
HISTORICAL PAPERS 2009
Canadian Society
of Church History

Annual Conference
Carleton University
24-26 May 2009

Edited by
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Please Note

The following papers were presented to the Canadian Society of Church History in 2009, but were not made available for publication: Michael Friesen, “Draft Resistance and the Politics of Gender: A Life History Approach to Understanding Mennonites, Anti-Militarism and Masculinity in the United States during the Vietnam War”; Bruce Douville, “Spiritual Midwife? Liberal Christianity and the Origins of the Canadian New Left”; Marlene Epp, “Preachers, Prophets, and Missionaries: The dichotomous religious lives of Mennonite women in Canada”; William Klassen, “Pilgram Marpeck (1495-1556)”; J. Richard Middleton and David Belles, “Variant Eschatologies in the Great Awakenings and the Social Gospel: Case Studies in Jonathan Edwards, Dwight L. Moody and Walter Rauschenbusch”; Darren Schmidt, “Reviving the Past: Eighteenth-Century Evangelical Interpretations of Church History”; Stephen Fai, “St. Michael of Ponass Lakes, Saskatchewan: Icon, Architecture, and Material Imagination”; Iain Edgehill, “The Religious and Theological Elements in Caribbean Slave Revolts”; Brian Froese, “Contrasting Visions of Mission: Mennonite Social Activism and Mennonite Brethren Evangelicalism in Post-War British Columbia”; Andrew Eason, “The Salvation Army and the Sacraments in Victorian England: Retracing the Steps to Non-Observance”; and Donna Kerfoot, “Florence Nightingale’s ‘Way of Perfection’ in Nineteenth-Century England”; presentations by A.B. McKillop and Ian McKay on Richard Allan’s *The View from Murney Tower: Salem Bland, the Late Victorian Controversies, and the Search for a new Christianity*; and presentations by Linda Ambrose, Sam Reimer, and Robert Choquette on a collection of essays edited by Michael Wilkinson entitled *Canadian Pentecostalism: Transition and Transformation*.

The Roman Catholic Foundations of Land Claims in Canada¹

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Most non-aboriginal Canadians are aware of the fact that Indigenous peoples commonly regard land rights as culturally and religiously significant. Fewer non-natives, I suspect, would consider their own connection with property in the same light; and fewer still would regard the legal foundation of all land rights in Canada as conspicuously theological. In fact, however, it is. The relationship between law and land in Canada can be traced to a set of fifteenth-century theological assumptions that have found their way into Canadian law. These assumptions, collectively referred to as the Doctrine of Discovery, were initially formulated to mediate rivalries among European states vying for sovereignty rights in the New World. As such, the Doctrine of Discovery is one of the oldest principles of international law. Although there were antecedents to the doctrine, it was Pope Alexander VI who applied it to the fifteenth-century Atlantic world in a two-part papal bull known as *Inter caetera*. The Doctrine of Discovery was the legal means by which Europeans claimed rights of sovereignty, property, and trade in regions they allegedly discovered during the age of expansion. These claims were made without consultation or engagement of any sort with the resident populations in these territories – the people to whom, by any sensible account, the land actually belonged.

The Doctrine of Discovery has been a critical component of historical relations between Europeans, their descendants, and Indigenous peoples; and it underlies their legal relationships to this day, having

smoothly and relatively uncritically transitioned from Roman Catholic to international law. Upon discovery of a territory, the doctrine held that Indigenous peoples could no longer claim ownership of their land, but only rights of occupation and use; moreover, no Indigenous nation could sell its land to any but the discovering state. In this way European colonial powers claimed preemptive rights while conceding only a restricted title to a territory's rightful owners.²

It has been argued that law regarding Aboriginal peoples is the "most uncertain and contentious body of law in Canada," and that this is a result of the fact that no legal principles relating to the rights of Indigenous peoples existed at the time of the assumption of British sovereignty.³ This is not entirely accurate, since the Doctrine of Discovery was a firmly entrenched principle of international law that guided earliest British relations with First Nations and, as I will presently point out, the drafting of the Royal Proclamation of 1763 which has loomed large in the history of Aboriginal rights in Canada.

It is safe to say that Aboriginal Canadians do not generally regard their title to land as merely involving these kinds of rights of occupation and use. Rather, they trace title back to pre-contact relationships with land and rights of self-governance. Fundamentally, then, title is not considered something that should be subject to the legal or political system. As Leroy Little Bear noted: "[Aboriginal peoples] are not the sole owners under the original grant from the Creator; the land belongs to past generations, to the yet-to-be-born, and to the plants and animals. Has the Crown ever received a surrender of title from these others?"⁴ From the standpoint of dominant voices in the ongoing conflict over issues of sovereignty, title, and self-government, however, Native rights are considered to be common law rights stemming from – and subordinate to – the British Crown's earliest sovereignty claims that were transferred to the government of Canada.

The Doctrine of Discovery

The Doctrine of Discovery is not simply an artifact of colonial history. It is the legal force that defines the limits of all land claims to this day and, more fundamentally, the necessity of land claims at all. To call it into question, even now, would change the rules of the argument entirely. As one journalist puts it: "it is the federal and provincial governments of Canada who are trying to make a claim to land, a claim based on the Doctrine of Discovery."⁵ The roots of the doctrine can be

traced back at least as far as the Crusades, though some would claim that its foundation rests in Augustine's teachings on "just war," through which the Catholic Church became morally obligated to meddle in international affairs.⁶ It was Pope Nicholas V who established the legal principle by which Europeans could lay claim to enemy territories. In two bulls,⁷ Nicholas sanctioned the conquest of North Africa by the Portuguese king, Alfonso V, and ultimately provided the legal foundation for colonialism and the slave trade.⁸

Nicholas V's bulls effectively barred Spain from African exploration and, in response, Spain turned its attention westward with the voyages of Christopher Columbus. Upon his return to Spain, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella immediately sought papal validation of their title to the discoveries Columbus had made in the Caribbean, and Pope Alexander VI subsequently issued three bulls legitimizing the claims, the most important of which was *Inter caetera*, which fully articulated the Doctrine of Discovery with specific reference to the Americas. Alexander's bulls divided the globe from the North to the South Poles along a line running about 500 kilometers west of the Azores. In order to pursue the "holy and laudable work" of expanding the Christian world, Spain was given title to all discovered and later to be discovered territories west of this boundary.⁹

Papal constraint on discovery claims would be the object of a great deal of re-interpretation by European crowns and their legal and theological advisors; but the Pope's primary authority to grant sovereignty was not a debatable issue, and the assumption that Indigenous peoples lost underlying title to their land remained a point of international law.¹⁰ Initially, discovery claims could be made through any one of a number of symbolic acts: the planting of a cross or a flag, the burying of coins, or, in the case of the Spanish conquistadors, the reading of an official pronouncement called the *Requerimiento* (requirement). The document, written by the Spanish jurist Palacios Rubios in 1510, asserted that the Spanish Crown had sovereign rights in the Americas based on *Inter caetera*.¹¹

By the turn of the sixteenth century, England and France had followed the Iberians in entering into the age of exploration, and the Crowns of both were guided by the Doctrine of Discovery. Since both nations were Catholic at the time of their early explorations, concern over contravening the Church's mandate for Spain loomed large in their respective imaginations. Intellectuals in both nations scrutinized the bulls and other Church law in order to find justification for new claims to title

in the New World that would not undermine the original papal regulations. English scholars, in particular, became adept at the practice, advising Henry VII that he would not be in contravention of the 1493 bull if claims to title were limited to territories not yet discovered by Spain or Portugal (or any other Christian nation). Those advising Elizabeth I honed the theory further by arguing that claims to sovereignty could not be made by symbolic acts alone, but required actual occupation of a territory.¹² Despite these refinements, England and France continued to accompany their claims to title in the New World with the established symbolic acts of planting crosses and flags, burying items such as coins, or reading from a commission. Propagation of the Christian faith and assertions of political sovereignty continued to be melded with one another such that explorers (especially those representing the French Crown) generally erected insignia on discovered territory that bore both religious and political symbols.¹³

On the basis of John Cabot's explorations of 1496 through 1498, England laid claim to the entire eastern seaboard of North America. Upon reaching North America, one of Cabot's contemporaries wrote that he "placed on his new-found land a large cross, with one flag of England and another of St. Mark . . ." ¹⁴ England's discovery claims were challenged by France for over two centuries, the latter basing its claims for sovereign rights on the discoveries of Jacques Cartier which began in 1534. The two countries would eventually come to war over their conflicting claims to sovereignty in the New World, with France conceding most of its territories in 1763.¹⁵ Prior to that time, however, explorers continued to claim territory through discovery. Martin Frobisher, for instance, wrote that at Hudson Bay in 1577, he had "marched through the Countey with Ensigne displaid, so far as thought needfulle, and now and then heaped up stones on high mountaines . . ." ¹⁶ Upon landing in Newfoundland in 1583, Humphrey Gilbert had

openly read and interpreted his commission; by vertue thereof he tooke possession in the same harbour of St. John . . . And signified unto all men, that from this time forward, they should take the same land as a territories appertaining to the Queen of England . . . ¹⁷

A half century later, Samuel de Champlain would stake his claim to New France through the planting of symbols:

Of this wood I made a Cross which I set up at one end of the island, on a high and prominent point, with the arms of France, as I had done in the other places where I had stopped. I named this place Saint-Croix island . . . Before I left, I built a Cross, bearing the arms of France, which I set up in a prominent place on the shore of the lake

¹⁸

Fifteenth-century papal bulls were the legal foundation upon which North America was colonized. The basic principle of the doctrine they set down – that Indigenous peoples had no sovereign rights in relation to their own land – remained unaltered through centuries of international jurisprudence. The Doctrine of Discovery is not simply a relic of colonial history; it is the legal force that defines the limits of all land claims issues to this day, and it was integrated into North American law from an early period. There are, in particular, two documents that have been principally responsible for keeping the doctrine alive in Canadian law: first, the Royal Proclamation of 1763; and, second, the United States Supreme Court’s 1823 decision in *Johnson and Graham’s Lessee v McIntosh*.

The Doctrine of Discovery in Canadian Law

Disputed claims over sovereignty in the New World led Britain and France into the Seven Years War, which ended in 1763 when France surrendered its discovery rights over Canada and the territory east of the Mississippi River. The Royal Proclamation, issued the same year, was a document that reflected the English Crown’s understanding of its rights stemming from the Doctrine of Discovery. Lands occupied by Native peoples were defined in the Proclamation as “our dominions,” despite the fact that no Indigenous nation had relinquished its title. Furthermore, the Crown promised to protect Native rights of occupancy and land use, thus subsuming Native title within the territorial sovereignty of the Crown. Finally, the document reiterated the trade and preemptive rights long recognized as integral to the principle of discovery: only licensed agents could trade with Native people, and Natives were not permitted to sell their land to any party but the British Crown. The Royal Proclamation thus established as law the principle features of the discovery doctrine dealing with issues of sovereignty, title, and commerce. While ostensibly protecting First Nations from appropriation of their land, the document reserved to the Crown the prerogative to extinguish Aboriginal land rights and it established regulations for doing so.¹⁹ The Royal Proclamation was

steeped in the Doctrine of Discovery. In this document, the British Crown asserted sovereignty over former French territories by virtue of France's cession of its own discovery rights and despite the fact that no First Nation had ever ceded its land to either France or Britain. On the basis of the doctrine, France's authority to transfer sovereignty to England needed no justification.

Turning to the second document, the judgment in *Johnson v. McIntosh*, we find an affirmation of the Doctrine of Discovery in American law that was based to a noticeable degree on the Royal Proclamation: "The proclamation issued by the King of Great Britain, in 1763, has been considered, and, we think, with reason, as constituting an additional objection to the title of the plaintiffs."²⁰ Despite the fact that Native peoples were the obvious owners of the lands in North America at the time of initial European incursions, Chief Justice Marshall asserted that European states acquired sovereign title to these lands upon discovery. What this meant in practice was that First Nations retained rights of occupation and use, but that Europeans automatically gained rights of preemption. Marshall's opinion established a legal precedent by which the loss of underlying Aboriginal title to land could be justified, a principle based wholly on the Doctrine of Discovery:

In the establishment of these relations, the rights of the original inhabitants were, in no instance, entirely disregarded; but were necessarily, to a considerable extent, impaired . . . their rights to complete sovereignty, as independent nations, were necessarily diminished, and their power to dispose of the soil at their own will, to whomsoever they pleased, was denied by the original fundamental principle, that discovery gave exclusive title to those who made it.²¹

Both the Royal Proclamation and Chief Justice Marshall's decision in *Johnson v. McIntosh* would be used by subsequent Canadian courts to support the principles of Crown sovereignty and Aboriginal title. An early ruling of the Privy Council, in *St. Catherine's Milling and Lumber Company v The Queen* (1888), set the stage for this continuity. On the basis of the Royal Proclamation, the court determined that Aboriginals possessed rights of occupation and use, but the Crown maintained underlying title. In his opinion, Lord Watson referred directly to *Johnson v. McIntosh*, calling the holding in the case a "classic and definitive judgment;" and he concluded that First Nations' land rights amounted to "a personal and usufructuary right dependent on the good will of the

Sovereign.”²²

For the better part of a century, *St. Catherine's Milling* would join the Royal Proclamation and *McIntosh* as rationale in support of limitations on Aboriginal title. *R v White and Bob* (1965) is a case in point. The trial involved the harvesting of deer in contravention of British Columbia gaming laws, and while the court held in favour of the defendants, in framing his opinion, Justice Norris referred repeatedly to the Royal Proclamation, *McIntosh*, and *St. Catherine's Milling*. Marshall C. J.'s opinion in the 1823 case was, according to Justice Norris, “entirely consistent with the opinion of the Privy Council in *St. Catherine's*, and both were consonant with the principles of the Royal Proclamation. The Proclamation, he wrote, “had the effect of a statute,” and it was “declaratory and confirmatory of . . . aboriginal rights.”²³ Finally, Justice Norris confirmed the principle of limited Aboriginal title stemming from discovery that was set down in the Royal Proclamation:

The Proclamation was made on the basis of a claim to dominion and its protective provisions became applicable in fact to Indians as their lands (the Indian Territory) came under the de facto dominion of representatives of the British Crown.²⁴

The longstanding notion that Aboriginal title depended on the Crown and stemmed from the Royal Proclamation was discarded in the majority opinion in *Calder et al. v. Attorney-General of British Columbia, 1973*. In his opinion, Justice Judson claimed instead that it was based on pre-existing occupation and social organization:

Although I think that it is clear that Indian title in British Columbia cannot owe its origin to the Proclamation of 1763, the fact is that when the settlers came, the Indians were there, organized in societies and occupying the land as their forefathers had done for centuries. This is what Indian title means . . .²⁵

This was the first time that the court had acknowledged the fact that Native peoples lived in legitimate societies and had rights of self-determination that were not extinguished at the time that Canada claimed sovereignty over their land. This opinion is considered to have directly influenced the decision to include the recognition of Aboriginal and treaty rights in the *Constitution Act, 1982*. While the case initiated major strides in respect to Aboriginal land rights, even those justices who supported the Native

appellants upheld the tenets of Crown sovereignty and preemptive rights, on the basis of the Doctrine of Discovery as articulated in the Royal Proclamation and by Justice Marshall in *McIntosh*. The Royal Proclamation, according to Justice Hall, was a “fundamental document upon which any determination of fundamental rights rests.” As for *McIntosh*, Hall called the case “the locus classicus of the principles governing aboriginal title.” Thus, notwithstanding his assertion that Aboriginal title was a “legal right,” it could nonetheless be extinguished “by surrender to the Crown or by competent legislative authority.”²⁶

Aboriginal title was defined further in *Guerin v The Queen, 1984* as *sui generis* (characteristically unique) and based upon pre-contact occupation of a territory. Citing *McIntosh*, Justice Dickson stated that the Royal Proclamation recognized pre-existing forms of Aboriginal title. Dickson went on to write, however, that presumptive and underlying rights were different in kind, and that ultimate title belonged to Europeans by rights of discovery. Further, the preemptive rights established in the Royal Proclamation were also affirmed by Justice Dickson. Thus, although he clearly rejected the tradition of regarding the Royal Proclamation as the source of Aboriginal title, his description of Aboriginal title as *sui generis* did not fundamentally define the scope of interest in land beyond the principle articulated in the Proclamation.²⁷

Still, the case was a catalyst for public discussions concerning Aboriginal rights that would ultimately contribute to the interpretation of these rights in Section 35(1) of the *Constitution Act, 1982* which reads, “The existing aboriginal and treaty rights of the aboriginal peoples of Canada are hereby recognized and affirmed.” Section 35(1) is not at all self-explanatory, and its meaning has been the central issue in numerous Supreme Court cases since. The first time the court had to consider the scope of constitutional protection of Aboriginal rights was in *R. v Sparrow, 1990*, a case that concerned Aboriginal fishing rights. Making it clear that the legitimacy of underlying title was not a debatable issue, Chief Justice Dickson and Justice La Forest wrote in the opinion that Aboriginal rights were not absolute, but could be subject to regulation by legislation. In underscoring this point, the justices cited the Royal Proclamation and Chief Justice Marshall.²⁸ *Sparrow* had broader implications in respect to the issue of Aboriginal title. Although the majority opinion concerning the salmon fishery in British Columbia was not intended to speak to the general question of the scope and nature of Aboriginal rights, Chief Justice Dickson and Justice La Forest linked the

issue of title to “traditional activities recognized by the aboriginal society as integral to its distinctive culture.” Since *Sparrow*, courts have generally required that in making a claim, Aboriginal appellants demonstrate that their ancestors exclusively occupied given territories that were loci for activities deemed “integral.”²⁹

Two more cases bear consideration here, for the advancements they made in dealing with s.35(1) as well as for the continued limits they placed on Aboriginal title. In *R. v Van der Peet, 1996*, Chief Justice Lamer wrote at length on the issue of Aboriginal title, concluding that, “what s. 35(1) does is provide the constitutional framework through which the fact that Aboriginals lived on the land in distinctive societies, with their own practices, traditions and cultures, is acknowledged and reconciled with the sovereignty of the Crown.”³⁰ Supporting the opinion in the case, the Chief Justice turned to both the Royal Proclamation and *McIntosh*.

Chief Justice Lamer reiterated many parts of the *Van der Peet* opinion in a year later in *Delgamuukw v British Columbia, 1997*, but the latter became a defining case when the court made the unprecedented decision to accept oral history as admissible evidence. In spite of this and other strides, Justice La Forest remained faithful to other long-standing principles of limited title. For instance, while more forceful in his statement concerning discussion and the payment of compensation, he upheld the prevailing view that Aboriginal rights can be extinguished, citing the Royal Proclamation as part of the opinion stating, “Indeed, the treatment of “aboriginal title” as a compensable right can be traced back to the Royal Proclamation, 1763.”³¹

Conclusion

Recourse to *Johnson v McIntosh* and the Royal Proclamation have ensured that rights of sovereignty based on the Doctrine of Discovery have remained definitive in Canadian law. Sovereignty is presumed to reside with the Crown, and while Native peoples are regarded as having an Aboriginal claim on land, this claim is not equivalent to ownership. Aboriginal title relates to rights of occupation and use, not underlying title. Thus, all Aboriginal land rights are limited in Canada. These rights have a long legal history in Canada, tracing back to the Royal Proclamation. The integration of the Doctrine of Discovery into Canadian law has provided a foundation on which all deliberations concerning Aboriginal title have proceeded. It has been suggested that s.35(1) recognizes the

aspiration for Aboriginal self-government and thus requires that the courts revisit the legitimacy of Canadian sovereignty claims in respect to Aboriginal peoples – that Chief Justice Marshall’s ruling in *McIntosh* should no longer provide a template for assertions of territorial sovereignty.³² While this may be a defensible position, the Constitution itself complicates matters since s.25(a) of the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* legitimizes the foundation of Marshall’s opinion:

The guarantee in this Charter of certain rights and freedoms shall not be construed so as to abrogate or derogate from any aboriginal, treaty or other rights or freedoms that pertain to the aboriginal peoples of Canada including

(a) any rights or freedoms that have been recognized by the Royal Proclamation of October 7, 1763 . . .

The rights recognized by the Royal Proclamation are double-edged: the protections it provides in respect to use and occupation of land are countervailed by limits on alienability and the Crown’s assertion of preemptive right. Title to land is, according to the Proclamation, an Aboriginal right that is inherently limited. It appears that the Doctrine of Discovery is not only well-established in common law, but has been entrenched in the Constitution as well. And while the Royal Proclamation may not be the source of Aboriginal rights in Canada, it has unmistakably served to define the outermost parameters of these rights – parameters that were established by Pope Alexander VI in 1493, and are recognized in s.25(a).

When the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples released its five-volume report in 1996,³³ and recommended that Canadian governments commit themselves to dramatically recreating their relationship with Aboriginal peoples, it specifically targeted the Doctrine of Discovery:

The Commission recommends that . . . Federal, provincial and territorial governments further the process of renewal by

(a) acknowledging that concepts such as *terra nullius* and the doctrine of discovery are factually, legally and morally wrong;

(b) declaring that such concepts no longer form part of law making or policy development by Canadian governments;

(c) declaring that such concepts will not be the basis of arguments presented to the courts . . .³⁴

It should not be surprising that among RCAP's key recommendations was the following:

To begin the process, the federal, provincial and territorial governments, on behalf of the people of Canada, and national Aboriginal organizations, on behalf of the Aboriginal peoples of Canada, commit themselves to building a renewed relationship based on the principles of mutual recognition, mutual respect, sharing and mutual responsibility; these principles to form the ethical basis of relations between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal societies in the future and to be enshrined in a *new Royal Proclamation* and its companion legislation.³⁵ [my emphasis]

Endnotes

1. My thanks to Kate Reid and Casey Koons for their assistance in the preparation of this essay.
2. Robert J. Miller, *Native America, Discovered and Conquered: Thomas Jefferson, Lewis and Clark, and Manifest Destiny* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2006), 4.
3. Kent McNeil, "Aboriginal Title and Aboriginal Rights: What's the Connection?" *Alberta Law Review* 36, no. 1 (1997): 117.
4. L. Little Bear, "Aboriginal Rights and the Canadian 'Grundnorm,'" in *Arduous Journey: Canadian Indians and Decolonization*, ed., J. R. Ponting (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986), 247; and Michael Asch and Norman Zlotkin, "Affirming Aboriginal Title: A New Basis for Comprehensive Claims Negotiation," in *Aboriginal and Treaty Rights in Canada: Essays on Law, Equality, and Respect for Difference*, ed. Michael Asch (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), 215-17.
5. Stewart Steinhauer, "Canadian Land Claims," *The Dominion*, 13 May 2006, http://www.dominionpaper.ca/opinion/2006/05/13/canadian_1.html [accessed October 2008].
6. Wilcomb Washburn, *Red Man's Land, White Man's Law: The Past and Present Status of the American Indian*, 2nd ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 4-5, cites Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologica*, Part II, Question 40.1, where Augustine defends "just war" in situations where "a

nation or state has to be punished for refusing to make amends for the wrongs inflicted by its subjects . . .”

7. *Dum diversas* (1452) and *Romanus Pontifex* (1455).
8. Nicholas authorized Portugal to “. . . invade, search out, capture, vanquish, and subdue all Saracens and pagans whatsoever, and other enemies of Christ wheresoever placed . . . to reduce their persons to perpetual slavery, and to apply and appropriate to himself and his successors the kingdoms, dukedoms, counties, principalities, dominions, possessions, and goods” (Pope Nicholas V, *Romanus Pontifex* [8 January 1455], <http://www.nativeweb.org/pages/legal/indig-romanus-pontifex.html> [accessed November 2008]); and Robert J. Miller, “Finders Keepers in the Arctic? The Doctrine of Discovery is Still Alive in the Modern World,” *Los Angeles Times*, 6 August 2007, <http://articles.latimes.com/2007/aug/06/news/oe-miller6> [accessed October 2008].
9. Pope Alexander VI, *Inter caetera* (4 May 1493), <http://www.catholic-forum.com/saints/pope0214a.htm> [accessed January 2009]. While the bulls defined the limits of Iberian discovery claims, Spain and Portugal mutually agreed to shift the boundary established by *Inter caetera* through the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494. The pope responded with another bull, *Ea qua*, in 1506, which would allow Portugal limited access to the Atlantic world. As a result, it was able to claim discovery rights in Brazil (see L. C. Green, “Claims to Territory in Colonial America,” in *The Law of Nations and the New World*, by L.C. Green and Olive P. Dickason [Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1989], 178-79, 6-7).
10. While the Catholic Church attempted on occasion to speak officially on behalf of the rights of Indigenous peoples, no pope addressed the fundamental issue of territorial sovereignty which was integral to European claims throughout the colonial period. Thus Paul II, in his bull, *Sublimis dues sic dilexit* (1537) declared that Native Americans should not be treated like

dumb brutes created for our service . . . [but] as true men . . . capable of understanding the Catholic faith . . . [Moreover] the said Indians and other peoples who may be discovered by Christians, are by no means to be deprived of their liberty or the possession of their property, even though they may be outside the faith of Jesus Christ . . . nor should they be in any way enslaved . . .

Similarly, Urban VIII declared that anyone who denied Indigenous peoples the right to freely occupy their land would face excommunication.

11. See Washburn, *Red Man's Land*, 78.

12. Miller, *Native America*, 18.
13. Anglican Church of Canada and Evangelical Lutheran Church of Canada, "Doctrine of Discovery and Terra Nullius" (General Synod, 2001), at: <http://www2.anglican.ca/gs2001/tr/presentations/terranullius.html> [accessed October 2008].
14. Pasqualigo letter, 23 August 1497, cited in J. A. Williamson, *The Voyages of the Cabots* (London: Argonaut Press, 1929), 29.
15. Robert J. Miller, "The Doctrine of Discovery in American Indian Law," *Idaho Law Review* 42 (2005):16.
16. Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, vol. 3 (Glasgow: James MacLehose, 1903), 32; and Green, "Claims to Territory," 11-12.
17. Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations*, 53-54; and Green, "Claims to Territory," 12.
18. H. P. Biggar, ed., *The Works of Samuel de Champlain*, vol. 2 (Toronto: Champlain Society Publications, 1925), 272, 297; and Green, "Claims to Territory," 9-10.
19. Miller, *Native America*, 31-32; Green, "Claims to Territory," 102-103; and John Borrows, "Wampum at Niagara: The Royal Proclamation, Canadian Legal History, and Self-Government," in *Aboriginal and Treaty Rights in Canada*, 159-60.
20. *Johnson v. McIntosh*, 21 U.S. 543, 5 L.Ed. 681, 8 Wheat. 543 (1823), http://www.utulsa.edu/law/classes/rice/ussct_cases/JOHNSON_V_MCINTOSH_1823.HTM [accessed January 2009].
21. *Johnson v. McIntosh*.
22. Privy Council (London), *St. Catherine's Milling and Lumber Company v The Queen* (1888), 14 A.C. 46, <http://library2.usask.ca/native/cnlc/vol02/541.html> [accessed November 2008]; McNeil (1997a), 142; and Catherine Bell and Michael Asch, "Challenging Assumptions: The Impact of Precedent in Aboriginal Rights Litigation," in *Aboriginal and Treaty Rights in Canada*, 47-48.
23. Supreme Court of Canada, *R. v White and Bob* (1964), 50 D.L.R. (2d) 613, <http://library2.usask.ca/native/cnlc/vol06/629.html> [accessed January 2009].
24. *R. v White and Bob*.

25. Supreme Court of Canada, *Calder et al. v. Attorney-General of British Columbia*, S.C.R. 313 (1973), <http://scc.lexum.umontreal.ca/en/1973/1973rcs0-313/1973rcs0-313.html> [accessed January 2009].
26. *Calder et al. v. Attorney-General of British Columbia*; Bell and Asch, "Challenging Assumptions," 48; Michael Asch, "Introduction," in *Aboriginal and Treaty Rights in Canada*, ix; Borrows, "Wampum at Niagara," 155; and Asch and Zlotkin, "Affirming Aboriginal Title," 210.
27. Supreme Court of Canada, *Guerin v The Queen*, 2 S.C.R. 335 (1984), <http://csc.lexum.umontreal.ca/en/1984/1984rcs2-335/1984rcs2-335.html> [accessed January 2009]; Bell and Asch, "Challenging Assumptions," 49; Joan G. Fairweather, *A Common Hunger: Land Rights in Canada and South Africa* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2006), 99; and Borrows, "Wampum at Niagara," 161.
28. Supreme Court of Canada, *R. v Sparrow* 104 S.C.C. (1990), <http://www.canlii.org/en/ca/scc/doc/1990/1990canlii104/1990canlii104.html> [accessed January 2009].
29. *R. v Sparrow*; Catherine Bell and William B. Henderson, "Aboriginal Rights: Canadian Law," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=A1SEC815557> [accessed November 2008]; Patrick Macklem, "First Nations Self-Government and the Borders of the Canadian Legal Imagination," in *Canadian Constitutional Law*, eds. P. Macklem, K. E. Swinton, R. C. B. Risk, C. J. Rogerson, L. E. Weinrib, and J. D. Whyte (Toronto: Emond Montgomery Publications, 1997), 527; and Kent McNeil, "The Meaning of Aboriginal Title," *Aboriginal and Treaty Rights in Canada*, 144-45.
30. Supreme Court of Canada, *R. v. Van der Peet*, 2 S.C.R. 507 (1996), <http://csc.lexum.umontreal.ca/en/1996/1996rcs2-507/1996rcs2-507.html> [accessed January 2009]; and McNeil, "The Meaning of Aboriginal Title," 123.
31. Supreme Court of Canada, *Delgamuukw v British Columbia*, 3 S.C.R. 1010 (1997), <http://csc.lexum.umontreal.ca/en/1997/1997rcs3-1010/1997rcs3-1010.html> [accessed January 2009].
32. Macklem, "First Nations Self-Government," 528.
33. The Commission was created under Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, and announced by Chief Justice Brian Dickson, in 1991. The Prime Minister's hope was that it would help to resolve all outstanding land claims by the year 2000. The Commission's report was submitted to the government late in 1996. It encompassed 5 volumes and made over 400 recommendations aimed at

improving the relationship between Aboriginal peoples and other Canadians. See The NationTalk Project, “Looking Back, Looking Forward: RCAP in Review” (2007), <http://www.nationtalk.ca/modules/news/article.php?storyid=1249> [accessed February 2009]; and Mary C. Hurley and Jill Wherrett, “The Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, (Ottawa: Library of Parliament, 2000), <http://www.parl.gc.ca/information/library/PRBpubs/prb9924-e.htm> [accessed February 2009].

34. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, *The Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*, volume 1, part 3, Appendix E (1996), <http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ap/pubs/sg/sg-eng.asp> [accessed February 2009].
35. *The Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*.

Anabaptist Women as Martyrs, Models of Courage, and Tools of the Devil

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In the last three decades, under the leadership of Merry Wiesner-Hanks, Reformation scholars have been devoting increasing attention to the history of women and gender. Gendered experience is understood as a social construct whereby individuals “position themselves as men or as women” within the historical circumstances and processes of their time. This scholarly trend is evident to a limited degree within the field of Anabaptist studies, with much work still remaining to be done.¹ There was a flurry of research interest in Anabaptist women in the 1980s and 1990s, culminating in the 1996 volume, *Profiles of Anabaptist Women*,² but this interest has since gone into decline. “A reliable and comprehensive account of the role of women in the Anabaptist movement has yet to be written.”³

In this paper I want to survey briefly the present state of scholarship on women in Anabaptism. I then want to examine two histories from the early eighteenth century and consider how they construct the roles of early modern women: *The Impartial History of Churches and Heretics* (1700) by Gottfried Arnold, and especially *On the Heresy of Fanatical Women* (1704) by Johann Heinrich Feustking. These works provide valuable discussions of women within radical movements in England and Europe, but offer dramatically different assessments of their contribution. The paper argues that Anabaptist women served as a “usable past” for eighteenth-century Protestants who sought to construct, or deconstruct, the institutional church of their day.

Historical Papers 2009: Canadian Society of Church History

Recent Scholarship on Women in Anabaptism

Sigrun Haude recently surveyed the scholarship on women in Anabaptism, highlighting the following issues: women's roles in Anabaptism and Spiritualism, the numerical presence of women within Anabaptism, women's motives for joining the movement, Anabaptist understanding of women's virtues and the nature of marriage, and women's experience of punishment and martyrdom. Of course issues of women and gender varied according to the context, place and time of each Anabaptist and Spiritualist group.

Scholars largely agree that while Anabaptist women held more important roles and had more choices than women in other Reformation movements, they were still far from experiencing gender equality.⁴

Anabaptist women provided the vital infrastructure and backbone of the movement. They secretly carried messages, penned consolatory letters, proffered their homes for meetings, nourished their brothers and sisters in hiding, proselytized whenever they had a chance . . . Despite their generally inferior position, women were essential for the maintenance, growth, and survival of the religious movements – particularly since the communities lived under persecution.⁵

Women found the most freedom and equality in Spiritualist groups where the Spirit was the central authority rather than the Bible. There were prominent women visionaries in Strasbourg, Saxony, and Franconia.⁶ It is also clear that women enjoyed greater opportunities for self-expression in the early phase of dissenting movements; women's roles diminished with institutionalization.⁷ This is evident in the Tirol where court records reveal that, early on, women assumed the roles of martyrs, lay missionaries and lay leaders.⁸ In the household, Anabaptist men and women were typical of society at the time, with women caring for children and the sick and men overseeing financial matters.

Anabaptist women were admonished to uphold the virtues of purity, modesty, humility, obedience and silence. However, Anabaptist women who suffered for their faith were often praised for their "manly virtues" of strength, courage, steadfastness, boldness and bravery.⁹ Marriage practice reflected the larger society; women were expected to obey their husbands and men were to be protectors and providers for their wives.

Women's punishment by the authorities was often measured according to their prominence within the movement. Women who

appeared repeatedly before the magistrates faced harsher sentences. Capital punishment for Anabaptist women was typically by drowning, but more prominent women were sometimes burned at the stake, like men.¹⁰ “Compared to Catholic and Protestant martyrologies, women held an unparalleled place [of importance] in Mennonite accounts of suffering.”¹¹ Women are more prominent numerically in Anabaptist martyrologies, making up thirty per cent of the martyr stories, compared to five to ten per cent in the other accounts. And Mennonite women were not silent sufferers, as in other traditions; they often spoke publicly in testifying to their faith. Werner Packull and others have questioned the historical reliability of the *Martyrs Mirror*, specifically in the case of Anna Jansz of Rotterdam. Its portrayal of Anna as a non-resistant religious martyr was inaccurate.¹² She was baptized by a pro-Münsterite and promoted the apocalyptic vision of an Anabaptist kingdom on earth. Her apocalyptic perspective and close ties with David Joris caused later historians to label her “unbalanced, nervous, and over-strung.”¹³

Recent scholarship has been focusing on songs written to honour Anabaptist women martyrs.¹⁴ These songs often reproduce the actual words of the martyrs. In 1562 a collection of Anabaptist martyr songs was published, entitled, *A Songbook of Sacrifices for the Lord*. In 1570 they were printed together with prose texts about the martyrs. The songs represent an edifying women’s martyr tradition within Anabaptism.¹⁵

Haude neglected to discuss the reception and interpretation of Anabaptist women within the tradition of Protestant historiography. Merry Wiesner-Hanks, however, has recently directed scholars to the way seventeenth and eighteenth century historians anticipated themes found in current gender historiography. Without providing any detailed analysis, she observed that Pietist historian Gottfried Arnold (1666-1714) wrote glowingly of women prophets in his *Impartial History of Churches and Heretics* (1700). He included a great number of “blessed women who showed the way to the truth,” some of them Anabaptist women. Wiesner-Hanks also pointed to the work of the Orthodox Lutheran theologian, Johann Heinrich Feustking (1672-1713), who included stories of Anabaptist women in his famous collection of women heretics, *On the Heresy of Fanatical Women* (1704). Feustking’s history was designed to advertise the danger of women serving as leaders and prophetesses in the church; he denounced them as “false prophetesses, quacks, fanatics, and sectarian and frenzied female persons.” The work remains surprising relevant; in the last thirty years historians have portrayed Christianity in early modern Europe

as increasingly feminized, dominated by women, and marked by growing emphases upon conversion, regeneration, devotional experience of God, and compassion for the needy. Women played dominant roles in renewal movements such as the Quakers, Pietists, Moravians, and Methodists.¹⁶ Wiesner-Hanks' observations on Arnold and Feustking form a point of departure for the present paper's analysis of Feustking's controversial work.

The Portrayal of Anabaptist Women in Gottfried Arnold's Impartial History (1700)

Gottfried Arnold's *Unpartheyische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie* of 1699/1700 is both a satire of the Lutheran church, a history of Lutheran decline, and an "impartial" tribute to "Spiritualist" believers throughout history and their Christianity of the heart. For Arnold, the real history of Christianity was to be found among the marginalised and persecuted and in the personal piety of the reborn.¹⁷ Arnold paid tribute to figures such as Caspar Schwenckfeld (1489-1561), pages 703-726; the Anabaptists, pages 726-778 (especially David Joris [1501-1556], pages 750-778);¹⁸ and Jakob Böhme (1575-1624), pages 1130-1157. W.R. Ward noted that Arnold's history is "weighted in favour of the persecuted and disadvantaged" and that Luther "gets relatively short shrift."¹⁹ Arnold's history represents a radically innovative "Pietist reworking of Protestant church history."²⁰

Arnold's history includes a passage from a work by Friedrich Breckling (1629-1711) in which Breckling offers a twenty-two page list of "some other witnesses to the truth."²¹ It is "arranged neither according to chronology nor subject matter, but simply as they came to the author's attention." Each person is identified concisely, in a short paragraph at most. Breckling described those listed as follows:

The best witnesses to the truth, like the prophets, are largely unknown to the world. Included here are those whose writings or persons became known to me when, after much traveling about, I discovered these anonymous [secret, hidden] friends of God and [their message of] truth.²²

The last two pages of the list are devoted to godly women who "have testified to the truth, or suffered much, or been wonderfully gifted, illumined and led by God, just as the men listed above."²³ There are some sixty women in all, many of them Dutch women from Amsterdam,

Rotterdam, Harlem, the Haag, Harlingen and Leiden. Some of them are certainly Anabaptists and Mennonites, but it is hard to determine precisely how many. These women are among the heroes in Christian history for Breckling and Arnold.

Arnold's approach to the story of David Joris and Anna von Briel is contrived so that the many slanders put out by his son-in-law, Nicholas von Blesdijk, are balanced by lengthy citations from Joris's friends and Joris himself which serve to refute accusations of heresy or impropriety. One accusation leveled against David Joris was that he taught that believers were not bound to observe the marriage covenant. In order to nurture "holy children," a believer was entitled to have more than one wife; if a man should have an unfruitful or pregnant wife, he could in good conscience and without sin lie with other women so that his seed was not wasted. A believing man could offer his wife to a brother in the Lord, and observe them in the act.²⁴ Arnold cited Joris's words in which he insisted that such teachings were never his intent; he was merely speaking of the coming kingdom when there would be no marriage and no death. Arnold acknowledged that Joris came to Basel in April 1544 with a large household, comprised of his wife, children, and friends (including Anna von Briel), but observed that Joris always managed his household honourably.²⁵ Arnold included some lines in honour of Joris by "the famous Holstein poetess," Anna Hoyer, in which she called Joris "the faithful servant of God."²⁶

The Portrayal of Anabaptist Women in Johann Heinrich Feustking's Gynaeceum Haeretico Fanaticum (1704)

Johann Heinrich Feustking was born on 7 March 1672 in the village of Stellau in Schleswig-Holstein into a Lutheran pastor's family with a long tradition of Lutheran clergymen. Johann Heinrich pursued theology studies at the University of Rostock from 1688 to 1690, and then at Wittenberg University where he earned his Doctor of Theology in 1698. Feustking held numerous pastoral positions, culminating in 1712 when Duke Friedrich II of Saxon-Gotha called Feustking to be Court Preacher and Confessor in the residence city of Gotha, "the most beautiful city in Thüringen." Feustking died in Gotha on March 23, 1713 at the age of 41.²⁷

About the time of Feustking's birth, Philipp Jakob Spener (1635-1705) began promoting renewal of Lutheranism in Germany through a program of lay Bible study, prayer, pious living and confessional

cooperation in place of polemics and antagonism. In the late 1690s Feustking joined Lutheran Orthodox leaders in claiming that abundant resources for renewal were already present in the Lutheran church through proclamation of the Word in preaching and the sacraments. The Lutheran Orthodox denounced Spener and the Pietists for stirring up unrest and divisions in the churches, and for giving over leadership to women. Feustking asked rhetorically:

How has this Pietism arisen in our churches except through the testimonies, raptures and enthusiasm of women such as von Asseburg and Johanna von Merlau? How has it spread to Erfurt, Quedlinburg and Halberstadt except through frenzied young women? And how does it now maintain itself but through all kinds of suspect writings by these women?²⁸

Feustking directed his antagonism against three individuals in particular: Gottfried Arnold, Johanna Eleonora Petersen, and her husband Johann Wilhelm Petersen. All three had written in defence of women visionaries and their role in bringing Christian renewal.

Feustking saw Arnold's history as an effort not only to exalt women, but also to undermine the very foundation of the Lutheran church in its clergy and theologians.

Why do Anna Hoyer and other women despise the preaching office? Because the preachers oppose their fanatical endeavours. This is the method pursued by Arnold and other fanatics so they can present themselves as teachers and authors. Every Christian, including women, is free to preach and teach so long as they have the inner illumination [they say]. Everything in Arnold's damned *History of Heretics* is intended to bring suspicion upon the preaching office and make it hateful among political leaders.²⁹

Feustking's work, *Gynaecium Haeretico Fanaticum*, was his attempt to counteract these influential Pietists, especially Arnold.

The *Gynaecium Haeretico Fanaticum* consists of three parts: a *Vorbericht* or *Preliminary Report* (128 pages), the *Historie und Beschreibung* or *The History Proper of Heretical Women* (550 pages), and an *Anhang* or *Appendix* devoted to a refutation of Gottfried Arnold's *Impartial History* (86 pages).³⁰ In the *Vorbericht* Feustking established his basic conviction that in every age of church history the devil's strategy had

been to deceive women and thereby do damage to the church. Feustking contended that all claims to direct mystical experience and revelation from God were unfounded. The gift of prophecy had ceased after the time of the Apostles and the fixing of the biblical canon.³¹ In reflecting on his own day, he wrote: "From Luther's time up to the present hour, any reasonable man can see that false teachers rely too much upon inspired prophetesses and women teachers and gloss over their blasphemous thoughts and erroneous ideas."³² In the *Anhang* Feustking argued that Arnold's defence of women prophets amounted to placing their revelations above the Bible. Arnold was encouraging Christians to "set aside the holy scriptures and henceforth establish their faith upon the inspired teachings of women."³³

In the main section of the book, Part Two, Feustking presented the stories of 170 women, arranged alphabetically, with articles ranging from a half page to thirty pages in length. The book includes women from Old Testament times right up to the eighteenth century. The majority of the accounts deal with the seventeenth century, including twenty eight English Quaker women and thirty four German Pietist women. Feustking's main sources of information were Arnold's *Impartial History*, the *Magdeburg Centuries* (1559-1574), *The Annals of the Church* by Caesar Baronius (1588-1607), the writings of the Dutch theologian Gisbertus Voetius, and Orthodox Lutheran histories such as August Pfeiffer's *Antienthusiasmus* (1692), Ehregott Daniel Colberg's *Das Platonisch-Hermetische Christenthum* [The Platonic-Hermetic world of Christianity] (1690), Ernest Martin Plarrius's *Specimen Historiae Anabaptisticae* [Specimen of Anabaptist History] (1701), and Johannes Friedrich Corvinus's *Anabaptisticum et enthusiasticum Pantheon und geistliches Rüst-Hauss* [Pantheon and Spiritual Armory of Anabaptists and Enthusiasts] (1702).³⁴

Elisabeth Gössmann, a modern feminist writer, joins Wiesner-Hanks in arguing that Feustking's work offers much of value to scholars today:

Of special value is Feustking's effort to provide the most complete listing possible of writings that originate from women in his day and from women at the time of the Reformation, whether Protestant or Catholic. This is what makes his writing so indispensable for feminist research. We learn much concerning old editions of works by these women, including accounts of their visions composed by male authors, the influence of women's writings and how they were received by men at the time, which was not always governed by doctrinal boundaries.³⁵

Also significant is the way Feustking used the stories of Anabaptist women to advance his own agenda.

Feustking included five portraits of Anabaptist women in his history,³⁶ mainly Dutch women associated with Münster, Melchior Hoffmann or David Joris. There is one account of a Swiss Anabaptist. In the *Vorbericht*, Feustking summed up his understanding of the place and significance of women in Anabaptism. He observed that in 1534 the Anabaptist Prophet Jan Matthijs established his rule in Münster thanks to the influence of two female sooth-sayers. He was succeeded by the Anabaptist King Jan van Leyden who had over fourteen wives who stood by his side at the celebration of the Lord's Supper.³⁷ Feustking suggested that David Joris founded his teachings and calling from God upon the apparitions and visions proclaimed by Anna von Briel.³⁸ All in all, Anabaptism offered Feustking a case study of a movement whose leaders were led astray by delusional women.

The first Anabaptist portrait in Part Two is of Anna [Jansz] von Briel, a prophetess in the household of David Joris. Joris was a vile fellow (*Schand-Vogel*), said Feustking, who deceived people with his visionary teachings. It was this seductive woman whom the devil used to lead astray a clever and gifted man. Under the impulse of Anna's revelations and prophecies, Joris pursued his calling to reform the church and to publish hateful writings against the Evangelical churches. Feustking was baffled that Gottfried Arnold should consider Joris "the most Christian man in the world."³⁹

Feustking next related the story of Joris's granddaughter, Maria von Brük (Maria *van Bruck*). She possessed a painting of Joris that she treasured highly and displayed in her parlour. After she fell ill and died during an epidemic, the town clerk found among her belongings a large number of "frivolous and bothersome books" from the hand of Joris. When these writings came to the attention of the Dutch theologian, Gisbertus Voetius, he pronounced Maria a female heretic and source of great mischief in the churches of God.⁴⁰

In the early 1530s Melchior Hoffmann (ca. 1495-1543) found a wide response to his visionary proclamations. The result was increasing unrest in the city of Strasbourg. Hoffmann's imprisonment by the Strasbourg authorities in May 1533 only added to his legendary status throughout the Netherlands as a man of God with insight into the signs of the times and the soon-coming kingdom of Christ.⁴¹ Among those caught up by Hoffmann's teachings was Ursula Leonhard [Jost] (d. ca. 1539), wife of

Leonhard Jost, Hoffmann's "accomplice" [*Spieß-Geselle*].⁴² Ursula "spread [Hoffmann's] heresies among the people" and promoted his "poisonous contagion of the soul that derived from the devil himself." She proclaimed Hoffmann the Elijah to come and Strasbourg the new Zion. Later chroniclers reckoned her among the false prophetesses of the Anabaptists. She and another prophetess by the name of Barbara [Rebstock] were "arch-deceivers" who were instrumental in the growth of the movement and its success in many cities.⁴³ Feustking overlooked the fact that Barbara Rebstock had opposed David Joris and his ideas when he came to Strasbourg in 1538, and that she was supported in this by the men of the city. Women such as Ursula Jost and Barbara Rebstock played an exceptionally important role as prophets among the Melchiorites in Strasbourg.⁴⁴

Another Anabaptist portrait was of Alcida Lysting, one of the wives of Jan van Leyden (1509-1536). When van Leyden instituted polygamy in Münster, noted Feustking, van Leyden took for himself "as many wives as he desired." Among these was Alcida Lysting, a young woman from Amsterdam. She had been married to a wealthy merchant, but left him to travel to Münster. There she "poisoned many simple people with her delusions and took them captive." She looked for the arrival of Christ's kingdom in outward power and glory, when the godly would rule and former kings and lords be cast down and destroyed. She thus played a role in establishing the infamous kingdom of the Anabaptists in Münster.⁴⁵ Lysting was an inspiration to later Pietist chiliasts such as Johann Wilhelm and Johanna Eleonora Petersen.⁴⁶

The final Anabaptist portrait is of Magdalena Moller of St. Gall, Switzerland, who joined the Anabaptists as a young girl. She became delusional, proclaiming that she was the Christ. This was followed by another fantasy: that she would become pregnant and bring the anti-Christ into the world. At meetings with fellow believers she often appeared totally naked. She sometimes invited the men in the group to join her in a walk around the city. Magdalena said that she was called to speak "the naked truth." Her sisters in the faith took her words as coming directly from God.⁴⁷ Magdalena was part of a group of independent charismatic women prophets in St. Gall that also included Margret Hottinger, Winbrat Fanwiler, Barbara Mürklen and Frena Buman.⁴⁸

Conclusion

Early modern Protestant polemics on Christian renewal included discussions of the proper place of women within the church. This invariably involved a look back, either to praise or condemn women in earlier times. This paper has shown how Anabaptist women became objects of both praise and disdain in the course of polemics among German Pietist and Orthodox Lutheran chroniclers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Anabaptist women served as a “useable past” for eighteenth-century Protestants as they sought to construct, or deconstruct, the institutional church of their day. For Feustking, Anabaptism offered a case study of a movement whose leaders were led astray by delusional women. The place of Anabaptist women in early Protestant historiography resembles the place of women in medieval Catholic thought: either virgin or harlot; either heroic martyr or arch heretic and deceiver.

Endnotes

1. Sigrun Haude, “Gender Roles and Perspectives among Anabaptist and Spiritualist Groups,” in *A Companion to Anabaptism and Spiritualism, 1521-1700*, eds. John D. Roth and James M. Stayer (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2007), 425.
2. C. Arnold Snyder and Linda A. Huebert Hecht, eds., *Profiles of Anabaptist Women: Sixteenth-Century Reforming Pioneers* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1996). Snyder especially commends the work of Linda Huebert Hecht, Marion Kobelt-Groch and Lois Barrett (see 15, notes 27, 28).
3. Snyder, *Profiles of Anabaptist Women*, 9. Huebert Hecht wrote in 1996 that “the study of women’s involvement in the Anabaptist movement has just begun” (407). Haude writes: “No fundamental analysis of gender in Anabaptism and Spiritualism in general exists, nor of manhood and masculinity in particular . . . There still remains much to be done in Anabaptist scholarship,” (“Gender Roles and Perspectives among Anabaptist and Spiritualist Groups,” 426).
4. See Haude, “Gender Roles and Perspectives among Anabaptist and Spiritualist Groups,” 429-431.
5. Haude, “Gender Roles and Perspectives among Anabaptist and Spiritualist Groups,” 430, 431.

6. Haude, "Gender Roles and Perspectives among Anabaptist and Spiritualist Groups," 434.
7. Haude, "Gender Roles and Perspectives among Anabaptist and Spiritualist Groups," 436. Haude noted Max Weber's observation that women's equality did not last "beyond the first stage of a religious community's formation . . . As routinization and regimentation of community relationships set in, a reaction takes place against pneumatic manifestations among women."
8. Huebert Hecht, *Profiles of Anabaptist Women*, 409.
9. Haude, "Gender Roles and Perspectives among Anabaptist and Spiritualist Groups," 449.
10. Haude, "Gender Roles and Perspectives among Anabaptist and Spiritualist Groups," 458.
11. Haude, "Gender Roles and Perspectives among Anabaptist and Spiritualist Groups," 459, 460.
12. Snyder and Huebert Hecht, *Profiles of Anabaptist Women*, 336-343, 412n.20, 413. Packull's critique was preceded by Karl Vos who spoke of Anna's "fantastic expectations of the coming kingdom," and by A.F. Mellink who suggested that Anna found her way into the *Martyrs Mirror* by mistake, despite her revolutionary past (336).
13. See Werner O. Packull, "Anna Jansz of Rotterdam," in *Profiles of Anabaptist Women*, 337, 338.
14. Hermina Joldersma and Louis Grijp, "Introduction," in "*Elisabeth's Manly Courage*": *Testimonials and Songs of Martyred Anabaptist Women in the Low Countries*, eds. Hermina Joldersma and Louis Grijp (Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University, 2001), 21-23. Anabaptists wrote an abundance of new songs, based upon scripture texts and set to popular melodies.
15. Joldersma and Grijp, "Introduction," in *Elisabeth's Manly Courage*, 24, 25.
16. Merry Wiesner-Hanks, "Christianity and Gender," in *Enlightenment, Reawakening and Revolution 1660-1815*, vol. 7 of *Cambridge History of Christianity*, eds. Stewart J. Brown and Timothy Tackett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 166, 167.
17. C. Scott Dixon, "Faith and History on the Eve of Enlightenment: Ernst Salomon Cyprian, Gottfried Arnold, and the *History of Heretics*," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 57, no. 1 (January 2006): 47-51.

18. Part IV includes another 211 pages for Joris. See Gottfried Arnold, *Unpartheyischen Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie*, 534-737, 1351-1357; and Douglas H. Shantz, "'Back to the Sources': Gottfried Arnold, Johann Henrich Reitz, and the Distinctive Program and Practice of Pietist Historical Writing," in *Commoners and Community: Essays in Honour of Werner O. Packull*, ed. C. Arnold Snyder (Kitchener, ON: Pandora Press, 2002), 78, 83-85.
19. W.R. Ward, *Early Evangelicalism: A Global Intellectual History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 50.
20. Dixon, "Faith and History on the Eve of Enlightenment," 40.
21. Friedrich Breckling, *Catalogus testium veritatis post Lutherum* (1700). For the list see Gottfried Arnold, *Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie Vierter Theil, Bestehend in allerhand nöthigen Documenten, Tractaten und Zeugnissen, Acten und Geschichten von vielen Religions-Streitigkeiten* (Franckfurt am Mayn: Thomas Fritschens sel. Erben, 1729), 1089-1110
22. Arnold, *Vierter Theil*, 1089, 1090.
23. Arnold, *Vierter Theil*, 1108.
24. Arnold, *Vierter Theil*, 537. These accusations are taken from Nikolaas Meyndertsz von Blesdijk, *Historia vitae, doctrinae ac rerum gestarum D. Georgii haeresiarchae* (1642); and Johann Moldenit and Frideric Jessenius, *Kurtzer und summarischer inhalt der lehre und glaubens des ertz-ketzers und verführers David Joris* (1642).
25. Arnold, *Anderer Theil Der Kirchen- und Kätzer-Historie*, 751, 760, 768.
26. Arnold, *Anderer Theil Der Kirchen- und Kätzer-Historie*, 752.
27. Ruth Albrecht, "Einleitung," in Johann Heinrich Feustking, *Gynaeceum Haeretico Fanaticum*, ed. Elisabeth Gössmann (München: Iudicium Verlag, 1998), xvii-xxii. For a recent study in English see Adelisa Malena, "Sectirische und begeisterte Weibes-Personen: On the *Gynaeceum Haeretico Fanaticum* by J. H. Feustking (1704)," *L'Atelier du Centre de recherches historiques*, 04 | 2009, mis en ligne le 25 septembre 2009, <http://acrh.revues.org/index1402.html>.
28. Albrecht, "Einleitung," xxv and 117.
29. Feustking, "Historie und Beschreibung," in *Gynaeceum Haeretico Fanaticum*, 359, 360.
30. Albrecht, "Einleitung," xxxii, xxxiii.
31. Albrecht, "Einleitung," xxxii, xxxiii.

32. Feustking, "Vorbericht," in *Gynaeceum Haeretico Fanaticum*, 50.
33. Albrecht, "Einleitung," xxxiv.
34. Albrecht, "Einleitung," xxxv, xxxvi .
35. Gössmann, "Vorwort," in Feustking, *Gynaeceum Haeretico Fanaticum*, xv.
36. According to Albrecht, Feustking included only four portraits of Anabaptist women (xxxvii). There are, however, at least five Anabaptist portraits in the book, and five additional women who had ties with Anabaptists or Mennonites: Tanneken Denys, 235, 236, 497; Christina Ebneria, 249; Anna Hoyer (1632 in Holstein), 356-361 (influenced by Schwenckfeld and David Joris); Susanna Magdalena Kirchner, 398-402; Barbara Gregorlisch (Maria von Methen), 51, 325, 484-488. Two of Feustking's Anabaptist women, Maria von Brük and Alcida Lysting, are not mentioned in the *Profiles of Anabaptist Women*.
37. Feustking, "Vorbericht," in *Gynaeceum Haeretico Fanaticum*, 50.
38. Feustking, "Vorbericht," in *Gynaeceum Haeretico Fanaticum*, 51.
39. Feustking, "Historie und Beschreibung," in *Gynaeceum Haeretico Fanaticum*, 201-203.
40. Feustking, "Historie und Beschreibung," 211, 212.
41. C. Arnold Snyder, *Anabaptist History and Theology: An Introduction* (Kitchener, ON: Pandora Press, 1995), 145, 205.
42. After Hoffmann's death in 1543, Jodocus Leonhard undertook to edit and publish Hoffmann's "many alleged visions" that he continued to receive while in prison (see Feustking, "Historie und Beschreibung," in *Gynaeceum Haeretico Fanaticum*, 417).
43. Feustking, "Historie und Beschreibung," in *Gynaeceum Haeretico Fanaticum*, 418, 419. Regarding Ursula Jost and Barbara Rebstock, see Snyder and Huebert Hecht, *Profiles of Anabaptist Women*, 273-279.
44. Snyder and Huebert Hecht, *Profiles of Anabaptist Women*, 279-282.
45. Feustking, "Historie und Beschreibung," in *Gynaeceum Haeretico Fanaticum*, 429, 430.
46. Feustking, "Historie und Beschreibung," in *Gynaeceum Haeretico Fanaticum*, 431.

47. Feustking, "Historie und Beschreibung," in *Gynaeceum Haeretico Fanaticum*, 489. See also Snyder and Huebert Hecht, *Profiles of Anabaptist Women*, 49, 50.
48. Snyder and Huebert Hecht, *Profiles of Anabaptist Women*, 50.

A Discussion on Richard Allen's *The View from Murney Tower: Salem Bland, the Late Victorian Controversies, and the Search for a New Christianity*

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In my presentation, I want to begin with a few general comments about Richard Allen's *The View from Murney Tower*, move to highlight three particular strengths I believe the book to have, and conclude with two small criticisms. Before I do these things, since I share this panel with two eminent Canadian historians,¹ I want to note the perspective from which I approach this book. I teach at Queen's Theological College where my teaching falls into two areas: first, Practical Studies, where I teach courses in areas such as ministerial leadership; and, second, the History of Christianity, where I teach, among other things, a course in the History of The United Church of Canada. So, I have approached this book by Richard Allen from the perspective of the students I would teach in a History of the United Church course or a course in the broader area of Christianity in Canada. In other words, I have thought about this book in the context of teaching a class in which about three-quarters of the students are seeking ordination in the Christian tradition and where the other one-quarter are doing a Master of Theological Studies degree. So, I have come at the book as a historian, but as a historian teaching in that particular context.

The term "magisterial" has become much overused over the last generation, but I think the term does fit this book. To say that does not mean that the book has no flaws. But I have rarely read a book as extensively and thoroughly researched as this one; indeed, I cannot recall reading any book that evidenced such meticulous research. The work is

obviously the product of a lifetime of study and interest, although Dr. Allen acknowledges the gaps in time when his political career necessitated setting this project aside.

The book is encyclopedic in its coverage of a vast number of subjects. One learns about the first half of the life of Salem Bland. But one learns, too, about topics as varied as the Jesuit Estates Act, the key writings of Henry Drummond, spiritualism in Canada, the Fabians, and on the list goes. The book is a highly engaging biography, but it also provides, usually in a relatively short form, a primer to a vast array of people, concepts, intellectual movements and developments, and historical events, primarily but not exclusively in Canada. Thus, with the exception of "The Prologue," where a reader would need some acquaintance with the writings of a number of Canadian historians in order to appreciate Dr. Allen's particular approach to certain aspects of Canadian historiography, persons with little knowledge of either Salem Bland or Canadian religious history could pick up this book and be able to immerse themselves in Bland's life. They can do so because Allen provides the necessary background to enable a reader to see Bland's thoughts about a subject in the context of the intellectual currents and historical events of the period from the 1850s through to 1903, a time of rapid change and much challenge. In so many ways, *The View from Murney Tower* is a monumental study.

I move now to what I regard as three particular strengths of this study. First, as Allen has pointed out, Bland's lifespan (he was born in 1859 and died in 1950) presents a rare opportunity to examine "three tumultuous periods of national development" in Canadian history through the life of a particular individual.² What Allen does, skilfully and engagingly in this volume that recounts the first half of Bland's life, is to enable a reader to view these political, social, economic/industrial, and religious developments during an era when these entities were much more closely related than contemporary Canadians would perceive them to be. It is a fascinating, appropriate, yet uncommon way to consider these events, a way made possible by Bland's lengthy life and by the rich store of reflections found in his sermons, his other written work, and his father's journals.

Second, Allan gives us a well-researched and clearly written account of the development of Canadian Protestant religious thought – Canadian thought in general, one could claim, but obviously Canadian religious thought in particular – during the latter part of the nineteenth century and

the earliest years of the twentieth. This era, as Allan points out, was one in which Canadians wrestled with the changes in their self-consciousness “resulting from the impacts of the theory of evolution, the higher criticism of the Bible, the rise of sociology, historicism, and new thought generally on a people whose mindset, personal values, and cultural norms were overwhelmingly based on the external authorities of an infallible Bible, the tradition-sanctioned propositions of classical and Reformation creeds, the incantations and exhortations of many pulpits, and the pronouncements of ecclesiastical hierarchy.”³ While some on this panel or in this room might well want to quarrel with some of Allen’s characterizations of that history, what I think undeniable is that Allan has presented a thorough and impressive account. Allen has documented his work so thoroughly that a reader can see how he reached those conclusions and is also to make an informed judgement concerning the strengths or the weaknesses of Allen’s assessment.

Finally, for the students I teach who are preparing for ordained ministry, primarily but not exclusively in The United Church of Canada, I judge that this book could be an inspiration in the best sense of the word. Allen portrays a thoughtful minister, Salem Bland, who wrestles with how his Christian faith, his inherited faith and the moral imperative that was part of it, needed to be re-thought and open to modification so that it could continue to speak to a Canadian society that was changing so rapidly and in so many ways. Bland came to recognize that, as Allen put it, “A revelatory process was at work in the present as in the past.”⁴ Bland did not abandon his Christian faith, but he sought always to see how it could best be presented and adapted to address his times. Allen portrays a Bland who saw reflection and wrestling, via a conversation between his inherited Christian tradition on the one hand and the culture in which he lived and sought to minister on the other, as a moral imperative if he was faithfully to serve in his age. The Salem Bland to whom Allen introduces us is a figure who found that necessary conversation, if sometimes painful and difficult, also energizing.

I said that I thought one of the book’s great strengths was that it could be an inspiration for some of the students whom I teach. Maybe a better way of expressing that thought is to say that the Salem Bland who comes to us in such a clear and delightful way through these pages could be an inspiring model for contemporary ministers. The students whom I teach, if they are going to be effective in ministry, need to learn how to have that conversation between the tradition and the particular context in

which they find themselves, to have that conversation as Bland did. His deeply honest wrestling, his valuing of his Methodist tradition even as he recognized that living out that tradition on the cusp of the twentieth century would sometimes mean something different from what it had meant for his ministerial father, let alone for John Wesley – that approach, so marvellously presented here, can help significantly to fund the ministerial imagination of the students I teach.

It is not that the students I teach should reach the same particular conclusions or take the same positions Salem Bland did, for the contemporary situation is a markedly different world from the Canada of Salem Bland's first forty-four years. But it is Allen's presentation of, and reflection upon, a figure who wrestled imaginatively with how Scripture and his faith tradition could speak to its age, with all its particular social, economic, intellectual, and religious currents, that provides an accessible model, a model that could encourage contemporary students to do the same thing in their own time.

Having spoken about some key strengths of the book, I want to note two points of criticism. First, and this point is relatively minor, Allen makes reference to the co-called "Wesleyan Quadrilateral." Allen's presentation of this "Quadrilateral" stated that "John Wesley had set the Bible, as the inspired and infallible authority for the Christian life, side by side with religious experience, reason, and the traditional teaching of the church."⁵ For John Wesley, these four authorities for theology and for the Christian life were not equal authorities. Scripture was the primary authority, with the other three authorities clearly subsidiary to it. Allen quite rightly notes that the phrase, the "Wesleyan Quadrilateral," comes from the American scholar, Albert Outler, who first used this term in the 1960s.⁶ Outler believed he detected these four authorities for Christian theology and for the Christian life in Wesley's thought, though Wesley certainly never spoke himself in such a way. However, Outler was, rightly, very clear that these four authorities were not equal ones and that, for Wesley, Scripture was the primary authority. As scholars and others began to use Outler's phrase to suggest that Wesley had seen Scripture, religious experience, reason, and tradition as "equal authorities," Outler became increasingly troubled. Indeed, near the end of his career, Outler expressed with increasing vociferousness his great regret that he had ever invented the phrase, the "Wesleyan Quadrilateral," given the way some historians and some church leaders had come to understand the term. I make this point because Allen, and I may be misreading him, appears to suggest that

for Wesley these four authorities were equal.

Second, in his prologue, Allen speaks dismissively of various groups, including “latter-day Niebuhrian ‘realists’”⁷ among others, who developed caricatures of the liberal theology that arose in North America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Without question, some neo-orthodox thinkers did develop caricatures of liberal theology. But I think that Allen’s statement here casts the net of aspersion too widely. For example, it is true that in *The Kingdom of God in America*, H. Richard Niebuhr made a damning indictment of what he judged to be result of the central tenets of liberal theology: “A God without wrath brought men without sin into a kingdom without judgement through the ministrations of a Christ without a cross.”⁸ But on the subsequent page, Niebuhr spoke very positively of both Walter Rauschenbusch and Washington Gladden, two of the great figures in liberal theology in the era, as persons who did not hold the particular view he had so sharply criticized. Niebuhr heaped particular praise on Rauschenbusch, of whose thought he noted: “the revolutionary element remained pronounced; the reign of Christ required conversion and the coming kingdom was a crisis, judgement as well as promise.”⁹ That positive assessment of arguably the most significant liberal theologian of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries suggests, at least to me, that Allen made too wide a generalization in his comments about “latter-day Niebuhrian ‘realists’” developing “caricatures of liberal theology.”

Those critiques aside, Allen, through his book, invites us to “sail the ocean” of further exploration and consideration of this period of Canadian religious and intellectual history, and not to draw ourselves off “into a small pond, a safe harbour of prematurely defined dogmatic defences.”¹⁰ It is an invitation well worth taking up.

Endnotes

1. The other members of the panel discussion included A.B. McKillop (Carleton University) and Ian McKay (Queen’s University). Their reviews are not included here.
2. Richard Allen, *The View from Murney Tower: Salem Bland, the Late Victorian Controversies, and the Search for a New Christianity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), xviii.
3. Allen, *The View from Murney Tower*, xviii.

4. Allen, *The View from Murney Tower*, 88.
5. Allen, *The View from Murney Tower*, 132-33.
6. Allen, *The View from Murney Tower*, 425.
7. Allen, *The View from Murney Tower*, xxii.
8. H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Kingdom of God in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1937), 193.
9. Allen, *The View from Murney Tower*, 194.
10. Allen, *The View from Murney Tower*, 6.

The “Long Knives,” the “Sons Of Nature,” and “Our Province”: Rev. John Strachan’s Views on the Indigenous People and the Motives for the American Invasion of Upper Canada, 1812-1814

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Rev. John Strachan arrived at York in the same week that America declared war on Great Britain.¹ Such a dramatic beginning to his ministry seemed to foreshadow that both Strachan and the muddy, isolated, under-populated village of York were destined to catapult each other to new levels of fame and prestige.² Strachan was a prolific writer during what came to be known as the War of 1812 and he mailed out sermons, letters, societal commentaries, reports on the war and ideas about strategy to insure that his opinion was well-known and widely-read throughout the land, especially after the American capture of York. He was nothing if not forthcoming with his opinions and critiques of various characters and events that occurred during the conflict with America. Although he spoke on a variety of topics, this paper will focus on his views of the native/indigenous peoples and explore why he believed that Upper Canadians should embrace these “sons of nature”³ as brothers.

I. The Native Issue

On 18 June 1812, American President James Madison declared war on Great Britain. Along with comments regarding Britain’s treatment of American sailors and maritime rights, Madison concluded his arguments

for the necessity of war against Britain with the following statement:

In reviewing the conduct of Great Britain toward the United States our attention is necessarily drawn to the warfare just renewed by the savages on one of our extensive frontiers . . . It is difficult to account for the activity and combinations which have for some time been developing themselves among tribes in constant intercourse with British traders and garrisons without connecting their hostility with that influence and without recollecting the authenticated examples of such interpositions heretofore furnished by the officers and agents of that Government.⁴

For the Americans, the use of indigenous peoples to do the dirty work of destabilizing the west was British skullduggery. Sophisticated weapons found in Prophet's Town after the Battle of Tippecanoe⁵ gave the Americans the evidence they needed to invade Canada while simultaneously being able to plead that the invasion was a defensive action taken against a hostile and threatening force.⁶

After taking the town of Sandwich in July of 1812, Brigadier General Hull's battle proclamation made the following statement about British citizens fighting with the native people:

If the barbarous and Savage policy of Great Britain be pursued, and the savages are let loose to murder our Citizens and butcher our women and children, this war, will be a war of extermination. The first stroke with the Tomahawk the first attempt with the Scalping Knife will be the Signal for an indiscriminate scene of desolation, *No White man found fighting by the Side of an Indian will be taken prisoner* Instant destruction will be his Lot.⁷

The fear of a British-Native alliance is evident in this quote and the American Northwest Army quickly tried to drive a wedge between the two factions by stating that no mercy would be extended to those who fought alongside the natives against the Americans. That kind of fear and contempt displayed towards the natives was an issue that Strachan raised in his critiques of the American policies regarding the Indians and will be dealt with in greater detail in a subsequent section of the paper.

If the Indian issue was one of the prominent motives for America to declare war, the Battle of Tippecanoe proved to be a deciding factor for the natives as well.⁸ The famous native warrior, Tecumseh, had been

attempting to join the western tribes together to form an Indian Republic, but to little avail. However, his idea gained new impetus in the wake of the skirmish at Tippecanoe. Allan Eckert's sweeping epic about Tecumseh, *A Sorrow in our Heart*, speaks of the distinguished and greatly-admired native's pleasure when the Americans turned their attention to Upper Canada. Tecumseh's followers in the Ohio Valley, alongside Great Britain, could finally engage in a battle that he had seen coming and had been preparing to fight. Eckert writes, "[Tecumseh] immediately stated that he and his followers were allies to the British . . . In preparation for this eventuality of war . . . for several weeks prior to this time Tecumseh had been sending, from Tippecanoe, small parties of twenty to forty warriors toward the Detroit area."⁹ The Americans believed that the Indians were too scattered and frightened to pose any serious threat. However, with British support the Indians were a deadly force that could potentially overrun the western front of the American force.

Sadly, the sources left that allow anyone access to the mindset of the native people of this time are few and those that do remain are written by white men interpreting – and filtering – the words of the people. What is apparent is that these “sons of nature” were used and exploited on both sides of the conflict; their land was coveted by the Americans, and their anger and indignation was channeled by the British for their own purposes. General Hull understood that the natives needed the British as much as the British needed the natives. In a letter to the American Secretary of War, Hull wrote: “The British cannot hold Upper Canada without the assistance of the Indians . . . The Indians cannot conduct a war without the assistance of a civilized nation.”¹⁰ After the natives proved incredibly useful in several key battles, including taking Detroit from Hull, the people of Upper Canada were overjoyed. However, it appears that some people were complaining that using the natives in battle was unethical due to their viciousness in combat. Therefore, men of influence and moral standing were called upon to weigh in on the matter; Rev. John Strachan was just such a man.¹¹

II. A Defensible War is a Just War

The fact that America attacked during the Napoleonic Wars was equated with joining the French side and, for that, Strachan considered America a traitor to global peace. In a sermon given shortly after the death of Isaac Brock, the minister seemed saddened by America's actions

because he had hoped they would align themselves more with England instead of strengthening Napoleon's France. He said:

The only nation from which she might have hoped for kindness, sympathy and gratitude; a nation descending from herself, pretending to greater freedom and still connected by all the charities of private life; instead of encouraging her efforts in maintaining the liberty and happiness of the world, deserted the cause of humanity and joined the tyrant.¹²

However, as the war continued, Strachan became more displeased with the Americans. In 1813, Strachan preached to his congregation at St. James:

our neighbours blinded with ambition; and arrogant, from the great wealth and extensive trade which they had acquired by the miseries of Europe; and tempted by views of immediate aggrandizement, became traitors to the peace and happiness of mankind; and anticipating the downfall of the last citadel of liberty, hastened to seize upon a part of her territories. They have been sadly disappointed, and are about to meet with the punishment which their baseness deserves. The same victories which have prostrated the Tyrant of Europe [Napoleon], will prostrate *his Satellites in America*.¹³

The American declaration of war against Great Britain was seen as nothing less than acting as Napoleon's army across the Atlantic and Strachan reveled in the idea that America would soon follow their French tyrant into defeat.

This was not simply a question of Strachan's loyalty to the English Crown, but of his belief that the success of the Empire was directly linked to the peace of the world. Without Britain, the tyrant Napoleon would sweep the planet and remove all freedoms. In a sermon from 1804 Strachan told his parishioners of the need to fight someone such as Napoleon:

The ruin they [France] have brought upon others is great beyond conception but it would be little to what they would inflict upon us. Never did we stand up in a more glorious cause . . . now we combat not only for our existence as a nation but for religion and liberty . . . if we are victorious in the contest the chains of Europe will be broken and peace and happiness again shine upon its dejected inhabitants.¹⁴

Strachan despised the American avarice, irresponsible government and lack of social manners that led to chaos and upheaval and threatened the stability of God's chosen instrument of civilization: the British Empire.¹⁵ The *Pax Britannia* was the tool God was using to spread his message around the globe. Therefore, any attack on England was an attack on the Kingdom of God on earth and there could be no expense, or strategy, spared to defend the Province's role within that greater kingdom. To Strachan, the war with the Americans was justifiable because it was a war forced upon them. The people of Upper Canada were simply defending their section of the Empire. Strachan, in a letter dated August of 1812, made the following comment: "All defensive wars are just. We were at peace and war has been declared against us; we have been invaded and attacked, we are consequently acting on the defensive, that is, we are repelling injury."¹⁶ As long as the soldiers fought as Christians they had no cause to fear judgment from the Almighty. He eased any concerns through scripture:

The very precept, "Love Your Enemies," presupposes the existence of enemies, and consequently of wars . . . How can you love those whose destruction you desire, and against whom you are fighting? To this the Christian may answer, that he seeks not the destruction of his enemy, but his return to justice and humanity. The end proposed by all wars is peace; and as soon as this can be obtained on equitable terms by the friend of the Gospel, he wars no longer.¹⁷

For Rev. John Strachan, once the nation's hand had been forced to war, it was the duty of each person within Upper Canada who was loyal to the crown of England, and who saw the cowardice and vice within the United States to stand up and fight to support England. To that end he wrote:

Our wise and brave ancestors had judgment to perceive and courage enough to vindicate the national rights of man; at the same time they generously submitted to the reasonable and high prerogative of supreme executive power . . . They have succeeded in establishing a Constitution of Government, the wonder and envy of surrounding nations; they have shewn the world that British subjects are free men in the best sense of the word and that rational liberty is no way incompatible with prompt obedience to legitimate authority . . . we in this remote Province are blessed with an exact epitome of its

government, as far as suits our infant state; and enjoy the invaluable privilege [sic] of its mild and equitable laws; which secure to us and our posterity all the civil and religious rights and free born British subjects.¹⁸

His call to arms was both designed to shame America and instill in the Upper Canadians a sense of pride in their connection to England. He preached:

[America has] threatened with unblushing arrogance to subdue this fine colony; to separate us from that heroic nation which enjoys the gratitude of the world. They mocked our attachment to the best of kings; and tho' born to the most exalted freedom and independence, they reproached us with being slaves.¹⁹

The Americans threatened the nation that set people free and dared to call themselves liberators. To Strachan, nothing could be further from the truth.

III. The Use of Natives in War

Strachan realized that in order to defeat the Americans, the British army in Upper Canada needed all the help it could get. He took issue with those who accused Britain of dirty tactics because they used native warriors to bolster their military presence in Upper Canada. He knew that the Americans were just as eager to employ natives in the war as the British were. In a letter to Wilberforce defending the use of Indians in battles, Strachan considered this American hypocrisy, "These tribes [within our borders] have been solicited & offered bribes by the Americans to desert from us."²⁰ The only reason the Americans were complaining was because their efforts to win the natives over to their side were proving less fruitful than they had hoped. For this, Strachan argued, they had to look only to their policies to understand the Indians' hesitation, "the Indians have experienced [American] deceptions too often to trust them except in cases of necessity."²¹ He charged the Americans with being both deceitful and unabashedly destructive towards these people and he never seemed to waver in his convictions that the Indians were a powerful ally that had been treated with great disrespect by those who were now trying to buy their loyalty with more false promises.

The reverend frequently pleaded the cause of the natives and lauded the British government for treating them much better than the Americans.

Despite the prevailing attitudes of the day, Strachan adamantly opposed the practice of ranking races to determine which were of more value because he believed this could lead to un-Christian behaviour. His contempt for such a practice can be seen in the following excerpt, written by Strachan, in the January of 1811 issue of the *Kingston Gazette*:

The moment that we begin to suppose that mankind are [sic] composed of distinct species, that moment our most noble and sublime conception of the human race is extinguished. We no longer discover in every individual, whatever be his color or his language, a child of Adam; a brother, a person of the same feelings and of the same natural powers with ourselves, though differently modified by peculiar circumstances and habits, that grand and affecting idea which represents mankind as one family, one blood branching from one primitive stem, is lost . . . As Christians then we must recognize the copper-colored Indian and the sable Negro . . . for our brethren.²²

At the beginning of the war Strachan became even more verbal in his praise of the native people. He frequently encouraged the use of natives in the war and instructed leaders to treat them with respect and allow them to maintain their heritage and way of life. He championed their character and was noticeably incensed by their perceived mistreatment at the hands of the Americans. He believed that it was a Christian's duty to offer grace and he believed that while the Americans boasted of civilizing the natives they were, in fact, attempting to wipe them out.²³ In defence of the rumoured native excesses in battle, Strachan simply replied: "When you hear of the cruelty of the Savages, think of the still greater cruelty of the Cabinet at Washington."²⁴ Given the level of contempt afforded the native people by most Europeans at this time, Strachan's comments were quite progressive and very much in the minority.

IV. Respect for Native Character

Strachan was deeply impressed by the native people and readily identified some of their characteristics which he greatly admired. Strachan appears to have respected them as warriors and supported the decision of Brock to use them in battle. To this effect he wrote:

We are told some wise acres find fault with General Brock for employing the Indians, but if he had not done so, he & all his men

must have perished – besides if we do not employ these people they will employ themselves – they have been at war with the United States for some years & by attending us, many of their excesses have been restrained.²⁵

This quote shows Strachan's awareness that the Indians had problems with America long before the War of 1812. To him, the treatment of the natives at the hands of the United States government was just another example of the inferiority of their system.

However, it appears that Strachan was also impressed by the natives' bravery and care for their fellow warriors. He agreed with the Indian belief that a victory won at the cost of numerous lives was no victory at all. That was a trait that Strachan was especially fond of within certain ranks of the British army as well. In perhaps one of his most profound compliments, John Strachan compared the honour of the native chiefs with those of his own beloved English military. He wrote: "Among [the natives] military merit consists in beating the enemy with little loss. In fine, an Office of Riflemen & an Indian Chief are praised for the same kind of conduct: to repulse the enemy with a severe loss on their own part is disgraceful not meritorious."²⁶ The conduct displayed by the natives on the battlefield was commented on by Strachan, especially in light of the growing contempt he possessed for the vacillating leadership of General Prevost.

Strachan saw the natives as the key to victory against the Americans. Early on, Brock had used them well and they had proven to be beneficial to the cause, if somewhat unreliable. However, according to Strachan, Colonel Bishoppe understood how to best utilize the native skills of war. It was not prudent for the British people to attempt to force the natives to fight as the British fought, that would be a poor use of their skills. Instead, Strachan argued, allow them to fight as they would normally but channel their skills to a common goal. In "Life of Col. Bishoppe" Strachan insisted,

[Natives] are a fierce and independent people, incapable of submitting to controul [sic]: they are easily led but will never be driven. He, that desires to profit by their services, will study their inclinations, and by seasonable encouragement & heading them in their expeditions with a few whites, he will render them most efficient on the wings of his army. They are at all times terrible to the enemy and beyond measure after a defeat. Col: Bishoppe knew well how to turn these sons of nature to the best advantage: not by changing their mode of fighting,

or assuming authority over them; but by reaping benefit from their incessant activity.²⁷

If the leadership would allow the natives to maintain their way of life and military traits, the British would find themselves with a most grateful, and skillful, military ally.

V. America's Treatment of Natives Inexcusable

John Strachan never minced words when he discussed his opinion of the American people and their treatment of the natives. He had no respect for their new system of government – which he thought was too similar to the French – and he saw the American government's treatment of the native people as just one more example of the moral failure of democracy.²⁸ In a letter to the famed abolitionist William Wilberforce, Strachan remarked: “The American Government neither attend to the feelings or rights of the poor Indians but as they are independent they have a right to the privileges of independent nations.”²⁹ The American failure to treat the Indians with respect opened up an opportunity for the British to capitalize on the good rapport they had built to win them over to their side of the conflict.³⁰ Naturally, such strategies present in the early days of the war lent support to the American charge that the British were secretly supplying the natives with weapons and inciting them to war in the Ohio Valley.³¹ Strachan saw these charges as nothing more than false accusations dreamt up by the American leaders to deflect from the truth that they alone were responsible for the natives' displeasure. In the letter to Wilberforce John Strachan listed eight reasons why the native people were upset with the Americans; six of the eight dealt with issues related to land. He wrote:

The Indians . . . have been at war with the United States for several years, not at the instigation of the British as the American government have falsely reported, but for the following reasons which they publicly assign. 1. Because the Americans drive them from their hunting grounds. 2. Because the American government make fraudulent purchases of their lands from Indians who have no power to sell – one or two insignificant members of a village for example.³²

Strachan was not sympathetic to the Americans' complaints and frequently wrote about their abuse of the native people to show that the Indians

needed no push from Britain to engage in war with the people who had stolen their land away.

VI. The Real Reason for the War

Early in the war John Strachan agreed with the military assessment that the Americans wanted Canadian land and that they were determined to take Upper and Lower Canada for their own. However, by November of 1812, Strachan believed that a far more sinister plan was in motion. He suggests this in a letter written to the Marquis Wellesley:

It will perhaps surprise your Lordship but it is nevertheless true, that the Great object of the United States at present is to take Upper Canada in preference to Lower Canada. This Province is of much greater importance to them. Possessed of Upper Canada the Indians are entirely at their mercy for not being able to procure supplies they must submit I know that it is commonly said that so long as we keep possession of Quebec Upper Canada is of no use to the United States but this is a great mistake.³³

To Strachan, the issue was not about British territory at all, it was about the natives.

One of the more controversial positions espoused by Strachan was that the motives cited by the American government for the war were, “popular baits,”³⁴ designed to hide the true reasons away from the British people. The Reverend condemned Prevost for, what Strachan defined as, timidity and an unwillingness to act aggressively towards the Americans. Although Prevost’s plan to hold Lower Canada so that America could not advance made sense strategically, Strachan argued that the American goal had always been Upper Canada and to guard only the Lower Province played directly into their hands. Strachan offered his reasons for disagreeing with Prevost in a letter to James McGill:

General Prevost has not certainly so high an opinion of the value of this Province as our Enemies – he thinks perhaps that they cannot keep it as long as he remains in possession of Quebec . . . But our enemies do not covet the Lower Province because they would be forced to give it up to the French who are ready to demand it. And even should Great Britain refuse to make any peace till this country was restored, still a couple of years possession would answer the

policy of our enemies – in that time they would alienate from us all the Indians & reduce them to a state of subjection, and they would oppress & destroy all the Loyalists.³⁵

For Strachan, the Indian issue was more than just a matter of some importance in the war; it was the entire reason for the war!

In that same letter to James McGill, John Strachan argued that as long as the Indian tribes of the Ohio Valley remained strong the Americans could not expand to the west. Because the western frontier was so massive, it would be impossible to hunt down all the natives and kill them. However, with the natives contained in a smaller space, like Upper Canada, the Americans had an opportunity to wipe them out and, in so doing, open the west up to their people. Consider Strachan's assessment:

Nor can it be concealed that the importance of [Upper Canada to the United States] is incalculable – the possession of it would give them the complete command of the Indians who must either submit or starve within two years and thus leave all the Western frontier clear & unmolested. The Americans are systematically employed in exterminating the Savages, but they can never succeed while we keep possession of this country. This my Dear Sir is *the true cause of this war*, & so long as there is any prospect of conquering us the war will continue.³⁶

Thus, Strachan's compassion for the natives, his disdain for the Americans, and his anger at the timidity of leaders like Prevost each found their significance in the fact that he believed this war was not about the political reasons cited by Madison in June of 1812. Instead, the greedy Americans were staging a war to eradicate a threat to their nation's expansion. Therefore, for Strachan, the War of 1812 was about stopping the systematic extermination of people that, he believed, were allies of the British Empire and, more importantly, fellow children of God.³⁷

Strachan's theory appears to be somewhat of a stretch, and one he did not repeat after 1812. It would be easy to dismiss Strachan because of the apparent unpopularity of this position even within his own later writings. However, it must be remembered that his desire to defend both the native people and Upper Canada formed the backdrop for many of his writings and teachings regarding the war. His belief in the just position of Upper Canada and the divine nature of the British Empire balanced the concern of the reputed native excesses in combat. In other words: Britain's

right made the Native might permissible. Strachan's letters and sermons are a wealth of information regarding this formative period in Canadian and American history and to dismiss the man's beliefs because they were not oft-repeated impoverishes any study of this period in time.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this paper has shown that the reason behind Rev. John Strachan's opinion of the native people was both theological and political, both compassionate and strategic. As the invasion of America into Upper Canada grew, John Strachan understood that the province, so far removed from its benefactor, was in real danger of being co-opted into the United States. The anger and distrust that the natives felt towards the United States coupled with their skills at war could be used to strengthen the British position. However, Strachan's words regarding the Indians were also filled with compassion and care for a people group that had been so obviously abused and exploited. This government that he believed was morally inferior to England in every way proved its moral laxity in its treatment of the natives. He did not entertain any notion of peace with America and, once war was declared, counseled active military action against them. He wrote about his admiration for the character of the native people, he advocated that they be allowed to live as they saw fit and he was proud that they chose Britain as their ally because of the respect they were shown by the crown; an attribute he credited to the Christian nature of the British Empire.

John Strachan's writings regarding the Indians were not abundant but they were repeated to several different people at high levels at several different times. He defended the use of the natives in military operations because it helped the British cause and gave the natives a chance to win back some of their decimated honour. He comforted those who thought that a civilized nation like Britain should not stoop to using "uncivilized savages" by reminding the critics that British influence could help moderate unnecessary excesses. It would be too much to say that John Strachan's opinions of the natives in 1812 defined his views regarding the war but this paper has tried to show that, for a while at least, the Indian issue was an issue that Rev. John Strachan saw as central to the survival of Upper Canada and extolled it as such.

Endnotes

1. The United States of America officially declared a state of war between itself and Great Britain in the afternoon on 18 June 1812.
2. Noted Strachan biographer, J.L.H. Henderson, makes the following comment: “John Strachan arrived in York at the same time that war came again to British North America. That war was to bring the missionary and schoolmaster to a prominence he had not known before” (*Canadian Biographical Studies: John Strachan 1778-1867* [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969], 16).
3. This term was used by Strachan of the natives and will be used in a subsequent section of the paper. The term “long knives” was a designation that several of the native tribes used when talking about Americans.
4. Irving Brant, *James Madison: Commander in Chief, 1812-1836* (Indianapolis, MN: Bobbs-Merrill, 1941), 312.
5. During a visit in 1819 to Upper Canada, James Strachan, brother of John, defended the act of gift-giving by stating that it was a tradition that long predated any struggle with America. He wrote, “The custom of giving presents to the Indians in the neighbourhood of settlements is coeval with the first planting of North America by Europeans; and as many of the settlements of this province are in contact with these fierce children of nature, we seem bound, both by honour and interest, to cultivate a friendly intercourse with them, and, in some measure, to contribute to their support. This is the more reasonable, as the whole country, which is now covered in Europeans and their descendants, was once inhabited by the Indian tribes, who have been dispossessed of it by means not always justifiable; and who are hemmed in, particularly in Upper Canada, by the rapid progress of the whites . . .” (James Strachan, *Visit to the Province of Upper Canada in 1819* [Aberdeen: D. Chalmers Co., 1820], 146).
6. The following is an excerpt from the speech given by Brigadier-General William Hull after the American capture of Sandwich: “Inhabitants of Canada! After thirty years of Peace and prosperity, the United States have been driven to Arms, The injuries and aggressions, the insults and indignities of Great Britain have *once more* left them no alternative but manly resistance . . . I come to *find* enemies not *make* them, I come to *protect* not to *injure* you” (in Carl F. Klinck, *Tecumseh: Fact and Fiction in Early Records* [Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1961], 131).
7. Klinck, *Tecumseh: Fact and Fiction*, 131.

8. Pierre Berton credits this fight with supplying the final provocation that the native tribes needed to join the British force. He writes, “for the Indians, [The Battle of Tippecanoe] will be the final incident that provokes them to follow Tecumseh to Canada, there to fight on the British side in the War of 1812” (*The Invasion of Canada, 1812-1813* [Toronto: Anchor, 1980], 69).
9. Allan W. Eckert, *A Sorrow in Our Heart: The Life of Tecumseh* (Toronto: Bantam Books, 1992), 570.
10. William Hull, “Letter to the Secretary of War,” quoted in Klinck, *Tecumseh*, 121.
11. Thomas Robertson, in *The Fighting Bishop*, writes “Strachan emerged from the conflict like a triumphant and snorting war-horse reinvigorated by the fumes of gunpowder. At the end of the war, on the nomination of the lieutenant-governor [Francis Gore], he was appointed to the executive council. He had arrived” (*The Fighting Bishop: John Strachan – The First Bishop of Toronto and Other Essays in His Times* [Ottawa, ON: Graphic Publishers, 1926], 29). Strachan wrote military leaders to give his insights regarding the war and was sure to remind them of his position and offer any service he could to aid them. He wrote to Sir George Prevost to make the following offer: “I beg leave to add that I am ready to exert myself in any way consistent with my Clerical character to contribute towards the defence & security of the Provinces” (John Strachan, “Letter to Sir George Prevost, October 1812,” in *The John Strachan Letter Book, 1812-1834*, ed. George W. Spragge [Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1946], 13). Strachan’s days of teaching in Cornwall also added to his power. When he sent a letter to the influential John Richardson explaining the events that had taken place at York, he was sure to explain that the man delivering the letter was of certain importance both to Strachan and the Province. He wrote, “This [letter] will be presented to you by my adopted son Mr. John Robinson our temporary Attorney General.” To this end it must also be noted that Strachan was responsible for the education of a young man by the name of John Ridout who was the son of the Surveyor General of Upper Canada, a man of “great Respectability” (Strachan. Letter 25 June 1813, in Spragge, *Letter Book*, 40). This is not to impugn the man’s integrity or to imply that he only taught children of prominent citizens. There is no evidence that this is the case, but it is another example of Strachan’s ability to become entrenched in the spheres of influence that existed at the time. He even maneuvered himself into becoming a liaison on military matters. After recommending Lieutenant Colonel Neil McLean of Cornwall and Joseph Anderson to Colonel Nathaniel Coffin, the bishop made the following plea: “may I request to communicate to me the conditions of that approbation and the number of men required to enable them to retain their respective rank, that I may give them early notice for a little time is of the greatest consequence to

- them in procuring volunteers” (John Strachan, “Letter to Col. Coffin,” 19 March 1813, in Spragge, *Letter Book*, 17).
12. John Strachan, “Sermon from 3 June 1814,” in Norma MacRae, *The Religious Foundation of John Strachan’s Social and Political Thought as Contained in his Sermons, 1803-1866* (M.A. Thesis, McMaster University, 1978), 92.
 13. John Strachan. *A Sermon Preached at York, Upper Canada, On the Third of June, Being the Day Appointed for a General Thanksgiving* (Montreal: William Gray, 1814), 33. Italics added for emphasis.
 14. John Strachan, “Sermon from 17 March 1804,” in MacRae, *Religious Foundation*, 91.
 15. While Strachan seems to have written as if the Americans were of one mind on the issue of the war; scholarship on the topic shows that this was not so. The United States became divided over this issue and many people were adamantly opposed to fighting at all. New England avoided fighting altogether and even continued to trade with New Brunswick. For a fascinating look at this dynamic see John Boileau, *Half-Hearted Enemies: Nova Scotia, New England and the War of 1812* (Halifax, NS: Formac Publishing Company, 2005). Of particular interest to the topic at hand is the work done on the days of prayer called by American Churches in the summer of 1812. The Massachusetts day of prayer was political and accusatory to the motives and dangers Americans faced as they waged this war. The prayers of that day, “pleaded for protection from an alliance with infidel France, *asked justice for the persecuted Indians*, and begged pardon for the country’s many sins” (William Gribbin, *The Churches Militant: The War of 1812 and American Religion* [New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 1973], 20) (italics added). The American people were divided and many in the spiritual community would have found Strachan’s accusations correct even if they could not side with him officially.
 16. John Strachan, “Letter from 2 August 1812,” in *Memoir of the Right Reverend John Strachan*, ed. A.N. Bethune (Toronto: Henry Rowsell, 1870), 42.
 17. Strachan, “Letter from 2 August 1812,” in *Memoir of the Right Reverend John Strachan*, 42.
 18. John Strachan, “A Sermon on Ecclesiasticus 4:3,” in MacRae, *Religious Foundation*, 85. Her note that follows this sermon states that it is not dated, but she believes that it was written shortly after the death of Isaac Brock in August 1812.

19. John Strachan. *A Sermon Preached at York, Upper Canada, On the Third of June, Being the Day Appointed for a General Thanksgiving* (Montreal: William Gray, 1814), 37.
20. John Strachan, "Letter to Mr. Wilberforce," 1 November 1812, in Spragge, *Letter Book*, 21.
21. Strachan, "Letter to Mr. Wilberforce," 1 November 1812, in Spragge, *Letter Book*, 21.
22. John Strachan, "The Reckoner," *Kingston Gazette*, 22 January 1811, 1. For discussion on this quote and others like it see J.L.H. Henderson, ed., *John Strachan: Documents and Opinions* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1969), 28.
23. Strachan's attitude is evident in his comment to Wilberforce, "and the farce of their civilizing them is the Cant of Mr. Jefferson to gain applause from foreign nations" (Strachan, "Letter to Mr. Wilberforce," 1 November 1812, in Spragge, *Letter Book*, 23).
24. Strachan, "Letter to Mr. Wilberforce," 1 November 1812, in Spragge, *Letter Book*, 22.
25. John Strachan, "Letter to John Richardson," 30 September 1812, in Spragge, *Letter Book*, 17.
26. John Strachan, "Life of Col Bishoppe," December 1813, in Spragge, *Letter Book*, 6.
27. Strachan, "Life of Col Bishoppe," December 1813, in Spragge, *Letter Book*, 6-7.
28. This is evidenced by the following comment: "Of the two experiments made in America and France to constitute governments productive of virtue and happiness only, both have completely failed (John Strachan, *A Sermon Preached . . . General Thanksgiving*, 29).
29. Strachan, "Letter to Mr. Wilberforce," 1 November 1812, in Spragge, *Letter Book*, 22.
30. Strachan's views were also extolled when, in 1819, his brother, James Strachan, visited Upper Canada to see the land that had so captivated his sibling. Despite the completion of the war nearly half a decade earlier he still wrote about the American mistreatment of the natives and juxtaposed it with the British. He penned the following sentiments that echo the words of his brother from the war times: "The treatment bestowed upon the Indians by the British has been at all times humane, and the greatest deference has been paid

to their manners and customs . . . the United States say in their own praise as to their kind treatment of the Indians, and to give the British government no credit for any thing they have done; but were the matter truly stated, it would be found that the Indians, within the bounds of these States, had been most cruelly – the very agents of government have cheated them out of the nominal prices given for their lands . . . the policy of that government, instead of civilizing, is to exterminate the natives; and it has not hesitated, on many occasions, to massacre whole villages. On the contrary, the British government treat them at all times like children, and observe most religiously every stipulation entered into with them” (James Strachan, *Visit to Upper Canada*, 134).

31. Certain members of the British military were also adamant in their desire to see the natives’ cause honoured. The following quote was found in a letter belonging to Robert Dickinson: “I think that I have now attained the object I had always in view, that of uniting all the Indian nations . . . [please help me in] fulfilling the solemn pledges that have been made to the Indians” (Letter from Lieut. Duncan Graham as found in letter from Robert Dickinson to William McGillivray, 29 July 1814, Provincial Archives of Ontario, Toronto).
32. Strachan, “Letter to Mr. Wilberforce,” 1 November 1812, in Spragge, *Letter Book*, 22.
33. John Strachan, “Letter to The Marquis Wellesley,” 1 November 1812, in Spragge, *Letter Book*, 30.
34. “My leading ideas are that the conquest of the Canadas, particularly Upper Canada, is with the enemy the true cause of the war, in order to dissolve our connection with the Indians; that the other causes alleged are mere popular baits; that the forbearance persisted in by us in these provinces, and especially on the sea-coast has been and continues to be most pernicious . . .” (Strachan, *John Strachan: Documents and Opinions*, 45).
35. John Strachan, “Letter to James McGill,” November 1812, in Spragge, *Letter Book*, 26.
36. Strachan, “Letter to James McGill,” November 1812, in Spragge, *Letter Book*, 25.
37. It is impossible to simplify the causes of something as complex as a war into one, or even several, motives. However, John Strachan’s opinion of the American desire to eradicate the Indians was not heavily supported in the writing of the time nor in the academic community. Historian Louis Hacker does agree that the Americans were less than forthcoming with their true reasons for attacking Upper Canada. However, he thought that it was Canadian, and not western, land that whetted the American appetite (Louis M.

Hacker, "The Desire for Canadian Land," in *The Causes of the War of 1812: National Honor or National Interest?* ed. Bradford Perkins [New York: Holt, Reinhart, Winston, 1962], 50). Hacker makes the argument that the American west was not desirable land at this time because the settlers lacked the technology to make the vast prairie-land viable. Therefore, while expansion may have been their goal, the direction they desired to go was north and not west.

Julius Pratt argues against Hacker based on the latter's inability to provide sufficient evidence to prove his assertions. Pratt argues that since many Americans made no bones about using the war to rid the fur trade of British traders, it is unlikely they would conceal their desire for land as if it were more sinister. He writes, "Was it more wicked, and hence more to be concealed, to covet Canadian lands than to covet the profits from Canadian furs? Yet the fur trade again and again creeps into war speeches and war articles"(Reginald Horsman, "The Conquest of Canada a Tactical Objective," in *The Causes of the War of 1812*, 55). Pratt argues that it was the fear of Indians and the even deeper anger that the British were spurring them on that is easier to prove through primary sources and logical reasoning.

Protestant Advocacy for Political Virtue in Pre-Confederation Canada

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During the years following the Rebellion of 1837 waves of sentiments were expressed within and beyond the Canadian church regarding the political virtue of the country. Uneasiness in the leadership of Canadian politicians, fears regarding world conflicts, and concerns over Parliamentary reforms sent the Protestant community into a flurry of activity. Many within Protestant churches held firm that if countries were to avoid conflict and nations were to reach a state of healthy prosperity, the foundational principles for governance must be built on Scriptural principles. Protestant religious bodies and societies wished to voice these opinions regarding the need for a virtuous state of governance and newspapers provided the easiest and quickest opportunity to target a large number of Canadians. Many newspaper articles written on the political state of the world and the Canadas gave readers opportunities to explore political and patriotic ideologies from the perspective of the church. The newspaper became an important vehicle in which the Protestant community sought to engage readers and writers in serious debate related to politically virtuous authority, accountability and process.

From the outset of this exploration into political advocacy by the church, it must be noted that although many within Protestant denominations felt a strong call to intervene in the politics of the nation, especially when the health of the nation was perceived to be at risk, some church clergy, church members, politicians and community members did not agree that this was the principal role of their faith. Debates regarding the

place of the church in the political arena can be found within the nineteenth-century press. For example, in the *Wesleyan Repository* an argument for church intervention claimed that it was right to become politically active as it was interpreted that political authorities were beginning to neglect an integration of past religious responsibility and duties in favour of a belief that the country could be run on purely secular practices. The newspaper urged politicians and the church to acknowledge that both had a religious duty and responsibility to conduct their practices in manners that would guarantee the “well-being and happiness of man in time and eternity.”¹ Those Protestants that decided to embark on a process of political reform through the press used a number of methods of emphasizing their beliefs including arguments from Scripture, the inclusion of Canadian examples, and the quoting of influential international authorities on aspects of governance, patriotism, and individual conduct.

A nineteenth-century newspaper definition of political virtue serves as a beginning point from which to embark on this study. Following the turbulence of the Rebellions, in 1839 in Niagara, Upper Canada, the *Canadian Christian Examiner* published an essay entitled “Some Reflections on Public Affairs.” Critical to this essay was the notion that the study of the government could not be attempted without first acknowledging that “the Supreme ruler, not only holds each individual responsible for his own acts, and deals with him accordingly as a moral being, but that he also regards men collectively, as they are grouped together, by his own ordinance, into families, societies and nations, and deals with them thus grouped, as if they constituted one responsible body.” The writer went on to emphasize that it was this very notion of the “law of moral retribution” in the context of the “attachment to ones [sic] native land” which emphasized the need for “political virtue” stating that “it is impossible for any man to separate himself from these connections, or fail in the duties resulting from them, without incurring quilt, and endangering, not merely his own, but the public well-being.”²

In attempting to understand this notion of “political virtue,” a number of Upper Canadian newspapers were analyzed to determine the key elements that were being expounded on the topic of political virtue from the perspective of Protestant churches. After a review of these newspaper articles, it could be concluded that four elements of political virtue could be identified. First, the election of virtuous representatives was mandated. Second, the church instructed that the nation must fear

God. Third, the nation must be faithful in maintaining various forms of sound Scriptural instruction. Finally, a conviction of endurance and perseverance in the form of virtuous conduct by the constituent was highlighted as a necessity, especially in times of political unrest. Before examining each of these four aspects of political virtue, the use of the press by Protestants will be explored.

The Protestant community's expertise in nineteenth-century spiritual revival naturally seemed to echo in the manner in which the church advocated for a revival of political virtue. This concept can be illustrated through an analysis of Canadian Methodist revivals in Upper Canada. Methodists used the distribution of printed religious tracts, delivery of inspiring words at camp meetings, and the publication of inspiring books and newspaper articles to move isolated settlers toward a relationship with God and the church. After mastering the art of religious revival, some of these same Methodist circuit riders ventured to apply these same skills in expanding their call to service within the government.

One such example can be found in the life's work of Dr. Egerton Ryerson who used his circuit rider revival expertise to set the direction and lead the Department of Education for Upper Canada. Ryerson began his political journey during the protests in 1836 through 1838 regarding the implementation of fifty-seven rectories that were established with the help of Anglican Archdeacon John Strachan.³ Egerton Ryerson, through the *Guardian* and the Upper Canadian Baptists through the *Register* urged their members to take action. Action was taken in September 1838 when a Montreal rally passed seven resolutions. Rally attendees resolved to: reject the establishment of a state church; pursue independence from England if a state church was implemented; appeal to the public for support; demand the use of the proceeds of the sale of the Clergy reserves to be used for the universal good, suggesting that these funds be used for education; and to resist through legal means the establishment of rectories. This action may have been a contributing factor which led Lord Durham to consider that the questions regarding ecclesiastical conflicts might best be solved through responsible government. When Upper and Lower Canada united in 1841, the first Common School Act for the United Provinces of Canada sparked intense public outcry. The public petitioned parliament on a number of issues including separate schools and Bibles in the classrooms. In 1843, a second Common School Act was passed that included the first provision for the Office of Chief Superintendent of Schools. In 1844 this office was filled by Ryerson.

Public objection to different aspects of education law, teacher education, teacher conduct and student conduct can be found throughout the Education Department correspondence and newspapers of the nineteenth century. Ryerson decided to use local superintendents to deliver inspiring public lectures on diverse topics including political virtue which mirrored the camp meetings of which he was so familiar. He created education circulars that could be compared to religious tracts and, most importantly for this discussion, just as he had begun his political career, Ryerson used print to influence political change. Ryerson created his own mass printed journal to explore varied topics in education and nineteenth-century life and he also contributed regularly within the Upper Canadian press. Ryerson was one churchman who exemplified using the press to advocate for and achieve political change and virtuous governance.

Ryerson's *Journal of Education* can be used to exemplify the advocacy for political reform established during Ryerson's Department of Education years. Articles covered a wide range of topics including educational law, methods and curriculum, evangelism, childcare and health, parenting, science, libraries, school architecture, corporal punishment, temperance, and citizenship. In 1848 Ryerson's address before the students of Victoria College was printed in two parts in the *Journal of Education*.⁴ The melding of spiritual principles and obligations into the political arena, specifically within the Department of Education, was well articulated. Ryerson urged readers of their obligations to self and country to ensure that all citizens had access to a system of education that provided for both spiritual and intellectual growth. Ryerson exemplified nineteenth-century Protestant advocacy for legislative reform.

Educational legislation was not the only issue touched by Protestant advocacy. For example, the press included Protestant objection to the lack of Sabbath observance, inappropriate treatment of those in need, and unethical conduct within Parliament. In 1852, the postal and canal system legislation was altered to respect the Sabbath after Protestants voiced their opinions in the press and petitions to Parliament.⁵ In 1865, Daguerrian retailers also found themselves the subject of church opposition if they wished to draw their customers into their establishments on the day of rest.⁶ The system of dealing with those incarcerated for insanity or criminal activity was reformed in 1836 to include Christian principles of rehabilitation and humane treatment.⁷ Finally, the legislative process was critiqued when God's name was perceived to have been deceptively used during the commencement of session in 1859.⁸

The four areas in which Upper Canadians were urged to pay most heed included the consideration of the characteristics of those elected, the establishment of political governance founded upon the fear of God, an ongoing support for the establishment of God's Word, and the importance of the responsibilities of the electorate. Analysis of newspaper articles that dealt with each of these four elements did not provide any clear evidence that the principles being expounded were purely Canadian in origin; on the contrary, there is evidence that many of the Protestant writers were either well travelled and or quite familiar with international opinion. For example, Egerton Ryerson was proud of the fact that he formed his educational reform plan of action only after extensive travel, observation, and analysis of education in Canada and other parts of the world. He was very familiar with other writers on the topic of education and governance and was not hesitant to quote at length many different writers on the subject. His personal Protestant views were often expressed, and his dedication to God and his service to Upper Canada was evident in his writings. His life's work in the area of education resulted in educational reforms that are still evident today.

In analyzing newspaper articles written prior to Confederation, the people of Upper Canada were informed by the press of a number of local and global conflicts, hardships, and concerns. The ability of the press to emphasize crisis and fear can be easily gleaned within nineteenth-century newspapers. This emphasis on the ills of the world helped set the stage for political revival and discussion regarding political virtue. For example, a writer for the 1861 *Canadian Independent* eloquently illustrated a political horizon filled with storm, bringing forth fears of impending world war, and noting that political crisis from places as far away as Italy, Austria, Hungary and Poland had a profound impact upon Canadians.⁹ After painting a picture of impending doom, the writer presented the shared duty and sentiments he wished to engrain upon all readers' hearts. He urged all of the citizens to watch, pray, and act in a virtuous manner in order to preserve democracy throughout the world. In much the same manner, other newspaper articles were written to set the environment of anticipation and excitement that provided for the fertile ground from which came calls for social justice, institutional reform, and political virtue.

Analysis of Upper Canadian newspapers showed that the first element and most simply explained centred around the importance of electing virtuous men. An article in the *Christian Guardian* on 13 February 1830 related the story of King Solomon who realized that a man

of authority had no right to be a drunkard because of his responsibility to his followers.¹⁰ The article stated that temperance would enable the man of position with “a quiet, peaceable and sober life, to magnify their office and make it honourable – to be ministers of God for good – to be a terror to evil doers and a praise to them that do well.” The *Wesleyan Repository and Literary Record* in 1861 declared that only politically competent men with strong religious convictions who were able to respect themselves and gain the respect of the people should be entrusted to lead the country.¹¹ This was commonly echoed in other newspapers throughout the Pre-Confederation years.

The need to fear God was a constant theme within the Upper Canadian Protestant press. In 1838 the *Christian Examiner and Presbyterian Review* urged that men who conduct themselves wrongfully in the administration of their political duties would be subject to God’s judgment. The writer believed that this fear of God’s wrath would urge politicians to conduct themselves with “moral dignity.”¹²

The third element of political virtue included the notion that the nation be faithful in maintaining various forms of sound Scriptural instruction. This concept was slightly more complex in that it required the committed actions of the individual, family, church and the country’s institutions in order to establish and maintain a strong Scriptural foundation. The *Canadian United Presbyterian Magazine* declared in 1859 that God’s word should be consulted in every political endeavour.¹³ Likewise, the *Canadian Presbyterian* insisted that there was a “necessity for a more rigorous use of the pulpit, the press and the school” in the formation of a politically virtuous nation.¹⁴ An article in the *Niagara Chronicle* in 1853 gives some insight into the public culture in which schools operated.¹⁵ Many people, possibly the majority in Upper Canada, were not sending their children to school or placing any attention toward the system of education in the province. Inhabitants were apathetic and indifferent when it came to education. It was reported that even prominent men and women failed to visit the local school to provide encouragement for the learning that was taking place there. The newspaper urged all citizens to become active and aware of the education that was taking place in the community.

The home was also considered an important institution for the cultivation of political virtue. The *Canadian Christian Examiner and Presbyterian Review* in 1838 argued that Canadian parents had an obligation toward the political health of the Commonwealth and, therefore, needed to provide good instruction and a righteous example to their

children who would fulfill future public duties.¹⁶ An article written in the *Canadian Independent* in 1867 instructed citizens that in order to cultivate the seeds of political virtue needed to build a nation filled with industriousness, frugality, honesty, truth, brotherly kindness, and charity, the church needed to ensure that the nation be built on a faith in Christ.¹⁷

The final element identified within the Upper Canadian Protestant press placed the emphasis on the electorate. Political virtue required the conviction of endurance and perseverance in the form of virtuous conduct by the constituent, especially during times of political unrest. Following the turmoil of the Rebellion, the *Literary Garland* asked readers who withdrew from the political arena because of political violence to remember their duties as citizens.¹⁸ Similarly, *The Wesleyan* urged readers to become involved while maintaining a spirit of peace.¹⁹ The *Journal of Education for Upper Canada* in 1850 noted that political virtue required a politically active virtuous constituent stating that the “virtues and vices of rulers must flourish or wither with those of the people.”²⁰ Likewise, the *Christian Banner* expounded on the necessity for every Christian to never cease to strive for a sincerity and truth within the political arena.²¹ The nation’s constituents were encouraged in 1867 by the *Canadian Independent* to prayerfully call upon the providence of God to grant wisdom to their leaders.²² Both respect and support for the virtuous politician by the people was deemed necessary in the *Canadian United Presbyterian Magazine*.²³ Constituents were discouraged from labelling politicians as self-interested and easily bought for a price, in order to fend off a self-fulfilling prophecy of national disrespect, political disrepute, and, most importantly, the avoidance of public life by those who may have otherwise held political aspirations. And, finally, Protestant Canadians were urged to advocate their religious viewpoints to government without promoting denominational strife. In the words of one writer in *The Presbyterian*, “for when those who profess to believe that the world should be governed according to the will of God can neither agree nor trust one another, what other resource is left than to select those who without any regard to the will of God, will promise to do their best to please all men.”²⁴

The acceptance of responsibility by some within the Protestant church to voice concerns and offer guidance in matters concerning political virtue appears to have been very strong if the examples within the press and petitions to government are considered. It is clear that Protestants used the press to impact the greatest number of people in the quickest and most efficient manner, capturing their readership’s interests with a

revival-like zeal and using revivalist methods in order to achieve change. Within the press, Protestants would emphasize the failings of government and follow up with promises of a healthy and stable nation if only the public and politicians would remember Scriptural guidelines for virtuous governance. Canadians were encouraged to elect officials who exemplified morally sound personal and professional lives, who feared God, and advocate for securing Scriptural foundations within the population through sound education. In addition, the Canadian electorate were warned to establish and maintain a virtuous manner of conduct in all political matters, especially in times of political strife. The role of individual Protestants and religious bodies in contributing to the political process is a study which can only add to our understanding of the decades leading to Confederation.

Endnotes

1. Wesleyan Repository and Literary Record 1 (August 1861): 401-2, CIHM no. 80487811.
2. *The Canadian Christian Examiner and Presbyterian Magazine* 3, no. 1 (January 1839): 1-2, CIHM no. 80499823.
3. Theo. T. Gibson, *Robert Alexander Fyfe* (Burlington, ON: Welch Publishing, 1988), 101-2.
4. *The Journal of Education for Upper Canada* 7 (July 1848): 193-8, CIHM no. 8062421; and *The Journal of Education for Upper Canada* 6 (June 1848): 161-6, CIHM no. 8062421.
5. See Appendix DDDD, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada*, vol. 11 (1852-3): 350-54; CHIM no. 900955118.
6. Oliver Warren, *On the Bible: A Textbook in School* (Montreal: J. Lovell, 1865). This paper was read at the at the Association of Teachers in connection with the McGill Normal School.
7. *Journal of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada* (1836) Appendix no. 71, CIHM no. 90094212.
8. *The Canadian Presbyter* 2, no. 9 (September 1858): 259, CIHM no. 80407721.
9. *The Canadian Independent* 7, no. 11 (May 1861): 330, CIHM: 80494673.
10. *Christian Guardian* (13 February 1830).

11. *Wesleyan Repository and Literary Record* 1 (August 1861): 404, CIHM no. 80487811.
12. *The Canadian Christian Examiner and Presbyterian Review* 2, no. 4 (April 1838): 119, CIHM no. 80499814.
13. *The Canadian United Presbyterian Magazine* 6, no. 9 (1 September 1859): 261-2, CIHM no. 80498069.
14. *The Canadian Presbyterian* 2, no. 1 (January 1858): 11, CIHM no. 80407713.
15. *Niagara Chronicle* (26 August 1853).
16. *The Canadian Christian Examiner and Presbyterian Review* 2, no. 11 (November 1838): 329, CIHM no. 80499821.
17. *The Canadian Independent* 13, no. 9 (March 1867): 357, CIHM no. 804946153.
18. *The Literary Garland* 2, no. 1 (December 1839): 41, CIHM no. 80617813.
19. *The Wesleyan* 1, no. 8 (12 November 1840): 64, CIHM no. 8046449.
20. *Journal of Education for Upper Canada* 3, no. 6 (June 1850): 84, CIHM no. 80624230.
21. *The Christian Banner* 7, no. 2 (February 1853): 51, CIHM no. 80434414.
22. *The Canadian Independent* 13, no. 9 (March 1867): 356, CIHM no. 804946153.
23. *The Canadian United Presbyterian Magazine* 3, no. 12 (1 December 1856): 377, CIHM no. 80498036.
24. *The Presbyterian* 2, no. 12 (December 1849): 83, CIHM no. 80496924.

Establishing a Gendered Authority through Pentecostal Publications: The Writings of Zelma Argue, 1920-1969

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In 1920 when Zelma Argue launched out from Winnipeg on her first adventures as a travelling Pentecostal evangelist accompanying her father on crusades throughout North America, her family and friends presented her with gifts. Among the items she received were a writing set and a portable typewriter. From the time she received these gifts at the age of twenty, to the end of her public ministry more than fifty years later, she put them both to good use, authoring five books and almost two hundred and fifty articles in Canadian and American Pentecostal publications.

This paper analyzes the writings of this Canadian author a female Pentecostal evangelist, musician, pastor and writer who was a prolific contributor to several denominational magazines published in Canada and the United States between 1920 and 1969. To date, I have collected 235 of her articles which appeared in *The Pentecostal Testimony*, *The Pentecostal Evangel* and *The Latter Rain Evangel*.¹ Rather than analyze the theology behind Argue's writing,² I am interested to trace the ways in which she used her writing to establish herself as an authority figure in the Pentecostal movement, both because of her long-time service and her far-flung travels, and in spite of the fact that she was a woman.

Zelma Argue was one of North America's most widely-travelled Pentecostal speakers, particularly during the early years of the movement. At the age of twenty-eight only eight years after she began her itinerant evangelism career, Argue expressed the wealth of experience she and her

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family had accumulated, saying “It would be impossible to recall, or to mention here all the campaigns in which God has graciously allowed us to proclaim in His Name.”³ Not only was she widely travelled, she was widely published. Because of her itinerant circumstances, Argue did most of her writing while in transit, as she told her readers:

Some of these pages have been written in the tropical heat of Florida and Alabama. Some have been written among the mountains of Colorado. East and West, and in the snows of Canada, often speeding on the transcontinental trains, or perhaps waking at midnight hours thousands of miles from home these pages have been written recording these present-day acts of the Holy Ghost.⁴

The sheer volume of her travels and her firsthand involvement with these “acts of the Holy Ghost” meant that over time Zelma Argue’s reputation as an experienced evangelist for the movement grew, and with that reputation, her authority was reinforced among readers of Pentecostal periodicals.

My paper has two purposes. First, I will demonstrate that Argue’s work is an example of what Brian Hogan asserts about religious newspapers, magazines and journals namely that “they provide the factual and interpretive glue that binds and guides the committed into communities.”⁵ In the five decades considered here, Argue’s writing changed over time to reflect both her own experiences and the evolution of North American Pentecostalism. Second, I pay attention to the ways in which Argue represented herself in her writing to analyze how she created and maintained authority for herself even though the place of Pentecostal women in ministry began to wane as the twentieth century unfolded.

Denominational Glue: Binding and Guiding the Movement into Place

When Pentecostal publications were founded in North America, beginning in the first two decades of the twentieth century, they evolved from a system of financing based on free will offerings to subscription based support. By the 1930s, there was a full-fledged advertising campaign underway to attract subscribers to the Canadian magazine, *The Pentecostal Testimony*. In the October 1937 issue, a full-page advertisement appeared, and analyzing the rhetoric of that ad reveals some significant things about Pentecostal publishing in general, and the role of Zelma Argue in particular. To get a sense of that, the ad bears quoting at

length:

Our circle of subscribers is every-growing [sic]. The mail man now delivers personally each month hundreds of individual TESTIMONIES into the homes across the Dominion. This month we again invite YOU to join this family. And in doing so we should like to make it as pleasant a bit of business as possible. So we offer for your one dollar (1) the following: (1) THE TESTIMONY – to be delivered to your door each month for the next seventeen months, anywhere in the world. (2) Your choice of any one of the four premium books shown above. You may have one book for each new subscription or renewal which is forwarded to our office as is indicated at the bottom of the page. Use the coupon below.⁶

Three significant things arise from this ad. First, a business model is clearly in operation here, complete with a persuasive ad campaign, a mail-in coupon, and a book incentive. This is reminiscent of the kind of marketing techniques which Kevin Kee identified in his book *Revivalists: Marketing the Gospel in English Canada, 1884-1957*.⁷

Second, the campaign invoked the rhetoric of joining a “family” of readers, a clear indication that the publishers were consciously trying to create a sense of community. Using Benedict Anderson’s concept of “imagined community,” Robyn Sneath has analyzed the Mennonite publication *Mennonitische Post* arguing that for believers who were widely scattered over vast geographic distances, that paper “brought them together in an imagined community”⁸ as readers were “drawn together by common language and shared ways of speaking and writing.”⁹ Sneath argues that through this publication, Mennonites created a shared “cultural script,” and created “dense networks” among subscribers, for whom “maintenance of that community is contingent upon communication.”¹⁰ As we shall see, Zelma Argue’s writing served a similar purpose for Pentecostals by providing the communication that would draw readers together with a sense of shared community.

Third, and perhaps most significant for this study, is the fact that all four of the books on offer as incentives to subscribe were written by Zelma Argue.¹¹ Clearly, Argue was making significant contributions to the spread of Pentecostalism; not only was she a regular contributor, but her writings were proving so popular that the editors were convinced that the promise of one of her books would encourage more paid subscriptions. The ad proclaimed,

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Miss Argue's books sell themselves. They are a devotional series with readings for everyday in the month. In this way their value never wears out . . . May we again remind you that it is a good time to subscribe now and thus take advantage of receiving one of Miss Argue's books ABSOLUTELY FREE.¹²

Argue's influence was not limited to Canadian publications; in 1920 the first issue of the Canadian magazine, *The Pentecostal Testimony*, there was a brief notice about its American counterpart, *The Pentecostal Evangel*, published by the General Council of the Assemblies of God, in Springfield Missouri. Zelma Argue was a regular contributor to the *The Pentecostal Evangel* as well, indeed with approximately 175 pieces of her writing appearing there between 1920 and 1969,¹³ this American publication with Canadian readership was where 70 per cent of her published articles appeared.

Zelma Argue: Authority in Print

Zelma Argue regularly published over a forty-nine-year period, representing three distinct periods in her life. Born in 1900, she was twenty years old when her first work appeared in print, and by the fall of 1939, she had published eighty four articles. During the war years, sixty more articles appeared; and from 1946 to 1969 the remaining ninety one articles were published.¹⁴

It was not uncommon for women's work to be published in religious periodicals; indeed, in her reflections on the history of women and publishing in Canada, Carole Gerson asserts that "publications emanating from women's religious organizations" were one of the most common forms of women's publications during the twentieth century.¹⁵ Where Argue's writing seems to differ from the usual pattern, however, was in the kinds of writing that she produced because she wrote for the general Pentecostal audience, not only for women or children as was the case for most female authors. Instead, she garnered an audience as a travelling evangelist, and because of her experiences, she came to be regarded as one who had her finger on the very pulse of the Pentecostal movement's development.

Argue was convinced that there was a great role for these Pentecostal publications to play in the expanding movement and creating common bonds. She described the reach of her writing, saying

. . . these publications have been blessed to many. Word has reached us of folks being saved in their homes, when they would not come to the revivals, through reading the gospel literature carried home. Then these too, would come to the services and cause all to rejoice, by telling what great things God had done.¹⁶

Reading led to conversion, conversion led to participation, and participation led to group encouragement or the creation of community.

Establishing Community: Expansion and Extending Influence, 1920-1939

Perhaps the most overt example of Argue using her writing to create a sense of shared community was her work for *The Latter Rain Evangel*, published in Chicago, where she authored a regular column entitled “The Get Acquainted Page” from 1938-39.¹⁷ This column regularly featured people, properties, and events that would interest like-minded Pentecostals by keeping them up to date with news of travelling evangelists, church congregations, and camp meetings.¹⁸ In each case, Argue pointed out her personal connection with the leaders of the ministries in question, thus establishing the central role that she was playing in creating and maintaining the networks and webs of relationships that existed among Pentecostal leaders.

When she featured a church camp in southern Ontario, she was encouraging Americans to attend the family camp there, describing in detail the amenities, accommodations, and driving directions.¹⁹ This promotional role was one that Argue often played, encouraging her readers to visit each other’s sites whenever the opportunity arose, and thus participate in Pentecostal experiences together, reinforcing the ties between them.

News about upcoming events was only one form of Argue’s writing. More common was her writing about testimonies of conversions and baptism in the spirit, and she often tucked such stories into the texts of her reprinted sermons. Here again, one sees how this print publication served to create a sense of community. For those who had attended her meetings, the publication was a reminder and reinforcement of the message they had heard, and the spiritual manifestations they had witnessed. Just as important, and maybe more so in terms of imagined community, for those who were unable to attend the campaigns in person, the publication made them feel part of the event by putting a print copy of the sermons into their

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hands. Examples of these sermons abound.

Argue was convinced that her writings could have an impact even if she was not personally present to preach or give witness or instruction, highlighting the importance she attached to publishing. Speaking about the power of the written word in Pentecostal publications, she explained:

Whole revivals have had their inception through these little messengers finding their way into some lonely place when hearts were hungry. Learning of the great things God is doing in different places, hearts have been inspired to seek the Lord until they too would receive the showers of latter rain, and a revival be born in their community.²⁰

To reinforce the truth of this claim about the power of writing, consider the 1937 article, "From the Depths of Despair to Heights of Glory," based on an exchange of correspondence between Argue and a prostitute who came into the faith because of Argue's publications.²¹ Although they had never met in person, the power of the printed word, and of Argue's personal correspondence with the woman, were very dramatic. By retelling the story and reprinting some of the letters themselves, Argue hoped that the impact of her writing would continue to ripple out as other people read the story of this woman's dramatic conversion and baptism in the Spirit.

In this first period, then, even before the age of forty, Zelma Argue spoke and wrote with profound authority in spite of her relative youth and her gender because she had been so fully immersed in the movement and in ministry from such a young age.

War Years: Sacrificing and Self-Denial, 1939-1945

In July 1944, Argue reiterated how important the Pentecostal publications were particularly during the war years.

Reading is becoming more and more a national pastime, especially with gas rationing making former pleasures often unavailable. The *Gospel Publishing House*, in using actually tons of paper, is putting out great quantities of choice literature, behind which there is careful thought, and many prayers.²²

The renewed emphasis on the importance of publications during times of gas rationing is significant because travel restrictions and wartime commitments meant that, while fewer people were free to attend large campaign meetings, the literature could still do its work. She cited, for

example, “one of our women, working in a defense plant, [who] has a friend there another woman, whose home, she discovered, was on the verge of being broken up.”²³ Publications could speak to the needs of Pentecostal war workers and their unsaved friends.

Keeping up morale was a common theme during wartime, and Argue made many references to the hardships that people were enduring. She was not immune to discouragement herself, and many of her examples seem to be autobiographical ones as she reminded herself that the sacrifices she was making were worthwhile. In 1943 she wrote:

Maybe you don't like sitting up all night in a crowded coach? It helps to recall that Christ slept many a cold night on the hillsides of Judea. You don't like to sleep in different beds, and grief of constantly packing clothes, only to have Bibles and heavy books get them all out of press? You don't like on the closing night to have to collect your things when exhausted, and to prepare to move on? Remember there are millions doing just this much for their country, leaving all that heart holds dear. Remember that this is the secret of the amazing growth of our movement. God Himself raised up a band of flaming souls a generation ago, who were willing to go anywhere, endure any hardship, and *do the work of an evangelist* in tents, on street corners, in brush arbors or cottage meetings. The rest has followed as outgrowth.²⁴

Belying her own fatigue, Argue reasoned “Even Jesus was wearied, and sat by the well at noontide. Yet He did more. He spoke to one person there, a sinful woman. And my conscience is never quite clear, unless I see if I can find a *Reveille*, or some bit of gospel literature, and hand it over with a friendly gesture, and some appropriate word, to the young person in uniform, who is generally sitting across from me.”²⁵

In part, these references to the hardships she endured could be interpreted as wartime rhetoric about the sacrifices that everyone was making for the cause.²⁶ But Argue's tone reflected the additional stress she was under after the death of her mother in 1939.²⁷ In addition, the fact is that Zelma was now a middle-aged woman and the demands of travel were taking their toll on her emotional state. Throughout the war years she warned her readers (and perhaps by inference, herself?) not to make compromises for the sake of their own comforts. “The moment our movement reaches the place where we must all have settled and secure appointments, we must become like other denominations that have begun

to wane and dwindle.”²⁸ And yet, very soon after the war’s end, she gave up the itinerant lifestyle and took up a pastorate in Los Angeles, California – a position she shared with another woman for more than a decade.

Years of Maturity: Rooting, Reminiscing, Renewal, 1946-1969

Beginning in the war years, but continuing on afterward, Argue expressed fear about the danger of Pentecostals lapsing into complacency. Her writing in the postwar years turned even more heavily toward the theme of the need for a return to Pentecostal roots, as in the glory days. This was a reflection of the fact that more time had passed, that the imminent return of Christ had not materialized, and that Argue could now speak from the position of an elder stateswoman – who had devoted her youth and middle years to travelling for the cause.

Examples abound of Argue urging Pentecostal readers to return to their roots, review their personal practices, and regain the enthusiasm and passion that had characterized the early years of the movement. In the titles of her articles, she asked her readers direct questions about Pentecostal practice, including: “Where are you on Sunday nights?”; “Are We Going Forth or Settling Down?”; and “Will you be an Oil Pourer?”²⁹ In addition, she wrote instructions on “How to Enter the House of God,” “Their Secret – unbroken Communion,” “Sitting Before the Lord,” “When you Can’t Sleep,” “Lingering Before the Lord,” and “The Waiting Meeting,”³⁰ in which she taught about the practices of fasting, tarrying, speaking in tongues, and cultivating intimacy with God.

With the passage of time, not only did Zelma Argue’s experience profile grow as she added more successful evangelistic campaigns to her resume, but her authority grew as she could use that experience to exhort readers to recapture the essence of the movement and to renew their spiritual fervency. Yet as she aged, Argue did not adopt a completely negative view and it would be an oversimplification to assume that hers was simply the case of the older generation holding contemporary youth in contempt. Instead, she continued her role of encourager and spokesperson for the “early days” of the Pentecostal movement into her later years, speaking from a position of maturity and wisdom, as one who had the status of an “elder” in the movement. In 1956, she wrote an article entitled “Memories of Fifty Years Ago,” on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Azusa Street revival even though she was only a child, six years of age, when the original outpouring occurred. By virtue of her connections

and personal relationships with the founders of the movement, now elderly or deceased, Argue wrote with authority about the early days.³¹ She was not only nostalgic, but exhortative as she explained that responsibility for the waning of the movement rested with believers who had failed to continue in the practices that were typical of the early days of the movement. On one occasion, she invoked the metaphor of molten lava, to communicate the idea that God's power erupts every so often, and that if the Pentecostals grew cold in their enthusiasm for spiritual things, then God would find other groups and other means to manifest His power in a new eruption.³² That lava metaphor would prove to be prophetic.

By the 1960s, toward the end of Argue's ministry career, the charismatic renewal movement was spreading to other denominations, and reminiscent of the lava metaphor, Argue took note of the fact that Pentecostals no longer had a monopoly on the manifestations of the Spirit. It is interesting to note, however, that she did not lament this development, but embraced it wholeheartedly. As she reminded her readers, many of the earliest Pentecostals had come out of other denominations originally, and so this new development should not be viewed as a failure on the part of Pentecostals, but rather as a new move of God, to recruit even more believers into the things of the Spirit. That nimble and open spirit meant that Argue's writing had enduring appeal, even as the Pentecostal/charismatic movement took a significant turn in the last decades of the century.

Conclusion

Zelma Argue's writing changed over time from unbridled enthusiasm and reporting of campaign successes in the 1920s and 30s; to acknowledging the hardships of ministry during wartime; to a postwar emphasis that recognized the waning of Pentecostal enthusiasm yet encouraged a stalwart faithfulness and adaptability even when the expected eschatology was not unfolding within the timeframe Pentecostals had originally expected. In each of these stages of her writing career, Zelma Argue's central role in the North American Pentecostal movement was reinforced and her authoritative voice was clearly heard. Despite other developments to the contrary for the majority of Pentecostal women, Argue's influence continued throughout the twentieth century. In her writing career from 1920-1969, Argue defied the gendered limitations typically ascribed to her sex.

Endnotes

1. Sheryl Shearer claims that Zelma Argue “wrote more articles for *The Pentecostal Evangel* than anyone except C.M. Ward” (see Frederick A. Muster and Mel Gram, “Obituary of Zelma Argue,” *Christian Life Center*, (29 January 1980), quoted in Shearer, “Zelma Argue: Handmaiden of the Lord,” *A/G Heritage* (Spring 2002): 21. Indeed the claim about Argue’s prolific publishing is easily substantiated with an online search of the periodicals available at the Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center website: www.ifphc.org. A search for “Zelma Argue” in the online digitized periodicals reveals 202 items.
2. On Zelma Argue’s theology, see Pamela Holmes, “The Theology of Zelma and Beulah Argue,” Unpublished paper presented at the 38th Annual Meeting of the Society for Pentecostal Studies, Eugene, Oregon, 25 March 2009.
3. Zelma Argue, *Contending for the Faith*, 2nd ed. (Winnipeg, MB: The Messenger of God Publishing House, 1928), 66. This publication was a revised version of a 1923 publication entitled *What Meaneth This*. Both publications are held at the archives of Calvary Temple, Winnipeg, Manitoba.
4. Argue, *Contending for the Faith*, 83.
5. Brian Hogan, “Print and Organized Religion in English Canada,” in *History of the Book in Canada: Volume III 1918-1980*, ed. Carole Gerson and Jacques Michon (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 287.
6. *The Pentecostal Testimony* 18, no. 10 (October 1937): 26.
7. Kevin Kee, *Revivalists: Marketing the Gospel in English Canada, 1884-1957*. (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2007).
8. Robyn Sneath, “Imagining a Mennonite Community: *The Mennonitische Post* and a People of Diaspora,” *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 22 (2004): 217-18.
9. Sneath, “Imagining a Mennonite Community,” 210.
10. Sneath, “Imagining a Mennonite Community,” 215. Sneath concludes: “To the outside observer, the periodical may appear to offer little; its conventions of speech and cultural scripts of weather, crops, and greetings to a seemingly endless, faceless list of individuals, seem to make for lackluster reading. However, the *Post* is not meant for outside observers. For the adherents of this community this is the story of their lives, and the ostensibly arbitrary details of weather and names are the threads that sustain the community. In many respects, this community is not imagined at all. Its members are just as tangible, their experiences just as recognized, their burdens as shared, and

their voices at least as loud, as if every member of this community lived in the same literal village and sat at the same table . . .”

11. The four titles were: *The Beauty of the Cross*, *Strenuous Days*, *Prevailing Prayer*, and *Practical Christian Living*.
12. *The Pentecostal Testimony* 18, no. 10 (October 1937): 26.
13. Of a total of 235 articles, 175 (70%) were published in *The Pentecostal Evangel*, 43 (20%) in *The Pentecostal Testimony*; and 17 (less than 10%) in *The Latter Rain Evangel*. Her publications in *The Latter Rain Evangel* appeared between 1927 and 1939 when it ceased publication.
14. Because she was so prolific, publishing her work simultaneously in the three periodicals under consideration here, one might suspect that at least some of the writing was reprinted from one magazine to another. However, upon close examination of her titles, there were only ten occasions when this seemed to be the case, and even then, only six of these articles were exact reprints, appearing within a matter of weeks in two magazines (four times in *The Pentecostal Evangel* and *The Pentecostal Testimony*; and twice in *The Latter Rain Evangel* and *The Pentecostal Evangel*). Significantly, the duplication usually occurred in the period when she was travelling most frequently, that is, before 1935; after that, while she sometimes wrote on the same theme in two different publications, her titles were similar only four times, and the content was substantially different in the two publications. *The Latter Rain Evangel* ceased publication by 1939, so in the two later periods of Argue’s life, there are only two papers under consideration.
15. Carole Gerson, “Publishing by Women,” in *History of the Book in Canada Volume III*, eds. Gerson and Michon, 319.
16. Argue, *Contending for the Faith*, 82-83.
17. The announcement of Zelma Argue taking over this column from her brother, Watson Argue, was published in “Our Get Acquainted Page,” *The Latter Rain Evangel* (March 1938): 2. For more information on *The Latter Rain Evangel*, see <http://ifphc.org/index.cfm?fuseaction=products.agpublications>
18. She featured the following ministries: The Mizpah Missionary Rest Home, New York City run by Miss Lillian Kraeger; the Pentecostal Work in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, pastored by Harold C. McKinney; the Lakeshore Pentecostal Camp at Cobourg, Ontario, started by Pastor G.A. Chambers; the Living Waters Pentecostal Camp Meeting Grounds and Evangelistic Center in Western Pennsylvania, about twenty-two miles northeast of Indiana, under the direction of Brother David McDowell; a Home Missionary Project in the Kentucky Mountains, and the initiative to establish the Mountain Bible

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School, under the direction of Rev. O.E. Nash of Cincinnati, Ohio; the story of the founding of Trinity Gospel Tabernacle in Bloomington, Illinois, pastored by Miss Elsa Schmidt; the story of Bethel Pentecostal Church in Ottawa, Ontario, pastored by Zelma Argue's brother-in-law, C.B. Smith, and her sister Beulah Argue Smith; and the story of The Appleton Gospel Temple, in Appleton, Wisconsin, pastored by Mr. and Mrs. Clarence Goudie, a former city fire inspector.

19. Zelma Argue, "Paving the Way for a Miracle," *The Pentecostal Evangel* (19 September 1936): 2-3.
20. Argue, *Contending for the Faith*, 83.
21. "From the Depths of Despair to Heights of Glory," *The Pentecostal Evangel* (13 November 1937): 4.
22. Zelma Argue, "Gather ... That Nothing be Lost," *The Pentecostal Evangel* (8 July 1944): 7.
23. Zelma Argue, "Daily in the Temple and in Every House," *The Pentecostal Evangel* (11 December 1943): 9.
24. Zelma Argue, "Do the Work of an Evangelist," *The Pentecostal Evangel* (21 August 1943): 7.
25. Zelma Argue "My Soul Desireth the First-ripe Fruit," *The Pentecostal Evangel* (15 April 1944): 7.
26. Zelma Argue, "Courageous Commandos," *The Pentecostal Evangel* (10 February 1945): 2.
27. Zelma Argue, "When God's Clock Strikes the Hour," *The Pentecostal Evangel* (29 January 1952): 4.
28. Zelma Argue, "Do the Work of an Evangelist," 7.
29. *The Pentecostal Evangel* (31 July 1955): 2; (30 May 1965): 15; and (18 May 1969): 3-4.
30. *The Pentecostal Evangel* (28 August 1966): 5; (2 June 1963): 6, 29; (20 September 1959): 20-21; (20 February 1966): 5; (10 March 1957): 4, 29; and (19 January 1964): 7-8.
31. Zelma Argue, "Memories of Fifty Years Ago," *The Pentecostal Evangel* (22 April 1956): 29.
32. Zelma Argue, "Molten Lava," *The Pentecostal Evangel* (15 April 1933): 6.

Writing a Woman's Life: Lucille Brechbill Lady, 1910-68¹

LUCILLE MARR
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On 8 April 1968, Lucille Brechbill Lady wrote from her home in Upland, California to her sister Mabel Brechbill Blosser, who had settled in Goshen, Indiana. In her usual bright manner, Lucille began the newsy epistle that like so many others over the years had connected her with her siblings and their children in the eastern states and Ontario, with the salutation: "A joyous Easter!" Nowhere did she hint at the sadness that would overtake her just four weeks later, for its final time.² The jolt of her suicide that reverberated through her family, and the entire Brethren in Christ church, the denomination to which she and her husband Jesse Lady had devoted their lives, is suggested by his biographer: "For fifteen years [Lucille] had been suffering periods of severe depression, the details of which he did not share with even his family and closest associates. Rather, he carried the burden alone. Thus when she took her life" on 2 May 1968, "all who heard were shocked."³

It was through the eyes of a great-niece carrying Lucille's name, that I read Jesse's biography several years ago.⁴ The latter was portrayed as a charismatic church leader, serving at various times during his thirty-year ministry as evangelist, bishop, professor, college president, and missionary. Lucille, on the other hand, remained, by and large, a mystery. As historian Gerda Lerner has explained in *Why History Matters*,

... women have been denied the power to define, to share in creating the mental constructs that explain and order the world. Under

patriarchy the record of the past has been written and interpreted by men and has primarily focused on the activities and intentions of males. Women have always, as have men, been agents and actors in history, but they have been excluded from recorded history.⁵

What this suggests is that although Lucille's life remains largely undocumented in the public arena, it was much more than the debilitating depression that caused her to take her own life.⁶ Over the decade that I have been attempting to uncover information that would bring her story to light, what has become clear is that Lucille Brechbill Lady's memory is worthy of reconstruction, not as a failed life, but as one, in the midst of pain and struggle, that held meaning in its own right.⁷

Lucille was a loyal member of the Brethren in Christ. Her first forty years coincided with the period described by historian Carleton Wittlinger as the denomination's "period of adjustment." Confirmation of the doctrine of second-work holiness, an increased emphasis on the role of higher education and the expansion of mission outreach all strongly influenced Lucille. All of these movements had been introduced in the denomination between 1880 and 1910, the years in which her parents John and Henrietta Davidson Brechbill raised their family, in what Wittlinger has identified as "the first period of transition." Lucille's latter years were after 1950, when the Brethren in Christ were seeking a new identity.⁸ Not only was she influenced by all of these developments in the denomination, her biography provides a case study through which we can begin to understand how they manifested themselves in the life of an individual woman.

By using the tools and employing the questions asked by historians concerned with the private domain, a sketch of Lucille Brechbill Lady's life as devoted daughter, sister, aunt, nurse, teacher and churchman's wife has emerged. Hopefully this biography will also provide a window through which we can further our understandings of the experience of women in an era of rapid change and major transition in the history of a denomination.

Ancestry: From the Mid-eighteenth Century to 1910 – Pennsylvania and Indiana

Lucille was the last in a family of nine children. John Brechbill's paternal ancestors had been among the Anabaptists who had emigrated

from Berne, Switzerland, to become part of William Penn's "Holy Experiment." In 1738, Christian Brechbill had settled in the emerging colony of Pennsylvania, amidst a variety of Germanic peoples including Mennonites, Lutherans, Reformed and Dunkers, along with English Quakers, Anglicans, and Scots-Irish Presbyterians. Henrietta Davidson Brechbill descended from a minister of the latter persuasion. Robert Davidson had joined the developing colony not long before the American Revolution. The pietistic religious awakening that coloured Pennsylvania's religious climate in the latter eighteenth century saw him, among others of his ethno-religious community, affiliating with the emerging societies of German-speaking peoples.⁹

The son of a pioneer farmer who had joined the mid-nineteenth-century movement westward, John married Henrietta, also from a family intent on breaking new ground.¹⁰ While the Brechbills had helped establish a new Brethren in Christ community in Indiana, the Davidsons would have enormous influence with the initiation of a denominational periodical and in pioneering mission work. Among the handful who "developed their intellectual capacities to impressive levels" in an era when most in the denomination were still suspicious of higher education, Henrietta's father Henry worked long and hard from his home in White Pigeon, Michigan, to convince the Brethren in Christ of the need for print communication.¹¹ In August 1887, just under a year after Henrietta and John were married, the first issue of the *Evangelical Visitor* was published.

Although all four of her grandparents had passed on before Lucille's birth, their legacy was visible and would be felt both in the local community and broader church for generations to come. Jacob (1832-1902) and Sarah (Ober) Brechbill (1839-1908), who lay in the cemetery surrounding the Christian Union Church on the land they had donated early in their marriage, must have died contented, for their son John and three of their daughters had settled with their families on farms in the community. Henry (1823-1903) and Fanny (Rice) Davidson (1835-1894), who had been buried respectively in Wooster, Ohio and Abilene, Kansas, also must have felt positive about the close bonds established in the families of their youngest, Henry's namesake twins, Henry and Henrietta.¹²

Formative Years: 1910-1928 – Garrett, Indiana

One can only speculate on the mood in the home of John and Henrietta Davidson Brechbill when on 12 May 1910 a new baby girl

joined their already large family of three sons and five daughters. In their mid-forties, John and Henrietta were well established on their Indiana farm northwest of Garrett and several miles west of Auburn, DeKalb County's political centre. They had developed their homestead on land obtained upon their marriage nearly twenty-five years earlier from his parents, who had been part of the mid-nineteenth-century movement westward.¹³ When John and Henrietta's two eldest children were toddlers, the couple had moved from the log cabin where they started out, to the large brick home that they had built.¹⁴

When Lucille joined the family, Frank and Albert were young men in their early twenties, able to fully assist their father in the farming operation. Mabel, Ruth and Elmo, well into their teenaged years, were accustomed to helping their mother with the younger children – Pearl, John and Pauline, all of whom were under ten years of age. The girls were also responsible to milk the cows, feed the chickens, keep the gardens and the multitude of other domestic chores necessary to maintain a home and feed a large family.¹⁵ With the birth of a new baby, these tasks would only increase, for now “nine . . . sat around father's and mother's table,” as sixteen-year old Ruth put it in her diary.¹⁶

An attractive and wise woman, Henrietta had come to the marriage with a solid education; it was she who taught John, in the words of their grandson Earl, “the rudiments of arithmetic and reading and writing to the extent that he was able to conduct his affairs in a suitable and profitable manner.”¹⁷ Late in her life, Lucille would recall her mother's prayers and how “discipline and love were closely interwoven in our family circle.”¹⁸ In contrast to Henrietta's reserve, in the words of their daughter Pearl, “the more people around, including his children, the more John's eyes twinkled. His sturdy health, his boundless energy and his appreciation for nature over which God ruled, made him a force to all who knew him.”¹⁹

Although the Brechbills raised their family in an area isolated geographically from the Brethren in Christ centres of Pennsylvania and Kansas, hospitality to visiting evangelists brought their children into contact with the doctrines promoted by the denomination. As Lucille's brief “Impressions” suggest, she and her siblings were influenced also by their mother's sister Frances who had gone to Africa as a pioneer missionary in 1898. During the summer of 1913 when Lucille was still a toddler, Frances spent many days in an upstairs bedroom of her and Henrietta's brother Henry's large home writing *South and South Central Africa*. From their church pews, congregants would only have had to look

beyond the cornfields and tombstones to see the window on the other side of the road which looked in on the room where she wrote of exotic adventures a world away. One can only imagine the impression that this made on the youth who would have been quite aware of the window behind which fascinating tales of the “dark continent” were being told.²⁰

Just as Frances was among the most highly educated in the denomination, having been the first to hold a Master’s degree at a time when few individuals had gone on to college, Henrietta valued schooling for her children.²¹ By 1913, Albert had obtained his Bachelor of Arts at Goshen College, the Mennonite school close by.²² The previous summer Ruth had taken teacher training there.²³ Both Albert and Ruth would begin teaching careers in local schools, and later serve respectively at Messiah Bible College and Niagara Christian College, where they “sustained,” in Morris Sider’s words, “the Brechbill-Davidson reputation for excellent teaching.”²⁴ In fall 1914 Frank, who had married Jennie Hoover the previous year, was ordained by the Brethren in Christ as pastor of Christian Union Church.²⁵

Ruth’s decision in 1918 to go east to Grantham, Pennsylvania, to take a term at what was still called the Messiah Bible School and Missionary Training Home that had been opened the year of Lucille’s birth eight years earlier, would prove to be a significant moment in the life of the family. The school’s principal purpose was to educate for mission or evangelistic work, and there, as Ruth later would recall, “the Lord spoke to me concerning the lost heathen.”²⁶ That term she met Clarence Heise, who was also missionary-minded. On 25 June 1919, Frank officiated at their marriage and the couple left directly from the Brechbill home, where the celebration took place, to travel west to San Francisco, and from there by ship to India, where they would serve at the Brethren in Christ mission at Saharsa for a seven-year term.²⁷

As Lucille reached her teen years, John and Henrietta would again be called upon to let another one go in support of the missionary enterprise. With college-educated young men still rare in Brethren in Christ circles, Albert was invited to consider going east to Pennsylvania to teach at the denominational missionary and training school, which had recently been renamed Messiah Bible College.²⁸

By Lucille’s late teens, the family faced difficulties that meant major decisions were on the horizon. Albert’s move east and Frank’s contraction of a tragic illness, known in the family as “sleeping sickness” two years later, meant that life on the family farm would dramatically change.²⁹

Meanwhile, Ruth's fragile health had forced Clarence to bring her and their two little ones home from India that spring, after only one term of service. They would settle in Gormley, Ontario.³⁰ These disappointments were augmented by concern for Elmo as she suffered from a debilitating form of arthritis, and for the younger children as influences from the local high school took them away from the church.³¹

A revival at the local church brought the possibility for positive change. In his role as minister, Frank was a proponent of perfectionism and the notion of the importance of a second blessing that was becoming increasingly accepted by the denomination.³² In 1927, an up-and-coming young evangelist named Jesse Lady came to the community to hold meetings. Now seventeen years old, Lucille was "converted, put on the plain garb" and "joined the church."³³ Jesse had recently graduated from Messiah Bible College and in her new-found faith commitment, Lucille was drawn east to complete her high school education there.³⁴ Although this decision would further fragment the family, as John and Henrietta anticipated, Lucille's spiritual commitment would be strengthened.

Young Adult Years: 1928-1934 – Grantham, Pennsylvania and Chicago, Illinois

While attending Messiah Bible College, Lucille would become acquainted with her aunt Frances Davidson, who may well have provided a role model for her young niece and other women students.³⁵ Demonstrating her aunt's strong intellectual capacities, Lucille excelled academically.³⁶ Taking a different professional path than her aunt Frances and her older siblings, however, Lucille chose to study nursing and would return west, with the next several years devoted to training at Chicago's Englewood Hospital. Her parents were getting on in years, and it must have been a comfort to them to have Lucille studying closer home. Her decision also may have been related to the school's proximity to the Brethren in Christ mission on Halsted Street, for her sister Elmo, who had been serving there for some years, was suffering from serious health challenges.³⁷

Lucille's spirituality had opportunities to flower during this period. During her first term in Pennsylvania, the College underwent a notable revival that transformed her brother Albert in a way that was demonstrated in his relationship with his students.³⁸ Sarah Bert, the director of the Chicago Mission, also exercised a leadership that promoted "a strong

spiritual fervour.”³⁹ She and Lucille’s sister Elmo shared a deep spirituality that was purported to include an element of mysticism.⁴⁰

It must have been devastating for Lucille when, soon after she arrived in Chicago, cancer claimed the life of her thirty-three year old sister Elmo.⁴¹ It would appear that it was a comfort and welcome diversion to have Jesse Lady, the young holiness preacher under whose ministry Lucille had experienced her religious conversion, appear in Chicago that summer to study. In a denomination where, in Myron Lady’s words, “advanced education was still frowned upon” by many, with her family background Lucille would have been the ideal mate for a man who would become a pioneer in obtaining seminary education and a doctoral degree.⁴²

Early Married Life: 1934-1943 – Mountainside, New Jersey and Grantham, Pennsylvania

The couple married on 13 June 1934 and began their life together in Mountainside, New Jersey, where Lucille had her first experience of what it meant to be a clergy wife. This was a time when the minister’s wife was assigned, in historian Paul Boyer’s words, “a special mission: not only to accept with grace that role as it had been taking shape – economic and political subordination, moral and spiritual superiority – but to embody it publicly.”⁴³ Lucille would begin her married life on the threshold of a new era, quite different from that of her mother and aunt, who lived their mature years when women still pioneered, some as partners with their husbands, others overseas as missionaries.

A year after their marriage, Messiah College invited Jesse to return to their Alma Mater to teach religion.⁴⁴ The decision to return to Pennsylvania coincided with Henrietta’s decision to dispense of the family farm. In the face of John’s decided lack of enthusiasm for the project, Henrietta solicited the help of her grown children, and moved herself and John close to their youngest daughter’s new home.⁴⁵ Henrietta’s leadership in the family reflected the strength for which her sister Frances was known, as Albert stated so well in his eulogy at the latter’s memorial service that December:

The story of her upright character, of her exceptional education for that time, and the remarkable devotion of her superior talents to the arduous work of pioneer missionary endeavour was refreshing to all

who had been privileged to know her and touching to the youth to whom her name is that of a hero.⁴⁶

As Lucille continued to work at fitting into the new mould deemed best fit for a churchman's wife, her aunt's missionary memoir, published twenty years earlier, took a prominent place on the college curriculum. One would wonder what conflict Lucille experienced as she took on the role of the 1950s clergy wife, so different than that of the pioneer model of her mother and aunt.⁴⁷

At the same time, Lucille would follow in the family tradition of teaching, using her own expertise in nursing to instruct students in health and first aid. Nor was her speaking confined to the classroom. During the 1930s, the denomination progressed towards a statement on sanctification that clearly named a second instantaneous spiritual experience following conversion; while remembering her role as the support behind her husband, she practiced the admonition published in the *Evangelical Visitor* a few years later for the pastor's wife to be "[r]eady to testify, pray, assist in any possible way."⁴⁸

Lucille and Jesse's participation in a revival conducted in Harrisburg by holiness preacher Henry Landis during those years was still remembered vividly sixty years later by her nephew Earl:

[He] had things running in high gear with excitement . . . And Aunt Lucille got up and gave a very impassioned, very inspired testimony. It brought some Amens and a few hallelujahs from the congregation. And when she stopped, Uncle Jesse jumped up . . . he shook his fist at her and said, "I tell you, I hate the devil. I hate him with all my might. If he should be here, I'd like to see him flee." And Henry Landis jumped off the platform and said "I would too." Those guys both ran towards each other down the aisle waving their hands, shouting threats against the devil. Then Henry went back to the platform and they had a good service.⁴⁹

If, as Elaine Lawless has suggested, women's testimonies may be seen as "acts of preaching," the reactions of her husband Jesse and evangelist Henry Landis may have served to remind Lucille and the congregation that her role was to remain in the shadow of her holiness preacher husband.⁵⁰

More fitting was the role of helper, as articles in the *Evangelical Visitor* outlining the duties of the ideal churchman's wife emphasized: "It is necessary for the minister's wife to control the domestic affairs so that

the husband may give himself, as much as possible, to prayer, study, and visiting.”⁵¹ A snapshot taken in the Lady home in 1939 illustrates Jesse’s role as he sits with an open Bible; meanwhile, Lucille sits reflectively on the opposite side of the table with niece Naomi Heise (Marr).⁵² Excerpts from Naomi’s diary kept during her year at Messiah hint at Jesse’s active public life and illustrate Lucille’s hospitality, especially when it came to the nephews and nieces who attended the college: “The Male quartette is going to Virginia with Uncle Jesse. I am going to stay with Aunt Lucille . . . Had dinner at Uncle Jesse’s tonight. Grandpas were there. We had chicken dinner.”⁵³

As these occasions suggest, although there is evidence of public participation, “for women’s history, as for so many aspects of social history, the real drama is in the humdrum.”⁵⁴ Indeed, although it was absolutely essential, women’s work was rarely done for economic exchange. In Fox’s words, it was often presented as a “labour of love.”⁵⁵ Through family letters, we learn of Lucille’s significant “labour of love” especially in her role as nurse and care giver. She cared for her father during his last days and she played a significant role as nurse during Albert’s wife Cora’s last days.⁵⁶ Albert and the youngest four children stayed with Lucille and Jesse for several months as they adjusted to the loss.⁵⁷ With these strong family connections, one must ask what it cost Lucille to leave her aged mother and much-loved nieces and nephews, when the year after Cora’s passing Jesse was called to serve on the other side of the continent. Whatever the case, she supported Jesse in his ministry as president at Beulah College in Upland, California, with the grace fit for the faithful minister’s wife.⁵⁸

Middle Years: 1943-1954 – Upland, California

During Jesse’s years at Beulah (after 1949 Upland) College and as Bishop of the California-Oregon Conference, Lucille continued to play a public role at the college as nurse, in health education and on the Religious Life Committee.⁵⁹ In keeping with the “virtuous woman” described in Proverbs, she was well known for her “gracious personality,” “gentle hand,” and “merry heart that doeth good like a medicine.”

Following in the tradition of her family and husband’s dedication to excellent pedagogy, these were also teaching moments. In a piece published that spring in the *Evangelical Visitor*, Lucille’s query reflected the thought of German educator Friedrich Froebel.⁶⁰ “What is Teaching?”

the title of her article asked:

Teaching is accomplished not only in instructions that are given but by the life that is lived. As a child, my walk, talk, and mannerisms changed in proportion to the variety of teachers I had, so my mother says. Certainly it is vastly important particularly in Christian education that the teacher is what she teaches, providing guidance that leads into right relationship with God.⁶¹

For Lucille, this modelling would continue to prioritize being a supportive wife as a letter posted 20 July 1949 to her sister Mabel illustrates: "I'm in Jesse's room at the Hospital. He had Surgery last Thursday and is getting along beautifully." This "summer vacation," that Jesse had told her would be the only one they would have that year, is reminiscent of their honeymoon spent in a hospital room in Chicago fifteen years earlier. This time, Jesse's hernia repair was scheduled six weeks after her mother's death, a loss that she had anticipated at the time of John's funeral nine years earlier would be "our hard time just coming."⁶² Although Lucille had been unable to return to Pennsylvania for the funeral, she expressed no sadness in this letter.⁶³

The letter hints at another grief – the absence of children in their marriage. Lucille's description of her and Jesse's time together in the hospital with a "No Visitors" sign on the door protecting them from the cares and responsibilities their role as Bishop and wife brought, ends with the observation: "I guess we give each other the affection we'd give to our children plus what we'd have with children. So much for that!" This sorrow was alleviated by deep caring and strong bonds with young people, especially their many nieces and nephews.⁶⁴ Lucille and Jesse's childlessness also meant that she was able to be more fully the "help-mate of her minister-husband" by supporting him in his leadership roles during the denomination's years of change post-1950.⁶⁵ An article published in the November 1951 issue of the *Evangelical Visitor* just months after Albert's death, for instance, illustrates that Lucille's vision identified closely with Jesse's hope that the church would exercise more zeal in the cause of missions.⁶⁶

In the spirit of the denomination's new emphasis on the minister's wife having her own identification in the interest of "the high calling of God's servant – the minister," Lucille stood up before the Upland congregation on 5 August 1951.⁶⁷ Basing her remarks on Joel 2:1 and 12:32, she spoke in a prophetic voice.⁶⁸ Commending the congregation for

its “missionary zeal” and the “sacrifice” that had “made it possible for our young people to have a Christian Education,” she expounded on a vision of the shackles that bound them, prohibiting them from fully responding to God’s call for missionary work. Her salutation, “Friends, I do not know how long some will be allowed to stay here and work with a people who have had so many opportunities” when “[i]n other lands, some have never heard,” would serve as a prelude to the next chapter in Lucille and Jesse’s ministry.⁶⁹

Mature Years: 1954-1960 – Jerusalem, Israel and Wanezi, Rhodesia (Zimbabwe)

Finally, as Lucille put it in her “Personal Testimony” published in the *Visitor* to herald their arrival in Jerusalem, she was no longer “among the observers of missionaries going out.” She and Jesse were “participants” in a new venture for the Brethren in Christ.⁷⁰ With the Israeli government’s failure to renew their visas at the end of their first year, they continued on in their missionary journey to a land deeply connected with Lucille’s heritage.⁷¹ With some fanfare, the couple arrived in Zimbabwe on 20 August 1955. Jet lag and culture shock notwithstanding, the following day he accepted the invitation to take the main service – a love feast for 452 people; she spoke to the Sunday school on “Jerusalem and peace.”⁷² Reports to the *Visitor* on the transition from Israel to Zimbabwe were optimistic. A beautiful country, “with its colourful trees and mild springs,” they found the food to be “excellent.”⁷³ Many Africans still held fond memories of Frances Davidson and with her family connections.⁷⁴

Lucille’s letters included newsy descriptions of their extending hospitality, her own role as support of other missionary wives, and helping Jesse in preparing a unit for his class on Israel. In the midst of the news, however, a passing comment in a letter to her niece Rosemary hinted at some darker moments: “Tell your Mother everything seems all right since my D and C so we’re expecting no more trouble in that area!”⁷⁵ It is well known that dilation and curettage are done for two reasons: to stop heavy bleeding after a miscarriage, or post-menopause.⁷⁶ Although Lucille said no more on the matter, it is worthy of note that in the summer of 1956, she was one year older than her mother had been when she was born. This evidence of her menopause underscored that she had reached the end of her childbearing years, what the Chicago psychoanalyst Theresa Benedek has described as “the death” of “life as a woman.” In feminist activist and

writer Betty Friedan's words, "some adjusted to the loss, sublimated in gardening, good works, their grandchildren, others did not."⁷⁷

A debilitating depression made it clear that one term in Africa was all Jesse and Lucille would be able to manage. Yet, in the midst of the deep night with which she would live for the remainder of her life, she kept up a positive and cheerful manner as is evidenced in the letter of encouragement that she wrote to Ruth's children Clarence Heise and Naomi Heise Marr in response to the news of another break in her family – their mother's sudden death.⁷⁸ For a family who had in one generation experienced the fragmentation of dispersal not only across a continent, but across oceans as far away as Africa and India, letters would continue to play an important role in creating a virtual network. This correspondence, which would grow more intense, helps chart the last stage of Lucille's life.⁷⁹

Last Years: 1960-1968 – Upland, California

After considering Pennsylvania, which would have allowed Lucille to be closer to her family, they settled in Upland, California, where Jesse would teach Bible and Religion until the college closed in 1965.⁸⁰ Lucille continued to provide hospitality in their home, mostly for Jesse's niece and nephews who lived close by.⁸¹ Her love for their great-nieces and great-nephews is expressed in a picture of Lucille and Jesse with Pearl's son Hubert Jr. and his wife Margaret's children: "We fell in love with their three cherubs . . . Gretchen and Hubie cried when they said good bye to us."⁸² Lucille would spend many hours babysitting for Jesse's great-nieces and great-nephews closer home. Right up until her passing, she cared for Debby Tidgwell on a regular basis.⁸³ In the words of Debby's mother Lois, "Aunt Lucille was one of the warmest and most loving people I ever knew."⁸⁴

During these years Lucille also continued to express her heart for missions, no longer in an active way, but by editing a monthly newsletter put out by the Upland Congregation for the Pacific Conference.⁸⁵ In a day when long distance telephone calls were still too expensive, and electronic mail had yet to be invented, letter writing was a way to alleviate a sense of isolation and loneliness.⁸⁶

In retrospect, knowing that rather than going into their difficulties, letter writers most often prefer to do their self-reflection by telling the news, Lucille's stories of problems encountered by others, including a neigh-

bour's suicide, might have given some clues to a disease that had become, at times, all consuming.⁸⁷ Lucille would become the victim of a family illness, one which Emile Durkheim has suggested is the result of the anomie characteristic of contemporary society. Certainly, the multiple losses that the Brechbill family had suffered held the potential for the sense of meaninglessness and emptiness inherent in modern culture.⁸⁸ As the youngest, and childless, Lucille faced a potentially frightening future.

Psychiatrists and psychotherapists such as Alice Miller hold the belief "that mental illness and suicidal despair . . . occur because [the individual] can't verbalize . . . what . . . [is] suffered . . . Feeling suicidal, then, means that there's a story that hasn't yet been told, that there are feelings linked to that story that haven't yet been expressed."⁸⁹ Lucille's wonder, articulated in a letter to niece Naomi Heise Marr, at how her dear friend Arlene Climenhaga verbalized experience with Hodgkin's disease, stands in stark contrast to her own inability to talk about her inner struggles.⁹⁰ Instead, Lucille maintained a brave front, presenting her habitual sunny face to family near and far.

Jesse's niece Eunice Engle recalled seeing Lucille at a prayer meeting the evening before she ended her life: "I looked over at her and thought, 'Aunt Lucille looks like an angel!' Little did we know that the next morning she would be gone . . ."⁹¹ The eulogy intended to "summarize the essence" of Lucille's life, read by a brother-in-law at her funeral a few days later, reinforced this image of perfect womanhood that Lucille carefully presented despite her debilitating depression:

Serving God in the healing touches of a registered nurse; giving choice years on the mission fields of Israel and Africa: being the behind-the-scenes support and inspiration for her bishop and college president husband; becoming involved in her own right in the concerns of church and school; extending to friend and stranger alike the hospitalities of their home; and performing these services with an unusual grace and glow! – This was Lucille Lady!⁹²

Whatever one makes of Lucille's determined end to the psychological pain that, at times, immobilized her, hers had been a calling that was known to be difficult.⁹³ In 1960, the *Evangelical Visitor* ran an article on "The Minister's Wife" which acknowledged, "[h]ers is not an easy place to fill." Indeed, more was "required of her than [wa]s required of her preacher husband."⁹⁴ Lucille, as so many other talented women of her time, found it necessary to subsume her gifts beneath those of her husband.

The era of strong female leaders such as her aunt Frances Davidson, Chicago Mission's Sarah Bert, and her own mother Henrietta Davidson Brechbill, had passed.⁹⁵ Evidence of Lucille's intelligence and ability are shown in her academic records, her thoughtful pieces published in the denomination's periodical, and her opportunities for public speaking. Her warmth, loving presence and sense of humour remain as warm memories for the numerous nieces and nephews who were recipients of her hospitality.⁹⁶ Gifted with personality and talent, Lucille chose to direct her attention to filling the challenging role of churchman's wife in a time of change, and by all accounts, she did it well.

Endnotes

1. Carolyn Heilbrun has used the term "writing a woman's life" in her discussion of women's biography (*Writing a Woman's Life* [New York: Ballantine Books, 1988]).
2. Rosemary Blosser Fry has given the author samples of correspondence between the several Brechbill sisters. Unless otherwise noted, originals or copies of the letters referenced are in the possession of the author.
3. Myron Lady, "Jesse F. Lady: A Loyal Churchman in a Time of Transition," *Brethren in Christ History and Life* 18, no. 1 (April 1995): 36.
4. In his study of family and parish life, Rabbi Edwin Friedman has raised this intriguing question: which of your ancestors really ordained you? (see *Generation to Generation: Family Process in Church and Synagogue* [New York: The Guilford Press, 1985], 22).
5. Gerda Lerner, *Why History Matters: Life and Thought* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 207.
6. As is common practice, Lucille Brechbill Lady's obituary read at her funeral outlines the highlights of her life. Note that although Laurel Thatcher Ulrich has written about an earlier era, her observation that what is remembered about women's lives has largely been through their obituaries (often written by ministers) is suggestive for women of the twentieth century (see "Virtuous Women Found: New England Ministerial Literature, 1668-1735," in *Women in American Religion*, ed. Janet Wilson James [University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980], 68).
7. Louise Desalvo has described how "people who write about their loved ones' deaths are paradoxically engaged in a search for the meaning of their loved ones lives" and how especially "if the death was a violent one," they "want to

discover . . . an overarching meaning for this death so that it will not have been for naught” (see *Writing as a Way of Healing: How Telling Our Stories Transforms Our Lives* [Beacon Press, 2000], 191).

8. For the development of these eras, see Carleton Wittlinger, *Quest for Piety and Obedience: The Story of the Brethren in Christ* (Nappanee, IN: Evangel Press, 1978).
9. Wittlinger, *Quest for Piety and Obedience*, 1-2.
10. Anita Brechbill, *A Teacher . . . and More: Biography of Albert H. Brechbill* (n.p., 1987), 6; and Earl Brechbill, “Ancestry of John and Henrietta Davidson Brechbill: A Historical Narrative,” unpublished manuscript, n.d., 31.
11. Brechbill, “Ancestry,” 31; and Wittlinger, *Quest for Piety and Obedience*, 120.
12. Brechbill, “Ancestry,” 58; and Wittlinger, *Quest for Piety and Obedience*, 47.
13. Wittlinger, *Quest for Piety and Obedience*, 131-32.
14. Brechbill, “Ancestry,” 29.
15. Brechbill, “Ancestry,” 34.
16. Diary of Ruth Brechbill Heise, in possession of the author.
17. Earl Brechbill, to the author, 12 July 1999.
18. Brechbill Lady, “The Christian Teacher’s Relationship to His Students,” *Evangelical Visitor* (29 July 1957): 6.
19. Brechbill, to the author, 12 July 1999.
20. Brechbill Lady, “Impressions Shape the Child’s Destiny,” *Evangelical Visitor* (22 June 1964). Henry and Elizabeth Davidson’s daughters Edith and Esther, who in October 1999 still lived in their family home, showed me the bedroom from which Frances wrote her missionary travelogue.
21. Carol Heilbrun has confirmed the mother “as the secret bestower of possibility” (see *Women’s Lives: the View From the Threshold* [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999], 52). As a young person growing up, I often heard my mother Naomi Heise Marr, who was Ruth’s daughter, speak of this desire of her grandmother’s. See also E. Morris Sider, *Nine Portraits: Brethren in Christ Biographical Sketches* (Nappanee, IN: Evangel Press, 1978), 161.
22. Brechbill, *A Teacher*, 11.
23. Diary of Ruth Brechbill Heise.

24. Brechbill, "Ancestry," 38; E. Morris Sider, *Here Faith and Learning Meet: The Story of Niagara Christian College* (Nappanee, IN: Evangel Press, 1982), 57.
25. Brechbill, "A Teacher," 11, 46.
26. Wittlinger, *Quest for Piety and Obedience*, 298; and Diary of Ruth Brechbill Heise.
27. Diary of Ruth Brechbill Heise. For a brief discussion of the establishment and early years of Brethren in Christ mission in India, see Wittlinger, *Quest for Piety and Obedience*, 179, 185-92.
28. Wittlinger, *Quest for Piety and Obedience*, 298. See also E. Morris Sider, *Messiah College: A History* (Nappanee, IN: Evangel Press, 1984), 63.
29. Brechbill, "Ancestry," 37; and Brechbill, to the author, 30 July 2000.
30. Clarence E. Heise, *My Story, My Song: Life Stories by Brethren in Christ Missionaries*, ed. E. Morris Sider (n.p.: Brethren in Christ World Missions, 1989), 195. In her diary, Ruth wrote of the "relief to know that we were sailing toward America" and her tears of joy as she met the various family members from whom they had been separated for so long.
31. Brechbill, to the author, 12 July 1999.
32. Wittlinger, *Quest for Piety and Obedience*, 327-28.
33. Earl and Ellen Brechbill, interview by the author and Phyllis Marr Harrison, Mechanicsburg, PA, 18 July 2000. See also Wittlinger, *Quest for Piety and Obedience*, 349ff, for a discussion on the significance of plain dress to the Brethren in Christ during this time.
34. Brechbill, to the author, 12 July 1999; and Lady, "Jesse F. Lady," 15.
35. In *Writing a Woman's Life*, Carolyn Heilbrun has discussed the paucity of female role models for young women.
36. "Certificate of High School Study," Jesse Lady papers; and *The Clarion* (1928), Brethren in Christ Archives.
37. Earl and Ellen Brechbill, interview by the author and Phyllis Marr Harrison; Brechbill, to the author, 12 July 1999; and Engle Heise, telephone interview by the author.
38. *Evangelical Visitor* (6 February 1928), cited in Brechbill, "Teacher," 20. See also Sider, *Messiah College*, 86-87.
39. Sider, "Sarah Hoover Bert," in *Nine Portraits*, 38.

40. Sider, "Sarah Hoover Bert," in *Nine Portraits*, 40; and Earl and Ellen Brechbill, interview by the author and Phyllis Marr Harrison.
41. Brechbill, "Ancestry," 35.
42. Lady, "Jesse F. Lady," 17.
43. Paul Boyer, "Minister's Wife, Widow, Reluctant Feminist: Catherine Marshall in the 1950s," in *Women in American Religion*, ed. Janet Wilson James (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980), 257.
44. See, for instance, Berniece Woodward, "The Pastor's Wife," *Evangelical Visitor* (9 January 1950): 14-15.
45. Lady, "Jesse F. Lady," 15; and Brechbill, to the author, 12 July 1999.
46. *Evangelical Visitor* (20 February 1936): 29; see also Brechbill, "Ancestry," 57, 59.
47. Wittlinger, *Quest for Piety and Obedience*, 434.
48. Woodward, "The Pastor's Wife," 14; and Wittlinger, *Quest for Piety and Obedience*, 330.
49. Earl and Ellen Brechbill, interview by the author and Phyllis Marr Harrison.
50. Elaine Lawless, *Holy Women, Wholly Women: Sharing Ministries of Wholeness through Life Stories and Reciprocal Ethnography* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), 3; Lucille's ability to present a strong testimony was substantiated by Grace Stoner (Interview by the author, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 18 July 2000).
51. Woodward, "The Pastor's Wife," 14. See also Lela R. Marzolf, "The Minister's Wife," *Evangelical Visitor* (20 March 1951): 107-08.
52. Photos from Naomi Heise's (Marr) album are in possession of the author.
53. Earl and Ellen Brechbill, interview by the author and Phyllis Marr Harrison; and Diary of Naomi Heise (Marr), 26 January 1939, 8 February 1939, 30 March 1939, in possession of Connie Harper.
54. Ulrich, "Virtuous Women Found," 69.
55. Betty Jane Wylie, *Reading Between the Lines* (Toronto: Key Porter, 1995), 113-15; and Bonnie Fox, *Hidden in the Household: Women's Domestic Labour under Capitalism* (Toronto: Women's Press, 1980), 12.
56. Brechbill Heise to Brechbill Blosser, 21 November 1940; and Brechbill, *A Teacher*, 75.

57. Brechbill, *A Teacher*, 83-84.
58. Lady, "Jesse F. Lady," 24.
59. For a discussion of Jesse's contributions as college president and bishop during these years, see Lady, "Jesse F. Lady," 24-32; and Beulah College Yearbook *Echo* (1949). In 1949 Beulah College, established in 1920, became Upland College after the church that hosted it. In 1965 it merged with Messiah College (see Wittlinger, *Quest for Piety and Obedience*, 306).
60. For a discussion of Froebel's thought and its influence on twentieth-century pedagogy, see Neil Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth-Century Consensus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), 18ff. I have developed these ideas as they pertain to Christian Education elsewhere: for example, see "Sunday School. Teaching: A Women's Enterprise. A Case Study from the Canadian Methodist, Presbyterian and United Church Tradition, 1919-1939," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* (November 1993): 329-44.
61. "What is Teaching?" *Evangelical Visitor* (5 April 1948).
62. Brechbill Heise to Brechbill Blosser, 21 November 1940.
63. Brechbill Lady to Brechbill Blosser, 20 July 1949.
64. Lady, "Jesse F. Lady," 17. In her letters, Lucille made countless references to nieces and nephews and their children.
65. "The Minister's Wife," *Evangelical Visitor* (20 March 1951): 7; and Lady, "Jesse F. Lady," 32. See Wittlinger, *Quest for Piety and Obedience*, 475ff for an excellent discussion of these developments.
66. "My Spirit Shall Not Always Strive With Man," *Evangelical Visitor* (12 November 1951): 14-15.
67. Marzloff, "The Minister's Wife," 7.
68. Marzloff, "The Minister's Wife," 7. According to Brechbill, *A Teacher*, 89, Albert died of a heart attack in January, 1951. Nearly fifty years later in 1998, during a time of conflict and crisis the Upland congregation again took counsel from Lucille's "vision" (Lois Tidgwell to the author, 26 May 2000).
69. "My Spirit Shall Not Always Strive With Man," 14-15.
70. Lucille B. Lady, "A Personal Testimony," *Evangelical Visitor* (27 September 1954): 7.
71. Lady, "Jesse F. Lady," 33.

72. "The Ladys arrive – and begin to work!" *Evangelical Visitor* (26 September 1955): 10.
73. Brechbill Lady to Brechbill Blosser, 11 November 1956.
74. Jesse and Lucille Lady, "Israel to the Rhodesias," *Evangelical Visitor* (27 February 1956): 10; Brechbill Lady to Blosser (Fry), 15 July 1956; and Brechbill Lady to Brechbill Blosser, August 1956. For a brief history of Brethren in Christ missions in Zimbabwe, see Alemu Checole et al., *Africa: Anabaptist Songs in African Hearts*, vol. 1 of *A Global Mennonite History* (Kitchener, ON: Pandora Press, 2003), 136ff.
75. Brechbill Lady to Blosser (Fry), 15 July 1956. For a brief history of the establishment of Wanezi Bible School, see Wittlinger, *Quest for Piety and Obedience*, 459ff.
76. "Dilation and Curretage D & C" (see http://www.netdoctor.co.uk/health_advice/facts/curretage.htm).
77. Betty Friedan, *The Second Stage* (New York, NY: Summit Books, 1981), 15.
78. Brechbill Lady to Heise Marr and Clarence Heise Jr., 9 January 1959.
79. Virginia Walcott Beauchamp, "Letters as Literature: The Prestons of Baltimore," in *Women's Personal Narratives*, ed. Leonore Hoffman and Margaret Cully (New York: Modern Language Arts of America, 1985), 47.
80. Lady, "Jesse F. Lady," 35.
81. Conversation with Sherilin Heise on 13 May 2008.
82. Brechbill Lady to Blossers, 2 September 1965.
83. Brechbill Lady to Brechbill Blosser, 23 January 1968; Lois Tidgewell, to the author, 26 May 2000.
84. Lois Tidgewell, to the author, 26 May 2000.
85. Brechbill Lady to Brechbill Blosser, 18 October 1965; 15 May 1966; 10 October 1966; Jesse and Lucille Brechbill Lady to Friends, Christmas 1966. Wittlinger has noted that in the mid-1940s women across the church formed "prayer circles to pray for and promote missions" (*Quest for Piety and Obedience*, 467).
86. Susan Kissel, "Writer Anxiety versus the Need for Community in the Botts Family Letters," in *Women's Personal Narratives*, 51.

87. See Charlotte Gray, *Canada: A Portrait in Letters* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 2003), 13; and Patricia Spacks, *Gossip* (University of Chicago Press, 1986), 5, for these observations on the function of letter writing. Brechbill Heise to Brechbill Blosser, 17 February 1963.
88. Brechbill, to the author, 12 July 1999. Blosser Fry, conversation with the author. Carolyn J. Tice and Kathleen Perkins, *Mental Health Issues and Aging: Building on the Strengths of Older Persons* (Toronto: Brooks/Cole Publishing Co., 1996), 86-88.
89. Alice Miller, *The Drama of the Gifted Child* (New York: Basic Books, 1990), quoted in DeSalvo, *Writing as a Way of Healing*, 167-68. This is also Carolyn Heilbrun's view (see *Women's Lives*, 15).
90. Brechbill Lady to Heise Marr, 1 March 1968.
91. Eunice Engel, to the author, 20 May 2002.
92. Lady, "Jesse F. Lady," 36; copy of obituary in possession of the author.
93. Sue Monk Kidd, *Dance of the Dissident Daughter* (San Francisco: Harper, 1996), 47.
94. "The Minister's Wife," *Evangelical Visitor* (17 October 1960): 2.
95. Wittlinger, *Quest for Piety and Obedience*, 523.
96. See, for instance, Lois Tidgwell, to the author, 26 May 2000.

CSCH President's Address 2009

**Faiths of '37: Methodism and Anti-Catholicism
in Rebellion-Era Canada**

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At our annual meeting in 2006, Paul Laverdure noted that “[t]raditionally, there have been three ways to deliver a presidential address at the Canadian Society of Church History.” One way was to provide an overview of the state of the field; another involved an excursion into autobiography; and the third option was to offer “a peak at a sliver of a work in progress.”¹ Quite early on, I decided to go with the last of those options, mostly because the field seems to be in good shape to me, and because, like most historians, my day-to-day existence does not lend itself to gripping narrative. So, today I am seizing the opportunity to return to a topic that has interested to me for over a decade now: the Methodist propensity for schism during the early nineteenth century. More specifically, I am going to examine one facet of the grand transatlantic wrangle between the British Wesleyan and Canadian Methodist connexions, beginning with their union in 1833 and ending with the collapse of that union in 1840.

In other places, I have tried to demonstrate that this transoceanic battle was more than a prolonged dispute over church governance. It had a broader cultural dimension. It was about who would define the meaning of “Britishness” in the north Atlantic world.² And that conflict, I am going to argue today, was complicated by an important, but hitherto overlooked

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facet of the transatlantic Methodist *mentalité*: anti-Catholicism. In the years before 1860 anti-Catholicism in British North America was derivative, aping metropolitan and American ideas and practices, as J.R. Miller notes.³ But “derivative” does not necessarily mean “simplistic.” Anti-Catholicism acted as both a divisive and a unifying force among the Methodists in Britain and the Canadas during the nineteenth century: this point has been glossed over not only in Miller’s articles on anti-Catholicism, but also in the work of Goldwin French and Neil Semple.⁴ French and Semple, in fact, treat anti-Catholicism like the skeleton in the denominational closet, not to be rattled at any cost. That makes sense, to a certain extent. The Canadian Methodists’ repeated recourse to the cry of “no popery” was hardly the stuff of a nation-building epic, which was, in many ways, what French and Semple were each attempting to create.⁵

Much of the story of Lower and Upper Canadian Methodism, and its relationship with British Wesleyanism, is incomprehensible, if we ignore anti-Catholicism as a cultural force. Until the mid-1840s, anti-Catholicism helped undermine any efforts to forge a common British culture among the Methodists in Britain and the Canadas. The British Wesleyans and the Canadian Methodists had different conceptions of the meaning and possible uses of anti-Catholicism. For the Canadian Methodists, anti-Catholicism was a weapon to be used against the Church of England; for the British Wesleyans, in contrast, anti-Catholicism was tied to anti-gallicanism and the duty to transform the French Canadians into loyal Protestants and Britons. As I will show, this difference of opinion was brought into sharp relief by the revolutionary crisis of 1837-8.

Prelude to the Rebellions

Before we come to the rebellions of 1837-8, however, we have to fill in some background. It is important to note, first, that anti-Catholicism was bred deep in the bones of Methodism and, second, that, more than anything else, it was disagreement over the issue of church establishment that destroyed the first union between the British Wesleyans and the Canadian Methodists in 1840. To understand these two points is to understand a large part of the early history of Methodism in Lower and Upper Canada.

It was John Wesley who made anti-Catholicism into a cornerstone of Methodist culture. As Henry Rack points out, when it came to hating Catholics, Wesley was not as rabid as many of his fellow English

Protestants; but, given the pervasive anti-Catholicism of English culture during the eighteenth century, that is not saying much. Wesley did not want to drive Catholics out of Britain with fire and sword; he was even willing to acknowledge that Catholics and Protestants shared certain fundamental beliefs. Wesley was still convinced, however, that Papists were there to be converted. When Anglican critics began to accuse the early Methodists of being closet Catholics, he felt compelled to become more strident in his anti-Catholicism. He argued that the Catholic Church was, and always would be, a persecuting denomination that did not deserve toleration. Wesley was also increasingly convinced that Catholics were politically and economically backward; this opinion seems to have been both created and confirmed by his time among the rock-heaving Papists of Ireland. Those Catholics, like Catholics everywhere, were priest-ridden people who would always be poor and who would always be loyal to the Pope in Rome rather than their own king or queen.⁶

How far Wesley was willing to take his anti-Catholicism became clear in 1780 when he came out in support of Lord George Gordon's Protestant Association: a group of zealots who aimed to halt any measure of political relief for Britain's Catholics, no matter how modest. Wesley was in total agreement with the goal of the Protestant Association, writing that Popery, if left unchecked, would "undermine Holiness" and destroy everything that was most valuable in life, including "love of God," "love of one's neighbours" and "justice, mercy, and truth." Even after Gordon unleashed his followers on London, leading to some of the worst rioting of the eighteenth-century, Wesley stuck to his guns. He visited the clearly deranged nobleman in prison and wished him the best.⁷ Wesley had a straightforward defense for all of this: Popery could not be trusted. Nineteenth-century Methodists, on both sides of the Atlantic, took that message and ran with it.

In theory, then, anti-Catholicism could have been a unifying force in the relationship between the British Wesleyans and the Canadian Methodists during the early nineteenth century; instead it was caught up in the divisive issue of church establishment. Until the mid-1840s, Jabez Bunting and the other leaders of the British Wesleyan connexion were convinced that Anglicanism provided the basis for a national religion, shielding Britain and its colonies from the many horrors of the modern age.⁸ Bunting thus contended that it was the duty of every loyal British subject "to maintain the most friendly feelings" towards the Church of England, and "to discountenance as far as we can . . . that bitter and

unchristian hostility” towards the church establishment “which is now too much in fashion . . .”⁹ The trouble was that Canadian Methodists, like Egerton Ryerson, could not bring themselves to accept this key Buntingite idea. Instead, equally sure of their own British loyalty, the Canadian Methodists fought long and hard for the disestablishment of the Church of England in Upper Canada.¹⁰ Ryerson and his fellow ministers could never forgive the Anglican leader John Strachan for publicly denouncing them as “uneducated itinerant preachers, who, leaving their steady employment, betake themselves to preaching the Gospel from idleness, or a zeal without knowledge, by which they are induced without any preparation, to teach what they do not know, and which, from their pride, they disdain to learn.”¹¹

The fact that the Canadian Methodists turned to the rhetoric of anti-Catholicism in their battle with colonial Anglicanism only complicated an already complex situation. During the early 1830s, the members of the Canada connexion argued that Strachan’s Church of England was effectively in league with Popery; after all, thanks to the Quebec Act of 1774, the British state also recognized Roman Catholicism as an established church in the Canadas. In his role as the editor of the Canadian Methodist newspaper, the *Christian Guardian*, Egerton Ryerson battered away at that point with all the subtlety of a sledgehammer. “What a sorry picture does it present,” an editorial noted in May 1830, “and what a mighty sword of ridicule does it put in the hands of infidelity, to see . . . Episcopalism, and Popery, *piously* countenanced and *established* within the territories of the same kingdom.” If only one of those denominations was supported by the powers that be in Britain “there would have been consistency, if not justice and truth . . .” That, however, was not the case in Lower and Upper Canada. Instead, because “two opposites cannot be right at the same time, the plain inference is, that the divinity of neither is practically believed” by the imperial state.¹² Everyone was coming out of the system of church establishment looking bad. The British government seemed to be verging on complete godlessness and the Church of England was in cahoots with Roman Catholicism to preserve its privileged, but illegitimate, position in the Canadas. Whether this picture of rampant declension was accurate or not, the Canadian Methodists were certainly making use of Methodism’s anti-Catholic heritage in a new and provocative way that was bound to irritate the Buntingites.

The Canadian Methodists’ thoroughly political recourse to anti-Popery did, indeed, clash with the British Wesleyan understanding of anti-

Catholicism. Instead of finding fault with the Church of England, the Buntingites believed, Methodists should be spending their time dealing with the far more serious threat to British North America's position in the British empire: the French and Catholic majority in Lower Canada. From 1814 on, the British Wesleyan missionaries stationed in Montreal, Quebec City and other parts of the colony attempted to do just that. They regularly wrote to the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (WMMS) in England, describing "the ignorance, bigotry and prejudice" of the *habitants* and their priests. Everywhere the missionaries went they found priests burning bibles, farmers mumbling prayers they did not understand and "richly ornamented" churches in which "the power of grace [is] unknown." In 1820, the missionary John DePutron summed up the situation: "Popery universally opposed to the light, has wherever it reigns darkness for its concomitant, and I am sorry to say that the state of this Province deplorably confirms the assertion." The only way to save the Canadas from Popery, it seemed, was to establish "a French Mission" in Lower Canada in order to transform the French Canadians into loyal and Protestant Britons.¹³ The WMMS proved keen to support this initiative, promising to send books, money and personnel to Lower Canada.¹⁴ As was often the case with the WMMS, however, there was a yawning chasm between intention and reality. The much-ballyhooed French Mission came to nothing. It probably did not help that only one of the missionaries in the Canadas could speak French.¹⁵ Still, the main point is that a disestablished Church of England had no place in the British Wesleyan dream of a colony free of every vestige of Popery.

The Rebellions of 1837-8

The rebellions of 1837-8 brought these two conceptions of anti-Catholicism into jarring conflict. The British Wesleyans, both in the Canadas and the home country, saw the rebellions as an opportunity to topple Roman Catholicism and assimilate the French Canadians. The Canadian Methodists, in contrast, saw the rebellions as an opportunity to demonstrate their loyalty to Britain, while also redoubling their assault on the established church in Upper Canada, drawing, once again, on the rhetoric of anti-Catholicism in their efforts. In 1840, this clash of opinions helped destroy the union that had been established between the British Wesleyans and the Canadian Methodists seven years earlier.

As the political crisis in the Canadas deepened in 1836 and 1837, the

British Wesleyan missionaries came to the conclusion that all their nightmares about the corrosive effects of Popery were coming true. In Upper Canada, the usually level-headed Joseph Stinson warned that “[t]he country is full of radicalism & the Roman Catholics are now becoming the most violent opponents of Government.”¹⁶ Things were no better in Lower Canada. There the missionaries gave in to both anti-Catholic hysteria and a particularly virulent form of anti-gallicanism: two prejudices that often went hand-in-hand in times of crisis among the British.¹⁷ William Lord, writing to Egerton Ryerson in May 1836, was particularly forthright, arguing that the government in Lower Canada needed to give “the English party” free reign: it should “not hesitate respecting the adoption of the strongest measures” to restore public tranquility. “The feudal system must be broken up,” Lord concluded, “& the French language must cease.”¹⁸ William Croscombe agreed with his fellow missionary. Vigorous measures aimed at the French Canadians were the only way to stop a Protestant exodus from Lower Canada that, apparently, was well underway in the autumn of 1836. Even the direct intervention of the imperial government in the form of the Russell Resolutions, however, had no impact on the deteriorating situation. French Canadians continued to attack their British neighbors. “It is deeply to be lamented” Croscombe wrote in August 1837, “that the Papineau faction should be permitted . . . to inflict so much distress on the English inhabitants of Lower Canada – for no other offense than their being Loyal to their King and Country.”¹⁹

The outbreak of rebellion in 1837 confirmed the missionaries’ view of the religious and ethnic peril they were confronting, particularly in Lower Canada. Robert Lusher, stationed in Montreal, at the epicenter of the unfolding revolutionary crisis, set the tone early on. “We are surrounded with rebellion,” he wrote in late November 1837, “and are every hour threatened with burning, massacre etc..” He had it on the best authority that the *habitants* “have been preparing for some time for a general attack upon the English inhabitants.”²⁰ Three weeks later, Lusher and another missionary, Edmund Botterell, were convinced that rumor had become fact. The rebels, after all, had already “committed the greatest excesses and perpetrated the greatest cruelties among the British settlers, threatening them with death if they did not fly from their dwellings or unite with them.”²¹ Even the defeat of the last rebel force at St. Eustache brought no relief to men caught up in the hurly-burly of the insurrection. At the end of December 1837, Lusher was convinced that “had the Rebels succeeded in capturing Montreal there would have been an indiscriminate

and general Massacre of the British inhabitants.”²²

The missionaries viewed the rebellions of 1838 from a similarly lurid perspective. There were, once again, fears that the *habitants*, having risen up, would kill any British subjects who fell into their hands, including the politician Edward Ellice and his family, who were actually captured by rebels at Beauharnois.²³ At St. Armands, in February 1838, the minister William Squire was close to panic, writing “at present we are in a state of great excitement; Messenger succeeds to Messenger announcing our danger; and probably . . . we may be massacred, or homeless.”²⁴ Plainly, something had to be done to restore order in Lower Canada.

If the French Canadians were the cause of the disorder in Lower Canada, then the destruction of French Canada was the only possible solution. For the British Wesleyans that meant an advance on two fronts: religious and ethnic, anti-Catholic and anti-French. It helped that the Catholic Church and the rebel leadership had already begun the work of undermining Popery. That, at least, was how things looked to Robert Lusher and Edmund Botterell in December 1837. They were convinced that Catholicism was collapsing all around them, fatally weakened, ironically, by the loyalty of many parish priests to the colonial state and the atheistic zeal of the rebel leadership. The former had lost the support of the rebel *habitants*; the latter had instructed the *habitants* to “disregard and insult their priests . . .”²⁵ In Montreal, the wealthy layman William Lunn suggested a way to take advantage of this situation. The WMMS should revive the French Canadian mission. It could aim either to reform “the French Church” or to establish “a pure Church amongst the Canadians, who are deplorably ignorant, blind and prejudiced.” For Lunn this was more than an opportunity; it was a necessity. “God . . . gave us this Province for wise purposes,” he wrote, “& if we do not discharge our duty towards it, you know well what is likely to be the consequences” – the triumph of Catholicism and the dismemberment of the British Empire in North America.²⁶

With the stakes so high, the missionaries and other leading laymen in Montreal hastily piled onto Lunn’s bandwagon. “Popery has in this rebellion rec[eive]d a blow from which it will never recover,” they argued in letter after letter to the WMMS.²⁷ In the course of the rebellions, Joseph Stinson reported, loyal troops had broken open the cabinets of Catholic priests, exposing their “immoral conduct . . . so much so that in some neighborhoods their religious influence is nearly destroyed & they are no longer looked upon as pious and zealous ministers of Christ, but as men

who . . . practice the most abominable licentiousness.” Thanks to the rebellions, there was a real chance of transforming defeated Catholics into convinced anti-Catholics as a first step on the road to spiritual salvation and political loyalty. A Swiss couple, Louis Roussy and Henriette Odin Feller, had already begun that process at Grand Ligue.²⁸ For their part, the Montreal laity believed that the WMMS should establish its own French Canadian missions at St. Charles and St. Eustache, the sites of two crushing rebel defeats in 1837.²⁹ In that way, Robert Lusher explained, “Methodism under the divine blessing will extend its conservative as well as its spiritual influence” in Lower Canada.³⁰

The British Wesleyans in the Canadas had even more decided opinions about the problem of French Canadian nationalism. As usual, William Lunn was both clear-headed and brutal, arguing at the end of the first rebellion in 1837 that “[n]o doubt the Canadians would again revolt, if they could see a good prospect of success.” The solution, however, was simplicity itself. “If the [Imperial] Government make this at once an *English Province*,” Lunn wrote, “we shall in all probability, have peace and prosperity, and the two races will, in some years, amalgamate. The French . . . will, in every respect, be much improved. The Country will be greatly benefited. Conciliation having produced its fruit, rebellion – it must of course be given up.”³¹ This would have been music to the ears of Lord Durham, whose arrival the missionaries looked forward to in the spring of 1838 with a combination of hope and trepidation. His lordship would need to make a difficult but necessary choice, William Squire wrote; “the Country should be given up to the French Canadians to be a French republic; or they must be placed in a minority in the Legislative departments . . .” That was the only way “to keep down the spirit of French nationality, which is at present our curse . . .” “[A] system of conciliation,” Squire added, “will never do this.”³² There was no room for compromise in the minds of the British Wesleyan missionaries and laymen like William Lunn. The French Canadian sense of self needed to be torn up by the roots. The fact that Lord Durham, in his *Report*, agreed wholeheartedly with this view of the situation in Lower Canada could only have lent added weight to the opinions of the British Wesleyan community.³³

That community’s efforts to transform French Canada were given further support by the home connexion. Among the Wesleyans in Britain, it only made sense that a rebellion in the Canadas would be the work of French Catholics – after all, they had been resisting conversion since the

1810s. That, at any rate, was the image of the uprising that the connexional leadership presented in the church's official organ, the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*. In January 1838, it reported that "distressing intelligence has just been received, that the French Papists of Lower Canada have erected the standard of rebellion against the Queen's Government . . ." ³⁴ The editor made no mention of the uprising in Upper Canada, despite the fact that the Buntingites certainly knew about William Lyon Mackenzie's march down Yonge Street and the rebel occupation of Navy Island. ³⁵ Such information, however, did not fit with the image that the connexional leadership had already developed about the crisis in the Canadas. A month later, the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* noted that "ample details have been received in this country respecting the rebellion which the Papists of Lower Canada have raised against the Queen's Government . . ." This rebellion was utterly inexplicable, the editor added, "the party with whom the war originated having, according to their own confessions, been treated with great kindness . . . and [having] received the most substantial benefits from their connexion with Great Britain." These "Papists of Lower Canada" may have received support from "a knot of democratic politicians in the House of Commons," but there was nothing to fear from Upper Canada. "The settlers of Upper Canada are mostly English," the editor declared, "and have no common feeling with the insurgents of the lower province, who are of French extraction." ³⁶ A combination of sectarianism and xenophobia had triumphed over reality among the Wesleyans in Britain.

This was a problem, since the Canadian Methodists in Upper Canada flatly contradicted the British Wesleyan view of the rebellions. The leadership of the Canada Conference, caught up in its ongoing assault on the church establishment, had little time for the anti-gallicanism of their British brethren; and the British Wesleyans had no stomach at all for what they saw as the political waywardness of the Canadian Methodists. At the end of 1838, the Montreal laity fired the first shot in a connexional battle that helped destroy the British Wesleyan-Canadian Methodist union two years later. William Lunn organized a boycott of the *Christian Guardian* among his fellow laymen, arguing that that newspaper was regularly dealing in "disloyal sentiments." ³⁷ Egerton Ryerson replied to that charge in a manner that illustrated the breach that differing conceptions of anti-Catholicism had opened up between the Canadian Methodists and the British Wesleyans. Ryerson certainly had no love for the French Canadians. He had been "the first," he claimed, "to excite in the Colonial Office

in England determination to protect British interests in Lower Canada against French ambitions & prejudices.” That was not to say, however, that he was of “the high church school in politics” or part of the “school of Bloodshed and French extermination” that appeared to be all the rage among the British Wesleyan laity of Montreal. “I . . . think,” Ryerson continued, “that there still remains another basis of Scripture, Justice & Humanity on which may rest the principles of a loyalty that will sacrifice life itself in maintenance of British Supremacy . . .” Men like William Lunn, in contrast, were merely the practitioners of “ultra syncophantic partizanship” and that made them into the true threat to the British Empire in North America.³⁸

As he came out swinging against British Wesleyan anti-Catholicism, Ryerson was likely working from the assumption that the Canadian Methodists had, in fact, demonstrated their loyalty to Britain during the rebellions. To a great extent, that assumption was correct. As Mackenzie and his followers marched down Yonge Street and later occupied Navy Island, the *Christian Guardian* attempted to rally Canadians of every class to the standard of empire.³⁹ It also took some well-aimed shots at any Americans who might be tempted to join the rebel leader in his efforts to ‘liberate’ the Canadas. Such ragamuffins “had better go and wear in the south the laurels which they have won from effeminate and disorganized bands of *Mexicans*. The united yeomanry of *Upper Canada* are made of other materials” – a comment that demonstrated that the Canadian Methodists could be every bit as xenophobic as their British brethren in times of crisis.⁴⁰ At the Battle of the Windmill in November 1838, the *Christian Guardian* pointed out, a “very fair proportion of those who rushed forward in the hour of danger for the defence of their country were members of the Methodist Church, or under Methodist influence . . .”⁴¹ Among those brave and loyal Methodist soldiers was Private Allan McIntosh, who, in later years, became both a circuit rider and Upper Canada’s version of Johnny Appleseed, sowing the countryside with God’s word and his family’s version of the apple tree.⁴² With press and people like that on their side, the Canadian Methodists had every reason to cry up their attachment to the colonial and imperial governments.

Secure in their own sense of political loyalty, the Canadian Methodists also felt free to return to their campaign against the church establishment, drawing, once again, on the language of anti-Catholicism to support their arguments. Egerton Ryerson took the lead from the editorial desk of the *Christian Guardian*. More bluntly than he ever had

before the rebellions, Ryerson attempted to draw a direct line connecting colonial Anglicanism and Popery. He pointed out that “the Heads of the Episcopal Church” in Upper Canada “actually boast of having not only supported bills and appropriations for Roman Catholic Schools, but even grants for the salaries of Roman Catholic Clergy . . .” “[A]nd then,” Ryerson crowed, “they turn around” and urge “us . . . to support their absurd pretensions to” establishment status “as the only ‘security for the permanence and purity of the Protestant faith!’”⁴³ The Church of England was nothing more than “diluted popery, under the garb of Protestantism.”⁴⁴ This kind of thinking was not confined to Ryerson. When the British Wesleyan missionary William Harvard wrote a letter to the *Christian Guardian*, trying to define “*Canadian loyalty*” in a narrow, pro-establishment fashion, a local preacher turned the same anti-Catholic rhetoric against him. That local preacher “termed my letter a Bull,” a surprised Harvard reported to the WMMS. He said “that I was acting like a Pope,” that this was “no original idea” of his and that he “could say more” if he “chose to do . . .”⁴⁵

The British Wesleyans, both in the colony and the home country, took that threat seriously. Thanks to the union of 1833, the anti-Catholic rhetoric of the Canadian Methodists threatened to disrupt the Wesleyans own image as loyal Britons. They could not be seen to support an attack on colonial Anglicanism, while arguing in favour of a church establishment in Britain. As the missionary Joseph Stinson put it, “that policy which is right in one part of the Empire cannot be wrong in another part of the Empire . . .” If Jabez Bunting and his supporters wanted to maintain “their own consistency & sacred honour,” Stinson continued, “they must either dissolve the *nominal* union which now exists or bring the Canadian [Methodist] Preachers as completely under their control” as possible, forcing Ryerson and his friends to accept the metropolitan conception of anti-Catholicism, as well as other Buntingite opinions and policies.⁴⁶ In 1840, the Buntingites took Stinson’s first option and dissolved the union between the British Wesleyan and Canadian Methodist connexions. Anti-Catholicism had, indeed, proven to be a divisive force in transatlantic Methodism.

Conclusion

In conclusion, I want to suggest that this discussion of the Methodist experience of the rebellions of 1837-8 points to the need to reexamine

several issues. We should certainly take a closer look at the interface of sectarianism and politics in rebellion-era Canada. Sectarianism had a part to play in determining the Methodist role in, and response to, the uprisings in Lower and Upper Canada; and there is evidence to suggest that a hatred of the religious “other” was a more general force shaping the events of 1837-8.⁴⁷ Both rebel and pro-government newspapers accused one another of turning Protestant against Catholic. In November 1837, for instance, a correspondent in William Lyon Mackenzie’s *The Constitution* argued that “the Colonial tyrants” of Toronto and Quebec City were attempting to transfer the religious divisions of Ireland to the Canadas, in order to divide the Irish immigrant population and to keep down “equal rights and liberal institutions . . .”⁴⁸ At the same time, the *Quebec Gazette* and the *Montreal Gazette* charged the rebel leadership with cynically manipulating religion – primarily by quoting thoroughly anti-Catholic imperial policies from the early nineteenth century that “*have never been executed and no longer exist!*” – in an effort to turn the *habitants* against the colonial government.⁴⁹ It will require further research to determine whether these allegations reflected a sectarian reality, but the Methodist case seems to indicate that this smoke was the result of a genuine fire.

More broadly, my analysis of Methodism and the rebellions calls into question Linda Colley’s argument, in *Britons: Forging the Nation*, that the combination of anti-Catholicism and anti-gallicanism created a unified and highly conservative British culture among the English and Scots beginning in the mid-1700s.⁵⁰ As I have demonstrated elsewhere, the Methodists in Lower and Upper Canada shared in that process after 1840.⁵¹ But how does the Methodist experience in the Canadas before 1840 fit into Colley’s thesis? The simple answer is that it does not. Instead, differing conceptions of anti-Catholicism and its connection to anti-gallicanism among the British Wesleyans and Canadian Methodists helped shatter any chance of cultural unity across the north Atlantic.⁵² The Canadian Methodists went into the schism of 1840 firmly convinced that they were the true Britons and that they had proven their loyalist credentials during the rebellions of 1837-8. The British Wesleyans, whether in Britain or the colonies, were equally convinced that their Canadian brethren, in using the rhetoric of anti-Catholicism to attack the church establishment, were erring badly. They were leaving the real threat to the empire untouched: the French Canadians. Eventually, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the British Wesleyans and the Canadian Methodists did join forces in an effort to convert the French Catholics of Lower Canada. In the

meantime, however, the French Canadians, by virtue of their existence alone, had played a role in halting the movement towards transatlantic unity among one of the most aggressively evangelical denominations of the nineteenth century. It was a subtle form of vengeance.

Endnotes

1. Paul Laverdure, "Religion and Public History," *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2006), 158.
2. This is the argument I have made in two articles: Todd Webb, "Making Neo-Britons: The Transatlantic Relationship between Wesleyan Methodists in Britain and the Canadas, 1815-1828," *British Journal of Canadian Studies* 18, no. 1 (2005): 1-25; and Todd Webb "How the Canadian Methodists Became British: Unity, Schism and Transatlantic Identity, 1827-1854," in *Transatlantic Subjects: Ideas, Institutions, and Social Experience in Post-Revolutionary British North America*, ed. Nancy Christie (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008), 159-98.
3. J.R. Miller, "Bigotry in the North Atlantic Triangle: Irish, British and American influences on Canadian Anti-Catholicism, 1850-1900," *Studies in Religion / Sciences Religieuses* 16, no. 3 (1987): 290-1.
4. J.R. Miller, "Anti-Catholic Thought in Victorian Canada," *Canadian Historical Review* 66, no. 4 (1985): 474-94; J.R. Miller, "Anti-Catholicism in Canada: From the British Conquest to the Great War," in *Creed and Culture: The Place of English-Speaking Catholics in Canadian Society, 1750-1930*, eds. Terrence Murphy and Gerald Stortz (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 25-48.
5. Goldwin French, *Parson and Politics: The role of the Wesleyan Methodists in Upper Canada and the Maritimes from 1780 to 1855* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1962), 225, 227, 248, 250, 278; and Neil Semple, *The Lord's Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 98-99. In contrast, historians of nineteenth-century British Wesleyanism have readily acknowledged the importance of anti-Catholicism in the process of denominational and cultural formation (see David Hempton, *Methodism and Politics in British Society, 1750-1850* [London: Century Hutchinson Ltd., 1987], 42-3).
6. Henry D. Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast: John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism*, 3rd edition (London: Epworth Press, 2002), 309-11; Hempton, *Methodism and Politics*, 34-9; and Irene Whalen, *The Bible War in Ireland: The "Second Reformation" and the Polarization of Protestant-Catholic*

- Relations, 1800-1840* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005), 6-8.
7. Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast*, 311-12. The quotations are from *The Works of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M.*, ed. J. Emory (New York, 1856), 5:803-16, in Eugene C. Black, *The Association: British Extraparliamentary Organization, 1769-1793* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963), 157.
 8. Hempton, *Methodism and Politics*, 185-6.
 9. Jabez Bunting to James Kendall, 24 April 1834, in *Early Victorian Methodism: The correspondence of Jabez Bunting, 1830-1858*, ed. W.R. Ward (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), 59-60.
 10. For the issues at stake in this confrontation see William Westfall, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 24-7.
 11. John Strachan, *A Sermon Preached at York, Upper Canada, Third of July, 1825, on the Death of the Late Lord Bishop of Quebec* (Kingston: Macfarlane, 1826); in *John Strachan: Documents and Opinions*, ed. J.L.H. Henderson (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, Ltd., 1969), 92.
 12. *Christian Guardian*, 29 May 1830, 218-19. Emphasis in original. The editorial was reprinted from an English newspaper: the *Christian Guardian and Church of England Magazine*. In his introductory comments, Ryerson slyly noted "[f]or the allusions to popery, we do not feel ourselves responsible – they are only assertions. We merely give them as the opinion of a noted and extensively patronized *Episcopal Journal*. Of the justness and propriety of the observations made, our readers will judge for themselves."
 13. John DePutron to Joseph Taylor, November 1816, Box 2, File 23, #26, Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society Correspondence (hereafter WMMS-C), United Church Archives, Toronto, Ontario (hereafter UCA); John DePutron to Joseph Taylor, 1 August 1820, Box 4, File 39, #8, WMMS-C, UCA; John DePutron to Joseph Taylor, 30 May 1819, Box 4, File 39, #[?], WMMS-C, UCA. See also John DePutron to George Marsden, 20 October 1817, Box 2, File 27, #13, WMMS-C, UCA; Robert Lusher to Joseph Taylor, 12 July 1819, Box 3, File 35, #17, WMMS-C, UCA; and *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, December 1828, 817-18.
 14. The Missionary Society's ongoing interest in the French mission can be traced through Minutes of the General Committee of the WMMS, 18 April 1817, Reel 1, WMMS-C, UCA; Joseph Taylor to John DePutron, 1 April 1819, Outgoing Correspondence, WMMS-C, UCA; and Joseph Taylor to John DePutron, 10 September 1819, Outgoing Correspondence, WMMS-C, UCA.

15. Robert Lusher to the General Secretaries of the WMMS, 2 November 1818, Box 3, File 30, #23, WMMS-C, UCA; John DePutron to Joseph Taylor, 20 January 1819, Box 3, File 35, #5, WMMS-C, UCA; and Richard Williams to Joseph Taylor, 10 May 1823, Box 7, File 52, #24, WMMS-C, UCA.
16. Joseph Stinson to Robert Alder, 22 April 1836, Box 21, File 135, #3, WMMS-C, UCA.
17. Linda Colley, "Britishness and Otherness: An Argument," *Journal of British Studies* 31 (October 1992): 316-23.
18. William Lord to Egerton Ryerson, 31 May 1836, Box 1, File 22, Egerton Ryerson papers, UCA.
19. William Croscombe to Robert Alder, 29 October 1836, Box 20, File 129, #1, WMMS-C, UCA; and William Croscombe to Robert Alder, 10 August 1837, Box 21, File 137, #19, WMMS-C, UCA.
20. Robert Lusher to Robert Alder, 20 November 1837, Box 21, File 137, #26, WMMS-C, UCA.
21. Robert Lusher and Edmund Botterell to the General Secretaries of the WMMS, 12 December 1837, Box 21, File 137, #28, WMMS-C, UCA. In this instance, the missionaries were not exaggerating (see Allan Greer, *The Patriots and the People: The Rebellion of 1837 in Rural Lower Canada* [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996], 183-8).
22. Robert Lusher to Robert Alder, 27 December 1837, Box 21, File 137, #30, WMMS-C, UCA.
23. See for example Robert Cooney to John Mathewson, 6 November 1838, Portraits and Letters of the Ministers of St. James, Montreal, UCA; and Robert Lusher to the General Secretaries of the WMMS, 15 November 1838, Box 22, File 145, #30, WMMS-C, UCA. Edward Ellice's wife, Jane Ellice, wrote a fascinating account of her time in captivity; at certain points, her narrative describes the same anti-gallicanism and anti-Catholicism found in the letters of the British Wesleyan missionaries and laity (see *The Diary of Jane Ellice*, ed. Patricia Godsell [Toronto: Oberon Press, 1975], especially 133 and 135).
24. William Squire to J.B. Selley, 24 February 1838, Portraits and Letters of the Ministers of St. James, Montreal, UCA.
25. Robert Lusher and Edmund Botterell to the General Secretaries of the WMMS, 12 December 1837, Box 21, File 137, #28, WMMS-C, UCA.

26. William Lunn to the General Secretaries of the WMMS, 21 December 1837, Box 21, File 137, #29, WMMS-C, UCA.
27. Robert Lusher to Robert Alder, 27 December 1837, Box 21, File 137, #30, WMMS-C, UCA. See also William Lunn to the General Secretaries of the WMMS, 13 January 1838, Box 22, File 145, #1, WMMS-C, UCA; and Robert Lusher to Robert Alder, 15 January 1838, Box 22, File 145, #7, WMMS-C, UCA.
28. Joseph Stinson to Robert Alder, 18 February 1839, Box 23, File 159, #11, WMMS-C, UCA. See also Gilles Chaussé, "French Canada from the Conquest to 1840," in *A Concise History of Christianity in Canada*, eds. Terrence Murphy and Roberto Perin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 96-7, 105-6.
29. William Lunn to the General Secretaries of the WMMS, 13 January 1838, Box 22, File 145, #1, WMMS-C, UCA.
30. Robert Lusher to Robert Alder, 23 February 1838, Box 22, File 145, #4, WMMS-C, UCA.
31. William Lunn to the General Secretaries of the WMMS, 21 December 1837, Box 21, File 137, #29, WMMS-C, UCA. Emphasis in original.
32. William Squire to Robert Alder, 3 May 1838, Box 22, File 145, #13, WMMS-C, UCA.
33. *Lord Durham's Report: An Abridgement of Report on the Affairs of British North America by Lord Durham*, new edition, ed. Gerald M. Craig (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007), 13, 14-15, 144-51, 158-60.
34. *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, January 1838, 70.
35. See for example Joseph Stinson to Robert Alder, 8 December 1837, Box 21, File 143, #5, WMMS-C, UCA; William Martin Harvard to Robert Alder, 15 December 1837, Box 21, File 143, #6, WMMS-C, UCA; Robert Lusher to Robert Alder, 15 January 1838, Box 22, File 145, #7, WMMS-C, UCA.
36. *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, February 1838, 152-3.
37. Matthew Richey to Egerton Ryerson, 2 January 1839, Box 2, File 38, Egerton Ryerson papers, UCA.
38. Egerton Ryerson to William Lunn and James Ferrier, 7 January 1839, Box 2, File 38, Egerton Ryerson papers, UCA.

39. *Christian Guardian*, 13 December 1837, 22; and *Christian Guardian*, 10 January 1838, 38.
40. *Christian Guardian*, 20 December 1837, 26. Emphasis in original.
41. *Christian Guardian*, 19 December 1838, 26.
42. For the career of Allan MacIntosh see Donald E. Graves, *Guns Across the River: The Battle of the Windmill, 1838* (Toronto: Robin Brass Studio, 2001), 204-5.
43. *Christian Guardian*, 16 May 1838, 109.
44. *Christian Guardian*, 31 October 1838, 206. Ryerson was referring to high-church Anglicanism, in particular, in this article.
45. William Martin Harvard to Robert Alder, 25 April 1838, Box 22, File 151, #9, WMMS-C, UCA. Emphasis in original.
46. Joseph Stinson to Thomas Jackson, 9 December 1839, Box 23, File 159, #26, WMMS-C, UCA. Emphasis in original. I have discussed the other issues that led to the collapse of the 1833 union in Webb, "How the Canadian Methodists Became British," 161-71.
47. Here I am taking issue with Allan Greer who argues that "there is little evidence of conflict on religious grounds between the French Canadians and the Protestant English-speakers" of Lower Canada during the rebellion era. Like other historians of the rebellions in Lower Canada, Greer concentrates on the clash within the French-Canadian community between the Catholic Church and the rebels following Bishop Jean-Jacques Lartigue's *mandement* of October 1837 (Greer, *Patriots and the People*, 159, 233-9; and Fernand Ouellet, *Lower Canada, 1791-1840: Social Change and Nationalism*, trans. Patricia Claxton [Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1980], 298-301).
48. *The Constitution*, 22 November 1837, 1.
49. *Montreal Gazette*, 2 November 1837, 3, quoting the *Quebec Gazette*. Emphasis in original.
50. Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 11-54.
51. Webb, "How the Canadian Methodists Became British," 178-86.
52. This picture of the British Wesleyan-Canadian Methodist relationship complements the argument made by two of Colley's critics (see Tony Claydon and Ian McBride, "The trials of the chosen people: recent interpretations of protestantism and national identity in Britain and Ireland," in

Protestantism and National Identity: Britain and Ireland, c. 1650 - c. 1850, eds. Tony Claydon and Ian McBride [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998], 16-17, 25-6).

Canadian Society of Church History

Fiftieth Anniversary

Cumulative Index: 1960-2009

Compiled by

Bruce L. Guenther, Eric P. Fehr and Paul Laverdure

May 2010

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Preface

This *Cumulative Index* commemorates the fiftieth anniversary of the Canadian Society of Church History (CSCH), which was inaugurated in 1960 to promote “studies and encourage research in Church History, with particular attention to Canadian Church History.” During its first twenty-five years, members presented over 175 papers at annual conferences. By the end of its second twenty-five years, this number had increased to more than 575 papers, a total that reflects not only the increased level of interest in Canada in the historical study of the religion in recent decades, but also the vibrant health of the Canadian Society of Church History and the remarkable diversity of interests among its members.

The *Cumulative Index* is divided into four sections: the ***first*** section offers a comprehensive year-by-year outline of papers, panels and symposia sponsored by CSCH at its annual conferences. Much of this information has been gleaned from programs and minutes. The ***second*** section offers a comprehensive issue-by-issue outline of papers published by the CSCH. Papers from its annual conferences were first compiled and distributed to its members in 1967, a practice that has continued almost every year thereafter. This annual compilation was titled *Canadian Society of Church History Papers*. This name continued to be used until the early 1990s, when it was changed to *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History*. The ***third*** section is closely related to the second in that it presents a subject index of all the papers published by CSCH since 1967. The ***fourth***, and final, section is a cumulative list of all papers presented to, and published by, CSCH from 1960 to 2009. This section is arranged in alphabetical order by author.

Compiling this *Cumulative Index* would not have been possible without the valuable work of Paul Laverdure, who produced a cumulative index of the first twenty-five years in 1985. Laverdure’s index was included as an Appendix in the 1985 issue of the *Canadian Society of Church History Papers*, and has been incorporated into this *Cumulative Index*. We present this research tool with the hope that it will highlight the impressive research done by members of the CSCH, and help make this research more accessible to others.

Compiled by
Bruce L. Guenther, Eric P. Fehr, and Paul Laverdure

**Papers Presented to the Canadian Society
of Church History: 1960-2009**

Canadian Society of Church History 1960 Annual Meeting

Date: 18-19 May 1960

Location: Victoria College and University of Toronto

President: H.H. Walsh

French, Goldwin. "The Political Ideas of the Methodists in British North America up to 1850." Incorporated into *Parsons and Politics: The Role of the Wesleyan Methodists in Upper Canada and the Maritimes from 1780 to 1855*. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1962.

Grant, John Webster. "Indigenization of Canadian Church History."

Walsh, H.H. "The Challenge of Canadian Church History to its Historians." *Canadian Journal of Theology* 5, No. 3 (1959): 162-69. This paper, although not sponsored or read to the society, was sent to every founding member in 1960.

Walsh, H.H. "The Great Discovery.' President's address. The Influence of America's Discovery on the Churches in Europe. Published as "The Great Discovery." Published in *Canadian Journal of Theology* 7, No. 1 (1961): 32-40.

Canadian Society of Church History 1961 Annual Meeting

Date: 16-18 May 1961

Location: McGill University

President: H.H. Walsh

Aldwinckle, Russell F. "Is there a Christian Mysticism?" Published as "Grace and Salvation in Non-Christian Perspective." In *Jesus: A Savior or The Savior? Religious Pluralism in Christian Perspective*, 149-172. Macon: Mercer University Press. 1972. Also available as "Mysticism Past and Present." Chapter 6 in "Testing the Spirits: A Theological Evaluation of Ecstasy in Religion." Manuscript in United Church Archives. 32 pages.

Beare, F.W. "The Graeco-Roman World." Published as "Christianity and Other Religions in the Graeco-Roman World." Published as *Canadian Journal of Theology* 8, No. 3 (1962): 197-207.

Boyle, George. "Biblical Criticism and the Canadian Methodist Church." Part of "Higher Criticism and the Struggle for Academic Freedom in Canadian Methodism." Th.D. thesis, Emmanuel College, University of Toronto, 1965.

Coakley, Thomas M. "The Relationship of St. John's College to the University of Manitoba."

Frost, Stanley Brice. "The New English Bible." Published in *A Light unto My Path: Old Testament Studies in Honor of Jacob M. Myers*, eds. Howard N. Bream, Ralph D. Heim, Carey A. Moore, 205-221. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1974.

Giguere, Georges-Emile. "The Roman Catholic Tradition in Canada." Manuscript in Archives of the Society of Jesus. Published as "L'Eglise catholique a-t-elle subi des modifications en venant en Nouvelle-France?" *Revue d'histoire de l'amerique francaise* 15, No. 2 (1961): 189-203.

Iverson, Stuart. "Is There a Canadian Baptist Tradition?" Published in *The Churches and the Canadian Experience. A Faith and Order Study of the Christian Tradition*, ed. John Webster Grant, 53-68. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1963.

Mackinnon, Ian F. "The Oldest Presbyterian Congregation in Canada."

Murphy, Edward L. "Jesuit Missions of India and China: Success and Failure in Accommodation."

Smith, Wilfrid Cantwell. "Christian Faith in a Religiously Plural World." Published as "The Christian in a Religiously Plural World." In *The Faith of Other Men*, Vol. 2, 103-128. New York: New American Library, 1965.

Walsh, H.H. "The Canadian Church: A Study in Traditions." President's address. Published as "The Christian Heritage in Canada." *Canadian Journal of Theology* 7, No. 4 (1961): 271-285.

Wolverton, Wallace I. "The Psalmists' Belief in God's Presence." Published in *Canadian Journal of Theology* 9, No. 2 (1963): 82-94.

Canadian Society of Church History 1962 Annual Meeting

Date: 15-17 May 1962

Location: Wycliffe College

President: Neil G. Smith

Barr, James. "The Meaning of the Words for LOVE in the Old Testament." Published as "Words for Love in Biblical Greek." In *The Glory of Christ in the New Testament: Studies in Christology in Memory of George Bradford Caird*, eds. L.D. Hurst and N.T. Wright, 3-18. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Baum, Gregory. "The Second Vatican Council."

Binnington, A.F. "The Work of the Glasgow Colonial Society." Part of "The Glasgow Colonial Society and its Work in the Development of the Presbyterian Church in British North America, 1825." Th.D. thesis, Emmanuel College, University of Toronto, 1960.

Eddy, Earl B. "Dr. Henry Wilkes: The Canadian Congregational Leader." Published as "Henry Wilkes." *The (United Church Historical) Bulletin* 15 (1962): 10-21.

Hay, David. "Scripture and History."

Henderson, John L.H. "Bishop Strachan." Incorporated into *John Strachan 1778-1867*. Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1969. Also published in *John Strachan: Documents and Opinions*. A selection edited and with an introduction by John L.H. Henderson. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1969.

Kewley, Arthur E. "Mass Evangelism in Upper Canada before 1830." Part of "Mass Evangelism in Upper Canada Before 1830." Th.D. thesis, Emmanuel College, 1960. Also published as "The Beginnings of the Camp Meeting Movement in Canada." *Canadian Journal of Theology* 10, No. 3 (1964): 192-202.

Macpherson, John. "The History of the Canadian Society of Biblical Studies." In *Canadian Biblical Studies*, ed. Norman E. Wagner, 1-16. Toronto: 1967.

Moir, John S. "The Sectarian Tradition in Canada." Published in *The Churches and the Canadian Experience. A Faith and Order Study of the Christian Tradition*, ed. John Webster Grant, 119-132. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1963.

Peake, Frank A. "Bishop Stringer." Incorporated into *The Bishop Who Ate His Boots: A Biography of Isaac O. Stringer*. Toronto: Anglican Church of Canada, 1967.

Smith, Neil G. "Nationalism in the Canadian Churches." President's address. Published in *Canadian Journal of Theology* 9, No. 2 (1963): 112-25.

Canadian Society of Church History 1963 Annual Meeting

Date: 13-16 May 1963

Location: Waterloo Lutheran University

President: Neil G. Smith

Braaten, Carl E. "Martin Kahler and the Quest of the Historical Jesus."

Published in *Martin Kahler: The So-Called Historical Jesus and the Historic Biblical Christ*. Translated and edited by Carl Braaten, 1-38. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1964.

Fennell, William O. "Theological Foundations for True Secularity." Published as "Theology of True Secularity." *Theology Today* 21 (July 1964): 174-183.

Frost, Stanley Brice. "Judgement on Jezebel." Published as "Judgment on Jezebel, or a Woman Wronged." *Theology Today* 20, No. 4 (January 1964): 503-517.

Heick, Welf H. "Becoming an Indigenous Church: The Lutheran Church in Waterloo County, Ontario." Published in *Ontario History* 56, No. 4 (1964): 249-260.

Johnston, George. "OIKUMENE and KOSMOS in the New Testament." Published in *New Testament Studies* 10 (April 1964): 352-360.

Raftis, J.A. "Changing Characteristics of the Catholic Church in English-Speaking Canada." Published in *The Churches and the Canadian Experience: A Faith and Order Study of the Christian Tradition*, ed. John Webster Grant, 83-93. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1963.

Smith, Neil G. "Religious Tensions in Pre-Confederation Politics." President's address. Published in *Canadian Journal of Theology* 9, No. 4 (1963): 248-262.

Smith, Waldo E.L. "Ecclesia Anglicana in the Post-Wycliffe Period."

Wade, Donald Vance. "The Revival of Natural Law in Ethics Today."

Canadian Society of Church History 1964 Annual Meeting

Date: 11-13 May 1964

Location: Queen's Theological College

President: Waldo E.L. Smith

Blackman, E.C. "Divine Sovereignty and Missionary Strategy in Romans 9-11." Published in *Canadian Journal of Theology* 9, No. 2 (1965): 124-134.

Bowen, Desmond. "Anglo-Catholicism in the Nineteenth Century." Published as "Anglo-Catholicism in Victorian England." *Canadian Journal of Theology* 12, No. 1 (1966): 35-49.

Farris, Allan J. "Calvin and the Laity." Published in *Canadian Journal of Theology* 11, No. 1 (1965): 54-67.

Letellier, Pierre. "Reform in Pre-Reformation France."

McLelland, Joseph C. "Calvin and Philosophy." Published in *Canadian Journal of Theology* 11, No. 1 (1965): 42-53.

McCullough, William Stewart. "The Trial of Jesus."

Paul, Robert S. "The Effects of a 'Calling': The Weber Thesis Reviewed in the Light of John Calvin's Doctrine of Vocation." Published as "Weber and Calvinism: The Effects of a 'Calling.'" *Canadian Journal of Theology* 11, No. 1 (1965): 25-41.

Smith, Neil G. "Shakespeare and the Church." Published as "Was Shakespeare a Theologian?" *Theology Today* 21 (1965): 417-432.

Smith, Waldo E.L. "The Methodist-Episcopal Church in Canada, 1833-1883." President's address. Published in *The (United Church Historical) Bulletin* 17 (1964): 3-14.

Canadian Society of Church History 1965 Annual Meeting

Date: 11-13 May 1965

Location: Huron College

President: Waldo E.L. Smith

Brunet, Adrien M. "The Theology of the Chronicler." Previously published as "La theologie du Chroniste, theocratie et messianisme."

Sacra Pagina 1 (1959): 384-397.

Hill, Henry G. "Catholics and Protestants in Hungary from 1945-1956." Published as "'Keep Tightening the Noose!' Catholics and Protestants in Hungary, 1945-1956." *Canadian Journal of Theology* 12, No. 1 (1966): 50-59.

Jay, Eric G. "The Chalcedonian Definition and Some Modern English Critics." Incorporated into *Son of Man, Son of God*. Montreal: SPCK, 1965.

Smith, Waldo E.L. "The Church in the Navy." President's address. Previously published in *The Navy and Its Chaplains in the Days of Sail*. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1961. Also published in *The Navy Chaplain and His Parish*. Ottawa: Queens Printer, 1967.

Walsh, H.H. "The Origins of Biculturalism in Canada." Published in *Bulletin: The Council for Social Service* No. 191 (June 1965): 2-7.

Wise, Sydney F. "Sermon Literature as a Source of Canadian Intellectual History." Published as "Sermon Literature and Canadian Intellectual History." *The (United Church Historical) Bulletin* 18 (1965): 3-18.

Canadian Society of Church History 1966 Annual Meeting

Date: 17-19 May 1966

Location: McMaster University

President: Pierre Letellier

Cragg, Gerald R. "Roman Catholic-Protestant Controversy in England in the Early-Seventeenth Century."

Letellier, Pierre. "The Political Ideas of Bishop Jonas of Orleans." President's address.

Mladenovic, Milos. "Some Recent Trends in Canadian Orthodox Churches." Published as "Orthodoxy in Canada and Vatican II." *The New Review: A Journal of East-European History* 6, No. 4 [25]

(1966): 1-19.

Morris, William. "Philosophy of Jonathan Edwards and its Relation to his Historical Position." Published as "Genius of Jonathan Edwards." In *Re-Interpretation in American Church History*, ed. Jerald C. Brauer and Robert Pearce Beaver, 29-65. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968.

Reid, W. Stanford. "Divisions of the Marian Exiles." Published in *Canadian Journal of History* 3, No. 2 (1968): 1-26.

Zaslow, Morris. "The Missionary as Social Reformer: The Case of William Duncan." Published in *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 8, No. 3 (1966): 52-69.

Canadian Society of Church History 1967 Annual Meeting

Date: 15-17 May 1967

Location: McGill University

President: Pierre Letellier

Baum, Gregory. "The New Self-Understanding of the Catholic Church at the Vatican Council."

Estes, James. "A Sixteenth-Century Lutheran Defence of the State Church." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1967): 1-14.

Kenyon, John P.B. "Liberal Catholic Journalism: *The Saturday Review*, 1855-1865." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1967): 15-29. Also published in *Canadian Journal of Theology* 14, No. 4 (1968): 238-248.

Kiesekamp, Burkhard. "Response to Disruption: Presbyterianism in Eastern Ontario, 1844." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1967): 30-55.

Letellier, Pierre. "Theological Anti-Papalism at the End of the Thirteenth

and Beginning of the Fourteenth Centuries.” President’s address.

Leupold, U.S. “Worship Music in Ancient Israel: Its Meaning and Purpose.”

Monet, Jacques. “A New Vision of History and the Heart.” Published in *Globe and Mail* (22 September 1965). Also published in *Man’s Search for Values*, eds. Thomas H.W. Martin, Irmgard Wieler and Dorothy Chamberlin. Toronto: W.J. Gage, 1966.

Scott, R.B.Y. “An Unrecognized Form of Address to God in the Old Testament.”

Canadian Society of Church History 1968 Annual Meeting

Date: 14-16 May 1968

Location: St. Michael’s College

President: John W. Grant

Albaugh, Gaylord P. “The Role of the Religious Press in the Development of American Christianity, 1730-1830.” Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Paper* Part 1 (1968): 16-53.

Carder, W. Gordon. “Controversy in the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, 1908-1927.” Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* Part 2 (1968): 63-90.

Grant, John Webster. “Immigration and the Churches in the Age of Laurier.” President’s address. Published as “The Reaction of WASP Churches to Non-WASP Immigrants.” *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* Part 1 (1968): 1-15.

McGivern, James Sabine. “Canadian Mission Literature: Seventeenth Century.” Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* Part 2 (1968): 54-62.

Rose, E. Elliot. “Religion and the Rise of Civil Disobedience in the Elizabethan Age.” Incorporated into *Cases of Conscience*:

Alternatives open to Recusants and Puritans under Elizabeth I and James I. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975.

Canadian Society of Church History 1969 Annual Meeting

Date: 9-10 June 1969 (Meetings first included as part of the Learned's)

Location: York University

President: John L.H. Henderson

Beame, E.M. "Catholic Moderates and the Religion of Compromise in Late Sixteenth-Century France." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1969): 38-55.

Bowen, Desmond. "The Role of the Established Church in Irish Society during the Great Famine." Published in *Souperism: Myth or Reality, Catholics and Protestants in Ireland During the Great Famine*. Cork: Mercier Press, 1970.

Clifford, N. Keith. "Religion and the Development of Canadian Society: An Historiographical Analysis." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1969): 14-37. Also published in *Church History* 38, No. 4 (1969): 506-523.

Frost, Stanley Brice. "The Psalter Arranged for Worship in the United Church."

Henderson, John L.H. "Abominable Incubus: The Idea of the National Church in Upper Canada." President's address. Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1969): 1-13. Also published as "The Abominable Incubus: The Church as by Law Established." *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 11, No. 3 (1969): 58-66.

Canadian Society of Church History 1970 Annual Meeting

Date: 6-7 June 1970

Location: University of Manitoba

President: John S. Moir

D'Aoust, Jean-Jacques. "The Significance of Maurice Blondel's Treatise, *History and Dogma*, in the French Modernist Crisis." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers Part 2* (1970): 76-92. See also dissertation abstract in *Church History* 39, No. 3 (1970): 390.

Furcha, Edward J. "Revolution and Reform among Radicals in the Sixteenth Century." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers Part 1* (1970): 20-43.

Hill, Henry. "The Recent History of the Romanian Orthodox Church."

Klaassen, William. "The Nature of the Anabaptist Protest." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers Part 2* (1970): 44-75.

Moir, John S. "Some Aspects of the Development of the Roman Catholic Church in English-Speaking Canada during the Nineteenth Century." President's address. Published as "The English-Speaking Catholic Church in Canada in the Nineteenth Century." *Canadian Society of Church History Papers Part 1* (1970): 1-19. Also published as "The Problem of a Double Minority: Some Reflections on the Development of the English-Speaking Catholic Church in Canada in the Nineteenth Century." *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 7 (avril/April 1971): 53-67.

Suttor, Timothy L. "Patristic Humanism in America Today." Available as "Renaissance Theological English." Manuscript in United Church Archives. ii+19 pages.

Canadian Society of Church History 1971 Annual Meeting

Date: 29-31 May 1971

Location: Memorial University

President: Gaylord P. Albaugh

Albaugh, Gaylord P. "The New Counter Culture of Alienated Youth-Revival, Revolution or Historical Replay?" President's address. Published in *Theological Bulletin: McMaster Divinity College* 2, No.

3 (May 1971): 1-28.

Furcha, Edward J. "Schwenckfelder Hymns and Theology (An Excursus on Some Representative Schwenckfelder Hymn Writers of the Sixteenth Century.)" Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1971): 26 pages.

Kewley, Arthur E. "The Influence of Isolation on the Theology of Methodism in Newfoundland, 1874-1925." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1971): 37 pages.

Phillips, Paul T. "Sectarianism and Class Conflict in Some Nineteenth-Century English Industrial Towns." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1971): 17 pages.

Stevens, Wesley M. "Walahfrid Strabo-A Student at Fulda." Expanded in "Compositistica et Astronomica in the Fulda School." In *Saints, Scholars and Heroes: Studies in Medieval Culture in Honour of Charles W. Jones*, eds. Margot H. King and Wesley Stevens, 27-63. Vol. 2 of *Carolingian Studies*. Minnesota: Saint John's Abbey and University, 1979.

Zacour, Norman. "The College of Cardinals and its Critics in the Middle Ages." Manuscript in United Church Archives. 20 pages.

Canadian Society of Church History 1972 Annual Meeting

Date: 2 June 1972

Location: McGill University

President: Henry G. Hill

Choquette, Robert. "Linguistic and Ethnic Factors in the French-Irish Catholic Relations in Ontario." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1972-1973): 33-64.

Clifford, N. Keith. "His Dominion-A Vision in Crisis." Published in *Studies in Religion* 2, No. 4 (1973): 315-26.

Hill, Henry G. "The History of the Church's Role in the Education of the Romanian People." President's address.

Reid, W. Stanford. "John Knox After 400 Years." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1972-1973): 17-32.

Shea, D.S. "The Irish Immigrant Adjustment to Toronto: 1840-1860." Published in *Canadian Catholic Historical Association Study Sessions* 39 (1972): 53-60.

Smith, Waldo E.L. "Churchmen in Secular Government-a Phase in the Life of Richard Clifford, Bishop of Worcester, 1401-1407." Published in *The Register of Richard Clifford, Bishop of Worcester, 1401-1407: A Calendar*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1976.

Suttor, Timothy L. "The Emergence of a Catholic Theology of Social Awareness." Published as "The Development of Modern Catholic Political Theology." *Canadian Catholic Historical Association Study Sessions* 39 (1972): 44-52.

Wade, Mason. "Relations between the French Irish and Scottish Clergy in the Maritimes, 1774-1836." Published in *Canadian Catholic Historical Association Study Sessions* 39 (1972): 9-33.

Canadian Society of Church History 1973 Annual Meeting

Date: 31 May – 2 June 1973
Location: Queen's University
President: N. Keith Clifford

Clifford, N. Keith. "The Interpreters of the United Church of Canada." President's address. Published in *Church History* 46, No. 2 (1977): 203-14.

Dunn, William. "The Social Policy of the Catholic Church."

Kiesekamp, Burkhard. "Presbyterian and Methodist Divines: Their Case

for a National Church in Canada, 1875-1900." Published in *Studies in Religion / Sciences Religieuses* 2, No. 4 (1973): 289-302.

Kydd, Ronald. "The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada and Society." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1972-1973): 82-105.

Netten, John W. "Edward Field: Protagonist of Denominational Education." Published in *Profiles of Canadian Educators*, eds. J.W. Chalmers, J.W. Friesen, and R.S. Patterson, 77-94. Toronto: D.C. Heath Canada, 1974.

Ramisch, Joseph G. "Reform at the Council of Constance." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1972-1973): 1-16.

Ruggle, Richard E. "Defender of the Faith: Thomas Brock Fuller, First Bishop of Niagara (1875-1885)." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1972-1973): 65-81.

Sawatsky, Rodney J. "Sociology of Knowledge and Church History (Mennonite Historiography of Anabaptism)." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1972-1973): 107-18.

Canadian Society of Church History 1974 Annual Meeting

Date: 4-6 June 1974

Location: University of Toronto

President: Timothy L. Suttor

Dembski, Peter. "Oliver Mowat and the Catholic Vote in Ontario Politics."

Farris, Allan J. "Mark Young Stark: Scottish Missionary Statesman in Upper Canada." Published as "Mark Young Stark: Pioneer Missionary-Statesman." *Scottish Tradition* 3/4, No. 2/1 (1974/1975): 51-64.

Kalu, Ogbu U. "Bishops and Puritans in Early Jacobean England: A Perspective on Methodology." Published in *Church History* 45, No.

4 (1976): 469-481.

McGivern, James Sabine. "The Influence of the Scottish Clergy in the Canadian Catholic Church during the Early-Nineteenth Century."

Miller, James R. "'This Saving Remnant': Macdonald and the Catholic Vote in the 1891 Election." Published in *Canadian Catholic Historical Association Study Sessions* 41 (1974): 33-52.

Pearl, Jonathan. "Folklore and Witchcraft in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." Published in *Studies in Religion* 5/4 (Spring 1975/1976): 380-90.

Ross, Brian. "Donald Gee: Sectarian in Search of a Church." Published in *Evangelical Quarterly* 50, No. 2 (1978): 94-103.

Suttor, Timothy L. "Art and Religion." President's address.

Canadian Society of Church History 1975 Annual Meeting

Date: 3-4 June 1975

Location: University of Alberta

President: Allan J. Farris

Corbett, John. "The World to Come: Christian Apocalyptic, its Transmission and Influence." Published as "The World to Come: The Millenarian Tradition in Christianity, its Origin and Transmission." *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1975): 64-103.

Drouin, Emeric. "The Mission at Lac St. Anne's, 1845." Summarized in "The Oblate Mission of Lac-Ste-Anne, Alberta." Published in *Canadian Catholic Historical Association Study Sessions* 42 (1975): 108-109.

Ellis, Walter E. "Gilboa to Ichabod, Social and Religious Factors in the Fundamentalist-Modernist Schisms Among Canadian Baptists, 1895-1934." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1975): 16-41. Also published in *Foundations* 20, No. 2 (1977): 109-

126.

Farris, Alan J. "John Calvin: In Search of a Just Society." President's address. Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1975): 1-15. Also published in *Canadian Society of Presbyterian History Papers* (1975): 1-15.

Mufuka, Kenneth Nyamayaro. "Militant Scottish Missionaries in the African Struggle in Central Africa, 1952-1963." Published as "Militant Scottish Missionaries in Malawi, 1953-63." *Scottish Tradition* 5 (1975): 54-70.

Peake, Frank A. "Robert McDonald: The Great Unknown Missionary of the Northwest." Published in *The Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 17, No. 3 (1975): 54-72.

Rose, E. Elliot. "The Castle Builders: High Anglican Hopes of the Frontier in the Mid-Nineteenth Century." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1975): 42-63.

Canadian Society of Church History 1976 Annual Meeting

Date: 1-2 June 1976

Location: Université Laval

President: John P.B. Kenyon

Clifford, N. Keith. "The Origins of the Church Union Movement." Published in *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 18, No. 2 (1976): 34-52. Also published in *The Canadian Society for Presbyterian History Papers* (1976): 49-71.

Kenyon, John P.B. "Mid-Victorian Evangelical Culture in the British City: the Y.M.C.A. Lectures, 1846-65." President's address. Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1976): 1-19.

McDougall, E.A. "Early Settlement in Lanark County and the Glasgow Colonial Society." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1976): 86-102. Also published in *Canadian Society of*

Presbyterian History Papers (1976): 23-30.

O'Driscoll, Dennis. "Divergent Images of American and British Education in the Ontario Catholic Press, 1851-1948." Published in *Canadian Catholic Historical Association Study Sessions* 43 (1976): 5-21.

Principe, Angelo. "Upper Canadian Protestant Perception of the Italian 'Risorgimento': 1845-60." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1976): 60-85.

Ruggle, Richard E. "'Better no bread than half a loaf' or 'Crumbs from the historic episcopate table': Herbert Symonds and the Church Unity League." Published as "Herbert Symonds and Christian Unity." *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 18, No. 2/3 (1976): 53-84.

Semple, Neil. "The Impact of Urbanization on the Methodist Church in Canada. 1854-1884." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1976): 20-59.

Canadian Society of Church History 1977 Annual Meeting

Date: 2-3 June 1977

Location: University of New Brunswick

President: Frank A. Peake

Baker, William. "An Irish-Canadian Journalist-Politician and Catholicism: Timothy Anglin of The Saint John Freeman." *Published in Canadian Catholic Historical Association Study Sessions* 44 (1977): 5-23.

Johnston, Charles. "Elie Benoist, Historian of the Edict of Nantes." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1977): 1-26. Also published in *Canadian Society of Presbyterian History Papers* (1977): 1-25.

Peake, Frank A. "Institutional Religion in a Nineteenth-Century English Village." President's address. Published as "Heanor in the Nineteenth Century." *The Derbyshire Archaeological Journal* 95 (1975): 59-66.

Russell, C. Allyn. "T.T. Shields, Canadian Fundamentalist." Published in *Ontario History* 70, No. 4 (1978): 263-280.

Scarfe, Janet. "A New Thing in God: the Social Gospel in the Novels of Ralph Connor." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1977): 41-68.

Weale, David. "God's Exiles: An Examination of the Doctrine of Anglo-Israelism Among the Immigrant Followers of the Reverend Donald McDonald in Prince Edward Island, 1830-1867." Published as "God's Exiles: A Theology for Immigrants." *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1977): 27-40.

Canadian Society of Church History 1978 Annual Meeting

Date: 29-30 May 1978

Location: University of Western Ontario

President: Richard E. Ruggle

Grant, John Webster. "Indian Missions as European Enclaves: Relations Between European and Local Canadian Initiatives." Published as "Missionaries and Messiahs in the Northwest." *Studies in Religion* 9, No. 2 (1980): 125-136.

Hogan, Brian. "Conscription and the First World War in Canada: A Study of the Guelph Novitiate Incident." Published as "The Guelph Novitiate Raid: Conscription, Censorship and Bigotry during the Great War." *Canadian Catholic Historical Association Study Sessions* 45 (1978): 57-80.

Johnston, Geoffrey. "King Sugar and the Prophets: Missionary Attitudes to Social Questions in Jamaica." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1978): 26-36.

Kenyon, John. "The Development of Congregationalism in Early Nineteenth-Century Ontario." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1978): 11-25.

Mills, Wallace. "The Fork in the Road: Religious Separatism vs. African Nationalism in the Cape Colony, 1890-1910." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1978): 37-54.

Ruggle, Richard E. "A House Divided Against Itself: The Denominational Antagonisms of the Grand River Missions." President's address. Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1978): 1-10.

Canadian Society of Church History 1979 Annual Meeting

Date: 1-2 June 1979

Location: University of Saskatchewan

President: John W. Netten

Callam, Daniel. "The Syllabus of Errors: Canadian Reaction in the Secular and in the Protestant Press." Published in *Canadian Catholic Historical Association Study Sessions* (1979): 5-21.

Hutchinson, Gerald M. "The Wesleyan Mission to the HBC Territories, 1840-54." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1979): 19-32.

Moir, John S. "The Canadian Society of Church History-A Twenty Year Retrospect." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1979): 76-98.

Mufuka, Kenneth Nyamayaro. "The Christian Church under Stress in Southern Africa since 1960." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1979): 1-18. Also published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1981): 26-34.

Netten, John W. "'The Sound was Heard Afar': Aspects of Church Radio in Newfoundland." President's address.

Oliver, Dennis M. "A New Religious Pluralism in Canada."

Peake, Frank A. "Anglican Theological Education in Saskatchewan." Part I published in *Saskatchewan History* 35, No. 1 (1982): 25-33; and Part

II in *Saskatchewan History* 35, No. 2 (1982): 57-78.

Sinclair-Faulkner, Tom. "Theory Divided from Practice: The Introduction of Higher Criticism into Canadian Protestant Seminaries." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1979): 33-75. Also published in *Studies in Religion* 10, No. 3 (1981): 321-343.

Canadian Society of Church History 1980 Annual Meeting

Date: 2-3 June 1980

Location: Université du Québec a Montréal

President: John W. Netten

Carder, W. Gordon. "Woodstock College 1857-1926." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1980): 49-61.

Clifford, N. Keith. "Church History of Canada: Where from Here?" Symposium on Church History of Canada: Where From Here? Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1980): 1-10.

Dekar, Paul R. "Church History of Canada: Where from Here?" Symposium on Church History of Canada: Where From Here? Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1980): 11-20.

Fraser, Brian J. "The Presbyterian Church Transformed: A Tale of Four Cities, 1875-1914."

Grant, John Webster. "Church History of Canada: Where from Here?" Symposium on Church History of Canada: Where From Here? Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1980): 21-25.

Huel, Raymond. "The Anderson Amendments: A Half Century Later." Published in *Canadian Catholic Historical Association Study Sessions* 47 (1980): 5-21.

Johnston, Geoffrey. "Some Reflections on the Development of Younger Churches." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1980): 26-31.

Oliver, Dennis M. "Historic Patterns of Canadian Church Growth: Background to the Present Missiological Crisis."

Penton, M. James. "Religious Freedom and Canadian Law: An Historical Evaluation." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1980): 32-48.

Canadian Society of Church History 1981 Annual Meeting

Date: 2-3 June 1981

Location: King's College, Dalhousie University

President: Thomas Sinclair-Faulkner

Clifford, N. Keith. "John MacKay and the Church Federation Association." Revised in *The Resistance to Church Union in Canada 1904-1939*, 43-59. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1985.

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

Moody, Barry. "From Itinerant to Pastor: The Case of Edward Manning, 1767-1851." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1981): 1-25.

Mufuka, Kenneth Nyamayaro. "The Relative Strengths of the Christian Church in Africa since 1960." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1981): 35-44.

Pearl, Jonathan. "The Path of Moderation: The Science of Demons in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century France." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1981): 45-59.

Reid, Robert T. "Profiles in Evangelism: A Comparative Study of Henry

Alline, Joseph Dimock and Isaiah Wallace." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1981): 60-78.

Ruggle, Richard E. "The Canadianization of the Church of England." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1981): 79-88.

Sinclair-Faulkner, Tom. "Sacramental Suffering: Brother Andre's Spirituality." President's address. Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1982): 1-33. Also published in *Canadian Catholic Historical Association Study Sessions* 49 (1982): 111-134.

Canadian Society of Church History 1982 Annual Meeting

Date: 8-9 June 1982

Location: University of Ottawa

President: Thomas Sinclair-Faulkner

Ban, Joseph D. "How Does the Historian Establish 'an Obvious Fact'? Case Study: Was John Bunyan a Baptist?" Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1982): 33-48.

Erickson, Vincent O. "Hinrich Jansen and His Times: Explanations into the Development of a Pietistic Revitalisation Movement." Published as "Lange Hinnerk and His Folk." *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1982): 49-66. Also published in *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* (July 1981).

Fraser, Brian J. "The Pre-War Career of T.B. Kilpatrick."

Furcha, Edward J. "The Paradoxon as Hermeneutical Principle: A Re-examination of Sebastian Franck." Published as "The Paradoxon as Hermeneutical Principle: The Case of Sebastian Franck, 1499-1542." In *Spirit Within Structure: Essays in Honor of George Johnston on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Edward J. Furcha, 99-113. Pennsylvania: Pickwick Publications, 1983.

Gill, Stewart D. "The Canadianization of the Scottish Church: The

Reverend William Proudfoot and the Canadian Frontier, 1832-1851.”
Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1982): 68-93.

Penton, M. James. “The Recent Schism Among Jehovah’s Witnesses and the Birth of a New Movement.” Revised in *Apocalypse Delayed: The Story of Jehovah’s Witnesses*, 99-127. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985.

Sawatsky, Ronald G. “Unholy Contentions about Holiness: The Canada Holiness Association of the Methodist Church.” Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1982): i-ii, 93-130.

Sinclair-Faulkner, Tom. “Brother Andre and Spirituality in Quebec.”
President’s address.

Canadian Society of Church History 1983 Annual Meeting

Date: 7-8 June 1983

Location: University of British Columbia

President: M. James Penton

Burkinshaw, Robert K. “Walter Ellis and Evangelicalism in Vancouver.”
Published as “Walter E. Ellis: Mainline Conservative Protestant.”
Canadian Society of Church History Papers (1983): 72-96.

Carney, Robert J. “The Hawthorn Survey (1966-1967) – Indians and Oblates and Integrated Schooling.” Published in *Canadian Catholic Historical Association Study Sessions* 50 (1983-84): 609-630.

Clarke, Brian P. “‘To Bribe the Porters of Heaven’: Poverty, Salvation and the Saint Vincent de Paul Society in Victorian Toronto.” Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1983): 97-115.

Furcha, Edward J. “Early Critics of Martin Luther: The Case of Caspar Von Schwenckfeld.” Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1983): 116-145.

- Harland, Gordon. "John Mark King." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1983): 58-71.
- Newell, J. Philip. "Alexander Scott and the Reformation of Nineteenth-Century Britain." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1983): 36-57.
- Peake, Frank A. "John Booth Good." Published as "John Booth Good in British Columbia: The Trials and Tribulations of the Church, 1861-99." *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 75, No. 2 (1984): 70-78.
- Penton, M. James. "Jewish Apocalypticism and Protestant Fundamentalism." President's address. Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1983): 146-160.
- Scott, J. Brian. "*The Western Outlook and Western Baptist and Baptist Social Christianity, 1908-1922.*" Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1983): 1-21.
- Stewart, Bob. "'That's the BC Spirit!': Religion and Secularity in Lotus Land." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1983): 22-35.

Canadian Society of Church History 1984 Annual Meeting

Date: 30-31 May 1984

Location: University of Guelph

President: Brian Fraser

Dekar, Paul R. "Canadian Dispensationalists and the Question of Israel." Published as "Christians, Jews and the Holy Land." *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1984): 117-139.

Fraser, Brian J. "A Public and Practical Faith: The Religious Journalism of MacDonald of the *Globe*." President's address.

Griffin-Allwood, Philip. "Maritime Baptists and Unimmersed Christians: The Influence of Societies on Church Membership Practice."

Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1984): 66-88.

Iverson, Stuart. "The Activities of Margaret Edwards Cole (1853-1929): As a Baptist Church Member, Journalist, Temperance Worker and Advocate of Women's Suffrage in Canada." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1984): 140-155.

Johnson, James W. "The Life and Labours of the Reverend Allen Salt, 1818-1911." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1984): 156-177.

McGowan, Mark. "'We Endure What We Cannot Cure': John Joseph Lynch and Roman Catholic-Protestant Relations in Toronto, 1864-1875: Frustrated Attempts at Peaceful Coexistence." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1984): 89-116.

Muir, Elizabeth. "Petticoats in the Pulpit: Three Early Canadian Methodist Women." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1984): 26-49.

O'Neill, Joseph. "Jabez Bunting and Wesleyan Methodism in England in the 1840s: Forces Contributing to the Breakdown of Buntingite Control." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1984): 50-65.

Sawatsky, Ronald G. "William Stephen Rainsford (1850-1933): The Story of a Varied Life." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1984): 1-25.

Canadian Society of Church History 1985 Annual Meeting

Date: 29-30 May 1985

Location: Université de Montréal

President: Edward J. Furcha

Burns, Robin B. "The Montreal Irish and the Great War." Published in *Canadian Catholic Historical Association Historical Studies* 52

(1985): 67-81.

Clifford, N. Keith. Panel discussion presentation on the Teaching of Religious History.

Colwell, Judith. "The Role of Women in Nineteenth-Century Church of Ontario." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1985): 31-57.

Dekar, Paul R. "The Teaching of Religious History Methods and Problems." Panel discussion presentation. Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1985): 88-93.

Furcha, Edward J. "Women in Zwingli's World." President's address. Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1985): 1-20. Also published in *Reformiertes Erbe: Festschrift für Gottfried W. Locher*, eds. Heiko Oberman, Ernst Saxer, Alfred Schindler, and Heinzpeter Stuki, 131-142. Zürich: Switzerland, 1992.

Macdonald, Stuart. "The War-Time Sermons of the Rev. Thomas Eakin." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1985): 58-78.

McIntire, C. Thomas. "Teaching Religious History in Three Academic Settings: Complexes of Correlations." Panel discussion presentation. Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1985): 79-87.

Moir, John S. Panel discussion presentation on the Teaching of Religious History.

Reid, Stanford. "Sir. J. William Dawson on Creation and Evolution." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1985): 21-30. Also published in *Reformed Theological Review* 45, No. 1 (January-April 1986): 13-17.

Scott, J. Brian "Establishing the Kingdom: Prairie Baptist Social Reformers, 1908-1918."

Canadian Society of Church History 1986 Annual Meeting

Date: 4-5 June 1986

Location: University of Manitoba

President: Ronald G. Sawatsky

Airhart, Phyllis D. "The Three 'Conversions' of R. Edis Fairbairn: The Making of a Christian Socialist." Published as "R. Edis Fairbairn: Christian Socialist and Kingdom of God Evangelist." *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1986): 123-143.

Clarke, Brian P. "Modernism, Tradition and Orthodoxy: A Comment on *The Regenerators*." Discussion of Ramsay Cook's, *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada*. Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1986): 144-154.

Dekar, Paul R. Discussion of Ramsay Cook's, *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late-Victorian English Canada*.

Ellis, Walter. "A Place to Stand: From Denomination to Sect – Contemporary History of the Baptist Union of Western Canada." Published as "A Place to Stand: Contemporary History of the Baptist Union of Western Canada." *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1986): 47-84. Also published in *American Baptist Quarterly* 6, No. 1 (March 1987): 31-51.

Furca, Edward J. "Hymns, Chants, and Religious Rants: How Sixteenth-Century Spiritual Songs Praised God and Reviled Opponents." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1986): 16-46.

Harland, Gordon. Discussion of Ramsay Cook's, *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late-Victorian English Canada*. Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1986): 158-163.

Laverdure, Paul. "The Sunday Passion: Anglo-Protestant Hopes for French-Catholic Quebec, 1906-1946." Published as "Sunday Secularism? The Lord's Day Debate of 1906." *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1986): 85-107. Also incorporated into *Sunday*

in Canada: The Rise and Fall of the Lord's Day. Yorkton: Gravelbooks, 2004.

Owen, Michael. "The Rev. Dr. E.H. Oliver: Nation Building and the Public School." Published as "'Building the Kingdom of God in the Prairies': E.H. Oliver and Saskatchewan Education, 1913-1930." *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1986): 108-122. Also published in *Saskatchewan History* 40, No. 1 (1987): 22-36.

Sawatsky, Ronald G. "Bible Schools in Canada." President's address. Published as "The Bible School/College Movement in Canada: Fundamental Christian Training." *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1986): 1-13.

Warne, Randi R. "*Post hoc ergo propter hoc*": History, Theology and *The Regenerators*." Discussion of Ramsay Cook's, *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada*. Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1986): 154-157.

Joint Conference between the Canadian Society of Church History and the American Society of Church History in 1987

Date: 23-25 April 1987

Location: McMaster University

Black, Robert Merrill. "Different Visions: The Multiplication of Protestant Missions to French-Canadian Roman Catholics, 1834-1855." Published in *Canadian Protestant and Catholic Missions, 1820s-1960s: Historical Essays in Honour of John Webster Grant*, eds. John S. Moir and C.T. McIntire, 49-74. New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc., 1988.

Clarke, Brian P. "Poverty and Piety: The Saint Vincent de Paul Society's Mission to Irish Catholics in Toronto, 1850-1890." Published in *Canadian Protestant and Catholic Missions, 1820s-1960s: Historical Essays in Honour of John Webster Grant*, eds. John S. Moir and C.T. McIntire, 75-102. New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc., 1988.

- Compton Brouwer, Ruth. "Far Indeed from the Meekest of Women: Marion Fairweather and the Canadian Presbyterian Mission in Central India, 1873-1880." Published in *Canadian Protestant and Catholic Missions, 1820s-1960s: Historical Essays in Honour of John Webster Grant*, eds. John S. Moir and C.T. McIntire, 121-149. New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc., 1988.
- Dekar, Paul R. "From Jewish Mission to Inner City Mission: The Scott Mission and its Antecedents in Toronto, 1908-1964." Published in *Canadian Protestant and Catholic Missions, 1820s-1960s: Historical Essays in Honour of John Webster Grant*, eds. John S. Moir and C.T. McIntire, 245-266. New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc., 1988.
- Fraser, Brian J. "For the Uplift of the World: The Mission Thought of James A. MacDonald, 1890s-1915." Published in *Canadian Protestant and Catholic Missions, 1820s-1960s: Historical Essays in Honour of John Webster Grant*, eds. John S. Moir and C.T. McIntire, 191-220. New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc., 1988.
- Johnston, Geoffrey. "The Road to Winsome Womanhood: Presbyterian Mission among East Indian Women and Girls in Trinidad, 1868-1939." Published in *Canadian Protestant and Catholic Missions, 1820s-1960s: Historical Essays in Honour of John Webster Grant*, eds. John S. Moir and C.T. McIntire, 103-120. New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc., 1988.
- Kemper, Alison. "Deaconess as Urban Missionary and Ideal Woman: Church of England Initiatives in Toronto, 1890-1895." Published in *Canadian Protestant and Catholic Missions, 1820s-1960s: Historical Essays in Honour of John Webster Grant*, eds. John S. Moir and C.T. McIntire, 171-190. New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc., 1988.
- McGowan, Mark G. "A Watchful Eye: The Catholic Church Extension Society and Ukrainian Catholic Immigrants, 1908-1930." Published in *Canadian Protestant and Catholic Missions, 1820s-1960s: Historical Essays in Honour of John Webster Grant*, eds. John S. Moir and C.T. McIntire, 221-244. New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc., 1988.

- McIntire, C.T. "Approaches and Themes in the History of Missions." Published in *Canadian Protestant and Catholic Missions, 1820s-1960s: Historical Essays in Honour of John Webster Grant*, eds. John S. Moir and C.T. McIntire, 11-22. New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc., 1988.
- Moir, John S. "A Biographical Sketch of John Webster Grant, with a List of His Major Writings." Published in *Canadian Protestant and Catholic Missions, 1820s-1960s: Historical Essays in Honour of John Webster Grant*, eds. John S. Moir and C.T. McIntire, 1-10. New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc., 1988.
- Muir, Elizabeth. "The Bark School House: Methodist Episcopal Missionary Women in Upper Canada, 1827-1833." Published in *Canadian Protestant and Catholic Missions, 1820s-1960s: Historical Essays in Honour of John Webster Grant*, eds. John S. Moir and C.T. McIntire, 23-48. New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc., 1988.
- Sawatsky, Ronald G. "Evangelicals, Civic Mission, and Prisoners' Aid in Toronto, 1874-1896." Published in *Canadian Protestant and Catholic Missions, 1820s-1960s: Historical Essays in Honour of John Webster Grant*, eds. John S. Moir and C.T. McIntire, 150-170. New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc., 1988.

Canadian Society of Church History 1987 Annual Meeting

Date: 3-4 June 1987

Location: McMaster University

President: Paul R. Dekar

Cole Arnal, Oscar. "Radical Christianity and North American Labour: The Canadian Labour Churches and the US Denominational Ministry Strategy." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1987): 69-76.

Compton Brouwer, Ruth. "Overcoming Imperial Opposition to Missionary Activity in Central India, 1877-1914." Published as "Wooing 'the Heathen' and the Raj: Aspects of Women's Work in the Canadian

Presbyterian Mission in Central India, 1877-1914." *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1987): 17-32.

Dekar, Paul R. "Is Canada 'The Peaceable Kingdom'?" President's address. Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1987): 1-15.

Fraser, Brian J. "North Atlantic Presbyterians and the 'Progress in Theology Debate,' in the 1880s." Published as "The 'Progress in Theology' Debate: Consensus and Debate in North Atlantic Presbyterianism." *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1987): 45-52.

Hogan, Fr. Brian F. "The Institute of Social Action and Social Catholicism in Canada in the 1950s." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1987): 53-67. Also published in *Canadian Catholic Historical Association: Historical Studies* 54 (1987): 125-144.

Hutchinson, Roger. "Social Christianity: Comments on Papers by Brian Hogan and Oscar Cole Arnal." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1987): 77-80.

MacDonald Morgan, Leslie J. "'From Saints to Playboys': Images of Women in the Early Christian Hagiographic Tradition." Published as "From Saints to Playboys: Sexual Violence against Women in the Christian Hagiographic Tradition." *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1987): 33-43.

McGowan, Mark G. "'The Catholic Restoration': Pope Pius X, Archbishop Denis O'Connor, and Popular Catholicism in Toronto, 1899-1908." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1987): 109-126. Also published in *Canadian Catholic Historical Association: Historical Studies* 54 (1987): 69-91.

Penton, M. James. "Canadian Responses to 'Two New Religions' in the 1880s." Published as "The Response to Two New Religions in Canada in the 1880s: The Latter Day Saints and the Salvation Army." *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1987): 81-96.

Stortz, Gerald J. "Hamilton's First 'Canadian' Bishop, T.J. Dowling, 1889-1924." Published as "Thomas Joseph Dowling: The First 'Canadian' Bishop of Hamilton." *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1987): 97-107.

Canadian Society of Church History 1988 Annual Meeting

Date: 1-2 June 1988

Location: Iona College, University of Windsor

President: Brian P. Clarke

Choquette, Robert. "Objectivity and Advocacy in Historical Scholarship." Symposium on Objectivity and Commitment in Scholarship. Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1988): 7-9.

Clarke, Brian P. "Religious Riot and the Orange Order in Toronto, 1870-1890." President's address. Published as "Religious Riot as Pastime: The Orange Young Britons in 'Victorian Toronto.'" *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1988): 19-26.

Dekar, Paul R. "Usefulness, Commitment and Objectivity in History." Symposium on Objectivity and Commitment in Scholarship. Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1988): 1-5.

Ediger, Gerald C. "Language transition in the Vineland Mennonite Brethren Church." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1988): 97-116. Also incorporated into *Crossing the Divide: Language Transition Among Canadian Mennonite Brethren, 1930-1970*. Centre for Mennonite Brethren Studies, 2001.

Färdig Whiteley, Marilyn. "Women Learning to Work for Women: The Chinese Rescue Home in Victoria, BC." Published as "Women Learning to Work for Women." *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1988): 87-96.

Griffin-Allwood, Philip.G.A. "'To Hear a Free Gospel': The Christian Connection in Canada." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1988): 73-86.

Hart, Elizabeth. "Susanna Wesley and the Editors." *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1988): 55-71.

Peake, Frank A. "CMS Policy and Personnel in Rupert's Land." Published as "Church Missionary Society personnel and Policy in Rupert's Land." *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1988): 27-42. Also published in *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 30 No. 2 (Oct 1988): 59-74.

Roney, John B. "The 'Protestant Rome' in the Age of Revolutions." Published as "'La Rome protestante' in the Age of Revolutions." *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1988): 43-53.

Sinclair-Faulkner, T. "Discussion of 'Objectivity' and 'Commitment.'" Symposium on Objectivity and Commitment in Scholarship. Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1988): 15-17.

Warne, Randi R. "On 'Objectivity' and 'Commitment' in Scholarship." Symposium on Objectivity and Commitment in Scholarship. Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1988): 11-14.

Joint Conference between Canadian Society of Church History (La Société Canadienne d'Histoire de l'Église) and Canadian Catholic Historical Association (La Société Canadienne d'Histoire de l'Église Catholique) in 1989

Date: 4-5 June 1989

Location: Université Laval

President: Robert Choquette

Brodeur, Raymond. "Catéchismes et changements culturels." Published in *Canadian Catholic Historical Association Study Sessions* (1989): 7-20.

Caulier, Brigitte. "Les confréries dans la société québécoise." Published in *Canadian Catholic Historical Association Study Sessions* (1989): 97-112.

Champagne, Claude. "La formation des oblats missionnaires dans le Nord-Ouest canadien." Published in *Canadian Catholic Historical Association Study Sessions* (1989): 21-33.

Clarke, Brian P. "Confraternities Among the Catholics of Toronto During the Nineteenth Century."

Clifford, N. Keith. "Protestant Theological Education in English Canada." Published in *Canadian Catholic Historical Association Study Sessions* (1989): 85-95.

Despland, Michel. "Religious Studies under the July Monarchy in France."

Owen, Michael. "Protestant Missionary Policy in the Northwest." Published in *Canadian Catholic Historical Association Study Sessions* (1989): 35-61.

Voisine, Nive. "Les Frères des écoles chrétiennes et l'éducation de la foi." Published in *Canadian Catholic Historical Association Study Sessions* (1989): 63-83.

Canadian Society of Church History 1990 Annual Meeting

Date: 25-26 May 1990

Location: University of Victoria

President: Robert Choquette

Bagshaw, Roberta. "The Church of England and the Immigration of British Women to Colonial British Columbia." Published as "Women and Religion in the Canadian West: The Church of England and the Immigration of British Women to Colonial British Columbia." *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1990): 29-57.

Choquette, Robert. "Methodists and Catholics in Rupert's Land, 1840-1854." President's address.

Cornett, Norman F. "Lionel Groulx's Rationale of French Canadian

Nationalism.” Published in *Studies in Religion / Sciences Religieuses* 18, No. 4 (Fall 1989): 407-414.

Dekar, Paul R. “Comparative Study of Christian Involvement in Canadian, British and American Peace Movements in the Nineteenth Century.” Published as “For the Peaceable Kingdom, Baptists in Britain, Canada and the United States in the Nineteenth-Century Peace Crusade.” *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1990): 133-152.

Fraser, Brian J. “Education of Presbyterian Ministers.”

Korp, Maureen. “Problems of Prejudice in the Thwaites Edition of the Jesuit Relations.” Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1990): 99-131. Also published in *Historical Reflections* 21, No. 2 (Spring 1995): 261-276.

Mabindisa, Isaac. “British Wesleyan Methodist and Native Missionaries.” Published as “Native Ministry of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Upper Canada and the North West in the Nineteenth Century.” *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1990): 79-98.

Marr, Lucille. “The Professionalism of Religious Education in the United Church of Canada: Hierarchy and Gender.” Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1990): 1-28.

Marr, Lucille. Panel discussion presentation on Recovering Women’s Experience in Church History.

Titley, Brian. “Methodist Missionary and Indian Agent: Power and Personality at the Peace Hills Agency in the 1880s.” Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1990): 59-77.

Van Die, Marguerite. Panel discussion presentation on Recovering Women’s Experience in Church History.

Warne, Randi R. Panel discussion presentation on Recovering Women’s Experience in Church History.

Canadian Society of Church History 1991 Annual Meeting

Date: 4-5 June 1991
Location: Queen's University
President: Michael Owen

Ban, Joseph D. "Innovation and Continuity: Transatlantic and USA Influences upon Baptist Education in Canada." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1991): 47-61.

Cameron, James D. "Church Union and Dissent on Prince Edward Island, 1925." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1991): 75-95. And as "Prince Edward Island Methodist Prelude to Church Union, 1925." In *Contribution of Methodism to Atlantic Canada*, 127-144. Montreal: McGill's University Press, 1992.

Clarke, Brian. Presentation for Panel on Revivalism and the Writing of Canadian Religious History.

Cole Arnal, Oscar. "From Reaction to Radicalism: The Changing Face of Quebec's Catholic Church toward the Working Class (1920-1990)." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1991): 33-46

Crerar, Duff W. "Canadian Catholic Chaplains in the Great War." Published as "Bellicose Priests: The Wars of the Canadian Catholic Chaplain 1914-19." *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1991): 13-32.

Compton Brouwer, Ruth. "Transcending the 'Unacknowledged Quarantine': Putting Religion into Canadian Women's History." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1991): 113-139. Also published in *Journal of Canadian Studies* 27, No. 3 (December 1992): 47-61.

Graham, John. "The Haven: A Toronto Charity for Women, 1878-1913."

Grant, John W. "Burning Bushes: Flames of Revival in Nineteenth-Century Canadian Presbyterianism." Published in *Canadian Society*

of Church History Papers (1991): 97-111.

Hay, Eldon. "Letitia Simson: Covenanter Private and Public Person." Published in *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1991): 141-156. Forthcoming in *The Covenanters in Canada: Reformed Presbyterianism from 1800 to the Present Day*.

Hubert Hecht, Linda. "Faith and Action: The Role of Women in the Anabaptist Movement of the Tirol, 1527-1529." Published as "Women and Religious Change: The Significance of Anabaptist Women in the Tirol, 1527-1529." *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1991): 63-73. Also published in *Studies in Religion / Sciences Religieuses* 21, No. 1 (1992): 57-66.

Marr, Lucille. "Sunday School Teaching: A Women's Enterprise." Published as "Sunday School Teaching: A Women's Enterprise. A Case Study from the Canadian Methodist, Presbyterian and United Church Tradition, 1919-1939." *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 26, No. 52 (1993): 329-44.

McCann, Philip. "'No-Popery' and Newfoundland Schools."

Pawlowski, Diane R. "The Distinctive Development of Dignity (Canada) Dignité."

Rawlyk, George A. Presentation for Panel on Revivalism and the Writing of Canadian Religious History.

Rollmann, Hans. Presentation for Panel on Revivalism and the Writing of Canadian Religious History.

Roney, John B. "From Old World to New: The Construction and Reception of Reformation History in the Nineteenth Century." Published as "From Old World to New: The Construction and Reception of Reformation History, 1830-1870." *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1991): 1-12.

Sinclair-Faulkner, Tom. "Ecstasies of Action: Marie de l'Incarnation and the Founding of New France."

Smyth, Elizabeth. "Teacher Education within a Community of Religious Women in Nineteenth-Century Ontario."

Canadian Society of Church History 1992 Annual Meeting

Date: 8-9 June 1992

Location: University of Prince Edward Island

President: Marguerite Van Die

Cook, Sharon Anne. "Temperance, Evangelicalism and Local Women's Culture." Published as "'Sowing Seed for the Master': The Ontario W.C.T.U and Evangelical Feminism, 1874-1930." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 30, No. 3 (1995): 175-194.

Cornett, Norman F. "Lionel Groulx's Synthesis of the 'Universal' and the 'Particular.'" Published in *ARC: The Journal of the Faculty of Religious Studies (McGill University)* 19 (Spring 1991): 87-107.

Elliott, David R. "The Feminist Impulse in Fundamentalism." Published as "A 'Feminine' Heartbeat in Evangelicalism and Fundamentalism." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1992): 79-112.

Färdig Whiteley, Marilyn. "'My Highest Motive in Writing': Evangelical Empowerment in the Autobiography of Annie Leake Tuttle." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1992): 25-38.

Griffin-Allwood, Philip. "'The Sucksess of the Baptist Denomination In New Brunswick': The Structure of Baptist Triumphalism." Published as "'The Sucksess of the Baptist denomenatsion In New Brunswick': The Structure of Baptist Triumphalism in 'The Memoirs of the Rev. Jarvis Ring, Baptist Minister.'" *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1992): 39-56.

Hamilton, Tom. "Spiritual and Patriotic Duty: Understanding Why Anglican Clergy Enlisted as Chaplains in World War II." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1992):

113-125.

Principe, Walter. "How Do Historians Determine What is Authentic Christianity?" Panel discussion presentation. Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1992): 146-150.

Profit, Beth. "'A Vision of Empire.'" Published as "'The Making of a Nation': Nationalism and World War I in the Social Gospel Literature of Ralph Connor." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1992): 127-140.

Ross, H. Miriam. "Women's Strategies for Mission: Hannah Maria Norris Blazes the Trail in 1870." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1992): 5-23.

Rumscheidt, Martin. "How Ought Church-Historians to do Church-History?" Panel discussion presentation. Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1992): 151-154.

Sinclair-Faulkner, Tom. "What Do Church Historians Study?" Panel discussion presentation. Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1992): 141-145.

Stackhouse, Jr., John G. "Twentieth-Century Canadian Evangelicalism in Transatlantic Context." Published as "More than a Hyphen: Twentieth-Century Canadian Evangelicalism in Anglo-American Context." In *Amazing Grace: Studies on Evangelicalism in the United States, Canada, Britain, Australia and Beyond*, eds. George A. Rawlyk and Mark A. Noll, 375-400. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994.

Van Die, Marguerite. "Recovering Religious Experience: Some Reflections on Methodology." President's address. Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1992): 155-169.

Wilson, Robert S. "From William Carey to Richard Burpee: Maritime Baptists and Foreign Missions to 1845." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1992): 57-77.

Canadian Society of Church History 1993 Annual Meeting

Date: 8-9 June 1993

Location: Carleton University

President: Randi R. Warne

Barrett, Dawn. "The Work of God upon my Soul': The Conversion Narrative and After-Walk Account in the Early Newfoundland Methodist Community, 1765-1774." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1993): 13-30.

Burkinshaw, Robert K. "Conservative Evangelical Baptists and Canadian Nationalism." Published as "Aspects of Canadian Nationalism among Conservative Evangelicals in British Columbia." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1993): 205-227.

Bush, Peter. "The Native Residential Schools and the Presbyterian Church in Canada." Published as "The Presbyterian Church in Canada and Native Residential Schools, 1925-1969." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1993): 175-186.

Cameron, Craig B. "The Reverend David Marks: Free Will Baptist Minister of the Gospel." Published as "Eld. David Marks: Free Will Baptist Itinerant Preacher in Ontario." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1993): 31-41.

Choquette, Robert. Panel discussion presentation on Teaching Canadian Religion.

Graham, Lynda E. "Lois Althea Tupper: A Biographical Sketch." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1993): 109-133.

Grant, John Webster. "Teaching Canadian Religion: Some Questions of Approach." Panel discussion presentation. Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1993): 273-277.

Guenther, Bruce L. "The Origin of the Bible School Movement in Western

- Canada: An Ethnic Interpretation.” Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1993): 135-173.
- Hay, Eldon. “Ottawa Valley Covenanters.” Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1993): 57-79. Forthcoming in *The Covenanters in Canada: Reformed Presbyterianism from 1800 to the Present Day*.
- Humphrey, Christopher W. “The Influence of John Watson.” Published as “John Watson: The Philosopher of Canadian Identity?” *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1993): 95-108.
- Hutchings, Rosanne. “Free Methodist Women in the Nineteenth Century.” Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1993): 43-55.
- Laverdure, Paul. “Chronicum Externi: The Redemptorist Mission in English Canada, 1865-1885.” Published as “The Redemptorist Mission in Canada, 1865-1885.” *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1993): 81-94. Revised version published as “The Redemptorist Mission in Canada: Theory and Practice, 1865-1885.” *Spicilegium Historicum* 42, No. 1 (1994): 231-241. Also incorporated into *Redemption and Renewal: The Redemptorists of English Canada, 1834-1994*, 29-60. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1994.
- Redmond, Shelia A. “‘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.” Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1993): 229-245.
- Reid, Jennifer. “Missionaries, Merchants, and the Mi’kmaq: Issues of Exchange in Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth-Century Acadia.” Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1993): 5-12.
- Sinclair-Faulkner, Tom. “The Canon of the Classroom: A Case Study in the Teaching of Religion in Canada.” Panel discussion presentation. Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1993): 261-271.

Seljak, David. "The Jesuit Journal *Relations* (1941-1981): 40 Years of Religion and Nationalism in Quebec." Published as "The Jesuit Journal *Relations*, 1959-1969: Modernity, Religion and Nationalism in Quebec." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1993): 187-203.

Somers, David. "Lutheran Missionary Activity among Quebec Francophones in the Late-Twentieth Century." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1993): 247-259.

Warne, Randi R. "A Paean to the Faithful." President's address. Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1993): 279-285.

Canadian Society of Church History 1994 Annual Meeting

Date: 6-7 June 1994

Location: University of Calgary

President: Duff W. Crerar

Carlson Brown, Joanne. "The Form Without the Power? Wesleyan Influences and the Winnipeg Labour Church." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1994): 65-86.

Clarke, Brian P. "Secularizing the Faith: A Comment." Panel discussion presentation. Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1994): 201-204.

Crerar, Duff W. "Anent the Kirk Session: The Elders in Colonial Canadian Presbyterian Religion." President's address. Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1994): 223-233.

Elliott, David R. "Fundamentalism and the Family: A Preliminary Examination of P.W. Philpott and His Children." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1994): 5-14.

Faught, Brad. "Missionaries and Indirect Rule in Colonial Northern Nigeria: The Case of Rowland Victor Bingham and the Sudan Interior

Mission.” Published as “Missionaries, Indirect Rule and the Changing Mandate of Mission in Colonial Northern Nigeria: The Case of Rowland Victor Bingham and the Sudan Interior Mission.” *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1994): 121-141. Also published in *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 43, No. 2 (Fall 2001): 147-169.

Guenther, Bruce L. “‘In the World but not of it’: Old Colony Mennonites, Evangelicalism and Contemporary Canadian Culture – Case Study of Osler Mission Chapel, 1974-94.” Published as “The Convergence of Old Colony Mennonites, Evangelicalism and Contemporary Canadian Culture – A Case Study of Osler Mission Chapel (1974-1994).” *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 14 (1996): 96-123.

Hay, Eldon. “Covenanters in Alberta.” Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1994): 165-191. Forthcoming in *The Covenanters in Canada: Reformed Presbyterianism from 1800 to the Present Day*.

Kydd, Ronald. “J.C. Blumhardt: Another Kind of Healer.” Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1994): 25-42.

MacDonald, Charles. “Alexander MacDonald, Bishop of Victoria, BC, 1908-1923.” Published as “On Getting the Sack: Bishop Alexander Macdonald’s Departure from Victoria.” *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1994): 15-23.

Marr, Lucille. “Naming Valiant Women: Biographical Sketches of Letitia Youmans, Winnifred Thomas and Katherine Hockin.” *Consensus: A Canadian Lutheran Journal of Theology* 20, No. 2 (1994): 35-55.

Marshall, David B. “‘Temples of an Incrusted Faith’: An Inquiry into the Question of Secularization from Within.” Panel discussion presentation. Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1994): 205-221.

Neufeld, Matthew. “‘To Lead Them to the Higher Life’: Women Workers at All Peoples’ Mission, 1907-1914.” Published in *Historical Papers:*

Canadian Society of Church History (1994): 87-98.

Neylan, Susan. "Shamans, Missionaries and Prophets: Comparative Perspectives on Nineteenth-Century Religious Encounters in British Columbia." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1994): 43-63.

Opp, James W. "The New Age of Evangelism: Fundamentalism and Radio on the Canadian Prairies, 1925-1945." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1994): 99-119.

Owen, Michael. "Making Christian Canadians: Student Life at Mount Royal College, 1910-1945."

Penton, M. James. "The Many Faces of Metis Religion, Then and Now."

Priestley, David T. "Baptist 'Home Mission' among Alberta's German Immigrants." Published as "Ethnicity and Piety Among Alberta's 'German' Baptists." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1994): 143-163.

Stackhouse Jr., John G. "Who is to Say? Defining and Discerning Secularization in Canadian Christianity." Panel discussion presentation. Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1994): 193-200.

Canadian Society of Church History 1995 Annual Meeting

Date: 9-10 June 1995

Location: Université du Québec à Montréal

President: Robert K. Burkinshaw

Barrett, Dawn. "The Role of the Death-Bed Narrative in the Conception Bay Revival of 1768-69." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1995): 55-68.

Burkinshaw, Robert K. "Aspects of Canadian Evangelical Historiography." President's address. Published in *Historical Papers:*

Canadian Society of Church History (1995): 181-195. Also published in *Studies in Religion / Sciences Religieuses* 25, No. 1 (1996): 7-20.

Cole Arnal, Oscar. "The Presence of Priests and Religious among the Workers of Post-Quiet Revolution Montréal." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1995): 149-160.

Faught, Brad. "Disraeli and Gladstone in the 1840s: The Influence of the Oxford Movement on Young England and the Board of Trade." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1995): 69-79.

Fletcher-Marsh, Wendy. "Revolution From Above: Women and the Priesthood in Canadian Anglicanism, 1968-1978." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1995): 127-148.

Gidney, Catherine. "Richard Roberts: A Case Study in Liberal Protestantism in Canada During the Interwar Years." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1995): 81-100.

Katerberg, William H. "Protecting Christian Liberty: Mainline Protestantism, Racial Thought, and Political Culture in English Canada, 1918-1939." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1995): 5-33.

Laverdure, Paul. "Trying to be a Catholic Nation: Sunday in Québec, 1907-1937." Revised and published as "Sunday in Quebec, 1907-1937." In *Quebec Since 1800: Selected Readings*, ed. Michael Behiels, 429-441. Toronto: Irwin, 2002. Also included as Chapter 6 in *Sunday in Canada: The Rise and Fall of the Lord's Day*. Yorkton: Gravelbooks, 2004.

Lougheed, K. Richard. "Anti-Catholicism among French Canadian Protestants." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1995): 161-180.

Nixon, Laurence. "Changing Trends in Manitoba Religion."

Owen, Michael. "Do women really count?": Emily Spencer Kerby – Alberta Feminist Author." Published as "Do Women Really Count?": Emily Spencer Kerby – An Early Twentieth-Century Alberta Feminist." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1995): 101-126. Also published in *Canadian Methodist Historical Society Papers* 10 (1993/1994): n.p.

Seljak, David. "The Referendum and the Church: The Involvement of Catholic Groups in the 1980 Referendum on Sovereignty-Association in Quebec."

Stewart, David D. "My Brother's Keeper: A Preaching Poet in Hitler's Germany." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1995): 35-54.

Van Die, Marguerite. "The Colbys of 'Carrollcroft' Stanstead, PQ: Evangelical Religion, Gender and Class in Creation of Place in Nineteenth-Century Canada." Incorporated into *Religion, Family and Community in Victorian Canada: The Colbys of Carrollcroft*. Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press 2005.

Canadian Society of Church History 1996 Annual Meeting

Date: 28-30 May 1996

Location: Brock University

President: Beth Profit

Dean, Joanna. "Mysticism and Modernity: The Higher Life of Anglican Modernist Lily Dougall, 1858-1923." Published as "Mysticism and Religious Modernism: Lily Dougall (1858-1923)." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1996): 57-84.

Flemming, Keith. "The Anglican Bishops Speak: Diocese of Huron Episcopal Charges as Social Commentary, 1857-1974."

Friesen, Paul H. "The Anxieties of Successful Anglicanism': The Civic and Religious Quandaries of St. James' Cathedral, Toronto, in the Early-Twentieth Century."

- Hele, Karl. "How to Win Friends and Influence People': Father Brother and Friend: The Mission to the Ojibawa of Sault Ste. Marie, 1830-1840." Published as "How to Win Friends and Influence People': Missions to Bawating, 1830-1840." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1996): 155-176.
- Johnston, Geoffrey. "I Appeal to Caesar': Missionaries and the Consular Courts in China, 1880-1911." Published as "I Appeal to Caesar." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1996): 199-214.
- Jones, Preston. "The Church Cannot Acquiesce . . .': The Prophetic Voice in Canadian Religious Periodical Literature, 1943-1945."
- Kee, Kevin. "Stuart Robinson: A Pro-Slavery Presbyterian in Canada West." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1996): 5-23.
- Knowles, Norman. "Fighting Manfully Onward': Masculine Christianity and Working-Class Religion in Canada, 1880-1930."
- Krats, Peter V. "This Remote Field of Missionary Toil': Christianity at the Pic, Lake Superior to 1900." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1996): 177-198.
- Miedema, Gary. "For Canada's Sake: The Canadian Interfaith Conference and the Centennial Celebrations in 1967." Published as "God in the Centennial: Religion and the State in the Canadian Interfaith Conference, 1965-1967." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1996): 37-56.
- Murison, Barbara. "A Laity-Ridden Clergy? The Scots Kirk and its People in British North America."
- Profit, Beth. "Texts and Contexts: Meaning and Methodology in Church History." President's address. Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1996): 215-224.
- Seljak, David. "The Catholic Church and the 1995 Referendum in

Quebec.”

Smith, W. Barry. “Issues of Church Governance from a Cross-Border Perspective: The Case of Lay Trusteeism in Mid Nineteenth-Century Buffalo, New York.” Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1996): 25-35.

Watts, Elsie. “‘Inevitable From the Beginning’: Queen’s University and Separation from the Presbyterian Church, 1900-12.” Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1996): 127-154.

White, Anne M. “Evangelicalism, Revivalism and the Female Contribution: Emily Spencer Kirby.” Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1996): 85-104.

Yates, David. “‘Bred in the Bone’: Egerton Ryerson, Methodist Policy and Educational Administration, 1844-1850.” Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1996): 105-125. Also part of “Bred in the Bone: Egerton Ryerson, Methodist Polity and Educational Administration, 1844-1850.” M.Ed. thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1995.

Canadian Society of Church History 1997 Annual Meeting

Date: 3-4 June 1997

Location: Memorial University

President: William Katerburg

Cumbo, Enrico. “‘Strait is the Gate and Narrow the Way’: The Italian Pentecostal Experience in Canada, 1912-1950.”

Dirks, Patricia. “Canadian Standard Efficiency Tests for Boys and Girls in Training: Religious Origins and Objectives.” Published as “Religious Origins and Objectives: Canadian Standard Efficiency Tests for Boys and Canadian Girls in Training.” *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1997): 119-132.

- Fletcher-Marsh, Wendy. "‘Like Water on a Rock’: Twenty Years of Women in the Priesthood from the Perspective of Prosopography and Social History." Published as "Like Water on a Rock: Ordained Women and the Transformation of Canadian Anglicanism." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1997): 49-77.
- Johnston, Louise. "Polishing the Iroquois Silver Chain: An Address by Sir William Johnson to the Mohawk People of Kahnawake and Kanasatake, 1761." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1997): 79-95.
- Katerberg, William H. "History as Identity: The Possibilities and Dilemmas of Subjectivity in North American Religious History." President’s address. Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1997): 133-156.
- McGowan, Mark G. "Reaping the Red Vineyard: Lay Catholic Religious Culture in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1914-1919."
- Marr, Lucille. "Craigwood: The Mennonite Central Committee’s Home for Delinquent Boys." Published as "Christian Love Meets Government Regulation: From Ailsa Craig Boys’ Farm to Craigwood, 1954-1970." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1997): 97-118. Also published as "Ailsa Craig Boys’ Farm: A ‘Pioneering Institution,’ 1954-1970." *Studies in Religion / Sciences religieuses* 28, No. 4 (1999): 419-36.
- Morgan, Bonnie. "The Influence of Class and Gender on Parochial Voluntary Associations: An Anglican Case Study from St. John’s, Newfoundland, 1877-1909." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1997): 29-48.
- Murphy, Terrance. "Religion and Ethnicity in Canadian Historiography."
- Opp, James. "Balm of Gilead: Faith, Healing, and Medicine in the Life of Dr. Lilian B. Yeomans."
- Rollmann, Hans. "Religion in Newfoundland and Labrador from Cyberspace: The World Wide Web in Teaching Regional Religion"

Globally.”

Smale, Robert R. “‘The Voice of One Crying in the Wilderness’ or Verbal Bigotry – T.T. Shields, *The Gospel Witness* and Roman Catholicism, 1922-1942.” Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1997): 5-27.

Canadian Society of Church History 1998 Annual Meeting

Date: 29-30 May 1998

Location: University of Ottawa

President: Paul H. Friesen

Codignola, Luca. “Hostility and Dissent amongst the Roman Catholic Clergy in North America, 1760-1837.”

Cole Arnal, Oscar. “The Church as Employer: Social Ideology and Ecclesial Practice during Labour Conflict.” Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1998): 17-27.

Elbourne, Elizabeth. “Gender, Respectability and Christianity on the South African Frontier: Mary Moffat and the ambiguities of Nineteenth-Century Protestant Missionary Activity.”

Evans, Thomas. “The Problem of Pews in the Nineteenth-Century Diocese of Fredericton.”

Friesen, Paul. “‘Give Me that Old-Time Religion’: The Postmodern Plot of the Religious Historians.” President’s address. Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1998): 129-140.

Harp, Gillis. “Strange Bedfellows: Dwight L. Moody, Phillips Brooks and Gilded Age Evangelicalism.”

Hay, Eldon. “The Central Canada Presbytery: Prospects, Perplexities, Problems.” Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1998): 29-43. Forthcoming in *The Covenanters in*

Canada: Reformed Presbyterianism from 1800 to the Present Day.

- Hele, Karl. "“Fully Equal to a Missionary in Herself”: Charlotte Johnston McMurray’s Missionary Labours at Bawating, 1827-1838.”
- Johnston, Louise. “The Mohawks and the Seminary of St. Sulpice: The History of Kanesatake, 1721 to 1763.”
- Kee, Kevin. “An Introduction to Marketing Popular Religion in Canada, 1884-1957.”
- Kelly, Robert. “The Social Gospel and the Doctrine of Success in the Novels of Charles W. Gordon (Ralph Connor).” Published as “The Gospel of Success in Canada: Charles W. Gordon (Ralph Connor) as Exemplar.” *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1998): 5-15.
- Nielson Varty, Carmen. “Transforming Anglican Identity: St. George’s Church at Kingston, 1791-1826.” Published as “Building Identities: St George’s Anglican Churches, Kingston, Upper Canada, 1792-1826.” *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1998): 113-128.
- Noel, Jan. “Louis Joseph Papineau and Male Codes of Honour.”
- Owen, Michael. “The United Church of Canada and the Depression Years: Saskatchewan.”
- Prime, Russell. “Rural Baptist Youth Perspectives in Nova Scotia - 1933-1943.” Published as “Through the Eyes of the Tattler: Concerns of Baptist Youth in Rural Nova Scotia, 1933-1940.” *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1998): 45-65.
- Shantz, Douglas H. “Pietist-Orthodox Conflicts in Germany in the Early Eighteenth-Century: Conrad Broske’s Controversy with the Reformed Preachers in Elberfeld.” Published as ““Casting Sand in the Eyes’: Conrad Bröske’s Literary Dispute with the Orthodox Reformed Preachers in Elberfeld, 1704-1706.” *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1998): 89-111.

White, Anne M. "The Calgary Local Council of Women – 1911-1930." Published as "The Calgary Local Council of Women: Traditional Female Christianity in Action (1895-1897 and 1912-1933)." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1998): 67-87.

Canadian Society of Church History 1999 Annual Meeting

Date: 3-4 June 1999

Location: Bishop's University

President: Sandra Beardsall

Beardsall, Sandra. "The Three-Headed Calf: Triple Vision and the Canadian Society of Church History." President's address. Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1999): 197-211.

Crouse, Eric R. "They 'Left Us Pretty Much As We Were': American Saloon / Factory Evangelists and Canadian Working Men in the Early-Twentieth Century." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1999): 51-71.

Di Giacomo, Michael. "Aimee Semple MacPherson, the Big Bang of Québécois Pentecostalism."

Färdig Whiteley, Marilyn. "Deaconess Redefined: Seeking a Role for Women in the Holiness Churches of Ralph Horner." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1999): 73-86.

Heath, Gordon L. "Irreconcilable Differences: The Wartime Attitudes of George Campbell Pidgeon and Robert Edis Fairbairn." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1999): 29-50.

Kornberg, Jacques. "Ignaz von Döllinger's *Die Juden in Europa*: A Catholic Polemic against Antisemitism." Published in *Zeitschrift für Neuere Theologiegeschichte / Journal for the History of Modern Theology* Bd. 6 (Heft 2, 1999).

- Krevsky, Elena. "The Scar of the Schism: The Problem of Religious Identity in Late Nineteenth-Century Russian Literature." Published as "The Scar of the Schism: The Image of Old Believers in Late Nineteenth-Century Russian Literature." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1999): 187-195.
- O'Connell Killen, Patricia. "Making Religion Real: Historians' Constructions of American Catholicism in the Nineteenth-Century West." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1999): 141-152.
- Reid, Jennifer. "A Tool Shed from Gate #4: The Dominion Iron and Steel Company and the Formation of an African American Church." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1999): 87-97.
- Shantz, Douglas H. "Conrad Bröske, *Hofprediger* in Offenbach: The Life and World of a Late Seventeenth-Century German Court Preacher and Eschatologue." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1999): 119-139.
- Smale, Robert R. "'Thou Shalt Say Unto Him, the Lord God of the Hebrews Hath Sent Me Unto Thee, Saying Let My People Go That They May Serve Me in the Wilderness': Canadian Baptists and the Jewish Refugee Question of the 1930s." Published as "Canadian Baptists and the Jewish Refugee Question of the 1930s." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1999): 5-28.
- Stringham Brown, Roberta. "Catholic Ecclesial Presence and Growth in the Columbia Region." Stringham Brown, Roberta. Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1999): 153-165. Also published in *Canadian Catholic Historical Association: Historical Studies* 66 (2000): 34-55.
- Tark, Ji-Il. "Making a Sacred Place: An Historical Study of Canadian Missions in Korea, 1898-1925." Published as "Religious Identity, Cultural Difference, and Making a Sacred Place: An Historical Study of Canadian Missions in Korea, 1888-1925." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1999): 99-118.

Whytock, Jack C. "Thomas McCulloch and William McGavin: Transatlantic Literary Influences." Published as "Thomas McCulloch and William McGavin: A Neglected Transatlantic Literary/Religious Connection." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1999): 167-185.

Canadian Society of Church History 2000 Annual Meeting

Date: 26-27 May 2000

Location: University of Alberta

President: James W. Opp

Beardsall, Sandra. "'Wherever the Two's or Three's are Gathered': Personal Conversion and the Construction of Community in Outport Newfoundland Methodism." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2000): 165-176.

Bourgeois, Michael. "Answering Darwin's Challenge: The Theological Synthesis of Richard Roberts, 1874-1945." Published as "Answering Darwin's Challenge: Evolution and Evangelicalism in the Theology of Richard Roberts." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2000): 5-22.

Brewin, John. "The Makings of a Canadian Anglican Christian Socialist: Francis Andrew Brewin." Published as "Francis Andrew Brewin, 'He Who Would Valiant Be': The Makings of a Canadian Anglican Christian Socialist." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2000): 73-92.

Clarke, Brian P. Panel discussion presentation on Perspectives on Religion and Public Life.

Dochuk, Darren. "Redeeming the City: Premillennialism, Piety and the Politics of Reform in Late-Nineteenth-Century Toronto." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2000): 53-72.

Elliott, David R. "Canadian Baptists and Native Ministry in the Nineteenth

Century.” Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2000): 145-164.

Evans, Thomas W. “British Religious Experiences in Nineteenth-Century New Brunswick.”

Guenther, Bruce L. “Populism, Politics and the Bible in Western Canada.” Published as “Populism, Politics and Christianity in Western Canada.” *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2000): 93-113.

Macdonald, Laura. “‘Minister of the Gospel and Doctor of Medicine’: Dr. Robert Grierson, Physician Missionary to Korea, 1898-1913.” Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2000): 23-42.

Marr, Lucille. “Ontario’s Conference of Historical Peace Church Families and the ‘Joy of Service.’” *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 75, No. 2 (April 2001): 257-272.

Opp, James W. “Under the Sign of the Cross: Material Objects and Cultural Practice in Religious History.” President’s address. Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2000): 211-224. Also published as “Exhibiting the Sacred: Material Objects, Religious History, and the Canadian Museum of Civilization.” *Studies in Religion / Sciences Religieuses* 30, Nos. 3-4 (2001): 339-352.

Prime, Russell. “‘Must We Have War Again?’: A Preliminary Exploration of Pacifism in the Restoration Movement in Canada Through the Pages of the *Gospel Herald* (1936-1943).” Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2000): 115-130.

Riddoch, Sonia A. “Karl Holl and the Fatherland Party: A German Liberal Protestant Embraces the Political Right.” Published as “Karl Holl and the Fatherland Party, 1917-1918: A German Liberal Protestant Embraces the Right.” *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2000): 43-52.

Shantz, Douglas H. “The Master Work of a Minor Prophet: The Literary

Career of the Radical Pietist Court Preacher Conrad Broske.” Published in *Rezeption und Reform: Festschrift für Hans Schneider zu seinem 60. Geburtstag*, eds., Wolfgang Breul-Kunkel and Lothar Vogel, 213-237. Darmstadt und Kassel: Verlag der Hessischen Kirchengeschichtlichen Vereinigung, 2001.

Stouffer, Allen P. “Towards Community: Black Methodism in Nineteenth-Century Nova Scotia.” Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2000): 195-209.

Warne, Randi R. Panel discussion presentation on Perspectives on Religion and Public Life.

Watts, Elsie. “From YMCA to University 101: Secularization and the University of South Carolina after 1945.”

Welch, Thomas A. “The Role of the Bible in the British Abolition of Slavery.” Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2000): 77-193.

White, Anne M. “Louise Crummy McKinney (1868-1931): A Window into Western Canadian Christianity.” Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2000): 131-143.

Van Die, Marguerite. Panel discussion presentation on Perspectives on Religion and Public Life.

Canadian Society of Church History 2001 Annual Meeting

Date: 24-25 May 2001

Location: Université Laval

President: Catherine Gidney

Allan, Gail. “Prairie Farm Women Organizing: A Faithful Commitment.” Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2001): 23-43.

Compton Brouwer, Ruth. “Changing Missions, Changing Worlds: Shifts

in the Salience of Gender and Race in the Interwar International Missionary Enterprise.” Published as “Shifts in the Salience of Gender in the International Missionary Enterprise during the Interwar Years.” In *Canadian Missionaries Indigenous Peoples: Representing Religion at Home and Abroad*, eds. Alwyn Austin and Jamie S. Scott, 152-176. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005.

den Otter, A.A. “‘To Make the Desert Bloom’: Bishop David Anderson’s Perceptions of Rupert’s Land and Its Societies.” Published as “‘The Wilderness will Rejoice and Blossom Like the Crocus’: Bishop David Anderson’s Perceptions of Wilderness and Civilization in Rupert’s Land.” *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2001): 81-100.

Elbourne, Elizabeth. “Anna Gurney: Women, Religion and Female Political Activism in Victorian Britain.”

Gidney, Catherine. “Twentieth-Century Religious History: The Need for a Socio-Cultural Approach.” President’s address. Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2001): 141-154.

Gurney, Anna. “Women, Religion and Female Political Activism in Victorian Britain.”

Heath, Gordon L. “Canadian English Protestants and the South African War, 1899-1902.”

Johnston, Louise. “The Iroquois Thanksgiving Address.”

Laverdure, Paul. “‘The Jesuits Did It!’ Charles Chiniquy’s Theory of Lincoln’s Assassination.” Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2001): 125-139.

Little, Jack. “The Circuit Rider Revisited: the Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries of the Eastern Townships.”

Marquis, Greg. “The Canadian Temperance Movement: What Happened after Prohibition?”

- Miedema, Gary. "Pluralism, Tolerance and Division: Negotiating the Representation of Religion at Expo 67."
- Netten, Victoria. "Planters and Parsons: A Symbiotic Relationship in the Church of England in Newfoundland Between 1699-1750."
- Prime, Russell. "'High Time for the Courtship to Begin': Overtures for Union between Baptists and Disciples of Christ in the Maritime Provinces, 1907-1910."
- Reid, Jennifer. "Fair Descendant of the Mohawk: Pauline Johnson as an Ontological Marker." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2001): 5-21.
- Shantz, Douglas H. "In Weakness Strength: The Common Pietist Archetype for Men's and Women's Spiritual Autobiographies."
- Shelvey, Bruce. "Faith Perspectives in the Age of Ecology: Christian Thought and the Environment." Published as "Christian Thought in the Age of Ecology: Historical Roots of a Religious Crisis." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2001): 101-111.
- Takashima, Sachiyo. "Missionaries' Dream, Diplomats' Reality – Why United Church's Chinese Missionaries were Involved in Politics in the 1940s and 1950s." Published as "Dreams for Missionaries, Realities for Diplomats – Why the United Church of Canada's Chinese Missionaries were Involved in Politics during the 1940s and 1950s." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2001): 65-80.
- Thrift, Gail I. "'Concerning the Evil State of the World Out of Which Strife Comes': Institutional Protectionism by Church and State in Cold War Canada, 1945-1965."
- Van Die, Marguerite. "Politics, Patronage and Protestants, 1867-1891: A Case Study."
- Welch, Thomas A. "Emancipation Theology and the British West Indian Plantocracy." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of*

Church History (2001): 45-63.

White, Anne M. "Songsters and Preachers: Female Salvationists in Calgary, 1897-1930." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2001): 113-124.

Canadian Society of Church History 2002 Annual Meeting

Date: 26-27 May 2002

Location: University of Toronto

President: Marilyn Färdig Whiteley

Anderson, Marvin. "Self-Definition in Late Nineteenth-Century Rural Ontario: The Legacy of the Olinda Universalist Church." Published as "Reconciling Faith and Reason: Universalism as Theological Anomaly in Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century Rural Ontario." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2002): 45-63.

Crouse, Eric R. "Responding to the Reds: Conservative Protestants, Anti-Communism, and the Shaping of American Culture, 1945-1965." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2002): 97-109.

Enns, James. "Dorothy Ruth Miller – Her Role in Shaping the Early Identity of Prairie Bible Institute, 1928-1940." Published as "Hothouse Fundamentalism on the Prairies: The Early Years of Prairie Bible Institute Through the Eyes of Dorothy Ruth Miller." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2002): 5-24.

Evans, Thomas. "The 'Englishness' of John Medley, First Bishop of Fredericton, 1845-1892."

Färdig Whiteley, Marilyn. "Adjusting the Sails: Reflections of an Independent Scholar." President's address. Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2002): 167-180.

Goodwin, Daniel. "The Founding Vision of the Canadian Council of

Churches 1944-1964.” Published as “The Canadian Council of Churches: Its Founding Vision and Early Years, 1944-1964.” *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 41, No. 2 (Spring 2004): 147-173.

Gray, Colleen. “Eighteenth-Century Clerical Biography and Narrative Technique in Imaging Sainthood: Two Biographers of Marie Barbier.”

Guenther, Bruce L. “Accreditation and the Bible School Movement in Western Canada, 1945-1970.” Published as “Slithering Down the Plank of Intellectualism? The Canadian Conference of Christian Educators and the Impulse Towards Accreditation Among Canadian Bible Schools During the 1960s.” *Historical Studies in Education* 16, No. 2 (2004): 197-228.

Hay, Eldon. “John Burgess Calkin (1829-1918): Educator and Churchman in Truro, Nova Scotia.” Hay, Eldon. “John Burgess Calkin (1829-1918): Educator and Churchman in Truro, Nova Scotia.” Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2002): 111-128. Forthcoming in *The Covenanters in Canada: Reformed Presbyterianism from 1800 to the Present Day*.

Hoover, Dennis R. “The Politics of Conservative Protestant-Catholic Alliances in the United States and Canada.” Published as “Ecumenism of the Trenches? The Politics of Evangelical-Catholic Alliances.” *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 41, No. 2 (Spring 2004): 247-271.

Knight, Sara J. “Community, Family and Religion: Richmond Hill Methodist Church, 1875-1899.” Published as “‘We are the Church Together’: A Case Study of Community, Family and Religion at Richmond Hill Methodist Church, 1875-1899.” *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2002): 129-145.

Leask, Margaret A. “Sacred Tunes and Religious Identity: Renewing Traditions for Contemporary Use.” Published as “Sacred Tunes and Religious Identity: Developing the Hymn Tradition for Contemporary Use.” *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2002): 65-78.

- Manley, James. "Boundaries Rejected: Roman Catholic and Presbyterian Missions among the Nuu-chah-nulth Peoples on Vancouver Island, 1874-1910." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2002): 147-165.
- Marks, Lynne. "A God-Fearing Nation? Church Involvement across Canada in 1901."
- Methot, Melanie. "Forgotten Social Gospellers at the Turn of the Twentieth Century: Reverends J.B. Silcox, Hugh Pedley and F.B. Duval." Published as "Forgotten Social Gospellers: Reverends J.B. Silcox and Hugh Pedley." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2002): 79-95.
- Opp, James. "Re-imagining the Moral Order of Urban Space: Religion, Photography and the City, 1900-1920." Published as "Re-imagining the Moral Order of Urban Space: Religion and Photography in Winnipeg, 1900-1920." *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 13 (2002): 73-93. Also anthologized in *Home, Work, and Play: Situating Canadian Social History, 1840-1980*, eds. James Opp and John C. Walsh, 33-46. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Prime, Russell. "Trains, Boats and Magistrates: Disciples' Evangelists Proclaiming the Gospel in the Maritimes, 1883-1903."
- Reimer, Samuel. "The Ecumenical Impulse among Canadians."
- Rogers Healey, Robynne. "From Quaker to Upper Canadian: The Boundaries of Community Identity among Yonge Street Friends, 1801-1850." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2002): 25-43. Incorporated in *From Quaker to Upper Canadian: Faith and Community Among Yonge Street Friends, 1801-1850*. Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006.
- Shantz, Douglas H. "Pietist Representations of Sixteenth-Century Radicals as found in works by Gottfried Arnold and Johann Heinrich Reitz."
- Strauch, Timothy E. "The Jubilee Riots, the Orange Order and the Preservation of Protestantism in Toronto, 1875." Part of "Walking for

God and Raising Hell: The Jubilee Riots, the Orange Order and the Preservation of Protestantism in Toronto, 1875." M.A. thesis, Queens University, 1999.

Van Die, Marguerite. "It Takes a Village: Evangelical Childhood Nurture and Moral Formation in Stanstead, PQ, 1830-1880."

Canadian Society of Church History 2003 Annual Meeting

Date: 28-29 May 2003

Location: Dalhousie University

President: Douglas H. Shantz

Compton Brouwer, Ruth. "Margaret Wrong's Africa Journeys, 1929-1948: Beyond the Stereotypes of Lady Missionary and Lady Traveler."

Bush, Peter. "Biafra and the Canadian Churches, 1966-1970." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2003): 129-147.

den Otter, A.A. "Indigenous Missionaries in Rupert's Land, 1840-1870." Published as "The Education of Henry Bird Steinhauer, Indigenous Missionary to Western Canada." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2003): 109-128.

Färdig Whiteley, Marilyn. "Molly Wesley, 1710-1781."

Goodwin, Daniel. "Maritime Baptist Union, 1905-1906." Published as "Maritime Baptist Union and the Power of Regionalism." *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 41, No. 2 (Spring 2004): 125-156. Also published as "The Meaning of 'Baptist Union' in Maritime Canada, 1846-1906." In *Baptist Identities: International Studies from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Centuries*, eds. Ian M. Randall, Toivu Pilli, and Anthony R. Cross, 153-174. London: Paternoster Press, 2006.

Knight, Sara J. "Legal Issues Surrounding the Union of the Methodist, Congregationalist, and Presbyterian Churches in 1923." Published as

“Voices United? The House of Commons’ Role in the Creation of the United Church of Canada.” *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2003): 39-64.

Marr, Lucille. “Spirituality and a Heart for Justice: Mennonite Central Committee Ontario, 1979-2000.” Published as “Spirituality and a Heart for Justice: Mennonite Central Committee and the Ontario Aboriginal Community.” *Brethren in Christ History and Life* 26, No. 2 (August 2003): 45-61.

McLaren, Kristin. “British-Canadian Myths of Purity and Segregated Schools in Mid Nineteenth-Century Canada West.” Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2003): 73-85.

Michel, Anthony P. “The Role of the Protestant Churches in the Ontario Religious Education Controversy, 1944-1969: A Culture in Transition.” Published as “Building a Christian Democracy: George Drew, the Protestant Churches and the Origins of Religious Education in Ontario’s Public Schools, 1944-1945.” *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2003): 87-107.

Miedema, Gary. “Raising Up a Nation: The National Religious Advisory Council of the Canadian Broadcasting Commission, 1938-1975.”

Prime, Russell. “Religious Awakening in Respectable Halifax: A Look at the Creed Family Papers, 1820-1840.”

Roinila, Mika. “Finnish-Canadian Salvation Army, 1970s-1980s.” Published as “Recalling the Salvation Army’s Outreach amongst Finnish-Canadians.” *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2003): 65-72.

Shantz, Douglas H. “A Usable Past: Church Historians as Engaged Scholars Who Serve the Common Good.” President’s address. Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2003): 171-192.

Shantz, Mary-Ann. “Kingston Christians and the Persecution of European

Jews during the Nazi Era.” Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2003): 5-18.

Takashima, Sachiyo. “The Influence of the Social Gospel in Modern Rural Japan: A Case Study of Howard and Herbert Norman.” Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2003): 19-37.

Whytock, Jack C. “The Countess of Huntingdon Missionaries to Nova Scotia, c. 1785-1792.” Published as “The Huntingdonian Mission to Nova Scotia, 1782 to 1791: A Study in Calvinistic Methodism.” *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2003): 149-170.

Canadian Society of Church History 2004 Annual Meeting

Date: 3-4 June 2004

Location: University of Manitoba

President: Gordon L. Heath

Bush, Peter. “Sir Sandford Fleming and Presbyterian Worship.” Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2004): 33-51.

Ediger, Gerry. “Extending Bridges, Erecting Barriers, Exploiting Language: Manitoba Mennonite Brethren in the 1950s.”

Enns, James. “Sustaining the Faithful and Proclaiming the Gospel in a Time of Crisis: The Voice of Popular Evangelical Periodicals During the Second World War.” Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2004): 113-132.

Falby, Alison. “Maude Royden’s Guildhouse: A Nexus of Religious Change in Britain Between the Wars.” Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2004): 165-175.

Fehr Kehler, Tina. “Negotiating a ‘Sacred Village’: Kanadier (Low-German Speaking) Mennonite Women in Southern Manitoba.”

Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2004): 53-71.

Fletcher-Marsh, Wendy. "The Canadian Experiment with Social Engineering: Residential Schools as Hegemonic Discourse." Published as "The Canadian Experiment with Social Engineering: A Historical Case: The Mohawk Institute." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2004): 133-149.

Foran, Tim. "Frontiere de catholicité: Oblates and the Fashioning of Ethnic Relations in Catholic Parishes of Southern Alberta, 1905-1924."

Friesen, John J. "The Changing Face of Manitoba Mennonites, 1870s to the Present."

Froese, Brian. "Quilts, Bandages and Efficiency: Mennonite Women's Missionary Societies and the Formation of a Modern Social-Religious Identity in California, 1930-1960." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2004): 15-32.

Fuchs, Denise. "The Letters of John Macallum at the Red River Academy."

Gobbett, Brian. "The Descent of Man: John William Dawson and the Mosaic Interpretation of the Prehistoric Past."

Heath, Gordon L. "'Citizens of that Mighty Empire': Imperial Sentiment among Students at Wesley College, 1897-1902." President's address. Published in *Manitoba History* 49 (June 2005): 15-25.

Laverdure, Paul "Achille Delaere and the Origins of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Canada." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2004): 95-111. Revised version published as "Achiël Delaere and the Origins of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Canada." *Australasian Canadian Studies* 24, No. 1 (2006): 83-103. Also incorporated as Chapter 1 in *Redemption and Ritual: The Eastern-Rite Redemptorists of North America, 1906-2006*. Yorkton: Redeemer's Voice Press, 2007.

- LeBeau, Timothy J. "Immigrant's Progress: Negotiation of Order and Chaos in Nineteenth-Century North America." Published as "Going Mobile: The French-Canadian Immigrant and the European Attitude Towards Movement." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2004): 151-163.
- Loewen, Royden. "Snow Drift, Dust Bowl, Rain Forest: A Comparative Mennonite Environmental History."
- MacLeod, Roderick. "Proving 'Worthy of Advancement': Class, Gender, and Changing Expectations of Secondary Schooling in Anglo-Protestant Montreal."
- Pearson, Timothy G. "Grace and Good Works: Jesuit Mission Teaching in the Relations, 1632-1650."
- Takashima, Sachiyo. "Charles Samuel Eby and the Effort to Establish an Interdenominational University in Japan."
- Thiessen, Janis. "Work in Mennonite Theological Perspective." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2004): 5-14. Revised as "Yielded to Christ or Conformed to this World? Postwar Mennonite Responses to Labour Activism." *Studies in Religion / Sciences Religieuses* 36, No. 2 (2007): 317-338.
- Whitehouse-Strong, Derek. "Reverend Henry Cochrane and the Church Missionary Society." Published as "Reverend Henry Cochrane: 'Excellent Native Preacher,' 'Bad Example,' and 'Innocent Victim of European Clerical Jealousy.'" *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2004): 73-93.

Canadian Society of Church History 2005 Annual Meeting

Date: 29-31 May 2005
Location: University of Western Ontario
President: Peter Bush

Bush, Peter. "Consulting the Amateurs: What Academic Church His-

torians can Learn from Congregational Historians.” President’s address. Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2005): 111-129.

Dochuk, Darren. “Hillybilly Preachers, Plain Folk, and ‘Ham and Eggs’: California’s Tumultuous Turn from Depression-Era Populism to Post-war Conservatism.”

Donaldson, David. “Who Killed Norman Dabbs?” Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2005): 57-68.

Granger, Serge. “China’s Decolonization and Missionaries: Québec’s Cold War.” Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2005): 43-55.

Heath, Gordon L. “‘Forming Sound Public Opinion’: Late Victorian Canadian Protestant Press and Nation-Building.” Published as “‘Forming Sound Public Opinion’: The Late Victorian Canadian Protestant Press and Nation-Building.” *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 48 (2006): 109-159.

Knowles, Norman “‘For Now We See Through a Glass but Dimly’: The First Synod of the Diocese of Calgary and the State of Post-Vatican II English-Canadian Roman Catholicism.” *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2005): 25-42.

Miedema, Gary. “‘A Christian Country’: Religious Broadcasting and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 1938-1960.”

Robertson, James T. “Walking the Tightrope: The Irish Baptist Response to Social, Political and Religious Tensions during World War II.” Published as “Emeralds on a Tightrope: The Political, Religious and Cultural Tensions Faced by the Irish Baptists in World War II.” *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2005): 83-96.

Roinila, Mika. “Trends in Church Hopping / Church Shopping in America: A Case Study in Upstate New York.” Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2005): 97-

110.

Seiling, Jonathan. "Exiled Russian Orthodox Leaders in Paris and the Struggle to Establish a Home Away from Home (1925-1944)." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2005): 69-82.

Stebner, Eleanor. "Apologizing for Past Wrongs: A Step toward Global Citizenship?"

Takashima, Sachiyo. "Women Who Made a Great Bridge between North America and Japan: Gwen Norman, Haru Matsukata Reischauer and their Efforts to Create Role to Mutual Understanding."

Trigger, Rosalyn . "Advance or Retreat? Protestant Churches, Urban Change, and Social Christianity in Early Twentieth-Century Montreal." Published as "Religious Landscapes in Transition: Protestantism, Urban Change, and Social Christianity in Early Twentieth-Century Montreal." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2005): 5-23.

Van Die, Marguerite. "What God hath joined . . .": Religious Perspectives on Marriage and Divorce in Late-Victorian Canada." In *Studies in Religion / Sciences Religieuses* 38, No. 1 (2009): 5-25.

Canadian Society of Church History 2006 Annual Meeting

Date: 28-30 May 2006

Location: York University

President: Paul Laverdure

Anderson, Marvin L. "Crossing Borders, Crossing Boundaries: The 'Free Trade' in Religious Ideas in the Theoretical Formation of Prairie Populism."

Barter Moulaison, Jane. "Work, Vocation, and Ministry: Theologies of Call in the United Church of Canada, 1945-1980." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2006): 71-

80.

Beardsall, Sandra. "Who Killed Ray Hord? Prophecy and Death in the Secular City." Published in revised form as "Ray Hord: 'Prophet Evangelist' of the United Church." *Touchstone* 24, No. 3 (2006): 48-59.

Bowler, Sharon M. "Dr. Jonathan Woolverton: A Nineteenth-Century Canadian Physician with a Protestant Conscience." Published as "Dr. Jonathan Woolverton: A Nineteenth-Century Canadian Physician and Educator with a Protestant Conscience." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2006): 127-134.

Douville, Bruce. "Back to the Garden": The Jesus People Movement in Toronto, 1971-1974." Published as "And We've Got to Get Ourselves Back to the Garden': The Jesus People Movement in Toronto." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2006): 5-24.

Eason, Andrew Mark. "Revivalism, Religious Liberty, and the Colonial State: The Salvation Army in Late-Victorian Bombay, 1882-1883."

Färdig Whiteley, Marilyn. "The Silence of Isabel Crawford, Missionary to the Kiowa."

Kuhnle, Lee "Turning the Tables: How East Berlin Churches Became Focal Points of Anti-Communist Dissent before the Fall of the Wall." Published as "Re-Conceptualizing Religious Space in the German Democratic Republic: The Role of Protestant Churches in the Formation of a Political Opposition." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2006): 25-37. Also published in *The Canadian Centre For German and European Studies: Working Paper Series* 14 (2008): 1-12.

Laverdure, Paul. "Religion and Public History." President's address. Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2006): 157-176.

Macdonald, Stuart. "Death of Christian Canada? Do Canadian Church

Statistics Support Callum Brown's Theory of Church Decline?" Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2006):135-156.

MacLeod, Alex N. "Holy City, Sacred Scripture, Profane People: Orientalism and Eastern Christianity in the Writings of Anglo-American Protestants about Jerusalem, 1839-1913." Published as "Can Any Good Thing Come Out Of Palestine? Orientalism and Eastern Christianity in Protestant Writings about the Holy Land, 1839-1908." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2006): 39-54.

Marr, Lucille. "Anne Snyder, the Mennonite Central Committee, and Post-Construction Germany." Published as "A Biographical Sketch." In *Alice Snyder's Letters from Germany: "I guess I just won't be able to write everything I see,"* eds. Lucille Marr with Dora-Marie Goulet, 11-22. Kitchener: Pandora Press, 2009.

Power, Michael. "From Frontier Priest to Urban Pastor: Father Edmund Burke Kilroy."

Rogers Healey, Robynne. "Quakers and the Cold War: Experiments in Civilian Defense and Civil Disobedience." Published as "Wrestling with the Lesser Evil: Quakers and the Sons of Freedom in Mid Twentieth-Century British Columbia." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2006): 55-69.

Roy, Christian. "Charles De Koninck at the Crossroads of Catholic Moral Thought: The 'Common Good' Controversy and its Echoes in the Americas in the 1940s and 1950s." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2006): 81-92.

Shantz Lingwood, Mary-Ann. "The Family that Prays Together Stays Together: Calgary's Anglican Churches and the Christian Family Ideal, 1950-1970."

Smale, Robert R. "Broad is the Road and Narrow is the Gate Leading to the Land of Promise: Canadian Baptists and Their Voice in Restricting Immigration Policy, 1924-1929." Published in *Historical*

Papers: Canadian Society of Church History (2006): 103-126.

Takashima, Sachiyo. "Return to Christianity – The Thinking of Herbert Norman before His Suicide." Published as "Return to Christianity: Herbert Norman's Letter to his Brother Before his Suicide." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2006): 93-101.

Canadian Society of Church History 2007 Annual Meeting

Date: 27-29 May 2007

Location: University of Saskatchewan

President: Eleanor J. Stebner

Beardsall, Sandra. "Medicare Crisis and Faith Crisis: The United Church of Canada and the 1962 Saskatchewan Doctors' Strike." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2007): 5-16.

Bowler, Kate. "Left to Tell? Canadian Missions and the Challenge of the Rwandan Genocide." An incomplete version is published as "'We Wish to Inform You': Canadian Religious Reporting of the Rwandan Genocide." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2007): 89-98. The complete version is published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2008): 175-195.

Bowler, Gerry. "The Canadian Battle for Christmas." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2007): 77-87.

Dekar, Paul R. "The Contribution of John Webster Grant to Protestant Religious Historiography." Special Session Commemorating the Contribution of John Webster Grant to Canadian Religious Historiography: Four Views. Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2007): 160-165.

Enns, James. "Saving Germany: North American Mennonite Missionaries in the Post-War Protestant Heartland."

Froese, Brian. "'Our Christians': Mennonite Missions and Cultural

Encounters in British Columbia.”

Gray, Colleen. “The Many Faces of Providence in the Captivity Narratives of John Norton and Nehemiah How.” Published as “The Many Faces of Providence in the New England Captivity Narratives of Nehemiah How and the Reverend John Norton, 1748.” *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2007): 111-128.

Guenther, Alan M. “‘Barred from Heaven and Cursed Forever’: Old Colony Mennonites and the 1908 Commission of Inquiry Regarding Public Education.” Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2007):129-148.

Heath, Gordon L. “Half-Breeds and Rebels: Canadian Baptist Newspapers and Constructions of the Riel Rebellion in 1885.”

Jaenen, Cornelius J. “Belgian Catholic Outreach to ‘Others’ in Western Canada.” Published as “Belgian Catholic Relations with ‘Others’ in Western Canada, 1880-1940.” *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2007): 17-29.

Loewen, Royden. “The Diasporic Imagination of Old Colony Mennonites in Mexico, 1930-1950.”

McGowan, Mark G. “Reflections on John Webster Grant’s Influence on Catholic Historiography in Canada.” Special Session Commemorating the Contribution of John Webster Grant to Canadian Religious Historiography: Four Views. Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2007): 166-173.

Meier, Marcus. “Jane Leade’s Spiritual Diary ‘A Fountain of Gardens’ – Autobiographical Reflections in the Age of Enlightenment.”

Neylan, Susan. “John Webster Grant’s Contributions to Aboriginal Historiography.” Special Session Commemorating the Contribution of John Webster Grant to Canadian Religious Historiography: Four Views. Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2007): 49-159.

- Petrov, Sergey. "Johann Heinrich Jung-Stilling's Letters as the Continuation of His Spiritual Autobiography." Published as "The Pursuit of Solyma: Johann Heinrich Jung-Stilling's Letters as Part of His Spiritual Autobiography." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2007): 31-41.
- Robertson, James T. "His Dominion vs. New Ireland: The Ontario Protestant Response to the Fenian Invasion of 1866."
- Rogers Healey, Robynne. "Putting Peace into Practice: Cold War Quaker Experiments in Civil Defense."
- Schmidt, Darren W. "Eighteenth-Century Evangelical Protestant Understandings of the Christian Past." An incomplete version is published as "The Place of Church History in the Rise of Evangelicalism." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2007): 99-109. The complete version is published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2008): 197-212.
- Shantz, Douglas H. "The Harvest of Pietist Theology: The Intersection of Mystical Protestantism and Enlightenment Thought in the Autobiography of Friedrich Christoph Oetinger (1702-1782)."
- Stebner, Eleanor J. "Biography and Church History." President's address. Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2007): 181-191.
- Webb, Todd. "The Destruction of Robert Alder: An Example of Transatlantic Culture and Anarchy among the Methodists." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2007): 43-59.
- Young, John H. "John Webster Grant and His Place in the United Church of Canada." Special Session Commemorating the Contribution of John Webster Grant to Canadian Religious Historiography: Four Views. Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2007): 174-180.

Zinck, Arlette. "Reverend James Evans and the Hudson Bay Company: How a Cree Translation of John Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress may Shed New Light on an Old Scandal." Published as "New Light on an Old Scandal? Sex and Corporate Politics at the Norway House Methodist Mission of 1846." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2007): 61-76.

Canadian Society of Church History 2008 Annual Meeting

Date: 1-3 June 2008

Location: University of British Columbia

President: Bruce L. Guenther

Ambrose, Linda. "Zelma and Beulah Argue: Sisters in the Canadian Pentecostal Movement, 1920-1960." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2008): 81-101.

Breul, Wolfgang. "Martin Luther's Development as a Reformer in Light of His Own Statement from 1518. New Light on an Old Question."

Bruer, Sarah. "Unselfish Devotion: Deaconess Zidee Stoddard and the Social Gospel."

Burnett, Kristin. "Acknowledging the Unacknowledged Quarantine: Religion, Faith, and Nursing at the Blood Hospital, 1893-1930s."

Compton Brouwer, Ruth. "When Missions Became Development: The Churches and CUSO in the 1960s – Linkages and Tensions."

Dekar, Paul R. "Thomas Merton, Prophet of the New Monasticism." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2008): 121-132.

Douville, Bruce. "A Puppy-Dog Tale: The United Church of Canada and the Youth Counterculture, 1965-1973." Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2008): 27-46.

Guenther, Bruce L. "'From the Edge of Oblivion': Reflections on

Evangelical Protestant Denominational Historiography in Canada.”
President’s address. Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society
of Church History* (2008): 153-174.

Heath, Gordon L. “When Friends and Neighbors Become Enemies:
Canadian Baptists and the War of 1812.”

Hesketh, Ian. “The Victorian Bible: Ecce Homo and the Manufacturing of
a Literary Sensation.”

Klager, Andrew P. “Balthasar Hubmaier and the Authority of the Church
Fathers.” Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church
History* (2008): 133-152.

Klassen, Pamela E. “Holistic Trinity: Body, Mind, and Spirit among
Twentieth-Century Protestants.”

Lafferty, Renée. “The ‘Spirits’ of Religion: Evangelicals and Medical
Care for Toronto’s Dipsomaniacs, 1860-1890.”

McGowan, Mark G. “Air Wars: Radio Regulation, Sectarianism, and
Religious Broadcasting in Canada, 1922-1938.” Published in
Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History (2008): 5-25.

McKim, Denis. “‘Righteousness Exalteth a Nation’: Providence, Empire
and the Forging of the Early Canadian Presbyterian Identity.”
Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History*
(2008): 47-66.

Petrov, Sergey. “From Ukraine to Caucasus to Canadian Prairies: Life as
Wandering in the Spiritual Autobiography of Feoktist Dunaenko.”
Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History*
(2008): 67-79.

Rady-Shaw, Julia. “Church Front: The Case of Bloor Street United
Church’s War Effort, 1939-1945.”

Robertson, James T. “‘T.T. Shields and the Des Moines Affair’: The
Attempted Establishment and Subsequent Collapse of a Funda-

mentalist University in Des Moines, 1927-1929.”

Shantz, Douglas H. “Pietist Autobiography and the Rise of Secular Individualism.”

Van Die, Marguerite. “Practicing Medicine and Spiritualism in the 1860s: The Encounters between Drs. Moses Colby and Susan Kilborn as Problem and Possibility in the Writing of Religious History.”

Webb, Todd. “‘Popery is Evidently Nodding to its Fall’: Methodism and Anti-Catholicism in British North America, 1837-1860.”

Wilkinson, Michael. “Canadian Pentecostalism: A Multicultural Perspective.” Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2008): 103-119.

Canadian Society of Church History 2009 Annual Meeting

Ambrose, Linda M. “Gender and Pentecostal Publications: The Writings of Zelma Argue, 1920-1969.” Published as “Establishing a Gendered Authority through Pentecostal Publications: The Writings of Zelma Argue, 1920-1969.” *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2009): 69-80.

Ambrose, Linda M. “Response to *Canadian Pentecostalism: Transition and Transformation*, ed. Michael Wilkinson.”

Bowler, Sharon M. “Protestant Church Advocacy for Political Virtue in Pre-Confederation Canada.” Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2009): 59-67.

Choquette, Robert. “Response to *Canadian Pentecostalism: Transition and Transformation*, ed. Michael Wilkinson.”

Douville, Bruce. “Spiritual Midwife? Liberal Christianity and the Origins of the Canadian New Left.”

Eason, Andrew Mark. “The Salvation Army and the Sacraments in

Victorian England: Retracing the Steps to Non-Observance.”

Edgehill, Iain. ”The Religious and Theological Elements in Caribbean Slave Revolts.”

Epp, Marlene. ”Preachers, Prophets, and Missionaries: The Dichotomous Religious Lives of Mennonite Women in Canada.”

Fai, Stephen. ”St. Michael of Ponass Lakes, Saskatchewan: Icon, Architecture, and Material Imagination.”

Friesen, Michael. ”Draft Resistance and the Politics of Gender: A Life History Approach to Understanding Mennonites, Anti-Militarism and Masculinity in the United States during the Vietnam War.”

Froese, Brian. ”Contrasting Visions of Mission: Mennonite Social Activism and Mennonite Brethren Evangelicalism in Post-War British Columbia.”

Kerfoot, Donna. ”Florence Nightingale’s ‘Way of Perfection’ in Nineteenth-Century England.”

Klassen, William. ”Pilgram Marpeck (1495-1556).”

Marr, Lucille. ”Lucille Brechbill Lady: Devoted Daughter, Loving Wife.” Published ”Writing a Woman’s Life: Lucille Brechbill Lady, 1910-68.” *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2009): 81-100.

McKay, Ian. ”Response to *The View from Murney Tower: Salem Bland, the Late Victorian Controversies, and the Search for a new Christianity* by Richard Allen.”

McKillop, A.B. ”Response to *The View from Murney Tower: Salem Bland, the Late Victorian Controversies, and the Search for a new Christianity* by Richard Allen.”

Middleton, J. Richard, and David Belles. ”Variant Eschatologies in the Great Awakenings and the Social Gospel: Case Studies in Jonathan

Edwards, Dwight L. Moody and Walter Rauschenbusch.”

Reid, Jennifer. “The Roman Catholic Foundations of Land Claims in Canada.” Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2009): 5-19.

Reimer, Samuel. “Response to *Canadian Pentecostalism: Transition and Transformation*, ed. Michael Wilkinson.”

Robertson, James T. “The ‘Long Knives,’ the ‘Sons Of Nature,’ and ‘Our Province’: Rev. John Strachan’s Views on the Indigenous People and the Motives for the American Invasion of Upper Canada, 1812-1814.” Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2009): 41-58.

Schmidt, Darren W. “Reviving the Past: Eighteenth-Century Evangelical Interpretations of Church History.”

Shantz, Douglas H. “Anabaptist Women as Martyrs, Models of Courage, and Tools of the Devil.” Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2009): 21-34.

Webb, Todd “Faiths of ’37: Piety, Parties and Politics in Rebellion-Era Canada.” President’s address. Published as “Faiths of ’37: Methodism and Anti-Catholicism in Rebellion-Era Canada.” *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2009): 101-118.

Young, John H. “A Discussion on Richard Allen’s *The View from Murney Tower: Salem Bland, the Late Victorian Controversies, and the Search for a New Christianity*.” Published in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2009): 35-40.

**Papers Published by the Canadian Society
of Church History: 1967-2009**

In *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1967-1973, 1975-1989, 1991), and in *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1990, 1992-2009)

Canadian Society of Church History Papers (1967)

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