HISTORICAL PAPERS 2012
Canadian Society of Church History

Annual Conference
University of Waterloo
27-29 May 2012

Edited by
Brian Gobbett, Bruce L. Guenther and Todd Webb

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

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Papers

CSCH President's Address

Please Note

The following papers were presented to the Canadian Society of Church History in 2012, but were not made available for publication: Ian Hesketh, "'Vomited from the Jaws of Hell': The Controversy of Ecce Homo in Mid-Victorian Britain"; Geoff Read, "Echoes of 1905-Secular Conflict in Interwar France, 1919-40"; Amy Von Heyking, "'It is a privilege to have a Christian Government': William Aberhart and the Place of Religion in Alberta's Public Schools"; Lucille Marr, "Church Women, the Home Front, and the Great War"; Gordon Heath, "Whatever Happened to the British Empire? A Canadian Baptist Case Study"; Melissa Davidson, "Enduing the Cause with Righteousness: Canadian Anglican Views of the Great War, 1914-18"; James T. Robertson, "Anglican and Presbyterian Churches and a Loyalist Theology During the War of 1812"; Scott McLaren, "Rekindling the Canadian Fire: Print Culture and the Reconstruction of Upper Canadian Methodism After the War of 1812"; Denis McKim, "Contesting Christian Loyalty: Religion and Meanings of Britishness in Upper Canada"; Robynne Rogers Healey, "Reconciling Approaches to Non-Violence and Apartheid: Pacifist Conflict among Friends in the 1970s and 1980s"; Indre Cuplinskas, "Doing it Rite: Catholic Action and Liturgical Renewal in Quebec"; Christo Aivalis, "In Service of the Lowly Nazarene: The Canadian Labour Press and a Case for Radical Christianity, 1926-39"; Andrew M. Eason, "Missions, Race and Representation: The Salvation Army's Portrayal of Africa and India in Victorian Britain"; Bruce Douville, "The Via Media and the Evangelical Road: The Attitudes of Anglican Church Newspapers in Canada West Towards American Slavery and Related Issues, 1837-65"; Nathan Dirks, "An Unknown Legacy: Canadian Mennonite Enlistments During the Second World War"; James Enns, "From Heartland of the Reformation to Post-Christian Mission Field: North American Conservative Protestants and the Mission to West Germany, 1945-74."

"Calm determination & cool brains": Mary Chesnut's God in the 1860s

TODD WEBB
Laurentian University

In August 1852 the South Carolina belle Jane Caroline North visited the town of Saratoga, New York, with her aunt and uncle. While taking in the sights, North was surprised to meet another socialite from the Palmetto State, Mary Chesnut, who was traveling with her husband, James. Demonstrating that hard-edged approach to life that was every belle's prerogative, North was quick to judge Mrs. Chesnut. "[S]he is friendly & agreeable," North wrote in her journal, "mais je ne l'aime pas" – I do not like her. A few days later, North elaborated on that damning indictment. Mrs. Chesnut "is certainly clever, & sometimes very amusing," she noted, "but she impresses me as a person who having gained a reputation rather beyond her merit, makes a constant effort not to fall short."[1] Since 1981 scholars have had similarly ambivalent reactions to Mary Chesnut – and with good reason.

Mary Chesnut and her husband were key players in the Confederate States of America, created when South Carolina and ten other states seceded from the American union during the winter of 1860-61. James Chesnut was an important figure in South Carolina politics and they were both good friends of the Confederate president, Jefferson Davis, and his wife Varina. While hobnobbing with the great and good of the planter class, Mary Chesnut also kept a journal, tracing the rise and fall of the Confederacy with wit and insight. In 1905, nineteen years after Chesnut's death, D. Appleton and Company published a version of her journal, edited by Isabella Martin and Myrta Lockett Avary. Forty-four years later,

the novelist Ben Ames Williams produced what seemed to be a more reliable edition of Chesnut's diary, securing her reputation as the author of "an extraordinary document – in its informal department, a masterpiece . . ."[2] It was left to C. Vann Woodward "partially" to destroy "Mary Chesnut's reputation as a diarist." In his 1981 edition of Chesnut's journal, Woodward revealed that she had rewritten her journal in the decades after the Civil War, rearranging events, recreating dialogue and recasting the world of the South, while maintaining the diary form.[3] In the process, according to the outraged historian Kenneth Lynn, Chesnut perpetrated "one of the most audacious frauds in the history of American literature," passing off an account written years after the fact as a genuine journal. The resulting scandal was so shocking to scholarly sensibilities that it burst the bounds of the English language, becoming "*l'affaire Chesnut*."[4]

The debate that ensued over what exactly to call Chesnut's reworked journal took on a life of its own. Scholars tied themselves in knots trying to explain what that diary was and what it was not.[5] This wrangle also tended to obscure other, equally important, issues of interpretation. In particular, while defending the revised journal as a valid source for students of the Civil War, Woodward and Chesnut's biographer Elisabeth Muhlenfeld did their best to transform her into a practitioner of "heresy and paradox." Mary Chesnut became a twentieth-century liberal born out of time and out of place. She was a rebellious woman of the antebellum South who yearned for the abolition of slavery and who struggled against patriarchy, though often in oblique ways.[6] In response, other scholars attempted to place Chesnut more firmly in her own social and cultural contexts, arguing that she was neither an abolitionist nor a militant feminist. The moral here was plain enough: great writers can sometimes be bad people, or, at least, people who hold views that are very different from our own.[7]

One area of Mary Chesnut's life remains untouched by this exercise in revisionism. Woodward and Muhlenfeld's interpretation continues to hold sway when it comes to religion. We are told that Chesnut was raised with "a simple faith in God," but that she was "an essentially secular-minded intellect in the midst of a deeply religious community . . ."[8] She went to church and made attempts at spiritual self-improvement through a combination of reading and private prayer; and yet, as Michael O'Brien has argued, she was "skeptical about God." She sometimes "lost her hold on belief" and she ended her days with "no faith in the old gods of Christianity" or "in the new ones of science . . ."[9] While that might be true

of the Mary Chesnut of the revised journal, it bears little resemblance to the woman of the original Civil War diary. Indeed, when we turn to the surviving volumes of her 1860s journal, covering 1861 and 1865, we encounter a South Carolinian whose life was permeated by faith.

"Jesus & his example"

I will start with what should be an easy question: what exactly was Mary Chesnut's faith in the 1860s? Almost immediately we are faced with one of the main challenges posed by her original journal: its often-cryptic nature. What we can say with some certainty, however, is that God was rarely far from Mary Chesnut's thoughts. Like other women of the planter class during the 1860s, she frequently asked for God's blessing on her family and friends, as well as His forgiveness for what she saw as her own sins and the sins of the South.[10] She had no respect for the deism of Enlightenment thinkers like David Hume. Where he saw history being driven by "a great deal of *accident*," Chesnut saw "Christian Providence" at work. Whatever doubts she did have about God had more to do with His role in the war than anything else. After the attack on Fort Sumter in April 1861, for instance, she was certain that "our merciful God has so far protected our men" from harm. Five months later, she was equally convinced that vengeance had become the keynote of divine intervention. She wrote about "[m]en murdering each other wholesale" in battle "& *sickness* & disease God-sent, laughing their puny efforts to scorn . . ." "God shows he can *make troubles*," she concluded, "& disregards our puny efforts to make it ourselves."[11]

It is tempting to put such moments of religious doom and gloom down to Mary Chesnut's Calvinist roots, but that would oversimplify such denominational loyalty as she had in the 1860s. Chesnut's own family, the Millers of South Carolina, were Presbyterian, as were her in-laws, the Chesnuts. Whenever she and her husband were staying in Montgomery or Richmond, however, she attended Episcopalian services with Jefferson and Varina Davis. In an era of intense sectarian conflict, she also had no trouble discussing theology with Catholic clergy and laity. "Ecumenical" might be the best way to sum up Chesnut's denominational affiliation, though she seems to have leaned primarily in the direction of mainline Protestantism – the more mainline the better, in fact. She particularly appreciated seventeenth-century Anglican theologians like Jeremy Taylor and Joseph Hall, who emphasized the value of spiritual and temporal

moderation. But to say that a "more . . . tolerant Protestant would have been difficult to find" among the Southern planters takes us further than the evidence of her 1860s journal will comfortably allow.[12] Chesnut had no patience for the extremes of dour New England Puritanism and red-hot Methodist evangelicalism. In May 1861, for example, she is laying into "New England *piety* & love making" as depicted in the novel *Say and Seal*. "The Christian Hero quoting scripture & making love with equal *unction*," she wrote, "Never takes a kiss without a [Biblical] text to back him . . ." Three months later, Chesnut struck harder at New England's traditional faith, stating that she hated "puritanism by temperament & instinct . . ." She did not have any use for "love feasts & religious groaning & Methodist shouting" either. They were no more than amusement and "distraction" – not the genuine article at all. Even the Episcopal Church could not escape the lash when it departed from the middle way that Chesnut held dear. Like many of her fellow planters, she could not bring herself to shut her "eyes to the faults & sins of [the] high church party," which wanted to inundate the Episcopal Church with the trappings of Catholic worship. If people simply learned to follow "Jesus & his example & precept solely," as interpreted by Mary Chesnut, the world would be an altogether better place.[13]

"Their Own Bad Passions"

Given her general approach to religion, it is not surprising that Chesnut derived a great deal of comfort from "private devotion" during the 1860s; but it is equally important to note that she believed "it right & best…to praise God & thank him publicly for his great mercies."[14] Whether she was in the Chesnuts' hometown of Camden, South Carolina, or traveling around the Confederate States of America with her husband, Chesnut went to church on a fairly regular basis. Like other planters, she sometimes attended services twice a week, though a cursory reading of her 1860s journal might suggest that the main attraction of churchgoing was the opportunity it presented for socializing. Whom she sat with during services, whom she saw in the congregation and whom she talked with afterward, is well known. At one point, she proudly recorded that "President [Jefferson Davis] came & spoke to me most cordially."[15] It would be wrong to conclude, however, that Chesnut was more concerned with chitchat than with spiritual growth. When her husband, James, refused to go to church, as many men of his time and class did, she

admitted that she felt "so sorry." In one of her more hopeful moments, Chesnut convinced herself that James might make a good impression on the men who did show up, since he was already a "better" Christian than many of them. But, in reality, she was not much happier on those rare occasions when her husband did come to church with her: he sat through the sermon, she wrote, but "he was *bored*."[16] In contrast, Chesnut could be "stirred to the depths" of her soul by a powerful preacher. And, when she was unable to attend services, she made a point of noting why, in an effort to alleviate the guilt she felt for having failed to do her duty to God. As she put it on one Sunday in November 1861, "Stayed at home. Ought to have gone to church."[17]

When Chesnut did go to church during the 1860s, she expected to be edified by whatever sermon the preacher was delivering. Like other planters, she did not anticipate that each sermon she heard would be a barnburner or a masterpiece of theological insight, but she did want to feel something. If she did not, she put her often-acerbic wit to work with devastating effect. Thomas Davis, the sickly associate pastor of Grace Episcopal Church in Camden, became a constant target of Chesnut's wrath. "Went to church," she recorded on 13 October 1861, "Heard Tom Davis – think he is more uninteresting from his illness – & his manner if possible more atrocious – awkward – & grotesque." Thomas Davis might have been "*earnest*," but his sermon was too "political" for Chesnut's taste. She had no time, in general, for men who "mix up the Bible so with their own *bad* passions." In this instance, it also did not help that Chesnut suspected that the sermon was aimed, at least in part, at her. The preacher "[s]aid a celebrated person . . . had refused to go to church because politics were tiresome in the week – but Sunday the Gospel only could be endured." "Was afraid he meant *me*," Chesnut admitted, "I have said that so often . . ." She was somewhat relieved when she realized that Pastor Davis was referring "*only*" to the politician Henry Clay.[18] A troubled conscience can be a terrible thing. The next time Chesnut heard Thomas Davis speak her comments were, if anything, even harsher for their brevity. "Tom Davis preached a dull sermon at this exacting time," she wrote, "What eloquence might have stirred us."[19]

Chesnut could be equally hard on laymen who failed to live up to her exacting standards of proper Christian deportment. Even preeminent Southerners, like the old states' rights champion John C. Calhoun and the Confederate general Joseph Kershaw, were not above criticism. In 1861 Chesnut was appalled when she heard an anecdote about Calhoun

throwing a guest out of his house because that visitor refused to take part in family prayers. She shot back with the story of "Abraham & the Angel," that "old [Benjamin] Franklin stole from Jeremy Taylor":

> Abraham turned out a traveler for blaspheming the Lord. In the morning an angel came who said, "Where is the traveler who was with thee?" Abraham replied, "I sent him forth for blaspheming thy name," & the angel said, "Thus saith the Lord: Have I borne with this man this many years & could you not bear with him this one night?"

From Chesnut's point of view, Calhoun had trespassed against both "tolerance" and the "*sacred* rights of hospitality."[20] General Kershaw was an even more aggravating case, with his constant hunger for publicity and his efforts to change the name of the battle of Bull Run because it would not "fill pleasantly the trump of future fame." Kershaw, Chesnut had learned, "prayed, shut his bible, got off his knees, took his sword & went into battle – & . . . swore like a trooper & not a Christian when he got there." For Chesnut, such "[h]ypocrisy" was difficult to bear, much less excuse, particularly among the leadership of the embattled Confederate States of America.[21]

"The Grand Smash Has Come"

To understand how the collapse of the Confederacy and its immediate aftermath affected Mary Chesnut's faith, some context is needed. Much of her adult life can be summed up as a flight from irrelevance. She was fascinated by politics, but, as a woman, she could never be a politician; she was raised to run a plantation, but because her father-in-law and mother-in-law refused to die, she never had the chance; she was desperate to have children, but she could not – and her Chesnut relations never let her forget that fact. James's mother, in particular, liked to brag to her daughter-in-law about "her twenty seven grandchildren." And "me a childless wretch," Chesnut wrote, "God help me – no good have I done – to myself or to any one else . . ." It is no shock to discover that she hated spending time at Mulberry, the Chesnut plantation near Camden; and she was no keener on the narrow society that the town itself offered. She preferred the social whirligig of the Confederate cities, such as Montgomery and Richmond, where she could host informal salons for the grandees of the Southern cause and at least work to improve her husband's political fortunes.[22] When Chesnut did have to spend time in

Camden, she suffered through the experience with the help of opium and her God. In late October 1861, she confessed her "sinful hatred" for the townsfolk. "God have mercy on me," she wrote, "& keep me with Christian feeling to these people." "Went to church & made this resolution which only with God's help I can keep," she noted a little over a month later, "not to be so bitter – not abuse people & not to hate them so." The next day, she had to admit "I *fell* from my high position taken on my knees on Sunday – abused by insinuation . . . Tom Davis." The worst fate that Chesnut could imagine for herself was what she called "plantation & *Camden* life . . ."[23] That doom seemed increasingly unavoidable as the Confederacy stumbled towards defeat in the spring of 1865.

Chesnut turned more and more desperately to God for support as the possibility of Confederate failure and internal exile grew. In early February 1865, while the Union general William Tecumseh Sherman prepared to make South Carolina howl, Chesnut begged her "[g]racious God" to "help us," since the armies of the Confederacy were clearly not up to the task. She became convinced that a terrible "retribution" was coming to the South. "I fancy it is coming as fast as or along with Sherman," she added, "Grant (not *U.S.* G[rant] oh Lord!) us patience good Lord." When Chesnut managed a brief respite from the disasters engulfing the South later that month, she made sure to "thank a Divine providence – for the mercy I now enjoy. Once more I sit by *my own* fireside – in a clean room, airy, comfortable!"[24] The calm did not last. On 23 February 1865, Chesnut received a letter from her husband, reporting the news that South Carolina's capital, Columbia, had fallen to Sherman's army. "The grand smash has come . . ." she wrote, "I am so utterly heart broken . . . Oh – my Heavenly Father look down & pity us." As the Confederacy crumbled around her, Chesnut seems to have relied heavily on the Book of Job to make sense of the South's desperate situation. If God allowed Satan to test Job's faith with a series of trials, perhaps He was doing the same thing to the South. The "calm determination – & cool brains" that Chesnut had called for in 1861 were a thing of the past. After General Robert E. Lee surrendered at Appomattox in early April 1865, she could no longer avoid "Camden for life."[25]

When Mary Chesnut returned to the shattered remnants of Camden in early May 1865 she experienced the effects of total defeat on a town and on an individual trapped in a community she hated. Chesnut glumly recorded the religious disputes that rocked Camden society. She noted that the perpetually disappointing Thomas Davis had preached "[s]ubmission

– to the powers that be," meaning the Yankee conquerors. At the same time, a "church council" in Camden "discussed praying for the President [of the] U.S.A." One minister said "his conscience would let him," but "[a]nother clergyman said he would find it hard to pray for the health & prosperity of a man – when he wishes him dead!"[26] Such tensions affected Chesnut more directly. A religious war of sorts erupted between Chesnut and her opinionated niece, Harriet Grant. In late May, Chesnut stated, "H[arriet] Grant insulted me & all Southern women." "She asked me if I imagined all the men who filled [Southern] patriots' graves were going to Heaven – & spoke so harshly & flippantly. Said I called her an *idiot* – ended by calling me one." James Chesnut had to intervene, carrying his wife away "in strong *hysterics*." A week later, Mary Chesnut confessed that, "I did not go to Church to day. I could not take communion & feel the loathing & detestation I do for H[arriet] Grant."[27] Maintaining a proper relationship with God continued to matter to Chesnut, even though the Bible itself failed to give her much comfort. On 18 May 1865 she summed up her mood by quoting Psalm 109: "I am poor & needy & my heart is wounded within." "I can not bear to write the horrible details of our degradation," she added, ". . . I thank God I am *old* – & can not have my life so much longer embittered by this agony."[28]

"Poor Women! Poor Slaves!"

Mary Chesnut's agony in 1865 was exacerbated by one of the inescapable results of Northern victory – the end of slavery in the South. To understand why that was the case, one needs to note that her view of the "peculiar institution" had always been ambivalent, tied, as it was, to her faith and her thoughts on the place of white women in Southern society. After attending a slave auction in Montgomery in early March 1861, Chesnut suggested that Christianity condoned both slavery and the fate of any white woman unfortunate enough to marry a planter. "South Carolina slave holder as I am my very soul sickened," she wrote. The auction had been "too dreadful." "I tried to reason – this is not worse than the willing sale most women make of themselves in marriage," she added, "nor can the consequences be worse." "The Bible authorizes marriage & slavery," she concluded, " – poor women! poor slaves!" This statement should not be read as a call for abolition or women's liberation. Chesnut was making a judgment based, in large part, on faith, rather than some broader sense of racial or gender equality.[29] Thanks to the institution of

slavery, she believed, the leading men of the South were in danger of dragging their wives and their region into a moral morass. Keenly aware of her own capacity for sin, she was equally convinced that slavery opened the door for sin among the men of the planter class; it created a white society "surrounded by prostitutes" in the form of female slaves. "God forgive *us*," she wrote in mid-March 1861, "but ours is a *monstrous* system . . ." "[L]ike the patriarchs of old our men live all in one house with their wives & their concubines," she declared, "& the Mulattoes one sees in every family exactly resemble the white children . . ." And "all the time," Chesnut complained, those men "seem to think themselves patterns – models of husbands & fathers." The only people coming out of this situation with clear consciences were the white women of the South, who were "as pure as angels – tho[ough] surrounded by another race who are – the social evil!"[30] Men like Chesnut's own father-in-law, Colonel James Chesnut Sr., were letting down their race and their region. Chesnut always suspected that the colonel had had children with his slaves.[31] She never seems to have considered that he own husband might have done the same. Some possibilities were too terrible to contemplate for this childless wife.

While Mary Chesnut hated the idea of racial miscegenation, she was capable of appreciating discrete aspects of slave culture. But her self-declared "*abolitionist*" leanings went no further than that.[32] Chesnut was particularly taken with the fervor that the Camden slaves brought to their worship. After listening to one of Thomas Davis's deadlier sermons in October 1861, she went "to church again" among "a full congregation" of "well-dressed & well behaved" slaves. She was impressed by "Jim Nelson, a coloured preacher . . ." "Such a wild exciting prayer," she later noted, "The words were nothing – but the voice & manner so madly exciting – so touching in its wild melody & passion that I wept outright." Yet, even here, Chesnut could not bring herself fully to endorse slave culture. While undoubtedly effective, Jim Nelson's preaching offended her finely tuned religious sensibilities: it was in the "Methodist fashion," she declared. "A most exciting scene," she wrote, but "purely . . . of the senses & [it] does no permanent good."[33] In general, like most of the men and women of her class in the South, Chesnut believed that slavery was necessary for the survival of the Southern economy, especially in those areas "where rice & cotton are made . . ."[34] She was also convinced that the slaves on the Chesnut plantation were "well behaved & affectionate" towards their masters. They might be "a little lazy but that is no crime," she wrote in November 1861, "& we do no[t] require more of them" than other

planters.[35]

As the prospect of emancipation loomed larger, Chesnut found it difficult to maintain such a sanguine approach to the South's slaves. The first blow to her complaisance came near the end of September 1861. She learned that her "dear old cousin Betsey [Witherspoon], had been murdered by her negroes." "I always felt that I had never injured any one black especially & therefore feared nothing from them – but *now*." Cousin Betsey "was so good – so kind," Chesnut wrote, "the ground is knocked up from under me. I sleep & wake with the horrid vision before my eyes of those vile black hands – smothering her." By October 1861 such fears were spreading among the planter families that Chesnut knew – they feared that their slaves were poisoning them.[36] The next month, she wrote about "hanging negroes for fear of insurrection in Louisiana & Mississippi like black birds" and growing resistance to the Confederacy's authority among slaves elsewhere.[37] From that point on, Chesnut's journal recorded her growing hostility to the slave population of the South. It turned out to be easier to harbor vaguely abolitionist thoughts when there was no chance that the slaves would ever be free. Chesnut began to wish the North "had the Negroes – we the cotton." That way, what she called "this black incubus" would be removed from the land.[38] That did not happen, of course, and in the months after the Confederate surrender, Chesnut was haunted by visions of gun-toting former slaves disarming "all white men" as a prelude to a "Negro insurrection" perhaps "as bad as St. Domingo" – a reference to the slave revolution in Haiti during the 1790s and early 1800s. The only way Chesnut could find to cope with the sudden destruction of the South's plantation society was to turn to a combination of fantasy and reconfigured faith. "My negroes," she wrote in June 1865, "now free citizens of the U.S.A. – are more humble & affectionate & anxious to be allowed to remain as they are than the outside world . . . could ever conceive." Chesnut also had to admit, however, that, "they will all *go* after a while – if they can better their condition." In the meantime, she felt sure that the Yankee usurper, whether white or black, would take up with "negro women" and so "demoralize the country."[39] In Chesnut's mind, the main sin associated with slavery had been transferred from the plantation owners of the South to the victorious men of the North.

Conclusion

Such revisionism became the order of the day after Mary Chesnut wrote her final journal entry on 26 June 1865. That is no surprise, given that the last twenty-one years of her life read like the plot of a William Faulkner novel. Her entire world had literally been "kicked to pieces" by the war. The North's attempts to rebuild and reform the South were no kinder to Chesnut or her husband. With the antebellum economy of the South uprooted and the political elite of the Confederacy shunted aside by the conquering Yankees, James and Mary Chesnut struggled to get by. She made a little money from a fairly successful dairy business, but all James managed to accumulate by the time he died in February 1885 were debts. It would make sense if she did turn away from her faith in these dark and aimless years, just like many other Southern women of the planter class.[40] Just a year into Reconstruction, one finds Chesnut painting a nightmarish image of her life in a letter to her friend, Virginia Clay. "[T]here are nights here" in Camden, she wrote, "with the moonlight, cold & ghastly, & the whippoorwills. [And] the screech owls alone disturbing the silence when I could tear my hair & cry aloud for all that is past & gone."[41] In the 1870s, Chesnut embarked on an effort to record and improve on "all that is past & gone." Initially, she tried her hand at novel writing, but she realized that she had no gift for fiction in its purest form.[42] Instead, between 1881 and 1884, Chesnut turned to the journal she had kept during the war and rewrote it over and over again.[43] Her biographers have tended to see this process as a triumph of the spirit: Mary Chesnut rising above the increasingly wretched conditions of her life after 1865 and producing a work of great art. It is equally possible, however, to see Chesnut's rewriting as a continuation of her life-long flight from irrelevance. Rather than living in the present – defeated, marginalized and impoverished – she transferred her frustrations into the past, compulsively reliving the most exciting four years of her life and reshaping them to fit her post-war views.[44] In the process, she produced a mammoth manuscript, over a million words long, that revealed more about Reconstruction and its aftermath than it did about Mary Chesnut and her God at a time when her world was plunging towards destruction.

Endnotes

1. Michael O'Brien, ed., *An Evening When Alone: Four Journals of Single Women in the South, 1827-67* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993), 202, 205.

2. For the Martin / Avary and Williams editions of Mary Chesnut's journal, see Mary Boykin Chesnut, *Mary Chesnut's Diary* (New York: Penguin Books, 2011); and Mary Boykin Chesnut, *A Diary from Dixie*, ed. Ben Ames Williams (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982). The quotation is from Edmund Wilson, *Patriotic Gore: Studies in the Literature of the American Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), 279.

3. James B. Meriwether, ed., *South Carolina Women Writers* (Spartanburg, SC: The Reprint Company, 1979), 267; quoted in C. Vann Woodward, ed., *Mary Chesnut's Civil War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), xv-xxix.

4. Kenneth S. Lynn, "The Masterpiece That Became a Hoax," in Kenneth S. Lynn, *The Air-Line to Seattle: Studies in Literary and Historical Writing about American* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 51; and Walter A. McDougall, *Throes of Democracy: The American Civil War Era, 1829-1877* (New York: HarperCollins, 2008), 707-8.

5. C. Vann Woodward, "Mary Chesnut in Search of Her Genre," in C. Vann Woodward, *The Future of the Past* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 251-2, 256-7, 259-62; Michael O'Brien, "The Flight down the Middle Walk: Mary Chesnut and the Forms of Observance," in Anne Goodwyn Jones and Susan V. Donaldson, eds., *Haunted Bodies: Gender and Southern Texts* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997), 111-13. See also the sometimes-heated discussions about Mary Chesnut and the different versions of her journal recorded in Meriwether, ed., *South Carolina Women Writers*, 223-28, 263-72.

6. Woodward, ed., *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, xlvi-liii; Elisabeth Muhlenfeld, *Mary Boykin Chesnut: A Biography* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981), 30, 32, 67, 109-10. See also Elisabeth Muhlenfeld, "Mary Boykin Chesnut: *Civil War Redux*," in Marjorie Julian Spruill, *et al*., eds., *South Carolina Women: Their Lives and Times* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2009), 1:249-51, which responds to some of the criticisms of this view of Chesnut (see footnote seven below), while also noting that she "shared the racism of her era . . ."

7. Drew Gilpin Faust, "In Search of the Real Mary Chesnut," *Reviews in American History* 10, no. 1 (March 1982), 54-58; Melissa Mentzer, "Rewriting Herself: Mary Chesnut's Narrative Strategies," *Connecticut*

Review 14, no. 1 (Spring 1992), 51, 54; Thavolia Glymph, "African-American Women in the Literary Imagination of Mary Boykin Chesnut," in Robert Louis Paquette and Louis A. Ferleger, eds., *Slavery, Secession, and Southern History* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000), 140-56.

8. Muhlenfeld, *Mary Boykin Chesnut*, xi, 52. The quotation is from C. Vann Woodward's foreword. Muhlenfeld herself states that Chesnut was "by nature a thoroughly secular person . . ."

9. Muhlenfeld, *Mary Boykin Chesnut*, 52; Michael O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order: Intellectual Life and the American South, 1810-1860* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 2:1188, 2:1190-1, 2:1196.

10. See, for example, C. Vann Woodward and Elisabeth Muhlenfeld, eds., *The Private Mary Chesnut: The Unpublished Civil War Diaries* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 8, 42, 95, 110, 115, 116, 154. See also O'Brien, ed., *An Evening When Alone*, 14, 21, 30, 39, 42, 43, for examples of the place of religion in the lives of other Southern women.

11. Woodward and Muhlenfeld, eds., *Private Mary Chesnut*, 60, 161, 184. Emphasis in original.

12. Julia A. Stern, *Mary Chesnut's Civil War Epic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 183.

13. Woodward and Mulhenfeld, eds., *Private Mary Chesnut*, 73, 160-61 (emphasis in original), see also 30, 152, 202, 210; "Joseph Hall" and "Jeremy Taylor," in F.L. Cross and EA. Livingston, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 731, 1580-81. Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Eugene D. Genovese, *The Mind of the Master Class: History and Faith in the Southern Slaveholders' Worldview* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 465 suggest that Chesnut's ecumenicalism was common among the planter class. For the lukewarm response of most Southern Episcopalians to the high-church movement see Fox-Genovese and Genovese, *Mind of the Master Class*, 429.

14. Woodward and Muhlenfeld, eds., *Private Mary Chesnut*, 176.

15. Woodward and Muhlenfeld, eds., *Private Mary Chesnut*, 18, 20, 30, 60, 63; Fox-Genovese and Genovese, *Mind of the Master Class*, 421, 422.

16. Woodward and Muhlenfeld, eds., *Private Mary Chesnut*, 20, 30. Emphasis in original. See also Muhlenfeld, *Mary Boykin Chesnut*, 52 and Fox-Genovese and Genovese, *Mind of the Master Class*, 410-11 which suggests that the idea that "Church was for women" actually faded after the 1830s.

17. Woodward and Muhlenfeld, eds., *Private Mary Chesnut*, 46, 70, 107, 121, 165, 202.

18. Woodward and Muhlenfeld, eds., *Private Mary Chesnut*, 82, 176; and Fox-Genovese and Genovese, *Mind of the Master Class*, 427. Emphasis in original.

19. Woodward and Muhlenfeld, eds., *Private Mary Chesnut*, 198.

20. Woodward and Muhlenfeld, eds., *Private Mary Chesnut*, 30.

21. Woodward and Muhlenfeld, eds., *Private Mary Chesnut*, 81, 155.

22. Woodward and Muhlenfeld, eds., *Private Mary Chesnut*, 44-5. See also Woodward, ed., *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, xxxvii-xli. For Chesnut's opium use see Muhlenfeld, *Mary Boykin Chesnut*, 128.

23. Woodward and Muhlenfeld, eds., *Private Mary Chesnut*, 187-8, 192, 209, 210. Emphasis in original.

24. Woodward and Muhlenfeld, eds., *Private Mary Chesnut*, 224, 230. Emphasis in original.

25. Woodward and Muhlenfeld, eds., *Private Mary Chesnut*, 3, 233-4, 236. For Sherman's campaign against South Carolina and Lee's surrender see James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 825-30, 848-50.

26. Woodward and Muhlenfeld, eds., *Private* Mary Chesnut, 237, 251.

27. Woodward and Muhlenfeld, eds., *Private Mary Chesnut*, 252, 256. Emphasis in original. For Harriet Grant see Muhlenfeld, *Mary Boykin Chesnut*, 129. And for similar religious conflicts in other parts of the defeated South see George C. Rable, *Civil Wars: Women and the Crisis of Southern Nationalism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 225.

28. Woodward and Muhlenfeld, eds., *Private Mary Chesnut*, 248-9. Emphasis in original.

29. Woodward and Muhlenfeld, eds., *Private Mary Chesnut*, 21. Elizabeth Fox-Genovese makes a similar point, though reading Chesnut's "poor women! poor slaves!" as a more general "lament for the human condition." See Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 348-49, 357.

30. Woodward and Muhlenfeld, eds., *Private Mary Chesnut*, 42-3. Emphasis in original. See also Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household*, 352-4; Mentzer, "Rewriting Herself," 51.

31. Woodward and Muhlenfeld, eds., *Private Mary Chesnut*, 44-5, 82.

32. Woodward and Muhlenfeld, eds., *Private Mary Chesnut*, 229. Emphasis in original.

33. Woodward and Muhlenfeld, eds., *Private Mary Chesnut*, 176-7.

34. Woodward and Muhlenfeld, eds., *Private Mary Chesnut*, 77.

35. Woodward and Muhlenfeld, eds., *Private Mary Chesnut*, 200.

36. Woodward and Muhlenfeld, eds., *Private Mary Chesnut*, 162, 164, 181. Emphasis in original.

37. Woodward and Muhlenfeld, eds., *Private Mary Chesnut*, 199.

38. Woodward and Muhlenfeld, eds., *Private Mary Chesnut*, 203.

39. Woodward and Muhlenfeld, eds., *Private Mary Chesnut*, 243, 254, 261. Emphasis in original.

40. Muhlenfeld, *Mary Boykin Chesnut*, 131-220; Drew Gilpin Faust, *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 192-3, 194-5. The quotation is from Woodward, ed., *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 452.

41. Mary Chesnut to Virginia Clay, April 1866 quoted in Muhlenfeld, *Mary Boykin Chesnut*, 133.

42. Muhlenfeld, *Mary Boykin Chesnut*, 142-60, 172-83. Chesnut's unfinished novels – "The Captain and the Colonel" and "Two Years – or The Way We Lived Then" – have been published in Elizabeth Muhlenfeld, ed., *Two Novels by Mary Chesnut* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2002).

43. Muhlenfeld, *Mary Boykin Chesnut*, 191, 197-8.

44. Mary A. DeCredico, *Mary Boykin Chesnut: A Confederate Woman's Life* (Lanham: Rowan & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2002), 158; Muhlenfeld, *Mary Boykin Chesnut*, 223; and Glymph, "African-American Women," 141-42.

Florence Nightingale: Mystic or Moralist?

DONNA KERFOOT
University of Trinity College, Toronto School of Theology

Evelyn Underhill, in her classic work *Practical Mysticism*, makes a significant statement in reference to Florence Nightingale, saying "Perhaps it is worthwhile to remind ourselves that the two women who have left the deepest mark upon the military history of France and England – Joan of Arc and Florence Nightingale – both acted under mystical compulsion."[1] To many, this statement may appear odd, since Nightingale's name is most often recognized in the area of health sciences as the founder of the nursing profession. Underhill's statement becomes even more striking when comparing the mystical experiences of Joan of Arc with the scientific methodology used by Florence Nightingale as a social reformer. Questions arise such as "How did Nightingale's spiritual experience of God lead her into nursing?" and "In what way did her ideal of God's perfection originate as an important tenet of her religious philosophy, especially in relation to the scientific world of modern Britain?" One cannot begin to entertain Nightingale as a mystic without first examining the events that led her into nursing and a career as a social reformer. Nightingale's faith in God inspired her throughout life; however, it was her hard work and philosophy of science that provided her with the means of acquiring knowledge in order to suggest improvements regarding social and public health reforms.

In this essay, I propose that Nightingale's spirituality has much in common with Christian medieval mysticism, but differs drastically in its practical application when she begins to resolve problems encountered in health care and elsewhere. Nightingale viewed God as energizing,

controlling, and directing all activity through the laws of nature. She suggested that as co-workers alongside a perfect God, humanity was capable of attaining a new and moral government. The conclusion I reach is that Nightingale's experience of God resembled one of a modern mystic, someone who combined her beliefs with empirical science for the intent for humanity of joining forces with God in order to accomplish His plan for improving the health and welfare of the underprivileged of society. This was Nightingale's Christian worldview that she hoped would lead to a new moral world.

Early Formational Influences in Nightingale's Faith and Vocation

Florence Nightingale's parents, Frances (*née* Smith) (1788-1880) and William Edward Nightingale (1794-1874) were married in the Church of England by an evangelical clergyman at St. Margaret's, Westminster.[2] While on an extended honeymoon, Frances gave birth to Parthenope (1819) and then Florence (1820), both of whom were named after the cities of their birth. The family returned to England in 1821 and settled in Lea Hurst, Derbyshire, an estate William Nightingale had inherited from Peter Nightingale, the uncle of his mother Mary (*née* Evans). The terms of his great uncle's will stated that William Nightingale would not only inherit his estate, but also assume the name and arms of Nightingale. Another vital link to the Nightingale family was Frances' father, William Smith (1756-1835), a British politician, dissenter and abolitionist who was a Member of Parliament for Norwich. The Nightingale family name provided Florence and Parthenope access to numerous relatives and friends who became influential in their lives, especially to Florence in her religious formation as a young adult.

Nightingale was a very sensitive and inquisitive young woman who sought meaning and purpose to her life through her religion. Mary Shore Smith, referred to as "Aunt Mai" and the sister of Florence's father, was very helpful to Nightingale during the struggles of her life, often offering her guidance through written correspondence. In 1836, at the age of sixteen, Nightingale had a "religious conversion experience,"[3] an epiphany that was followed by a "call to service" from God on 7 February 1837 inspired by reading the work of Jacob Abbott, a Congregational minister and author of *The Corner-Stone; or, A Familiar Illustration of the Principles of Christian Truth* (1830). Edward T. Cook, her biographer, wrote about Nightingale's "call to service" as one of many crises she faced

in her inner life, noted that

> God called her to His service on February 7, 1837, at Embley; and there are later notes which still fix that day as the dawn of her true life. But as yet she knew not whither the Spirit was to lead. For three months, indeed, as she notes in another passage of retrospect, she "worked very hard among the poor people under a strong feeling of religion."[4]

Nightingale's new-found faith in God was bolstered by her evangelical Aunt Hannah Nicholson and her friend, Mary Clarke, with whom she corresponded regularly, expressing her innermost thoughts about how to comprehend the "unseen" spiritual world with the "seen" physical world. In a letter to Aunt Hannah, according to Cook, Nightingale expressed her devotion to her saying:

> "You always seem to rest on the heart of the divine Teacher, and to participate in His mysteries." "Your letters," she said on another occasion, "stay by me and warm me when the dreams of life come one after another, clouding and covering the realities of the unseen."[5]

It is fair to say that Nightingale's early religious convictions appear evangelical in nature and were undergirded by her spiritual mentors who encouraged their protégée to remain conscious of the realities of the "unseen" world, and "to make the presence of the Unseen a guide through the path of this present world."[6] According to David Bebbington, the four marks of evangelical Protestantism are:

> *conversionism*, the belief that lives need to be changed; *activism,* the expression of the gospel in effort; *Biblicism*, a particular regard for the Bible; and what may be called *crucicentrism,* a stress on the sacrifice of Christ on the cross. Together they form a quadrilateral of priorities that is the basis of Evangelicalism.[7]

Nightingale's religious experiences included a turn towards God, but there is no indication that she followed the traditional pattern so often read about in nineteenth-century religious biographies. According to Elisabeth Jay, religious biography was written according to a certain pattern of events: "the sinner moves away from worldly values, peaks in a personal conversion experience and then towards a practical piety of Christian

values."[8] In Nightingale's experiences of God there was no intense mortification of sin or recognition of Jesus Christ as the "one and only way" to realize God's presence in the world. Instead, Nightingale recognized the need to portray God as merciful rather than condemning toward humanity.

According to Nightingale, the reality of the "unseen" meant more to her than belief in an unknowable God and this realization led her to discovering ways of how one might recognize the power of God's presence in harmony with the knowledge of the world. For example, in Nightingale's essay, "What Is Christianity," she replied to Dr. John Sutherland's evangelical concerns, saying: "the wish *to be on the road* to one will in every human heart, the will to know such truth as is within the reach of humanity, concerning our common Father, our common Ruler, to have, as far as possible, one will with His."[9] At the centre of Nightingale's understanding of the gospel was the proclamation of unity with the Father and the human ability to "penetrate into the spirit, the character, the tendency of that law of God" in order that all of humanity can begin to recognize His goodness and have "one will with Him."[10]

Nightingale's faith and intellect continued to develop throughout the early years of her life. She became interested in reading and studying the lives of the mystics, especially St. Teresa of Avila and St. John of the Cross.[11] She also often turned to Thomas à Kempis' *The Imitation of Christ* during difficult moments of her life.[12] Nightingale became acquainted with a number of intellectuals in her early years, such as Baron Christian von Bunsen, a learned Prussian diplomat and biblical scholar, Julius Mohl, a German Orientalist, and many others. Nightingale received a strong foundation in pedagogy through her father, William during her early childhood. Nightingale noted:

> we used to read Tasso and Ariosto and Alfieri with my father . . . he was a good and always interested Italian scholar, never pedantic, never a tiresome grammarian, but he spoke Italian like an Italian and I took care of the verbs.[13]

Nightingale's father was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge. He was supportive in the education of his daughters during their childhood. According to Cook, Nightingale's own note-books show that in her teens she had mastered the elements of Latin and Greek. She analysed the Tusculan Disputations. She translated portions of the *Phaedo*, the *Crito*

and the *Apology*. She had studied Roman, German, Italian, and Turkish history. She had analysed Dugald Stewart's *Philosophy of the Human Mind*.[14]

Nightingale's interest in education was encouraged by her father; however, his support diminished when she expressed a desire to pursue the study of mathematics and nursing because such tasks were considered unacceptable behaviour to members of her class. In addition to Nightingale's education at home, friends of the family provided her with an opportunity to learn from their expertise in varying academic fields, including Bunsen in biblical scholarship and Mohl who introduced her to the study of comparative religion. In particular, Bunsen's work as a biblical scholar was highly regarded by Nightingale, and she sent him a manuscript of her *Suggestions for Thought*[15] seeking his comments.[16] In Bunsen's *God in History,* he contended that the progress of humanity marched parallel to the conception of God formed within each nation by the highest exponents of its thought.[17] As we shall see, Nightingale also believed that humanity continued to evolve morally as they observed and obeyed God's laws as set in motion in the world.

Nightingale's Pursuit to Fulfilling God's Call

Nightingale travelled abroad to Europe (1837-39), Rome (1847-48), and to Egypt, Greece and Europe (1849-1850), and her final trip to Europe was with family friends, Selina and Charles Bracebridge "who later accompanied her to Scutari in the Crimean War."[18] In Egypt, Nightingale wrestled with what her divine calling would entail. According to Michael Calabria, Nightingale recorded her activities and inner-most angst in a diary begun in January 1850 saying "God 'spoke' to her on several occasions."[19] She also meditated on words of advice given to her from her *madre*, Laure de Ste. Columbe, a Roman Catholic nun whom she met in Rome, along with the counsel of her evangelical friends, Mrs. Hill, an American missionary, and Mary Baldwin, a missionary whom she first met in Athens. Nightingale's newly formed friendships assisted her in discerning God's will for her life, as seen in a letter written to Aunt Mai:

> I am here in a missionary's house – a real missionary – not one "according to the use of the United Church of England" – but such as missionaries live in one's imagination – & it is interesting to me to see the "same mind as it was in Christ Jesus," clothed in a different coat, in different parts of the world – my Madre at Rome, whose mind

> was dressed in black & white nun's robes even more than her body – & the Evangelical American here, Mrs. Hill, my true missionary, are so alike – & both I see, are always listening for the voice of God, looking for his will.[20]

In addition to the counsel Nightingale received from her friends, she spent many hours reading scripture, often making notes of her reflections on the blank pages found in her King James Bible. As Lynn McDonald, editor of *Florence Nightingale's Spiritual Journey* points out, Nightingale's biblical annotations "range from vigorous, sometimes sarcastic demythologizing of texts to anguished prayers."[21] Nightingale's interpretation of scripture, as McDonald observes, were made over a period of thirty years (1844-75) and demonstrate how her faith and devotion to God continued to develop in relation to her role as a social reformer. Nightingale's religious opinions often conflicted with the beliefs of others, but this did not hinder her from considering the question of how God relates to humanity.

During travels with her friends Selina and Charles Bracebridge, Nightingale had two opportunities in 1850 and 1851 to visit the Kaiserswerth Deaconess Institution in Germany. Pastor Theodor Fliedner, a German Lutheran minister, established the first Protestant institution for deaconesses at Kaiserswerth-am-Rhein aimed at reactivating the ancient practice of women aiding "the lost, the crushed, and the poor."[22] Following the model of the early Christian church's diaconate, Pastor Fliedner incorporated ideas he learned from Elizabeth Fry and the Mennonites, therefore developing a plan whereby young women would learn how to care for orphans and the sick. For this, he needed to create an institute where women could learn the skills required to achieve this goal of caring for the needy of society. He opened the hospital and deaconess training center in Kaiserswerth on 13 October 1836. It was here that Nightingale began to envision the possibilities of initiating the development of nursing, which later became foundational to her mission of training women from a variety of social classes in nursing. Nightingale was slowly beginning to perceive God's design for her life, both in the structure of institutional nursing and in an attempt to challenge traditional views regarding women's roles as nurses.

Nightingale realized the difficulties she would confront from her upper-class peers by allowing women from all social classes to be trained as nurses. According to Calabria, Nightingale "traveled to Paris [in 1853]

where she resided with the Sisters of Charity and other nuns, working in their orphanage and hospital and inspecting other facilities in the city," which gave Nightingale an astute understanding of how the nuns worked within an organizational structure.[23] However, when considering women whose ethics were less desirable, Nightingale's frustration became evident in her observation that hospitals became "a school . . . where women of bad character are admitted as nurses, to become worse by their contact with male patients and young surgeons . . . we see the nurses drinking, we see the neglect at night owing to their falling asleep."[24] Despite the challenges of social conflict between nurses, Nightingale persevered in her leadership to bring together women in an attempt to care for the sick and dying.

After Nightingale's return to England from Egypt she experienced another "call" from God to be what she described as "a saviour."[25] According to E.T. Cook:

> Miss Nightingale records May 7, 1852, as the date at which she was conscious of God to be a "savior;" but the thought of devoting herself to be a nurse came much earlier. Mrs. Julia Ward Howe describes how during the visit of herself and her husband to Embley in 1844, Florence had taken Dr. Howe aside and asked him this question: "If I should determine to study nursing, and to devote my life to that profession, do you think it would be a dreadful thing?" Dr. Howe, it will be remembered, was of wide repute as a philanthropist, and Miss Nightingale thought much of his opinion. It was favourable to her wish. "Not a dreadful thing at all," he replied; "I think it would be a very good thing."[26]

The thought of devoting herself to becoming a "saviour" complemented Nightingale's call as a nurse, especially when comparing the concept of "healing" to a holistic definition of salvation which included the spiritual, mental and physical aspects of a person's well-being. Nightingale persevered in the conventions of her social class as a way of placating her parents and sister, patiently waiting to take another step closer to fulfilling her call. In April 1853, Nightingale was appointed as superintendent of the Establishment for Gentlewomen during Illness at Upper Harley Street, London, and later began to put together a plan to train nurses for the newly rebuilt King's College Hospital. The anticipation of her "call" to be a "saviour" was confirmed on 15 October 1854 at which time Sidney Herbert, Secretary of State at War wrote to Nightingale asking her to take

a party of nurses, at the expense of the government, to the hospital of Scutari, Balaclava in Turkey, in order to tend to wounded soldiers in the Crimean War (1854-56).[27] In one of the first groups of nurses to travel abroad Nightingale was accompanied by

> ten Roman Catholic Sisters (five from Bermondsey and five from Norwood), eight Anglican Sisters (from Miss Sellon's Home at Devonport), six nurses from St. John's House, and fourteen from various English hospitals. It has often been supposed that the nurses who accompanied Miss Nightingale were ladies of gentle birth, but, with a few exceptions, this was not the case. On the eve of their departure, the nurses were addressed by Mr. Herbert in his dining-room. He told them that if any desired to turn back, now was the time of decision, and he impressed upon them that all who went were bound implicitly to obey Miss Nightingale in all things.[28]

Nightingale was breaking new ground in her model of leadership for nursing when war presented new challenges and opportunities for women to prove their worth in providing assistance to surgeons in the operating rooms and in the practical necessities of life such as hygiene, nutrition and the planning required to improve the poor conditions of the hospital where they were stationed.

Nightingale's experiences of God, her travels, her reflections written in *Suggestions*, and her natural inquisitiveness to learn combined to give her the confidence she needed to pursue God's "call" in taking care of the sick and the poor. As superintendent during the Crimean War, Nightingale faced numerous challenges: obstruction from doctors in the surgical room, the trial of managing nurses due to differing moral values, as well as the discouraging death rate of soldiers in the war hospitals. It was only after the war that Nightingale read the data reported by the army and realized that 16,000 soldiers died not as a result of battle, but due to poor hygiene resulting from the inadequate disposal of sewage, disease and mismanagement by hospital administrators. On her return to England, Nightingale's new-found mission was to convince government officials of the need for health reforms during war efforts. Nightingale's time was primarily taken up with the need to reform nursing; however, she never lost sight of her ideal for a new religion in the hope that those outside the sacred sphere of the church would come to a practical knowledge of God's work and ways.

Nightingale's Practical Approach to Mysticism

Evelyn Underhill, in her book *Mysticism: A Study in the Nature and Development of Man's Spiritual Consciousness,* identifies two distinctively different mystical experiences: natural and religious mystical experiences. Natural mystical experiences are, for example, experiences of the "deeper self" or the experiences of oneness with nature. Underhill argues that the experiences typical of "natural mysticism" are quite different from those of religious mysticism. Natural mystical experiences are not considered to be religious experiences because they are not linked to a particular religious tradition, although they are spiritual experiences that can have a profound effect on the individual. Also known as naïve realism, there is a shifting of the world that takes place and the mystic bases her perceptions on science and materialism, placing reality within the consciousness of the individual mind. Underhill describes this concept as "transcending yet including the innumerable fragmentary worlds of individual conception."[29]

What appears uncertain is whether Nightingale's experience of God can be classified as either "natural" or "religious" mysticism, especially in light of Underhill's inference that Nightingale was a religious mystic similar to Joan of Arc. In order to answer the question of whether Nightingale was a traditional or modern mystic, one must further investigate her beliefs in respect to God. In Nightingale's experiences we find that she begins with an acknowledgement of God as the source of her beliefs. According to Michael Calabria, Nightingale's spirituality can be described as that of a religious medieval mystic – one that ultimately leads to union with God. Calabria states:

> at the heart of Nightingale's spiritual creed was a belief in an omnipotent spirit of righteousness [God] whose very thoughts were manifest as immutable laws. By means of these laws, humanity rises from the imperfect to the perfect and thus becomes an incarnation of the Divine.[30]

Nightingale was aware of the confessional creeds professed by both Protestants and Catholics; however, she was not satisfied until she found a more logical basis for the feelings of her heart. Therefore, Nightingale was driven toward a reconstruction of her religious creed as noted in her diary written during the year 1853. On a page placed opposite January for "Memoranda from 1852" is the following entry:

> The last day of the old year. I am so glad this year is over. Nevertheless it has not been wasted, I trust. I have remodelled my whole religious belief from beginning to end. I have learnt to know God. I have recast my social belief; have them both written for use, when my hour is come.[31]

Nightingale's diary entry refers to the manuscripts called respectively "Religion" and "Novel" in a letter written in 1852. The manuscripts were read by one or two friends and remained for some years in Nightingale's possession. In 1858 and 1859 she revisited the manuscripts when she was friends with Arthur Hugh Clough, an English poet, who was married to her cousin four years earlier. According to Cook, Clough was "doubtless one of the causes which led to an active resumption of her theological speculations."[32] Thus, Nightingale departed from the central tenet of the Christian tradition in that she does not acknowledge a divine Christ as the mediator between God and humanity. Instead, she declared it was possible for humans to become a vessel of God's divine will through the pursuit of righteousness found through God's laws.

Nightingale explained mysticism not just as an individual salvation experience transforming one into a new creation of God or "as an event in place or in time," but rather as a dynamic relationship to God the Father and the Spirit of the Son as "our inspiration and the motive of our action."[33] Her approach to knowing God began with an attempt "to realise, in thought and feeling, the immanence of the temporal in the eternal, and of the eternal in the temporal."[34] Nightingale acknowledged a gradual process of union with God similar to William Inge's description of *scala perfectionis* which was divided into three stages: the *purgative* or ascetic stage, the *illuminative* or *contemplative* stage, and the third, *unitive* stage, in which God may be beheld "face to face."[35]

The second stage, commonly known as "contemplation" in the Western tradition, refers to the experience of one's leading to union with God in some way. The experience of union varies, but it is first and foremost always associated with a reuniting with Divine *love.* The underlying theme here is that God, the perfect goodness, is known or experienced at least as much by the heart as by the intellect since, in the words of 1 John 4:16: "God is love. Whoever lives in love lives in God and God in him."[36] Some approaches to classical mysticism would consider the first two phases as preparatory to the third, explicitly mystical experience, but others state that these three phases overlap and intertwine. Nightingale acknowledged Western medieval mysticism, but preferred

factual "knowledge" in her experience of God described as "real mystical religion," saying:

> that in all our actions, all our words, all our thoughts, the food, the life in which we are to have our being, upon which we are to live, is to be the indwelling presence of God, the union with God, that is, with the Spirit of Goodness, Wisdom and Supreme Power in performing every act of our lives, from the highest prayer to the most everyday need, such as cleaning out a drain.[37]

Nightingale's spiritual awakening began with a call from God that included a realization of opening to a sacred dimension of reality; however, she strongly believed it was only upon active conformity to God's will that a person could come into union with the divine. What Nightingale adamantly opposed was the passivity of the medieval mystic's withdrawal from the world into a life of prayer. Her reasoning was that Christians should not retreat from the world, but rather combine faith in God along with research and policy in order to solve the social evils of life. Nightingale believed that the medieval mystics spent too much time in contemplative prayer within the seclusion of a monastery, instead of using their physical energy to perform simple acts.[38] In a note on the "Religious and Secular" Nightingale explained the problem of how the church divided the sacred from the secular spheres of their mission endeavours. She argued that God worked in both arenas of human endeavour as one divine sphere of His activity fulfilling His purposes. Nightingale used everyday examples, such as the labourer's job of "cleaning out a drain" and that of the church laity "electing a bishop" as both justifiable acts of importance in the sight of God. She explained how the mystical state could be made real in our work, stating "it is the art of building; it is raising and selling and buying food, fuel and clothing; it is everything which contributes to making our bodies, which are 'the temples of God.'"[39] What was most important to Nightingale was God's connectedness to humanity experienced in daily life rather than someone passively awaiting an ecstatic experience of God through the reception of visions caused by what she described as the mystical practice of "long fastings" and "long watchings."[40]

Nightingale understood the person of Jesus Christ as "the greatest mystic yet the most active reformer that ever lived."[41] The essence of true mysticism was to be found in the words of Christ, "And my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him"

(John 14:23). In Nightingale's opinion, there was a realization of "God being everything to us," inspiring humanity in all their life actions.[42] God was an "Ideal" in that He is present in our world through a practical way of living with ideas and not in an objective sense of manmade ideas of God. "God dwells within," and so, in Nightingale's opinion, humanity will realize union with God by comprehending the natural laws of God in life and taking action as moral agents in the betterment of society. In this way, God's perfect will would ultimately lead humanity as a whole to the realization of perfection and happiness in the world overall.

A Moral View of "Perfection"

Nightingale was neither a theist nor an atheist, but someone who enjoyed writing about "the laws of a moral world, especially as exemplifying, if possible, the character of a perfect God, in bringing [humanity] to perfection through them in eternity."[43] Her understanding of God's perfect nature in relationship to creation is explained in her *Suggestions for Thought*:

> "Be ye perfect, even as your Father in heaven is perfect." Yet will man never be God, but one with God; and when he suffers, he will yet have joy in feeling "Thy will be done." This is not pantheism, which asserts that man will be merged in God and lose his individuality. "The spirit returns to God who gave it" *is* pantheism. And this cannot be true in the sense that it ceases to have a separate existence.[44]

Union with God was described by Nightingale as the "kingdom of heaven within," which emphasized the uniqueness of the individual in the "here and now" and "in eternity" as a spirit-filled "subject" in relationship to God as "subject." Similar to Martin Buber's philosophy of "I-Thou,"[45] Nightingale placed an emphasis upon a relational Spirit present in creation. Nightingale believed in God's immanence, yet confronted the pantheist ideal of mystics who speculated that the human soul/spirit was being absorbed into God's Spirit of Oneness.[46] She suggested instead that humans were intended by God to be individual personalities in a cooperative relationship of being "one with Him . . . not prostrate before Him."[47] The individual "self" was considered by Nightingale to be an elevated partner with God in achieving good in the world. Rather than focusing on a sovereign transcendent God – as traditional orthodox theology had been prone to do – Nightingale and others sought to show God as active prior

to the creation of the world through a belief in law.

Nightingale's view of God included a relationship to the material world, but how did her theology of God compare to a Western Christian definition of perfection as described above? In Debra Jensen's article, "Florence Nightingale's Mystical Vision and Social Action," she states that Nightingale's mysticism is similar to an incarnational theology of Eastern "divinization" rather than a western model of mysticism.[48] Jensen describes the Western interior relationship to God as an extant form of "self-transcendence" in which the mystic seeks union to the divine. She explains Nightingale's objection to a Kantian "dualism,"[49] "in saying that we create God after our own image" and, therefore, humanity cannot produce knowledge of a transcendent being. The problem, stated Nightingale, was in the way people projected their own image of God onto God, rather than through their ability to use "our own faculties, moral and intellectual and perceptive."[50] Nightingale explained God's character as appearing visible to humanity, as shown through the achievement of their work on his behalf. She states, "is it [work] not to be the incarnation of our religion, of our knowledge of God's work and ways, and our religion the ideal of our work?"[51] God's qualitative character was at work in the world and could be realized by the person who was willing to discern His will in the laws of nature. In this respect, Nightingale departed from a mystical articulation of God falling more within a practical moralistic view of God.

In response to the question of evil and suffering, Nightingale objected to the Kantian moral imperative of "man's propensity to evil,"[52] which only created a difficulty in explaining how "good" and "evil" exist in God's creation. In contrast to Kant's moral foundation of rational faith, Nightingale placed "evil" within God's creation as a natural force to be reckoned with in life as one used their "free will" to choose between "good" and "evil" without dependence upon supernatural aid as a first resource. Only when individuals chose "good" in their own power would they evolve to becoming more like the image of a perfect God. Nightingale wrestled with questions, such as, "What is God's freedom?" and "What is the freedom that we must attain to be like Him?" answering herself by saying, "It embraces in itself the whole problem of human life, of the . . . end of man, of free will and Providence, of the existence of evil and – if God is Perfect – of perfection, and salvation, prayer and the relation between God and man."[53] Nightingale's view of the world began with the human decision to aspire after the perfections of God seeking liberation to become like God who alone is free. Her view of humanity included their

ability to pursue "truth" which was "necessary to [our] becoming like God."[54] It was our duty to obey God's laws, to rule in harmony with creation, and to use science as an ideal of God's perfect nature allowing his salvation to lead us to perfection in the world.

Throughout Nightingale's life there was an emphasis upon human action taking place within this present lifetime with the hope of continuing one's activities in a future eternal realm. Her thinking confronted modern humanity with the challenge of facing problems rather than using escapism as a way of dismissing the future into the divine hands of a merciful God. Nightingale's "way to perfection" may, in Jensen's opinion, reflect an Eastern practice of "divinization;" nevertheless, in her "Notes on Devotional Authors" Nightingale often quoted Western mystics, such as Thomas à Kempis and Teresa of Avila, who sought a self-transcendent union with God. If, as Jensen states, "she divorces mystical experience from any connection to organized religion, to place it within the individual," then that form of mysticism may include "reason" as its beginning point, a stance more reflective of a Western mysticism.[55] The aversion to religiosity typically expressed within the tradition of mysticism was a similar trait shown in Nightingale's hesitation to include the possibility of reform in the institutional Church. Instead her ideal of a new religion dwelt upon the individual responsibility to reform society and carry out God's plan towards a new morality for humanity.

A Vision for a New Moral World

The foundation of Nightingale's religious thought rested upon the work of a perfect God whose perfection is a "Perfect Spirit of Love" who was bringing his human creatures to achieve a finite perfection and experience an everlasting happiness; as a consequence, it was important to let every ideal be tested by the realities of life. In Nightingale's unpublished essay, "Christian Fellowship/God's Fellowship" she stated how the "realities of life" should be looked at comprehensively "in relation to all being and all successions of being" in order to "see as God sees which is the ideal, which is the truth."[56] If we analyze this statement, we are able to ascertain that Nightingale's goal in life was to actively pursue the ideal of God's perfection while comprehending/meditating on life itself. As Younghusband states, "for this experience of the fundamental realities of existence gained in meditation is life itself – not merely the means to it, as is that part of life concerned with . . . ordinary social

amenities. It is of the very essence of life."[57] Nightingale would agree with this view including the use of social science as a means of comprehending God's will and acting upon the facts discovered in her research into war statistics. Nightingale began her acknowledgment of God approaching the real world, studying it, and without false anticipations sought factual scientific evidence to support her understanding of God. She used the empirical methodology of induction set forth by Francis Bacon as a platform for her reasoning; additionally, she drew from the work of L.A.J. Quetelet who inspired her to incorporate the collection of statistics in her research of facts as a "law" that "brings us continually back to God instead of carrying us away."[58] In other words, Nightingale placed God as the sovereign power who rules over laws – much like the law of gravitation or Quetelet's statistical findings – in order to explain the laws of human behaviour.

What Nightingale hoped to achieve through the use of her own moral views was to promote a way forward to actualizing God's moral government in the world. Nightingale used terminology such as the "collective nation" and the "brotherhood" of humanity in her writings, which could be easily interpreted as an ideal for moral life together in community with one another. The importance of communal relationships was based on the concept of "brotherhood" – a cardinal principle Nightingale indirectly made reference to in her discussion of Poor Law relief.[59] She spoke of how important the human emotion of "feeling" was in relation to charity, and that without pursuing further knowledge of a particular situation, it was next to impossible to bring about transformation for those in despair. In Nightingale's opinion, "individual feeling and influence is the best invention hitherto found for bringing the man (or woman or child) to his work, and work to the man."[60] In other words, a community effort to understand the plight of those who are unemployed can only result in a proactive solution that helps them find jobs.

Nightingale's faith and her use of social sciences combined to provide her with a solid basis to evaluate the social evils British society faced in the nineteenth century. She believed that her new approach to religion in a modern society was just as capable of working as any other scientific or philosophical presupposition being promoted during that time, since her view point was based on the universal absolute of natural law and a uniform set of principles. Her set of principles were that God is love, God is just and God is happy; she believed that these qualitative attributes of God would end up flooding the whole moral world and encourage

people to uphold Christian ethical values. What ultimately stood out as "truthful" to Nightingale was the testimony of her own work, a corpus that most likely exceeded her own youthful ambitions. Perhaps Nightingale's religious philosophy is one example of how faith and modern science can discover commonalities between these two realities.

Conclusion

Florence Nightingale was not a typical medieval mystic, but someone who lived with a passion to carry out the "calling" of God given to her as a service to humanity in health care and as a social reformer. Her faith was undergirded by the discovery of God's reality in the problems of life. My purpose in this paper was to discover whether Nightingale was a mystic or a moralist. What I have found is that Nightingale was a modern mystic who was interested in religious medieval mystics; but rather than adhere to their typical lifestyle of withdrawal from the world, she preferred to use her faith and the knowledge of empirical science as a foundation of God's concrete interaction with the world. As Nightingale's religious ideas developed, so did her understanding of the social sciences. Her goal was to educate the British public to her new religious ideal of God in the pursuit of human "perfection" in order to promote the progressive moral improvement of human society.

Nightingale was a free thinker who proposed a new religion for a modern era of thinkers using the moral precept of a "Perfect" God in order to give humanity hope despite the overwhelming presence of poverty, injustice, and the devastation of war in society. Religious faith in God's salvation of humanity was no longer considered the "one way" through divine revelation of God, but now became an evolutionary confidence or revolutionary belief in an eventual this-worldly utopia whose realization could be expedited by the application of human reason to nature and society. Without slipping into the prevailing dominance of secularization that existed during the modern era, Nightingale heralded the coming scientific civilization as a movement towards social reform coincident with the message of Christianity. There was a confidence in human progress toward goodness akin to a biblical faith in humanity's spiritual evolution and future consummation. For Nightingale, religious faith was in God's perfect plan for humanity attaining moral progress in response to the laws of nature set in motion from the beginning of time.

Endnotes

1. Evelyn Underhill, *Practical Mysticism: A Little Book for Normal People* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1943), x.

2. Lynn McDonald, *Florence Nightingale at First Hand* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2010), 8.

3. Lynn McDonald, ed., *Florence Nightingale's Suggestions for Thought*, vol. 11 of *The Collected Works of Florence Nightingale*, 16 vols. (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2008), xii.

4. E.T. Cook, *The Life of Florence Nightingale*, 2 vols. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1913), I: 15.

5. Cook, *Florence Nightingale*, I: 47.

6. Cook, *Florence Nightingale*, I: 50.

7. David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 2-3.

8. Elisabeth Jay, *The Religion of the Heart: Anglican Evangelicalism and the Nineteenth-Century Novel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 60.

9. McDonald, ed., *Suggestions for Thought*, 260.

10. McDonald, ed., *Suggestions for Thought*, 260.

11. Nightingale's study of the medieval mystics and their devotional sayings continued in1872-73 when she translated select mystical writings from French into English in a work entitled, *Notes from Devotional Authors of the Middle Ages, Collected, Chosen and Freely Translated by Florence Nightingale.* The notes were refused publication by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the translations were destroyed leaving only the notes behind. See Gérard Vallée, ed., *Florence Nightingale on Mysticism and Eastern Religions*, volume 11 of *The Collected Works of Florence Nightingale*, 16 vols. (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2003), 11.

12. Nightingale read Thomas à Kempis' *The Imitation of Christ* just a day before leaving for the Crimean War copying out a prayer written by Mme Elisabeth, sister of Louis XVI in French, which she dated 20 October 1854. The prayer gave Nightingale assurance that all things happen according to God's will from "all eternity." See Vallée, ed., *Florence Nightingale on Mysticism and Eastern Religions*, 82-83.

13. Cook*, Florence Nightingale*, I: 12.

14. Cook, *Florence Nightingale*, I: 13.

15. *What began as a sixty-eight page manuscript entitled Suggestions for Thought to Searchers after Religious Truth,* expanded to an 829 page, three volume work printed privately by Nightingale in 1860.

16. McDonald, ed., *Suggestions for Thought*, 33.

17. Augustus J. Cuthbert, *The Life and Letters of Frances Baroness Bunsen* (New York: Routledge, 1879), 20.

18. McDonald, *Florence Nightingale at First Hand,* 6.

19. Michael Calabria, *Florence Nightingale in Egypt and Greece: Her Diary and Visions* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), 5.

20. Calabria, *Florence Nightingale in Egypt and Greece*, 57.

21. Lynn McDonald, ed., *Florence Nightingale's Spiritual Journey: Biblical Annotations, Sermons, and Journal Notes*, vol. 2 of *The Collected Works of Florence Nightingale*, 16 vols. (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 2002), 93.

22. "A Background of the Deaconess Community," The Deaconess Community of the ELCA, available at http://www.archive.elca.org/deaconess/Images/DEA4.swf (accessed 19 June 2011).

23. Calabria, *Florence Nightingale in Egypt and Greece,* 148.

24. Cook, *Florence Nightingale,* I: 442.

25. Barbara M. Dossey, "Florence Nightingale: A Ninetheenth-Century Mystic," *Journal of Holistic Nursing* 16, no. 2 (1998): 133.

26. Cook, *Florence Nightingale*, I: 43.

27. Cook, *Florence Nightingale*, I: 152-53.

28. Cook, *Florence Nightingale*, I: 159.

29. Evelyn Underhill, *Mysticism: A Study in the Nature and Development of Man`s Spiritual Consciousness* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1961), 11.

30. Calabria, *Florence Nightingale in Egypt and Greece*, 8.

31. Cook, *Florence Nightingale*, I: 467.

32. Cook, *Florence Nightingale*, I: 467.

33. Gérard Vallée, ed., *Florence Nightingale on Mysticism and Eastern Religions,* 19.

34. William Ralph Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, 7th ed. (New York: Meridian Books, 1956), 5.

35. Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, 9-10.

36. Kenneth Barker, gen. ed., *The NIV Study Bible* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1985).

37. Vallée, ed., *Florence Nightingale on Mysticism and Eastern Religions*, 19.

38. Vallée, ed., *Florence Nightingale on Mysticism and Eastern Religions*, 19.

39. McDonald, ed., *Florence Nightingale's Theology: Essays, Letters, and Journal Notes*, volume 3 of *The Collected Works of Florence Nightingale*, 16 vols. (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 2002), 241.

40. Vallée, ed., *Florence Nightingale on Mysticism and Eastern Religions*, 22.

41. Vallée, ed., *Florence Nightingale on Mysticism and Eastern Religions*, 19.

42. Vallée, ed., *Florence Nightingale on Mysticism and Eastern Religions*, 19.

43. Vallée, ed., *Florence Nightingale on Mysticism and Eastern Religions*, 501.

44. McDonald, ed., *Suggestions for Thought*, 121.

45. Martin Buber (1878-1965) was a leading religious existentialist and author of *I and Thou* which made an important distinction between the I-it relationship people have with objects and the dialogical relationship that can occur between persons. Buber argued that the I-thou relationship can be used as an analogy of how God, the ultimate Thou, can be known by humanity. See C. Stephen Evans, *Pocket Dictionary of Apologetics & Philosophy of Religion* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2002), 18.

46. Nightingale was careful in her wording in order to make it clear she did not agree with the mystic portrayal of God uniting humanity with Himself to the point where the individual "self" dissipates into the essence of God. What is left is the contemplative "inner life" rather than an expression of both the "inner" and "outer life" in practical works. She would agree with Inge's observation of the mystical life in that "we must be conscious of ourselves in |God, and conscious of ourselves in ourselves. For eternal life consists in the knowledge of God, and there can be no knowledge without self-consciousness." See Inge, *Christian Mysticism,* 170-71.

47. McDonald, ed., *Suggestions for Thought*, 288.

48. Debra Jensen, "Florence Nightingale's Mystical Vision and Social Action," *Scottish Journal of Religious Studies* 19, no. 1(1998): 72.

49. Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) synthesized the insights of both rationalism and empiricism. Kant viewed natural theology as a failure saying that theoretical knowledge of God is impossible and therefore recognizing that within the limits of reason we must exercise a rational, moral faith. See Evans, *Pocket Dictionary of Apologetics and Philosophy of Religion*, 65.

50. McDonald, ed., *Florence Nightingale's Theology*, 82.

51. McDonald, ed., *Florence Nightingale's Theology*, 82.

52. Kant began with the presupposition that "man is corrupt in the very ground of his maxims" and that through divine cooperation can overcome the "radical corruption of the will." Kant's moral imperative suggests that "despite the fall, the injunction that we *ought* to become better men resounds unabatedly in our souls; hence this must be within our power . . . even though we thereby only render ourselves susceptible of higher and for us inscrutable assistance." See James C. Livingstone, *Modern Christian Thought: The Enlightenment and the Nineteenth Century* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006), 65.

53. McDonald, ed., *Florence Nightingale's Theology*, 50.

54. McDonald, ed., *Florence Nightingale's Theology*, 51.

55. Jensen, "Florence Nightingale's Mystical Vision," 70.

56. McDonald, ed., *Florence Nightingale's Theology*, 130.

57. Francis Younghusband, *Modern Mystics*, 2nd ed. (New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1967), 305.

58. McDonald, ed., *Suggestions for Thought,* 167.

59. McDonald, ed., *Florence Nightingale's Theology*, 161.

60. McDonald, ed., *Florence Nightingale's Theology*, 161.

The Question of Women's Leadership: Tensions in the Life and Thought of Isabel Crawford

MARILYN FÄRDIG WHITELEY
Independent Scholar, Guelph, Ontario

In May 1893, Isabel Crawford awaited her graduation from the Baptist Missionary Training School in Chicago. As she waited, she attended many events of the World's Congress of Representative Women, held as part of the World's Columbian Exposition. Afterwards she wrote indignantly that "Eight female ministers were seated on the platform one day & gave their experiences. I was thoroughly disgusted with the whole caboodle of them. One free Will Baptist said she had baptized fifteen on one occasion & I couldn't help but wish she had been drowned on the spot."[1] More than sixty years later, at the age of ninety, she restated her position: "I'm afraid I'm not a believer in women preachers."[2]

Yet that is not the whole picture. Crawford's sense of call was strong, and both in her writing and in her speaking, she reported that her father had hoped that his one son would follow him into the ministry. She continued, "his prayers were answered only God had quietly called his daughter instead of his son!"[3] As she answered her calling, she frequently did work outside of customary gender boundaries: once, while serving as a missionary on the Seneca reservations in western New York, she even presided at the Lord's Supper. Clearly Crawford's views on women's religious leadership and the ordination of women were more complex than her direct statements might suggest.

Crawford considered Anna Howard Shaw the "leading spirit" of the female preachers she heard at the women's congress in Chicago. In 1880 Shaw was ordained into the ministry of the Methodist Protestant Church,

but she held a pastorate only briefly before devoting her energies to the women's suffrage movement. Others, however, remained in the pastorate, and their voices challenged Crawford and members of both mainline and conservative denominations. Thus the study of Isabel Crawford's life and thought provides insight into how one woman dealt with the dilemma of changing views on women's religious leadership during this period of transition.

Isabel Alice Hartley Crawford was born in Cheltenham, Ontario, in 1865, the fourth child of a Scots-Irish Baptist minister and his Irish wife. John Crawford moved his family first to Woodstock, Ontario, where he taught theology at the Canadian Literary Institute, and then to Rapid City, Manitoba, where he founded Prairie College, to train men for ministry on the prairies. After its failure, John obtained a pastorate in North Dakota, but before his wife and youngest daughter could join him there, Isabel became seriously ill and lost most of her hearing. Following their years in North Dakota, her parents returned to Ontario, and Isabel went to Chicago to study at the American Baptist Missionary Training School. After her graduation in 1893, the Women's Baptist Home Mission Society assigned her to work with the Kiowas in southwestern Oklahoma.

Before she travelled across the country to take up her assignment, Crawford spoke at the Baptist state convention in Jerseyville, Illinois. There she assured the assembled ministers of the traditional views of the women being sent forth:

> When we graduate we are not preachers or women wanting to usurp authority over our brethren in the ministry but we are humble followers of Jesus Christ willing in a sweet mild Christ-like way to carry the gospel into the homes & hearts of the women of our land & when we have won them to the blessed Master we bring them to you my brethren to baptize & to help strengthen you & uphold you in your greater work![4]

During the next two and a half years, Crawford attempted to live out this missionary role as she worked especially among the Kiowa women, teaching them such domestic skills as sewing and polishing their stoves. Yet the needs of the people pushed her across traditional gender boundaries. Following the disappearance of the buffalo, the Kiowas had been placed on a reservation and encouraged to farm. The land was marginal, however, and the people were not taught agricultural skills. By the spring of 1895, Crawford realized that she needed to become "Government

farmer as well as soul farmer for them," and she attempted to teach Chief Lone Wolf and his people to plough and plant and hoe.[5] Yet at the same time that she took on the male role of farm instructor, she lamented the Kiowas' lack of what seemed to her appropriate gender roles, for the Kiowa women planted and tended the crops alongside the men. Crawford looked forward to a time when she could expect "the woman to devote her time to the house."[6]

But Crawford had not come to Oklahoma to teach farming or even domestic skills, and progress along "spiritual" lines was slow. Besides Crawford, a missionary couple was working at Elk Creek, and yet the population of Kiowas there was very low. So when a Kiowa leader invited her to work within a larger Indian community at Saddle Mountain, she first accepted the invitation and then sought permission from the women's mission society. When she made the move, she impressed the Saddle Mountain Kiowas by coming among them "all alone and no skeered."[7]

The women's mission society not only approved Crawford's decision to open a new mission, but in October, 1897, they sent her an assistant, Mary McLean. McLean freely acknowledged that she could not do "the missionary part of the work," but, she wrote, "I'm sure I can take some of the responsibilities off your shoulders."[8] Thus Crawford had an associate who took on much of the role commonly assumed by a missionary's wife, while Crawford acted as the missionary.

Crawford's mission work bore fruit, but because she was a woman sent out by the women's society, she could not form her converts into a church. Instead, in May, 1898, she helped them organize a branch of the women's missionary society which, with the consent of the denominational organization, admitted men. This seemed to be a satisfactory arrangement until preparation was made to open up the reservation. Before the land was made available to settlers, each Indian was to receive an allotment of land, and similarly each mission church would also receive acreage. Crawford wrote to the Indian Commissioner, W.A. Jones: "Fortunately or unfortunately I am not a believer in women preachers & instead of having a church organized I have had all the converts unite with the nearest one, 17 miles distant, at Rainy Mountain. We have however a missionary organization known as God's Light upon the Mountain which is recognized as a part of the Women's Baptist Home Mission Society just as surely as the other missions are branches of the American Baptist Home Mission Society."[9] Thanks to Crawford's appeal and Jones's efforts, the Women's Home Mission Society received land for the Saddle Mountain

mission just as the denominational Home Mission Society did for the churches on its mission stations.

Raising the money and doing most of the work themselves, the Saddle Mountain Christians built a church on the allotted land. In August, 1903, a church was organized and the building dedicated. Sixty-five people transferred their membership to Saddle Mountain from the Rainy Mountain church. They were familiar with the ordinances of the church, and in September they wanted to celebrate the Lord's Supper. However, they had no pastor. Thanks to her extensive instruction from her father as well as to her formal education, Crawford was confident in her knowledge of Baptist principles, and she told them that a congregation without a pastor could choose one of its own to preside at the ordinance. The members selected Lucius Aitsan, its interpreter and one of its deacons, and the service was held. Yet afterwards Crawford recorded in her journal her uncertainty about what role she ought to play:

> Why has the Lord asked me to do work without a *clear pattern*. There were no women preachers [among the 12 or the 70]. A woman's place is making home happy not parading in public. If she hasn't a home of her own she may try to make other homes happy. If public work is not a woman's sphere & a woman tries to do a man's work she surely must be wrong, & if we are to shun the appearance of evil I am surely not shunning it. O for a plain path! Why do I fear thus? Lead me O thou great Jehovah. My heart is burdened & my eyes see not the Light. Lord what wilt *thou* have me do. If the Indians had not consented to Lucius taking the lead in this matter I don't believe I could have gone ahead with it. Then what? Would I have been right or wrong?[10]

Word filtered back to both the denominational and the women's home mission societies that Crawford herself had administered the ordinance herself, and the officials were horrified. The women's society was satisfied after Crawford clarified the situation, but officers in the denominational group were not.[11]

As the resulting controversy continued, Crawford received a letter from Charles Stanton, pastor of an Ohio church of which a good friend of Crawford's was a member. He wrote, "If an ordained administrator is insisted upon why not ask for ordination yourself? Your knowledge of doctrine is sufficient to warrant it. Your ability to succeed in the work could not be questioned. The only objections would be that you are a

woman and then some might falter at your position on the ordinances. Neither of these however need be unsurmountable." Crawford firmly rejected the suggestion: "It is bad enough to be called an old maid, but to be called A Reverend Old Maid would finish me in 24 hrs!" [12]

At its annual meeting in 1905, the association of Indian Baptist churches passed a resolution expressing its sorrow that one of its churches had "deviated from the orderly practice of Baptist Churches in the administration of the Lord's Supper."[13] The next year, the women's home mission society tried to have the resolution rescinded. When that failed, Crawford resigned, feeling that her influence had been irreparably undermined. She left Saddle Mountain at the beginning of December, 1906.

The Women's Baptist Home Mission Society faithfully supported Crawford throughout the conflict, and she remained in its employ after leaving Oklahoma. For several years she followed a strenuous itinerary set for her by the society, speaking on behalf of missions. Then, in 1915, she was assigned to work among the Senecas and Tuscaroras on four reservations in western New York. This was not a new field as the Kiowa reservation had been. Missionaries had come to the area many years earlier, and there were even church buildings – but no trained Baptist pastors regularly visited the people. In fact, there was only one resident minister of any denomination on the four reservations. Crawford set to work.

On 11 June 1916, on the Allegany reservation, the native supply pastor did not appear, so Crawford conducted the morning service. Then an old man arrived, carrying all the items needed for the Lord's Supper. He arranged things on the table in front of the pulpit and then signalled to Crawford that everything was ready. In her journal she wrote:

> I fairly gasped & turning to the deacons said simply: "This is good. I am glad you are remembering Jesus as he requested. You deacons can conduct the service." Deacon Warrior shook his gray head & stepped away. Deacon Amos George sat down in the deacon's chair. There was no alternative. Rising from my seat in the congregation, after receiving the assurance & approval of the Holy Spirit, I said: "It is not customary for a woman to administer this ordinance. There is a command that we observe it and it is left with the church to arrange how it is to be done. I am not a member of this church, but if you vote to have me take charge of the ordinance I will do so." Deacon Warrior made the motion, Deacon George seconded it, & we broke bread together!!![14]

Thus Isabel Crawford did what she had been falsely accused of doing at Saddle Mountain. But here there were no reports and no repercussions.

The following January, Crawford expressed to the women's board her dissatisfaction with the current arrangements. Each of the reservations needed a missionary, and Crawford suggested that she be given a home base in Buffalo from which she could travel to the reservations and make plans for the increased work. She wrote, "If the Board of the Women's American Baptist Home Mission Society thinks favorably on this proposition, Isabel Crawford is willing once more to undertake a man's job in your appreciated employ."[15]

The job was difficult. One of the problems was an untrained native pastor who insisted that it was necessary to be baptized, and specifically to be immersed, in order to be saved. Crawford believed that this was not only unsound in theology but also dangerous in practice, for in his zeal to baptize he brought many into the church who received no further instruction in the faith. Also there were Presbyterians in the community who had no services of their own, but Baptists who espoused the preacher's teaching treated them coldly instead of welcoming them to their services. Yet once when Crawford challenged the pastor on this point of doctrine, he replied, "Are you ordained?"[16]

Crawford mounted a spirited opposition to a plan whereby the Baptist church on the Allegany reservation would become Presbyterian and the Presbyterian church on the Tuscarora reservation would become Baptist. In this she succeeded, but her urgent pleas to the mission boards to staff properly the New York reservations bore no fruit. Finally, in 1921, she resigned, stating that for five years she had been "trying to handle a man's job."[17] But, she explained to a friend, "God has not called me to do a man's work."[18]

For nine more years, Crawford did deputation work, travelling from coast to coast on behalf of the women's board. In New York City in 1930, she fell and broke her leg. The medical treatment she received was woefully inadequate, and she was never again able to walk without crutches. Because of her disability, she retired that year at age 65. During the next years she lived in Florida, and in 1942 she returned to Canada. She lived in Grimsby, Ontario, with two nieces, and died there in 1961. At her request, her body was returned to Saddle Mountain for burial in the Native cemetery there.

Isabel Crawford's ministry shows a certain tension regarding gender

roles. In principle, she maintained the traditional boundaries and committed herself to a "womanly" role. Yet as she herself sometimes recognized, she could on occasion step outside of that limitation and do a "man's job," all the while hoping that the native women with whom she worked would someday learn to work within women's proper sphere.

In her stated views on preaching, she was more consistent. When she spoke at a church in Buffalo in 1896, the program announced that the sermon would be given by Miss B. Crawford. She wrote, "Of course I told them I wasn't a preacher but a woman trying to do a woman's work in a womanly way."[19] Two years later, in a journal entry she stated, "Lord Jesus let me be a teacher but never a preacher!"[20] She believed that "God has called me to teach the gospel not to preach it,"[21] for she felt that Jesus had said "to His brethren, go preach & to His sister 'go tell.'"[22]

The Saddle Mountain Christians raised almost all the money necessary to construct their church, but the building was graced with several gifts from friends of the mission. Among them were stained glass windows. The centre window at the front proclaimed, "We teach Christ and Him crucified." Crawford explained, "I didn't want to see the word 'preach' facing me every time I gave the gospel message because it struck me as belonging to the masculine gender."[23] Yet it is difficult to determine to what extent Crawford's "gospel message" differed from "preaching."

Many years later when Crawford visited Oklahoma and attended the Indian Baptist Assembly she was asked to preach the doctrinal sermon. At first she refused, but finally she gave in, saying, "All right. I don't preach – 'm a women – but as for the doctrines of our faith I'm sound & can speak on any of them & will likely bring them all in."[24] The sermon was very well received, but its hearers were aware of its novelty: during the rest of the meeting, each of the Indians giving testimony referred to the sermon "preached by a lady."[25]

Similarly Crawford maintained her views regarding ordination, at least for herself. In a 1937 biographical sketch she stated, "In 1906 I gave up the work because I was not an ordained minister and didn't want to be."[26] In the unpublished manuscript that Crawford wrote in 1955, at age ninety, she repeated her longstanding opposition to the ordination of women. After she stated, "I'm afraid I'm not a believer in women preachers," she continued:

> A woman may have to chop wood because there is no man around but because she is able to do it is no reason why she should feel set apart

> to do it all the time though a few husbands might not object. There were no women among the twelve apostles and I couldn't find any women preachers mentioned any where in the Bible. They were helpers and mother-teachers though and for these womenly [*sic*] qualities were given a prominent place in the Book.[27]

This is one of several times that Crawford stated her objection to the ordination of women: there were no women among the apostles. In June 1920, the Convention of the Northern Baptists was held in Buffalo. That was near enough to Crawford's mission field so that could attend. There had been an undercurrent of division within the denomination between liberalizing members and anti-modernists, and Curtis Lee Laws, editor if the Baptist *Watchman Examiner*, called for a General Conference on Fundamentals, to be held immediately before the convention. Crawford attended, and she came to identify herself as a fundamentalist, though she could also make light of the designation. (She had a lively wit, and once wrote, "Of course I am a Fundamentalist, strong on the "*fun*" & weak on the "mental.")[28]

During a number of summers, Crawford spent time at the Chautauqua Institution in New York. In 1920, Shailer Mathews was one of the speakers, and Crawford lamented his liberalism. She wrote, "Bah! My father studied science as much as Dr. M but he chose to stand by the creation in the old Book."[29] Here Crawford showed the basis for the literalism that provided a foundation for her opinions on the proper role for women, namely the teaching of her father. Her parents were not able to provide her with the advanced schooling enjoyed by her two sisters, but they compensated by instructing her during the evening while the three of them lived in North Dakota. John Crawford was a graduate of Stepney College in England, and he received a Doctor of Divinity degree from Acadia University in 1875. While serving his pastorate in North Dakota, Crawford became concerned as he observed the "mischievous doctrine of evolution sweep the country," and he developed a series of lectures presenting his views in churches throughout the state.[30] His daughter Isabel travelled with him to give bits of entertainment as an elocutionist, lighter interludes between sections of her father's weighty lectures.

Crawford felt that her father's instruction had prepared her well for her study at the Missionary Training School, where many of the lectures were given by the leading Baptist clergy in the Chicago area. Her bond with her father was strong, and he remained her authority long after his death 1892; in a letter in 1950, when she was nearly eighty years old, she

continued to extol the virtues of her "wonderful and consecrated father."[31] As she retained his memory, she also retained his theology, and thus she rejected any modernizing tendencies that came to be accepted within part of the American Baptist church.

Yet at the same time that her father provided Isabel Crawford with a strong example in his adherence to a theological tradition, he sent another example that may have influenced his youngest daughter: he modelled for her a strong, independent spirit. John Crawford's father, Hugh Crawford, was a Scots-Irish Presbyterian, and when during his teens John was converted and became a Baptist, Hugh disinherited him and tossed him out of the house. Undismayed, John became a Baptist pastor in England, but that life held poor prospects, so he immigrated to Canada with his wife and their two young daughters, selling their wedding presents to pay for their passage. Leaving his family in Halifax, he went on to Toronto and then walked north until he found a Baptist congregation willing to hire him as their pastor; then he returned to Halifax and brought the family with him to Cheltenham. After a relatively settled life there and in Woodstock, he again sold everything he owned in order to found Prairie College in Manitoba. When it failed, he had nothing, but he always trusted that God would provide.

Writing about this in that same 1950 letter, Isabel Crawford attributed her father's bold actions to his "call from above," and she asserted that she would not have "shared her lot with the 'Wild Indians' and her bed with dogs, hogs, fleas, bedbugs and rain, to say nothing of the privations and hunger, without having heard that same call."[32] This is the basis that she gave for the courage and the independent spirit that motivated her to withstand the hardships of her mission. It was she, not her brother, who had been called into the ministry. She seemed less aware, however, that her independent spirit and her call to do what need and principle required also drew her to go beyond the usual boundaries of women's leadership in her denomination and at that time.

Maintaining a literalist interpretation of the Bible, she rejected the idea of women's ordination, but in the statement that she wrote six years before her death, Crawford made one significant concession. She said, "Although I am not a believer in the ordination of women I am in a believer in others having the right to decide the matter for themselves and being ordained if the church so votes.[33] Though fiercely loyal to the church that her father had chosen and to which she had dedicated her considerable energies, she no longer retained the antipathy toward women ministers that

she had shown as a student in Chicago. Perhaps others might be ordained, but she had exercised her call to ministry in the way she felt befitted a Baptist loyal to the faith of her father.

Endnotes

1. Isabel Crawford, "Journal 1891-1893," 131. Isabel Crawford Collection, American Baptist Archives, Atlanta, Georgia (hereafter ABA).
2. Isabel Crawford, "Forever Moving," (January-September 1955), 70. Unpublished manuscript in the possession of Barbara Cross McKinnon, Guelph, Ontario.
3. Crawford, "Journal 1917-1918," 153; see also "Journal 1920-1921," 1, and "Journal 1919," 117. ABA.
4. Crawford, "Journal 1893-1894," 17. ABA.
5. Crawford, "Journal 1894-1896," 94. ABA.
6. Crawford, "Journal 1894-1896," 110. ABA.
7. Isabel Crawford, *Kiowa: A Woman Missionary in Indian Territory* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 16.
8. Crawford, *Kiowa*, 74. ABA.
9. Crawford, "Journal 1898-1900," 130. ABA.
10. Crawford, "Journal 1902-1903," 46. ABA. The words in brackets were written in ink over a place where something shorter had been erased.
11. At the time both Southern Baptists and American (northern) Baptists were working in Oklahoma, and part of the American Baptists' concern was the reaction likely when their more conservative southern counterparts found out (see "Journal 1903-1905," 123, ABA).
12. Crawford, "Journal 1905-1906," 53-54. ABA.
13. Crawford, "Journal 1896-1906," 110. ABA.
14. Crawford, "Journal 1915-1916," 81-82. ABA.
15. Crawford, "Journal 1916-1917," 43. ABA.
16. Crawford, "Journal 1920-1921," 124. ABA.
17. Crawford, "Journal 1921," 27. ABA.
18. Crawford, "Journal 1921," 28. ABA.

19. Crawford, “Journal 1896-1897,” 135. ABA.
20. Crawford, “Journal 1897-1898,” 113. ABA.
21. Crawford, “Journal 1900-1901,” n.p. ABA.
22. Crawford, “Journal 1903-1905,” 128. ABA.
23. Crawford, “Forever Moving,” 70.
24. Crawford, “Journal 1941-1942,” 26. ABA.
25. Crawford, “Journal 1941-1942,” 30. ABA.
26. Crawford, “Journal 1926-1927,” 97. ABA.
27. Crawford, “Forever Moving,” 70.
28. Crawford, “Journal 1927-1928,” 52. ABA.
29. Crawford, “Journal 1920-1921,” 50. ABA.
30. Isabel Crawford, *A Jolly Journal* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1932), 84-85. See also Crawford, “Journal 1919,” 163.
31. Isabel Crawford, “Notebook untitled [Miscellaneous 1950-1953],” Crawford to Taylor, 16 February 1950. ABA.
32. Crawford, “Notebook untitled [Miscellaneous 1950-1953],” Crawford to Taylor, 16 February 1950. ABA.
33. Crawford, “Forever Moving,” 70.

Karl Friedrich Bahrdt (1740-92): Pietism, Enlightenment, and the Autonomous Self in Early Modern Germany

DOUGLAS H. SHANTZ
University of Calgary

This study represents an early stage in my new research project on "Making the Modern Self, 1700 to 1790," an attempt to integrate religious experience and autobiography with a discussion of the rise of modern individualism in the West. My plan is to examine hundreds of autobiographies composed by German Pietist and Enlightenment figures, considering the cultural conditions and experiences they embody and the mutual influences between these two traditions. The point of departure is the challenge posed by Jane Shaw: there is a need to consider the possibility that "religious practice and religious experience played a part in the formation of the rational self."[1]

The project will employ a cultural-historical approach, represented by scholars such as Jürgen Habermas, Roy Porter, Michel de Certeau, and Richard van Dülman. They point to the importance of cultural-historical considerations, setting literary forms in their cultural setting by searching for cultural conditions that make specific notions of individuality and specific forms of writing possible and plausible. Pietist and Enlightenment autobiographies express the kind of individual made possible by the cultural and social terms in which the authors lived and worked. A proper method must balance historical context and textual evidence.[2] This involves three steps: first, considering the socio-historical conditions of personal autonomy and autobiography. In what ways did German society provide individuals with resources and education; with opportunities for

choice about occupation, spouse, and religious affiliation; and contexts in which critical reflection could take place? Second, one needs to examine Pietist and Enlightenment autobiographies, looking for "how early modern notions of the [autonomous] self appear in life-writing."[3] Third, one must compare Pietist and Enlightenment autobiographies in terms of the autonomous self and in terms of mutual influence. Was the earliest instance of inner freedom and autonomy found in religious forms of German autobiography?[4]

The present study will focus on Karl Friedrich Bahrdt (1740-1792), a Leipzig clergyman's son, who, as a young man, identified with Lutheran Pietism. In the course of his life he experimented with a wide range of theological outlooks, eventually coming to doubt most of the tenets of Christianity, yet never leaving the Lutheran Church. Bahrdt attracted controversy throughout his life; he was a true outsider, the *enfant terrible* of the German Enlightenment. He was a man of contradictions: at once gifted, passionate, and prone to stirring up the passions of others, but also superficial, addicted to argument, and morally unstable.[5] In Halle he was wildly popular as a docent in philosophy (1779-86), attracting up to 900 students to his lectures. Three times he lost university positions because of his shocking behaviour and views.[6] Bahrdt published 140 works, including a *Life History of our Lord Jesus Christ* in 1772, a translation of the New Testament in 1774, and an eleven-volume *Explanation of the Plan and Aim of Jesus* (1784-92).[7] Bahrdt presented Jesus as a member of the Essene community, commissioned by them to help rid the Jewish people of their literal understanding of a national Messiah. The miracles, death, and resurrection of Jesus were all clever theatrics to help lead the people to a higher spiritual understanding.[8] Bahrdt's *On Freedom of the Press and its Limits* (1787) was a founding document of the new liberal tradition of natural law and established him as a key figure in German liberalism.[9] Günter Mühlpfordt, the leading scholar on Bahrdt, offered the following estimate of Bahrdt's importance:

> [Karl Friedrich Bahrdt] created the oldest adult education program, was the founder of higher education for women, an advocate of women's emancipation, an engaged social-political thinker, father of social democratic programs, an early protector of the environment. Bahrdt was a German patriot . . . and champion of German unity, a proud European and world citizen, supporter of European cooperation and unity and defender of the brotherhood of all humanity . . . Bahrdt was the first to publish books that included in their titles the ideas of

"Enlightenment" and "Human rights."[10]

In 1989 a German newspaper celebrated Barhdt's "astonishing life and thought," referring to him as a "theologian, poet, cook, friend to women, and radical Democrat."[11] The most successful and well-known figure of the eighteenth-century German Enlightenment, Bahrdt and his writings represent "an invaluable cultural-historical source."[12] Yet he has been ignored almost entirely by English-language scholarship.[13]

This study first examines the work of Jürgen Habermas on the social-historical context of personal autonomy; it then considers Bahrdt's family life, education, social setting, and religious practice and experience and the part they played in forming his rational, Enlightenment self; finally, it looks for ways in which Bahrdt's autobiography expresses a growing sense of personal freedom and autonomy in his intellectual and religious life.

Jürgen Habermas on the Context of Personal Autonomy

Jürgen Habermas is a prominent scholar in the field of modern notions of personal freedom and autonomy; his groundbreaking study, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, first appeared in English in 1989.[14] Habermas speaks of the social-historical development and context of personal autonomy: "autonomy emerges as a result of contingent historical processes, both within the life history of the individual and within the development of societies, in processes of modernization." Personal autonomy is nurtured in a social setting, in interaction with others.[15]

Our ability to be personally autonomous, in Habermas's sense, depends on how we are raised, on the culture that frames our choices, and the institutional guarantees that facilitate choosing and leading an autonomous life. These factors include opportunities for education and for critical reflection and self-determination. Authentic selfhood and autonomy have a performative dimension that involves "vouching for oneself," demanding recognition from others, taking responsibility for one's life, and justifying one's choices to others.[16] The Enlightenment freed autonomous individuals to undertake something "new, unique, and unpredictable."[17]

Habermas describes the conditions in which individual freedom came about in the early European Enlightenment, beginning with the

family and moving out into circles of social discourse. A new, modern notion of family is evident from the layout of middle-class homes built in continental Europe in the eighteenth century:

> In the newly built houses certain architectural innovations were undertaken . . . In modern, urban private homes all rooms intended to serve "the whole house" are reduced to the minimum . . . In these houses the "family room," which serves as a common space for husband, wife, children, and servants, has become smaller or has disappeared altogether. On the other hand, the private rooms of individual family members become more numerous and distinctive in their furnishings. The isolation [*Vereinsamung*] of family members is a priority in the layout of the house.[18]

The notion of private autonomy becomes "self-conscious" within the family itself. The family was a kind of "training ground" for the growth of the private individual and his or her critical reflections. Personal autonomy was expressed in terms of freedom to act, think, and develop one's mind and abilities in a setting of family love. In this setting, the individual "unfolded himself in his subjectivity" through letter writing.[19] The eighteenth century has been called "the century of the letter."[20] The highest density of correspondence networks was in northern Germany, in centres of the book trade, especially in Saxony.

The most important room in middle-class homes was allocated to a new kind of space: the salon. The salon did not really serve the family at all; it was a public space for entertaining "society." Salons become a place where individuals gathered to discuss what they had been reading; they also provided opportunity for literary and political discussions and debates. Soon coffeehouses, book clubs, reading circles, letter writing, newspapers, journals, and subscription libraries supplemented the salon.[21] This period of cultural life in Germany was "the sociable century," as middle-class Germans participated in coffee shops, pubs, reading societies, and Masonic lodges.[22] Late seventeenth and eighteenth-century Leipzig was the centre of this German Baroque culture. With its flourishing trade and manufacture, wealthy merchants and governing elites dominated Leipzig and it was known for its consumption, wealth, lavish homes, and architecture. Coffee and tobacco consumption were associated with social gatherings in homes and coffee houses.[23]

The setting for realizing human autonomy was the free exchange of ideas in the public sphere. Habermas believes that "the public sphere can

be most effectively constituted and maintained through dialogue, acts of speech, through debate and discussion. Public debate can be animated by 'opinion-forming associations' – voluntary associations, social organizations, churches, sports clubs, groups of concerned citizens, grassroots movements, trade unions – to counter or refashion the messages of authority."[24] Habermas distinguished between the *literary* public sphere and the *political* public sphere. Historians have yet to produce an alternative to Habermas's master narrative.[25]

Bahrdt's Context: Family Life, Education, Social Setting, and Opportunities for Choice

Karl Friedrich Bahrdt's family life and upbringing, his education at the University of Leipzig, and the forms of sociability in eighteenth-century Leipzig, provided him with resources and opportunities for personal autonomy and the freedom to act and think in matters of faith and life. Bahrdt was the eldest son of Johann Friedrich Bahrdt (1713-75), Lutheran Pastor, Superintendent, theology professor at the University of Leipzig, and one of the greatest preachers of his day.[26] Bahrdt joined two other leading figures of the German Enlightenment who came from the homes of Leipzig professors, Christian Thomasius and Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz.[27]

The young Karl was a precocious lad whose early education was neglected by his father. His tutors often suffered from his pranks and taunts. Bahrdt began his studies at the University of Leipzig in 1756, at just fifteen years of age. He later recalled how he entered upon a "new and dangerous world." "I was left completely to myself and was supported neither by my father, who was always overwhelmed by his work, nor by a wise friend." Bahrdt pursued his studies "without rule or plan." Everything was left to his own resources: it all depended upon "my good head and my good will."[28] He had great ambitions and intentions and vowed to be conscientious, but irresponsibility often won out. Bahrdt reflected that the best thing his father did for him was to be miserly in the pocket money he gave him. "With regard to pocket money, I was perhaps the poorest student in all of Leipzig."[29] His fantasies were as meager as his pocketbook. He had no choice but to refrain from the unwholesome activities of his friends.

His father suggested that Karl concentrate upon philosophical studies and that he attend lectures by Leipzig professor of philosophy and

theology, Christian August Crusius (1712-75), an opponent of the Enlightenment thought of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz. Crusius defended freedom of the will against philosophical determinism. He taught that the highest goal of God's creation is the existence of beings that exercise free decision-making. Crusius argued for the compatibility of human freedom and divine providence in a way that reflected the influence of Calvin and the Pietist movement.[30]

Thanks to Crusius' Leipzig lectures, Bahrdt gained a foundation in philosophical thought and argument. For Bahrdt, Crusius represented the embodiment of clear thinking and thorough analysis of terms and ideas. From his example, Bahrdt learned skills of analysis, logical proof, and proper arrangement of thoughts and arguments. Bahrdt also imbibed Crusius' Pietist theology, including his notions concerning the coming conversion of the Jews, the identity of the Pope in Rome as the Antichrist and ten-headed beast of Revelation, and the coming thousand-year kingdom of Christ. Crusius, Bahrdt later reflected, was the first instance he encountered of a man who combined a thorough philosophical mind with "the silliest notions in matters of religion."[31] Thanks to him, Bahrdt's mind was a mixture of reason and unreason, of Enlightenment thought and radical religious ideas. When his father challenged some of Crusius' teachings, Bahrdt defended them with heated arguments.[32] Crusius sought to infuse his "religiosity" into Bahrdt, admonishing him to keep God ever in his thoughts and to bring all his desires to God in prayer. As a young student, Bahrdt promised God that he would pray for a half hour every morning and evening. He was confident that, through prayer, he could rid himself of carelessness, become more disciplined in his work, and suppress his sexual appetites.[33] Bahrdt spent thirteen years in the university setting in Leipzig, from 1756 to 1768, as student and then as lecturer in philosophy and biblical languages.[34]

Bahrdt was a social being of a high order. Conversation and correspondence were the key avenues of his self-expression. A contemporary described him as "a coffee animal" [*Caffetier*].[35] In Halle Bahrdt became an innkeeper and the centre of conversation among patrons, students, and admirers. In 1787 he established a Freemason Society known as the German Union [*Deutsche Union*], through which he promoted the free exchange of ideas in a network of correspondents.[36] At one point the Society included over 500 members, from all parts of Germany and from all social classes.[37]

To sum up: Karl Friedrich Bahrdt was clearly the poster child of the

new literary public space and the new culture of personal autonomy. His family life and education nurtured both his self-confidence and aptitude for argument and self-display. He honed his argumentative mind in debates with his father and in university disputations, and he found an outlet in correspondence with members of the German Union. His religiosity in his university years was entirely subjective. Reliance on the Holy Spirit and prayer represented the "highest worship" and the extent of his duty before God.[38]

Bahrdt's Autobiography: How a Modern Autonomous Self Appears in his Life-Writing

Bahrdt published two autobiographical works near the end of his life: an account of his imprisonment in 1789 and a fuller autobiography in 1790-91, shortly before his death.[39] His *History of my Life, Opinions, and Destiny* appeared in four parts, totaling 1,460 pages. The first part of the autobiography is devoted to the growth of his character and the main influences in his early life. The second part describes his experiences in Erfurt, Gießen, and Graubünden. The third part includes his activities in the Palatinate, around the cities of Mannheim and Heidelberg, as well as his trip to England. Part four deals with his experiences in Halle after 1779, including publication of his satirical comedy *The Edict of Religion* in 1788 and resulting imprisonment for fifteen months in the fortress at Magdeburg.[40] Two main threads run through his life story: his encounters with a great variety of people over the course of his life – men, women, friends, enemies, scholars, and uneducated – and his intellectual development, including changes in his religious outlook.[41]

Bahrdt's tendency to "psychological self-investigation" [*einer psychologischen Ich-Erforschung*] calls to mind the *Confessions* of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1782), published less than ten years earlier. Bahrdt wrote in his Preface:

> If you dear readers would like to know my story in precise detail and to look into the most secret recesses of my heart and the smallest circumstances of my dealings and experiences, then be assured that here you will find me in my pure, natural self . . . I am taking up the pen in order to present to you dear readers a proper portrait of my famous or, as some will rather say, my notorious person.[42]

Katrin Löffler suggests that Rousseau's influence upon Bahrdt is evident

in three ways: in Bahrdt's self-analysis of his temperament and character, in the tone of self-justification before a critical world, and in the explicit description of his sexual experiences.[43] Of special interest to this study are Bahrdt's references to his intellectual development, including changes in his religious outlook and his self-analysis of his temperament and character and what they reveal about his growing sense of personal autonomy in his intellectual and religious life.

Bahrdt's autobiography describes in detail how he moved away from the Pietist inclinations of his youth, how his soul "was healed of the *Schwärmerei* [radical religious ideas] with which Crusius had so completely infected [him]," and how he eventually became a true child of the Enlightenment.[44] He likened this change to the breakthrough and conversion of which the Pietists spoke:

> Many Pietists maintain that a person should be able to state the hour and moment of their conversion . . . when, after a long battle, finally the light of grace suddenly breaks through. I can also state the moment of my "conversion," according to my own meaning of the term. For I know precisely the hour when the light of my reason tore open the hard crust of my rigid faith . . . so that the new-born child of the Enlightenment could grow little by little and gradually become a mature man.[45]

A Leipzig schoolteacher by the name of Topf persuaded Bahrdt to attend the lectures of Professor Fischer on Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians, chapters two and three. Bahrdt was astounded by how different Fischer's approach to scripture was from that of Crusius: "It was not the diet to which I was accustomed." Fischer lectured on grammar and the use of language and customs in contemporary authors, and explained the apostle's meaning against this background and context. In explaining what it meant to be of one mind, he made reference to the unity of the godhead in I John 5:7, with the passing remark, "if the text is even genuine."[46] The comment hit Bahrdt like a thunderbolt. It was his introduction to Biblical criticism. The result for Bahrdt was a loss of confidence in the biblical text as a basis for theological argument and a loss of confidence in the deity of Christ. From this point on he said goodbye to Crusius and devoted himself to studying history and the biblical languages, determined to base his theology upon the best linguistic evidence available.[47] At this point, writes Bahrdt, his conversion was complete:

> Once a person has decided to test the Church's theology against the touchstone of reason and philology, he can no longer hold on to his faith, but is already on the path to unbelief. But my way was long and tiresome. Only in my fortieth year did it reach completion.[48]

Bahrdt gained a sense of autonomy and empowerment that freed him to question and critique articles of the Lutheran faith.

While in Erfurt (1769-71), Bahrdt conceived the idea of writing a new, purely biblical *Dogmatics* that would supersede all previous Protestant theologies. He would provide new German translations for his proof texts, dispense with traditional terminology, and interpret Scripture correctly.[49] During his years in Gießen (1771-75), when Bahrdt had more time for writing and study, his "progress in Enlightenment" gained momentum. He became convinced that the Protestant confessions contained teachings that had no basis in Scripture or in reason, including the Lutheran doctrines concerning original sin – God's imputation of Adam's sin to all humankind; the need for satisfaction and a human sacrifice for sin; the work of the Holy Spirit as the only cause in bringing people to conversion; the justification of the sinner before God without regard for moral improvement; the divinity of Christ and the Holy Spirit as taught by Athanasius; and the doctrine of everlasting punishment in Hell. Bahrdt thought it unreasonable and inhumane that non-Christians throughout the world should be judged for not believing in Jesus Christ. Such beliefs were responsible for the fact that thousands of Germans lived in unbelief.[50]

While in Gießen, Bahrdt spent two years studying the Bible in hopes of finding support for the Lutheran doctrine of Christ's substitutionary death as the basis of humanity's reconciliation and redemption from sin.[51] He examined the "proof texts," using his newly acquired grammatical-historical method of interpretation. But as text after text proved inadequate and unconvincing, his anxiety increased. Nowhere could Bahrdt find a passage that clearly stated that Christ bore the guilt and penalty of sin for humanity, that his suffering and death were imputed to believers along with his life of perfect obedience, as the Lutheran system taught. Bahrdt struggled with pangs of conscience over his doubts as he recalled his father's instruction on the matter and his first communion. The doctrine had long been for Lutherans a source of great assurance and comfort. When an old friend arrived in Gießen, a man with a sharp mind and a reputation as a freethinker, Bahrdt took the opportunity to discuss the matter with him. The friend suggested that it was foolish for Bahrdt to

worry about anything beyond two fundamental questions: the existence of God and the immortality of the soul. The only law that relates to salvation is the law of love. Reconciliation with God comes through moral improvement. The only essential dogma is the eternal love of God.[52]

Bahrdt continued to write critically concerning the Lutheran symbol books, challenging arbitrary theological notions and weak dogmatic proofs. In his 1779 *Confession of Faith*, Bahrdt declared: "As far as my faith is concerned, I am bound by no man's authority, but have the right to test all things and to hold only to what I feel convinced of from the word of God."[53] As a theology professor, said Bahrdt, he was obligated to test and question all of the Lutheran church's teachings and to communicate the result of that examination for the good of Christian believers.

In terms of his temperament and character, Bahrdt reflected on his time as a student living at home in Leipzig. He observed in himself "a fiery and enterprising spirit" and a passion for freedom and independence. He saved up his small allowance for months until he had enough to rent a horse and head out with friends on a journey.[54] Three other features marked Bahrdt as a young man: vanity about his appearance, a quick temper, which he attributed to his father, and a boldness and self-confidence verging on impudence. His autobiography supplies a picture of him as an outgoing, talkative, and dominant personality in social gatherings:

> In social settings I was the loudest and had a dogmatic opinion on every matter under discussion, whether I knew much about it or not. When I lacked evidence for my point of view, I would overwhelm my opponents with my wit.[55]

Fluent and persuasive in speech, Bahrdt proved formidable in Latin disputations at the university with his combination of "wit and sophistry." He gained renown as the most fearsome disputer in Leipzig and was feared by the other students. His skill served him well in completing his Master's degree and in achieving his Habilitation – the right to give university lectures in philosophy.[56] Bahrdt recognized in himself the makings of an individual who had the talent and inclination to go his own way in the world.

Conclusion: Bahrdt's Development of an Autonomous Self

Bahrdt's family life and education nurtured both his self-confidence

and his literary aptitude for argument and self-display. He honed his argumentative mind in debates with his father, in disputations at the university, and in correspondence. Bahrdt was clearly the poster child of the new literary public space and the new culture of personal autonomy. His religiosity during his university years was entirely subjective, a precursor to the autonomous reason of his later rational self. Bahrdt admitted that he never read orthodox Lutheran theologians, even when he was giving lectures in theology.[57] The autobiography reveals how he gradually gained a sense of empowerment that freed him to use his reason to question and critique articles of the Lutheran faith. It seems that Bahrdt provides an instance where "religious practice and religious experience played a part in the formation of the rational self."

Endnotes

1. Jane Shaw, "Religious Experience and the Formation of the Early Enlightenment Self," in *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Renaissance to the Present*, ed. Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1997), 62f.

2. Roy Porter, ed., *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Renaissance to the Present* (London: Routledge, 1997); and Richard van Dülmen, *Die Entdeckung des Individuums 1500-1800, 2. Auflage* (Frankfurt: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 2002). They argue that autobiographies reveal new ways of constructing selfhood in response to cultural pressures.

3. Patrick Coleman, "Introduction," in *Representations of the Self from the Renaissance to Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2000).

4. Ralph-Rainer Wuthenow, *Das erinnerte Ich. Europäische Autobiographie und Selbstdarstellung im 18. Jahrhundert* (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1974), 212.

5. "Introduction to Carl Friedrich Bahrdt's *On Freedom of the Press and its Limits (1787)*," in *Early French and German Defenses of Freedom of the Press. Elie Luzac's Essay on Freedom of Expression (1749) and Carl Friedrich Bahrdt's On Freedom of the Press and its Limits (1787) in English Translation*, ed. John Christian Laursen and Johan van der Zande (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 92. Also see Bruno Sauer, "Bahrdt, Carl Friedrich," *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 1 (1953): 542f.

6. Bahrdt divorced his wife in 1780 and began living with a servant girl. He bought a vineyard and the two of them ran an inn in Halle.

7. Karl Friedrich Bahrdt, *Die ganze Lebensgeschichte unseres Herrn Jesu Christi nach der Zeitordnung und einer ungezwungenen Harmonie aller vier Evangelien entworfen* (Leipzig, 1772); Karl Friedrich Bahrdt, *Ausführung des Plans und Zwecks Jesu in Briefen an wahrheitssuchende Leser* (Berlin: August Mylius, 1784-92). On Bahrdt and the historical Jesus, see Albert Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, ed. John Bowden (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 37-42. For a bibliography of Bahrdt's writings and Bahrdt scholarship, see Otto Jacob and Ingrid Majewski, *Karl Friedrich Bahrdt, radikaler deutscher Aufklärer: Bibliographie* (Halle: Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, 1992).

8. Arthur Drews, "Die Leugnung der Geschichtlichkeit Jesu in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart" (Karlsruhe 1926), at http://www.radikalkritik.de/leugnung.htm#Die%20deutsche%20Leben-Jesu-Forschung%20vor%20Strau%DF

9. "Introduction to Carl Friedrich Bahrdt's *On freedom of the press and its limits*," 95. Bahrdt was influenced by John Milton's *Areopagitica* (1644) and Spinoza's *Theological-Political Treatise* (1670).

10. Otto Jacob, "Karl Friedrich Bahrdt im Wandel des Urteils," in *Europa in der Frühen Neuzeit: Festschrift für Günter Mühlpfordt, Bd. 2 Frühmoderne*, ed. Erich Donnert (Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 1997), 428f. In Halle Bahrdt ran a *Volkshochschule*, or adult education program, in the inn that he purchased. "1787 zog er sich auf ein kleines Weingut vor den Toren Halles zurück und betätigte sich als Berufsschrift-steller und Inhaber eines Kaffeehauses, das er zugleich als Stätte des freien Meinungsaustauschs u. Volks-hochschule nutzte." Michael Heymel, "Der Pfarrer als Komödiant," *Theologia Practica* 25 (1990): 98.

11. Ludger Lütkehaus, "Der konspirative Weinberg: Theologe und Dichter, Koch aus Leidenschaft, Freund der Frauen, radikaler Demokrat—das erstaunliche Leben und Denken des deutschen Aufklärers Carl Friedrich Bahrdt," *Die Zeit* 5 (27 January 1989): 52.

12. Hans-Ulrich Delius, "Der Prozeß gegen Dr. Karl Friedrich Bahrdt: aus einem bisher unbekannten Aktenstück," *Jahrbuch für Berlin-Brandenburgische Kirchengeschichte* 55 (1985): 181.

13. John Christian Laursen and Johan van der Zande, "Introduction," in *The Edict of Religion. A Comedy and The Story and Diary of My Imprisonment*, ed. John Christian Laursen and Johan van der Zande (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2000), 9. For English scholarship on Bahrdt see Jonathan Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible* (Princeton: Princeton University, 2005), 139-47; and Sten Gunnar Flygt, *The Notorious Dr. Bahrdt* (Nashville: Vanderbilt

University, 1963).

14. Jürgen Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit. Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerliche Gesellschaft* (Darmstadt/Neuwied: Hermann Luchterhand Verlag, 1962); Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989).

15. Joel Anderson, "Autonomy, agency and the self," in *Jürgen Habermas: Key Concepts*, ed. Barbara Fultner (Durham, UK: Acumen, 2011), 102f; and Maeve Cooke, "Habermas, autonomy and the identity of the self," *Philosophy & Social Criticism* 18 (1992): 288.

16. Anderson, "Autonomy, Agency and the Self," 104f, 109.

17. Patchen Markell, "Contesting Consensus: Rereading Habermas on the Public Sphere," *Constellations* 3, no. 3 (1997): 377-400, especially 383.

18. Jürgen Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit. Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerliche Gesellschaft, 15. Auflage* (Darmstadt: Hermann Luchterhand Verlag, 1984), 61f.

19. Habermas, *Strukturwandel der* Öffentlichkeit, 64-66.

20. Helga Schultz, "Networks of Correspondence in the German Enlightenment," *Transactions of the Ninth International Congress on the Enlightenment* (1996): 420.

21. Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit*, 63-69.

22. Laursen and van der Zande, "Introduction," 5, 7.

23. By the 1680s Leipzig had regained its position as a major trade and distribution centre, second only to Hamburg. Its fairs, held three times a year, were larger and more successful than Frankfurt's and it became the leading German city for book publishing. See Tanya Kevorkian, *Baroque Piety: Religion, Society, and Music in Leipzig, 1650-1750* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2007), 16, 18-24; Reinhard Wittmann, *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels: ein Überblick,* (München: Beck, 1991); and Martin Gierl, *Pietismus und Aufklärung. Theologische Polemik und die Kommunikationsreform der Wissenschaft am Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), 358.

24. Marshall Soules, "Jürgen Habermas and the Public Sphere" (2008): http://records.viu.ca/~soules/media301/habermas.htm

25. Andreas Gestrich, "The Public Sphere and the Habermas Debate," *German History* 24, no. 3 (2006): 413-30, especially 416 and 429f. Gestrich observes that "Since its first American edition in 1989, Jürgen Habermas's 1960 classic *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* has made a remarkable come-back and influenced both academic and political discussion of the topic worldwide. Historians, however, have been and still are skeptical about the validity of Habermas's master narrative on the causes of the transformation of the public sphere." To this point, "no convincing alternative to this master narrative has been found by historians, and many critics seem to be satisfied with the basic line of his argument."

26. Baldur Schyra, "Das Elternhaus Carl Friedrich Bahrdts," in *Carl Friedrich Bahrdt (1740-1792)*, ed. Gerhard Sauder, Christoph Weiß (St. Ingbert: Werner J. Röhrig, 1992), 313; Günter Mühlpfordt, "1740, nicht 1741. Zu Bahrdts Geburtsjahr," in ibid., 291. For a recent Bahrdt biography, see Thomas K. Kuhn, "Carl Friedrich Bahrdt, Provokativer Aufklärer und philanthropischer Pädagoge," in *Theologen des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts: konfessionelles Zeitalter - Pietismus - Aufklärung*, ed. Peter Walter and Martin Jung (Darmstadt: Wiss. Buchgesellschaft, 2003), 204-25.

27. Günter Mühlpfordt, "Karl Friedrich Bahrdt und die Radikale Aufklärung," *Jahrbuch des Instituts für Deutsche Geschichte* 5 (1976): 53.

28. *Carl Friedrich Bahrdts Geschichte seines Lebens, seiner Meinungen und Schicksale. Von ihm selbst geschrieben, Erster Theil* (1790) in *Als Studiosus in Pleiß-Athen. Autobiographische Erinnerungen von Liepziger Studenten des 18.* Jahrhunderts, ed. Katrin Löffler (Leipzig: Lehmstedt Verlag, 2009), 94.

29. "Ich behaupte, daß Eltern und Erzieher, was die Sache auch für kleine Unbequemlichkeiten haben mag, allemal größere Vortheile davon einnerndten würden, wenn sie ihre Zöglinge unter guter Aufsicht hielten, und ihnen dasjenige Geld, was man Taschengeld nennt, auf das alleräußerste einschränkten [parents would find it advantageous if they . . . restricted their children's pocket money in the extreme]." *Carl Friedrich Bahrdts Geschichte seines Lebens,* 102f.

30. Ulrich L. Lehner, *Kants Vorsehungskonzept auf dem Hintergrund der deutschen Schulphilosophie und –theologie* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 102, 105.

31. *Dr. Carl Friedrich Bahrdts Geschichte seines Lebens, Erster Theil*, 119.

32. *Carl Friedrich Bahrdts Geschichte seines Lebens*, 95-98.

33. *Carl Friedrich Bahrdts Geschichte seines Lebens*, 134.

34. Mühlpfordt, "Karl Friedrich Bahrdt und die Radikale Aufklärung," 52.

35. Thomas Hoeren, "Präjakobiner in Deutschland. Carl Friedrich Bahrdt (1741-1792)," *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 47 (1995): 55-72, especially 55.

36. See Günter Mühlpfordt, "Kulturbriefe, Briefschriften, Briefbund," in *Briefe und Briefwechsel in Mittel- und Osteuropa im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Alexandru Dutu, Edgar Hösch and Norbert Oeller (Essen: Hobbing, 1989), 53-136.

37. Hoeren, "Präjakobiner in Deutschland," 65.

38. *Carl Friedrich Bahrdts Geschichte seines Lebens*, 134.

39. See Carl Friedrich Bahrdt, *The Edict of Religion: a Comedy and the Story and Diary of My Imprisonment (1789),* trans. and ed. John Christian Laursen, Johan van der Zande (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2000); and Karl Friedrich Bahrdt, *Geschichte seines Lebens, seiner Meinungen und Schicksale*, 2 Bde., hrsg. v. Günter Mühlpfordt (Berlin 1790-91) (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: 1983).

40. The play was written to be read aloud in salons, reading circles, and inns. See Laursen and van der Zande, "Introduction," 5.

41. Hans-Werner Engels, "Beiträge und Bemerkungen zu Bahrdts Lebenschreibung," in *Carl Friedrich Bahrdt (1740-1792)*, 275, 279. Compared to other Enlightenment autobiographies such as those by Ulrich Bräker and Karl Philipp Moritz, Bahrdt's is relatively unknown.

42. Engels, "Beiträge und Bemerkungen zu Bahrdts Lebenschreibung," 279. See *Dr. Carl Friedrich Bahrdts Geschichte seines Lebens*, *Erster Theil*, 3f, 8.

43. Katrin Löffler, "Einleitung," in *Als Studiosus in Pleiß-Athen. Autobiographische Erinnerungen von Leipziger Studenten des 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Katrin Löffler (Leipzig: Lehmstedt Verlag, 2009), 33f.

44. Karl Friedrich Bahrdt, *Dr. Carl Friedrich Bahrdts Geschichte seines Lebens, Erster Theil* (Frankfurt: Barrentrapp und Wenner, 1790), 188. Gert Röwenstrunk spoke of Karl Friedrich Bahrdt's "orthodoxe und pietistische Phase." See Gert Röwenstrunk, *Anfangsschwierigkeiten eines Rationalisten. Carl Friedrich Bahrdts orthodoxe und pietistische Phase* (Diss. theol., Heidelberg, 1977).

45. *Dr. Carl Friedrich Bahrdts Geschichte seines Lebens, Erster Theil*, 256f.

46. *Dr. Carl Friedrich Bahrdts Geschichte seines Lebens, Erster Theil*, 260-62.

47. *Dr. Carl Friedrich Bahrdts Geschichte seines Lebens, Erster Theil*, 268-79.

48. *Dr. Carl Friedrich Bahrdts Geschichte seines Lebens, Erster Theil*, 279f.

49. *Dr. Carl Friedrich Bahrdts Geschichte seines Lebens, Zweiter Theil*, 58f. See Karl Friedrich Bahrdt, *Vorschläge zur Aufklärung und Berichtigung des Lehrbegriffs unserer Kirche* (Riga, 1771).

50. Karl Friedrich Bahrdt, *Glaubensbekenntnis, veranlaßt durch ein kaiserliches Reichshofratsconclusum* (Halle, 1779), 9f, 20; and *Dr. Carl Friedrich Bahrdts Geschichte seines Lebens, Zweiter Theil*, 58-74.

51. *Dr. Carl Friedrich Bahrdts Geschichte seines Lebens, Zweiter Theil*, 199-222.

52. *Dr. Carl Friedrich Bahrdts Geschichte seines Lebens, Zweiter Theil*, 205-7, 221f.

53. Bahrdt, *Glaubensbekenntnis*, article 10.

54. *Dr. Carl Friedrich Bahrdts Geschichte seines Lebens, Erster Theil*, 159. "The perpetual monotony in my father's house, no matter how good I had it, left me discontented. My inner desire for freedom was too keen. The forced comforts of home left me dissatisfied. Only pleasures I chose for myself were appealing."

55. *Carl Friedrich Bahrdts Geschichte seines Lebens*, 108-12, 135.

56. *Carl Friedrich Bahrdts Geschichte seines Lebens*, 140f.

57. *Dr. Carl Friedrich Bahrdts Geschichte seines Lebens, Erster Theil*, 252. "I admit that in my whole life, I never read a work of systematic theology . . . Indeed, I have never had in my house a work by Chemnitz, Buddäus, Holmann, or any other orthodox systematician."

Parading the Children: The Leisure Activities of Ontario's Protestant Sunday Schools, 1840-70

PATRICIA KMIEC
University of Toronto

Nineteenth-century Protestant Sunday schools offered early Ontarians charity, literacy education, and religious instruction. Sunday schools also provided a number of leisure events for their students and supporters to enjoy.[1] These sites of rest and recreation were an important part of the history of the Sunday school and of religious history more generally. As Lynne Marks explains, "religion and leisure are particularly valuable for exploring questions of identity because they were spheres in which late nineteenth-century Ontarians had the widest latitude of choice about their lives."[2]

This was also the case in the middle of the nineteenth century. Although children may have had less power than adults in the choices of recreation they engaged in, a close look at the social activities that were common across Ontario provides important insight into how families chose to spend their leisure time. The shifting patterns in the leisure activities of Sunday schools over this period also reveal the changing role of religion in the everyday lives of Protestant Ontarians. As a site of popular and regular engagement of lay women, men and children, the extra-curricular aspects of Sunday schooling provide a window into how the routine experiences and activities of the laity evolved at this time.

As early as 1840, Sunday school communities in Ontario were holding regular extra-curricular, leisure activities along with their weekly classroom lessons. From nature excursions to parades and picnics, these activities were enjoyed not only by the young pupils, but also their teachers, friends, fellow church members, and other Sunday school

supporters. Between 1840 and 1871, Sunday school groups enjoyed two main types of leisure activities. From 1840 until the late 1850s, nature exploration, primarily through steamboat excursions, was the main activity for groups of all denominations. By the 1860s, however, new activities had surfaced. The Sunday school festival, a daylong event that could include a parade, picnic, speeches, and an outdoor party, was among the most popular. At this time, picnics and parades also became prevalent across the province and across denominations. This paper explores the festivals, picnics, and parades hosted by Sunday schools between 1840 and 1870. It examines how lay participants made sense of these events within the context of a changing Protestant culture.

Historians of Christianity in Ontario have recognized the period between 1840 and 1870 as especially significant in shaping the general Protestant consensus that characterized English-Canadian society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In his study of this cultural shift, William Westfall demonstrates the divisive sectarianism that defined Upper Canada before cooperation replaced conflict among Protestants, giving rise to what he identifies as a unified Protestant culture.[3] As the Church of England lost its privileged legal position and the evangelical sects became more institutionalized, a consensus emerged and these previously diverging sects came to share an increasingly common ground.

Westfall and others have traced the theological, institutional, intellectual, and even architectural implications of the new Protestant culture that emerged in the middle decades of the nineteenth century.[4] Significantly fewer historians have been concerned with how lay people made sense of these cultural changes.[5] Even the changes that affected the religious practice of the laity, the decrease in revivals being one example, continue to be studied from the perspective of the clergy and the institutional churches. Lay people were not only the participants, but also the key organizers of Sunday school leisure activities during the mid-nineteenth century. The particular activities and environments they chose for recreation reflect their understandings of the religious society and culture in which they lived. Whether children were gathered on a steamboat absorbing the landscape of the Great Lakes, or marching with banners in the streets of their neighbourhoods, these rituals were rich with cultural symbols and meaning. This discussion of the changing patterns of Sunday school leisure activities provides insight into how lay women, men, and children experienced the shift towards a unified Protestant culture that occurred in the middle of the nineteenth century.

A survey of fifteen newspapers from across Ontario reveals that the most common Sunday school leisure activity in the 1840s was the steamboat excursion.[6] While a detailed analysis of these outdoor excursions is beyond the scope of this paper, a few observations are important to note here. Sunday school pupils, their teachers, families, and friends, all participated in Sunday school excursions. These trips were organized by individual schools as well as by groups. Schools of a particular region frequently came together for an annual steamer ride in support of their schools. Fundraising was almost always a goal of these excursions and nearly all of the announcements examined identify the purpose of the trip as a way to earn financial support for the host school. An 1841 announcement in Kingston's *Chronicle and Gazette* provides a typical example, promoting a Sunday school excursion to "Lake on the Mountain" on the "elegant and spacious" steamer Brockville. Tickets for the trip were five shillings for adults, which included the passage as well as dinner on board. Children from the hosting Wesleyan Methodist Sunday school rode for free, and children from other Sunday schools were admitted for half the price of an adult ticket.[7]

It is hard to determine the actual number of participants in these excursions as the majority of details come from announcements for upcoming trips, rather than reports following the actual events. However, the reports that do reveal these details can provide some insight. The fewest number of participants on a Sunday school steamer excursion was 100, made up of children, teachers and friends, at the Knox Church Sabbath school excursion and picnic in 1854.[8] The largest group recorded was 660, reported at a Universalist excursion at Collingwood Harbour.[9] In general, it appears these steamers were quite full on the days of the Sunday school trips, with the average number of participants ranging between 300 and 400. Even at reduced rates for adults and visitors, the profits made at these benefit rides had the potential to be quite substantial.

Sunday school excursions were both popular and successful. Schools often made the steamboat ride a regular, annual fundraiser, which indicates that they were profitable events. The majority of mid-century Sunday schools in Ontario would not have been in a financial position to continue these efforts if they were not gathering considerable funds from the proceeds. In the 1840s and 1850s, leadership and management of Sunday schools were in the hands of lay managers and superintendents. Given that the numerous religious organizations competing for financial donations at this time, the commitment that the laity demonstrated in supporting their

Sunday schools, and the creativity they used to gather continued financial support, are especially striking.[10]

Evidence of lay leadership continued with the excursions themselves. There is no evidence of ministers participating in the steamer excursions of the 1840s and 1850s. Not only was the clergy missing from these events, but also absent were any explicit religious practices. These were common pleasure excursions, very similar to what tourists would enjoy. There appear to have been no singing of hymns, or public prayers, or stories of missionaries. If any explicit religious rituals did occur on these excursions, they were not advertised or celebrated.

Children played a particular role on these Sunday school day-trips. They were positioned as observers, viewing and exploring the natural world that surrounded them as they travelled through a waterway or a park. The children were participants, in the same way as the adult guests. Unlike the later Sunday school socials of the 1860s and 1870s, on outdoor excursions, children's behaviour was not evaluated, and there was no element of performance or entertainment that was expected from the children. On these trips the children were the observers rather than the performers.

Throughout the 1840s and 1850s excursions on steamers were the most popular activities for Sunday school groups in Canada West. Although these steamer trips occasionally included a picnic in a nearby park, the main focus of the activity was the trip itself and the enjoyment and exploration of the landscape. A shift to more local social activities, such as parades and outdoor parties, had occurred by the early 1860s. The first year that advertisements for Sunday school parties and picnics outnumbered those for Sunday school excursions was 1859. In the newspapers that were examined here, the number of steamboat excursions reported or announced decreased from fourteen between 1843 and 1850, to five between 1863 and 1870. The details of the specific events help explain this shift in leisure activities, from the water to the land, and provide some insight into what led to this transition, as well as how it was connected to broader changes in the Protestant culture.

The most common social event after 1859 was the Sunday school festival. The festival was a daylong occurrence that could include a parade, picnic, entertainment, and lectures. Occasionally these specific activities happened individually, but the norm was to celebrate them all together.

Parades and processions in public streets were increasingly common in mid-nineteenth century North America. Workers, fraternal orders,

religious groups, ethnic groups, civic leaders, and the military each marched through the streets. Public processions were a chance for early Ontarians to demonstrate their citizenship and claim their presence in public space. Whether it was Catholics making their presence known through a St. Patrick's Day parade, or solemn processions for politicians' funerals, public parades through the streets of a large city or small town were more than simply entertainment.[11] Messages, images, and symbols were communicated through the interaction between performers and spectators.

Parades were an opportunity for disenfranchised minorities, whether working-class or Irish Catholics, to become the public majorities for an afternoon, demonstrating the size of their community and proudly displaying their collective identity. Other times, parades were used to reinforce traditional discourses of British loyalty and imperialism, such as those that took place during the Prince of Wales' visit to Canada West in 1860, when the celebrations extended beyond the physical procession and across the province through frequent published reports on the events.[12] Performers and organizers of nineteenth-century parades had intentional messages to present to their audiences. The parades may not have always been effective in getting their message across, but they were always an exercise in putting one's identity on display.

This was also the case with Sunday school parades. Across Ontario, annual Sunday school parades gave communities a chance to put their local Sunday schools on display. Children marched with their teachers, while parents and others watched from the side.[13] The Sunday school parade was a chance for young people to demonstrate their character for all to see.

Sunday school parades included between 100 and 500 children, depending on the number of schools involved. These events were frequently joint efforts and it was quite common for one school to host the event, while other schools were invited to join. A typical example is the 1861 parade hosted by the Wesleyan Methodist Sunday school in Buttonville. The two neighbouring schools joined their parade. This cooperation between the schools was reported as being "a very pleasant feature" that was "in every way commendable."[14] An ad for the 1859 Sabbath school festival in Richmond Hill, hosted by both the Methodist and Presbyterian churches in that area, was equally optimistic, noting "we earnestly hope that all will give to this soiree their earnest support; for if there is one thing more than another that we delight to see, it is the

different denominations of Christ's church, united together as they will be on this occasion."[15] A tea meeting in the same town later that year also promoted this sentiment: "we hope this union tea [. . .] will not be the last, but that other villages, where there are two or more branches of Christ's church, will unite together in fellowship and show the world that they 'love one another.'"[16]

This cooperation across denominations was commonplace within the Sunday school community. In fact, it was quite representative of the broader North American Sunday school movement. Ontario's Sunday schools, particularly before 1850, were often founded by groups of laymen of different affiliations. Even as denomination-specific schools increased, most Sunday school workers remained connected through a local Sunday school union, usually a branch of the Canada Sunday School Union. Sunday school workers of different denominations all made use of the agents, resources, tracts, and conventions that served the general Protestant community. The parades, along with the festivals, were more often interdenominational, and inter-congregational, than not.

As with the Buttonville example, marching with banners was the common sight; and music from a local band was the common sound of Sunday school parades. Girls usually marched ahead of the boys and, occasionally, the children were arranged by age, with the oldest at the back of each gender's group.[17] Teachers marched alongside their classes and were especially welcome. One report of a parade in Goderich in 1851 explains "we felt extremely happy in seeing so many of the teachers in the procession."[18]

The main banners carried by the children indicated the name of their Sunday school. Acting as such clear representatives of their school, not just any pupils were chosen to carry the banners. A parade in Aurora in 1860 consisted of three schools, and the children who carried the school banners were those who had won prizes at the public examinations held earlier that day.[19]

Along with the Sunday school or church name, banners in parades also bore various "Scriptural mottoes," including "faith," "hope," "charity," "love."[20] Other common messages on banners were "God save the Queen," the popular "Lord remember us in the days of our youth," and "temperance."[21] The messages that these banners presented to the children and the crowd were similar to those of the Sunday school classroom: general Protestant and scriptural messages, British loyalty, character building, and temperance. All of these were lessons that were understood

by the dominant culture of nineteenth-century Ontario to be desirable and respectable.

In addition to the words on banners, the behaviour of the participants also demonstrated their appropriate character and respectability. These processions were "marshalled" in order and marched in an organized fashion through the "principal streets in the village," usually ending at the picnic location near the hosting church.[22] Parades were an important part of Sunday school festivals and usually the only part that spectators could watch for free. Organizers used the parade to demonstrate the admirable qualities in their pupils in hopes of attracting others to their schools, attaining continued support from families and friends of the pupils, as well as more general evangelical goals.

After a parade through the town, Sunday school pupils, along with their parents, teachers, and friends, returned to the grounds of the host church. Often the entertainment continued for the guests, performed by the students of the host school. Public examinations of the Sunday school pupils were occasionally held as part of the summer festivals, but some schools held the exams on other occasions and most Sunday schools did not examine their pupils at all.

More common than examinations were dialogues and recitations performed by the young pupils. Mid-century Sunday scholars were quite familiar with reciting scripture. This activity occurred weekly, as pupils demonstrated their memorization of a selected Bible passage in their classrooms. Sunday schools used the number of verses recited weekly, and annually, to measure the success of their school. Given the pride connected with a pupil's memorization skills, and the credit this gave to the school, it is not surprising that the best students were presented to the crowd at Sunday school social gatherings.

Other non-scriptural dialogues (i.e., recitations) were also performed. While sources are extremely vague on the specific pieces, it is likely that they were moral poetry or literature, commonly found in Sunday school classrooms, periodicals, and libraries. A successful performance by the children could gain great praise. *The York Herald* reported on a Sunday school festival in 1861, noting that "the effective manner in which the children recited their pieces and dialogues was of the very first order, as if such a thing of preference, in any of the doings of the children, this part of the entertainment certainly deserves it."[23]

An equally glowing report was given in 1859 following a similar Sunday school festival in Richmond Hill. It read: "[there were] several

dialogues recited by the children, they were very amusing and reflect the greatest credit on the children."[24] The quality of the teacher could also be measured by how the children performed. A report on the Sunday school festival in Vaughan in 1861 recalls that, "after eating and drinking, the children and friends retired to the chapel, where several pieces were recited by the children, in a manner that reflected great credit to the teachers."[25]

For many parents and other adult community members, these recitations and exams were a rare look into the Sunday school classroom. Their continued support of the local schools could potentially be won or lost based on the success of the children's performance. It appears, however, that these performances were almost always displays of the top students, and the published reviews were unanimously positive.

These demonstrations were not just for the adults in the crowd. Children would watch their peers perform to applause and praise as well.[26] The model students chosen to perform or recite publically were just that – models. Behaviour, as much as skill, was on display; and the lessons on how to behave were just as clear.

One hundred and thirty children, along with their families, attended the 1861 examinations in Aurora's Anglican Trinity Church as part of a daylong festival. In each class two prizes were awarded, one for "best answerer" and another for most regular attendance.[27] Punctuality and regular attendance were key social values promoted through Sunday schooling. They were highlighted here, at the Sunday school festival, in front of a large crowd.

Guests at Sunday school festivals and parties could also expect to be entertained by music. Local bands frequently accompanied children's parades through the town. Even more common, however, was the singing of the children themselves, once the group was gathered after the parade.[28] The songs performed by the children tended to be about their love for the Sunday school. For example, the children of a Toronto Methodist Sunday school sang "I Love the Sabbath School" at their annual festival in 1867 – which included the following lyrics:

> I learn my duty there, my cross to bear,
> And in its pages bright and fair
> I learn to raise my heart in praise,
> On these precious, precious Sabbath days
> I love my teacher dear,
> I'll treasure what I hear,

The Sunday School to me a guide shall be,
A comfort o'er troubled sea;
How sweet to raise our cheerful lays
On these precious, precious Sabbath days.[29]

Newspaper accounts of the singing were not as exciting as their reports on the dialogues and other performances. The former tended towards short and simple commentary: "the singing by the scholars was very melodious" or "the children [. . .] sang very sweetly."[30] In 1866 attendees at the picnic of St. Paul's and Christ Church's Sunday schools in London were entertained by the 60th Rifle Band, who "performed a well selected program of enlivening airs."[31]

From tea, to a picnic, to a feast, food and drink were always part of Sunday school festivals. Eating sweets and drinking tea were important to Sunday school social events. Picnics included various cakes and tea was served at almost every social, whether it was a picnic or party. Tea parties were very common Sunday school social events, as they could be held year-round, unlike the outdoors activities in summertime. For example, "friends of the Sabbath school" in Markham celebrated New Year's Day together in 1859 at an event where over 400 people "sat down to an excellent tea. And after that was over, the children belonging to the schools recited several amusing and instructive pieces."[32]

Whether a tea party in the winter, or part of an outdoor festival in the summer, serving and drinking tea was a highly structured event to be taken very seriously. Advertisements and notices for upcoming events always noted the time tea was being served and encouraged those invited to be "precise" if they were to join.[33] At most parties where tea was served, the children were served first and the adult guests followed. A report from Sunday school festival in 1859 notes that 200 children from local Wesleyan and Presbyterian Sunday schools enjoyed their tea, after which "about 300 visitors and friends of Sabbath schools partook of same."[34]

Along with tea, cakes, tarts, and pies were often served. Baking was the main way that women contributed to Sunday school social events and the description of their participation is very revealing about their place in the Sunday school community, at least from the perspective of those doing the reporting. For example, the *Young Churchman* printed an article about an 1851 festival in Kemptville that described the preparations in a typical way: "for many days previous to the one fixed upon for the festival, signs of preparation were seen going forward [. . .] mothers and sisters busily

employed in baking cakes, pies, tarts, and other good things."[35]

Good food could reflect positively on the women of a church. A festival in Markham in 1861 was remembered as having food that was "of the very best quality" which "reflected great credit of the mechanical skills of the ladies in connection with the church."[36] In 1860 an account of a Sunday school party in the *York Herald* similarly noted the work of the women, reporting that the treats were "prepared by our Canadian mothers and daughters."[37]

These reports illustrate the position of women at the social events. Women who participated were seen as ideal Canadians. This included being members of, or having close connections with, a church. They were also consistently relegated to the periphery – they were always "sisters," "mothers," or "daughters." The food was always at the center.

More time was dedicated in published accounts to celebrating the food than any other aspects of these activities. For example, a report of a picnic in Newmarket explains that, "the tea and refreshments were excellent – much better than usual on such occasions."[38] Another report of a festival in 1851 describes the picnic as a feast where "the whole village seemed to be taking a holiday."[39]

It is clear, however, that the "whole village" did not take part in a day of socializing with the local Sunday school community. Although reports leave no explicit description of who was absent from these festivals, some inferences can be made. The vast majority of Sunday school festivals and tea parties were fundraisers and required guests to purchase a ticket. The usual cost was twenty-five cents (one shilling) for adults and twelve cents (six pence) for children. While this was not an outrageous price for many, working-class people would have had to make a serious effort to attend.[40]

Parades were often the only part of the daylong festivities that were available for spectators to watch at no charge. Money raised at these events was often used for one particular part of the Sunday school, which was usually identified in the ad. One successful festival reported that, "the result financially, was quite satisfactory, and no doubt, will be of great use by way of purchasing a new library for the school."[41] Some schools used the funds raised for items that were not provided by the church or Sunday school union. For example, St. Andrew's Sunday school in Maple used the proceeds from their Sunday school soiree in 1861 for rewards for the children.[42]

Aside from the ticket costs, other factors could limit participation.

These events were held on weekdays, usually Thursday or Friday, in the early afternoon. More cultural constraints existed as well – the need to arrive in proper attire or for women to bring food. As Lynne Marks explains for small town Ontario later in the nineteenth century, these social pressures often kept working-class women in particular away from mainstream (middle-class) church social life.[43] This was likely also true in mid-nineteenth-century Ontario. Even if the children of working-class parents attended the school on Sunday, their parents may not have been part of the social community surrounding it.

At these festivals, women appear in the historical record as baking and bringing the food and tea to share. While the "ladies" were busy preparing the cakes, the gentlemen were given their own task. These events almost always included a lecture, speech or sermon. Men always gave these addresses.

At festivals where congregations of different denominations gathered, often two or more men spoke, reflecting the diversity of the crowd. For example, when Anglicans, Methodists, and Presbyterians gathered for an outdoor Sunday school party in Thornhill in 1860, one Methodist and one Presbyterian minister addressed them.[44] At a Sunday school party hosted by both the Methodists and Presbyterian schools in Richmond Hill in 1859, there were "addresses [delivered] by ministers and gentlemen of both denominations accompanied by recitations by the children."[45]

On other occasions, the host school arranged the speaker. Reverend Thomas Baker spoke at an 1859 Sunday school picnic in Newmarket, hosted by his Congregational church's Sunday school – even though supporters, and likely pupils, of a nearby interdenominational school were in attendance.[46] Church of England Sunday schools often brought a bishop to speak. The *Young Churchman* reports the Bishop of Toronto attending a Sunday school festival in Goderich in 1851, where he "addressed [the children] on the lawn, in the most impressive yet simple language."[47] Similar details are revealed in a report of an 1859 picnic in Newmarket that explained "we have not room for speeches; but suffice it to say, they were of a truly Christian character, while friendship and goodwill everywhere manifested itself."[48] Addresses from these men were intended for the children as well as adult guests, and covered topics including the duties of Sunday school teachers, the history of the Sunday school, and the success of Sunday schools internationally.[49]

From 1859 to 1870, picnics, parades, and festivals outnumbered all

other Sunday school events. These events increased rapidly throughout this period and were widespread across the province by the 1870s. Like the steamer excursions of the 1840s and 1850s, Sunday school parades, picnics, and parties were popular events across Ontario. Both the growing urban centres and more rural communities hosted these types of events regularly and success was achieved when they raised financial support and provided social engagements to members of the Sunday school community. In fact, these events persisted into the twentieth century, and although church picnics have moved under the authority of specific congregations, rather than a community Sunday school, similar leisure activities are important parts of church communities even today.[50]

A number of factors distinguish these parties and parades from the earlier excursions of the 1840s and early 1850s. These differences point to how the laity understood the emerging Protestant culture that was taking shape in mid-nineteenth century Ontario. The most obvious observation is the increased presence of clergy and church buildings. Although the leisure events remained under the control of the laity, they occurred under the close eye of the minister. Before the 1850s, such surveillance was not possible in most communities, as ministers were overworked, and many areas did not have a permanent minister. The increase in clergymen that occurred in the 1850s was a result of increased immigration and the policies within the evangelical churches to support a more educated and stable ministry.[51]

Along with permanent ministers came more permanent church buildings. Historians have noted the expansion in church membership and church buildings in the late 1850s.[52] These new spaces were noticed by the laity, who no longer had to journey beyond their neighbourhood for Sunday school sponsored events. Both the church-grounds and the interior church space became central to Sunday school leisure activities. In the case of Sunday school events, these church sites became more community and public spaces, as cross-congregational, and even interdenominational, events occurred frequently on their premises.

The role of children at Sunday school parades and festivals was also quite distinct from the period of the nature excursions. Unlike the role of observer that was expected from children on their nature trips, Sunday school parades and parties introduced the children as the performers and they became the entertainment. Whether marching through the streets, singing hymns, or reciting their memorized scripture passages, children were expected to demonstrate their religious, moral, and social character.

While the role of children is notably absent from the historiography of public processions and parades in nineteenth-century North America, their place in these public spectacles is quite significant. As with other parades of the time, teachers, parents, and Sunday school leaders (along with the children who cooperated energetically) had intentional messages to convey through this public display. Through parades in particular, but other activities as well, Sunday school promoters were displaying the respectability of their schools and, by extension, of their churches. They were also offering up a general message of evangelism, hoping to inspire new settlers, "backsliders," and the unconverted with the messages on their signs and in their songs. Equally important was the display of ideal citizenship that children were to embrace as they marched in order through the streets. The parade was usually the only aspect of the Sunday school festival that was free for all to observe. There is little doubt that the organizers used this opportunity to demonstrate the ideal roles of proper citizenship to new immigrants, the working class, and non-British people who may have been in attendance.

The children were front-and-centre at these events in the late 1850s and 1860s, but so was religion. While no evidence of explicit religious activity can be found on the nature excursions of the 1840s and 50s, the parades and picnics of the following decade had plenty. These events included scriptural messages on banners that were carried through parades and performances of Bible recitations and hymns. Even the simplest picnic or tea party included a sermon, an address on a scriptural passage, or a Christian lesson on the work of missionaries or temperance activists. The increased presence of ministers may be part of the reason for this increased religious expression, but the changing patterns of Protestantism and the broader shifts in culture were also at play.

More than a direct Christian message was being promoted at these leisure events. A particular model of social respectability was also constructed and reinforced through these activities. This desired performance of social respectability can be seen in nearly all aspects of the Sunday school parade, party, picnic, and festival. What is most significant about these public displays of respectability is that they differ not only from the leisure activities of earlier decades, but also from the Sunday school classroom.

One characteristic of this respectability was the gender roles assigned to men and women. In Sunday school classrooms women held the majority of teaching positions, as well as a number of other leadership

positions within the school and community. In the early to mid-nineteenth century in particular, women had a good deal of power within their Sunday school communities. Even in schools where older (teenage) boys had their own class, it was not unusual for their teacher to be a woman. While the typical Sunday school classroom featured a woman speaker, the related Sunday school festivals were different. As we have seen, at these festivals it was solely the men who addressed the crowds; women were delegated to baking and bringing the food.

Similarly, gender segregation among children was another issue on which there was a significant distinction between what occurred within and beyond the classroom. Sunday school classrooms were almost always co-educational, particularly before the teenage years, but even sometimes after. Boys and girls sat side-by-side and participated in the same classroom activities. In parades, however, we see that girls and boys did not walk side-by-side; these parades often segregated the children by gender by placing the girls in the front and the boys following behind them. Again, gender roles were not defined in the same way in these two spaces. When on display, gender segregation became a priority as respectability in public became an increasing concern.

Like gender, class-based integration was also practiced in the majority of Sunday schools in mid-nineteenth-century Ontario. Charity was an early goal of Sunday schools and the inclusion of working-class children remained a priority, even as more middle-class children attended in the 1840s. Through providing literacy education or through charity groups distributing clothes, Sunday schools did reach out to working-class children. The festivals and activities, however, were much more exclusive, primarily because of the obligatory ticket to enter. This price was often out of reach to many working-class community members. Other social constraints, described above, also indicate that preparation and participation was limited those in the middle class. Religious identity, along with a social respectability that defined roles according to gender and class, were all on display in the parades, picnics, and parties that Sunday schools hosted in the 1860s. For the first time, the lay participants and organizers saw a need to demonstrate these qualities, along with an explicit evangelism, through their children.

By the 1840s, Sunday schools had become widespread across Ontario. These schools were voluntary endeavours and their leaders needed to be creative in raising financial support from their lay advocates at a time when competing efforts were growing and resources for many

settlers were scarce. However important this financial aspect was, the daytrips and picnics on church grounds were more than simply fundraising efforts; they were cultural events shared between congregations, denominations, and often generations. These activities represent more than the hobbies and interests of the mid-nineteenth-century laity. A close look at the changing patterns in the spaces and practices of these events also demonstrates a changing religious culture.

From 1840 to 1859, the steamer excursion was the preferred activity for Sunday school groups across the province. These pleasure trips focused on nature and the environment, giving both child and adult participants a chance to reflect on the landscape of their colony. While there is little doubt that many participants interpreted this landscape through their Protestant worldview, these excursions were not primarily religious events. There were no ministers present, no hymns sung, no prayers for salvation, and no one distributing tracts or Bibles. This lack of religious excitement is not surprising given the context of Protestant Ontario in the 1840s. Evangelicals preferred outdoor revivals, class meetings, or exchanges with a traveling preacher to meet their religious needs; and the established churches knew their message was being promoted not only through their institutions, but also through the official channels of the state.

The religious culture of the province, however, was in a period of transformation in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Changing patterns of leisure activities provide one avenue through which the experience of the laity during this shift can be explored. Steamboat excursions declined as the option of choice for Sunday school socials. They were replaced by a new set of activities of an entirely different nature. The picnics, parades, and parties of the 1860s brought pupils, religion, and social respectability to the forefront.

As children marched in an orderly and eagerly way through their streets, evangelical banners in their hands, they demonstrated an increasing concern for society's salvation – an increasingly dominant theology of Social Christianity taken up by both the evangelical and more formal churches. As schools displayed the recitation skills of their top young students, they reflected the increasing desire of evangelicals to be seen as rational and intellectual, rather than overly emotional. As Anglican ministers spoke to the members of all the nearby churches while they enjoyed a picnic, they expressed their common Protestant goals for the youth of the nation.

Most significantly, these church communities had become increas-

ingly concerned with their public displays of social respectability. Their children were seen as well behaved and orderly. Men and women, as well as boys and girls, performed clearly prescribed gender roles and middle-class inclusiveness was practiced. This shift to a social Christianity, the disestablishment of the Church of England in Canada West, and the increased institutionalization of the Methodist Church were not theological and ecclesiastical changes that occurred beyond the everyday life of Protestant Ontarians. The emergence of a new and more unified Protestant consensus also shaped the recreational experiences of families across the province.

A boy who enjoyed a Sunday school trip on a steamboat over the waterways of the St. Lawrence River in the 1840s would not share that experience with his own children. Twenty years later, Sunday school events were held on land, and in public, in a province where a new Protestant culture had emerged.

Endnotes

1. For purposes of this paper, "Ontario" will refer to present-day Ontario, with the understanding that during the period of study this area was official called Canada West (1841-1867).

2. Lynne Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure, and Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Small-Town Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 5.

3. William Westfall, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989).

4. Westfall, *Two Worlds*; Micheal Gauvreau, "Protestantism Transformed: Personal Piety and the Evangelical Social Vision, 1815-1867," in *The Canadian Protestant Experience 1769 to 1990*, ed. George Rawlyk (Burlington, ON: Welch Publishing Co., 1990), 88-89; and John Webster Grant, *A Profusion Of Spires: Religion in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 152-85.

5. The decline of revivals and the removal of class meetings as a requirement of membership in the Methodist Church are the main topics of studies on lay experience. See Marguerite Van Die, "A March of Victory and Triumph of Praise of 'The Beauty of Holiness': Laity and the Evangelical Impulse in Canadian Methodism, 1800-1884," in *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, ed. George Rawlyk (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 73-89; and Marguerite Van Die, "'The Marks of a

Genuine Revival': Religion, Social Change, Gender, and Community in Mid-Victorian Brantford, Ontario," *Canadian Historical Review* 79, no. 3 (1998): 524-63.

6. Unless otherwise indicated, general statements about steamboat excursion activity are based on announcements and reports featured in the following newspapers and periodicals available on the Our Digital World (ourontario.ca) and Early Canadiana Online (eco.canadiana.ca) databases: *York Herald*, *New Era*, *York Commonwealth*, *Kingston Chronicle and Gazette*, *The Watchman*, *Young Churchman*, *Sunday School Guardian*, *Canadian Ecclesiastical Gazette*, *British Whig* (Kingston)*, Canadian Steamboat*, *Argus*, *Daily News*, *Comet*, *London Free Press*, and *Canadian Free Press.*

7. *Chronicle and Gazette*, 21 August 1841.

8. *The Canadian (Steamboat),* 31 March 1854.

9. *Comet*, 9 August 1860.

10. Grant, *A Profusion of Spires*, 103-7; and Neil Semple, *The Lord's Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 116-17 and 146-47.

11. For the meaning of other nineteenth-century parades in Canada see Michael Cottrell. "St. Patrick's Day Parades in Nineteenth-Century Toronto: A Study of Immigrant Adjustment and Elite Control," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 25, no. 49 (1992): 57-73; Peter Goheen, "Symbols in the Street," *Urban History Review* 18, no. 3 (1990): 237-43; and Craig Heron and Steve Penfold, "The Craftmen's Spectacle: Labour Day Parades in Canada, The Early Years," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 29, no. 58 (1996): 357-89.

12. Ian Radforth, *Royal Spectacle: The 1860 Visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada and the United States* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).

13. *York Herald*, 16 July 1860; *Young Churchman*, 1 September 1851; and *York Herald*, 9 September 1859.

14. *York Herald*, 15 November 1861.

15. *York Herald*, 26 August 1859.

16. *York Herald*, 9 September 1859.

17. *Young Churchman*, 1 November 1851.

18. *Young Churchman*, 1 September 1851.

19. *York Herald*, 16 July 1860.

20. *Young Churchman*, 1 November 1851.

21. *York Herald*, 15 November 1861; *Young Churchman*, 1 September 1851; and *Young Churchman*, 1 November 1851.

22. *York Herald*, 16 July 1860; and *Young Churchman,* 1 November 1851.

23. *York Herald*, 15 November 1861.

24. *York Herald*, 9 September 1859.

25. *York Herald,* 25 October 1861.

26. *York Herald*, 16 July 1860.

27. *York Herald*, 16 July 1860.

28. *York Herald,* 9 September 1859; *York Herald,* 16 July 1860; and *York Herald*, 26 August 1859.

29. *Hymns to be Sung by the Scholars of the Berkeley Street W.M Sabbath School, at Their Anniversary on Sunday and Monday Oct. 14 & 15* (Toronto: Globe Printing Company, 1867), 9.

30. *New Era*, 15 July 1859.

31. *London Free Press*, 10 August 1866.

32. *York Commonwealth*, 7 January 1859.

33. *York Herald*, 13 September 1861.

34. *York Herald,* 9 September 1859.

35. *Young Churchman*, 1 November 1851.

36. *York Herald*, 15 November 1861.

37. *York Herald,* 6 July 1860.

38. *New Era*, 15 July 1859.

39. *Young Churchman*, 1 November 1851.

40. The average wage for unskilled labourers in the 1840s was just over fifty cents (two shillings) per day. Ruth Bleasdale, "Class Conflict on the Canals of Upper Canada in the 1840s," *Labour/Le Travail* 7 (1981): 15.

41. *York Herald*, 15 November, 1861.

42. *York Herald,* 13 September 1861.

43. See Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks*.

44. *York Herald,* 6 July 1860.

45. *York Herald,* 9 September 1859.

46. *New Era,* 15 July 1859.

47. *Young Churchman*, 1 September 1851.

48. *New Era*, 15 July 1859.

49. *Young Churchman*, 1 September 1851.

50. Twentieth-century church picnics have been especially significant in immigrant communities in Canada. See Joshua C. Blank, "Pitching, Pies, and Piety: Early Twentieth Century St. Hedwig's Parish Picnics," *CCHA Historical Studies* 76 (2010): 61-85.

51. Grant, *A Profusion of Spires*, 153-69.

52. Grant, *A Profusion of Spires*, 152-53.

"College Has Been the Means of My Conversion": The Empowering Role of Evangelicalism at Southern Women's Colleges, 1800-65

JESSICA VANDERHEIDE
Trinity Western University

The history of evangelicalism and women in the antebellum South is often presented as a narrative of oppression. Scott Stephan accurately describes existing scholarship on religion and southern women when he writes that, "the traditional starting point for most studies on evangelical women in the antebellum South [has constituted] what religion did to women."[1] Rejecting the notion that evangelicalism played only a restricting role in southern women's lives, Stephan challenges scholars to examine not only "what religion did to women," but also "what religion did for women."[2] While scholars may agree theoretically with this approach, Stephan's challenge has nonetheless gone unheeded in many aspects of historians' actual work. This is certainly the case with scholarship on southern women's higher education. Preoccupied with demonstrating that southern women's education was engendered in such a way as to shape young women into submissive southern ladies, scholarship on southern women's education simply assumes that evangelicalism, being one of the means to shape young women into ladies, played a fundamentally oppressive role in southern women's lives.[3] This interpretation may be substantiated by an examination of institutional records, which highlight the role of evangelicalism in shaping (sometimes oppressive) educational ideals, but an examination of women's recollections of the religious life on campus presents a more complex story. For while evangelical ideals were often propagated by college authorities to remind female students of their roles as pious and submissive persons, evangelicalism also enabled college

women to challenge the notion that they were passive creatures who were dependent on male authority and allowed them to explore new identities as independent women.

As one of "the cultural engines of the South," evangelicalism played a major role in shaping southern gender ideals.[4] In particular, the Second Great Awakening, a spiritual revival that took place approximately between 1790 and 1835, played an especially influential role in shaping antebellum women's identities, giving rise to what Barbara Welter has termed the "Cult of True Womanhood."[5] The evangelical fervour that accompanied the Second Great Awakening shaped woman's identity in at least two ways. First, women's active participation in evangelical revivalism spurred the idea that women were by nature a pious sex. Women were heavily involved in revivalism, going out to hear preachers and then returning home to convert husbands and children.[6] Second, the Second Great Awakening "attracted far more women than men" and women began to dominate elements of church life.[7] Women "constituted the largest increase in church membership" during this period, outnumbering men by sixty to forty per cent.[8]

Women's involvement in the Second Great Awakening, then, affirmed the idea that women were naturally more disposed towards religion than men. Sermons and poems published and distributed by and for southerners insisted that, because "God hath made a woman's nature holier than man's," women were to "yield the wand of [moral] power" over their more degenerate male counterparts and thereby regenerate the world. This mission to regenerate the world was especially important given that the Second Great Awakening's emphasis on personal choice in regards to salvation (versus earlier preoccupation with predestination) meant that it was now viewed as insecure. As a result, there was "an urgency exist[ent] among the stalwart to 'get religion.'"[9] Women, with their "superior devotional feelings," bore the important responsibility of leading individuals and society to salvation.[10]

In addition to reinforcing the idea that women were naturally pious individuals who bore the responsibility of morally regenerating society, the evangelicalism that accompanied the Second Great Awakening suggested that women were dependent creatures. At the same time that southern evangelicalism granted women power by labelling them moral superiors, it also, somewhat paradoxically, reinforced the notion that women were by nature meant to be subordinate to men. In fact, it was women's very moral superiority and proclivity towards spiritual devotion

that explained her secondary position. According to nineteenth-century southern writers, the same quality that enabled woman to be so purely dependent on God made her dependent on man as well. In his famous "Dissertation on the Characteristic Differences between the Sexes," Thomas Dew linked woman's dependence on God with her natural weakness and passivity, writing that, unlike a man, who is an active creature, a woman "throws her arms into the arms of the divinity and awaits the result . . . she is carried forward by powers that are not hers, by energies that she is unable to control."[11] Similarly, in her 1828 *Letters on Female Character*, Virginia Cary wrote that it is "*because of* their very physical inferiority and vulnerability that women are superior to men in religiosity."[12] Because the same weakness that reminded women of their need for God's protection made them reliant on man's protection, their position in relation to men was a subordinate one.

The gender ideals that accompanied the Second Great Awakening directly inspired the establishment of the southern woman's college. Beginning in the 1790s and extending into the 1850s, southern churches founded a plethora of institutions devoted to women's higher education. Over eighty per cent of female colleges in the South were closely associated with one of four denominations: Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, and Episcopalian.

That women's colleges were at least partially established in order to reinforce emerging evangelical gender ideals is obvious in their efforts to cultivate the feminine ideals of piety and submission. That colleges worked to reinforce women's identities as pious individuals is evident in a number of ways. First, the stated aims of institutions reveal that the ultimate purpose of women's education was to cultivate women's piety. The Board of Trustees at Mary Baldwin College announced in their annual address that the college's "aim [was] first to prepare each child to live in time with a wise reference to eternity."[13] A circular released for Harmony Female College similarly declared that, "the religion of Jesus Christ is the best part of all education, the ornament of all ornaments" and therefore would be at the forefront of women's education.[14] And the Board of Elizabeth Academy in Washington, Mississippi, justified raising support for its college by arguing that women's virtue was best guaranteed by education.[15] Second, working to fulfill these stated aims, the curriculum and practices followed at women's colleges reveal that these institutions intended to remind women of their identities as purveyors of piety. The Bible was to be "the first text-book" of the woman's college,[16] the

"exercises of each day [were] commenced by reading the Bible and prayer,"[17] and students were "required to attend Divine Services on the Sabbath."[18] Not only were students required to take part in explicitly religious coursework and practices, but they were also reminded that every aspect of their education was grounded in religion. As Mary Watters points out in her examination of Mary Baldwin College, women's study of various subjects was justified on religious grounds: geology "because it reveals the glories of God's creation," etymology because it "form[s] the soul for its immortal destiny,"[19] and astronomy because it cultivated admiration for God's works and gave "rise to a new field of devotion" that was "above the reach of vulgar minds."[20] Finally, that college was meant to cultivate piety in female students is clear in parents' reasons for sending their daughters to college. Writing to his daughter Lou who was a student at Wesleyan College in the 1850s, Dr. Sanders reminded her that "religion is the most essential, all-important quality of education" and thus that she needed "above all" to "know the Lord Jesus Christ as [her] Saviour."[21] Similarly, R.W. Bailey reminded his daughters that they were "being educated for eternity," and thus, that while in college, they needed to continually ask themselves "[w]hat bearing and influence is this to have on my eternal interests?"[22]

Proponents of women's education made clear that the cultivation of women's piety through education was not only meant to ensure the salvation of individual women, but rather to redeem the entire society. While education was intended to prepare women for the home rather than the workforce, southern proponents of female education argued that educated women's influence could extend beyond the domestic sphere and into society through women's influence on men. One popular proponent of women's education, R.W. Bailey, suggested that one of the "true reasons" women were to be educated was because they exercised the power to convert family members into Christian believers and thereby transform society. To illustrate his point, Bailey quoted John Randolph, who famously asserted "I should have been an infidel had it not been for the influence exerted on me by my mother, as she taught me to kneel at her side, and fold my little hands and say, 'Our Father who art in heaven.'"[23] According to Bailey, it was through witnessing female piety that husbands could decide what was right for society.[24] Furthermore, proponents of female education argued that educated women in particular were in a special position to transform society because of their ability to converse with men on an intellectual level. As Ronald Lora and William Henry

Longton point out in their analysis of the *Southern Ladies' Book*, a magazine established in conjunction with the founding of Georgia Female College in the 1830s, proponents of women's education such as George Foster Pierce and Philip Coleman Pendleton believed that women could fulfill their duty of morally regenerating society by raising men up from "gross sensuality" to "the world of the mind."[25] They could do this, the editors of the *Southern Ladies' Book* suggested, by gaining an education and "bring[ing] [their] 'magic power to the aid of Literature.'"[26] By focusing men's minds on virtue, women would inadvertently impel men to "produce an authentic southern literature" that would transform society.[27]

In addition to working to shape young women into pious individuals who were prepared to transform society morally by converting their future husbands, women's colleges aimed to reinforce female students' assumedly ordained identities as dependent and submissive women. Not only did the authorities at women's colleges constantly remind female students that their education was primarily intended to prepare them to be pleasing wives, they also employed strict rules to foster submission. Women's colleges used strict codes of conduct, outlining when and with whom students could leave campus, what they were allowed to buy, and with whom they were able to visit in campus parlours. What is significant is that it was considered essential for female students to obey the rules set by college authorities not only because this kept order, but also because doing so reinforced women's subordinate position within society. In his *Letters to Daughters at School*, Bailey wrote to his daughters saying that he "require[d] in [their] teachers not only the ability to teach, but [the] authority to govern,"[28] because "the youth who does not regard [her] teacher . . . with the subjection rendered a protector, is not prepared to profit suitably by his instructions" and will "receive lessons of insubordination"[29] that will cause the pupil to disregard other authority after leaving college – namely, male patriarchs.[30]

Not surprisingly, contemporary scholars often see the evangelical ideals of piety and submission espoused by the southern women's colleges as oppressive. Within the southern context, the ideals of piety and submission were important markers of social position; social position, in turn, was extremely important in a slave society – a society in which every person was understood as having a particular position and was warned not to challenge it lest the whole structure of society fail. Characterizations of white women as pious and dependent, while not necessarily oppressive

descriptors, justified women's secondary position within society. Celebrating women's assumedly natural piety not only placed a heavy responsibility upon women to be moral and often resulted in double standards, but also suggested that women, naturally pure and passive, were in need of male protection – a need that could only be fulfilled through obedience. Obligated to obey male patriarchs, white women were in a position somewhat similar to black slaves, with "husbands and masters" being the same person.

But, even given the reality that religious ideals could be oppressive, does this mean that evangelicalism as a whole was always a restricting force in southern women's lives? How did women experience evangelicalism while at college? Paying attention to women's recollections seems to suggest that female students exerted agency in their religious lives, both embracing and challenging the evangelical ideals of womanhood that were espoused through their educations.

Like their counterparts in wider southern society, college women often embraced their prescribed roles as spiritual beings. Taught that their identities were linked to morally regenerating the world, female students' behaviour suggests that they believed that it was not only their duty to prepare for taking on their roles as redeemers of the home, but also to offer spiritual guidance to one another while at college. That this was the case is most obvious in students' obsession with spiritual revivals and their preoccupation with ensuring their classmates' personal salvation. The diary of Ella Gertrude Thomas, a student at Wesleyan Female College in the late 1840s and early 1850s, does a particularly thorough job of describing the culture of piety young women cultivated while at college. Reporting that college "had been the means of [her own] conversion,"[31] Thomas demonstrates the general interest college women had in evangelicalism in her chronicling of the "glorious revivals" that took place weekly at Wesleyan, both through formal prayer meetings and more informal student gatherings.[32]

In formal prayer meetings, students expressed their concern that their peers should grow spiritually and/or "obtain religion." Thomas notes the frequency and intensity of formal meetings in her journal, recording the number of those converted at each. On 2 February 1849, Thomas writes, "today we had a glorious revival. Sallie Tucker, Victoria Holt, Amy Sparks, Joe Freeman, Lou Warrington, [and] Lou Warner have been converted.[33] Just four days later, Thomas records another prayer meeting, this time noting that two more of her peers "became converted."[34]

Repeatedly throughout her journal Thomas chronicles the "glorious meeting[s]" held on campus and the consequent "blessed conversion of souls to God."[35] In all, Thomas notes that more than twenty-two female students were converted through prayer meetings during her short time at Wesleyan.[36]

In addition to expressing concern for peers' spiritual lives through formal prayer meetings, students worked to inspire religious zeal in their fellow classmates by holding informal gatherings in their rooms and engaging one another in religious conversations. At times, the revivalism that was sparked at formal prayer meetings concluded with students gathering in dorm rooms to continue experiencing "manifestation[s] of God" late into the night.[37] After a Sunday night prayer meeting at which two girls "became converted," Thomas "set up with Puss Tinsley all night."[38] On other occasions, students met in one another's rooms to witness conversions. Thomas records how she was called to Ria Easterling's room to witness Easterling being "happy."[39] The next day, Thomas spent the afternoon in Bettie William's room with "a great many girls" who "were seeking religion."[40] A few hours later, she "went down to Daughter Solomon's room to see Bell Fernandez, [who] was perfectly happy lying on the bed and shouting the praises of God."[41] And, that evening, Thomas joined other students in celebrating classmate Sue Evan's "obtain[ing] religion."[42]

That many students embraced their prescribed identities as pious regenerators is especially evident in their concern for their peers who did not show signs of conversion or spiritual growth even when urged to do so at student gatherings. Thomas pays particular attention in her diary to students whom she deems in need of spiritual conversion and whose salvation she is "anxious" about.[43] Repeatedly throughout her college years Thomas makes mention of Joe Freeman, a girl whom Thomas "dearly love[s]" and "take[s] a very great interest in," but considers unresponsive to evangelical Christianity.[44] Describing one particularly exciting evening gathering in Daughter Solomon's room, Thomas notes that, "there appeared to be but little feeling on [Joe's] side."[45] Joe "stood apparently unheeding prayers to kneel."[46] Astonished by what she calls Joe's "invincib[ility]" on this particular evening, Thomas takes the responsibility for Joe's salvation upon herself. A little less than a month after the meeting in Daughter Solomon's room, Thomas pleads with Joe "to go and be prayed for" at church, but Joe would, ultimately, "not be persuaded."[47] While Joe's spiritual state is of primary importance to

Thomas, she is not the only one Thomas shows concern for in her diary. After "talk[ing] with Mary Tucker on the subject of religion" over dinner one evening, Thomas writes, "How interested I feel for her. How anxious I am with reference to her spiritual welfare."[48]

While the detailed attention Thomas gives to the religious activities at Wesleyan is certainly remarkable, the evangelical culture she describes developing at the school was not uncommon for women's colleges generally. Rather, the type of religious culture outlined in Thomas' diary, a culture that was preoccupied with female students' spiritual growth and/or conversion, was a common element of the southern woman's college. Noting the development of a similar religious culture at the school she was attending in the 1850s, Mary Bailey informed her father that "a revival of religion [had] commenced in [her] school [and] many young ladies [were] anxiously inquiring what they sh[ould] do to be saved."[49] According to Mary, "several [of her peers] ha[d] already obtained a hope of pardon" and she "humbly place[d] her own name in that class."[50] In her journal, Susan Nye Hutchison, a teacher at a Raleigh woman's college, also noted that a similar religious revival was taking place at Athens Female College.[51]

By concentrating on spirituality while at school, young women embraced the idea that their identities were linked to piety and moral regeneration. At the same time as they reinforced the Protestant ideal of the Christian woman, however, they also, somewhat paradoxically, extended beyond and even challenged the ideal. In their very upholding of the image of the pious woman, female students exercised an independence that southern evangelicalism did not necessarily intend to grant them. Rather than simply adhering to the idea that they be passive and submissive, young women used the authority granted them in religion to be the leaders of their own lives while at college.

In the midst of fulfilling the expectation that they be pious individuals, female students used the authority granted them in religion to challenge strict rules outlined by colleges. In reading Thomas's journal it becomes clear that focusing on peers' spiritual conditions provided students with the opportunity to create their own rules and schedules. Numerous entries in Thomas's journal describe how a preoccupation with spirituality became an excuse for neglecting homework and skipping class. Staying up to "hear the girls sing until eleven" during one particularly exciting evening of "glorious revival" hindered Thomas from reading over her lesson.[52] On another occasion she "ask[ed] Mr. Stone to excuse her

from recitation" so that she could go down to Daughter Solomon's room to check on Bell Fernandez, who, she reports, "was perfectly happy lying on the bed shouting the praises of God."[53] At times attention to religious matters concluded in Thomas both neglecting her homework and skipping class. Too busy talking to her peers to prepare for her astronomy class, Thomas "stayed away from recitation and from 11 to 12 was in Fannie Floyd's room talking to her."[54] Again, a few weeks later, Thomas notes that she "did not attend Dr. Ellison's recitation in Astronomy or Mr. Stone's recitation in Natural Philosophy."[55] While religious reasons seemed to excuse Thomas from classes at times, eventually her lack of attention to college schedules and rules dissatisfied college authorities. On one Wednesday evening Thomas "received the harshest reproof [she] ever did receive" from Mr. Stone, a teacher whose classes Thomas had been repeatedly skipping.[56]

In addition to using their identities as religious persons to neglect homework and skip classes, female students set their own rules and schedules by staying up late and being noisy. Detailing Sue Evans's evening conversion, Thomas writes, "all [the girls] were shouting and praying and making a good deal of noise when someone said [their instructor] Mr. Myers was coming [down the hallway]." Displeased with the girls' behaviour, Mr. Myers "requested [them] to come to [their] rooms" and he did this in such a manner that "all [the young women] stopped shouting immediately and left the room."[57] Rather than paying strict attention to the rules outlined for them, rules that, according to parents, were intended to remind them of the place of authority in their lives and so prepare them to be submissive later in life,[58] students used religion as a way to challenge college rules and exercise authority in their own lives.

Examining the religious culture that developed at women's colleges both highlights the ironies existent within southern evangelical ideals and sheds light on broader issues within historical scholarship. An analysis of the religious culture that developed at women's colleges suggests that southern evangelicalism was full of ironies and that it was amidst these ironies that college women found the space to exert agency in their lives. While common interpretations of the Bible suggested that women were by nature dependent creatures whose priority it was to obey male patriarchs, the very status evangelicalism granted to women as pious individuals challenged the notion that women were helpless creatures who should take on only subordinate roles within society. For in simply using the religious

authority granted them, southern women simultaneously revealed their ability to be independent, authoritative figures. This was certainly the case at the southern woman's college, where young women fulfilled their identities as pious individuals at the same time that they challenged their supposedly dependent nature.

At the same time that evangelicalism encouraged young women to maintain identities as spiritual beings, it also stipulated that they remain passive and submissive – a combination which, considering the very "active, noisy, physical, and enthusiastic" nature of southern evangelicalism, proved impossible to accomplish.[59] In female students' very embrace of their identities as pious individuals, therefore, they encountered a religion that was itself inconsistent with the evangelical ideal of female passivity.[60] It was in the midst of these tensions inherent in southern evangelical ideals that women shaped their lives and identities.

An examination of the religious cultures at women's colleges also sheds light on wider issues within both southern women's history and American religious history. The ways in which female students shaped their lives through their religious behaviour reveal that, despite what scholarly narratives suggest, women were not simply victims of southern religion.[61] By concentrating on the spiritual conditions of their fellow peers, women embraced their prescribed roles as pious individuals who were concentrated on morally regenerating society. In the midst of embracing this role, however, young women collectively challenged their identities as passive and dependent beings. Recognizing that southern college women both challenged and contributed to southern gender ideals through their cultivation of a religious culture draws attention to their roles as social actors and underlines the problem with viewing religion as a monolithic force in southern women's lives.[62]

An analysis of the influence of evangelicalism in female students' lives is equally important for broader historical scholarship. It suggests that examining diverse types of sources and embracing an interdisciplinary approach benefits scholarly efforts to understand the influence of Christianity in historical persons' lives. Extending analyses beyond traditional religious sources (such as sermons and religious tracts) and typical religious contexts (such as churches) complicates monolithic interpretations of Christian history and contributes to a re-envisioning of religious history.[63]

Endnotes

1. Scott Stephan, *Redeeming the Southern Family: Evangelical Women and Domestic Devotion in the Antebellum South* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2008), 14.

2. Stephan, *Redeeming the Southern Family*, 14.

3. Few scholars say this directly, but their analyses imply it by suggesting that women's education, which included a vigorous religious education, was propagandizing in nature. See, for example, Sally G. McMillen, *Southern Women: Black and White in the Old South,* 2nd ed. (Arlington Heights: Harlan Davison, 2002), 92-100; and Patricia Palmieri, "Women's Colleges," in *Women in Academe: Progress and Prospects*, ed. Mariam K. Chamberlain (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1991), 111.

4. Donald G. Matthews, "Introduction," in *Religion in the American South: Protestants and Others in History and Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 3.

5. Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," *American Quarterly* 18 (1966): 151-74.

6. Rosemary Skinner Keller, Rosemary Radford Ruether, and Marie Cantlon, "Protestant Women's Colleges in the United States," in *The Encyclopaedia of Women and Religion in North America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 1:xxxiv.

7. Tina Stewart Brakebill and Celestia Rice Colby, *"Circumstances are Destiny": an Antebellum Woman's Struggle to Define Sphere* (Kent: Kent State University Press, 2006), 10.

8. Victoria Boynton and Jo Malin, ed., *Encyclopedia of Women's Autobiography: K-Z* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2005), 8.

9. Jean E. Friedman, *The Enclosed Garden: Women and Community in the Evangelical South, 1830-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 35.

10. Stephan further outlines woman's role as redeemer of the southern family in his work *Redeeming the Southern Family*.

11. Dew, "Dissertation on the Characteristic Differences between the Sexes, and on the Position and Influence of Woman in Society, No. III," 690.

12. Virginia Cary as quoted by Elizabeth R. Varon, *We Mean to be Counted: White Women & Politics in Antebellum Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 14. Emphasis mine.

13. As quoted by Mary Watters, "The History of Mary Baldwin College, 1842-1942" (Ph.D. diss., Mary Baldwin College, 1942), 23.

14. Harmony Female College, "Circular of Harmony Female College, Sumter Mineral Springs, South Carolina, for 1859" (Sumter Mineral Springs, SC: Harmony, 1859), 6. Available online: http://www.archive.org/ stream/circular ofharmon00pres #page/n17/mode/2up (accessed 3 February 2012).

15. Catherine Clinton, "Equally Their Due: The Education of the Planter Daughter in the Early Republic," *Journal of the Early Republic* 2 (1982): 48.

16. As quoted in Watters, "The History of Mary Baldwin College," 22.

17. Athens Female College, *Second Annual Catalogue of the Officers and Pupils of Athens Female College at Athens, Tennessee (July 5, 1860)*, 14-15.

18. Athens Female College, *Second Annual Catalogue of the Officers and Pupils of Athens Female College at Athens, Tennessee (July 5, 1860)*, 14-15; Greenville Woman's College, *Catalogue of the Trustees, Faculty, and Students of the Greenville Baptist Female College* (Greenville, SC: Greenville Baptist Female College, 1857), 13; and Watters, "The History of Mary Baldwin College," 22.

19. Watters, "The History of Mary Baldwin College," 22.

20. Rufus W. Bailey, *Daughters in School Instructed in a Series of Letters* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Education, 1857), 224.

21. Sanders, 15 July 1862; quoted by Pearl J. Young in "'Genius uncultivated is like a meteor of the night': Motives and Experiences of Methodist Female College Life in the Confederate States of America," *Methodist History* 47, no. 3 (2009): 190.

22. Bailey, *Daughters in School Instructed in a Series of Letters*, 11.

23. Bailey, *Daughters in School Instructed in a Series of Letters*, 207.

24. Bailey, *Daughters in School Instructed in a Series of Letters*, 207.

25. Ronald Lora and William Henry Longton, ed., *The Conservative Press in Eighteenth-and Nineteenth-Century America* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1999), 169.

26. Lora and Longton, ed., *Conservative Press in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century America*, 169.

27. Lora and Longton, ed., *Conservative Press in Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century America*, 169.

28. Bailey, *Daughters in School Instructed in a Series of Letters*, 155.

29. Bailey, *Daughters in School Instructed in a Series of Letters*, 156.

30. Bailey, *Daughters in School Instructed in a Series of Letters*, 157.

31. Ella Gertrude Clanton Thomas, *The Secret Eye: The Journal of Ella Gertrude Thomas, 1848-1889,* ed. Virginia Ingraham Burr (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 82.

32. Thomas, *The Secret Eye*, 83-92.

33. Thomas, *The Secret Eye*, 83-92.

34. Thomas, *The Secret Eye*, 83.

35. Thomas, *The Secret Eye*, 86-7.

36. Thomas, *The Secret Eye*, 82- 3, 86-8, 92.

37. Thomas, *The Secret Eye*, 83.

38. Thomas, *The Secret Eye*, 83.

39. Thomas, *The Secret Eye*, 87.

40. Thomas, *The Secret Eye*, 87.

41. Thomas, *The Secret Eye*, 87.

42. Thomas, *The Secret Eye,* 88.

43. Thomas, *The Secret Eye,* 87.

44. Thomas, *The Secret Eye*, 87. It is peculiar that Thomas cites Joe Freeman as one of the girls who was converted on 2 February1849, but then outlines Freeman's unresponsiveness to Christianity throughout the rest of her journal. Perhaps Thomas believed that Freeman's conversion was not total or genuine.

45. Thomas, *The Secret Eye*, 88.

46. Thomas, *The Secret Eye*, 88.

47. Thomas, *The Secret Eye*, 92.

48. Thomas, *The Secret Eye*, 87.

49. Mary Bailey's letters as described by her father, Bailey, *Daughters in School Instructed in a Series of Letters*, 39.

50. Bailey, *Daughters in School Instructed in a Series of Letters*, 39.

51. Susan Nye Hutchison, Journal entry for 10 November 1826. Available online: http://www.lib.unc.edu/mss/inv/h/Hutchison,Susan_Davis_Nye.html

52. Thomas, *The Secret Eye,* 87.

53. Thomas, *The Secret Eye*, 87.

54. Thomas, *The Secret Eye*, 84.

55. Thomas, *The Secret Eye*, 88.

56. Thomas*, The Secret Eye*, 92. Thomas does not explicitly state that the reason she received a "harsh reproof" from Mr. Stone was because of her skipping his classes, but given that Thomas repeatedly mentions neglecting homework from, and skipping, this class, it is inferred.

57. Thomas, *The Secret Eye*, 88.

58. Bailey, *Daughters in School Instructed in a Series of Letters,* 156-157.

59. Anna M. Lawrence, "The Fires of Evangelicalism in the Cauldron of the Early Republic: Race, Class, and Gender in the Second Great Awakening," in *Early Republic: People and Perspectives,* ed. Andrew K. Frank (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 2009), 163.

60. Lawrence, "The Fires of Evangelicalism in the Cauldron of the Early Republic," 163.

61. Stephan outlines the tendency existent in scholarship to study only what "religion did to southern women" in his work *Redeeming the Southern Family*, 14.

62. George Rable, *Civil Wars: Women and the Crisis of Southern Nationalism* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 271.

63. Harry S. Stout and D.G. Hart, ed., *New Directions in American Religious History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 5.

Myth Meets Reality:
Canadian Presbyterians and the Great War

STUART MACDONALD
Knox College, Toronto

In his article "The Great War," which appeared in the final volume of the *Cambridge History of Christianity*, Michael Snape summarizes the themes and historiography that have developed related to the Christian churches' response to the First World War. He notes that "much harsh and self-righteous criticism" has been leveled at the "churches' wartime attitudes and activities."[1] To quote him further: "the historiography of Christianity during the war years has been heavily focused on the churches and their leadership and has been strongly influenced by the pacifism of the inter-war and Cold War eras."[2] He goes on to recognize that while there is "plenty of scope for moralizing and recrimination," these themes have confused our understanding of these years. Again, to quote Michael Snape: "what they have obscured is the fundamental fact that the churches interpreted the war and their role within it in the light of their nineteenth-century experiences and outlook, not in the more chastened spirit of later decades of the twentieth."[3]

An important point has been made here. If there is one thing historians should be concerned about, it is the possibility that we might be unfairly reading back into the past values and expectations from a later time, in particular from our own times. We as historians struggle with our biases, those we are conscious of as well as those of which we may remain unaware. That attitudes to war changed in the twentieth century should not be a surprise. To state the obvious, the Great War did not succeed in ending all wars; instead, it laid the seeds for another, even greater

conflagration. The Second World War, in turn, was followed by a seemingly endless series of often-horrible conflicts. Given this, it is understandable why, in the midst of the nuclear arms race in the mid-1980s, one might look back critically at a previous generation of members of the Canadian churches who seemed to let their religious convictions be swept away by nationalistic rhetoric.[4] Michael Snape makes an important point. Our historical judgments are shaped by the times and events through which we live. Indeed, it is probably worth noting that while concerns about nuclear proliferation changed significantly with the collapse of the Soviet Union, other events, notably the terrorist attacks on the United States on 11 September 2001, continue to influence our understandings of the issues surrounding war and peace. These are contexts that shape our judgment of the past. The very real challenge is to try to see the past in its own terms and with its own values and understandings clearly in play. We should not underestimate how difficult this is. We also need to be willing to examine the extent to which these, and other, values have affected the manner in which we have researched and written about World War I and churches, including the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

The literature on Canadian Presbyterians and their response to World War I has developed slowly over the last decades. In studying the historiography of how Canadian Presbyterians responded to and were affected by the Great War, there are two distinct places where we might start. The first was Edward A. Christie's thesis, "The Presbyterian Church in Canada and its Official Attitude Toward Public Affairs and Social Problems 1875-1925."[5] The second was Michael Bliss's crucial article on Methodists and World War I.[6] Each of these starting places reminds us that the attitudes and actions of Canadian Presbyterians in World War I cannot be studied in isolation either from the denomination's broader attitudes and values or in isolation from other Christian denominations. Christie's thesis situates attitudes towards war within a larger study of the denomination's official positions on a variety of social issues, from temperance to industrial action. His sources were largely the decisions made by the denomination at the yearly General Assembly and the various denominational magazines. Christie's work has been crucial in demonstrating the fundamental fact that Presbyterians strongly supported the war from beginning to the end, including conscription. As Michelle Fowler has recently noted, Christie was deeply troubled by many of the opinions that Presbyterians expressed during the Great War.[7] In no small part due to his discomfort with some of the statements made in the *Record,* the *Presbyte-*

rian and Westminster, the *Presbyterian Witness* and by the General Assembly itself, Christie may have placed too much stress on some of the dissenting opinions or opinions that were more judicious and less hyper-patriotic. The discussion often seems to focus on one journal, the *Presbyterian*, which was "more cautious at the outset and talked much of peace and the means of preserving peace, for some months before succumbing to the pressure of an all-out war effort by English Canada."[8] The *Presbyterian* was more cautious, but we should not confuse caution or careful language with a lack of active support for the war. Christie may also have over-emphasized statements discussing peace before and after the conflict. The General Assembly's support for the League of Nations in 1920, and an editorial in the *Record* speaking about a warless world, led Christie to suggest that clearly "some real soul-searching has been going on, and at last has evolved an attitude toward war which appears to be more consistent with the Christian faith of a great Canadian church."[9] This stress on those minority voices calling for an end to war has had an influence on the historiography of Presbyterians in World War I; however, it would be appropriate to ask whether we have over-emphasized these voices and, at times, misinterpreted their intent.

Michael Bliss's arguments have also been fundamental to the study of Canadian Presbyterian responses to the war.[10] Bliss's approach reminds us that there was a common Protestant experience during the war, including vigorous support for the Imperial war effort, recruitment, support of conscription, and the role played by chaplains.[11] Another important article was David Marshall's "Methodism Embattled: a Reconsideration of the Methodist Church and World War I," which stresses that the experience of those at the front – including chaplains – was dramatically different from the experience of those who only knew the home front.[12] At the same time, both Bliss and Marshall are suggesting that the war was in some way a watershed. For Bliss the war helped to intensify the reforming zeal of Canadian Methodists, making them the most radical of North American religious denominations by the last year of the war. The church was willing to use the power of the state to build its vision of a Christian society; that vision was popular at the end of the war, but it faded in the 1920s.[13] For Marshall, the war, particularly for those who fought in the trenches, changed attitudes and values, particularly those values related to the building of a reformed society. These efforts were ultimately unsuccessful. Marshall suggested: "In its wake, the Great War contributed to the more secular atmosphere of the 1920s."[14] For both, the

war transformed the churches and those who fought in it. It certainly changed the place of the Methodists in Canadian society.

This idea of World War I as a watershed that changed the Protestant churches can be seen in other writings. My own study of Thomas Eakin's preaching – influenced and informed by both Christie and Bliss – assumed that the war changed attitudes and tried to understand why that was the case.[15] I was particularly struck by how Thomas Eakin moved from seeing the war as a just war to comparing it to a holy war or crusade. With Michael Bliss, I saw this as a product of the propaganda used in World War I.[16] I noted the specific references to the Bryce Commission and other anti-German propaganda in Eakin's sermons. This view that Imperial propaganda played a key role among Canadian Presbyterians is one of the themes recently challenged by Michelle Fowler in her Master's thesis and subsequent articles.[17] Fowler makes a compelling case that the German military actions – some of which clearly were seen at the time, and should be so understood now, as atrocities – were well known from the early days of the war and provided ample cause for seeing the war as a just struggle from the very beginning.[18] In addition, the work that Gordon Heath has done on Canadian Protestant churches in the Boer War has demonstrated that the attitudes that historians once saw as developing during the Great War had already been expressed during that earlier conflict. These were attitudes being recycled, not created.[19] These are important correctives. At the same time, I still remain interested in what it was that drove one particular individual, Thomas Eakin, to use more extreme language as the war progressed. Others may have seen the war as a crusade from the beginning, but Eakin provides us with at least one example of someone who came to use harsher language to define the war only later in the conflict. One might theorize that it was the on-going and escalating cost of the war that led to this change, not any propaganda. At the same time, we should recognize that the dominant voices were interpreting this as a just war and even as a holy war from very early in the conflict, using phrases they had already used during the war in South Africa.

Our understanding of Canadian Presbyterians in World War I has improved over the decades as historians have looked at a variety of topics. Duff Crerar has studied the important role of chaplaincy and Bob Anger has applied his insights to Presbyterian chaplains.[20] Murray Angus has explored Presbyterians and Methodists in Nova Scotia in World War I, demonstrating the strong similarities between these traditions and their support of the war.[21] Individual Presbyterians have been the subject of

study,[22] notably C.W. Gordon (Ralph Connor), who, through his novels, speeches, and other writings, has provided a fascinating lens into a variety of areas.[23] Our understanding of Canadian Presbyterians in World War I has also benefited from studies of the history of propaganda and Jonathan Vance's work on memory and memorialization.[24] Studies of the role of women during the war, similar to one done dealing with the Methodist church,[25] and of memorials in Presbyterian churches would be enlightening. The war has continued to be seen in light of other topics affecting Canadian Presbyterians, including church union, colleges, and the social gospel. Most of these studies have been influenced in one way or another by the themes developed by Edward Christie and Michael Bliss. Indeed, it would be fair to say that some basic facts have been clearly established. These include the very strong and active support for the war that Presbyterian Church in Canada shared with the other major Canadian Protestant denominations. Such debate as there has been has concerned how we should understand and explain that support.

Michelle Fowler has strongly criticized the way historians have interpreted the Canadian Presbyterians' involvement in the war: "The argument presented by Bliss and echoed in many subsequent studies of Canadian attitudes towards conflict was influenced by postwar revisionism about the origins and significance of the war and reinforced by anti-war attitudes that developed during the 1960s."[26] Fowler notes that her study "attempts to avoid that use of temporal snobbery, that is the belief that our morality changes for the better simply by the passage of time"[27] as she examines the Presbyterian press in the Great War. As already noted, Fowler has made a compelling case for the early justification of the war as a result of the German brutality in the invasion of Belgium in the early days of the war. Equally significantly, she has demonstrated that the Presbyterian press was opposed to any thought of a negotiated settlement in the latter years of the war.[28] These are two key findings. At the same time, all historians write from their own temporal perspective. What is the perspective from which we are looking at the past? How have we been shaped by our own experiences? How have we been shaped by the literature that has developed about the past? The challenge of understanding the churches' strong support for the war has been made more difficult as a result of Thomas P. Socknat's study of pacifism in Canada.[29] Socknat was very clear in recognizing that the word "pacifism" has meant different things: "Since its initial appearance shortly before the Great War, 'pacifism' has often referred both to the belief that war is absolutely and

always wrong, and to the belief that war, though sometimes necessary, is always inhumane and irrational and should be prevented." As he noted, the first understanding was limited to smaller traditions – "sectarians" – such as Quakers, those in the historic peace churches, and groups such as the Jehovah's Witnesses. The second position, one which Socknat identifies with "liberal-progressive pacifists," could be found more broadly. In his study, Socknat chose to use the term in "its broadest sense to reflect its common usage and meaning in Canada's past," while distinguishing between those always opposed to war and those who held "liberal-progressive" positions.[30] While it might be helpful to include the second category with those totally opposed to war within a discussion of the broader culture, in terms of the church (clearly one of the groups included in the study) this only creates confusion. Within the Christian tradition, the second position is simply one articulation of the just war position. I would strongly suggest that in using the term "pacifist" in discussing Canadian Presbyterians, we should restrict the term only to those who opposed war under all situations and note that no-one has yet identified a Presbyterian who held this position during the Great War. Although our knowledge of Canadian Presbyterians in World War I has dramatically improved, we still struggle with key questions, including how we can understand these events in their own times and not be overwhelmed by later developments or values. This is an important consideration. Yet, if we look closely, there may be clues we can find which can help us as we seek to understand and evaluate responses to the war.

On the eve of the Great War, a new building was constructed for Knox College, one of the theological colleges for Canadian Presbyterians. The college moved from its landlocked building on Spadina Circle to a very prominent location on the University of Toronto campus. It now fronted St. George Street on the west and King's College Circle on the east. The basis of union that would take the Presbyterian Church in Canada into the United Church had already been passed; one can imagine that those who constructed this new building saw it becoming a major theological college for that new denomination. The building is quite dramatic. At the same time, the stonework is largely plain and undecorated. One of the few exceptions, and arguably the most notable, is the flag that was carved into the fireplace in the boardroom. This is a Covenanter flag, used by those who fought against royalist forces in the civil wars that affected Scotland, as well as England and Ireland, during the mid-seventeenth century. The flag states: "For Religion, Covenant, Crownes

and Kingdoms." This suggests is that one of the features of Canadian Presbyterianism on the eve of the Great War was an identification with the covenanting tradition. This identification may have been more romantic than real, but Canadian Presbyterians saw themselves as part of a tradition brought over from Scotland that celebrated the fight for religious and personal freedom against monarchy. It was a tradition that commemorated those who rioted against the imposition of an alien prayer book in 1637, most famously at St. Giles in Edinburgh. The college even had a copy of the National Covenant signed in 1638. The College's copy was donated in 1906 by one of its graduates, C.W. Gordon (Ralph Connor), and made the journey from Spadina Circle to the new building. There were thus a variety of symbols that reminded Canadian Presbyterians of a time when they defied the government based upon their religious principles. The covenanting tradition was part of Canadian Presbyterian culture when war broke out in 1914.

This tradition, as well as other values of the Canadian Presbyterian church in 1914, needs to be central to our discussion of the church's approach to the Great War. What remains striking is how deeply and fully the church committed itself to the Empire's cause. Perhaps even more striking is the language used and the fact that this support did not change as the casualties mounted. We see this when we look at the impact of the war on one of the central institutions of the Presbyterian Church in Canada – its theological colleges. The denominational colleges faced particular challenges during the Great War. One challenge was the few students who were available to teach. Enrollments dropped, which resulted in financial challenges. There were also fewer professors to teach the remaining students, as some of the faculty members were also serving overseas. A number of colleges had buildings appropriated by the government for use as convalescent hospitals or for other purposes related to the war effort. Still, the greatest effect was the loss of recent graduates or students studying for the ministry. The College Reports in 1918 give a sense of the impact of the war: Presbyterian College (Halifax) had forty-one students enlisted and four already killed; Presbyterian College (Montreal) had thirty-eight enlisted and eight dead; Queen's (Kingston) had two students serving in Flanders; Knox (Toronto) had seventy enlisted and seven dead; Presbyterian College (Saskatoon) had four killed. Robertson College (Edmonton) had thirty-nine enlisted and five dead; Westminster Hall (Vancouver) had fifty three enlisted, two disabled, two prisoners of war, and eight killed; and Manitoba College (Winnipeg) reported that there

were only eleven students in classes as everyone who was fit was serving at the front.[31] It is worth noting that these numbers would not have included those killed in the last hundred days of fighting, which saw very heavy Canadian casualties.[32] Knox College saw another nine students die, for a total of sixteen killed in the war.[33] But numbers fail to capture the loss. Robertson College noted that three of their dead students "had rendered excellent services on Alberta mission fields and were young men of much promise."[34] This same year (1918) the General Assembly established a committee to try to coordinate the work of the colleges during the crisis created by the war.[35] The impact on these institutions is clear. What is absent is any evidence that the theological colleges changed in their enthusiastic support for the war as a result of the casualties. Rather than being a watershed that changed values, the war seems to have served only to reinforce existing values. We need to test whether this continued to be the case throughout the 1920s and 1930s, but there is little evidence for a change during the war itself.

The study of individual Canadian Presbyterians may also help us to see to what extent the war changed them, as well as the way in which certain key features of Presbyterian culture, including the covenanting tradition, played out in reality. One figure we can study is the Rev. Charles W. Gordon, the most prominent Presbyterian chaplain who served during the Great War. Gordon was not only a Presbyterian minister, but also Canada's best-known and best-selling novelist at the time, writing under the pen name Ralph Connor. When war erupted in August 1914, he was minister of St. Stephen's in Winnipeg and, as he put it, "within six years of being sixty."[36] Being fifty-four with the oldest of his children only fourteen, Gordon still felt the need to enlist and serve since he was the chaplain of the 79th Cameron Highlanders militia regiment which included many of the members and adherents of his congregation. Indeed, Gordon recounts that 350 members and adherents his congregation ended up serving overseas, including the commanding officer, who was also one of the elders at St. Stephen's.[37] There are a variety of sources that relate to Gordon's experiences during the war, including speeches in his private papers. As Ralph Connor he also wrote two novels during the war, *The Major* (1917) and *Sky Pilot in No Man's Land* (1919). Another important source is his recollections of his life, *Postscript to Adventure: The Autobiography of Ralph Connor*, which he wrote in the latter years of his life. It was published posthumously in 1938.[38] Despite the subtitle, *Postscript to Adventure* is more like a collection of stories than an

autobiography in a conventional sense. Events, even in the war years, are not necessarily placed in chronological order. There are portions of Gordon's life which, for whatever reason, are not major foci of discussion, including his studies at Knox College, his family life, his time as Moderator of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, and the formation of the United Church of Canada in 1925. Gordon only recounts his marriage in the final chapter, although there are various references to his wife Helen prior to this. Apart from a few sources from the period, such as a letter to his wife in December 1916, his account of the Great War was written later and from a different perspective; however, this may actually add to its value as we see him constructing the story from this later perspective. The Great War clearly was important to Charles Gordon; about one third of *Postscript to Adventure* concerns his experiences as a chaplain in England and France and his speaking engagements during the final years of the war.

As a major Canadian novelist of the early twentieth century in terms of both popularity and sales, Charles W. Gordon has received attention from historians and literary critics.[39] Barry Mack wrote that in Connor's novels we see "sentimentalist evasion rather than a serious exploration of the issues of the day" and he noted that there is "no room for tragedy in Connor's world."[40] These observations are apposite to *Postscript to Adventure*, as Gordon speaks of his heritage, his country, and his experiences during the war itself. Gordon had a romantic view of history and speaks of himself as a Highlander, even though he was born in Canada and spent only his early years in Glengarry County, parts of which had been settled by Scottish Highlanders. We also see in his writing a romantic and very un-sophisticated knowledge of Scottish history. He is fascinated by it, even when he mixes together differing elements in his creation of a glorious Scottish (normally defined as Highland) past.[41] The fact that he donated a copy of the National Covenant to Knox College gives us an indication that he was aware, at least to some degree, of the covenanting tradition. At the same time, his writing shows an amazing ability to create his own romantic vision of reality.

Gordon's *Postscript to Adventure* gives invaluable insights into his values and his understanding of how his Christian faith should be lived. Manly courage in face of the enemy is portrayed throughout and it is important to him that he not only personally demonstrate this, but that it is also demonstrated by all Canadians, and in particular his regiment, the 43rd Cameron Highlanders.[42] This is a theme which occurs repeatedly in

his account of his experiences with the regiment while they were at the front in France. As was the case with so many soldiers in the Great War, the regiment was eventually involved in a frontal assault, in this case as part of the assault on the Regina trench during the Battle of the Somme. Gordon writes of not dreaming when he saw them march off so proudly from Winnipeg that "another day would come when I should see them march up to the dreadful Regina Trench on the Somme, some 580 strong, and see them march back a poor remnant of 68 dazed soldiers, but grim and unconquered, leaving their comrades in colored swaths before the uncut German wire."[43] The "grim and unconquered" comment is crucial. Gordon recounts the tragedies of the front, but these are always glossed with stories of honour and courage. Men are injured but accept their fate: "I never once heard a wounded man curse his luck or curse the enemy. They took their wounds as part of their routine" and expressed no hatred to their enemy.[44] Courage was important, as was the respect shown to the Canadians, particularly by the British troops. He describes his battalion coming off the front line in the Ypres area "with our heads up conscious that we had not disgraced our name" and he notes that soldiers and officers they met from a British unit "didn't say much, but made us feel that the Lion's whelps had not altogether shamed their breed."[45]

The emphasis on courage is clear throughout his account. Gordon notes that he rarely met anyone "whom I might call a coward" before beginning a long section on a replacement medical officer who crumbles under the experience of his first artillery barrage and is unable to help Gordon and others as they tend the wounded.[46] The medical officer's character is revealed when he grumbles after Gordon offers spiritual comfort to one wounded soldier. Gordon snaps at him "Don't be an ass!" and reminds him of the medical value of comforting the wounded. In the end, the medical officer takes shelter in the dugout and has to be removed from the line with the wounded. Gordon's verdict is precise: "His trouble was that his supreme interest in life was himself."[47] Gordon believed that courage was about self-giving whereas "Fear is the triumph of self-love."[48] His appreciation for this medical officer does not improve when he meets him later behind the lines, "loud-mouthed, foul-mouthed, retailing a smutty story." He silences him by slyly reminding the medical officer of his cowardice under fire. Gordon speaks of the many brave men he saw: "But that little filthy-mouthed M.O. was one of the few cowards I saw in the war."[49] The link between this man's lack of courage and his other less redeeming qualities – foul-mouthed, irreligious, loud – seems clear. For

Gordon, Christian living, in its morality and its willingness to sacrifice, made the bravest of soldiers. War stripped off the veneer to reveal what was truly underneath:

> It is strange how war reveals traits of character, possibilities of endurance, courage, self-sacrifice, unsuspected in the majority of men. I never could have imagined the qualities of the human spirit that were revealed in the terrific experiences of war.[50]

War tested the values which the Christian church espoused, but it did not alter or transform them.

Scattered throughout these reminiscences are clues about how the war affected Gordon. On the one hand, he gives a picture of soldiering on in spite of tragedy. The first funeral he was required to conduct was for a young man from Winnipeg shot in a front trench by a sniper. The entire situation moved him deeply, and he found himself offended when the colonel seemed indifferent to it. Gordon describes himself silently sulking, until the officer sharply reminds him that they need to see to their duty and make sure that the men are well:

> Suddenly it came to me how right he was. An officer's duty lies with the living. It was the lesson I needed and it did me good. Since then I have buried men in rows, but once my service was over I turned resolutely to my next duty, which was with the living. How right it is. After the volley over the grave the firing party marches off to a merry tune.[51]

Gordon also shares other experiences where the war had a deep emotional impact on him. After the attack on the Regina Trench that destroyed his unit, he fell into an exhausted sleep for ten hours.[52] After one particularly "ghastly carry" of a wounded soldier, he writes of waking up in the night "with the whistle of whiz-bangs grazing my backbone."[53] A train accident coming off the front left Gordon in London "feeling quite rotten, no appetite, sleepless, temperature, and all the rest," particularly as the city seemed unaware of the tragedy talking place at the front.[54] He also recounts being home later in Winnipeg, "startled broad awake from sleep by the sound of a shell, to realize first how safe I was, but with the next breath to listen through the dead stillness for the sounds of war."[55]

There are places in *Postscript to Adventure* where Gordon talks about the meaning of the war and issues of war and peace. The cause of

the war was clear – German militarism. He foreshadowed this early in his memoirs, as he described visiting Strasburg during a bicycle tour of Europe in about 1888: "Always we thanked God we were from a land where this silly militarism was unknown. Alas, we were to learn later by a terrible experience that it was not simply silly."[56] Gordon also expressed more general and universal sentiments about the war, beyond blaming the conflict on German militarism. After recounting the death of his servant Edward, he writes: "Still I carry in my heart a dull pain and wonder at the folly and wickedness of men who for any cause whatsoever would make war again in the world."[57] Visiting a graveyard, Gordon ponders the direction in which the world was heading before the war: "The conviction was forced upon me with appalling certainty that humanity had been moving in the wrong direction."[58] This idea of the war requiring a return to God's way is present. It is chaplains, Gordon writes, who are called upon to answer questions about the meaning of the war: "Every day, every hour of the night and day he was forced to justify his country and himself to his conscience. He found himself forced to accept the vicarious principle by which those guiltless of the crime of war must purge the world of this evil by their sufferings. But who were the wholly guiltless, who could say?"[59] While present, such expressions of universal human evil need to be placed into his broader musings on the causes and meaning of the war. During his speaking tours of the United States, Gordon spoke of the British Empire "fighting for world justice and world freedom."[60] While generally sympathetic to the German people – noting of the enemy soldiers that, "the fellows responsible for this hell are not the fellows getting it" – he placed the ultimate responsibility for the war squarely on one side:

> And that was the terrible pity of it. We all as a people must share our responsibility for our national attitudes. We have the governments we deserve; therefore, peoples must suffer for the sins of the governments they tolerate.[61]

German militarism was the cause of the war and those within Germany who did not rise up against their government were responsible for their own sufferings.

One of Gordon's most important comments comes as he describes the speaking tour that he undertook in 1917 to help persuade Americans to push their government to enter the war on the side of the British Empire. He talks about preaching in many churches as part of this tour:

> And why not? To me the cause of the Allies was then a sacred cause, in complete harmony as I felt with the tenets and principles of the religion I professed. It was the cause of human freedom and justice toward weak and defenseless people against the tyranny of grasping national ambition and military aggression.[62]

He writes that twenty years later, having studied "international affairs" since the end of the war, he had not come to a different conclusion. He continued to blame the war on "the blind, militaristic spirit of the Prussian Junta" who misled the German people and attempted "the conquest of the world."[63]

What is noteworthy is that this feeling is expressed in the midst of an autobiography filled with appeals to national pride and pride in the British Empire. Could Charles Gordon even imagine that the British Empire, or Canada as part of it, might be on the side of wrong? Yet, the possibility that governments can be wrong is at the heart of the covenanting tradition. Indeed, it was a tradition that kept alive stories of the injustice and oppression of one's own government and celebrated those who opposed that government, sometimes by using military force. This covenanting critique of the state was a tradition which could have been used by Canadian Presbyterians before and during the Great War. Do we see these attitudes at all reflected in Gordon? The answer is no. Christianity and Empire are united in his vision. And these attitudes do not seem to change, or, at least, if they changed, they returned to their earlier form when he wrote his autobiography.[64] The Great War was a key moment in Gordon's life, not in terms of it changing his values, but rather in the way in which it affirmed his values and those of his faith.

Michael Snape is correct. We need to be careful not to read back later experiences into the response of the churches to the Great War, into their understanding of it theologically, or into their participation in it. His book, *God and the British Soldier*, has raised a series of additional questions that challenge us to consider how we understand the impact of the First World War on the Christian churches in Canada. Was it a watershed? What changed? These are questions we need to consider.[65] As well as surveying the literature and the historiographical developments, this article has raised the question of whether a tradition valued by Canadian Presbyterians – the covenanting tradition – is one which might be used in evaluating the strong support for Empire during World War I. This was a tradition that allowed for – and even gloried in – independent judgment by the church. Yet, when this myth met the reality of Empire and

the call to go to war, Canadian Presbyterians did not look to it. They seem to have made little distinction between Empire and God's Kingdom, between what was the will of King George and what was the will of King Jesus. In seeing this, we are not judging by the values of later times, but by the values of the times themselves.

Endnotes

1. Michael Snape, "The Great War," in *World Christianities c.1914-c.2000*, ed. Hugh McLeod (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 131-32.
2. Snape, "Great War," 131.
3. Snape, "Great War," 132.
4. My work on Thomas Eakin, noted later, was written during the 1980s and there is no question that this context affected some of the themes that I explored. See Stuart Macdonald, "From Just War to Crusade: The War-Time Sermons of the Rev. Thomas Eakin" (M.Div. thesis, Knox College, 1985). Other works from this period include William J. Klempa, "War and Peace in Puritan Thought," and Brian J. Fraser, "Peacemaking among Presbyterians in Canada: 1900-1945," in *Peace, War and God's Justice*, ed. Thomas D. Parker and Brian J. Fraser (Toronto: United Church Publishing, 1989).
5. Edward A Christie, "The Presbyterian Church in Canada and Its Official Attitude Towards Public Affairs and Social Problems 1875-1925" (M.A. thesis, University of Toronto, 1955).
6. J. M. Bliss, "The Methodist Church and World War I," *Canadian Historical Review* 49, no. 3 (1968).
7. Michelle Fowler, "Keeping the Faith: The Presbyterian Press in Peace and War 1913-1919" (M.A. thesis, Wilfred Laurier, 2005); Michelle Fowler, "Keeping the Faith: The Presbyterian Press and the Great War," *Canadian Society of Presbyterian History Papers* (2005); and Michelle Fowler, "'Death Is Not the Worst Thing': The Presbyterian Press in Canada, 1913-1919," *War and Society* 25, no. 2 (2006).
8. Christie, "Presbyterian Church in Canada and Its Official Attitudes," 122.
9. Christie, "Presbyterian Church in Canada and Its Official Attitudes," 140.
10. Presbyterians and Methodists were, of course, in the process of uniting in one denomination, with those opposed to this decision committed to continuing as the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

11. Bliss, "The Methodist Church and World War I." One notable difference would be the reality that there were a small number of well-known pacifists in the Methodist tradition and none among Canadian Presbyterians.

12. David Marshall, "Methodism Embattled: A Reconsideration of the Methodist Church and World War I," *Canadian Historical Review* 66, no. 1 (1985): 49.

13. Bliss, "The Methodist Church and World War I," 213, 231-3.

14. Marshall, "Methodism Embattled," 60-64.

15. Macdonald, "From Just War to Crusade"; and Stuart Macdonald, "The War-Time Sermons of the Rev. Thomas Eakin," *Canadian Society of Presbyterian History Papers* (1985).

16. Bliss, "The Methodist Church and World War I," 215.

17. Fowler, "Keeping the Faith: The Presbyterian Press in Peace and War 1913-1919"; and Fowler, "'Death Is Not the Worst Thing'," 213.

18. Fowler, "Keeping the Faith: The Presbyterian Press in Peace and War 1913-1919," 27-9, 36-37.

19. Gordon L. Heath, *A War with a Silver Lining: Canadian Protestant Churches and the South African War, 1899-1902* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), 50, 126.

20. Duff Crerar, *Padres in No Man's Land: Canadian Chaplains and the Great War* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995); and Bob Anger, "Presbyterian Chaplaincy During the First World War," *Canadian Society of Presbyterian History Papers* (2002).

21. Murray Edmund Angus, "Living in the 'World of the Tiger': The Methodist and Presbyterian Churches in Nova Scotia and the Great War, 1914-1918" (M.A. thesis, Dalhousie University, 1993).

22. Bev Dietrich, "Colonel John McCrae: From Guelph, Ontario to Flanders Fields," *Canadian Military History* 5, no. 2 (1996); Michelle Fowler, "Faith, Hope and Love: The Wartime Motivations of Lance Corporal Frederick Spratlin, Mm and Bar, 3rd Battalion, CEF," *Canadian Military History* 15, no. 1 (2006).

23. C. W. Gordon has been a major focus of research. Works that have looked at him, including his attitudes to war would include: Daniel Coleman, *White Civility: The Literary Project of English Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006); D. Barry Mack, "Ralph Connor and the Progressive Vision" (M.A. thesis, Carleton University, 1986); D. Barry Mack, "Modernity without Tears: The Mythic World of Ralph Connor," in *The Burning Bush*

and a Few Acres of Snow: The Presbyterian Contribution to Canadian Life and Culture, ed. William J. Klempa (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1994); and Brian J. Fraser, *The Social Uplifters: Presbyterian Progressives and the Social Gosepl in Canada, 1875-1915* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1988).

24. Jeffrey A. Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship During Canada's Great War* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1996); Jonathan F. Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning and the First World War* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1997); and Jonathan F. Vance, "Sacrifice in Stained Glass: Memorial Windows of the Great War," *Canadian Military History* 5, no. 2 (1996).

25. Penny Bedal and Ross Bartlett, "The Women Do Not Speak: The Methodist Ladies' Aid Societies and World War I," *Canadian Methodist Historical Society Papers* 10 (1993-94).

26. Fowler, "'Death Is Not the Worst Thing'," 23. The same quotation appears in her thesis "Keeping the Faith: The Presbyterian Press in Peace and War 1913-1919," 1.

27. Fowler, "'Death is not the Words Thing'," 24.

28. Fowler, "'Death is not the Worst Thing'," 31-34.

29. Thomas P. Socknat, *Witness against War: Pacifism in Canada, 1900-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987).

30. Socknat, *Witness against War*, 7-8.

31. *Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada* (hereafter *A&P*) 1918. College Reports in the Appendices, 148-85.

32. Desmond Morton and J.L. Granatstein, *Marching to Armageddon: Canadians and the Great War 1914-1919* (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1989), 153.

33. There are sixteen names listed on the memorial plaque in the Knox College chapel.

34. *A&P* 1918, 183. Presbyterian College noted the death of James Donald "one of the cleverest students in our College," 177-78.

35. *A&P* 1918, 83.

36. Gordon, *Postscript to Adventure*, 204.

37. Gordon, *Postscript to Adventure*, 213.

38. Gordon, *Postscript to Adventure*, vii, viii, xi.

39. Coleman, *White Civility*; and Mack, "Modernity without Tears."

40. Mack, "Modernity without Tears," 149, 154.

41. Evidence for this can be found in *Postscript to Adventure*, where Gordon describes his visit to Edinburgh, 76-81.

42. The Cameron Highlanders were the 79th at home, but they went oversees as the 43rd Cameron Highlanders. See Gordon, *Postscript to Adventure*, 213.

43. Gordon, *Postscript to Adventure*, 214.

44. Gordon, *Postscript to Adventure*, 229.

45. Gordon, *Postscript to Adventure*, 259-60. Gordon also speaks of holding the line with very few men, a feat that impressed a British officer: "Our Canadian chests stuck out just a little. We remembered Mons and were not unduly uplifted" (267-68).

46. Gordon, *Postscript to Adventure*, 233-34.

47. Gordon, *Postscript to Adventure*, 235.

48. Gordon, *Postscript to Adventure*, 236.

49. Gordon, *Postscript to Adventure,* 236.

50. Gordon, *Postscript to Adventure*, 237.

51. Gordon, *Postscript to Adventure*, 233.

52. Gordon, *Postscript to Adventure*, 266.

53. Gordon, *Postscript to Adventure*, 256.

54. Gordon, *Postscript to Adventure*, 276.

55. Gordon, *Postscript to Adventure*, 294.

56. Gordon, *Postscript to Adventure*, 103. The year is not given in the text, but Gordon and his friends went to Edinburgh in the fall of 1887 and this adventure seems to have been the next spring.

57. Gordon, *Postscript to Adventure*, 246.

58. Gordon, *Postscript to Adventure,* 261.

59. Gordon, *Postscript to Adventure,* 262.

60. Gordon, *Postscript to Adventure*, 305.

61. Gordon, *Postscript to Adventure*, 253.

62. Gordon, *Postscript to Adventure*, 313.

63. Gordon, *Postscript to Adventure,* 313.

64. Barry Mack suggests that Gordon "came to feel very ambivalent about his role in the war," but he later downplayed this in his autobiography." Mack, "Ralph Connor and the Progressive Vision," 63. This is an important insight based on reading Gordon's private papers. The question then becomes, why did Gordon choose to alter this view in his autobiography? A related question would be how we understand these differences between language used during the war and language used after the war. Does this represent a change of attitude or merely a change of rhetoric?

65. Michael Snape raises additional questions related to the way in which our understanding of secularization has led us to interpret the role of the churches in both World Wars. Michael Snape, *God and the British Soldier: Religion and the British Army in the First and Second World Wars* (London: Routledge, 2005), 3-4.

Crossroads for a British Columbia Mission: Esperanza Hospital and Ministry Centre

ROBERT K. BURKINSHAW
Trinity Western University

A significant proportion of the hospitals in remote parts of British Columbia were run by Christian churches and organizations. Twenty-six such hospitals in the 1930s were identified in this study; just over were half Catholic and the remainder Protestant. Apart from some largely celebratory work written from within denominational perspectives, little historical work has been done on these hospitals.[1]

Esperanza, originally founded as a mission hospital, is a ministry centre with a seventy-five year history in one of the more isolated areas of BC. This examination of its history highlights several issues that will be explored in this study. First, there were differences between mission hospitals. Esperanza, operated by an evangelical mission, differed significantly from some other Protestant hospitals. A second topic concerns the conflicting priorities in religiously-run hospitals after the provincial government began paying operating expenses in 1949. These were highlighted in the process leading to the closure of the hospital by the province in 1973. Finally, the study of Esperanza hospital has much to reveal about the nature of First Nations – Christian relations. Most denominational missions and churches had become largely inactive among the Nu-chah-nulth on the west coast of Vancouver Island by 2000. The reason was often lack of interest on the part of the people but during that same period the ministry of Esperanza was in increasingly high demand and its staff was often not able to keep up with requests for its services. Indeed, in 2006-7, an outcry on the part of many Nu-chal-nulth against an

apparent centralizing of the mission's decision-making in Toronto was a major factor in significant organizational changes resulting in the continuation of the ministry which they had come to appreciate.[2] Consideration will be given to the question of why so many Nu-chah-nulth strongly desired to keep Esperanza in a period when the Roman Catholic and United Church missions in the region had virtually ceased functioning among them.

This essay begins with a brief narrative overview of the seventy-five year history of Esperanza, which is most easily divided into two basic eras: the thirty-six year hospital era from 1937 to its closure in 1973, and the era of post-hospital ministries and services since 1973. The two men most responsible for establishing the Esperanza hospital were Percy Wills, a marine-based missionary with the Shantymen's Christian Association, and Dr. Herman McLean, founding doctor and superintendent of Esperanza for thirty-five years until 1972.

In 1930 Percy Wills began work as the missionary for the west coast of Vancouver Island for the Shantymen, a Toronto-based evangelical mission focusing on the more remote parts of Canada.[3] While travelling the coast, Wills soon became convinced of the need for a medical mission as no hospital or regular doctor was available for the thousands of people living over a stretch of 300 kilometers from Port Alberni to the northern tip of the island.

In spring 1937 Wills contacted Dr. Herman McLean and invited him on a tour of the west coast with a view to determining if he felt led to begin a medical work there. When McLean committed to the area, Wills assisted him in building the hospital over the next months. The Shantymen would not take responsibility for the hospital due to its commitment to itinerant ministry and its constitutional prohibition against the ownership of property. Thus a new organization, the Nootka Mission, was formed but Wills remained a key and influential supporter throughout the history of the hospital.

Dr. Herman McLean graduated from the University of Manitoba in 1928 and within the year became the medical superintendent of the United Church' s hospital in Bella Coola, BC. In 1936 he left Bella Coola for Prairie Bible Institute for a year's Bible training in preparation for medical missionary service to Africa. However, he and his wife were bitterly disappointed when all the mission boards to which he applied turned him down for service in Africa. The reasons for the refusals included the size of his family – they were expecting their fifth child – and Mrs. McLean's

health, which was not considered robust enough for Africa.[4]

Soon after receiving these refusals, Dr. McLean, then forty years old and still highly committed to missionary work, received the invitation from Wills to consider the remotest part of the west coast of Vancouver Island as his sphere of service. A tour of the region convinced him of the very significant medical and spiritual need in the area. He later reported: "I saw such sickness and no kind of help, physical or spiritual,"[5] and committed himself to establishing a hospital.

The site selected, although remote and connected to Victoria only by steamer once every ten days, was centrally located for several thousand people living along 120 kilometres of coastline. It was well positioned for the home villages of the six northern nations of the Nuu-Chah-Nuulth people. Much of the shipping used the sheltered waters of Hecate Channel, on which it was located, and in the immediate vicinity a lumber mill and two canneries employed over 600 people at peak season. Most significant of these was the cannery and reduction plant at Ceepeecee, two kilometers away, and the largest centre of population in the region at the time.[6] The operations there employed up to three hundred First Nations people, mostly Nu-Chah-Nuulth, including many from Ahousaht, a large Protestant village 120 kilometres to the south.

In November 1937, McLean opened a primitive two-bed hospital that he enlarged to eight beds the following year. Two years later, a new sixteen-bed hospital was built and the original building converted to nurses' quarters. Additions in the next several years increased the capacity to twenty-one beds.[7] According to provincial statistics, the Esperanza hospital was never particularly large in terms of patient load, but it was larger than a number of mission and community-run hospitals in isolated regions of the province. The annual number of patients peaked in the mid-1950s at over six hundred with 4,300 patient days recorded.[8] McLean treated even larger numbers of out-patients in his regular clinics in Tahsis and Zeballos and monthly visits to five native villages and to various logging camps. In 1944 he reported 1,200 outpatients.[9]

In the first years, white male workers comprised the majority of patients but the number of First Nations patients increased rapidly until the proportion of patients was approximately equal between the races. However, First Nations patients came to comprise a slight majority of patient days recorded and First Nations women and children comprised a significant majority of the pediatric and maternity patients.[10]

In its first twelve years the hospital derived its income from a variety

of sources including fees for hospital service paid by employers, various government agencies and patients themselves (usually about 40 per cent of income), donations (20-30 per cent of income), out-patient fees paid to McLean by mines, mills and patients which he contributed to the general budget (usually approximately 25 per cent of income) and a per capita grant from the BC government (usually 10 per cent of income). After 1949 the British Columbian government assumed the operating budget under the provisions of the BC Hospital Insurance program.[11]

The hospital was threatened with closure several times. Late in 1938, within a year of it being established, gold mines began operating less than twenty kilometers away near Zeballos. That small centre grew quickly, with an estimated seven hundred workers in the mines, and a hospital was constructed at Zeballos in 1939 precisely when Esperanza was constructing its enlarged hospital.[12] The area did not need two hospitals and it was feared that Esperanza would need to close. However, World War II caused the gold mines to curtail activity and the Zeballos hospital did not become fully operational and McLean was asked to provide medical care for the remaining workers, resulting in some timely income for the Esperanza budget.[13]

A potentially even more serious threat came in 1949. Gold mining near Zeballos experienced a short post-war revival and a new physician arrived in 1947 and opened the community's hospital. In March, 1949, the Indian Department's Regional Superintendent of Indian Health threatened closure of Esperanza by proposing to remove all of the First Nations patients from Mclean's care. It stated that, "in the interests of efficiency, it is considered that responsibility for medical care of Indians in any one area should be placed with one Medical Officer, consequently it is proposed to only recognize accounts for service submitted by Dr. Ulrich (of Zeballos) from May 1st, 1949."[14]

McLean was extraordinarily concerned by the letter. Not only would the decree remove over half of the hospital's patients, it would also eliminate his clinical visits to the First Nations villages and thus remove a major *raison d'etre* of the mission. He wrote to the mission's supporters:

> The work of our Mission has in great part to do with the Indian people. The Nootka Mission staff have loved them and given of their strength and service for years. The Indians, in return have shown their gratitude and love. Due to some sinister power, an attempt is being made to eliminate the Nootka Mission staff and doctor from serving these people. This is a very serious matter, beloved, and we seek your

prayers that the Indian Department will not take such a step.[15]

McLean believed that Roman Catholic pressure was the "sinister power" behind the threat. Two years before he had reported to his board that "he had heard unofficially that Roman Catholic sisters were taking over the hospital at Zeballos."[16] His suspicions appeared to be confirmed when, six years later, in 1955, the St. Elizabethan Order of Sisters and Bishop Hill of Victoria were reported by the Zeballos hospital board to have expressed interest in reopening its hospital.[17] Furthermore, it is abundantly clear that significant tensions existed between Esperanza and the Catholic priests in the area. Most of the First Nations villages in the area were on designated Catholic reserves and more than one priest had made it clear to McLean that they did not welcome Esperanza's evangelizing activities. All villages within a wide radius accepted his medical services but priests prevented him from holding services in at least two villages.[18]

Regardless of the causes for the Indian Department decree, it was local First Nations people who took the initiative to resist it. Max George, Secretary of the Native Brotherhood, an Ahousaht employed at the Ceepeecee cannery and a member of the Nootka Mission board, organized a petition and reported that "all interviewed were greatly in favour of the hospital."[19]

Within a span of two days, George gained the signatures of 126 First Nations people from four villages. The petition stated "we should have something to say of the matter, for after all – we are most affected by your decision" and that they were not aware that any Native people had requested a change of doctors. Further, the Esperanza hospital was closer to most villages than to Zeballos and, perhaps most significantly, they suggested that racism existed at Zeballos. As the petition noted, "[m]any Zeballos patients have complained of discrimination and not getting the proper care from the nurses."[20] That concern may have been prompted by the fact that, unlike at Esperanza, at the Zeballos hospital, Native patients were kept separate from the white patients. The provincial government surveyor had noted earlier that year that the real reason why a new wing had been added was "because they wished to keep the Indians separate from other patients."[21]The petition concluded with a request that First Nations people be allowed to make their own choices: "We ask that you . . . let things stand as they are . . ."[22] The petition appears to have been successful as the Indian Department did not press the issue and First

Nations patients continued to avail themselves of the Esperanza Hospital.

Twenty-four years later in 1973 the provincial government closed the hospital and replaced it with a small hospital in the growing company town of Tahsis, twelve kilometres away. Esperanza's patient load had peaked in the 1950s but began a gradual decline in the 1960s as various local industries closed. Despite the closure of the hospital, the board of the Nootka Mission voted to continue the work of the organization. In 1972 it had replaced the retiring McLean as superintendent of the mission with Rev. Earl Johnson who had served the west coast of the island as a Shantymen marine missionary since 1952, working with Percy Wills for several years and replacing him when he retired.

On the one hand, in the two decades after the closure of the hospital, the mission struggled financially and in finding a long term focus. The number of mission staff quickly dropped to ten and then to a low point of five. However, on the other hand, the mission continued active work in the region, particularly among First Nations people, and developed deep relationships which later proved highly beneficial.

Johnson surveyed the ministry soon after the closure of the hospital and noted that regular connections were being made at thirty different points in Nootka and Kyuquot Sounds, including six First Nations villages, a number of logging camps and settlements such as Tahsis, Zeballos and Gold River. The work included the summer Bible camp at Ferrer Point that drew children widely, vacation Bible schools in a number of communities, and youth and womens' groups in several communities.[23]

The concern for what Johnson described as "total ministry to the whole person in response to the needs of the area" continued after the hospital closed. The Tahsis hospital did not replace the dental clinic in the Esperanza hospital basement and the provincial government's mobile dental clinics were not able to access the region. Instead of closing in 1973, Esperanza's dental work expanded under the leadership of Vancouver dentists who took turns volunteering their weekends to hold clinics. The province provided funding to equip a modern three-chair clinic in the old hospital building and for about a decade a total of approximately twenty dentists held weekend clinics which drew patients from a wide area. The clinic not only continued Esperanza's role in serving the region but, because the dentists donated their services, helped considerably with its finances.[24]

In 1980, in response to requests from leaders of two nearby bands on behalf of families without local schooling options, Esperanza made

arrangements with the local school district to reopen its onsite school. The mission operated a daily boat service for children who lived close enough, provided housing for several whole families that chose to move to Esperanza and opened a small dormitory for children from a distance and provided transportation home for them on weekends.[25] The leadership of Esperanza observed, in retrospect, that in the few years that the school operated the relationships established with those families were key to its subsequent survival. The families came from staunchly Catholic villages that previously did not have particularly close ties with Esperanza; nevertheless, the trusting relationships developed in those years with key families and their bands has continued to the present.[26]

In addition, Esperanza became involved in various forms of hospitality. It worked with the Ministry of Human Resources to provide respite housing for families in crisis and care for troubled teenaged boys. It also became involved with counter culture influences as young people moving as far west in Canada as possible ended up at Esperanza. Some of those were influenced to become Christians and several stayed as staff. More local people and fishermen began stopping by when the fuel dock was modernized and a coffee shop added.[27]

Nevertheless, the Nootka Mission continued to struggle financially and in 1988 merged with the Toronto-based Shantymen Christian Association. By that time the mission had changed its bylaws against property ownership that in 1937 had prevented Esperanza from being officially connected to it.

In the early 1990s Earl Johnson's son, Dean Johnson, became director of Esperanza. Both Dean and his wife, Sharon, the daughter of former staff members, had developed deep connections with local First Nations in their upbringing at Esperanza and years living in Ahousaht, teaching school and fishing commercially. Under the younger Johnsons' leadership, the informal hospitality ministry grew into fully fledged programs running many months of the year for families in crisis, particularly (but not exclusively) related to various forms of substance abuse and addictions. Staff numbers increased to about fifteen and finances began to improve as new streams of income and a stronger donor base emerged.

In 2007 Esperanza separated from the Shantymen over concerns that staff, First Nations and other supporters felt about the organization's move towards centralization, which they believed jeopardized Esperanza's relationships in the area and its ability to respond to local needs.

A review of the history of Esperanza raises a number of questions.

One is how it differed from other mission hospitals in the province. The majority of mission hospitals, much like Esperanza, were in remote locations and committed doctors and nurses provided good quality care to First Nations and white patients despite the isolation, long hours, frequent lack of funds and often inadequate facilities.[28] At the same time, however, there were significant differences. Esperanza was not supported by a denomination but viewed itself as an evangelical "faith mission" similar to the many home and foreign missions supported by Canadian evangelicals. It was committed first and foremost to an evangelistic mission. Its motto was "To preach Christ and to heal diseases" and the priority given to preaching in the statement was intentional. McLean had grown restive with what he saw as the lack of evangelistic emphasis at the United Church's Bella Coola hospital and led Esperanza in a different direction. He did not agree that, in and of itself, the provision of medical services was adequate rationale for a medical mission. He was reported to be a respected medical practitioner with a strong track record, especially in providing emergency services,[29] but everyone, supporters and critics alike, agreed that evangelism was his first love.[30] Dr. Adam Waldie, who provided relief medical services for several United Church hospitals and for Esperanza in 1957, noted that McLean had developed a reputation in Bella Coola for preaching and stated that he found it "hard to confine himself to medicine."[31]

The pronounced evangelistic and spiritual emphasis manifested itself in variously at Esperanza. McLean was renowned throughout the region for pausing to pray before each surgery. Nurses were encouraged to talk with patients about spiritual issues and to pray with them, if desired, and patients who were mobile were invited to join the staff for early morning devotions, chapel services and Bible reading and prayer at the common mealtimes. During his extensive off-site clinical work, McLean normally did medical work in the daytime and conducted services or home visitation whenever possible in the evenings.[32] His annual reports to the board included medical statistics and often featured medical cases but he devoted more space to the stories of the conversion of patients. Likewise, the *Nootka Mission Review* devoted considerable space every issue to the testimonies of those influenced spiritually by the hospital.

To further the evangelistic outreach, the hospital staff participated in what appears to be a unique financial arrangement. They did not receive a regular salary but instead only housing, food and a small monthly allowance. The remaining amount that normally would have been paid to

medical personnel was put into a "common budget."[33] That budget was large enough be able to provide for a substantial number of additional mission staff who were able to devote the bulk of their time to evangelistic outreach activities. After 1949, when the province assumed the hospital's operating costs, the "common budget" was able to support up to ten mission workers and their families in addition to the fifteen to twenty hospital staff members.[34]

These mission workers, and volunteers from Bible schools in the summer, were able to expand the evangelistic work and small congregations formed in the nearby settlements of Ceepeecee, Tahsis, and Zeballos and also in further afield Tofino and Ucluelet. Much of the work focused on children and youth in the form of Sunday schools and vacation Bible schools and summer Bible camps at leased land at Ferrer Point, a site nearly an hour by boat from the Esperanza on an outer point of Nootka Island.

In addition, the hospital followed something of a communal model in which rank played no bearing on staff housing and compensation. The "Information for Prospective Workers" stated: "All service of the Mission Field is of equal value in God's eyes, and is essential in the saving of souls and the glory of God. There is no place in the economy of God for class distinction – but all are equal."[35] MacLean took the communal ideal so seriously that he and his large family did not live in a separate house but instead lived in rooms immediately behind the hospital and later in dormitory rooms near the school until, after ten years, his wife and others persuaded him that the family needed its own house.[36]

When it came to the role of women, McLean seemed to follow his view that there was "no place in the economy of God for class distinction" and, accordingly, women played major roles in all aspects of life at Esperanza. In 1955 McLean listed the five members of staff that he considered senior in terms of being advisory to him; four of the five were women.[37] All women on staff were asked if they would like to preach and lead services, both in the hospital chapel services for staff and patients and in the surrounding communities, and many did so. The mission staff included an ordained Church of the Nazarene minister, Rev. Margaret Manning, who led outreach to Zeballos in addition to preaching and teaching in the hospital chapel.[38] At the 1956 annual conference, a highlight each year for the organization, two of the four invited major speakers were women.[39] The hospital board always included women, sometimes up to four of the ten members.[40] One of McLean's daughters

indicated that it was not until she moved away from Esperanza that she realized it was not the norm for women to preach and teach in public.[41] Another daughter who worked on staff with her father for four years as a practical nurse and office and mission assistant, stated "Dad had great respect for women" and indicated that he believed that if a woman could do a job better than a man, she should do it.[42]

Interim doctor Adam Waldie observed a further difference between Esperanza and other mission hospitals. He found it remarkable how many Esperanza staff wanted to become foreign missionaries.[43] Not content with evangelistic activities on the challenging west coast of Vancouver Island, many staff anticipated service in foreign fields. The departure for foreign missions appears to have been one of the largest causes of turnover of staff. For years, nearly every issue of the *Nootka Mission Review* included farewells to staff going to missions and one unconfirmed estimate is that fifty Esperanza staff eventually served as missionaries overseas.[44] The remaining staff at Esperanza provided substantial financial support to such missionaries by committing ten per cent of their "common budget" to support them.

On the one hand, the flow of staff to other missions hindered the work of Esperanza, taking away scarce nurses and doctors after they had spent time learning to become increasingly effective in that setting and the frequent departure of associate doctors often left McLean the only physician. At the same time, however, McLean's widespread reputation for missionary medical work helped recruit a number of staff members who wished, or were requested by their mission board, to gain experience working with him in a difficult setting in preparation for medical service oversees.[45]

As if there were not enough factors making it difficult to keep a full staff, McLean also encouraged medical staff to move to outlying communities for the purposes of furthering the mission work of Esperanza. For example, in 1943 he persuaded young associate Dr. Andrew Karsgaard to move to Tofino to operate a mission hospital in a building constructed by the community several years earlier but never opened for lack of a doctor. The Tofino hospital operated as a branch of the Nootka Mission society from 1944 until 1949 when its society's annual meeting voted to operate it as a community hospital.[46]

The 1973 closing of the Esperanza hospital came after a decade-long discussion covering a number of issues, including the role of religion in the delivery of publically-funded health care. The process began with

recognition by all of the need to replace the aging Esperanza facility. Ironically, McLean initiated the process with a request to the provincial government for approval of its share of the cost of a new hospital but, instead, government officials began a process which resulted in the closure of the Esperanza hospital.

A number of arguments were raised in favour of replacing the Esperanza hospital with one at Tahsis. Foremost among these was the shift in population following the closure of mills and the cannery closest to Esperanza and the growth of the company mill town of Tahsis to approximately 1,000 people. That village's centrality was enhanced when the first road into the region connected it to Gold River in the early 1960s.

Significantly for a province in which so many hospitals were mission hospitals, concerns regarding the role of religion at the Esperanza hospital were raised. Several complaints over the decades had been made to the Ministry of Health over McLean's religious priorities, including one from the union representing workers in Tahsis. Several key government officials seemed to share those concerns, even though they were always very careful to try to appear neutral on the subject. One official, for example, raised a ten year old complaint in every interview he undertook as he toured the region, even though he prefaced it with a statement of personal objectivity.[47]

At the same time, many arguments were made in favour of rebuilding the hospital at Esperanza. McLean produced maps indicating that Esperanza remained more central to the population in the whole region, especially when the First Nations villages were considered. Interestingly, McLean was the only one in the whole discussion consistently pointing out the need to serve the remote First Nations villages.[48]

In addition, Esperanza's site on the channel taken by smaller vessels in the region influenced the United Fisherman and Allied Union to write a strong letter of support for its continuation.[49] Esperanza also had significant infrastructure in place which included nurses' residences, an excellent water supply, and two government wharfs, all of which would need to be developed for a hospital in Tahsis hospital (which would also require a costly road to the only site deemed suitable).[50]

Although concerns about the role of religion in health care worked against Esperanza in the minds of some, others recognized that religious motivation was crucial in guaranteeing doctors in the region. The difficulty in attracting and retaining doctors at remote community hospitals seemed to gain strength in the discussions. For example, the company's emergency

doctor in Tahsis was attracted to the idea of a new hospital in Tahsis and stated that he did not like the mixing of religion and medicine; however, he also warned that it would be detrimental to health care in the area if the Esperanza hospital closed. He opined that only a missionary doctor would be willing to provide the service to the outlying communities that McLean offered because he doubted that it "could be made financially rewarding for the time involved by city standards of remuneration." He further stated that his own time at Tahsis would only be several years' duration because "I will have had my fill of isolation medicine."[51] Partially based on the high turnover experienced with its emergency doctors, the company which owned the mill in Tahsis opposed for several years building a hospital in Tahsis.[52] Similarly, an officer in the government ministry summarized that "[i]It must also be remembered that the Shantymen provide the only guarantee of a doctor in that part of the west coast of Vancouver Island."[53]

Local sentiments generally ran in favour of Mclean due to his long service in the region. The official whose reports and recommendations most opposed Esperanza noted that even among Tahsis residents he "found a sentimental reaction in favour of Dr. McLean's hospital at Esperanza; the comment that he had 'pioneered hospital services in the area' was given to me as a reason for rebuilding on the present site."[54] A former worker in the Zeballos gold mine expressed some of the popular sentiment when he told an interviewer in 1976 that "the west coast of Vancouver Island will never, never be able to repay the debt that it owes to that man [McLean]."[55]

Given the sentiments in favour of Esperanza and worries that only missionary doctors would be motivated to commit to the region, officials agreed to keep the status quo for a period of time even though they had already privately recommended to the minister to close Esperanza. The deputy minister who had consistently favoured the Tahsis site came to this conclusion two years after he first recommended that the minister approve in principle the new hospital at Tahsis. He wrote "in view of the fact that the hospital operated . . . under Dr. McLean has provided a long and valuable service to the West Coast of Vancouver Island, I do not think that Dr. McLean should be summarily told that a new hospital is to be built at Tahsis and that his hospital will have to close . . . " Instead, in a move that is difficult not to interpret as duplicitous, he proposed that the public and McLean be allowed to think that the issue was not yet settled but, at the same time, officials would quietly encourage Tahsis residents to take the lead in the process.[56] He hoped that those favouring a hospital in Tahsis

would gain majority support within the village and thus lead to the formation of a "hospital improvement district" necessary in establishing a community hospital.[57] Until such a community organization was in place, officials were opposed to "arbitrarily informing Dr. McLean that his hospital will be closed . . . "[58] That process took five additional years and by the time it was made public that the new hospital would be in Tahsis McLean had announced his retirement.

The continuation and growth of ministry at Esperanza after 1990 when most denominations became largely inactive on the coast is of particular interest, especially because it received such strong support from many Nu-chah-nulth. A number of factors need to be considered to understand the unique relationship of Esperanza with the First Nations of the region.

First, Esperanza was not at all involved in the residential school issue and instead sometimes offered alternate educational options for First Nations families. When First Nations children did attend the school at Esperanza, it was at the parents' request and for most was an alternative to a distant residential school. First Nations children at Esperanza were able to live on terms worked out by their parents, whether at home, at Esperanza, or in a dormitory during the week.[59]

Second, as an independent mission, Esperanza did not play a direct part in the tensions and competition that often accompanied reserves being designated officially Catholic or Protestant. Many First Nations were disillusioned by the competition and exercise of authority that seemed to accompany such a designation. A respected elder, a leading Roman Catholic layman in Ahousaht, a village divided between United Church and Roman Catholic, stated that that he found the Shantymen and Esperanza staff to be less "directive" than the denominational clergy and more oriented toward visiting and serving than exercising authority over people.[60]

Third, Esperanza's approach to denominational divisions aligned somewhat more closely to First Nations views that often minimized denominational divisions. The mission benefited from a considerable breadth of support from various evangelical denominations and some mainline Protestant congregations. Apart from tensions with Roman Catholic priests which began to lessen after the 1970s, its staff were committed to minimize tensions between denominations, both from conviction and from a pragmatic need to maintain support across a wide denominational spectrum. But Esperanza went further than most evangeli-

cals in this regard and both McLean and Earl Johnson welcomed the indigenous Pentecostal revivals which swept the First Nations of the west coast in the late 1950s and early 1960s.[61] Rather than criticize Pentecostals as did many evangelicals of the time, they instead invited leading First Nation Pentecostal preachers to speak at Esperanza camps and conferences.[62] Their implicit validation of that form of First Nations' spiritual expression in the period seems to have laid the ground work for deepened understanding and relationships with the Nu-chah-nulth, even long after the Pentecostal revival fires died down in the region.

Fourth, some Nu-chah-nulth leaders were impressed by Esperanza's giving opportunity for First Nations leadership. Ahousaht elder Louie Frank believes that from the beginning mission's approach was not "We will pray *for* you" but "Come pray *with* us.[63]" In practical terms, some First Nations individuals served on the board and on staff in the hospital era, but in support and evangelistic roles as opposed to medical roles.[64] McLean tried to train First Nations Christian leaders through a short-lived Bible school in the early 1960s, but it closed due difficulties of gaining instructors and students.[65] Since 2007 the Nu-chal-nuth have come to comprise about half of the board members and its staff has included four or five First Nations groups.

Probably the single most important factor in the strong relationship between Esperanza and the Nu-chah-nulth has been the long-term commitment of Esperanza's leadership to the region. Coastal First Nations were accustomed to most white ministers, priests, government agents and other officials staying only for short terms but such was not the case with Esperanza's leadership. Wills served the region for twenty-five years and McLean remained thirty-five years until he retired at age 75. The fact that he remained after the loss of a son in a 1949 shipwreck in which he himself was stranded on a rock for thirty-six hours made a very deep impression on the coast.[66] His successor, Earl Johnson, began work on the coast in1952 and, in 2012, is still very engaged during his retirement visiting First Nations people all over Vancouver Island. Another staff member, Rick Lindholm, has served for thirty-five years, mostly based in Ahousaht, and is widely known as a pastor who is requested to lead scores of funerals and weddings every year.[67]

Of great importance in a traditional society, the long-term commitment included several generations. Current directors Dean and Sharon Johnson are both second generation staff members and one of their nieces, Earl Johnson's granddaughter, is a third generation staff member. Former

band councilor, Victoria Wells, made much of the importance of that intergenerational commitment in a letter supporting Esperanza staff in 2006. She wrote:

> They have lived and died among us for several generations. They have a high degree of credibility and respect among us. That have "social capitol" [sic] in our communities that is only acquired through a way of life over several generations . . . their histories are intricately woven with ours . . . they have a depth of cultural, spiritual and practical understanding of my people."[68]

Her observations would not have been true of the hospital era. In that period, relationships between the mission and First Nations were generally warmer and more positive than those reportedly prevailing in neighbouring communities. But in that era, staff were first generation on the coast and, in addition, evidence abounds that they were generally wed to European culture. In some respects, Esperanza could be viewed as a "transplant of European culture."[69] By the1970s and 1980s, however, shifts were becoming evident. Johnson not only built on the goodwill developed during the Wills and McLean era, but also brought a strong network of personal relationships with the Nu-chah-nulth from his several decades of itinerant boat ministry among them. From the 1970s onwards, counter culture influences on staff made for more relaxed views about many social conventions and they were becoming less inclined to uncritically import European culture.

By the 1990s, Esperanza leadership and many staff had deep roots in the area and were considered an integral part of coastal culture. Many Nu-chah-nulth agreed that "their histories are intricately woven with ours" and that they had a "depth of cultural, spiritual and practical understanding" of the people.[70] Thus, they were loath for them to leave.

Endnotes

1. Fourteen Roman Catholic hospitals, six United Church, four Anglican and one Salvation Army have been identified. See Catholic Health Association of British Columbia, *Anniversary Booklet: Living the Mission, 1940-1990* (ca. 1990); M. G. Doyle, *The Story of the Catholic Hospitals of Canada* (Archives of the Catholic Health Association of British Columbia,1968); Bob Burrows, *Healing in the Wilderness: A History of the United Church Mission Hospitals* (Madeira Park, BC: Harbour Publishing, 2004); Church of England in Canada,

Church Hospitals in the Canadian Mission Field of the Church of England in Canada (Toronto: Missionary Society, 1936); and R. G. Moyles, *The Blood and Fire in Canada: A History of the Salvation Army in the Dominion, 1882-1976* (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1977).

2. The writer was invited to attend a large meeting at Esperanza in March 2006 at which many First Nations' elders, elected officials, and others spoke passionately of the need to keep the ministry centre operating.

3. Aspects of Wills' story have been covered in the media and popular literature. See "The Mission of the Shantymen," *Life Magazine* (11 January 1954); W. Phillip Keller, *Splendour from the Sea: the Saga of the Shantymen* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1963); Douglas C. Percy, *Men with the Heart of a Viking* (Beaverlodge, AB: Horizon House Publishers, 1976); and Darda Burkhart, *Forging Ahead for God: Percy Wills: Pioneer Missionary* (Enumclaw, WA; Pleasant Word, 2009).

4. Aspects of Dr. McLean's story are included in all of the above plus Louise Johnson, *Not Without Hope: The Story of Dr. H. A. McLean and the Esperanza General Hospital* (Matsqui, BC: Maple Lane Publishing, 1992). The unpublished memoirs of his son, Donnel McLean, (copy given to author) plus interviews with three of his daughters, Shirley Sutherland (Kelowna, BC, 22 April 2010), Dorothea McLean and Lois Hooks (Burnaby, BC, 22 September 2011) provided additional details and context.

5. *The Vancouver Sun*, "Mission Doctor Finished Task," 14 March 1975, 10.

6. K. Mack Campbell, *Cannery Village: Company Town: A History of British Columbia's Outlying Salmon Canneries* (Victoria: Trafford Publishing, 2004).

7. Johnson, *Not Without Hope*, 29-32; and James A. Hamilton and Associates for the BC Hospital Insurance Service, *Physical Plant Survey*, Nootka Mission General Hospital, 12 January 1949. BC Archives (hereafter BCA).

8. Province of British Columbia, *Reports on Hospital Statistics*, 1938-1964. BCA.

9. Changes to provincial reporting format made it impossible to ascertain numbers of outpatients after 1944. See also Johnson, *Not Without Hope*, 71-75.

10. Medical Superintendent's Reports, *Nootka Mission Review* (February 1941); minutes of the Nootka Mission General Hospital Association, 10 February 1945. Both in SCA (formerly Shantymens' Christian Association) Archives, Toronto (hereafter SCA Archives); and interview with Elvin McMann, hospital administrator, 1959-73, Duncan, BC, 25 September 2009.

11. Province of British Columbia, *Reports on Hospital Statistics*, 1950-1964.

12. C.H. Howatson, "Mining," in *Vancouver Island: Land of Contrasts*, ed. Charles N. Forward, Western Geographical Series, vol. 17 (University of Victoria, 1979), 155-56; and Charles Lillard, *Seven Shillings a Year: the History of Vancouver Island*, (Ganges, BC: Horsdal and Schubart, 1968), 232-33.

13. *Nootka Mission Review* (1942? [two undated issues]), (December 1945), and (June 1948).

14. P.S. Tennant, Regional Superintendent, Indian Health Services, Vancouver, to Dr. H. A. McLean, 14 March 1949. BCA.

15. *Nootka Mission Review* (April 1949). SCA Archives.

16. Nootka Mission Board Minutes, 30 July 1947. SCA Archives.

17. H.M.B. Sutton, Government representative to the Zeballos Hospital to the Honorable Eric Martin, Minister of Health and Welfare, Victoria, BC, 28 February 1955. BCA.

18. Yuquot and Nuchatliz were reportedly the most resistant to holding services. McLean and Hooks interview, 22 September 2009. Also see my interview with Rev. Earl Johnson, Courtenay, BC, 23 February 2009. Johnson later became friends with several priests but reported that he experienced some of the earlier tensions.

19. Nootka Mission, Board Minutes, 18 March 1949. SCA Archives.

20. "A Petition Presented to the Indian Department by the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia, in Protest to a Proposed Medical Plan," 16 March 1949. SCA Archives.

21. James A. Hamilton and Associates for the BC Hospital Insurance Service, *Physical Plant Survey*, Zeballos General Hospital, 10 January 1949. BCA.

22. "A Petition Presented to the Indian Department," 1949. BCA.

23. Earl Johnson, "The Nootka Mission Association," Esperanza, BC, 1973. BCA.

24. Johnson, *Not Without Hope*, 134, 141-48; Earl Johnson interview, 23 February 2009; and telephone interview with Dr. Bob Patton, 2 December 2011. Patton did much of the organization of the clinics.

25. Johnson, *Not Without Hope*, 135; and Earl Johnson telephone interview, 25 October 2011. A female staff person and a First Nations woman served as dorm parents.

26. Interview with Dean Johnson, director of Esperanza Ministries, 19 October 2011. The school was short lived because of changes in educational policies.

27. Johnson, *Not Without Hope*, 135; and Dean Johnson interview, 19 October 2011.

28. See, for example, Doyle, *The Story of the Catholic Hospitals of Canada*; Burrows, *Healing in the Wilderness*; and Church of England in Canada, *Church Hospitals in the Canadian Mission Field*.

29. Dr. R.C. Swan, Assistant Director, Central Vancouver Island Health Unit, "Report on Visit to the North West Coast of Vancouver Island," 29 May 1962. BCA; and K.G. Wiper to W. D. Burrows, Director, Research Division, 6 April 1964. BCA.

30. See the interviews with McLean's daughters, Lois Hooks and Dorothea McLean, 22 September 2009, and telephone interview with his son Donnel McLean, 2 November 2011.

31. Dr. Adam Waldie, taped interview, 1976, part of West Coast Medical Historical Society Collection, Sound Recordings, BCA. Burrows clearly implies that direct evangelistic activities played an increasingly minor part of United Church hospital work. For a discussion of various models for understanding the relationship between medicine and Christian mission, see Christopher H. Grundmann, *Sent to Heal: Emergence and Development of Medical Missions* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2005), especially 201-25.

32. Johnson, *Not Without Hope*, provides numerous accounts of such activities.

33. "Information for Prospective Workers," *Nootka Mission Review* (December 1944). SCA Archives.

34. McMann interview, 25 September 2009.

35. "Information for Prospective Workers," *Nootka Mission Review* (December 1944). SCA Archives.

36. By the end of that period they had eight children but the older ones had left for high school and did not live at home for most of the year. Donnel McLean, "Esperanza Memoirs," undated, 8-9.

37. Minutes of staff meeting, 3 October1955, and 17 January 1956. SCA Archives.

38. Donnel McLean, "Esperanza Memoirs," 9. Lois Hooks, email to author, 24 September 2011.

39. Minutes of Staff meeting, 27 February 1956. SCA Archives.

40. Minutes of the Board of Nootka Mission 1944-1951. SCA Archives.

41. Lois Hooks, email to author, 24 September 2011.

42. Dorothea McLean, email to author, 23 September 2011.

43. Dr. Adam Waldie, taped interview, 1976, BCA.

44. The number of reports in the *Nootka Mission News* would seem to corroborate the estimate.

45. McLean "Esperanza Memoirs"; and McMann interview, 25 September 2009.

46. Board minutes, 18 March 1949, SCA Archives; *Nootka Mission Review* (1943 to 1949); and Richard G. Foulkes*, The Tofino General Hospital, 1935-1985: In Celebration of A Half Century of Service to the People of the West Coast of Vancouver Island* (n.p., ca. 1985).

47. For example, see A.W.E. Pitkethley, Hospital Insurance, to J. Christiansen, Manager East Asiatic Co., 6 September 1961. BCA.

48. Provincial officials rarely referenced the needs of the most remote First Nations' villages and no record of their speaking with them could be found in the BC Archives. In addition, no communication from these villages to the provincial officials was found.

49. United Fishermen and Allied Workers' Union to Hon. Eric Martin, Minister of Health, Victoria, 9 January 1963. BCA.

50. H. McLean to Hon. Eric Martin, Minister of Health, Victoria, 5 May 1961. BCA.

51. Dr. George B. Hill, Tahsis, to Brenda (no surname given) in BC Hospital Insurance Service, 25 May 1963; and A.W.E. Pitkethley to D. M. Cox. Deputy Minister, Hospital Insurance, 9 May 1963. BCA.

52. W. D. Burrowes to D. M. Cox, 21 September 1964. BCA.

53. Wiper to Burrowes, Director, 6 April 1964. BCA. Esperanza, though not legally or formally connected with the Shantymen, was associated in the minds of many with the organization because of its close connection with Percy Wills.

54. A.W.E. Pitkethley to D. M. Cox. Deputy Minister, Hospital Insurance, 9 May 1963. BCA.

55. Frank Mottishaw interview, 1976, Sound Recordings, BCA.

56. D.M. Cox, Deputy Minister of Hospital Insurance, to Hon. Eric Martin, Minister of Health Services and Hospital Insurance, 7 February 1966. BCA.

57. Martin to Williston, 9 August 1965. BCA.

58. Cox to Martin, 7 February 1966. BCA.

59. *Nootka Mission Review* (December 1965), SCA Archives; Johnson, *Not Without Hope*, 99, 135; and Earl Johnson telephone interview, 25 October 2011.

60. Interview with Louie Frank, Ahousaht, BC, 27 February 2008.

61. See Robert Burkinshaw, "Native Pentecostalism in British Columbia," Michael Wilkinson, ed., *Canadian Pentecostalism: Transition and Transformation* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009); 142-170.

62. *Nootka Mission Review* (December 1956), (December 1957), and (December 1958). Stacy Peters and Harry Hunt were among those invited to speak. SCA Archives.

63. Frank interview, 27 February 2008.

64. Johnson, *Not Without Hope*, 64; and *Nootka Mission Review* (Easter 1961). SCA Archives.

65. *The Nootka Mission Review* commented frequently on plans for the Bible school in the early 1960s.

66. Frank interview, 27 February 2008.

67. Telephone interview with Rick Lindholm, Port Alberni, BC, May 2012.

68. Victoria Wells to 11 March 2006 to SCA Board and Executive Director (copy provided to author).

69. Numerous reports and pictures make this clear; this observation was also confirmed in interviews with Dean Johnson, 19 October 2011, and Earl Johnson, 25 October 2011.

70. This was stated in various ways by many Nu-chah-nulth in the March 2006 meeting at Esperanza.

Fear and Denial at the Crossroads? Where is the History of the "Child Abuse Scandal" within the Roman Catholic Church?

SHEILA A. REDMOND
Algoma University

"My Friends, Welcome to Wittenberg!"[1]

Nineteen years ago, I delivered a paper at the annual meeting of the Canadian Society of Church History entitled "It Can't Be True, and If It Is, It's Not Our Fault! An Examination of Roman Catholic Institutional Response to Priestly Pedophilia in the Ottawa Valley."[2] In that paper, I made a number of observations and suggestions for possible areas for further research. Over the last nineteen years, an analysis of institutional and non-institutional Roman Catholic documents led me to the conclusion that the title I gave my paper in 1993 should be slightly modified: the new title could be "Well, we guess it's true, but it's still not our fault!" With few, if any, exceptions, the church tries to divest itself of any major responsibility for what has happened. "With hindsight" is a standard expression to be found in official documents, as is the excuse, "we didn't know how harmful the sexual abuse of children was." As limited as the historical evidence may be, the Catholic Church attempts to confine the "crisis" to a small period of time, essentially between 1950 and the present.[3]

There are a number of reasons put forward for the "problem." The major scapegoat seems to be the secularization of the Church in the sixties and the seventies.[4] This includes the acceptance, or at least a toleration of homosexuality in Catholic institutions, poor seminary training and/or the

changes in seminary training. Other causes include the cultivation of anti-authoritarianism within the Church, a lack of clerical discipline, the isolated life of the priest now that there are fewer of them in a parish, media hype, anti-Catholicism and last, but certainly not least, the rise of feminism. It is not the intention of this paper to comment on these issues except in passing. This essay will focus, first, on three recent documents from the United States Council of Catholic Bishops (USCCB);[5] second, it will examine the church's attitude towards victims/survivors; and, third, it will comment on the factors contributing to the lack of historical discussion of the issue.

Institutional Documents

The following section constitutes a brief look at some key elements from the USCCB's approach to the crisis. The first document, "A Report on the Crisis in the Catholic Church in the United States," sets out parameters for studies, which have not really changed since they were stated in 2002.[6] The second is the 2010 Audit Report on USCCB's "Charter for the Protection of Children and Young People" that shows that the problem is ongoing.[7] The final documents to be discussed are the recent studies produced by the John Jay College of Criminal Justice.[8] These reports are becoming the basis for structuring discussion of the child sexual abuse scandal in the North American Roman Catholic Church.[9]

A Report on the Crisis in the Catholic Church in the United States

As part of the USCCB's attempt finally to address the crisis in the church, a National Review Board for the Protection of Children and Young People was established. In 2004, the Board issued a report entitled "A Report on the Crisis in the Catholic Church in the United States." In what may have been a defensive move, the report began by explaining what it was not:

> First, this Report is not intended to address Church doctrine or to serve as a sounding board for those within the Church and outside the Church who wish to use this scandal to accomplish objectives unrelated to or tangential to the goal set forth above. The problem facing the Church was not caused by Church doctrine, and the solution does not lie in questioning doctrine. Second, this Report does not address specific instances of clerical sexual abuse or inadequate

> episcopal response . . . it is not the purpose of the Report to determine whether an individual priest or bishop was responsible for a specific act or omission. Finally, this Report is not, and does not purport to be, a scientific exercise. With the exception of the analysis of the John Jay College study . . . the Report does not rely upon the scientific method. Thus, for example, the Board has not attempted to conduct a comprehensive analysis of factors that may have made sexual abuse of minors more or less likely in a particular environment, or to develop an empirically-based profile of a typical sexual abuse offender. However, the Board is confident that it has accurately placed in context the reasons for the current crisis.[10]

These were the parameters of the report. Robert S. Bennett, the Research Committee Chair, resigned from the committee because nothing of significance could be accomplished. It is hard to understand how the bishops could believe that they could "accurately place in context the reasons for the current crisis" with those parameters. Eight years later, any close reading of the John Jay Reports, the USCCB 2010 audit report on the implementation of the "Charter for the Protection of Children and Young People," the institutional reports from England and Wales, Ireland, the Netherlands, Germany, Africa, the Philippines,[11] many of the academic studies that have come out in the last ten years, and, lastly, all of the media reports, lead to the conclusion that this was wishful thinking.

2004-2010 USCCB Audit Report

This audit report fulfills the requirement to monitor adherence in all Diocese, Eparchies and Religious Institutes to the USCCB's "Charter for the Protection of Children and Young People." There was almost universal compliance in filling out the necessary information.[12] During the period covered by the report, the American churches paid a minimum of $4,847,444,866 in costs related to allegations of child sexual abuse.[13] At the same time, 5,101 new credible allegations, 5,069 new victims and 3,496 new offenders were reported.[14] There are four main points in the audit report that outlined the major issues that the auditors considered critical.[15] They are, first, concerns about accurate record keeping that need to be attended to; second, serious concerns about "charter drift"; third, parish accountability is paramount because it is at this level the issues first arise; and, finally, there is concern about management letter accountability.[16]

The John Jay College of Criminal Justice Reports

The John Jay Reports deal with many of the scapegoats that we noted above and have also become the backbone of the Roman Catholic response to the pedophilia crisis in North America.[17] The general tone of the *Causes and Context Report* can be paraphrased in three phrases: "really, there weren't that many priests";[18] "see the charts, it's clearly getting better";[19] and, in the final analysis, "everybody else is doing it, so why pick on us!"[20]

There are many criticisms that can be made of these reports. For example, although the *Causes and Context Report* purports to cover 1950 to 2010, all the graphs and statistics end by 2002 before the Boston scandal.[21] One major criticism concerns the methodology of the report. As with "A Report on the Crisis in the Catholic Church in the United States" noted above, there were limitations on the data that the researchers were able to access.[22] Further criticisms can be made about the way in which the data was reported. They moved away from the definition of pedophilia in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM) as the sexual abuse of minors thirteen years and younger, opting to define it as an act involving children ten years and younger. This lowers the number of "pedophilic priests" to 22 per cent from a staggering 73 per cent.[23] Father Thomas Doyle is one of the few people who have placed this issue within a broader historical context while also keeping victims front and centre. The following is part of his response to the 2010 John Jay Report *Causes and Context Report*:

> The recent John Jay study on causes and contexts provided important data that placed the sexual abuse from one chronological period into a broader sociocultural context but this study didn't come close to examining the true causes. These causes are in the sacrosanct domain the institutional Church goes to every length to protect but it is the domain where we will begin to find the answers: the clerical sub-culture and the narcissistic hierarchical elite that has allowed this nightmare to happen and has failed to comprehend the profound depth of the damage done, not to the Church as institution, but to the most important persons among God's people, the victims.[24]

The John Jay researchers respond by saying that this was not part of their mandate. Many Roman Catholic writers ask "why not?"

Where are the Victims in the Discussion?

Have some things changed since 1993? Outside of the fact that there are now a lot more victims, the first thing that one notices is that there is less tendency on the part of writers on the subject to call the victims/survivors "alleged."[25] After years of using the "bad apple" explanation to argue that the abuse incidents were isolated, or that the emphasis in the media was the result of a "moral panic" or a product of anti-Catholicism in the United States,[26] the number of victims is now so great that there can be no doubt that there is a real institutional problem that needs to be addressed. In 2002 there was a turning point in the acceptance of the fact that the abuse of children by clergy had institutional ramifications in the United States. This was when the situation in the diocese of Boston under the leadership of Cardinal Law became front-page news around the world.[27] No longer could the problem be relegated to isolated incidents.

In addition, there are now numerous organizations that support the victims/survivors, both on an individual and a systemic level. The Catholic Church has paid for counseling for victims/survivors, sometimes willingly, sometimes as part of a settlement.[28] There are many support systems in place for victims/survivors. For example, one of the largest victim/survivor on-line networks, Survivors Network of those Abused by Priests (SNAP), began in 1988 and has grown steadily to 10,000 members in 2010.[29] SNAP and CCR (Centre for Constitutional Rights) have instituted a lawsuit filed against the Vatican and Pope Benedict for human rights violations with the International Court in The Hague.[30] BishopAccountability.org, established in June 2003, is a major primary resource for researchers and for victims/survivors in the United States. It contains archives, Bishops' files from a number of dioceses, reports, lawsuit documents, newspaper reports, and a database of abusive priests in the United States along with other information. The third website containing primary documentation is Richard Sipe's website,[31] which also serves as a portal for the research and advocacy of Father Thomas Doyle.[32]

However, the relationship between the Catholic Church and its victims is an ongoing struggle. The Kansas City diocese is in the process of suing SNAP for access to its membership list.[33] Many dioceses fight victims' claims with relentless defenses from their legal teams. One of the more interesting recent developments is the Vatican's defense in response to an American lawsuit which alleges that the Vatican itself is negligent for failing to alert police or the public about Roman Catholic priests who

molested children. The Vatican lawyers assert, first, that the Pope has diplomatic immunity; second, that the American bishops who oversaw abusive priests weren't employees of the Vatican; and, third, that the *Crimen solicitationis*,[34] a 1962 document, does not provide proof of a cover-up.[35]

Furthermore, where the problem used to be "blaming the victim," there is now a prevailing analysis coming from the institution that focusses on how "everyone is a victim": the priests who don't abuse are victims; the faithful in the pews are victims; the Holy Mother Church is a victim. One finds a version of this in Archbishop Mancini's paper[36] for the *Trauma and Transformation Conference* held in Montreal.[37] I wonder if he actually understands what has happened to the victims/survivors. He speaks eloquently about what he has learned about priests during this crisis. He speaks of how difficult life is for priests, the burden of the financial costs on dioceses, and how seminary training is highly inadequate.[38] It is a heartfelt reflection; however, when speaking about his talks with victims, he writes:

> One line I often heard, which really bothered me, was "The priest was God." Perhaps this was an expression that the victims' lawyers prepped them to use, but whether it is or not, it still reflects the mindset and culture of a time and place prior to the many cultural changes which have affected the Church, for better or for worse, in these last forty years.[39]

In the final analysis, the focus tends still to be on the damage to the church and not on the victims.

The Historical Context

Whether speaking from inside or outside the institution, the last sixty years have been critical in shaping the historical context of this issue. One cannot help but feel for Roman Catholic laymen and women who are trying to deal with this subject, writing books, and analyzing the institution. It must be particularly difficult for Roman Catholics who are dealing first hand with victims/survivors on a consistent basis, whether in a legal or pastoral capacity. Liberal or conservative, most want to keep their belief system intact, while addressing the problems. This sometimes leads to rather peculiar statements. For example, Leon Podles' *Sacrilege* notes: "When the Christian Brothers of Ireland first came to Newfoundland,

discipline was firm but loving, but by the 1950s the Christian Brothers brutalized the boys with 'excessive, if not savage, punishment'. . . Physical abuse glided over easily into sexual abuse."[40] Inherent in this quote is the assumption that the sexual abuse of these boys at Mount Cashel only began in the 1950s. Furthermore, he suggests that physical abuse can turn into sexual abuse. Modern psychology makes both of these statements inadequate, to say the least. Without any historical data or historical studies to back him up, this is unjustified as well. There are historical hints that the problem existed prior to the fifties. However, at this point, I know of no historical study that has attempted to look at this issue. Ultimately, there are two critical things missing from the reports, official documents and pastoral letters, and the two are intimately related.

There is a need for a sustained examination of early primary documents, the Church Fathers, the early church councils, monastic documents, and legal codes focusing on the relationships of these documents to the sexual abuse of children – predominantly male children. Then the same must be done for the medieval period, the Reformation era, the early modern period (including what happened to indigenous peoples during colonization), and continuing until the latest scandal. Only in this way will it become clear how the issue developed or didn't develop and the role that historical circumstances and the development of Christian theology played in the inability of the Church to understand the sexual behaviour of its clerics. Thomas Doyle thinks that it will probably be impossible to do.[41] In Doyle, *et al*., *Sex, Priests, and Secret Codes: The Catholic Church's 2,000 Year Paper Trail of Sexual Abuse*, there is one chapter devoted to the "paper trail"[42] and a chronology in the appendix beginning with the *Didache*.[43] That chapter and chronology illustrate that this has been an ongoing ecclesiastical problem since the second century. This emphasis on official documents appears to indicate that there has been a consistent concern over the sexual abuse of male children since the earliest days of Christianity. Charles Scicluna, in the 2004 papal document arising from the 2004 Vatican conference, adds still more primary documents to Doyle's list.[44] In their monograph on childhood and children in early Christianity, Cornelia Horn and John Martens devote seven pages to "The Christian Response to Sexual Exploitation."[45] From this short examination of the question, it is clear that the sexual use of children in Christianity is part of the historical record.

Beginning the Research

I do not believe that the situation is as hopeless as Thomas Doyle thinks that it is. The difficulties are there and we may not be able to make definitive conclusions based on available primary sources. However, we analyze documents and extrapolate from them all the time. Anyone who is working in the Classical era, ancient Egypt and the Ancient Near East, early Judaism or early Christianity, must work with limited material and yet must still develop historical hypotheses and conclusions.

There are a number of historical points from which to start doing a history of the "pedophilia crisis" within Christianity as a whole. This is after all not just a problem in the Roman Catholic Church. First, the history of the Roman Catholic Church contains numerous examples of periods of "grave moral turpitude" that were addressed by the institution. Three of the most familiar examples are the Gregorian Reformation, the reformation of Innocent III and the Fourth Lateran Council, and the Catholic Reformation inaugurated by the Council of Trent. At an initial glance, the Church seems to be following a similar path of retrenchment, rather than asking why the solutions to moral questions in earlier periods have so obviously failed to address sexual issues.

Second, the Roman Catholic Church is a continuation of the Roman Empire. To this day, it still uses Latin as its official language. Thus to begin to understand this problem, one must look at Roman attitudes towards sexuality and those of the Greco-Roman world. Historians have tended to take an avoidance-oriented attitude towards the sexual use of children in the Greco-Roman world. It seems to be easier to look at child sacrifice than the rape of children. Historical "arms-length" attitudes and cultural relativism have made this avoidance possible.[46]

Third, the development of Christian theology must be analyzed as it relates to this issue. The question is often asked: how could these priests be allowed to "get away with it"? The development of negative theological norms concerning sexuality in Christianity is often cited as a primary cause. I would argue, however, that it is more complicated than that. For example, the Donatist controversy led to the theological construct of the "efficacy of the sacraments." This, of course, means that the sacraments administered by sexually abusing priests are still "efficacious." This is small consolation to the laity in those churches, but it is part of what needs to be addressed. Another theological issue concerns the issue of priests and marriage. On 30 April 2001 there was a promulgation of a special law

motu proprio that "a sin against the Sixth Commandment of the Decalogue by a cleric with a minor under 18 years of age is to be considered a more grave delict or *delictum gravius*."[47] This is the commandment: Thou shalt not commit adultery. This idea, that priests cannot commit adultery with minors has been around for centuries. So when did this theological idea actually start? Is the problem that, in Roman Catholicism, there has been, in practice, no age differentiation with regard to sexuality? If all sex is wrong for the celibate (and outside of marriage), then is it immaterial with whom you have sex?[48]

There are problems concerning how to approach the subject from a methodological perspective. There is a problem with the accessibility of documentation – from access to actual case files at the local diocese to access to Vatican files. It is clear from the slim number of documents to which we have access that there has been a longstanding concern, particularly with men having sex with young males and male children. How do we separate concerns about homosexuality from concerns about sex with male children? Where did this Christian antipathy towards homosexuality begin? Does it relate to scriptural concerns solely,[49] or does it derive from philosophical structures such as Stoicism? There are always issues of anachronistic thinking and cultural relativism. Psychohistory might be a useful tool for analyzing the preoccupation with sexuality in the early Church Fathers and other writers in the first few centuries of Christianity. However, psychohistory is still a suspect branch of the historical enterprise.

A Potential Hypothesis

The purpose of historical research, in the final analysis, should be to explain, as best as possible, how things got the way they are. There are astounding historical works on issues relevant to the sexual abuse of children. All such studies need to be examined once more, however, in order to understand the "priestly pedophilia crisis." A potential hypothesis for a historical study of this subject would be that "the potential for the child sexual abuse scandal of the twentieth century became systemic and embedded in theology in the earliest writings of Christianity as well as in the church." Furthermore, these institutional and theological impediments are creating difficulties in resolving the sexual abuse of children by priests to the satisfaction of the populace in the context of the twenty-first century.

Is Roman Catholicism and Christianity itself at a Crossroads?

A religion's only real commodity is its moral rectitude. This is a moral issue that truly has the potential to split the church apart. The split may not be overt but it probably already exists. This is one topic that has the potential to undermine the entire moral theory and structure of the Roman Catholic Church. It is not just the authority issue.[50] The response of the Vatican has been too slow and out of touch with the day-to-day reality of the laity.[51] I have begun a series of blog posts, called "Just what is the colour of the sky in their world," which look at statements coming from the church and highlight just how out of touch it is. Too many Roman Catholics, laity and clergy, are asking serious questions about the state of the institution and the presuppositions on which its theology has been created. There seems to be an understanding, inside and outside the institution, that ending this problem within Roman Catholicism will require a seismic shift – nothing short of a radical and structural institutional reform will suffice.[52] That change needs to begin with an historical understanding of where the problems began: in the earliest days of Christianity when it was defining itself over and against the Greco-Hellenistic culture in which it arose.

Epilogue

What I must say here is that this is an extremely painful issue for most Roman Catholics, no matter what their response is. In October 2009, the recent case of Bishop Lahey[53] brought about a truly anguished statement in a pastoral letter from Archbishop Anthony Mancini of Nova Scotia:

> Enough is enough! How much more can all of us take? Like you, my heart is broken, my mind is confused, my body hurts and I have moved in and out of a variety of feelings, especially shame and frustration, fear and disappointment, along with a sense of vulnerability, and a tremendous poverty of spirit. I have cried and I have silently screamed and perhaps that was my prayer to God: Why Lord? What does all this mean? What are you asking of me and of my priests? What do you want to see happen among your people? In this a time of purification or is it nothing more than devastation? Are people going to stop believing, will faithful people stop being people of faith? Lord, what are you asking of us and how can we make it

happen?[54]

This cry echoes the still unique statement of Archbishop Penney of Newfoundland twenty years ago: "We are a sinful church. We are naked. Our anger, our pain, our anguish and our vulnerability are clear to the whole world."[55]

I will give the final words to Archbishop Mancini: "And the challenge that I believe is facing us, certainly in Nova Scotia, but I suspect that it is true right across the board, we are really faced with the founding, the re-founding of our church."[56]

Endnotes

1. In October 1992, A.W. Richard Sipe greeted the first meeting of sexual abuse survivors with this phrase; quoted in Frank Bruni and Elinor Burket, *A Gospel of Shame: Children, Sexual Abuse, and the Catholic Church* (New York: Perennial/HarperCollins, 1993), 224.

2. Sheila A. Redmond, "It Can't Be True, And If It Is, It's Not Our Fault! An Examination of Roman Catholic Institutional Response to Priestly Pedophilia in the Ottawa Valley" in Canadian Society of Church History, *Historical Papers* (1993), 229-45. Available at http://www.academicroom.com/article/it-cant-be-true-and-if-it-its-not-our-fault-examination-roman-catholic-institutional-response-priestly-paedophilia-ottaw.

3. This position is supported by the research in two seriously flawed reports from the John Jay School of Criminality and Justice, *The Nature and Scope of Sexual Abuse of Minors by Catholic Priests and Deacons in the United States 1050-20002,* (Washington DC: USCCB, 2006); and *The Causes and Context of Sexual Abuse of Minors by Catholic Priests in the United States, 1050-2010,* a Report Presented to the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops by the John Jay College Research Team (Washington DC: USCCB, 2011).

4. This is often code for the changes that occurred in the church because of Vatican II. It is almost as if Vatican II and "priestly pedophilia crisis" are woven from the same cloth.

5. Length constraints led me to focus only on the situation in the United States, in part because Roman Catholics in that country have been at the forefront in bringing this issue to the attention of the institution and the public. For a brief look at the Canadian situation, see the 2005 CCCB's review of protocols set out in *From Pain to Hope:* "Report of the Special Taskforce for the Review

of *From Pain to Hope*," Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, September 2005, available at http://www.cccb.ca/site/Files/TaskForceGroup_A.pdf. I have not yet found a revision of this draft report. See also Tracy Trothen, "A Survey of Policies and Practices in Respect to Responses by Religious Institutions to Complaints of Child Sexual Abuse and Complaints by Adults of Historical Child Sexual Abuse, 1960-2006", 20-80. Available on the Ontario Government Documents website at http://www.ontla.on.ca/library/repository/mon/22000/286057.pdf

6. See *A Report on the Crisis in the Catholic Church in the United States* (2004).

7. Secretariat of Child and Youth Protection, National Review Board, and United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, *Report on the Implementation of the Charter for the Protection of Children and Young People*, 2010 Annual Report: Findings and Recommendations (March 2011).

8. These reports have had a number of iterations. See note 3, above, for the full citations.

9. As an example, McGill's Centre for Research on Religion (CREOR) hosted a conference on the sexual abuse crisis in the Catholic Church in October 2011. Key among the presenters was Karen Terry, the lead researcher for the John Jay reports. The Trauma and Transformation Conference papers and presentations, as well as videos from a variety of sources, are available on line at http://traumaandtransformation.org

10. *A Report on the Crisis,* 7-8. Emphasis added.

11. Almost all of the official reports from Roman Catholic Dioceses around the world are available on-line through Bishopaccountability.org or the other websites mentioned in this paper.

12. The methodology and limitations of compliance are laid out in chapter 2 of the report. See *Report on the Implementation*, 5-8.

13. *Report on the Implementation*, 55. This is a minimum because there were incomplete data in the early years covered by the report. The cost to the American Roman Catholic church prior to 2004 is not included in the calculations.

14. *Report on the Implementation*, 54.

15. *Report on the Implementation*, 57-59.

16. Management letters offer guidance for performance improvement and highlight potential problem areas in a diocese or eparchy. See William A. Gavin, President, "Preface," *Report on the Implementation*, ix-x.

17. *Causes and Context*, 91-93, 118-20.

18. *Causes and Context*, 27-35.

19. See *Causes and Context Report*, "Figure 2.7: Distribution of Diocesan Priest Accused of Abuse, in Behavioral Groups," 35. This is one example where changing the DSM definition of pedophiles has an impact on perception.

20. *Causes and Context Report*, 11-24.

21. There are two paragraphs and three graphs that cover data to 2008. See *Causes and Context Report*, 32-33.

22. *Nature and Scope*, 11-22; and *Causes and Context Report*, 2. For a lengthy initial critique of the methodology, see Miranda Celeste, "A Worthless and Dangerous Report," available at http://mirandaceleste.net/2011/05/24/a-worthless-and-dangerous-report/.

23. Celeste, "Worthless and Dangerous Report."

24. Thomas P. Doyle, "Sexual Abuse in the Catholic Church: A Decade of Crisis, 2002-2012: A Radical Look at Today and Tomorrow." Available at: http://www.richardsipe.com/Doyle/2012/Santa%20Clara%20-%20May%2015,%202012c%5B5%5D.pdf.

25. Redmond, "It Can't be True," 235.

26. The chief proponent of this position is Philip Jenkins in *Pedophiles and Priests: Anatomy of a Contemporary Crisis* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996). He is constantly referred to in support of the idea that the situation is overblown. For a comprehensive critique of Jenkins, see Paul J. Isely, "Child Sexual Abuse and the Catholic Church: An Historical and Contemporary Review," *Pastoral Psychology* 47 (1997), 286-89.

27. For details of the Boston scandal, see The Investigative Staff of *The Boston Globe*, *Betrayal: The Crisis in the Catholic Church* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2002); and David France, *Our Fathers: The Secret Life of the Catholic Church in an Age of Scandal* (New York: Broadway Books, 2004).

28. See the *Report on Implementation*, 54-5. While there are pastoral counseling courses on the issue, these still tend to be problematic. See Sheila A. Redmond, "God Died and Nobody Gave a Funeral," *Pastoral Psychology* 48 (1997): 41-48. For some of the issues, see my review of Myra L. Hidalgo, *Sexual Abuse and the Culture of Catholicism: How Priests and Nuns Become Perpetrators* (New York: The Haworth Maltreatment & Trauma Press: 2007), available at http://www.sheilaredmond.com/2012/04/sexual-abuse-and-cultue-of-catholicism.html. See also Sheila A. Redmond, "Oh Those Well-meaning

Pastoral Counselors and Educators" and "Anger, Anger and Rage," blog posts available at http://www.sheilaredmond.com/search?q=pastoral

29. See the *2010 SNAP Annual Report*, available at http://www.snapnetwork.org/snap_2010_annual_report

30. The filing is available at http://nationbuilder.s3.amazonaws.com/snap/pages/795/attachments/original/FINALSNAPWORD.pdf?1315913668. Other court documents, press releases and newspaper articles on the case are available at http://www.snapnetwork.org/snap_legal_action

31. Available at http://www.richardsipe.com/index.html

32. Available at http://www.richardsipe.com/Doyle/index.html

33. A list of newspaper articles concerning the lawsuit against SNAP can be found at http://www.snapnetwork.org/snaps_fight

34. Available on the Vatican website at http://www.vatican.va/resources/resources_crimen-sollicitationis-1962_en.html. See the discussion in Trothen, "A Survey of Policies and Practices," 25-27.

35. Nicole Winfield, "Vatican Offers Three Reasons Why it's not liable for Abuse," *Associated Press*, 30 March 2010. Available at http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2010/03/30/vatican-launches-legal-de_n_519113.html. See also John L. Allen, Jr., "1962 Document Orders Secrecy in Sex Cases. Many Bishops Unaware Obscure Missive as in their Archives," *National Catholic Reporter*, 7 August 2003. Available at http://www.nationalcatholicreporter.org/update/bn080703.htm

36. Archbishop Anthony Mancini, "What Have I Learned About Priests in this On-going Crisis of Sexual Abuse of Minors," *Trauma and Transformation Conference*, Montreal, October 2011. Available at http://traumaandtransformation. org/wp-content/uploads/2011/10/Archbishop-Mancini-Presentation-TT-Conference.pdf.

37. Available at http://traumaandtranformation.org.

38. *Causes and Context*, 93. One can see this echoed in the recent fiction of Linden McIntyre, *The Bishop's Man* (Toronto: Random House of Canada, 2009). For a detailed synopsis and critique for the novel, see Sheila Redmond, "*The Bishop's Man*: Spoiler Alert." Available at http://www.sheilaredmond.com/search?q=The+Bishop%27s+Man.

39. Mancini, "What I have Learned," 4.

40. Leon J. Podles, *Sacrilege: Sexual Abuse in the Catholic Church* (Baltimore MD: Crossland Press, 2008). 72. Leon Podles is a victims' lawyer and was involved with the USCCB 2004 report discussed above. Along with Judge Robert S. Bennett, the Research Committee Chair, he disavowed any connection with the report's findings. He sits on the Board of bishop accountability.org and his anger at the institution is palpable throughout the book.

41. Thomas P. Doyle, "Survival of the Spirit while mired in the toxic wastes of the ecclesiastical swamp," Annual SNAP Gathering in Chicago, 2008. See http://www.catholica.com.au/gc2/td/pdf/SurvivalOfTheSpirit_Doyle.pdf, 4-6.

42. Doyle, et al., *Sex, Priests, and Secret Codes*, 3-66.

43. Doyle, et al., *Sex, Priests, and Secret Codes*, 295-300.

44. Scicluna, "Sexual Abuse of Children," 13-16.

45. Cornelia B. Horn and John Martens, *"Let the Little Children Come to Me": Childhood and Children in Early Christianity* (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2009), 225-32. One initial finding is that the issue seems to be embedded more in a fear of homosexual behaviour than a primary concern for children.

46. See the discussion in Enid Bloch, "Sex between Men and Boys in Classical Greece: Was It Education for Citizenship or Child Abuse?" *The Journal of Men's Studies* 9 (2001), 183-204.

47. Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, *Motu Proprio Sacramentorum sanctitatis tutela* (30 April 2001). For a discussion of the law, see Scicluna, "Sexual Abuse of Children," 19-20.

48. Sheila Ann Redmond, "The Father God and Traditional Christian Interpretations of Suffering, Guilt, Anger and Forgiveness as Impediments to Recovery from Father-Daughter Incest" (Ph.D. diss., University of Ottawa, 1993), 104-5. Available at: http://www.academicroom.com/dissertation/father-god-and-traditional-christian-interpretations-suffering-guilt-anger-and-forgiveness-impediments-recovery-fat.

49. See, for example, a discussion on the Pauline position on homosexuality in Mark D. Smith, "Ancient Bisexuality and the Interpretation of Romans 1:26-27," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 64 (1996): 223-56.

50. Tom Roberts, *The Emerging Catholic Church: A Community's Search for Itself* (Maryknoll NY: Orbis Books, 2011).

51. Jason Berry and Gerald Renner, *Vows of Silence: The Abuse of Power in the Papacy of John Paul II* (New York: The Free Press, 2004); and Garry Wills, *Papal Sin: The Structures of Deceit* (New York: Image Books, 2000).

52. To paraphrase the conclusions in Marie Keenan's book, *Catholic Sexual Abuse and the Catholic Church: Gender, Power, and Organizational Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 259-75.

53. Available at http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/story/2012/05/16/nl-lahey-chuch-516.html.

54. Archbishop Anthony Mancini, "Letter to the Roman Catholic Faithful of Nova Scotia," 2 October 2009 in Daniel Cere, "Toward a Gospel Witness: Confronting Child Abuse" *Homiletic and Pastoral Review*, 1 May 2011, 3. Available at http://www.hprweb.com/2011/05/toward-a-gospel-witness-confronting-child-abuse/. Then again, coming from a hermeneutic of suspicion, I read Mancini's statement to the faithful in Yarmouth and wonder about the "few priests" about whom he talks, and its focus on the financial cost that all must bear in order to make things right for the victims. In this he depends on Acts 4:32: "the whole group of those who believed were of one heart and soul, and no one claimed private ownership of any possessions, but everything they owned was held in common." Archbishop Anthony Mancini, "Archbishop Mancini's Letter to the Faithful of the Yarmouth Diocese," 24 January 2011. Available athttp://www.halifaxyarmouth.org/diocese/item/archbishop-mancini-s-letter-to-the-faithful-of-the-yarmouth-diocese-January-24-2011-eng-fr

55. Mary Williams Walsh, "Sex Scandal in Canadian Archdiocese Renews Debate on Celibacy, Doctrine: Catholicism: Observers say that Newfoundland's painful crisis involving child abuse demonstrates the need for an overhaul of church structure," *LA Times*, 21 July 1990. Available at http://articles.latimes.com/1990-07-21/news/mn-163_1_richard-sipe.

56. Archbishop Anthony Mancini, "Video Introduction to the Trauma and Transformations Conference," can be heard at 3:02 of the video clip at http://traumaandtransformation.org/video-intro-to-trauma-and-transformation-conference.

"Know God, Serve Others": Religion in the Canadian Girls in Training in the Interwar Years

MEGAN BAXTER
University of Western Ontario

"Every girl is in search of that fullness of life which may be found in Jesus."[1] So wrote the unnamed author in the 1927 pamphlet "Introducing the Canadian Girls In Training Programme." The Canadian Girls In Training (CGIT) was an ecumenical Christian girls group created near the end of World War I and which is still in existence today.[2] It was both a religious and a practical movement. While not all components of the program were concerned with religion, this was the medium through which the national leaders thought they could help participants bring a "fullness of life" to all aspects of their daily existence.

The national organization tried to help local leaders develop programs that would help girls become competent leaders as well as engaged mothers and wives. Throughout the interwar period, the national organization's struggle to encourage CGIT participants to assume more public roles in the life of the nation was often at odds with an insistence on the primacy of the home and the vocation of motherhood. The national leaders of the CGIT believed that if teenage girls could be guided to a deeper religious belief, they would be more inclined to enter into the public sphere as effective, politically active leaders. At the same time, the connection between domestic and religious ideology was very strong. The role of the mother and the primacy of the domestic sphere continued to be central in mainstream Protestant churches.[3] Both messages were present within the literature published by the CGIT, which included magazines, pamphlets and books. As a result, the CGIT was at times overtly feminist

in its call for egalitarian gender roles, while at other times the emphasis was on creating accomplished homemakers and mothers. The consistent element in both instances was the constant call to make Christianity relevant and integral to the lives of the girls who participated in the organization.

In the interwar period, historians have found that religious institutions believed that parents were not doing an adequate job of imparting religious belief to their children. Studies in the United States had found that family-based religious practices had declined since World War I.[4] Churches were particularly worried about teenagers, whom they thought were not being made aware of the importance of religion to their lives, and who were becoming less and less likely to assume full membership in their churches. Religious groups for teenagers played a prominent role in denominational communities, intending to stem the "teen-age leakage" from the churches.[5] These groups for both boys and girls were intended to supplement religious instruction from the family, which was considered the most important source of religious education. In order to reach teenage girls who might otherwise drift away from the churches, CGIT national leaders attempted to make Christianity relevant and attractive by structuring a program around a "four-fold" ideal of womanhood that would help prepare participants for future life both practically and religiously. The way they organized that program reflected both their religious concerns and the tensions they encountered between the ideal and reality. An analysis of literature published by the CGIT reveals how the leaders tried to make religion and religious service attractive to their participants, and some of the difficulties they found along the way.

The historiography of the impact of religion on women's entry into the public sphere has undergone a significant evolution since the 1980s. In the 1980s, the majority of women's historians omitted any significant discussion of religion from their works.[6] The few who took it into account viewed religion negatively because they believed that Christianity was little more than a way for churches to control women. Religion was blamed for directing women's political activism solely towards "maternal issues." Religion continued to be ignored or criticized by historians until the late 1980s and through the 1990s, when some historians of gender and religion began to examine the ways in which religion was a powerful and positive motivating factor for women as they entered public life. Some historians started to examine the ways that religious belief "informed and enlivened" the feminism and public life of politically active women.[7]

Most of the historiography on the CGIT organization to date has fallen into that last category. Margaret Prang's article "'The Girl God Would Have Me Be': The Canadian Girls In Training, 1915-1939" traces the institutional history of the CGIT and the main strands of contemporary thought that contributed a new vision of women's potential that its leaders disseminated. Likewise Lucille Marr contends that the CGIT offered "girls opportunities long held by women's groups to nurture relationships in the church, provid[ing] a starting point for a variety of other avenues of service."[8] Elissa How argues that the CGIT organization affected the lives of girls who participated in it in a uniformly positive way. CGIT leaders tried to impart ideals that would "teach girls to pursue higher education, to develop strong leadership skills, and to choose vocations which could be as precious to God as motherhood."[9] All three authors regarded the CGIT as a beneficial and motivating force in the lives of the girls who participated. They did not, however, complicate their pictures by examining the ways in which messages reinforcing domestic female roles coexisted with an expansion of the definition and possibilities of womanhood.

The most recent generation of historians examining female religious experience have taken an approach that is more apt to examine the various possibilities, limitations, and complications that religion has created in women's lives. Historians such as Ann Braude, Margaret Bendroth, and Virginia Brereton argue that religion has not had a univocal effect on the lives of women. They maintain that Christian domestic ideology has been used both to bolster and to undermine issues of women's suffrage, ordination, and education, and that it has been utilized by both liberal and conservative Protestants to support their viewpoints. Religion emerges in many recent works as a more subtle and varied force in women's lives, the effects of which cannot be reduced to a dichotomy of achievement or oppression.[10]

This approach owes much to the emerging study of lived religion. Lived religion attempts to introduce into religious history the study of religion as it has been received, adapted and resisted by adherents. This approach tries to move past the dichotomy of the sacred and profane, arguing that "[r]eligion comes into being in an ongoing, dynamic relationship with the realities of everyday life."[11] By examining religious practice in history, the historian can examine how adherents interacted with official institutions and theology, and which doctrines were internalized, which rejected, and which adapted to the circumstances of daily life.

Lived religion can explore areas of tension, power, discipline, and resistance that are exposed when people perform, adapt, and struggle with ritual and practice. The approach used in lived religion avoids assuming that religious messages were blindly accepted and followed by adherents while still acknowledging that religious idioms could be articulations of "social and psychological discipline."[12]

Using the methodology of lived religion, an exploration of the concept of womanhood which the national CGIT leaders attempted to impart to participants during its formative years from 1917 to 1939 will uncover the ways in which the this ideology was a site of discipline, control, resistance and tension. The tensions that accompanied the evolving religious "range of idiomatic possibility" available to women in defining their roles were also reflected in the writings and meetings of the CGIT leaders on both the national and local levels.[13] Although some of the aspects of the CGIT program may not appear to be specifically religious, they were part of the overall goal of helping teenage girls develop a fulfilling Christian life. The program was developed by and reflects the thought of the national leaders, who were mostly young, well-educated, deeply religious women who both shared much of the mainstream Protestant thought of the time, and who also worked to find new possibilities for women.

The organizational structure, format of meetings, and published literature of the CGIT all influenced the way that participants were encouraged to develop a fulfilling Christian life. In 1915, four women who were active in the YWCA formed the Canadian Advisory Committee on Co-operation in Girls Work. This board worked to develop a religious organization for teenage girls aged twelve to seventeen. The new CGIT was created as the female counterpart to two preexisting Canadian boys groups, the Tuxis Boys and Trail Rangers. In 1917, the first CGIT publication, a pamphlet describing how to form a CGIT group, was published. Public response was enthusiastic and, due to the rapid growth of the movement, the YWCA turned control of the CGIT organization over to denominational Girls Work Boards in 1920. These in turn joined to form the National Girls' Work Board (NGWB), which oversaw the CGIT organization. The NGWB consisted of National and Provincial Executives, which were largely composed of well-educated single women. The National and Provincial Executives set policy for the CGIT movement.[14]

The National Executive encouraged Sunday school teachers to form their girls' classes into CGIT groups. On occasions when Sunday school

teachers were unable or unwilling to form groups, other interested women were encouraged to do so. Groups were largely segregated along denominational lines. Sunday school curriculum continued to be set by the churches, but a weekday meeting was added. The weekday activities were ideally to be set by the teenage participants under the guidance of their leader. The National Executive published numerous works available to local CGIT leaders to purchase. The available literature included pamphlets on the creation of CGIT groups, suggestions for weekly activities, initiation and dedication ceremonies, as well as book-length works for leaders with advice on every aspect of the CGIT program. Also available for CGIT participants to purchase were books, most notably the *Treasure Book of Homecraft, The Girl's Own Book,* and *The Girl and Life's Adventure.* From 1922 to 1924, the CGIT organization contributed to *The Canadian Mentor*, a quarterly magazine published for leaders of the CGIT and the corresponding boys' groups, the Tuxis Boys and Trail Rangers. In 1924, the National Executive withdrew from *The Canadian Mentor* and started their own magazine for CGIT leaders, *The Torch,* which was published bi-monthly from September to June.

The Trail Rangers, Tuxis Boys, and CGIT used a fourfold concept of personality development in their organizations. The program for the boys groups was divided into four parts: the Physical, the Intellectual, the Religious, and the Social. The CGIT renamed the fourth component "Service."[15] For the girls, one meeting each month was to be devoted to each component. Each meeting would start with the recitation of the Canadian Girls In Training purpose, which included one pledge for each component of the fourfold life:

> As a Canadian Girl In Training,
> Under the leadership of Jesus,
> It is My Purpose To
> Cherish Health,
> Seek Truth,
> Know God,
> Serve Others
> And Thus, With His Help, Become
> The Girl God Would Have Me Be.[16]

The national leaders of the CGIT altered the fourfold structure in 1927 because they found that the meetings devoted to the religious component were poorly attended. They did not completely dispose of the fourfold

structure of the program, but reframed it in terms of a girl's relationships to the significant social structures of the period. The Physical became the Home, the Intellectual was renamed the School, the Religious turned into the Church, and Service became the Community. The CGIT purpose and pledges remained the same.[17]

The CGIT membership soon eclipsed that of the Tuxis Boys or Trail Rangers, and peaked at 40,000 participants in 1933-4.[18] Groups operated autonomously, but the National Girls Work Board (NGWB) published material with advice for leaders at a nominal cost. Groups were encouraged to apply to the National Executive for recognition as official CGIT groups, and could also attempt to achieve "Standard Group" status. Among other requirements for attaining Standard Group status, such as regular meetings, was that "one meeting in four [was to] be devoted to missionary education."[19]

Weekday meetings were to be composed of a five minute sing song, a three-minute opening ceremony, a fifteen-minute portion for group business (to be conducted according to parliamentary rules), a ten to fifteen-minute devotional service, forty minutes for group-selected activity, ten minutes for games or songs, and a two minute closing ceremony.[20] The group activity was often a project that was pursued over several weeks.[21] The CGIT Executives organized summer camps for participants as well as for group, provincial, and national leaders.[22] Meetings did not take place during the summer. When each CGIT group re-formed in the fall, they would perform a Dedication Ceremony to reaffirm their aims in belonging to the organization. New members were welcomed in initiation ceremonies.

The ambiguity in the CGIT definition of woman's proper role was a reflection of the struggle in Canadian society among liberal Protestant groups over how and when women should enter the public sphere. Supporters of women's involvement in politics and public life were generally divided into two groups, although there was overlap between the two: those who wanted women to enter public life as equals to men, and those who attributed to women special privileges because of their status as protectors of the home and family.[23] Religion entered this discourse as both a motivating and discouraging force for women. Religious faith encouraged some women to pursue public life, while others felt that Christian domestic ideology taught that women's proper sphere was in home and private life.[24] For the CGIT, religion was the foundation of active engagement with the public sphere, but the strength of the ideal of

the home as women's proper place continued to have an impact. As a result, the message of the CGIT movement was frequently ambiguous about women's proper roles.

The different needs and expectations of teenage girls caused the fourfold life to be developed along different lines in CGIT groups than they were in the Tuxis Boys or Trail Rangers. These differences increased when the CGIT organization decided in 1927 to rename and better integrate the four sections of the fourfold life. The emphasis was changed from development of the individual personality of teenagers to a focus on the relational life of women, finding meaningful life for the participants not solely within the self, but in relationships with institutions and other people. This changed emphasis reflected major theological strains in liberal Protestantism that developed in the interwar period. It was believed that human beings were "by nature religious," and therefore, if personalities were properly guided in their development, religious devotion would naturally follow.[25] The social gospel, which flourished from the 1880s to the end of the 1920s, well after the formation of the CGIT, was a theology that "encouraged a social concept of man and underlined the social dimensions of the Gospel, so that the solutions that appeared to be the most useful were those which had an essentially social character."[26] William McGuire King stated that within social gospel theology, it was believed that an emphasis on relationships would lead people towards "discover[ing] the personal fulfillment of authentic human relationships and to enable oneself to find a personal center of meaning."[27] Engaged interaction with the world would eventually be manifested by a "religious enthusiasm for humanity," an aspiration which was reflected in the idealism of the CGIT.[28]

The CGIT leadership hoped to encourage this kind of religious participation in the wider society. They believed that religion should not be a burden to participants, and that the way to show girls how to integrate religion willingly and happily into their lives was by tying the separate components of the fourfold life more closely together.[29] The CGIT leadership thought that the religious component was the most important part of their program. The American psychologist G. Stanley Hall had developed the concept of adolescence at the start of the twentieth century. Hall taught that in adolescence, people were most likely to struggle with their faith and, with guidance, to make a commitment to their religious life.[30] Around the same time, American educator John Dewey had theorized that children began to learn at birth, and it was the job of adults

to develop the intrinsic religious facility of children. Religious belief would be developed by example, not coercion.[31]

The CGIT, Tuxis Boys, and Trail Ranger groups in Canada attempted to follow Hall and Dewey's theories to awaken the religious sentiments of boys and girls. An article in the *Canadian Mentor* argued that, "[t]he only kind of religion that a boy or girl can understand is one that calls for action."[32] Religion was not to be imposed on teenagers. Instead, it was hoped that the religious devotion of the CGIT leaders would inspire similar dedication amongst participants. The CGIT organization thought that that their leaders would help teenage girls through the difficulties of adolescence, and eventually encourage graduates to join the Young People's Societies of their respective churches, and ultimately make the decision to become full church members.[33] This part of the program reflected the beliefs of social reformers that a personal, ever-present faith was the way to connect with the divine, and that this would lead teenage girls effectively to interact with society, leading to social improvement.[34]

Religious devotion was, therefore, of paramount importance, and was supposed to be integrated into every aspect of a Canadian Girl in Training's life. Each weekday session included a section for worship, and the CGIT wanted to communicate and make meaningful to teenage girls the importance of a deep connection with God in their everyday life. The religious aspects of the weekday meetings were not always successful, however, and the *Leader's Book* wrote at length about the challenges of making the worship portion meaningful and relevant to the girls. The difficulties faced by leaders can be summed up by a quote from a local leader about her CGIT group: "I find the devotional period the most difficult part in our whole programme. My seniors won't take any responsibility for worship and most of them are frankly bored by it."[35] This suggests that although the leaders may have been motivated by their personally meaningful religious beliefs, these were not always communicated to or accepted by the teenage participants.[36]

In response to these difficulties, which seem to have been present from nearly the start of the organization, the national leaders of the CGIT attempted to assist local leaders by writing sample devotional services that they thought would be better received by the girls than the ones local leaders were expected to create themselves. In the initiation ceremony, the girls were asked to pledge that they would "study with a whole heart to know Christ more intimately every day and in this way come to know

God."[37] However, leaders continued to find that they had difficulty persuading their girls that religion was important.

Ideally, religious life was to be intertwined with relationships in a girl's life, as illustrated in the 1928-29 Dedication Ceremony when CGIT members were asked to promise to be "reverent toward God, eager to find Him in all that is beautiful and good in the world about me, in my friends, in my mother and father and sisters and brothers, and in Jesus Christ, his son."[38] As well as through relationships, girls were meant to believe that God was made manifest in the workings of nature. Another vow from the same ceremony had girls promise that they "would worship Him when alone, at home, or out-of-doors, and especially amid the reverent beauty of the Church where I may worship with others, and enter into the spirit of His service."[39]

Although the church was the designated spatial location of the religious component of the fourfold life, the role of nature was often extremely important. Love of beauty was thought to incline the mind of teenagers towards religion. Beauty was often found in nature, and "[o]ut-door life generally may be used by the teacher to give the physical a spiritual significance."[40] The ten-day CGIT summer camps that were run across the country were an important part of the program. All the girls in the CGIT could not attend the camps, but the literature suggests that if one or two participants from each group were to go each summer, they would share the benefits of the experience with the rest of their group on their return.[41] Leaders believed that observation and quiet experience of nature would lead to an appreciation of the power of God. This lesson seems to have been borne out in practice. Letters from former campers were included in a special issue of *The Torch* for the girls, and one former camper wrote that, "To go out into the woods in front of a lake, and pray alone is the one time when you feel God's presence closest."[42] Nature was God's love made manifest, and the stillness and appreciation it inspired was believed to encourage active and wholesome engagement with the world.[43]

At camp, fifteen to twenty minutes of quiet reflection, called Morning Watch, were used to "give thanks to God for the rest of the night and for the gift of a new day." It was also a time for girls to ask for guidance and to pray for those around them.[44] Evening Watch, the Morning Watch's less-mentioned counterpart, was another time for quiet contemplation, asking for forgiveness for errors during the day, giving thanks for blessings, and again asking for assistance. Both emphasized a

deeply personal connection with the divine. Doris McCarthy, a Canadian artist, who in the 1920s had been a CGIT camper, leader, and occasional illustrator for their publications, recalled that the practice of Morning Watch gave girls "twenty minutes of solitude with a little book that was to help us find ways to think about God and give thanks for the love and beauty surrounding us."[45] Morning Watch was emphasized in camp literature, and if the girls returned with nothing else from camp, leaders hoped that this practice of quiet contemplation and prayer at the beginning and end of the day would become a habit. The concept of stillness formed an important part of the emphasis on nature, which, when blended with "intense activity in the service of others" in daily life, would mean that "the world [would] be supplied with the workers it needs."[46] The girls were encouraged to experience stillness to learn how to undertake the work for which they were being prepared, either as mothers or as women participating in the wider world.

The concept of service was heavily associated with religious duty. Again, taking the 1928-29 Dedication Ceremony as an illustration, the girls pledged to "grow in my thought of others, in my willingness to serve . . . and to be ready always to play my part in the Kingdom of God."[47] The CGIT literature frequently advocated a life of service for their girls, whether in the home, the mission field, or through professional life. However, professional life was not generally encouraged for its own sake. Girls were urged to "subordinat[e] the idea of material gain for that of service in business and marriage."[48] Working after marriage was still not common, even among the well-educated members of the provincial and national executives, and, frequently in the pages of *The Torch*, new provincial secretaries were welcomed concurrently with wedding congratulations for their predecessors.

Missionary work was heavily emphasized by the CGIT. Female missionaries in the interwar period tended to be well educated and religiously minded women – exactly the sort of womanhood the CGIT sought to instill in their participants. According to Ruth Compton Brouwer, missionaries: "did not normally refer to career ambitions or romantic dreams, or even to a desire to help shoulder the burdens of empire. They spoke, instead, of a longing to spread a knowledge of Christianity and to witness through Christian service."[49]

The women Brouwer examined embarked on medical training with the eventual goal of becoming missionaries. Although the mission fields did provide women doctors with professional possibilities unavailable in

Canada, Brouwer argued that they did not turn to missionary work in reaction to Canadian gender restrictions.[50] Given the CGIT emphasis on education and religious service for teenage girls, missionaries such as those that Brouwer wrote about were ideal role models for the CGIT participants.

During this formative time in the CGIT organization, women were taking on more public and less gendered roles within missionary organizations and in the field.[51] The missionary experience was in a state of flux throughout the interwar period, and the outlook of the religious groups changed from a deep belief in the inferiority of other religions and cultures in the 1920s, to a gradual movement towards trying to understand other cultures. This led to missionary work undertaken in collaboration with local organizations in other countries and to teaching useful Western advancements while recognizing the worth of indigenous Christian organizations. This was reflected in the writings of the CGIT, which emphasized respectful learning about other cultures as part of the girls' missionary education.

Missionary education was to be undertaken with the help of denominational Women's Missionary Societies (WMS). The national organization hoped that by the end of the study, groups would want to affiliate with their local WMS, and help with and donate to its work.[52] Missionary education was to have a "world friendship emphasis," and although there is no mention of actively recruiting girls to become missionaries, the emphasis indicates that the national leaders may have hoped that some of the participants would take that step.[53] It is possible that by avoiding overt missionary recruiting, the CGIT was attempting to avoid conflict with parents. However, the literature published by the national CGIT organization subtly tried to communicate to participants the value of missionary work. In the skit "The Gate Which Leads to Womanhood" from 1924, missionary women were given a prominent place only behind the role of the mother.

Christian service to others was highly valued, and much of the CGIT literature emphasized service as the most fulfilling path a girl could choose. Whether they pursued missionary work, vocations, or motherhood, CGIT participants were encouraged to live by the lines of the yearly opening ceremony:

> O Master, let me walk with Thee
> In lowly paths of service free

Teach me thy secret, help me bear
The strain of toil, the fret of care.
Help me the slow of heart of move
With one clear winning word of love;
Teach me the wayward feet to stay
And guide them in the homeward way.[54]

However, service and related topics, such as potential vocations for girls, were always a site of ambiguity. CGIT participants were sometimes encouraged to develop their aptitudes, wherever they might lie, but this was often accompanied by an emphasis on the worth of motherhood, Christian service and the caring professions. Girls were encouraged to look outside of the domestic realm to find areas that they enjoyed, in caring professions, missionary work, or non-traditional jobs. At the same time, the vocation of motherhood continued to be emphasized as the most valuable one to which participants could aspire.

Endnotes

1. "Introducing the Canadian Girls In Training Program" Pamphlet, 1927, CGIT Fonds, MG28 I313, volume 12, file 10, Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC).

2. The official CGIT website can be found at www.cgit.ca

3. Sharon Anne Cook, *Through Sunshine and Shadow: The Women's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario, 1874-1940* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995).

4. Margaret Lamberts Bendroth, *Growing Up Protestant: Parents, Children, and Mainline Churches,* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2002), 84; and Patricia Dirks, "Reinventing Christian Masculinity and Fatherhood: The Canadian Protestant Experience, 1900-1920," in *Households of Faith: Family, Gender and Community in Canada, 1760-1969,* ed. Nancy Christie (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press, 2001), 310.

5. Dirks, "Reinventing Christian Masculinity and Fatherhood," 290.

6. See, for example, Veronica Strong-Boag. *The New Day Recalled: Lives of Girls and Women in English Canada, 1919-1939* (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1988). Serious discussion of religious motivation was often omitted from works about overtly Christian organizations, such as in Diana Pederson's "'Building Today for the Womanhood of Tomorrow': Business-

men, Boosters and the YWCA, 1890-1930," *Urban History Review* 15, no. 3 (1987): 225-42.

7. Mary Kinnear examines the religious motivations of prominent Canadian women in politics in "Religion and the Shaping of 'Public Woman': A Post-Suffrage Case Study," in *Religion and Public Life*, ed. Marguerite Van Die (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 206, 208. See also Cook, *Through Sunshine and Shadow*; Randi Warne, "Nellie McClung's Social Gospel," in *Changing Roles of Women within the Christian Church in Canada,* eds. Elizabeth Muir and Marilyn Whiteley (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 338-54.

8. Margaret Prang, "'The Girl God Would Have Me Be': The Canadian Girls In Training, 1915-1939," *Canadian Historical Review* 66, no. 2 (1985): 154-84; and Lucille Marr, "Church Teen Clubs, Feminized Organizations? Tuxis Boys, Trail Rangers, and Canadian Girls In Training, 1919-1939," *Historical Studies in Education* 3, no. 2 (Fall 1991), 262.

9. Elissa How, "To Build Our Lives on a Sure and Strong Foundation: Religion and Gender as Exemplified by the Executive Leadership of the Canadian Girls in Training, 1915-1939" (M.A. Thesis, Queen's University, 1994), 117.

10. Ann Braude, "Women's History *Is* American Religious History," in *Retelling U.S. Religious History,* ed. Thomas Tweed (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 87-107; Bendroth, *Growing Up Protestant*; and Margaret Bendroth and Virginia Brereton, eds., *Women and Twentieth-Century Protestantism* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002).

11. Robert Orsi, "Everyday Miracles: The Study of Lived Religion," in *Lived Religion in America: Toward a History of Practice,* ed. David D. Hall (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 7. David Hall's introduction and the other articles in this collection are an excellent introduction to the study of lived religion. For further reading on lived religion, see Colleen McDannell, *Material Christianity: Religion and Popular Culture in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995); Robert Orsi, *The Madonna of 115th Street: Faith and Community in Italian Harlem, 1880-1950* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985); and Leigh Eric Schmidt, *Consumer Rites: The Buying and Selling of American Holidays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995).

12. Orsi, "Everyday Miracles," 10, 13, 15.

13. In "Everyday Miracles," Robert Orsi writes that to uncover the impact of lived religion, the historian must have a "sense of the range of idiomatic possibility and limitation in a culture – the limits of what can be desired, fantasized, imagined and felt" (7).

14. For further reading, see How, "To build our lives on a sure and strong foundation," 25-6, 35, 36; Prang, "'The Girl God Would Have Me Be,'" 161.

15. "Suggestions for the Midweek Meetings of Sunday School Classes, Clubs, Etc., for Teenage Girls" Pamphlet, 1917, CGIT Fonds, MG28 I313, volume 12, file 14, LAC.

16. "What Is CGIT?" Pamphlet, 1939, CGIT Fonds, MG28 I313, volume 12, file 18, LAC.

17. "The Change of Emphasis from "Fourfold Life" to "Relationships," *The Torch* (September/October, 1927): 4.

18. Prang, "The Girl God Would Have Me Be," 161.

19. "Introducing the Canadian Girls In Training Program" Pamphlet, 1924-25, CGIT Fonds, MG28 I313, volume 12, file 10, LAC.

20. *The Leader's Book* (NP: National Girls' Work Board, 1932), 31.

21. "What Is The Canadian Girls In Training: How to Start a CGIT Group" Pamphlet, 1916, CGIT Fonds, MG28 I313, volume 12, file 10, LAC.

22. How, "To Build Our Lives," 40.

23. Carol Lee Bacchi, *Liberation Deferred? The Ideas of the English-Canadian Suffragists, 1877-1918* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), 11. See also Cook, *Through Sunshine and Shadow,* 33; and Ruth Bordin, *Frances Willard: A Biography* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 101.

24. Bendroth, *Growing Up Protestant*, 42-44.

25. Bendroth, *Growing Up Protestant*, 70.

26. Richard Allen, "The Background of the Social Gospel in Canada," in *The Social Gospel in Canada,* ed. Richard Allen (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975), 4.

27. William McGuire King, "An Enthusiasm for Humanity: The Social Emphasis in Religion and its Accommodation in Protestant Theology," in *Religion and Twentieth-Century American Intellectual Life*, ed. Michael Lacey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 58.

28. King, "An Enthusiasm for Humanity," 53.

29. "The Change of Emphasis from "Fourfold Life" to "Relationships," *The Torch* (September/October, 1927): 4.

30. Christopher Coble, "The Role of Young People's Societies in the Training of Christian Womanhood (and Manhood), 1880-1910," in *Women and Twentieth-Century Protestantism,* eds. Margaret Bendroth and Virginia Brereton (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 79.

31. Bendroth, *Growing Up Protestant,* 66, 70.

32. C.F. Plewman, "Work of the Fall and Winter," *Canadian Mentor* (September 1922).

33. Reverend George Dewey, "The Call of the Church," *The Torch* (January/March 1930).

34. King, "An Enthusiasm for Humanity," 66.

35. *The Leader's Book* (NP: National Girls' Work Board, 1932), 47.

36. "The Change of Emphasis from "Fourfold Life" to "Relationships," *The Torch* (September/October, 1927): 4.

37. "CGIT Initiation Ceremony," 1919,CGIT Fonds, MG28 I313, volume 12, file 10, LAC.

38. "Dedication Ceremony" Pamphlet, 1928-9, CGIT Fonds, MG28 I313, volume 12, file 10, LAC.

39. "Dedication Ceremony" Pamphlet, 1928-9, CGIT Fonds, MG28 I313, volume 12, file 10, LAC.

40. "Suggestions for the Mid-week Meetings of Sunday School Classes, Clubs, Etc., for Teenage Girls," 1917, CGIT Fonds, MG28 I313, volume 12, file 14, LAC.

41. "Getting Your Camp Delegation," *Canadian Mentor* (April 1923): 115.

42. *The Torch: The Girl's Own Number* (May/June 1927): 111. See also D.C. Gass. "How To Interest Teen Age Girls in Nature Study," *Canadian Mentor* (April 1923): 112.

43. "The Spirit of the Northland," *Canadian Mentor* (May 1923).

44. *Leader's Book*, 65.

45. Doris McCarthy, *A Fool in Paradise: An Artist's Early Life* (Toronto: MacFarlane Walter and Ross, 1990), 56.

46. *The Torch* (1931-32): 17.

47. "Dedication Ceremony" Pamphlet, 1928/29, CGIT Fonds, MG28 I313, volume 12, file 10, LAC.

48. "Suggestions for the Midweek Meetings of Sunday School Classes, Clubs, Etc., for Teenage Girls" Pamphlet, 1917, CGIT Fonds, MG28 I313, volume 12, file 14, LAC.

49. Ruth Compton Brouwer, *New Women for God; Canadian Presbyterian Women and India Missions, 1876-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.) 68, 81. See also Rosemary Gagan, *A Sensitive Independence: Canadian Methodist Women Missionaries in Canada and the Orient, 1881-1925* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992).

50. Ruth Compton Brouwer, *Modern Women, Modernizing Men: The Changing Missions of Three Professional Women in Asia and Africa, 1902-1969* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2002), 35, 67, 99.

51. Robert Wright, *A World Mission: Canadian Protestantism and the Quest for a New International Order, 1918-1939* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991) 155-67; and Brouwer, *Modern Women,* 5.

52. *Leader's Book*, 226.

53. "Organization, Registration, Recognition," Pamphlet, 1929-30, CGIT Fonds, MG28 I313, volume 12, file 9, LAC.

54. "Canadian Girls In Training: How To Begin," Pamphlet, 1929-30, CGIT Fonds, MG28 I313, volume 12, file 10, LAC. The author of this verse is not credited in the pamphlet.

Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Life of Henry Bird Steinhauer[1]

NORMAN KNOWLES
St. Mary's University College

Henry Bird Steinhauer was among the first Methodist missionaries in the Canadian West of Aboriginal descent and consequently occupies a prominent place in Methodist memory. In *Vanguards of Canada*, a collection of biographies that recounted the heroic exploits of Canada's Methodist pioneers published in 1918, the Rev. John Maclean described Henry Bird Steinhauer as a "child of the wigwam" born amid "superstition, drunkenness and vice" and rescued "from the wild, roving life of his fathers" when he was converted by the powerful preaching of William Case and "placed under religious instruction." Possessing a "kind and gentle disposition" and much "ability and industry," the young Steinhauer demonstrated that "he was well qualified for the duties and responsibilities of a native missionary." Where ever he was posted, Maclean insisted, Steinhauer's "energy, faith and piety brought abundant success." "Behind the dark-skinned visage," Maclean concluded, "lay an heroic soul," "a saint among men," "one of nature's noblemen" and "a benefactor of his race" who led his people to "the altar of God" and prepared them "for the new civilization" that was transforming the west.[2]

To Maclean, Steinhauer was both a model missionary and an exemplar of the triumph of the missionary enterprise of converting and civilizing Native peoples. Mclean's descriptions of Steinhauer's life and career are typical of the many newspaper and magazine articles and dozens of books and pamphlets published by the church to promote and publicize its missionary efforts in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In

hundreds of similar narratives, readers were presented with the romantic exploits of courageous disciples who endured great suffering and sacrifice to bring the light of the Gospel and the benefits of "civilization" to "heathen" peoples lost in darkness and barbarism. Conversion and civilization were presented in such works as part of a noble and humanitarian effort to save a doomed and dying race from certain extinction. Such works were deliberate and conscious productions that provided the church with both a justification and a rationalization for missions to British North America's Native peoples and ensured that it played a vital role in the social and moral development of the western frontier.[3]

While such works created missionary heroes, they also constructed images of the "aboriginal other" who was to be Christianized and westernized. Underlying the whole missionary enterprise was a boundless faith in progress and human potential and the conviction that Native peoples possessed the same basic characteristics as other races.

Churches thus embraced the missionary cause confident that "civilization" was destined to replace "barbarism" and that Native peoples were capable of redemption. Missionary literature, however, invariably presented Natives as primitive and childlike and in desperate need of the parental tutelage of missionaries who would bring them the saving blessings of Christianity and the abundant benefits of western life and culture. Missionary zeal was closely linked to an abiding belief in the providential purpose of the British Empire and the moral responsibility of the Anglo-Saxon race. The belief that divine providence ruled history led many Protestant British North Americans to conclude that the success and expansion of the British Empire and the of the assimilation of the Native peoples was part of God's will and plan. Missionary writers judged Natives by the standards of their own society and culture and found them wanting. Natives, it was argued, were weak and backwards because they lived for the moment and did not plan or provide for the future, left no permanent signs of their presence on the land, did not understand the importance of private property, failed to appreciate the value of time and money and were captives of irrational superstition and idolatry. Natives were routinely portrayed as slaves of the natural world trapped in a static culture that lacked the dynamism needed to progress and innovate. Native society was repeatedly described as cruel and heartless with the burden of labour falling to women and the sick and elderly left to perish. Missionary writers insisted that only the transforming power of the Gospel could rescue Natives from nomadic lives of sin and degradation marked by

illiteracy, intoxication and immorality. Success in such narratives was measured by the degree to which Natives rejected their former lives and embraced farming and the work ethic, temperance and thrift, cleanliness and moral discipline, and home and family life.[4]

In Maclean's tribute to Henry Bird Steinhauer we find the tension between missionary hero and aboriginal other that characterized mission literature captured in a single life. Prior to his conversion, Steinhauer is described as lost in a backward, pagan world filled with sin and temptation. According to Maclean, Steinhauer was freed from his old ways and beliefs by the arrival of devoted missionaries and transformed into a new man dedicated to saving and uplifting his own people. Henry Bird Steinhauer's life, however, was much more complex and nuanced than the one portrayed by Maclean. Steinhauer occupied a complicated, in-between world that straddled two cultures. His was, to borrow Victor Turner's words, a liminal life. Turner defines liminal individuals or entities as "neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremony."[5] Such "threshold people," Turner contends, develop liminal personae that are necessarily ambiguous and characterized by a series of apparent contradictions. "It is as though there are here," Turner reasons, "two major 'models' for human interrelated-ness, juxtaposed and alternating."[6] This was certainly true for Henry Bird Steinhauer.

The experience of Henry Bird Steinhauer is instructive in reconstructing what the acceptance of Christianity meant both ideologically and practically for Native converts. The eldest son of Bigwind and Mary Kachenooting, Steinhauer was born near Rama, Upper Canada, an Ojibway community north of Lake Simcoe, around 1818. Although his people had been in contact with Europeans for over one hundred and fifty years, much of their traditional way of life and belief system had remained intact. Steinhauer's entry into the world, however, coincided with changes that hastened the disintegration of Native society in Upper Canada. The War of 1812 had significant consequences for Upper Canada's Native peoples. The fighting itself scared off game and destroyed hunting grounds and forced many to relocate their communities onto lands already occupied and unable to sustain the resident Native population. The war inflicted heavy casualties and resulted in the loss of many leaders and elders, depriving communities of the wisdom, memory, and guidance of their traditional chiefs and spiritual leaders and eroding Native cohesion and confidence. A social and cultural malaise thus took hold following the

war and many turned to alcohol for solace. At the same time, disease ravaged many Native communities further compounding the sense of disorientation that followed the war and feeding the fear that their traditional religious guardians had fled the country.[7] Prior to the war, Natives had been viewed as vital allies. With the end of the war, Natives were no longer regarded as essential to the defence of Upper Canada and lost much of the status and influence they had enjoyed as important allies of the Crown. The result was a shift in government policy towards Native peoples that emphasized the freeing up of land for incoming settlers from Britain and the confinement of Natives upon reserves where they could be educated and rendered sedentary. Possessing limited resources, government looked to the church to assist it in the task of civilizing the Natives.

On 17 June 1828, Henry Bird Steinhauer was among 127 Natives baptized at a camp meeting led by William Case and Mississauga convert Peter Jones at Holland Landing. Steinhauer described the events leading up to his baptism in terms that mirrored the language and style common to missionary narratives. At a meeting of a branch of the Wesleyan Missionary Society in 1854, Steinhauer recalled how he found himself at the age of ten or twelve "wandering about with his parents, miserable, poor and naked and cold because they did not know any of the great things derived from the Gospel." While he was in that sorry state "a stranger came amongst their tribe telling them that there was a great God above, and that this Great God had pity upon all men" and had "therefore sent his Son into the world" because "men had sinned" and "departed from the good ways and would certainly have perished if His Son had not come to save him." "Some few of the tribe," Steinhauer recollected, believed the missionary and began to gather for worship and instruction.[8] Attracted by their singing but afraid to join the group, Steinhauer recounted how he was invited in by a teacher left behind by the missionary to preach the Gospel and teach the people to read. He recalled that he soon mastered the alphabet and began to read the Bible. Steinhauer was baptized, along with his most of the tribe, when the missionary returned and instructed them in the salvific message of the Gospel and the errors of their ways. Although Steinhauer's recollection of his conversion was crafted for a Euro-Canadian audience, a careful reading of his account provides important insights into the meaning of conversion for Native peoples. For Steinhauer, the appeal of the missionary message is clearly cast in terms of the hope and relief conversion promised to provide to the immediate troubles that afflicted his family and people. Historians of missions have frequently

asserted that cultural disruption was a necessary condition for success in the mission field. Only in circumstances where traditional ways and values proved ineffective, it is argued, did indigenous peoples contemplate adopting new practices and ideas.[9] While this was certainly true in Steinhauer's case, it is also true that he did not regard Native society as static and unchanging and interpreted his own people's openness to Christianity as part of a long tradition of religious dynamism and innovation. But what was there in the missionary's message that specifically appealed to Steinhauer and other Natives? Steinhauer placed particular emphasis on the equality of all persons before God when recounting his conversion. He recalled that the missionary who came to his people repeatedly insisted that God's love and mercy extended to both the "white man" and "the poor wandering Indian" and that Jesus had died for the salvation of all sinful people.[10] This message of equality must have been especially appealing to Upper Canadian Natives who found themselves increasingly isolated and marginalized by the rising tide of settlers and the shifting attitudes of government policy makers. Far from representing a total abandonment of aboriginal identity, conversion could constitute an important means to assert Native claims to equality and respect. There was also a practical appeal to what the missionary offered. Steinhauer recognized that literacy and education provided him not only a means to survive in a changed world but the promise of new paths to authority and influence. Native converts such as Steinhauer found in the missionaries' Christian message ideas and practices that were useful in coping with the new and wider world that was intruding upon them. Significantly, Steinhauer was first attracted to Christianity by the music and worship. Some consideration must thus be given to the nature of the evangelical piety carried to the Natives by the Methodist missionaries.

The missionary movement has usually been interpreted as a tool of cultural imposition that sought to displace traditional beliefs and practices. This approach, however, overlooks the many parallels between Native religion and Christian evangelicalism. As Susan Neylan has demonstrated in her study of Protestant missions and the Tsimshian in northwestern British Columbia, evangelical Christianity and Native spirituality were both highly experiential in nature. Both stressed the importance of transformative religious experiences as a means to establish relationships with nonhuman powers. These experiences typically took place in natural settings and were accompanied by powerful addresses and long periods of ritual singing and dancing and concluded with renaming ceremonies and

the assumption of a new identity.[11] The similarities between evangelical and Native spirituality and the Methodist camp meeting and established Native practice are striking. Conversion then did not necessarily constitute a turning away from traditional belief systems as much as the expression of established ideals and practices using Christian forms and terms. In many ways, the Methodists use of small groups or classes replicated the roles played by traditional clans and secret societies. Both provided opportunities to assert group membership and identity through instruction, spiritual practices, and the regulation of behaviour. As much as Euro-Canadian missionaries may have sought to displace Native social structures, it appears Natives used the new Christian social organizations to maintain Native conventions and the social solidarity of their culture. The meaning and significance of the conversion of Natives such as Henry Bird Steinhauer is thus more complex than has usually been assumed and cannot be characterized as simply a sign of cultural subversion. Henry Bird Steinauer found himself in-between traditional and western society, yet a part of them both. He used his newfound faith to navigate the shifting waters of British North American society and to reframe indigenous institutions.

For Protestant evangelicals, conversion was followed by a quest for holiness and sanctification evident in the convert's quest to live a godly life and willingness to enlist in the evangelical campaign to convert the world. Those converted to the enthusiastic new faith thus assumed personal responsibility not only for making changes in their own lives but reforming society as a whole and saving the lost. Henry Bird Steinhauer's life certainly adhered to this course. Shortly after his baptism, Steinhauer was taken to the agricultural mission established by William Case on Grape Island in the Bay of Quinte. The Grape Island mission was designed to isolate Christian Natives from their traditional lifestyles and the corrupting influences of white society, immerse them in Methodist piety and discipline, and inculcate them in values of thrift, industry, sobriety and self-reliance. Steinhauer's devotion and sharp mind impressed his teachers at Grape Island and he was sent to the Cazenovia Seminary in upstate New York to be prepared for work in the mission field. Steinhauer returned to Upper Canada in 1835 and taught at the Credit River Mission before furthering his education at Upper Canada Academy in Cobourg. During this period of formation, Steinhauer mastered the language, concepts and forms that defined evangelical Christianity and the Euro-Canadian discourse on missions. Throughout his writings it is evident that Stein-

hauer shared his teachers' conception of conversion as a rejection of a dark past and liberation from the bonds of sin and ignorance. Steinhauer understood the life of faith as one of constant vigilance against the evils and temptations of the world and recorded his own struggles and sense of unworthiness. Christianity was more than a set of principles and beliefs to Steinhauer; it was also a way of life defined by virtues of duty, discipline, temperance and perseverance.[12]

For the evangelical, the ultimate demonstration of one's Christian commitment was to share the faith with non-Christians through a life of service in the mission field. Henry Bird Steinhauer began his long missionary career in 1840 when he was sent to Rainy Lake to assist the Reverend William Mason as an interpreter, translator and teacher. Two years later, Steinhauer was dispatched to the Rossville Mission near Norway House where he assisted in the translation of the bible into Cree. Unscathed by the dissension that broke out between missionaries James Evans and William Mason at Rossville and the deteriorating relations with the Hudson's Bay Company, Steinhauer was asked to establish at mission at Oxford House in 1851. Three years later he accompanied John Ryerson on a tour of Britain to promote the western missions. After fifteen years of service in the mission field, Steinhauer was finally ordained in 1855 and assigned a new mission field at Lac la Biche. Steinhauer carried out itinerant work among the Cree in the Lac la Biche area until he established a successful agricultural mission at Whitefish Lake in 1861 where he remained until his death in 1884. As a missionary, Steinhauer certainly sought to bring about a change in individuals and to transform Native society. As a Native, however, Steinhauer brought a different set of experiences and perspectives than the Euro-Canadian missionaries with whom he worked. In her study of Natives and the Church Missionary Society, First Nations historian Winona Stevenson has commented that the concept of the "Native missionary" has often been considered a contradiction in terms.[13] The life and career of Henry Bird Steinhauer speaks less of contradiction than it does of cultural negotiation and adaptation.

Contrary to the portraits of success and satisfaction painted by John McDougall much of Steinhauer's missionary career was marked by failure and frustration. While Native converts such as Steinhauer were actively recruited for work in the mission field, their relationships with Euro-Canadian missionaries were often contradictory and fraught with tensions. Native converts invariably served in subordinate positions under Euro-Canadian clergy in supportive roles as translators, teachers and catechists.

Native missionaries rarely served without close supervision or were trusted with the responsibility of establishing their own missions. Steinhauer frequently felt frustrated in fulfilling the role to which he felt God had called him by superiors with far less aptitude and ability. At Rainy Lake, for example, Steinhauer's work in establishing a school for Native children was undermined by his superior, William Mason. Mason was ill suited to the rough life of a missionary and frequently retreated to Red River, leaving Steinhauer to toil alone for long periods of time. Mason also demonstrated little understanding of the Natives and their way of life. He discouraged Steinhauer from accompanying the local Saulteaux on the hunt or spending much time among time. Convinced that the Saulteaux were beyond redemption, Mason insisted that Steinhauer abandon the school he established for local Natives and dedicate himself to tutoring the children of Hudson's Bay Company employees. Disheartened by the lack of support for his Native work, Steinhauer gave in to temptation and participated in a drunken New Year's party. Convinced that he had disgraced "the Sacred cause" to which he had dedicated his life, Steinhauer considered abandoning mission work altogether. Steinhauer's spirits were lifted by the return to Rainy Lake of Peter Jacobs, a Native convert like himself. Steinhauer's relationships with Euro-Canadian missionaries were very different from those with his fellow Native missionaries. Whereas Steinhauer found Mason a distant superior to whom he must defer, in Jacobs he gained a supportive colleague who shared both a dedication to spreading the Gospel and an appreciation of Native culture and lifestyle. Together Jacobs and Steinhauer toured the district and identified promising locations for mission sites. He returned to Rainy Lake reinvigorated by Jacob's companionship and looking forward to striking out on a new venture. Steinhauer's hopes were soon quashed by his clerical superiors and Hudson's Bay Company officials and he found himself once again relegated to tutoring the children of company employees.[14]

Steinhauer's transfer to the mission at Rossville in 1844 appeared to offer brighter prospects. At Rossville he found a well-attended Native school for children and 121 adult converts organized into eleven different Methodist class meetings. But Steinhauer soon found himself trapped between the competing egos of his Euro-Canadian superiors, James Evans and William Mason. The constant bickering between Evans and Mason over mission objectives and strategies eroded Steinhauer's morale. He sought relief by going hunting and fishing and reconnecting with his

Native heritage. Although he proved himself an effective teacher and was often invited to preach and speak at Methodist class meetings, Steinhauer was passed over for ordination and limited to a secondary, supportive role. As a Native, Steinhauer was repeatedly reminded that it was not for him to direct and control the process of missionization. The situation at Rossville deteriorated in 1846 when tensions broke out between the missionaries and the Hudson's Bay Company over Sunday labour and James Evans was accused of sexual impropriety with his Native charges by William Mason and Company officials. The affair placed Steinhauer in an extremely uncomfortable position between his Euro-Canadian superiors and the alleged victims within the Native community whose trust he had worked hard to obtain. The Rossville scandal, limited financial resources, and a general lack of success seriously set back the Methodist cause in the west. In 1850, Steinhauer found himself alone at Oxford House, where the Hudson's Bay Company had agreed to the creation of a new mission to silence critics in Britain. The fact that Steinhauer was not ordained hindered his work among the local Natives. As a lay worker, Steinhauer could not perform the sacraments. Lacking the aura of an ordained minister and the authority of a Hudson's Bay Company trader, it was hardly surprising that Steinhauer had to struggle to win the respect of the Natives he had come to serve. Despite the frustrations of the limitations placed upon him, Steinhauer laboured stoically establishing a school, conducting services and preaching as he was able. The hostility of the local Hudson's Bay Company factor, the poor location of the mission, the failure of the local fishery, and the constraints he faced as a lay worker doomed the mission.[15] Throughout his career, Steinhauer was marked as both Native and convert and thus different from the Euro-Canadian, Christian-born missionaries with whom he worked. Although his Euro-Canadian superiors recognized the importance of Native workers in the field, their relationship with Steinhauer was one of subordination rather than partnership. Steinhauer thus found himself occupying an ambivalent position within a system of classification that distinguished between the advanced, modern, evolved and superior Euro-Canadian Christian self and the primitive, barbaric, childlike and inferior Native other.

After fifteen years of service as a lay worker in the western Canadian mission field, Henry Bird Steinhauer was ordained in 1855. No longer subordinate to a Euro-Canadian superior, Steinhauer used his autonomy to earn the trust and respect of the Whitefish band by living among them and joining in the hunt. He was free to teach and preach as he

wished and convey the Gospel in terms that were readily accessible to his Native audience. Fully ordained and able administer all the sacraments and admit persons to the fellowship of the church, he acquired among the Natives the aura of one in touch with supernatural world that had been denied to him as a lay worker. Not only could he speak Ojibwa and readily learned Cree, Steinhauer translated the Christian message into terms and concepts that paralleled Native tradition. For Steinhauer, the transforming power of the Gospel did not represent a rejection of Native identity but rather a dynamic evolution in how to be Native. The result was an indigenized Christianity that filtered the Christian Gospel through Native lenses and incorporated some elements of traditional beliefs and practice.[16] Far from upholding Euro-Canadian culture and society as a universal standard to live up to, Steinhauer counselled selective adaptation and was quick to isolate the people of Whitefish Lake from the destructive features of the "whiteman's" world. He was quick to challenge claims that Natives were lazy, immoral, and unable to reason with laudatory portraits of Native work habits, virtue and wisdom. Steinhauer presented education and agriculture as key strategies for Native survival in a changing world. At White Fish Lake, the introduction of agriculture and education allowed the band to continue as a culturally cohesive group, on traditional lands, and with traditional leadership intact. As an advisor to Chief Pakan, Steinhauer quietly championed Native land claims and control over such important matters as education.[17] Freed from earlier restraints, Steinhauer came into his own as a dedicated Christian missionary and at the same time was able to reclaim his Native identity. As a liminal figure who came to straddle two cultures, Henry Bird Steinhauer stands out as an important reminder that Natives participated in both the transmission and reception of the Christian message and what it meant to be Christian.

In their pioneering studies of missions and indigenous peoples in southern Africa, John and Jean Comaroff have demonstrated that the motives behind conversion were complex, mixed and not always apparent and that Native converts translated the missionary message into their own social and spiritual realities for the fulfilment of their own goals. In many cases the Comaroff's found that conversion provided indigenous peoples with a set of tools to navigate the new realities in which they found themselves and to reframe indigenous beliefs and institutions. Although the meeting of Christian missionaries and indigenous peoples was often one of unequal power, the encounter was nonetheless one of negotiation and contested meaning in which indigenous peoples adapted and incor-

porated the missionary message into their own social and spiritual identities.[18] Liminal figures such as Henry Bird Steinhauer were vital to the introduction, preservation and expansion of Christianity in British North America and were responsible for much of the modest success that the missions enjoyed.

Endnotes

1. This paper originated when I was asked to write an introduction to Isaac Mabindsia's forthcoming *The Praying Man: Henry Bird Steinhauer, Ojibwe and Methodist Minister* to be published by Athabasca University Press. The book is based on Mabindisa's doctoral dissertation. Completed in 1984, Mabindisa's dissertation was written before the appearance of the many new works on the encounter between indigenous peoples and missionaries that have significantly revised our understanding of the role of indigenous peoples in missions and their contributions to the emergence of indigenized Christianities. This paper draws upon Mabindisa's work but interprets Steinhauer's life and career in light of the new literature, particularly in the use of Victor Turner's concept of liminality.

2. John McLean, *Vanguards of Canada* (Toronto: The Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, c. 1918), 101-18.

3. On missionary literature see Sarah Carter, "The Missionaries Indian: The Publications of John McDougall, John Maclean and Egerton Ryerson Young," *Prairie Forum* 9, no. 1 (1984): 27-44; Terence L. Craig, "The Missionary Lives: A Study in Canadian Missionary Biography and Autobiography," *Studies in Christian* Missions, vol. 19 (Leidin: Brill, 1997); Gail Edwards, "'The Picturesqueness of His Accent and Speech': Methodist Missionary Narratives and William Henry Pierce's Autobiography" in Alvyn Austin and Jamie S. Scott, eds., *Canadian Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples: Representing Religion at Home and Abroad* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 67-87; and C.L. Higham, *Noble, Wretched and Redeemable: Protestant Missionaries to the Indians in Canada and the United States, 1820-1900* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000).

4. See Sarah Carter, "The Missionaries Indian," 27-44; and Myra Rutherdale, *Women and the White Man's God: Gender and Race in the Canadian Mission Field* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2002). For an international perspective see Leon de Kock, *Civilising Barbarians: Missionary Narratives and African Textual Response in Nineteenth-Century Africa* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand Press, 1996).

5. Victor Turner, "Liminality and Cummunitas," in *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (New York: Aldine de Gruyler, 1969), 95.

6. Victor Turner, "Betwixt and Between: Liminal Period in Rites de Passage," in *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967), 94-95.

7. On the impact of the War of 1812 on Native society in Upper Canada see Donald Smith, *Scared Feathers: The Reverend Peter Jones (Kahkewaquonaby) and the Mississauga Indians* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987) 37-38; and Neil Semple, *The Lord's Dominion: A History of Canadian* Methodism (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 150-51.

8. *Christian Guardian*, 20 December 1854.

9. See, for example, John Webster Grant, *Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984); and Robin Fisher, *Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1977).

10. *Christian Guardian*, 20 December 1854.

11. Susan Neylan, *The Heavens are Changing: Nineteenth-Century Protestant Missions and Tsimshian Christianity* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 27-29.

12. On Steinhauer's education and Methodist formation, see Isacc Mabindisia, "The Praying Man: The Life and Times of Henry Bird Steinhauer" (PhD dissertation, University of Alberta, 1984), chapter 1.

13. Winona Stevenson, "The Journals and Voices of a Church of England Native Catechist: Askenootow (Charles Pratt), 1851-1884," in Jennifer S. Brown and Elizabeth Vibert eds., *Reading Beyond Words: Context for Native History* (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1996), 305-29.

14. Mabindisa, "The Praying Man," chapter 2.

15. Mabindisa, "The Praying Man," chapter 3.

16. Steinhauer frequently taught Christian lessons by retelling traditional Native stories. See, for example, "The Wonderful Story of Wee-suh-ka-chaak: An Indian Legend," in *The Missionary Outlook* 3, no. 1(January 1883).

17. "Petition from the Indians at White Fish Lake Wesleyan Mission," in *The Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, 1866-67* (Toronto: Printed for the Society, n.d.), xv-xvii.

18. John and Jean Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); and *Of Revelation and Revolution: The Dialetics of Modernity on a South African Frontier* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

CSCH President's Address 2012

Church Historical Writing in the English Transatlantic World during the Age of Enlightenment[1]

DARREN W. SCHMIDT
The King's University College

My research stemming from doctoral studies is focused on English-speaking evangelical use, interpretation, and production of church history in the eighteenth century, during which religious revivals on both sides of the North Atlantic signalled new developments on many fronts. Church history was of vital importance for early evangelicals, in ways similar to earlier generations of Protestants beginning with the Reformation itself. In the eighteenth century nerves were still sensitive from the religious and political intrigues, polemic, and outright violence in the seventeenth-century British Isles and American colonies; terms such as "Puritan" and "enthusiast" maintained the baggage of suspicion. Presumed to be guilty by association, evangelical leaders were compelled to demonstrate that the perceived "surprising work of God" in their midst had a pedigree: they accordingly construed their experience as part of a long narrative of religious ebb and flow, declension and revival. Time and time again, eighteenth-century evangelicals turned to the pages of the past to vindicate and to validate their religious identity.[2]

Browsing through historiographical studies, one is hard-pressed to find discussion of eighteenth-century church historical writing. There is general scholarly agreement that the Protestant Reformation gave rise to a new historical interest. In answer to Catholic charges of novelty,

Protestants critiqued aspects of medieval Catholicism and sought to show their continuity with early Christianity. They, in turn, were answered by Catholic writers, fuelling further historical debate and study. But characteristically, scholarship on historiographical developments since the sixteenth century falls silent on the religious dimension or assumes its drift into obscurity.[3] Common emphases include the steady waning of sacred historical accounts, and the progressive separation of ecclesiastical from political, or civil, history. Generally speaking, scholars construe this process as having begun in the sixteenth century and having run its course by the end of the seventeenth century.[4]

This historiographical representation remains true specifically in relation to the English-speaking context. In one study concerned with historical writing on the Reformation, the search for an eighteenth-century British perspective chiefly turns not to sources of ecclesiastical history, but rather to the more "secular" historical writings of Enlightenment figures, particularly the triumvirate of Gibbon, Hume, and Robertson.[5] Historiographer Ernst Breisach argues that in England and, by extension, New England, by virtue of the close interweaving of church and state "historians still [wrote] church histories which shied away from a sharp separation of the human and the sacred." But his examples date from the mid-seventeenth century until only the earliest years of the eighteenth.[6] Other evidence comes from the relative silence of historiographical treatments. For example, Euan Cameron's *Interpreting Christian History* follows main developments in the church historical discipline along a path laid out almost exclusively by continental European and especially German scholars from the Protestant reformers themselves through to the critical historical scholarship of the nineteenth century.[7] The above studies, alongside others, leave the impression that in the English-speaking context little church historical writing, or at least little of any interest, was being done by the dawn of the eighteenth century.

In recent weeks I have undertaken an attempt to quantify church historical publications in the English North Atlantic region in the period often referred to as a "long eighteenth century." For the purpose of this study, this period is demarcated by two events which profoundly affected this region: the so-called Glorious Revolution of King William and Queen Mary in 1689 that helped to secure a Protestant monarchy, and the year 1815 which brought the conclusion of both the Napoleonic Wars in the European theatre with the British victory at Waterloo and the Treaty of Paris, and the Anglo-American conflict referred to as the War of 1812.

My survey consists largely of a review of published titles during this period via the online catalogues of the British Library, the Library of Congress, and the English Short Title Catalogue (ESTC), with search terms my limiting, albeit also limited, guides. I have been aided by the fact that eighteenth-century titles were not only remarkably lengthy by modern-day standards, but also strikingly descriptive or reflective of the perspective to be offered in the work. What I offer here is only an initial foray into the task of organization and analysis. Nonetheless, along the way I have gained the distinct impression that church history maintained a surprisingly solid and consistent presence through decades often presumed to have been the monopoly of more secularized, Enlightenment history-writers. Moreover, church history's presence was not the simple reissue of traditional, time-worn interpretations but rather was creative, varied, and oftentimes profoundly interwoven with the course of events, political as well as ecclesiastical.

Genres and Themes

Church historical titles published between 1689 and 1815 display a striking degree of diversity in their subject matter. A number of genres can be identified, including studies of particular periods, more comprehensive histories highlighting particular themes, national and universal church histories, and more general national or universal histories which incorporated significant church historical material. Publications also ranged widely in terms of motivating factors and underlying issues. Conveniently, many eighteenth-century titles openly acknowledged a *raison d'être* and/or a perspective – "bias," we would say – to be advanced, such as the defense of a particular notion or, oppositely, a claim to "impartiality." In what follows, I will offer several categorizations with the proviso that these should not be considered tidy or set in stone.

Martyrologies

One important aspect to a picture of church history's place throughout the eighteenth century is the republication or reworking of sixteenth and seventeenth-century historical works. I cannot explore this angle at length in this paper, but it bears mentioning that one of the most frequent genres was Protestant martyrology. One immediately thinks of John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, or *Book of Martyrs*. Although the original

work was not reprinted intact during the entire period in question, one scholar recently compiled a preliminary list of "Foxe derivatives" – abridgments, selections, and other martyrologies clearly influenced by Foxe – which includes at least fifty titles between the years 1689 and 1815.[8] One example demonstrating the continued relevance of Foxe for editors and readers must suffice. In 1747/48, a Church of England clergyman in London issued a two-volume *Book of Martyrs*, based on an early seventeenth-century compilation drawn from Foxe and other writers but "now rendered into modern English, with considerable Improvements from late Authors." The whole was, in the assured words of the editor, "Heartily Recommended to the Perusal of all those who have a Zeal for God's Glory, and the Prosperity of the Protestant Religion, under the present Happy Government."[9]

Turning to other works produced in the eighteenth century, a handful of martyrologies appeared which relied on a broad range of sources, or which significantly enlarged their scope, so that they cannot be classed as derivative. One version published in the mid-1760s titled *The Book of Martyrs*, thus evoking Foxe, was nonetheless "abstracted from the best authors, both antient and modern." Subtitled *The History of Paganism and Popery*, this 440-page volume encapsulated the traditional account covering from the "ten persecutions" under Pagan Rome to the reign of Queen Mary I, but also added highlights of subsequent Catholic threats, real or perceived, including the Spanish Armada, the Gunpowder Plot of 1605, the Fire of London in 1666, and plots on the English throne by "Papists, and their Adherents." Its final section traced what it called "God's Judgments upon Persecutors." The title (long even by eighteenth-century standards) was tinged with a sense of drama and crisis: "horrid Persecutions and Cruelties," "bloody Massacre," "bloody Inquisition," "detestable Conspiracies."[10] The work underwent at least two re-printings in the next few years.

Another work produced at the same point in time by Henry Southwell, Cambridge scholar and Anglican rector, invites both comparison and contrast with the above source. The title's outline of contents included all events covered by the other work, even "Judgments against Persecutors." Similarly colourful language was used in relation to Catholic "persecutions" from medieval to modern. A reference to its account of the English Reformation and in particular the reigns of Henry VIII and Queen Mary reads like a tabloid subtitle: "wherein are amply displayed all the Butcheries, Barbarities, Tortures, and Cruelties, exercised by the Papists

against the Protestants, in the Reigns of that tyrannical King, and bloody Queen." But the work's scope also included a wide array of subject matter beyond the dominion of Rome, pagan or Catholic: early persecutions in Persia and under the Arian Vandals, and, in recent centuries, sufferings experienced by Christians in China, the East Indies, Ethiopia, the Eurasian country of Georgia, and America. It even cast a glance back to pre-Christian times, tracing sufferings of God's chosen people from the Maccabees under the Greeks all the way back to "the first Ages of the World." The resulting effort could claim to be a universal history, appropriately titled a *New Book of Martyrs; or Complete Christian Martyrology*. Despite the title's rhetoric, the volume's chronological and topical breadth suggests more at work than simple anti-Catholicism.[11]

Martyrologies continued to appear into the early nineteenth century. Around century's turn, a Manchester publication hinted at a similar but perhaps more detached perspective. Its (relatively concise) title read: *The Book of Martyrs; or, Christian Martyrology: Containing an Authentic and Historical Account of Many Dreadful Persecutions Against the Church of Christ in Different Parts of the World . . . With Accounts of Very Singular Judgments Against Persecutors, a Variety of Anecdotes, and Many Curious Memoirs. The Whole Forming an Interesting History of Persecutions, Calculated to Promote True Religion*.[12] Noticeably absent is the Protestant "anti-popery" rhetoric. Finally, in the year 1810, English printers produced no less than three martyrologies, one clearly derived from Foxe but the others either drawing from several sources or expanding to a global scope.[13]

Reformation

Martyrologies might seem an odd cameo appearance in the "age of enlightenment." But as shall be seen, a keen historical interest in the Reformation period persisted. More importantly, a review of titles suggests that issues or disputes stemming from the Reformation and its aftermath remained pressing for English-speaking Protestants.

Multiple and varied accounts of the English and Scottish Reformations emerged during the eighteenth century. One of the most popular was the *History of the Reformation of the Church of England* by Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury. Its first two volumes appeared prior to our timeframe, in 1679 and 1681, but the third was published in 1715.[14] The work underwent several further editions, and abridgments also regularly

appeared from the early to mid-eighteenth century and again in the early nineteenth. Scholars observe that the work was noticeably more moderate and broad-minded than earlier ones, though still with an underlying concern about the threat to the Church posed "not merely by Romanism and dissent but also by High Church Toryism."[15] A similar perspective was offered by John Strype (1643-1737), who published several works on the subject of the English Reformation between the 1700s and the 1730s.[16] Both Burnet and Strype are commended as history-writers who "prompted genuine factual research and gradually tended to modify religious partisanships."[17]

Moderation, however, was not the only perspective offered to the public. Other histories appear to have been aimed at fanning embers of a more zealous Puritanism and anti-Catholicism. The year 1715, in which Burnet's third volume and a new edition of the whole appeared, also witnessed the publication of *A Compendious History of the Rise and Progress of the Reformation of the Church Here in England, from Popish Darkness and Superstition*, composed by Daniel Disney.[18] A more substantial and popular work produced during this same season was that of English Presbyterian minister Benjamin Bennet, entitled *A Memorial of the Reformation, (Chiefly in England) and of Britain's Deliverances from Popery and Arbitrary-Power, Since that Time, to the Year, 1716* . . . Its central focus was to trace the progress of English Protestantism under Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Elizabeth. But it also offered a longer view through an "account of the apostacy of the church in its rise and progress, till popery was established in the world," and, with more recent perceived threats in mind, "a particular relation of all the plots and conspiracies of papists and others against the reformation, and civil liberties of the land."[19]

These Reformation memorials together with martyrologies could so directly and potently appeal to (or fuel) anti-Catholic sentiments, indeed serving as monuments themselves for the purpose of reminding readers of their nation's presumably stout Protestant heritage and identity. Fascinatingly, a link is apparent between the publication of such historical works and moments of perceived crisis or insecurity in British history. One of these moments – in the dual sense of a *point in time* imbued with *profound, far-reaching import* – to which the above-mentioned works speak, was the years around the death of Queen Anne and the establishment of the Hanoverian monarchy (1714), quickly followed by a Jacobite uprising in Scotland and England's north (1715) intent on restoring the Catholic Stuart line to the throne. The Oxford *Dictionary of National*

Biography situates the emergence of Bennet's *Memorial* within the context of renewed "fears of a return of the Stuarts." Originally conceived as part of a sermon celebrating the coronation of King George I, it was designed to commemorate past "Deliverances" from "popery" in connection with more recent ones.[20] Perhaps similarly reflecting national unease, Laurence Howel's 1712 *History of the Pontificate: From Its Supposed Beginning, to the End of the Council of Trent* sought to elucidate the "incroachments of the Court of Rome on the Church and State."[21] A second edition was published soon after, in 1716. The title of a martyrology republished towards the end of the decade, *The Good Spirit of the Martyrs Revived*, exuded a sense of crisis or urgency; poignantly, the title page drew attention to this being a second edition, "the first being stifled in King James II's reign."[22]

The latter half of the 1740s stands as another season that brought forth a flourish of similar historical writing. In Great Britain, this was in striking proximity to yet another Jacobite uprising, the so-called "Forty-Five" advancing the royal claim of "Bonnie Prince Charlie," son of James II, finally broken by the Battle of Culloden in Scotland's northwest in April 1746. Significantly, it was Scottish presses that issued forth several histories: a republication of Bennet's work in 1748; in the following year, a two-volume *Collection of the Laws in Favours of the Reformation in Scotland* covering from 1560 until the present day; and another two-volume work by the Rev. William Crookshank, minister to a Scots congregation in London, focused on "the state and sufferings of the Church of Scotland" precisely during the reigns of the "bonnie" prince's forebears, Charles II and James II.[23] Across the Atlantic in Boston and in Connecticut, two seventeenth-century martyrologies were republished in 1747 and 1750, both making explicit reference back to the context of suffering experienced by their original Nonconformist authors.[24] For British American colonists the simmering threat was not the Jacobites but rather Catholic New France. The conflict known as King George's War, fought between 1744 and 1748, paralleled events in Great Britain and appealed to similar Protestant sentiments. Historical works published in these years seem to have reflected a colonial sense of fragility.

An intriguing case is the publication in 1760 of John Lockman's *History of the Cruel Sufferings of the Protestants, and Others, by Popish Persecutions, in Various Countries: Together With a View of the Reformations from the Church of Rome*. The extended title made clear that this was no antiquarian catalogue of sixteenth-century sufferings and

martyrdoms, but was didactic in purpose and prompted by a sense of ongoing struggle with Catholicism: "being intended," it declared, "as a Preservative from Popery and arbitrary Power."[25] Curiously, the author was identified as being "Secretary to the Society of the Free British Fishery." One scholar holds that this organization, founded in 1749, was bound up with British patriotism and the revival of British herring fisheries at the expense of Britain's commercial rivals, the Dutch and the French.[26] Lockman, already a prolific translator of French writings,[27] seems again to have had the French in view; he produced his study directly in the midst of the Seven Years' War and in the year after the British warded off an attempted assault from France on the British Isles. Church history appears to have been enlisted to rally British identity and resolve at a point when the nation's destiny – let alone the success of its fishing industry – was still far from assured.

Seventeenth-Century Conflicts

Beyond the Protestant-Catholic divide, eighteenth-century historical writers displayed lively attention to issues stemming from seventeenth-century conflicts involving Puritans and Presbyterians.[28] Their interest involved, in part, dealing with the course of events themselves, whether in defense or in critique. On one side, a succession of sources sought to uphold the prior century's Puritans and Presbyterians as exemplars, particularly those who were ejected from their churches after the restoration of the monarchy and episcopal church government. In 1702, Edmund Calamy issued an abridgment of the *Life and Times* of Richard Baxter to which he added accounts of other Nonconformist ministers ejected from their churches in the 1660s, and a defense of their principles and actions.[29] The work was republished in 1713, and in the 1770s and early 1800s re-emerged several times under the title, *The Nonconformist's Memorial*.[30] The works of Daniel Disney and Benjamin Bennet in the 1710s, noted above for their focus on the Reformation in England, both extended their narratives through seventeenth-century Puritanism, thus depicting this line to be, in their minds, the true keeper of the Reformation inheritance. Bennet's work notably included (in reference to Parliament's execution of King Charles I in 1649), as "a distinct answer to the question, who cut off the King's head."[31]

Scottish writers also produced sympathetic histories of the same period during which Scottish Presbyterian ministers alongside their

English Puritan counterparts were deprived of their pulpits and livings. The titles of these works seem to give them near martyrological countenances. First was Church of Scotland minister Robert Wodrow's *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, from the Restauration to the Revolution*, published in 1721-22.[32] His effort was abridged in 1725 in Boston by his close correspondent, the prominent Congregationalist minister Cotton Mather, under the more florid title, *The Palm-Bearers. A Brief Relation of Patient and Joyful Sufferings; and of Death Gloriously Triumphed Over; in the History of the Persecution Which the Church of Scotland Suffered, from the Year 1660, to the Year 1688*.[33] The same theme was then picked up in mid-century by Crookshank's *History of the State and Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*. This work enjoyed at least four reappearances between 1751 and 1812. Poignantly, Crookshank also later appended this work to his edition of a seventeenth-century martyrology composed by English Puritan Samuel Clarke.[34] A final important example was the work of John Howie whose family heritage lay in the radical Presbyterian tradition of the Scottish Covenanters. That Howie admired this heritage is evident in his collection of the lives of "Scots Worthies" covering from the first Scottish Protestant martyrdom occurring in 1527 until one of the last executions of a Covenanter in 1688.[35]

Countering these works were others that defended and upheld the church-state establishment. In 1730, a work by Bishop of Peterborough White Kennett appeared in defense of the Church of England's "discipline and jurisdiction." It sought to accomplish this first by appealing to what he identified as the English Reformation's "two distinguishing principles" – "the superiority of bishops, and the supremacy of kings" – and then by defending the characters and actions of early seventeenth-century kings and archbishops who had disdained England's clamouring Calvinists.[36] Easily imaginable is the stark interpretive contrast between historical accounts offered by Kennett and his contemporary Benjamin Bennet. In 1810, another Anglican High Church perspective was offered by Christopher Wordsworth, younger brother of poet William, in a six-volume work entitled *Ecclesiastical Biography; or Lives of Eminent Men, Connected with the History of Religion in England; from the Commencement of the Reformation to the Revolution*.[37] Finally, on the Scottish side in 1815 there emerged a three-volume *History of the Church of Scotland*, *from the Establishment of the Reformation to the Revolution*, produced by St. Andrews divine and clergyman George Cook, whose loyalties were firmly with the Church of Scotland's dominant Moderate Party.[38]

Church and State

Various political uncertainties lingering from the seventeenth century into the eighteenth were contested via church history. A key issue was the relationship of church to state and to monarch. This debate involved not only dissent versus established church, but also Anglican supporters of the Stuart claim to the throne (called the Non-jurors) versus those adamant to see a Protestant succession secured. Illustrating this, it was in the immediate aftermath of the Glorious Revolution that nonjuring clergyman Samuel Grascome turned his attention to annals of the past in order to argue for the continuity of England's Christian inheritance up to what he would have seen as a recent rupture, and also its "historical antecedence and independence" from Roman Catholic jurisdiction. The result was his anonymous publication of the 102-page *Historical Account of the Antiquity and Unity of the Britanick Churches. Continued from the Conversion of These Islands to the Christian Faith, by St. Augustine, to This Present Time . . .*[39]

In the early 1700s, qualms over Scotland's union with England and Wales – enacted in 1707 – prompted several historical examinations. This provided the impetus for Sir James Dalrymple's nationalistic 1705 *Collections Concerning the Scottish History, Preceeding the Death of King David the First, in the Year 1153. Wherein the Soveraignity of the Crown and Independency of the Church are Cleared; and an Account Given of the Antiquity and Purity of the Scottish-Brittish Church, and the Novelty of Popery in This Kingdom*.[40] Scottish fears were largely ungrounded. However in 1710, three years after the formal creation of Great Britain, a publication clearly celebrating this under the main title *Britannia Libera* sought to prove not only that Christianity had been established in the British Isles by the apostle Paul and other first-century Christians, but also that "British" Christians – Scots together with the English and Welsh – had early on been "uniform" in their beliefs, order, and episcopal government, and had been consistent in first being "distinct and independent" from Rome and then "ever after vigorously oppos[ing]" its "Tyrannical Usurpations and Anti-Scriptural Innovations." The work concluded with musings on the "probability of restoring episcopacy in North-Britain [read "Scotland"]," and all of the above attempted in a mere sixty-seven pages![41]

Finally, the accession to the throne of Hanoverian George I in 1714 caused some unease not only for Stuart loyalists, but also for those unsure

of the relation of English Protestantism to Lutheranism, the religious affiliation of the new monarch who technically was now also Head of the English Church. A title appearing circa 1714 addressed this concern directly: *The History of the Lutheran Church: or, the Religion of Our Present Sovereign King George Agreeable to the Tenets of the Church of England*. It continued, somewhat intriguingly, *Being An Essay to Unite All Good Christians, in Opposition to the Principles of the Church of Rome, John Calvin, and Theodore Beza*,[42] the author perhaps seizing an opportunity offered by circumstances to advocate for the *via media* of the English Church. Again in 1720, an Anglican presbyter translated a Latin work by a London-based Lutheran pastor which in part traced the history of the "Persecutions and Sufferings" experienced by Lutherans in order to support his larger purpose to defend Lutheranism "from the charge of Popery."[43]

Religious Dissent and Toleration

A survey reveals that historical works also continued debate regarding religious dissent and toleration, especially during the first and last decades of this study's timeframe. Clearly stemming from recent political changes, a flurry of historical works and tracts appeared in the early years of the eighteenth century. The debate can be followed through a series of titles. In 1705, Francis Tallents, an elderly Dissenting minister with the same accommodating spirit as Baxter, produced *A Short History of Schism; for the Promoting of Christian Moderation, and the Communion of Saints*.[44] To this the aforementioned Samuel Grascome offered a rejoinder, in the same year, which castigated Tallents' "scandalous abuse of the primitive fathers, and all ecclesiastical antiquity."[45] A feeling of exasperation is reflected in another 1705 title: *The History of Faction, Alias Hypocrisy, Alias Moderation, from Its First Rise down to Its Present Toleration in These kingdoms.* The work claimed to reveal the nonconformists' "several contrivances to subvert the church and state."[46] Calamy's work on Restoration-era Dissent received two separate published rebuttals in 1704.[47] Meanwhile, in Scotland it was the episcopal party that was in the minority, giving rise in 1707 to an anonymous tract attributed to Daniel Defoe, variously titled *Historical Account of the Bitter Sufferings, and Melancholly Circumstances of the Episcopal Church in Scotland*, or *Presbyterian Persecution Examined*.[48] These debates, hinging on the interpretation of the religious and political past, continued for at least

another decade into the early years of the reign of George I.[49] Even approaching mid-century, a new publication could fan embers into flame. A volume of Daniel Neal's *History of the Puritans or Protestant Non-Conformists, from the Reformation to the Death of Queen Elizabeth . . .* published in the early 1730s provoked Anglican rector Zachary Grey in 1736 to publish "an impartial examination . . . in which," he claimed, "the reflections of that author, upon King James I and King Charles I are proved to be groundless: his misrepresentations of the conduct of the prelates of those times, fully detected: and his numerous mistakes in history, and unfair way of quoting his authorities, exposed to publick view." The critique was sustained through 434 pages.[50]

Again in the years surrounding the turn of the nineteenth century, church historical writing had a role to play as issues of dissent and toleration came to the fore via several avenues. One factor was the numerical growth and revitalization of Protestant Dissent. Similarly, a coming of age of evangelicalism within the established Church amplified the reality that evangelicals often found more in common doctrinally and practically with Dissenters than they did with other Anglicans. In another direction, the emergence of Unitarianism, at times from the ranks of Dissent, raised the ire of orthodox Trinitarian Protestants. A fourth issue was new debate over whether Roman Catholics should be permitted to more fully participate in Britain's civil life, a debate heightened by the passing of the Quebec Act in 1774, Catholic Relief acts in 1778 and 1791, and ensuing Protestant outcries, most notably the riots in Glasgow and London in 1779 and 1780.

An obvious response to tensions is found in William Graham's *Review of Ecclesiastical Establishments in Europe*, published in 1792. Graham, a strong supporter of Scotland's Secession Church living in northern England, rallied English dissent through his purported "candid" historical study of the "advantages and disadvantages, both civil and religious" of established churches.[51] Similarly, two sides to this debate can be seen in the church histories penned by two Anglican evangelicals at the end of the century. Joseph Milner, a settled minister and brother of a Cambridge college president, sought to locate "evangelical" antecedents in early and medieval centuries from the religious margins but also, significantly, from the hierarchical ranks of the institutional church. His Anglican colleague Thomas Haweis, who besides parish work also itinerated in Calvinist Methodist circles and helped to found the interdenominational London Missionary Society, questioned Milner's selection

of high-ranking exemplars and sided instead with a historical succession of those marginalized by authorities.[52] Along similar lines, the publication (or republication) of various "denominational" histories in the decades around the turn of the nineteenth century can be seen as arguments in favour of both the distinctiveness and the validity of these Dissenting churches and sects – for example Quakers, Moravian Brethren, and Baptists.[53]

Somewhat ironically, advocates of Unitarianism in the latter part of the eighteenth century turned to church history for similar reasons. One was the intent to show precedents, in their case for their theological beliefs. Also, as with other marginal groups, Unitarians quickly self-identified with people from Christianity's past who experienced suffering and scorn. A fascinating case is that of Anthony Robinson, whose ecclesial identity appears rather post-modern: from an Anglican family, he attended Bristol Baptist College, ministered briefly to first a Particular Baptist and then a General Baptist congregation, later embraced Arian and Unitarian beliefs, and finally returned to at least a nominal adherence to the Church of England.[54] In 1793, around the time when his shift towards heterodoxy occurred, Robinson published a 150-page work entitled, provocatively, *A Short History of the Persecution of Christians, by Jews, Heathens, & Christians*.[55]

Finally, debate over greater liberties for Britain's Roman Catholics resulted in historical works advocating a defiantly Protestant perspective. Notably, the publication of martyrologies, many of these derived from Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, flourished in the latter eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Publishing clusters are apparent in the early 1780s and again in the mid-1790s, seemingly coincident with the passing of Catholic relief measures (1778 and 1791) and Protestant reactions.[56] At least two titles from 1813-14 point to continued concern. The first, composed by the English Congregationalist and soon to be Inner Temple lawyer James Baldwin Brown, traced "laws enacted against the Catholics, both in England and Ireland" and sought to "illustrate the views and conduct of the Church of England, the Presbyterians, and Sectarians" – essentially British Protestants combined – "with regard to toleration."[57] The second, a seemingly less erudite work by a John Gould of Wormwood Street, London, proposed a *Historical Account of the Reformation from the Church of Rome, Including the Cruel Sufferings of the Protestants By Question and Answer*, to which was subjoined another writer's treatise entitled "The danger of granting Roman Catholic Emancipation."[58]

Broad Church Histories: Thematic

A number of writers produced chronologically broad church histories in the interest of more particular concerns. Oftentimes the main limiting factor was a particular geography: England, Scotland, or even colonial New England whose short-lived history was situated within a broad sacred canvas.[59] Other authors produced full accounts which traced themes such as Christian mission, episcopal church government, or the corruption of doctrine through the centuries.[60] Continued debate over the status of Protestant Dissent took shape in the form of several chronologically sweeping histories.[61]

Scanning eighteenth-century titles, it is striking how many wide-ranging church histories were produced by members of somewhat marginalized religious groups. In the 1770s, two histories with comprehensive-sounding titles came from the pens of ministers within the Scottish Secession Church.[62] In 1781, John Wesley published a four-volume *Concise Ecclesiastical History, from the Birth of Christ, to the Beginning of the Present Century*. This work was an abridgment derived from the learned *Ecclesiastical History* by German Lutheran scholar Johann Lorenz von Mosheim, but Wesley included at the end of the final volume his "Short history of the people called Methodists."[63] Wesley was only one of several evangelical clergymen on both sides of the Atlantic – including prominent leaders such as Jonathan Edwards and John Newton as well as the above-mentioned Milner and Haweis – who produced histories manifestly for the purpose of tracing a pedigree for evangelical characteristics and the experience of religious revival, and of demonstrating evangelicals' continuity with other "godly" Christians who endured suffering and scorn. This type of church historical writing served the pragmatic purpose of rendering legitimacy to the beliefs and practices of marginalized Protestants or, at minimum, finding comfort in historical good company.

Broad Church Histories: Comprehensive

A handful of works sought to represent historical Christianity in its fullest sense, temporally, geographically, and without an obvious interpretive filter (not to suggest, however, that this was not present). Of these, by far the most substantial and popular was the multi-volume translation of Mosheim's history, produced by Scottish clergyman

Archibald Maclaine and published in 1755 under the title, *An Ecclesiastical History, Antient and Modern, From the Birth of Christ, To the Beginning of the Present Century*.[64] One finds at least ten republications on both sides of the North Atlantic up to 1812, as well as numerous abridgments. Euan Cameron suggests it was in the English-speaking context that Mosheim's work achieved its greatest popularity, via Maclaine.[65] It would have been difficult for a critic to challenge, or for another writer to outdo, Mosheim's thoroughness. Century by century, Mosheim detailed the church's relation to learning and philosophy, its leadership, government, doctrine, rites and ceremonies, sects and heresies, all of which he characterized as Christianity's internal history, as well as external events which he saw positively or negatively affecting the church. In the English context, besides Wesley and other religious figures, Edward Gibbon made use of Mosheim's work and recommended it within the pages of his *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (though observing the author's relative partisanship on the subject of the Reformation).[66]

Broad Church Histories: Universal

Lastly, within this category, my historiographical enquiry brings to light sources that speak to the continued utility of religious historical paradigms. Typically these imposed a theological framework on history and/or expanded "church history" beyond its normal timeframe into a more universal "sacred" narrative. In 1713, an English translation of the multi-volume work of French scholar Louis Ellies Du Pin appeared under the title *A Compendious History of the Church, from the Beginning of the World to this Present Time . . .*[67] A somewhat surprising find is A True Ecclesiastical History, from Moses, to the Time of Martin Luther, in Verse . . . (1722), an English translation of the Latin original first published in 1688 as the posthumous work of none other than famed political theorist and philosopher Thomas Hobbes.[68] The *History of the Church under the Old Testament* which Church of Scotland minister Robert Millar published in 1730 could be paired with his earlier *History of the Propagation of Christianity, and Overthrow of Paganism . . .* to constitute a complete chronological account from creation to his own day, further linked by a consistent interest in the vanguard of God's people and redemptive plan.[69] Finally, in 1812, John Sabine produced in London *A Chronology of Sacred and Ecclesiastical History, from the Creation of the World to the Present*

Period.[70]

Other works more explicitly represented church history within a sacred or cosmic drama. One such example was *The History of the Work of Redemption* by New England evangelical Jonathan Edwards. First communicated as a lengthy sermon series in 1739, the work came into the view of a transatlantic audience decades later through publication in London in 1774. Despite being scorned by one British critic as the product of "the most unbridled imagination" or of an "intoxicated visionary presuming to see the will of God,"[71] the volume underwent republication twelve more times prior to 1815.[72] Another seemingly popular work was *The General History of the Christian Church, from Her Birth to Her Final Triumphant State in Heaven, Chiefly Deduced from the Apocalypse of St. John the Apostle*, first published in 1771 under a pseudonym. Likely to raise modern eyebrows, nonetheless the book was the product of an Irish bishop, Charles Walmesley, and by 1812 it was at its fifth edition.[73] And in 1811, there appeared *A Christian's Survey of All the Primary Events and Periods of the World; from the Commencement of History, to the Conclusion of Prophecy*.[74] Its author, Granville Penn, was from an aristocratic heritage, studied at Cambridge, worked in the English government's war department, and went on later to publish a variety of scholarly works.[75] His prophetic survey of world history underwent a second edition in 1812, and two years later issued from a press in Virginia.

National and Universal Histories

A final important feature emerging from my survey that I will only briefly summarize here is the firm place that religious aspects held in more general historical works. The turn-of-the-eighteenth-century title *The General History of England, both Ecclesiastical and Civil*[76] illustrates a standard dual-lens approach which one finds throughout the period in other histories of England, Scotland, Ireland, New England, continental European nations, and even global histories. An interesting pattern is an apparent shift in the prioritizing of these two angles: beyond the 1760s or 1770s, titles tended to reverse the order to "civil" followed by "ecclesiastical."[77] But the point stands that religion remained of vital importance in representations of history. Even the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, first appearing in 1771, stated its intent to represent human knowledge, historical and contemporary, of the material world as well as of "Matters Ecclesiastical, Civil, Military, Commercial, &c."[78] One final example in

this genre gave a spiritual backdrop to a national history: Benjamin Trumbull's 1810 *General History of the United States of America* was subtitled "Sketches of the divine agency, in their settlement, growth, and protection; and especially in the late memorable revolution."[79]

Features

This review of church history-writing in the long eighteenth century has been sweeping and necessarily speculative. However, distinct impressions emerge from the broad canvas. A number of these, I would venture, work against the assumptions or generalizations that historiographers (and historians who read them) have made.

An initial observation to make is the perhaps surprising presence of historical works with religious themes within this time period. A rough and undoubtedly incomplete tally of publications dealing primarily with church history approaches three hundred.[80] Of course, claims for church history's presence or vitality in the context of eighteenth-century publications should avoid being lofty. Several hundred publications constitute a very small percentage in relation to the total history-related output of printers; but, conversely, several hundred publications have been almost entirely overlooked by scholars, including those focusing on historiography or on religious aspects. Similarly, there is no clear indication that church historical writing waned over the course of the century, and we have identified several seasons when attention to Christianity's history flourished. Moreover, "ecclesiastical history" maintained its pairing with "civil" though typically shifting from a primary to a secondary place.

This survey also raises qualifications on how one might view the role of religion in the English-speaking North Atlantic world moving from the seventeenth into the eighteenth century. A typical construal traces turmoil stemming from the Reformation through the seventeenth-century intrigues and tumult of Puritan-royalist controversies, and culminating in the Glorious Revolution which brought both a Protestant monarchy and toleration for dissenters in 1689-90. Accounts along these lines give the impression that religious (and political) controversies were largely settled by the end of the seventeenth century.[81]

I can see at least two facets rising from my survey that serve to nuance this standard narrative. First, church historical writing shows us that quarrels emanating from the Reformation were not tidily resolved with the Glorious Revolution. Rather, well into the next century the

contentious issues of the prior so-called "age of controversy" remained alive: fears of a Roman Catholic ascendancy, Puritanism, the nature of relationships between church and state or established church and dissent, and so forth. Perhaps the historical debate became generally less intense or vehement. But any apparent shift in civility seems to have been one of degree rather than kind.

A second facet is a sustained connection between church history and key moments in politics and society, such as transitions in the British monarchy; the vicissitudes of ensuring a Protestant succession; Jacobite uprisings; successive conflicts with France; the American Revolution; and Catholic emancipation in Great Britain.[82] That writers and readers turned to the pages of Christianity's past at these times should stand as a clear indication that religion continued to factor in people's perceptions of what we would view to be largely matters of state. Recent scholarship has worked to highlight Protestantism's place in the cultivation of British identities.[83] What seems lacking is attentiveness to the role of religious history-writing as an important part of this process.[84] Besides the above-named events and issues, is it possible that other defining moments were charged with religious significance in part through the work of writers of church history? Might this have been true, for example, of the 1810s, during which Britain finally defeated Napoleon and rapidly began to build up their overseas empire and influence, and during which the fledgling United States of America concluded another war with the British and pushed west in pursuit of what would in later decades come to be known as Manifest Destiny? During a time such as this, reference to the religious past potentially could lend weight to the significance of these developments, amplifying a sense of "moment." The possibility would indeed seem especially potent with historical accounts that moved beyond straightforward historical narratives into universal or even cosmic accounts imbued with sacred meaning. The appearance of several works of this nature in the early 1810s is intriguing at the least.

Such speculation aside, the suggestion or implication by historiographers that sacred historical perspectives dwindled away in early modern times does not suffice for the English-speaking context. Though the overall trajectory assuredly was one of recession, clear signs exist that writers as well as readers continued to situate church history and even "secular" human affairs within a religious framework. Interestingly, the sacred chronologies and histories interpreted via prophecy which emerged in latter decades generally came from the pens of established clergy and

educated churchmen, not radical interpreters. A similar revision appears necessary in relation to those who would characterize an ever-widening breach between religious and political, or ecclesiastical and civil, historical writing. Again, this rendering generally rings true, but less so in the English-speaking context.

I hope this study offers a reminder that we, as scholars interested in the history of Christianity, are never short of further fields of enquiry. Somewhat due to the prevailing historiographical narrative I have found reason to qualify, we continue to need to build a case for the relevance of church history, the importance of religious considerations towards properly understanding the past in a wide variety of spheres. So, to quote the venerable C.S. Lewis, "further up" and "further in"!

Endnotes

1. I am grateful for the vigorous yet collegial character of the Canadian Society of Church History's annual meeting, and also for the specific comments and questions which I received in regard to this paper. I would also like to express my thanks to The King's University College in Edmonton for providing support and a "home base" for my research work in the last two years, by way of a Visiting Research Fellowship.

2. Darren Schmidt, "Reviving the Past: Eighteenth-Century Evangelical Interpretations of Church History" (Ph.D. diss., University of St. Andrews, 2009).

3. Prominent historiographer Donald Kelley draws at least brief attention to ecclesiastical historians' sustained role in seeking to explain the past in religious (rather than simply in political) terms. In Kelley's reckoning, their efforts "informed historical narrative down to Ranke" in the nineteenth century. See Donald R. Kelley, ed., *Versions of History from Antiquity to the Enlightenment* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1991), 10. This statement notwithstanding, Kelley's construal reflects the prevailing scholarly notion of ecclesiastical history's steady decline commensurate with the rise of more "secular" and predominantly political histories. His selection of primary excerpts on historical writing (314-69) includes sixteenth-century Protestant writers from Luther to John Foxe and then moves on to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century political and "national" histories. His later observation (425) that Jacques-Benigne Bossuet's *Discourse on Universal History* of 1681 "rehears[ed] the old providential plan of human history" solidifies an overall impression that religious approaches to history were largely *passé* by the end of the seventeenth century.

4. See, for example, Ernst Breisach, *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval, & Modern*, 2nd ed. (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 167, 177, 180; and A.G. Dickens and John M. Tonkin with Kenneth Powell, *The Reformation in Historical Thought* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), 103, 112-14.

5. Dickens and Tonkin, *Reformation in Historical Thought*, 119-49.

6. Breisach, *Historiography*, 180; he reaffirms that political stability in England brought less historiographical change than in France and Germany (200). Some examples given include Bishop Gilbert Burnet on the English Reformation, William Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation* (1646), and Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702).

7. Euan Cameron, *Interpreting Christian History: The Challenge of the Churches' Past* (Malden, MA & Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 122-57.

8. Eirwen Nicholson, "Eighteenth-Century Foxe: Evidence for the Impact of the *Acts and Monuments* in the 'Long' Eighteenth Century," in *John Foxe and the English Reformation*, ed. David Loades (Aldershot, UK: Scolar Press, 1997), 143-77, at 172-76.

9. John Foxe, *The Book of Martyrs: or, the History of the Church, from the Beginning of Christianity, to the Conclusion of the Reign of Q. Mary I . . .* , 2 vols. (1747-1748). Note: throughout this paper, the absence of a place of publication can be taken to mean that the work was published in London.

10. *The Book of Martyrs: or, the History of Paganism and Popery . . .* , 2nd ed. (Coventry, 1764).

11. Henry Southwell (1729/30-1779), *The New Book of Martyrs; or Complete Christian Martyrology . . .* ([1765]; republished circa 1785).

12. Foxe, *The Book of Martyrs; or, Christian Martyrology . . .* (Manchester, [1800]).

13. Foxe, *The Book of Martyrs, or Christian Martyrology: Containing an Authentic and Historical Relation of Many Dreadful Persecutions against the Church of Christ* (Liverpool, 1810); Henry Moore, *The History of the Persecutions of the Church of Rome; and Complete Protestant Martyrology . . .* , 2nd ed. (1810); and Ezekiel Blomfield, *The History of the Martyrs; or an Authentic Narration of the Sufferings of the Church of Christ, in Every Part of the World, from the Age of the Apostles to the Present Time . . .* , 2 vols. (Bungay [Suffolk], 1810).

14. Gilbert Burnet, *History of the Reformation of the Church of England . . .* , 3 vols. (1679/1681/1715).

15. Dickens and Tonkin, *Reformation in Historical Thought*, 107-8.

16. John Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials Relating to the Reformation of Religion and the Emergencies of the Church of England, under King Henry VIII. King Edward VI. and Queen Mary* . . . (London [?], ca. 1717; republished 1721 and 1733); and Strype, *Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion* . . . (1709, republished 1725, 1735, 1737, 1738, and 1778; the first two editions focused only on the first twelve years of Elizabeth's reign, whereas later editions extended to the accession to the throne of James I). Dickens and Tonkin describe Strype as "a Low Churchman and a Whig" who, in good Anglican fashion, "detested Puritanism as much as Romanism." See *Reformation in Historical Thought*, 106.

17. Dickens and Tonkin, *Reformation in Historical Thought*, 101.

18. Daniel Disney, *A Compendious History of the Rise and Progress of the Reformation of the Church Here in England* . . . (1715). A similar work from a few years later is Henry Bilton, *The History of the English Martyrs, Who Suffer'd Death for Opposing the Romish Religion, from the Reign of King Henry the IVth, 1400, to the End of the Reign of Queen Mary the 1st, who Dy'd 1558* . . . (1720).

19. Benjamin Bennet, *A Memorial of the Reformation* . . . (1717).

20. David L. Wykes, "Bennet, Benjamin (c.1674-1726)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (hereafter DNB), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/2100 (accessed 16 May 2012).

21. Laurence Howel, *The History of the Pontificate* . . . (1712).

22. *The Good Spirit of the Martyrs Revived: Being a Collection of the Most Remarkable Passages and Living Testimonies of the True Church of God, and Her Faithful Martyrs in All the Ages of the World* . . . , 2nd ed. (1718).

23. Benjamin Bennet, *Memorial of the Reformation* . . . (Edinburgh, 1748); *A Collection of the Laws in Favours of the Reformation in Scotland* . . . (Edinburgh, 1749); William Crookshank, *The History of the State and Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, from the Restoration to the Revolution* . . . , 2 vols. (1749). It was also in these years that the earlier-mentioned two-volume abridgment of Foxe was published in London (1747-48) (see n. 8).

24. Thomas Mall, *History of the Martyrs Epitomised. A Cloud of Witnesses; or, the Sufferers Mirrour, Made Up of the Swanlike Songs, and Other Choice Passages of a Great Number of Martyrs and Confessors, to the End of the Sixteenth Century* . . . , 2 vols. (Boston, 1747); and Ellis Hookes, *The Spirit of the Martyrs Revived, in a Brief Compendious Collection of the Most*

Remarkable Passages, and Living Testimonies of the True Church, Seed of God, and Faithful Martyrs in All Ages . . . ([New London (?)], CT, 1750).

25. John Lockman, *A History of the Cruel Sufferings of the Protestants, and Others, by Popish Persecutions, in Various Countries* . . . (1760, republished in Dublin, 1763). The work's material was presented by way of "Question and Answer" so as to be useful especially in schools but also for "all Protestant Families." Lockman also compiled histories of England and of Rome in a similar format.

26. Bob Harris, "Patriotic Commerce and National Revival: The Free British Fishery Society and British Politics, c.1749-58," *English Historical Review* 114, no. 456 (1999): 285-313.

27. According to the *DNB*, in earlier decades Lockman had published volume after volume translated from French writers, including Voltaire (with "copious anti-Roman Catholic notes"), Pierre Bayle's Enlightenment classic *Dictionnaire*, and a three-volume set of French travel writings. James Sambrook, "Lockman, John (1698-1771)," *DNB*, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/16912 (accessed 16 May 2012).

28. Dickens and Tonkin, *Reformation in Historical Thought*, 100.

29. Edmund Calamy, *An Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's History of His Life and Times. With an Account of Many Others of Those Worthy Ministers Who were Ejected, After the Restauration of King Charles the Second . . . And a Continuation of Their History, Till the Year 1691* . . . (1702). In 1718, Calamy published a letter challenging the presentation of seventeenth-century Puritanism by Laurence Echard's *History of England* (volumes 2 and 3 of which were published in 1718). Echard, Archdeacon of Stowe, was also author of *A General Ecclesiastical History from the Nativity of Our Blessed Saviour to the First Establishment of Christianity* (1702).

30. Edmund Calamy, *The Nonconformist's Memorial: Being an Account of the Ministers, Who were Ejected or Silenced after the Restoration* . . . , 2 vols., ed. Samuel Palmer (1775). According to the ESTC, this work was republished in 1777 and 1778. The British Library's main catalogue includes a three-volume second edition published in 1802-1803.

31. Disney, *Compendious History* (1715); and Bennet, *Memorial of the Reformation* (1717).

32. Robert Wodrow (1679-1734), *The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland* . . . , 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1721-22).

33. Cotton Mather, *The Palm-Bearers* . . . (Boston, 1725).

34. Crookshank, *History of the State and Sufferings of the Church of Scotland . . .* (1749), republished in 1751 (Edinburgh), 1787 (Glasgow), and 1812 (n.p.); and Samuel Clarke, *A General Martyrology, Containing a Collection of All the Greatest Persecutions Which Have Befallen the Church of Christ, from the Creation, to Our Present Times . . . To Which is Added, the State and Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, from the Restoration, to the Revolution . . . By William Crookshank, A.M. . . .* (Glasgow, 1770).

35. John Howie (1735-1793), *Biographia Scoticana: Or a Brief Historical Account of the Lives, Characters, and Memorable Transactions of the Most Eminent Scots Worthies, Noblemen, Gentlemen, Ministers, and Others: From Mr Patrick Hamilton, Who Was Born About the Year of Our Lord 1503. and Suffered Martyrdom at St Andrews, Feb. 1527. to Mr James Renwick, Who Was Executed in the Grass-Market of Edinburgh, Feb. 17. 1688 . . .* (Glasgow, 1775). See also his *Faithful Contendings Displayed: Being an Historical Relation of the State and Actings of the Suffering Remnant in the Church of Scotland, . . . from the Year 1681 to 1691 . . .* (Glasgow, 1780). For biographical details on Howie, see Alexander Du Toit, "Howie, John (1735-1793)," *DNB*, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/13992 (accessed 25 May 2012).

36. White Kennett, *An Historical Account of the Discipline and Jurisdiction of the Church of England*, 2nd ed. (1730). Seventeenth-century figures included James I and Charles I and their Canterbury archbishops Richard Bancroft and William Laud.

37. Christopher Wordsworth, *Ecclesiastical Biography . . .* , 6 vols. (1810). According to the *DNB*, at the time of publication Wordsworth was a dean and rector in Bocking, Essex, as well as domestic chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Richard Sharp, "Wordsworth, Christopher (1774-1846)," *DNB*, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/29970 (accessed 25 May 2012).

38. George Cook, *The History of the Church of Scotland, from the Establishment of the Reformation to the Revolution . . .* , 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1815). On Cook, see T. F. Henderson, "Cook, George (1772-1845)," rev. Stewart J. Brown, *DNB*, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/6137 (accessed 25 May 2012).

39. *Samuel Grascome, An Historical Account of the Antiquity and Unity of the Britanick Churches . . .* (1692). The above quotation is from D. A. Brunton, "Grascome, Samuel (1641-1708)," *DNB*, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/11302 (accessed 18 May 2012).

40. Sir James Dalrymple, *Collections Concerning the Scottish History, Preceeding the Death of King David the First, in the Year 1153 . . .* (Edinburgh, 1705); and David Allan, "Dalrymple, Sir James, of Borthwick, first baronet (1650-1719)," *DNB*, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/7051 (accessed 18 May 2012).

According to Allan, Dalrymple specifically was reacting to an English author's provocative claim that the Scottish church historically fell within the jurisdiction of the archdiocese of York. Dalrymple added an appendix of original church charters and other documentary evidence, for good measure.

41. Ninian Wallis, *Britannia Libera. A True Narrative of the Antiquity, Independency, Purity, and Uniformity of the British Churches* . . . (Dublin, 1710).

42. *The History of the Lutheran Church . . . By a Gentleman-Commoner of Magdalen-College in Oxford* (1714 [?]).

43. Balthasar Mentzer, *A Vindication of the Lutheran Religion, from the Charge of Popery, in Several Letters to a Friend. Wherein the Lutheran Principles are Fully Explain'd and Confirm'd, Several Vulgar Errors and Prejudices Concerning Them Corrected; and a Large Historical Account Given of their Persecutions and Sufferings* . . . (1720).

44. Francis Tallents, *A Short History of Schism* . . . (1705). A biographer observes Tallents' occasional attendance after 1662 at Church of England worship – in fact at the Shrewsbury church in which he previously ministered – and his inscription on the wall of a Dissenting meeting-house established in 1691 that the building was intended "not for a faction or a party, but for promoting repentance and faith, in communion with all that love our Lord Jesus Christ, in sincerity." See C.D. Gilbert, "Tallents, Francis (1619-1708)," *DNB*, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/26953 (accessed 18 May 2012).

45. Samuel Grascome, *Moderation in Fashion: or, An Answer to a Treatise, Written by Mr. Francis Tallents, Entituled, A Short History of Schism* . . . (1705). The written debate between these two writers continued at least two more years: see Grascome, *Schism Triumphant: or, a Rejoinder to a reply of Mr. Tallents, Entituled, Some Considerations on Mr. S. G's Large Answer to his Short History of Schism* . . . (1707).

46. *The History of Faction* . . . (1705). This work, published anonymously, usually is attributed to Sackville Tufton.

47. Isaac Sharpe, *Animadversions on Some Passages of Mr. Edmund Calamy's Abridgment of Mr. Richard Baxter's History of His Life and Times* . . . (1704); followed by his *Animadversions on Other Passages of Mr. Edmund Calamy's Abridgment of Mr. Richard Baxter's History of His Life and Times. Part II* . . . (1704). In the first publication, Sharpe worked to demonstrate the "affection" that Richard Baxter and his compatriots held towards "the Establishment in Church and State."

48. [Daniel Defoe], *An Historical Account of the Bitter Sufferings, and Melancholly Circumstances of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, Under the Barbarous Usage and Bloody Persecution of the Presbyterian Church Government* . . . (Edinburgh, 1707), according to the ESTC also published twice more the same year in Edinburgh under the title *Presbyterian Persecution Examined* . . . , once in octavo and once in quarto.

49. See, as illustrations: *The Moderation and Loyalty of the Dissenters, Exemplify'd from the Historians, and Other Writers of Their Own Party, as well as from Their Late Proceedings* . . . (1710); [Richard Burridge], *The History of the Rise and Growth of Schism in Europe, to the Great Scandal of the Christian Religion* . . . (1714); and *The Church of England Man's Memorial; or, the History of Comprehension and Toleration. Wherein is Fully Prov'd, that the Admission of Sectaries into the State, Must Inevitably Terminate in the Destruction of the Establish'd Church* . . . (1718).

50. Daniel Neal, *History of the Puritans or Protestant Non-Conformists, from the Reformation to the Death of Queen Elizabeth* . . . , 4 vols. (1732-1738); Zachary Grey, *An Impartial Examination of the Second Volume of Mr. Daniel Neal's History of the Puritans* . . . (1736). Grey followed this in 1744 with a further 82-page *Review of Mr. Daniel Neal's History of the Puritans* . . . (Cambridge).

51. William Graham, *A Review of Ecclesiastical Establishments in Europe* . . . (Glasgow, 1792); a second edition was published in London in 1796. On Graham, see Kenneth B. E. Roxburgh, "Graham, William (1737-1801)," DNB, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/11226 (accessed 18 May 2012).

52. Joseph Milner, *History of the Church of Christ* . . . , 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1794, 1795 and 1797); a fourth volume which took the narrative to the Reformation was published posthumously in two parts in 1803 and 1809, edited by Milner's brother Isaac; and Thomas Haweis, *An Impartial and Succinct History of the Rise, Declension, and Revival of the Church of Christ; from the Birth of Our Savior to the Present Time* . . . , 3 vols. (1800).

53. William (or Willem) Sewel, *The History of the Rise, Increase, and Progress, of the Christian People called Quakers: Intermixed with Several Remarkable Occurrences. Written Originally in Low-Dutch, and also Translated into English* (1718), reprinted several times in London and also in Philadelphia in the 1720s and then (after decades of latency) undergoing renewed success in London with a third edition in 1795, a fourth in 1799-1800, and a fifth in 1811; Thomas Wight, *A History of the Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers in Ireland, from the year 1653 to 1700* . . . (Dublin, 1751), 2nd edition published in London in 1800; David Cranz (1723-1777), *The Ancient and Modern History of the Brethren: or, a Succinct Narrative of the Protestant*

Church of the United Brethren, or, Unitas Fratrum, in the Remoter Ages, and Particularly in the Present Century . . . , trans. Benjamin La Trobe (1780); *Select Narrative Extracted from the History of the Church Known by the Name of Unitas Fratrum; or United Brethren* . . . , trans. Christian Ignatius Latrobe (1806); Morgan Edwards, *Materials Towards a History of the American Baptists* . . . , vol. 1 (Philadelphia, 1770), vol. 2 published in 1792; Isaac Backus, *A History of New-England, with Particular Reference to the Denomination of Christians called Baptists* . . . , 3 vols. (Boston/Providence, RI, 1777/1784/1796; vols. 1 and 2 reprinted in London in 1793; abridgment published in Boston, 1804).

54. R. K. Webb, "Robinson, Anthony (1762-1827)," *DNB*, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb-/23829 (accessed 18 May 2012).

55. Anthony Robinson, *A Short History of the Persecution of Christians* . . . (Carlisle, 1793). This work was republished in London in 1794.

56. See the preliminary list of Foxe-derived martyrological works appended in Nicholson, "Eighteenth-Century Foxe," 175-76.

57. James Baldwin Brown the Elder, *An Historical Account of the Laws Enacted Against the Catholics, Both in England and Ireland* . . . (1813). On Brown, see Thompson Cooper, "Brown, James Baldwin, the elder (1785-1843)," rev. Jonathan Harris, *DNB*, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/3615 (accessed 18 May 2012).

58. John Gould, *Historical Account of the Reformation from the Church of Rome* . . . (1814).

59. For example, Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana: or, the Ecclesiastical History of New-England, from its First Planting in the Year 1620. unto the Year of our Lord, 1698* . . . (1702); Ferdinando Warner, *The Ecclesiastical History of England, to the Eighteenth Century* . . . , 2 vols. (1756-1757), also appearing under the title *The History of England, as it Relates to Religion and the Church, from the Earliest Accounts to the Present Century* . . . , 2 vols. (1759); and John Skinner, *An Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, from the First Appearance of Christianity in that Kingdom, to the Present Time* . . . , 2 vols. (1788).

60. Examples of histories reflecting the above-named themes include: Robert Millar (1672-1752), *The History of the Propagation of Christianity, and Overthrow of Paganism* . . . , 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1723; republished in London in 1726 and 1731); George Reynolds, *An Historical Essay upon the Government of the Church of England, from the Earliest to the Present Times* . . . (1743, written as a rebuttal to a recently published Roman Catholic account of English church history in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries); Joseph Priestley, *An History of the Corruptions of Christianity* . . . , 2 vols. (Birming-

ham, 1782; republished in 1793, and 1797 in Boston); and William Guirey, *The History of Episcopacy, in Four Parts, from its Rise to the Present Day . . .* (Raleigh [?], ca. 1799) which culminated in the formation of the American Methodist Episcopal Church.

61. Isaac Sharpe, earlier highlighted as a public defender of the religious establishment, displayed his critical attitude towards dissent in his suggestively titled *Historical Account of the Rise and Growth of Heresie in the Christian Church, to the Sixteenth Century and Farther* (1718-1719). From the opposite vantage point, in 1736 Dissenting minister and theologian Samuel Chandler issued a *History of Persecution . . .* stringing together the suffering experienced by Christians from four successive spheres: heathen Roman rulers, Christian emperors, Roman Catholic papacy and Inquisition, and magisterial Protestants. Later in the century, the Independency of clergyman James Murray helps to explain – despite his claim to have "an impartial hand" – his interest in his *History of Religion . . .* (4 vols., 1764) to represent historical Christianity through its various branches or denominations, from Roman Catholics to Lutherans, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, even Non-jurors, Moravians, Methodists, Quakers, and Antinomians.

62. John Brown, *A General History of the Christian Church, from the Birth of our Saviour to the Present Time . . .* , 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1771); and William Graham, *An Ecclesiastical History, from the Birth of John the Baptist to the Present Times* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1777).

63. John Wesley, *A Concise Ecclesiastical History . . .* , 4 vols. (1781). This work may have served as a rebuttal to a 1766 publication, a two-volume *Ecclesiastical History; from the Birth of Christ, to the Present Time . . .* translated from the work of Jean-Henri-Samuel Formey, to which the anonymous translator appended a somewhat scathing "account of the people called Methodists."

64. Johann Lorenz von Mosheim, *An Ecclesiastical History . . .* , 2 vols., trans. and ed. Archibald Maclaine (1765).

65. Cameron, *Interpreting Church History*, 149.

66. Dickens and Tonkin, *Reformation in Historical Thought*, 134.

67. *Louis Ellies Du Pin, A Compendious History of the Church . . .* , 4 vols. (1713). This underwent two further editions within the subsequent decade.

68. Thomas Hobbes, *A True Ecclesiastical History, from Moses, to the Time of Martin Luther...*, trans. John Rooke (1722).

69. Millar, *History of the Propagation of Christianity*, and *The History of the Church under the Old Testament, from the Creation of the World . . .* (Edinburgh, 1730).

70. John Sabine, *A Chronology of Sacred and Ecclesiastical History, from the Creation of the World to the present period . . .* (1812).

71. Anonymous, *Monthly Review* 52 (1775): 117-20, quoted by John F. Wilson in Jonathan Edwards, *A History of the Work of Redemption*, ed. J.F. Wilson, vol. 9 of the *Works of Jonathan Edwards* (New Haven, CT & London: Yale University Press, 1989), 86-87.

72. Edwards, *History of the Work of Redemption*, 26-27; and Thomas H. Johnson, *The Printed Writings of Jonathan Edwards, 1703-1758: A Bibliography* (Princeton, NJ & London: Princeton University Press & Oxford University Press, 1940), 85-90.

73. [Charles Walmesley], *The General History of the Christian Church . . .* (London [?], 1771).

74. Granville Penn, *A Christian's Survey of All the Primary Events and Periods of the World . . .* (1811).

75. Charlotte Fell-Smith, "Penn, Granville (1761-1844)," rev. Richard Smail, *DNB*, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/21847 (accessed 23 May 2012).

76. *James Tyrrell, The General History of England, both Ecclesiastical and Civil . . .*, 3 vols. (1696-1704). Tyrrell was grandson of James Ussher, archbishop of Armagh; see Mark Goldie, "Tyrrell, James (1642-1718)," *DNB*, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/27953 (accessed 22 May 2012).

77. The following two works illustrate earlier and later examples of the above tendency: *A History of the Whole Realm of Scotland, Civil, Natural, and Ecclesiastical . . .* (Edinburgh, 1760); and John Malham, *The Grand National History of England, Civil and Ecclesiastical, from the Earliest Period of Genuine Record to the Year 1815 . . .* (n.p., 1815). The decisiveness of the shift in priority is perhaps reinforced by Malham's strong religious credentials: he was a former clergyman, author of a life of Christ, and producer of an edition of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*; see Gordon Goodwin, "Malham, John (bap. 1747, d. 1821)," rev. S. J. Skedd, *DNB*, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/17882 (accessed 22 May 2012).

78. *Encyclopædia Britannica; or, a Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, &c. On a Plan Entirely New . . .*, 2nd ed., 10 vols. (Edinburgh, 1778-1783).

79. Benjamin Trumbull, *A General History of the United States of America: from the Discovery in 1492 . . .* (Boston, 1810).

80. This number does not include all subsequent editions or re-printings. One should also allow for the limiting factor of my search terms, as well as my decision to disregard titles which focused on church architecture or on particular congregations or buildings, or which appeared to be treatises – theological or otherwise – only partially making use of history for argumentative purposes.

81. See, for example, Jonathan Scott, *England's Troubles: Seventeenth-Century English Political Instability in European Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); I am grateful to Todd Webb for drawing my attention to this title. Historiographers Dickens and Tonkin in *Reformation in Historical Thought*, comment in relation to seventeenth-century England that its "peculiar lot [though arguably Scotland and New England could be added] was to be not so much wrestling with the Reformation legacy as still undergoing the Reformation process, whose results were by no means assured" (100). Beyond century's end, it is presumed, a more "detached" and scholarly, less partisan perspective ensued. Summarizing the direction of English historiographical writing with a focus on learned figures such as Bishop Burnet, they state: "After the revolution of 1688 the mob continued to shout 'No Popery,' but the intellectuals found such emotions irrelevant for an age which had outgrown the triangular clash of Roman, Laudian, and Puritan" (101). In my view, this fails to capture the endurance into the eighteenth century of a diversity of perspectives among the educated class which these authors limit to the seventeenth.

82. Recent research on the long reach of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* observes this connection. Eirwen Nicholson argues that after the Glorious Revolution, the publication of Foxe-derived works "appear[ed] sensitive to the vulnerability of a Protestant succession." She offers several examples from the first half of the eighteenth century and speculates that a similar correlation could be found post-1750. Nicholson, "Eighteenth-Century Foxe," 154 and 154 n. 39.

83. Important examples include Linda Colley's influential book *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, 2nd ed. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), the first chapter of which highlights the sustained and at times stubborn Protestantism of the British people during this period; and Carla Gardina Pestana, *Protestant Empire: Religion and the Making of the British Atlantic World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

84. This role is more readily drawn by scholars concerned with the early modern period. An obvious example is Bruce Gordon, ed., *Protestant History and Identity in Sixteenth-Century Europe*, 2 vols. (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996). Euan Cameron, writing of church history in the "confessional" age of the latter sixteenth to mid-seventeenth centuries, recognizes the link between history and self-perception in his critical observation that the various religious

camps' histories "constructed an image of their past, and its relationship to their present, that vindicated their own identity and values." See Cameron, *Interpreting Christian History*, 145. For Cameron, this was a feature which happily began to disintegrate with the more critical, less dogmatic spirit of the Enlightenment.