlers and founded congregations, and several of the men continued their ministry in the West for years after their student days had ended. But for John Crawford, this was a bittersweet legacy. He had invested his energy, as well as his assets, in this dream of a college that would give practical, local training for the ministry. That dream had failed. He spent seven years in his pastorate in North Dakota. Then, in 1890, wishing to be buried "under the old flag," he accepted a call to a church in Wingham and returned to Canada. John Crawford died on 2 June 1892.

Endnotes

1. Isabel Crawford, Notebook untitled [Miscellaneous 1950-1953], Crawford to Taylor, 16 February 1950. Isabel Crawford Collection, American Baptist Archives, Atlanta, Georgia (hereafter ABA).

2. James Edward Wells, *Life and Labors of Robert Alex. Fyfe, D.D.* (Toronto: W.J. Gage & Company [n.d.]), 343.

3. Theo T. Gibson, *Robert Alexander Fyfe: His Contemporaries and His Influence* (Burlington, ON: Welch Publishing Company Inc., 1988), 299.

4. Trustees minutes, annual meeting, 9 July 1867, Minute book 1858-1889, File 11 Board of Trustees, Canadian Literary Institute Fonds, Canadian Baptist Archives, Hamilton, Ontario (hereafter CBA). According to these minutes, Crawford was to be offered a salary of $650 a year.

5. Gibson, *Robert Alexander Fyfe*, 266.

6. A sketch of John Crawford in the *Canadian Baptist*, 20 May 1937, states, "in 1858 he came to Ontario, meeting Dr. Fyfe, then in Bond Street Church, Toronto, at once; it was a life-long friendship of closest intimacy." I have not found any other reference to their previous acquaintance.

7. David W. Remus, "John Crawford" in Baptist Biographies, *Canadian Baptist,* 1 August 1967, also quoted by Gibson, 275, from the 1894 "Memorial Address" for John Crawford given by his son-in-law, William Henry Cline. An account written by John Crawford's granddaughter Doris Cline Ward

states that the salary was "$500.00 a year plus free education for the family" (Sarah Hackett Crawford file, Grimsby Historical Society Archives, Grimsby, Ontario). Neither figure agrees with the salary suggested in the trustees minutes noted above.

8. Wells, *Life and Labors of Robert Alex. Fyfe,* 351.

9. Wells, *Life and Labors of Robert Alex. Fyfe,* 361.

10. Charles M. Johnston, "John Harvard Castle," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, www.biographi.ca.

11. Wells, *Life and Labors of Robert Alex. Fyfe,* 358.

12. Gibson, *Robert Alexander Fyfe*, 324.

13. Crawford to Board of Trustees, 28 July 1879, File 9, Series 1: Correspondence, Box 701, Canadian Literary Institute Fonds, CBA.

14. Gibson, *Robert Alexander Fyfe*, 316.

15. When Manitoba became a province in 1870, it was about one-eighteenth of its present size. The Northwest Territories formed the eastern, northern, and western boundaries of the original small province.

16. Letter by John Crawford, *Canadian Baptist*, 9 October 1879, 1.

17. *Canadian Baptist*, 23 October 1879, 5.

18. C.C. McLaurin, *Pioneering in Western Canada* (Calgary: published by the author, 1939), 289.

19. John Edwin Davis, *The Life Story of a Leper* (Toronto: Toronto Canadian Baptist Foreign Mission Board, [1918]), 27.

20. Report by John Crawford, *Canadian Baptist*, 20 January 1881, 4.

21. Letter by Emily Crawford, *Canadian Baptist*, 17 March 1881, 5.

22. *Canadian Baptist*, 17 May 1881, 5.

23. McLaurin, *Pioneering in Western Canada*, 291.

24. A good summary of the complex situation is given by David W. Remus in a biography of John Crawford printed in the *Canadian Baptist*, 1 August 1967.

25. McLaurin, *Pioneering in Western Canada*, 291.

26. Isabel Crawford, Life Story, Box 10, 5, ABA.

27. Journal 1941-1942, 18 September 1941, 54.

28. Crawford, Life Story, 3.

29. Prairie College Prospectus, 1881, 102, CBA.

30. Prairie College Prospectus, 1883, 94, CBA.

31. In her later autobiographical writings, she gave no indication that she was ever called upon to teach, though she wrote of her physical labour and of teaching a Sunday school class. An earlier prospectus listed only two literary students, the Crawfords' son and an Anne Phillimore.

32. *Canadian Baptist*, 15 February 1883, 4.

33. Crawford, Life Story, 30.

34. Margaret E. Thompson, *The Baptist Story in Western Canada* (Calgary: The Baptist Union of Western Canada [1974]), 407.

35. *Canadian Baptist*, 27 January 1881, letter by G.B. Davis, 4.

36. Pierre Berton, *The Last Spike* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), 22.

37. Doris Cline Ward, John Crawford section, Ancestry of Emily (Crawford) Cline, Grimsby Historical Society Archives, Grimsby, Ontario.

CSCH President's Address 2013

Trial Balloons and Other Adventures with Clio: John Sargent Moir, Catholic-Protestant Relations, and the Writing of Canadian Religious History

MARK G. MCGOWAN
St. Michael's College, University of Toronto

John Moir was clearly dejected. It was the early spring, 1986, and his teaching career at the University of Toronto was winding towards a possible early retirement. He had planned a big book, perhaps one that would bring together many of the strands of research and writing that had marked nearly forty years of his dance with Clio, the muse of History. The new project was to be a history of Protestant-Roman Catholic relations in Canada. He had sought experts from both English and French Canada to support his application for a major research grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council. He had confided in me that although this would put his stamp on the question, it was yet another of what he called the trial balloons that marked his career in writing Canadian church history. Moir referred to himself, in jest, as a garden variety historian who was merely sending up a series of trial balloons on everything from Canadian Presbyterianism, church-state relations, education, and Biblical criticism, that were launched to allow colleagues and students to take aim at them with their own scholarship and try either to let them fly or pop them down. When the news arrived in this particular spring, SSHRC's negative decision shot the *magnum opus* balloon out of Moir's hands before he had a chance to launch it. While Moir may have taken SSHRC's

lack of interest in his project as a rejection of his scholarship, what lay behind the decision not to grant the funds may have resided deeper in historiographical and social changes in a Canadian academy and nation that had left him behind.

In this presidential address I will explore John Moir's work on Catholic-Protestant relations and the questions that he framed. Admittedly there are many facets of Moir's scholarship and academic career which could be explored – the particularism versus European character of Canadian churches, the Canadianization of Christianity, the churches and nation-building, or denominational history, particularly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada – but Moir's influence on the writing of church history in Canada, within these fields, is far too vast for one paper. Nevertheless, within each of these areas, Moir often came back to a common theme echoed by George M. Grant, whom he often quoted on the subject: "Even in the cities, where there is the closest association of Protestant and Romanist in commercial, industrial, and political life, the two currents of religious life flow side-by-side as distinct from each other as the St. Lawrence and the Ottawa after their conjunction. But the rivers do eventually blend into one. The two currents of religious life do not."[1] Implicit in Moir's work were questions such as: how could issues of loyalty and nation building bring Christian churches closer together? Did Canadianization invariably lead to greater ecumenical understanding? To what extent did language trump religion as a focus of identity in Canada? How far did continued European influences mitigate against greater communion between Protestants and Roman Catholics? These questions played heavily in Moir's understanding of Protestant-Catholic relations in Canada, and these queries were the product of both his historical training and the "signs of the times" of the Canada in which he lived.

John Moir was born in Toronto on 14 February 1926 and grew up in Parkdale, the son of Richard and Hazel Moir. In 1948, when he completed his BA from Victoria College in the University of Toronto's very demanding Honours History program, his professors urged him to continue his studies at the graduate level. Under the watchful eye of the constitutional historian Chester Martin, John delved into an area of Canadian history to which few professional historians had given much consideration: the history of the Christian churches in Canada. Of course, church histories had been written, but generally they were commissioned by the churches themselves, were self-laudatory, and were written by clergy or dedicated (and sometimes uncritical) laymen. John wrote an MA

thesis on the *Christian Guardian*, a Methodist weekly and one of Protestant Canada's premier denominational newspapers. Although at the time he was an active member in the United Church, John wrote the history with all of the critical and analytic skills he had gleaned from his training at the University of Toronto. He had broken new ground and the senior members of the Department recognized that fact.

John did not seem to notice, however, how innovative he had actually been in pursing church history in Canada in this way. As a doctoral student, Moir laboured under the supervision of the eminent Canadian historian Donald Creighton, who insisted that Moir continue pursuing Canadian religious history – an open field as far as the elder historian was concerned. John's resulting dissertation, on the relationship between the churches and the state in Canada West, set him on the road to being one of Canada's pioneer historians of its own religious history – written from the perspective of the professional historian. Published in 1959, *Church and State in Canada West* was the first of many of John's books, articles, and collections that explored the development of Christian churches in pre-Confederation Canada, the history of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, the survival of the Huguenots in Catholic New France, the development of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto, the history of Biblical criticism in Canada, and aspects of the life of nearly every Protestant denomination in the county, in addition to editing of the correspondence of Presbyterian missionaries in eastern Canada and the documents of a Roman Catholic Oblate missionary in western Canada. His work was ecumenical, balanced, well researched, and open to new questions and pathways for further exploration.[2]

Moir's work bore the influence of Creighton, whether he admitted it or not. Uncomfortable with jargon, paradigms, and models constructed by more social scientific historians, Moir preferred the history that was written as the interplay between character and circumstance, in the fashion of his mentor. Each of Moir's books bore the imprint of both historical movements and the significant persons who contributed to them: John Strachan, Egerton Ryerson, Charles Inglis, Joseph-Octave Plessis, James MacGregor, J.G. Shearer, Armand de Charbonnel, and T.T. Shields. He was a historian of his generation who incorporated A.R.M. Lower's ideas of the two solitudes of Canadian life, Creighton's Laurentian thesis of nation building from the St. Lawrence corridor outwards, J.M.S. Careless' postulations that metropolitan areas had broad hinterlands that were economically, politically, and socially dependent upon them, and Herbert

Butterfield's Whig sense of a progressive march of constitutional democracy under the freedom accorded by the British crown. Ideas of loyalty, identity, mission, and sectarianism became central themes in Moir's writing of church history in Canada. He was also typical of his generation in that he wrote about men and politics, with little acknowledgement of emerging studies of gender and class.

Moir's thinking was also influenced by the professional company that he kept. In 1960 a number of church historians met at Victoria College, University of Toronto, for the inaugural meeting of the Canadian Society of Church History (CSCH). The CSCH became a means for those interested in the history of Christian churches, regardless of denominational affiliation, to meet and engage each other on matters of common scholarly interest. The Society was predominantly male, with a good smattering of clergy, and ecumenical. When reflecting on the evolution of the CSCH over its first twenty years in 1979, Moir was not entirely accurate when he characterized the society as "hitherto largely by Protestants, for Protestants and about Protestants."[3] While the majority of Moir's colleagues did meet that description, and while for period of time the CSCH has reflected this, the early years were more diverse than they might appear at first glance. Its first President, H.H. Walsh, was a Protestant who specialized in the Catholics of New France. Catholic participants in the early years of the CSCH included Resurrectionist priest George Boyle; Father J.E. Giguere; Jacques Monet, SJ; James McConica, CSB; Ambrose Raftis, CSB; Dr. Gregory Baum; Dr. Pierre Latellier; and Dr. Timothy Suttor. The CSCH met on its own within the religious colleges of southern Ontario – Victoria, Wycliffe, and St. Michael's College, McMaster – until its formal affiliation with the Learneds, sponsored by the Social Sciences and Humanities Federation. Each spring, attendees were treated to papers from both Protestant and Catholic scholars, and, true to form, John Moir delivered his first paper to the Society, in 1962, exploring sectarianism in the Canadian churches, observing the differences between Canada and the United States in terms of strong Protestant affiliation to mainline churches, the formidable presence of the "other" in French Canadian Catholicism, and the relative weakness and obscurity of Canadian sects. Moir's research was essentially a response to the recently published works of Ernst Troesltsch and Richard Niebhur.[4] After serving as treasurer and secretary, Moir eventually became President of the CSCH in 1970.

In these early years of his career John Moir was preoccupied with

teaching, writing, and his ever-growing family (eventually eight children).In 1956, Moir accepted an assistant professorship at the fledgling Carleton University in Ottawa, where he taught for ten years until an old colleague from Toronto, Professor J.M.S. Careless, lured him back to the University of Toronto and its new Scarborough campus, in 1965. Moir remained at Scarborough (now UTSC) until his retirement in 1989. As a teacher of history, John Moir used his skill as a researcher and writer to produce several textbooks and edit collections of documents; he was a professor who believed that teaching and research could be wed effectively to the benefit of both the professor and the student. His graduate students respected his intellect and his dedication to his craft and vocation and appreciated his frank criticism. Most of all they loved his humanity – the way in which he treated students as whole persons, with complicated and multifaceted lives. He maintained a full teaching load of graduate and undergraduate courses and the supervision of numerous graduate students at the Department of History at the University of Toronto, the Toronto School of Theology, the Centre for the Study of Religion at the University of Toronto, and the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. He also served a term as President of the Ontario Historical Society and was a co-founder of the Canadian Society of Presbyterian History (a church to which he converted in 1972); he was an active member in the Canadian Catholic Historical Association and the Canadian Historical Association. John was the recipient of an Honorary Doctorate of Divinity from Presbyterian College (Montreal), the George E. Clerk Medal (1991) from the Canadian Catholic Historical Association, and the Sesquicentennial Medallion from the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto.

The Clerk Award and the Toronto Archdiocesan Medallion signalled the significance of Moir's ongoing interest in the relations between Canada's Protestants and Roman Catholics, which were the warp and woof of Canadian religious life until the 1960s. Although born and raised a Protestant, he had many Catholic relatives and later colleagues with whom he engaged in friendly but spirited discussion about things religious. Father James McGivern, SJ, and Professor Pierre Savard of the University of Ottawa were both lifelong collaborators and friends. Moir himself owned a copy of St. Jerome's Vulgate that he used, in its original Latin text, while attending Sunday services at Markham's Presbyterian Church. His fascination with things Catholic, its minority status, how it engaged Canadian politics, addressed issues of loyalty to the crown, or confronted Protestant neighbours were themes he took up in several essays and two

of his most significant monographs – *The Church in The British Era* and *Church and State in Canada West*. Similarly, these same themes appeared throughout his collections of edited documents and in his special collection, *Church and Society*, commissioned by the Archdiocese of Toronto in preparation for its 150th anniversary celebrations.[5]

It was late in his career when Moir finally articulated his frameworks for the discussion of Catholic-Protestant relations within Canadian historiography. For a conference commemorating the 150th anniversary of the Archdiocese of Toronto, he penned an essay that provided a chronology that periodized Protestant-Catholic relations in Canada and also categorized the type of scholarship that was generally at play in the field. His periods unconsciously bore the perspective of a scholar who was steeped in the history of central Canada, since events in both Atlantic Canada and the prairie west did not fit neatly into the periods described. Moir regarded the colonial period up to about the mid-1840s as a period of official and popular toleration between Christians; this was followed by a period of sectarian activity and sometimes violence lasting until after the Second World War; finally, the late twentieth century was marked by a period of peaceful co-existence, particularly in the post-Vatican II period which ushered in a more ecumenical age. Moir was cautious, however, about the limitations of the periods, given the nature of how historians viewed the question of Protestant-Catholic relations as a totality. He clearly demarcated three approaches that had characterized how the question had been explored by his colleagues and peers: there were those who had seen Protestant-Catholic relations through a largely confrontational lens, with periods of breathing space between skirmishes; there were others of an irenic or ecumenical school – perhaps like himself – who uncovered positive relationships between the groups over the course of Canadian history, despite more vocal public testimony to the mutual antagonism between Protestant denominations and Catholicism; finally, there was a more recent sceptical school that tended to see less of a pattern to Protestant-Catholic relations and more a certain degree of shallowness in the public rapprochement between the two groups, suggesting a creeping indifference at a time, notably the late-twentieth century, when religion in Canada was becoming increasingly privatized.[6]

Where Moir situated himself within these broad categories is a little harder to ascertain. Anyone reading his first book, *Church and State and Canada West*, would assume that he was squarely in the confrontational school, particularly after reading his lively section on the foundation of

separate schools in what is now Ontario. In Moir's account, the battle lines were firmly drawn between the Irish Catholic immigrants, largely identified (though incorrectly) as the victims of the Famine, allied with French Canadian Catholic ultramontanes, squaring off against advocates of one common school system as espoused by the Methodist Superintendent of Education, Egerton Ryerson, or the amalgam of voluntarists, ant-Erastians, French Canadian anti-clericals, and Victorian liberals who rallied about the banners of George Brown's Clear Grits or A.A. Dorion's *Parti Rouge*. While perhaps, in his formative period as a writer, Moir appeared to have adopted the confrontationalist approach, his chosen period (the 1850s and 1860s), his place of action (the united province of Canada), and the characters engaged in these circumstances (Armand de Charbonnel, Egerton Ryerson, George Brown) probably dictated how the analysis of the origins of Ontario's separate Catholic schools would unfold.

Moir seemed well aware of theses traps – the simplistic binaries that had ensnared historians before him. In a later work, *The Church in the British Era* (1970), Moir was quick to demonstrate that the Canadians of the 1850s were not as easily pigeonholed as some scholars had suspected:

> The "fiery fifties" witnessed a triple polarization of forces within Canada –denominationalism opposing the new secular creed of liberal nationalism, Protestant opposing Catholic, and English opposing French. In part these tensions reflected an inherent ambiguity of the union – two "races," two ways of life, and two main branches of the Christian Church had been forced to reside together in a single state because of Durham's recommendations. Such a general characterization is admittedly a simplification of the complex interaction of many social, economic, political, and religious forces, for neither English nor French, Protestant nor Catholic, nor even particular denominations, thought, acted, reacted or voted *en bloc*. Nevertheless the picture of a community wracked by confrontations in virtually every aspect of life remains a valid one.[7]

With these early writings, Moir had provided an important corrective to A.R.M. Lower's "Two Ways of Life," a seminal essay published in 1943 on Canada's two solitudes – English Protestants and French Catholics – living out separate lives akin to the comments made in Lord Durham's *Report* about two nations warring in the bosom of a single state.[8] Moir, however, acknowledged the struggle, but exposed battle lines, generals,

and "troops" that were less easy to stereotype.

As a whole, Moir's writing revealed a far more irenic approach to Protestant-Catholic relations, perhaps conditioned by his reading of the complexity of the engagement of character and circumstance in the colonial period. His penchant to see the positive in sectarian relations certainly became evident in one of his most valuable contributions to Canadian scholarship, *The Church in the British Era*, the middle volume of Ryerson Press's valiant effort to chronicle the history of Christianity in Canada, featuring a volume on New France by H.H. "Nick" Walsh and a reprinted volume on modern Canada by John Webster Grant. In the course of exploring religious relations in British North America after 1760, Moir suggested the inevitable clash between the European principle of *cuius regio, huius religio* really never materialized in the British conquered territories which now constitute Ontario and Quebec. What should have been, by European standards, a time when the British conquerors might attempt to convert the local Roman Catholic majority to the king's faith, became a period when character appeared to intervene to redirect circumstances. Moir discovered leaders on each side of the religious divide who made compromises and chose to work together for the greater good, rather than taking the newly acquired British territories through protracted sectarian struggles and potential religious warfare.

In the process of unpacking the first half century after the conquest, Moir focused on the Catholic-Protestant coexistence as stabilized by the cooperative and, at times, genial relations between Governor James Murray and Bishop Jean-Olivier Briand and, later, Governor Sir Guy Carleton (Lord Dorchester), Briand, and his successor Bishop Joseph-Octave Plessis. Collectively these men affected compromises that assured the loyalty of the Catholic clergy to the British crown and thereby the stability of the colonies in the face of ongoing troubles in what became the United States. In exchange for their loyalty to the state, Plessis and Briand won concessions from the crown such as the Quebec Act, in 1774, which secured toleration and freedom of worship for Catholics in the old province of Quebec. Unlike in Britain itself and other imperial territories, Catholics in Canada would be exempt from the penal laws and test acts; they could vote, stand for public office, and aspire to the liberal professions. On-going loyalty was professed by Plessis, who issued a *mandement* in support of the British defence of Canada in 1812. Plessis, who was later rewarded with a salary from the crown and the unofficial title of archbishop, provided for Moir the image of how Catholic-Protestant relations

"might" be in Canada. In Moir's writing, Plessis appeared as the model bishop, devout in his religious principles, attendant to the faithful with whom he was entrusted, loyal to the crown, and co-operative in his relationships with the ruling Protestant elites. Plessis joined John Strachan, Egerton Ryerson, Charles Inglis, and James MacGregor as one of the heroic Christian personalities of *Church in the British Era*.

Moir often used the Plessis/Briand model as a framework by which he could evaluate denominational relations in other colonies at other times. In Nova Scotia, Father Edmund Burke of Halifax, later Bishop Burke, is one such character, who was loyal both to his church and to his monarch. Burke might have had theological dust ups with local Protestant leaders over matters of doctrine, but at an official level he was one in whom Lieutenant Governor Dalhousie could have complete confidence. Through this confidence and cooperation, concessions in education and church building were conceded by the state. Similarly, in Upper Canada, Scots emigrant Alexander Macdonell, the first Bishop of Upper Canada, and Nova Scotia-born Michael Power, the first Bishop of Toronto, are depicted very much in the Plessis "loyalist" mode. Macdonell's loyalty was unquestioned; Moir is clear about the Scotsman's raising of the first Catholic regiment in the British Empire since the Reformation, his tireless efforts on behalf of the Tory and ministerial elite of the colony (including John Strachan), his personal leadership of the defence of the eastern sections of the colony in the War of 1812, and the rapprochement achieved by the bishop and the Orange Order in advance of the "loyalty election of 1836."

For his own part, Michael Power, the first Roman Catholic bishop of Toronto (1841-7) became another model of religious leadership for Moir. Born in Halifax, in 1804, Power was educated first by the ultra loyal Father Edmund Burke and then sent for religious formation and Holy Orders to Montreal and Quebec City. When appointed to the newly created see of Western Upper Canada, soon to be renamed Toronto, he immediately engaged in a co-operative and positive relationship with the governing elites of the United Province of Canada and became friends with the Methodist luminary Egerton Ryerson and the Anglican Bishop John Strachan, who quickly put to rest to his concern that two persons could not hold title to the same See according to apostolic tradition. Moir once again saw the leadership offered by these three men as providing a positive example of how the province's principal Christian denominations could co-exist, co-operate, and profess loyalty to a common crown. In

1846 Ryerson appointed Power to the first School Board for Canada West's Common or public Schools, which consisted of clerical and lay representatives of all the major Christian churches; Moir appears to delight in the fact that this ecumenical body elected Power its first chair. For Moir this was more than just a historical exercise in peaceful co-existence between churches; it was a foundational argument in the claim that separate schools in Ontario were not necessarily Catholic policy at the outset of educational reform in the province. Power's untimely death from typhus in 1847 shocked the community and brings forth this near panegyric from Moir: "There can be no doubt that this tragic loss of an enlightened educationalist injuriously affected the future course of elementary education in the province. In fact Bishop Power's co-operation with Ryerson in the scheme of national education seems to have been an embarrassment to the extreme advocates of Roman Catholic separate schools ever since."[9]

It might be argued that Moir's somewhat irenic approach to Catholic-Protestant relations was most likely conditioned by the fact that he chose to focus much of his early scholarship on the elites of the pre-Confederation period, prior to the sectarian touchstones that marked the later nineteenth century: the Fenian raids, the two Riel uprisings, the Equal Right Association, the Jesuits Estates controversy, the conscription election of 1917, and the rise of the KKK in Saskatchewan in the 1920s and subsequent anti-Catholic legislation in that province. Yet there is more to Moir's approach to Catholic-Protestant relations in Canadian history than just timing. When the aforementioned "fiery fifties" became a showcase of sectarian rhetoric and violence, Moir did not deny the polarization that occurred in colonies where once toleration and compromise were normative. Reading between the lines, Moir suggests that foreign influences were principally at the root of sectarianism. In the mid-nineteenth century, British and European seeds of discontent, when planted in Canada, germinated into denominational division and discord. Seeds of imported discontent included disruption of the Presbyterian Church of 1843, the growth of modern Biblical criticism in the German universities, Tractarianism in the United Kingdom, and Ultramontanism in Rome and France. What is implied in Moir's writing is that these foreign troubles found a welcome home in some Canadian communities, thereby destroying the equilibrium that had been established in an earlier period by denominations and between churches and the state. Moir's writing latched on to themes of Canadian politics and religion as being

expressions of the art of compromise, of which Confederation itself was a fitting example. While not necessarily an advocate of Canadian exceptionalism, Moir did often quote a rhyme from the 1830s that singled out the differences between Canada and the United States, when it came to denominational relations:

> Where sacreligious [sic] hands profane
> Religion's Consecrated fane
> The Convent's smoking ruins stain
> A soil unblessed like Canada.[10]

In one of his last essays on Protestant-Catholic relations, written in 1991 for the *Gathering Place* anthology, Moir saw Toronto's Belfast image as being rooted not so much in animosities between Catholic and Protestant citizens in that city, but rather as a reflection of the Protestant reaction against papalism and the political Catholicism that went with it. In others words, Catholics might not be the enemy, but foreign Ultramontanism certainly was.[11]

Time and time again, Moir singled out the European Ultramontane movement and the reestablishment of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in the United Kingdom as potentially the worst disruptive force to denominational relations in Canada's history. The work of Bishop Frobin-Janson in his preaching tours of Quebec in the 1830s, provided toxic fuel for the Ultramontane fire that soon caught during the episcopates of Jean-Jacques Lartigue and Ignace Bourget of Montreal. As an ideology, Moir viewed Ultramontanism as becoming embedded in a class of French Canadian politicians who disrupted the political life of the united province of Canada; the same ideology eventually showed itself among the growing Irish population, which Moir traced (albeit erroneously) to the Great Famine. Just as Plessis, Briand, Burke, and Power personified a Catholicism that could work in a co-operative ethos with Protestants such as Carleton, Dalhousie, Strachan, and Ryerson, Moir uncovered a collection of Canadian Ultramontanes who were uncompromising advocates of Catholicism, its relationship to the state, its role in education, and its place in the moral life of the nation. In addition, on the other side of the denominational fence, he focused on some of the more vociferous voluntarist Protestant antagonists to the Canadian form of "papal aggression": George Brown of the *Globe*, Joseph Howe, and the Reverend Joseph Wild.

Power's successor in Toronto, Comte Armand de Charbonnel, at times appeared to be Moir's "goat" as relations between the churches soured and disintegrated in the 1850s. Charbonnel, a French-born aristocrat and second Roman Catholic bishop of Toronto, is portrayed as a European who imported a virulent strain of Ultramontanism to Canada and who was met with force in the political arena by Egerton Ryerson and George Brown. Moir did not mince words about what lay at the root of sectarian bitterness in central Canada. With evident sympathy for the Methodist leader, Moir used Ryerson's own words, unqualified, to identify the evil: "To this latest unequivocal demand [regarding separate Catholic schools], a demand which dominates the issue for the remainder of the Union, Ryerson replied that it originated in the "new class of ideas and feelings" which de Charbonnel had introduced from Europe."[12] Moir was equally pointed in his identification of the Protestant foil in the sectarian breakdown. George Brown, ardent Free Kirk Presbyterian, anti-Erastian, and Victorian liberal, "took up a fiery cross which ultimately divided the province into two hostile armed camps, Roman Catholic versus Protestant. A century has passed but the heather is still burning, or at least smouldering."[13]

While the burning heather analogy suggests a century of sectarian struggle between the 1850s and when Moir was writing in 1959, his eventual reading of the period was far less incendiary. As he continued to write over the next twenty-five years, other themes in his writing converge with his interest in Catholic-Protestant relations and may very well modify what appears to be a more confrontational approach to his evaluation of inter-church engagement. Among the most well known of Moir's trial balloons were those sent up regarding the Canadianization of the churches and the issue of loyalty. In two very important essays, "The Problem of the Double Minority," published in *Social History-Histoire Sociale* in 1971, and "A Vision Shared," published in 1986 in a special volume of *Canadian Issues*, Moir began rethinking the binaries of Catholic-Protestant relations and discovered another level of complexity, one that had been under his nose since he first put pen to paper.[14] In each essay he mapped out the "double minority" thesis regarding English-speaking Catholics. The term was a play on the "double majority" principle which had been the unofficial manner of passing legislation in the legislature of the united province of Canada, wherein bills specific to a section needed the majority of votes in that section and an over-all majority in the Assembly. In his double minority thesis, Moir concluded that English-speaking Catholics,

mostly Irish and Scots, were a religious minority in Canada as a whole, and a linguistic minority in their own church, when faced with French Canadian dominance. Moir then set out to demonstrate that English-speaking Catholics were essentially torn between their religious ties to French Canadians and their evolving cultural similarities with Protestant Canadians, with whom they shared a common tongue. While there was no escaping the evident theological differences between the two communities, English-speaking Catholics and Protestants came to discover common ground on issues regarding politics, loyalty to the crown and British institutions, and perhaps even a vision of what Canada might become. Indeed there were bombastic individuals on both sides of the religious divide who would prevent a close ecumenical bond, at least until the 1960s, but nevertheless the bilingual schools question in Ontario, education issues in New Brunswick, the South African war, and the two world wars provided sufficient evidence that the traditional binary of the two religious solitudes in Canada was overly simplistic. While he never explicitly stated it, Moir implied that the more a group became Canadianized, the greater the possibility for positive inter-church engagement.

A definition of Canadianization is highly problematic, but in an earlier work, "The Canadianization of the Protestant Churches,"[15] Moir had defined certain conditions germane to it: the growth of local leadership and an indigenous clergy, the elimination of the trappings of church establishment and the acquisition of the legal status of a church, and a psychological affinity to Canada, wherein churches identify closely with the land, people, and ethos of Canada.[16] Moreover, as early as 1959, he argued that the churches in Canada West were essentially experiencing a "centripetal nationalism" – essentially a sensibility that "sought to equate all creeds by separating them from the world of politics." For Moir, Ultramontanism was essentially un-Canadian and its persistence kept Catholics from sharing this "Canadianization" fully.[17] At least this was his position early in his career. Upon further study and deeper reflection he modified this position: the Quebec model of church-state relations and separate schools notwithstanding, as Catholics outside of Quebec relinquished close ties with the state, they became more acculturated to a social environment in which they were on an equal footing with non-Catholic citizens. For Moir, English-speaking Catholics provided a bridge between the traditions, wherein links of language proved to be the first of many ties that might bind the two religious solitudes. He might even extend the notion of Canadianization further by seeing the Confederation

compromise in 1867 as the secular model through which the voluntarist churches of Canada might be inspired to greater unity – in some cases this might mean organic union (a precursor to the well-known ecclesiastical unions of 1874, 1884, and 1925) and even perhaps a shared vision between some Catholics and Protestants in Canada.

Perhaps Moir was also broaching a new categorization of Protestant-Catholic relations that he never formally identified, although he wrote about it. Three levels of Catholic-Protestant interplay appear in his writings. First, these sectarian relationships were negotiated in a formal sense within the constitutions and laws of a country (as evidenced in the colonial period); secondly, Roman Catholic-Protestant relations could be witnessed and tracked in the public square by means of political engagement and in the secular and religious press; and, finally, and not as well developed in his writing, Catholic-Protestant relations might be witnessed in the way religion was lived on the ground. This may be where he was headed when he wrote "Toronto's Protestants and Their Perceptions of their Roman Catholic Neighbours" in 1991. At a macro level Catholics had equal rights in Canadian society – some would say on the educational issues more equal than others; in the public sphere there was an anti-papalism that permeated Protestant thought; but in the area of lived religion, even when all hell might be breaking loose in the press, some pulpits, and the corridors of political power, ordinary Catholics and Protestants worked together, lived in the same neighbourhoods, ate together, voted for the same politicians, and married one another. In his essay on "Canadian Protestant Reaction to the *Ne temere* Decree," Moir had begun to reflect on lived religious circumstances, this time a Vatican regulation on the validity of Catholic marriages, and how it came to disrupt Catholic-Protestant relations.[18] What is key in this essay is that Moir uncovered the fact that issues such as marriage – and the potential invalidity of mixed marriages – were vital to the way in which religion was lived on the ground. The possibility of Catholic partners abandoning their Protestant spouses, as a consequence of a non-canonical marital arrangement, had potentially devastating repercussions for women, children, and social institutions. Religion was a lived phenomenon in Canada, and this is perhaps where good Catholic-Protestant relations mattered most. Moir was never able to explore these latter ideas very substantially, but he pointed to new directions which have been since taken up by other scholars – that in the rhythms of Canadian life English-speaking Catholics and Protestant found more in common than what has

been historiographically or even popularly supposed. It may have been in this direction that the prospective SSHRC grant would have afforded him the liberty to write.

One cannot help but think that the timing of his project grant was not right. Canada had changed. It was a more multicultural and multi-faith world in which John Moir now worked, and questions of secularization, which he spent little time discussing in his work, were now at the forefront of writing in Canadian church history. The new debates about secularity and Canadian society were now squarely on the academic agenda with the works of Ramsay Cook, Marguerite Van Die, David Marshall, Phyllis Airhart, Michael Gauvreau, and in the suggestions made by John Webster Grant in the conclusion of his revised edition of *The Church in the Canadian Era*. Perhaps this new historiographical wave, and Moir's own personal witness to the secularization of his Canada, prompted him to write, in 1991, of a third and more sceptical school of Protestant-Catholic-relations scholarship that merely regarded the new ecumenism as a fig leaf trying to hide growing indifference to religion in Canada.[19] Whatever the case, it appeared, sadly, that the questions that he wished to raise about Protestant-Catholic relations were no longer interesting to others engaged in the writing of Canadian history in an increasingly secular Canada.

In the course of his career, however, John Moir won the respect, admiration, and even love of his students and colleagues for his integrity and professionalism as a scholar and his abiding commitment to his students, both graduate and undergraduate. In the course of writing this address I invited former students and colleagues to share with me their impressions of Moir as a teacher, scholar and friend. Almost all offer effusive praise of his scholarship, his "trial balloons," his humility in identifying himself as a garden-variety historian, his dedication to students, his wit, and his great humanity. His influence was felt among Catholic, Protestant, and agnostic scholars who appreciated his pioneering efforts in Canadian religious history. With regard to John's teaching, one former Catholic student commented: "His critiques tended towards the encouraging and supportive, rather than the cynical or censorious, while insisting on an uncompromising quest for thoroughness in research, accuracy in representation and balance in interpretation. As with many of the very best professors I believe that he regarded his students as his teachers, fellow sojourners committed to the quest for knowledge. As to his character, I thought that the combination of an innate warmth and gentleness, matched with a deep humility, contributed to the development

of a teacher focused on critical and compassionate service. In sum, I experienced him as a man of maturity, with sufficient accomplishment and integrated ego to welcome alternate or creative interpretations, perspectives and understandings. Within academia such maturity is not always present in great measure."[20]

In a review of Moir's first book, Thomas R. Millman, writing in the *Canadian Historical Review*, praised the book and its author by stating: "If the sound workmanship of *Church and State in Canada West* stimulates further intensive study of Canada's religious heritage and the production of more and better books about the place of the churches in our national story, the author will have done Canadian church history a good turn."[21] It was curious that Millman chose a Boy Scout terminology of a "good turn." In a similar homage, á la Baden Powell, a former colleague wrote to me saying: "If there are campfires in heaven where people tell great stories, I would like to be sitting next to him."[22] The good turns became great turns, the many balloons were launched and floated, and we have all been the better for it.

Endnotes

1. Cited in John S. Moir, "Toronto's Protestants and Their Perceptions of their Roman Catholic Neighbours," in *Catholics at the Gathering Place: Historical Essays on the Archdiocese of Toronto, 1841-1991*, eds. Mark G. McGowan and Brian P. Clarke (Toronto: CCHA and Dundurn Press, 1993), 325.

2. John S. Moir*, Church and State in Canada West: Three Studies in the Relation of Denominationalism and Nationalism, 1841-1867* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959). A near complete bibliography of Moir's scholarly work appears in Paul Laverdure, ed., *Christianity in Canada, Historical Essays by John S. Moir* (Yorkton, SK: Laverdure & Associates and Redeemer's Voice Press, 2002), 162-8.

3. John S. Moir, "Twenty Years Retrospect: the Canadian Society of Church History," Canadian Society of Church History, *Papers* (1979), 81.

4. Laverdure, ed., *Christianity in Canada*, 25.

5. John S. Moir, *The Church in the British Era: From the British Conquest to Confederation* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1972), and John S. Moir, *Church and Society: Documents on the Religious and Social History of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto from the Archives of the Archdiocese* (Toronto: Archdiocese of Toronto, 1991).

6. Moir, "Toronto's Protestants," 313-28.

7. Moir, *Church in the British Era*, 178.

8. A.R.M. Lower, "Two Ways of Life: The Primary Antithesis of Canadian History," Canadian Historical Association, *Report* (1943).

9. Moir, *Church and State in Canada West*, 138.

10. Moir, "Toronto's Protestants," 315.

11. Moir, "Toronto's Protestants," 313-28.

12. Moir, *Church and State in Canada West*, 150. He softened his position, using only Ryerson's words and one reference to ultramontanism in his co-authored article on Charbonnel in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (1990). Nicolson was an ardent admirer of Charbonnel, which suggests that Moir's stand on the former bishop of Toronto was moderated somewhat in the joint authorship of the essay.

13. Moir, *Church and State in Canada West*, 145.

14. John S. Moir, "The Problem of a Double Minority: Some Reflections on the Development of the English-speaking Catholic Church in Canada in the 19th Century," *Social History – Histoire sociale* 7 (April 1971): 53-67; and John S. Moir, "A Vision Shared? The Catholic Register and Canadian Identity Before World War I," *Canadian Issues – Thèmes canadiens* 7, *Religion and Culture: Comparative Canadian Studies* (1985): 356-66.

15. Moir, "The Canadianization of the Protestant Churches," Canadian Historical Association, *Report* (1966): 56-69.

16. Cited in Laverdure, ed., *Christianity in Canada*, 40.

17. Laverdure, ed., *Christianity in Canada*, 53.

18. John S. Moir, "Canadian Protestant Reaction to the *Ne Temere* Decree," Canadian Catholic Historical Association*, Study Sessions* 48 (1981): 79-90.

19. Moir, "Toronto's Protestants," 313.

20. Email to the author from Brian Hogan, 27 March 2013.

21. Thomas Millman, Review of *Church and State in Canada West: Three Studies in the Relation of Denominationalism and Nationalism, 1841-1867*, *Canadian Historical Review* 41 (1960): 78-9.

22. Email to the author from William Westfall, 3 April 2013.