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"And We've Got to Get Ourselves Back to the Garden": The Jesus People Movement in Toronto

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I came upon a child of God;
He was walking along the road,
And I asked him, 'Where are you going?'
And this he told me:
"I'm going on down to Yasgur's farm;
I'm going to join in a rock 'n' roll band,
I'm going to camp out on the land,
And try and get my soul free."
We are stardust,
We are golden.
And we've got to get ourselves
Back to the garden.[1]

At its core, the counter-culture of the late 1960s and early 1970s was a movement for emotional and spiritual liberation. The young people of the generation immortalized in Joni Mitchell's "Woodstock" sought to free their souls, and articulate for themselves what it meant to be children of God. In William McLoughlin's words, the "young were far from irreligious, but they sang and marched to a different beat and saw the world in a different light."[2] They proclaimed a message of peace and love, and they denounced warmongering, consumerism, and an "establishment" system that they found de-humanizing. With spiritual values such as these, it is little wonder that many of them responded readily to Christianity.

The Jesus People movement[3] took place when many hippies turned

from eastern mysticism to Pentecostal Christianity, from "free love" to the love of God, and from street pharmaceuticals to being "filled with the Spirit." In many ways, the movement was an extension of the counter-culture. The "Jesus freaks" retained the "hip" vocabulary, long hair, unorthodox clothing, psychedelic artwork and rock music. They also adopted the social institutions of the counter-culture: communes, coffeehouses, teach-ins, and rock festivals. These, however, are only surface similarities. The Jesus people shared much more fundamental characteristics with the hippies and student activists: their reaction against "technocracy" and materialism, their experiential focus, and their vitality. Equally as important were crucial differences between the two movements: the Jesus people were largely apolitical, unlike the counter-cultural left, and they explicitly rejected drug use, permissive sexuality, and the occult.

Both the Jesus movement and the secular counter-culture emerged in their prototypical forms in California in the late 1960s, and spread throughout the United States and Canada. In Toronto, the counter-culture manifested itself in the Yorkville hippie scene, Rochdale College, and activist organizations such as the Student Union for Peace Action.[4] The Jesus movement manifested itself in communal experiments such as the Jesus Forever Family at Rochdale College and the House of Emmaus on Draper Street, and the large weekly worship services of "the Catacombs" at St. Paul's Anglican Church, Bloor Street.[5] While there were notable differences between the Canadian and American counter-cultures, the Jesus movement in Toronto was remarkably similar in nature to its prototype in southern California. There was little to distinguish the practices, theology, sociology, or eventual fate of the two groups. In this essay, I will explore the nature of the Jesus People movement – particularly its similarities to and differences from the broader counter-culture – using Toronto as my chief example. My primary sources are contemporary assessments of the Jesus People in mainstream Canadian publications, particularly the "Religion" section of the *Toronto Star*.

In the late 1960s, hippies, student activists, and sympathetic observers perceived the counter-culture to be a reaction against "technocracy." Both terms – "counter-culture" and "technocracy" – gained wide currency through sociologist Theodore Roszak's *The Making of a Counter Culture: Reflections on the Technocratic Society and Its Youthful Opposition*. Roszak defines technocracy as "that society in which those

who govern justify themselves by appeal to technical experts who, in turn, justify themselves by appeal to scientific forms of knowledge. And beyond the authority of science, there is no appeal."[6] In the dominant technocratic culture, Roszak explains, experts manage all aspects of life, and "the prime goal of the society is to keep the productive apparatus turning over efficiently."[7] In such a society, humans become technical beings, impersonal and unemotional. (As the persona in Joni Mitchell's "Woodstock" describes it, "I feel to be a cog in something turning.") It is a perfect form of totalitarianism, he argues, precisely because it is subliminal: "even those in the state and/or corporate structure who dominate our lives must find it impossible to conceive of themselves as the agents of a totalitarian control."[8] The counter-culture, then, was the conscious rejection of all institutions of technocratic social control.

As this essay will show, repudiating technocracy meant rejecting many traditional values. Two of these were economic: the sanctity of work, and of private property. Both were seen as aspects of de-humanizing materialism. The disdainful attitude of Toronto's counter-culture towards private property is evident in the history of Rochdale College. On a grand scale, the college was an experiment in collective ownership, and it was also the site of many smaller experiments in communal living. For three years after Clarkson, Gordon and Company took ownership of the building, Rochdale residents resisted eviction.[9] The counter-culture's disdain for the Protestant work ethic is evident in Toronto hippie David DePoe's observation, "Work isn't everything, work isn't holy."[10]

Likewise, the Jesus People were not devoted to the Protestant work ethic. They did not oppose wage labour, but since Christ's return was imminent, materialistic goals were unimportant, and long-term financial planning was foolish.[11] Susan Mousley, a sixteen-year-old resident of Rochdale's Jesus Forever commune, believed that God led her to quit her job and, as she explained to a sceptical reporter, she awaited further direction from the Lord.[12] Philip Marchand wrote about Roy, a resident of the House of Emmaus, parents "wouldn't mind it if Roy got a job. But he tells them only, 'I'll be patient, and the Lord will provide.'"[13]

From its inception, the Jesus People movement also embraced communal living. They wished to pattern themselves after the first-century followers of Christ, and many of them were impressed to discover that communal living was normative in the early church.[14] Christian communes also served practical purposes. First, they provided accommodation, which was important since Jesus People ministered to a largely transient

population. Second, they provided relatively stable environments where new converts could avoid their old acquaintances and habits, and replace them with new ones. In Toronto, the two most well-known Jesus People communes were the House of Emmaus on Draper Street, and Jesus Forever Family on the third floor of Rochdale College.

Robert Vellick established the House of Emmaus as a result of a seminar he started at Rochdale College. Out of that seminar "came an awareness of the need for a body or community to grow together with." In a 1971 *Toronto Star* article, Vellick explained the importance of community:

> "You have to live Christianity," Vellick points out. "It's not out there somewhere – it's right here between people. What's missing in the churches is a deep personal relationship among the members. They don't really know each other: how can they love in any depth?"[15]

Besides Vellick, whom the article describes as "a lean, bearded figure with the intense eyes of an Old Testament prophet," and presumably his wife, an adult education teacher, the House of Emmaus also included about fifteen members.[16] According to Vellick, many of them came from difficult backgrounds (i.e., drug use and home problems), though at least one associate of the House of Emmaus was a University of Toronto student.[17] The residents engaged in street evangelism in Yorkville, and provided practical assistance to transients.[18]

According to one Rochdale College resident, the Jesus Forever group on the third floor was "one of the most stable communes in the building":

> They were the only cultural entity that ever came to Rochdale, squared off, and came out ahead. [Students who were not Jesus Freaks] would move in and would be crewcut, hard-working, do-their-homework-every-day students in September. By November they had dropped out and had gotten into politics and drugs and sex and all that s**t. The Hare Krishna moved in and moved out almost immediately because they kept losing members. But the Jesus Freaks had a cultural identity.[19]

The commune's leader was a former drug dealer "who had a mouth full of rotten teeth, played guitar badly and sang much worse. But he was the actual charisma that held it all together."[20] The Jesus Forever group

appears to have operated in a manner similar to the House of Emmaus, but its primary mission field was Rochdale itself. For example, Susan Mousley, mentioned above, was a Rochdale resident prior to converting and joining the third-floor Christian commune.[21] In 1974, one of the group members told Tom Harpur that "the group had been looking at a house in case they were evicted along with other residents. 'But we'd like to stay here because the need is greater.'"[22]

The history of the movement in Toronto shows that the Jesus People shared the counter-cultural disdain for materialism. Without question, they had unique motives. Their apathetic attitude towards the Protestant work ethic probably reflected eschatological concerns rather than political ones. Likewise, their communalism was not an end in itself, but a means to achieving more effective evangelistic outreach and discipleship, and to strengthen the bonds of Christian community. Nevertheless, the Jesus People clearly distanced themselves from the economic values of the dominant technocratic society, because these values were not consistent with the gospel of Christ as they understood it.

Like their secular counterparts, the Jesus People also rejected other aspects of the technocratic culture: the primacy of intellectual expertise, logic and tradition. In its place, both the counter-culture and the Jesus movement embraced experience, emotion, and immediacy. Furthermore, because the dominant social institutions cherished these values that the counter-culture rejected – such as knowledge, training and historical continuity – the counter-culture was anti-institutional. One of these institutions was organized religion, which the Jesus People saw as being part of the problem, not the solution. Many churches, in turn, were uncomfortable with the Jesus People.

According to Doug Owram, the counter-culture was "a romantic revolution, resisting the pre-eminence of the rational and scientific world." For the youth of the 1960s, the rationality of the dominant culture "seemed to shut out the very possibilities of passion and experience":

> So few people find real love, argued one writer, because "severely dehumanized societies like North America in the grip of a liberal or materialistic philosophy destroy the ability to feel. We are a generation of romantics – unable to really touch one another – only to dream about it."

Emotion had to be restored through experience. Without emotion both the

individual and the society became a mechanism rather than a living organism.[23]

To restore their ability to feel, most hippies turned to drugs. Marijuana and LSD provided the kinds of experience that they craved to fill the emotional void. Indeed, many took LSD "as a semi-religious experience."[24] Like the romantics of the previous century, the counter-culture glorified intense feelings and emotional experiences.

The Jesus People rejected drug use, but like their secular counterparts, they placed great emphasis on emotional experiences. Conversion was necessary for salvation, and for many Jesus People, it was a profoundly emotional experience. As Susan Mousley described it, "I never got around to speed that day. I didn't need it. I was too high on the Lord . . . It was like somebody pouring something into me. He cleaned out the darkness. I was forgiven all my sins. It's as if a door behind me had closed."[25] Even more intense, for many of them, was the experience of being "filled with the Holy Spirit." Like Pentecostals, most Jesus People believed that subsequent to salvation, all Christians must receive the baptism in the Holy Spirit, with the evidence of speaking in tongues.[26] When Roy, a House of Emmaus resident mentioned above, "felt the presence of the Holy Spirit in him for the first time, [it was] a presence like a spiritual high so powerful he couldn't stand on his feet for five hours afterwards."[27]

It is no coincidence that Jesus People, many of them former drug users, used terms such as "spiritual high" and "trip" to describe these events. The Jesus "freaks" replaced narcotics with Christ and Holy Spirit. These experiences, however, were not merely ends in themselves. Rather, they were seen as proof that God was at work in their lives. When the doubting reporter questioned the validity of Susan Mousley's religious experience, Mousley responded, "I got the gift of tongues eight hours after I became a Christian and I now have the gift of discernment."[28] Powerful emotions and the "gifts of the Spirit" (e.g., speaking in tongues, physical healing, miracles) were evidence of God's reality, and His presence. In contrast, a lack of emotion was perceived as evidence of God's absence. "If you can't get emotional," Merla Watson of the Catacombs is quoted as saying, "I feel sorry for you."[29]

Critics of the Jesus People were most disturbed by their heavy reliance on emotion and experience. As Tom Harpur observed, the "emotionalism and the tendency to give simple answers to complex issues

could result in just another 'trip' destined to end in a rude shock once the initial 'high' is over."[30] In their analysis of the movement in California, Ronald Enroth and his colleagues noted that Jesus People used experience as the criterion to determine the validity of Christianity, (i.e., "But I've had this experience, and I know it's true. I know I'm right."): "The Bible, however, exhorts its readers to test the spirits. Other persons have had other experiences, and for them these experiences have been most profound and earthshaking. According to what criterion can these competing experiences be judged? The criterion must lie outside the realm of experience itself." Emotion and experience alone are not sufficient, Enroth argues. One must also use one's intellect, and according to Enroth, this was something that many Jesus People were not prepared to do.[31]

The Jesus People movement inherited its anti-intellectualism and anti-traditionalism from the broader counter-culture. Owram writes that "the emotionalism of the counter-culture made it impatient with intellectual canon," and that the hippies and student activists "felt exempt from history."[32] Indeed, like other twentieth-century revolutionaries, they sought to liberate themselves from the burden of history. Centuries of accumulated scholarship in the sciences and humanities had failed to produce a just, peaceful society; therefore, cultivating one's intellect was irrelevant at best, and harmful at worst. For Jesus People, all the truth that they needed could be found in the Bible, and in the leading of the Holy Spirit. The truth was out there, and the truth was simple. This attitude provoked the journalist who interviewed Susan Mousley to remark that the Jesus People were "victim[s] of a voluntary frontal lobotomy…Susan and the rest of her family don't question life anymore. They're not exercising the intelligence that distinguishes them from dogs and cats. Tame animals accept direction from their master, and the Jesus Forever family accepts direction from its master."[33] While her criticism was extreme, even more sympathetic observers warned of the dangers of privileging experience over intellect. In a *Toronto Star* article about the Jesus People, W. Stafford Reid, a professor of Reformation history at the University of Guelph, remarked:

> One other danger indicated by the Reformation is that of anti-intellectualism, with an over-emphasis upon emotion and personal experience. Groups with such tendencies arose in the sixteenth century but usually they were soon fragmented by divisions over experience, since all experiences were not the same. It was the groups that had a well-articulated structure of thought that survived and

ultimately exercised a wide influence.[34]

Hand in hand with their distrust of intellectual cultivation and tradition, the Jesus People also distrusted the established churches – even evangelical churches. House of Emmaus leader Robert Vellick told Tom Harpur that churches "are trying to play patsy with God on the one hand and the world on the other; that's why they're just lukewarm." One of his colleagues explained that they were not anti-church, and that many of them belonged to established congregations, but they felt "that too often the traditional churches are bound up in materialism and conformity to the world." Their attitude reflected the primitivist drive of the movement. In Harpur's words, they wanted "to be known simply as followers of Jesus – Jesus People – trying to embody apostolic Christianity in twentieth-century garb." Their attitude also reflected the counter-cultural distrust of their parents' generation and its institutions. In Vellick's words, "this is a new generation, and we're not in anybody's camp."[35]

Unfortunately, the distrust between Jesus People and older Christians was mutual. When Roy of the House of Emmaus converted to Christianity, there remained a great deal of conflict between him and his Christian parents. "He had become a Jesus freak," Marchand writes, "but the freak part was still almost as important as the Jesus part in the eyes of his parents. Now, in fact, his parents want him to show how Christian he is by getting a haircut and wearing decent clothes."[36] Wilber Sutherland, a former worker with Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship, relates the episode of a Toronto church that had supported an effective Christian coffeehouse in Yorkville: "When some of the converts wanted to attend communion still in their 'hippie' garb, bare feet and all, there was strong opposition unless they 'cleaned up.' They chose to establish their own Sunday service instead." When the issue was debated at a gathering of Toronto's clergy, an evangelical minister "was very distressed at the thought of administering communion to these uncouth 'kids' who probably had never been baptized."[37]

Some established churches were able to bridge the distrust. Ronald Enroth and his colleagues provided several examples of "straight churches" that welcomed the Jesus People, perhaps the most successful being Pastor Chuck Smith's Calvary Chapel in Santa Ana, California.[38] In London, Ontario, Rev. David Mack of King Street United Church allowed a group of Jesus People to host a regular Christian coffeehouse, known as Jesus Rap, in the church basement. The experience rejuvenated the church,

which had been on the verge of closing.[39] Furthermore, as the Jesus People matured, they concluded that the established church had much to offer. In 1974, Robert Vellick informed the *Toronto Star* that he had become a Roman Catholic, and the House of Emmaus was "an evangelical, Roman Catholic lay community." Vellick made this move, he said, because he needed roots, and "you can't completely cut yourself off from the history and tradition of the church."[40] In the same article, David Mack noted that a significant number of the original Jesus People had eventually joined established churches. "Where the churches have been willing to bend in regard to worship and other structures," Mack said, "the young people have come in and found a depth of tradition and knowledge they knew they themselves were lacking."[41]

In the early days of the movement in Toronto, the Jesus People, like their secular counterparts, celebrated warm emotion and living experience. They rejected cold intellect and dead tradition, and they criticized the church, because they believed that it embodied these characteristics. Eventually, they came to believe that a living, experiential faith could not be divorced from the life and experience of the historic church, and that emotion could not be divorced from intellect. Undoubtedly, they would have agreed with Tom Harpur's opinion that the optimum "would be a new religious synthesis where reason and emotion find again their proper balance. The Bible words about marriage are appropriate here as well. They say: 'Those whom (which) God hath joined together let no man put asunder.'"[42]

Another trait that the Jesus movement shared with the counter-culture was its vitality. The hippie, the student activist, and the Jesus "freak" each made the same claim: that he belonged to a dynamic international grassroots movement, one that held the unique potential to transform society. Each movement grew rapidly, and was evangelistic and idealistic in nature. Moreover, the optimism and vigour of the counterculture was rooted in the Baby Boomers' sense that they belonged to a special generation. The Jesus People shared this sense, but took it a step further: they believed that they belonged to the last generation before Christ's return. Their intense interest in eschatology contributed to the dynamism of the movement.

Toronto's best example of the Jesus movement's rapid growth and vitality was the weekly gathering known as the Catacombs. In 1968, two students at Birchmount Park Collegiate approached Merv Watson, a music

teacher, about forming a Christian club at the school. They decided to call it The Catacombs Club, because they considered themselves "an underground presence on the high school scene." By the following year, the Catacombs had developed into a charismatic prayer group that met in individual homes.[43] The group grew rapidly, and kept moving its prayer meetings to larger venues: from private living rooms to the basement of Bathurst Street United Church, to Cody Hall at St. Paul's Anglican Church, Bloor Street, and ultimately to the sanctuary of St. Paul's.[44] In 1972, Tom Harpur observed that there were about four hundred to five hundred, largely teenagers, in attendance at the weekly Thursday night meetings, and in 1974, he reported attendance of up to one thousand.[45] According to Merv Watson, about thirty to forty per cent of those attending were Jesus People, while the remainder were "straight kids from every church and from every part of town." They were drawn by the exuberant, Pentecostal-style worship (i.e., raising one's hand in prayer, praying out loud and "speaking in tongues"). They were also drawn by the music ministry of Merv and Merla Watson, who often performed their own compositions. Tom Harpur described the Catacombs gatherings as "a mixture of the old-time revival meeting, a modern hootenanny and a classical concert."[46] Clearly, the group members were convinced that something exciting and unique was happening at the Catacombs. Many church pastors throughout southern Ontario were also convinced, and they chartered buses so that their youth groups could take part in the experience.[47]

This sense of uniqueness had its roots in the Baby Boomers' sense of being special, both personally as individuals, and collectively as an emerging generation. Doug Owram attributes this trait to several factors. Parents, who had lived through times of deprivation and disruption, aspired to provide a materially and emotionally secure environment for their children. The affluence generated by a booming postwar economy led young people to believe that they occupied a world without limits. Finally, the Baby Boomers were conscious of their demographic importance. "For a period of twenty to twenty-five years," Owram writes, "not only was there demographic imbalance, but that imbalance tilted the values and politics of the Canadian nation towards the values and politics of Canadian youth." From the vantage point of hippies and student activists, they belonged to a generation with substantial power and unlimited opportunities.[48]

For Jesus People, their generation was indeed special, not simply

because of its demographic importance, but because they believed it to be the final generation before the second coming of Jesus Christ. Their expectation of Christ's imminent return rested on two principal lines of argument, both involving biblical prophecy. First of all, they were convinced that the Jesus movement itself was a fulfilment of the Old Testament prophet Joel's prediction that in the last days, God would pour out His Spirit, and that miracles would occur. Enroth explains:

> In his sermon on the day of Pentecost, Peter quoted that prophecy … But since the Jesus People collapse all history between the Book of Acts and the present moment, they see themselves as the continuing fulfilment of Joel's words. As the church in the Book of Acts represented "the former rain" that brought the first fruits, the Jesus People adhere to the standard Pentecostalist view that they are "the latter rain" referred to by the prophets and that will immediately precede the second coming.[49]

Their other line of argument was to point to the turbulent world of the late 1960s and early 1970s as fulfilments of biblical prophecy, and harbingers of Christ's return. Many Jesus People read Hal Lindsey's *The Late Great Planet Earth*, which argued that world events indicated that Christ's second advent may be imminent.[50] Jesus People in Toronto eagerly awaited that final event. Toronto's Jesus People publication was entitled *Maranatha*, the Aramaic term for "Come, Lord."[51] Roy told journalist Philip Marchand "that the Second Coming might be indicated as well by the fact that the ranks of Christians are swelling: 'Down at the House of Emmaus there's been, in the past two weeks, somebody saved every night."[52]

Furthermore, many Jesus People were preoccupied by the eschatological importance of the state of Israel. They believed that the 1948 re-establishment of the state of Israel and the 1967 reclamation of the holy sites of Old Jerusalem paved the way for the eventual building of the third Temple.[53] They also believed that many Jews would convert to Christ in the last days. For this reason, Jesus People were keenly interested in efforts to spread the gospel in Israel, and in the development of Messianic Judaism (i.e., Jews who believe that Jesus is the Messiah). In 1972, Merv and Merla Watson informed a gathering of the Catacombs "how they believe God is calling them to a special ministry in the Holy Land," and by May 1974, the two had left the Catacombs and formed a new group, whose "members aim at 'ministering to Jews' through music and praise."[54]

Though many would dismiss such missionary efforts as, at best, quixotic, they are an example of the vitality and optimism of a movement eager to save as many souls as it could before Christ's imminent return.

Without question, the Jesus People owed much of their excitement and evangelistic energy to their confidence that these were the last days, and that their movement was a special end-times dispensation from God. However, while this confidence offered short-term benefits (i.e., motivation, rapid growth), it posed long-term dangers for the movement. Enroth and his colleagues concluded that after talking to California's Jesus People, "we felt that Christ had better come soon, because they could not long sustain the emotional high and the intensity of life that they were presently enjoying."[55] Disillusionment and waning enthusiasm, they feared, could cause the movement to decline rapidly. Despite such concerns, the Jesus People retained their vitality. As with any religious revival, many conversions proved to be ephemeral; many, however, proved to be lasting. The Catacombs, for example, maintained its momentum well into the 1970s, and continued to exist until the late 1980s – long after the demise of the Yorkville hippie scene, SUPA, and Rochdale College. Clearly, the Jesus movement was both energetic and relatively durable.

So far, this essay has examined the similarities between the Jesus movement and the counter-culture. However, one must not minimize the differences between the two groups. Unlike their secular counterparts, the Jesus People were essentially apolitical. They did not engage in social or political activism, because Christ's second advent was the only solution for social injustice. Moreover, the Jesus movement was an explicit reaction to and repudiation of significant parts of the counter-culture: chaos, drug use, permissive sexuality, and non-Christian spirituality.

Social and political protest was the most visible aspect of the counter-culture. In Toronto, New Left activists demonstrated against the Vietnam War, occupied the University of Toronto senate chamber to "stop the power structure," and formed a variety of protest groups.[56] However, there is no evidence that Toronto's Jesus People took part in any events to protest systemic poverty, the Vietnam War, nuclear proliferation, or any of the other causes of the New Left social activists. The Jesus People's lifestyle may have been an implicit rebuke to materialism, but they did not work to create a society in which material wealth was redistributed to meet human needs. Indeed, to the extent that they had anything to say about

politics, it was to support the power structure. At Rochdale, for example, some students were upset when it appeared that the Jesus Forever Family was too closely aligned to Clarkson, Gordon and Company:

> When Clarkson gave the Jesus People a rent-free room, suspicions immediately came to a boil. Alex MacDonald expresses some of them: "Jesus freaks do as they're told. When the Clarkson Company told them to get out, they were one of the very, very few groups in the building who said okay and left. They didn't go to court; they didn't fight it. "Authority is good.' Certain of their members were on staff – they got down that low."[57]

In the contemporary news sources reviewed for this essay, Jesus People mentioned social and political evils only to explain why so many young people were turning to Christianity, or to hold them up as signs that Christ was coming soon.[58] Undoubtedly, their firm belief in an imminent apocalypse was an important reason for their indifference to social and political activism. The kingdoms of this world, they believed, were dominated by Satan, and no amount of amelioration could bring about a just society. Conversion was an individual affair, not a social one.[59]

Consequently, the Jesus People were activists, but their activism was aimed at saving individuals rather than saving society. And in the mission fields of the counter-culture, they found many that desperately needed saving. The Jesus People were unequivocal in their denunciations of many aspects of the counter-cultural lifestyle. Most of the individuals featured in contemporary news articles on the Jesus movement were refugees from that lifestyle. Robert Vellick had been a drug user and a student of the occult.[60] Likewise, Roy of the House of Emmaus, and Susan Mousley of the Jesus Forever Family had been heavy drug users.[61] Finally, the leader of the Jesus Forever commune had been a drug dealer, who reportedly became a Christian following a prolonged LSD trip.[62] These young people believed that by turning to Christ, they were set free from substance abuse and other self-destructive behaviours. Without question, the Jesus People could have done more to respond to the relevant social and political issues of the early 1970s. Nevertheless, while they did not restructure society, they managed to restructure their own lives.

On a theological level, there was little to distinguish the Jesus People from Pentecostals in the "straight" churches. Jesus People believed in biblical inerrancy, justification by faith, baptism in the Holy Spirit, the

pre-millennial return of Jesus Christ, and adult baptism by immersion. In spite of these similarities, however, they knew that there were substantial differences between their movement and "old-time religion." In fact, theologian Erling Jorstad calls the Jesus movement a "new-time religion." He contends that previous revivals in late-nineteenth and twentieth-century America affirmed traditional values. In contrast, he argues, the Jesus movement repudiated nationalism, materialism, and the institutional church.[63] The Jesus People combined evangelical faith with the counter-cultural rejection of technocracy. It is for this reason that some within the movement called it the "Jesus Revolution."

The Jesus movement may not have been a revolution, but what was it? There are three other possibilities to consider: reaction, revitalization or revival. The first two terms come from William McLoughlin's *Revivals, Awakenings and Reform*. Citing the work of Anthony F.C. Wallace, McLoughlin argues that as a society develops, it reaches a crisis point at which its traditional values are no longer practicable. When this "period of cultural distortion" occurs, there are two possible responses. The first is reaction: a traditionalist movement emerges, led "by those with rigid personalities or with much at stake in the older order." Their solution is to "call for a return to the 'old-time religion,'" and "find scapegoats in their midst…upon whom they can project their fear." Ultimately, Wallace explains, this response is unsuccessful, and the only viable response is revitalization. He defines this as the process in which charismatic individuals lead the society to accept new "mazeways" – new values and mores to replace the old, unworkable ones.[64]

In one sense, the Jesus movement was a reaction – to the trauma, excesses and instability of the late 1960s and early 1970s. The values and beliefs that its adherents embraced were, in many respects, very traditional indeed. However, these were not the values of the dominant, technocratic society of the twentieth century. The Jesus People responded to gospel's promise that Christ would "make all things new," and their lives were changed. To dismiss the Jesus people as mere "reactionaries" fails to capture the nuances and complexities of this movement.

In another sense, the Jesus movement was a revitalization. However, it did not revitalize North American society, but rather one segment of that society; namely, the sub-culture of evangelical Christianity.[65] As the Jesus People matured, many of them made peace with the institutional church, and became members. Others joined the new denominations that emerged from the movement, notably Calvary Chapel and the Vineyard fellow-

ships.[66] In addition, many current leaders in the North American evangelical community were influenced by the movement in its early days.[67] The Jesus movement was clearly "private" religion, in the sense that José Casanova uses the term to distinguish it from "public" religion. Ironically, however, the energy that the Jesus People infused into the North American church undoubtedly contributed to the "Year of the Evangelical" in 1976, and may have contributed to the "deprivatization" of evangelical Christianity in the late 1970s and early 1980s.[68]

Some evangelical Christian scholars of the movement propose a third possibility, that it was a revival – a divine intervention in human history. Both Di Sabatino and Jorstad endorse this interpretation of the Jesus People movement.[69] Clearly, few academics would find this a satisfactory explanation. Nevertheless, one must acknowledge that this is how the Jesus People themselves understood it. Yet even if one sees the movement – quite literally – as the work of a *deus ex machina*, it was a still a drama that involved human players, with human motives and fallibilities. In other words, one can believe that the movement had transcendent dimensions *and* still analyze its sociological or psychological dimensions.

More research needs to be done on the Canadian Jesus People movement. This essay only focused on Toronto, and did not examine issues of race, class, or gender. Furthermore, this study had little to say about evangelical Christian student groups at Toronto's post-secondary institutions, particularly the University of Toronto. Did these groups attempt to reach out to student radicals (i.e., as the Christian World Liberation Front did at University of California at Berkeley)?[70] If so, how successful were they? Also, if history is to be understood as a dialogue, then it is important to find out how the hippies and New Left activists responded to the Jesus People. Furthermore, what role did evangelical churches in downtown Toronto play in reaching out to hippies, or to Jesus People? Finally, what can the movement tell us about the nature of secularization (in all three senses of the word as José Casanova defines it) in urban Canada during the 1960s and 1970s?[71]

This essay began with the "Woodstock" generation, and its search for emotional and spiritual freedom. In Joni Mitchell's song, the child of God looked for this freedom at Yasgur's farm. In Toronto in the early 1970s, other children of God looked for this freedom at a communal house on Draper Street, or at a Thursday night prayer meeting at St. Paul's Church. Both the counter-culture and the Jesus movement were attempts

to get "back to the garden," to an idyllic world that transcended technocracy and materialism. While the Jesus People could not recreate Eden, they did create Christian communities that celebrated mutual support, emotional warmth, and spiritual freedom, as they understood it.

Endnotes

1. Joni Mitchell, "Woodstock," from *Ladies of the Canyon*, Reprise Records, 1970.

2. William G. McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings and Reform: An Essay on Religion and Social Change in America, 1607-1977* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 210.

3. Throughout this essay, I will use the terms "Jesus People movement" and "Jesus movement" interchangeably. At least one scholar prefers the former term, since the latter is often used to denote first-century Christianity. See David Di Sabatino, "The Spiritual Sixties and the Jesus People Movement," introduction to *The Jesus People Movement: An Annotated Bibliography and General Resource* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999), 4n.

4. Doug Owram, *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby Boom Generation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 185-307.

5. Di Sabatino, "The Spiritual Sixties," 13.

6. Theodore Roszak, *The Making of a Counter Culture: Reflections on the Technocratic Society and Its Youthful Opposition* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1968), 8.

7. Roszak, *The Making of a Counter Culture*, 7.

8. Roszak, *The Making of a Counter Culture*, 9.

9. Roszak, *The Making of a Counter Culture*, 185-86. See also David Sharpe, *Rochdale, the Runaway College* (Toronto: Anansi, 1987); and Henry Mietkiewicz and Bob Mackowycz, *Dream Tower: The Life and Legacy of Rochdale College* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1988).

10. Owram, *Born at the Right Time*, 205.

11. Pre-millennial eschatology, especially the belief that the *parousia* would occur in their lifetime, was a central part of the theology of the Jesus People. It did not merely influence their actions; it determined them. The importance of eschatology in the Jesus movement will be discussed at greater length later in this essay (see Ronald M. Enroth, Edward E. Ericson, Jr., and C. Breckinridge

Peters, *The Jesus People: Old-Time Religion in the Age of Aquarius* [Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1972], 179-93).

12. Heather Chisvin, "The Conversion of Susan Mousley," *Miss Chatelaine* 8, no. 6 (18 November 1971): 75, 97. By the end of article, Chisvin informs readers that Susan felt led to return to complete her high school education.

13. Philip Marchand, "Moments of Grace in Sinful Toronto," *Saturday Night* 86 (November 1971): 35.

14. David Di Sabatino, "The Jesus People Movement: Counterculture Revival and Evangelical Renewal" (MTS thesis, McMaster Divinity College, 1994), 36. Also, see Enroth, et al., *The Jesus People*, 207-20.

15. Tom Harpur, "'Turning on with Jesus': Fad or True Revival?" *Toronto Star*, 28 August 1971, 81.

16. Marchand, "Moments of Grace," 35.

17. Robert Douglas, "Jesus Movement comes to Toronto," *Toronto Star*, 8 May 1971, 61.

18. Harper, "Turning on with Jesus"; and Marchand, "Moments of Grace," 35.

19. Sharpe, *Rochdale*, 137.

20. Mietkiewicz and Mackowycz, *Dream* Tower, 48-9.

21. Chisvin, "Conversion of Susan Mousley," 97-8.

22. Tom Harpur, "Jesus People blend into the 'straight' churches," *Toronto Star*, 11 May 1974, 4(E).

23. Owram, *Born at the Right Time*, 205-6.

24. Owram, *Born at the Right Time*, 209.

25. Chisvin, "Conversion of Susan Mousley," 98.

26. Enroth, et al., *The Jesus People*, 194-220.

27. Marchand, "Moments of Grace," 35.

28. Chisvin, "Conversion of Susan Mousley," 99.

29. Tom Harpur, "Fervent teenagers say: Isn't Jesus wonderful!" *Toronto Star*, 19 February 1972, 85.

30. Harpur, "Fervent teenagers say: Isn't Jesus wonderful!" 85.

31. Enroth, et al., *The Jesus People*, 164-68.

32. Owram, *Born at the Right Time*, 208.

33. Chisvin, "Conversion of Susan Mousley," 99-100.

34. Reid mentioned Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion* as one example of such a "well-articulated structure of thought." Since Reid is also a Presbyterian minister, his example is not surprising (W. Stafford Reid, "Jesus People may bring about a new Reformation," *Toronto Star*, 18 September 1971, 85).

35. Harpur, "'Turning on with Jesus.'"

36. Marchand, "Moments of Grace," 35.

37. Wilber Sutherland, "Some reached out, some rejected Jesus People," *Christian Week*, 14 February 1995, 11.

38. Enroth, et al., *The Jesus People*, 84-101.

39. Jim Sheppard, "High on Jesus," *United Church Observer* (November 1972), 24-6.

40. Harpur, "Jesus People blend into the 'straight' churches."

41. Harpur, "Jesus People blend into the 'straight' churches."

42. Tom Harpur, "Revivalism is sweeping North America," *Toronto Star*, 15 June 1974, 5(H).

43. Di Sabatino, "The Jesus People Movement: Counterculture Revival and Evangelical Renewal," 65-68.

44. Al Reimers, *God's Country: Charismatic Renewal* (Toronto: G.R. Welch, 1979), 23.

45. Harpur, "Fervent teenagers say: Isn't Jesus wonderful!"; and Harpur, "Jesus People blend into the 'straight' churches." Di Sabatino claims that attendance "steadily ranged between 2,000 and 2,500 during a three year peak period," though he doesn't specify when that was – possibly in the late 1970s ("The Jesus People Movement: Counterculture Revival and Evangelical Renewal," 67).

46. Harpur, "Fervent teenagers say: Isn't Jesus wonderful!"

47. Di Sabatino, "The Jesus People Movement: Counterculture Revival and Evangelical Renewal," 67.

48. Owram, *Born at the Right Time*, 308-11. One potential weakness in Owram's thesis is that many Canadians did not share in this postwar affluence. Indeed, the bulk of his book deals with middle-class and upper-middle-class baby boomers. Several chapters deal particularly with university students in the 1960s. While the post-secondary system expanded enormously in these years, university students still represented an affluent minority of baby boomers. Furthermore the student radicals Owram writes about were a minority within that middle-class minority. In spite of these reservations, I still find his analysis useful.

49. Enroth, et al., *The Jesus People*, 184.

50. Enroth, et al., *The Jesus People*, 187-90.

51. Douglas, "Jesus Movement comes to Toronto."

52. Marchand, "Moments of Grace," 36.

53. Enroth, et al., *The Jesus People*, 187-88.

54. Harpur, "Fervent teenagers say: Isn't Jesus wonderful!"; and Harpur, "Jesus People blend into the 'straight' churches." Eventually, Merv and Merla Watson moved to Israel.

55. Enroth, et al., *The Jesus People*, 241.

56. Owram, *Born at the Right Time*, 224, 233, 293-96.

57. Sharpe, *Rochdale*, 264.

58. Douglas, "Jesus Movement comes to Toronto"; and Marchand, "Moments of Grace," 36.

59. Enroth, et al., *The Jesus People*, 172-74.

60. Harpur, "'Turning on with Jesus.'"

61. Marchand, "Moments of Grace," 34-35; and Chisvin, "Conversion of Susan Mousley," 97-98.

62. "He'd been a dope dealer. And at one point, the cops nabbed him but forgot to search him. So he did all this acid – eighteen hits – in the back of a police car. When the cops realized what had happened, they got pissed off and threw him out of the car in the middle of the night in High Park. He told me that he just walked around High Park for two days and two nights because he couldn't find his way out. He just kept walking in circles. And since he was on acid the whole time, Jesus kept popping out from behind the trees and pointing to him. So he took that as a sign and he became born again"

(Mietkiewicz and Mackowycz, *Dream* Tower, 48-49).

63. Erling Jorstad, *That New-Time Religion: The Jesus Revival in America* (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House, 1972), 120-22.

64. McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings and Reform*, 12-16.

65. Di Sabatino, "The Spiritual Sixties," 18-19.

66. Incidentally, the "Toronto Blessing" of the 1990s, which had a powerful impact on charismatic and Pentecostal churches throughout the world, began in a Toronto Vineyard fellowship.

67. The American televangelist, Benny Hinn, was involved in the Catacombs when he lived in Toronto. Di Sabatino, "The Jesus People Movement: Counterculture Revival and Evangelical Renewal," 68n.

68. José Casanova, *Public Religions in the Modern World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 11-74, 135-66.

69. Di Sabatino, "The Jesus People Movement: Counterculture Revival and Evangelical Renewal," 14-15; and Jorstad, *That New-Time Religion*, 120. It should be noted that Enroth and his colleagues are also evangelicals, but they are critical of several traits of the Jesus People: "their simplistic mentality, the excessive emphasis on experience and feeling, and their bias against intellectual pursuits, social involvement, and human culture in general." They avoid passing judgment on the movement as a whole, for to do so "would be to fall into their own error of oversimplification" (17).

70. Enroth, et al., *The Jesus People*, 102-14.

71. Casanova, *Public Religions in the Modern World*, 211-34. Casanova distinguishes between three meanings of secularization: differentiation, decline and de-politicization.

Re-Conceptualizing Religious Space in the German Democratic Republic: The Role of Protestant Churches in the Formation of a Political Opposition

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The East German Protestant Church was in large part responsible for the remarkable success of the "the peaceful revolution," the toppling of the socialist dictatorship in the Fall of 1989 by a large collection of grass-roots political opposition movements. Over the course of the German Democratic Republic's (GDR) short history, the physical and symbolic space the Protestant Church occupied evolved from one dedicated primarily to the religious – defined as "pastoral care" (*Seelsorge*) – to one that functioned as the unifying umbrella organization under which a myriad of politically active associations and individuals hostile to the government gathered, discussed, organized and implemented various strategies of civil disobedience. The liminal legal space the Protestant Church eked out at the dawn of German state-sponsored communism was expanded by politically disenchanted citizens who had often been ferociously discriminated against,[1] and who managed to corrode the power base of the *Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands* (Socialist Unification Party of Germany, SED) to such an extent that by the 1980s the (illegal) opposition proved overwhelming for the government and its security apparatus.

This paper surveys some of the representative events in the history of East German church-state relations that took place from the inception to the collapse of the GDR, spanning the years 1946[2] to 1989. The events examined, specifically the introduction of the universal draft, serve to shed light on why Protestant ecclesiastical institutions came to transcend the

(Lutheran inspired)[3] secular-space versus religious-space dichotomy by becoming the locus of the political resistance movement.[4] Arguably, this semiotic spatial dichotomy (if it ever existed) had already been transcended under Nazism when a group of theologians and Christian activists reacted against the apolitical character of the then Union of German Evangelical Churches (*Deutsche Evangelische Kirche)* by splitting off and forming the "Confessional Church" (*Bekennende Kirche*, BK), which engaged in critiques of fascist policies during the Third Reich. Ironically, the degree to which political activism was supported by and localized in the East German Church, however, suggests that the social role of religion in the GDR represents, quite contrary to the intentions of the SED-leadership, a radical step towards de-secularization. Despite repeated attempts by the SED to conceptualize the space of the Church as one of "simply" (i.e., apolitical) religion, the religious continued to transgress the state's ideological boarders. Under SED-rule, the Protestant Church became a politically self-conscious entity that lobbied, outside the sanctioned domain of the religious, for the civil rights of citizens in the GDR.

The GDR was officially an atheist state based on the principles of Stalinist socialism. It might seem reasonable to predict, therefore, that the public role of religion in East Germany would have suffered a similar fate to that in the Soviet Union. Surprisingly, unlike under Stalin's USSR,[5] the SED not only allowed churches to remain active within the GDR's boarders, but the party was seemingly unable to pass effective policies that quelled the growing political power of the Church. The party's policies, aimed simultaneously at instrumentalizing and marginalizing the Church leaders and their congregations, were themselves largely responsible for creating an oppositional movement too powerful to parry.

That the Church was a formidable social institution not easily done away with in the years of German communism is in large part due to the aftermath of World War II, which laid the foundation for the entire history of GDR-church relations. After Germany's capitulation in 1945, the Church was the only extant, functioning, pan-German institution, and (perhaps the only) one which could still lay claim to a degree, albeit compromised, of moral legitimacy.[6] Although the Union of German Evangelical Churches had remained mostly silent on the atrocities committed by the Nazi regime,[7] the ecclesiastical bodies were seen by the occupying powers as the core of anti-fascist resistance, even though, as Ehrhart Neubert points out, very few church members actually fit this

description.[8]

The communicative infrastructure over which German churches reigned was consolidated in 1948 when both East and West German Protestant churches formed a new united organization, the Evangelical Church of Germany (*Evangelische Kirchengemeinde in Deutschland*, EVK).[9] With the backing of West German churches through the EVK, East German church authorities could take vocal stances on social issues.[10] As a result of both the relatively intact social and communicative infrastructure and the reputable standing among the Allied Forces, churches in early post-War Germany assumed a central role in the reconstruction effort, becoming an invaluable administrative partner and mediator for the occupying powers and for the defeated Germans alike.[11] By the time the "Ulbricht group," with the support of the Red Army declared the Soviet Occupied Territories to be a new socialist republic, on 7 October 1949, churches had already established themselves as an integral socio-political component of the newly emerging Germanys.

The entrenchment of Protestant ecclesiastical institutions in post-War Germany only partially accounts for the Church's tenacious ability to remain active for the entire duration of the GDR's existence in the hostile climate of state sponsored atheism. The SED's policies towards religion were also responsible for the Church's success. The "Ulbricht group" received orders directly from Moscow not to hinder Church activity and, indeed, to "draw them [the Church] into the reconstruction effort."[12] A policy of manipulation of ecclesiastical institutions for the ends of the state followed, whereby the SED attempted to use the social and political influence of the Church to support and legitimate the state's goals.[13] A precursor of this strategy, which would come to characterize most of the forty year history of the Church under East German socialist rule, could be witnessed during the 1946 regional elections (*Landtagswahlen*) in which the SED, trying to wrestle votes away from the Christian Democratic Union, relentlessly lobbied church members and Christian socialists for their political support, promising religious tolerance in return.[14]

The relatively intact social networks and communicative infrastructure over which the Church reigned after WWII, and the importance of these in the post-war reconstruction effort, the moral and political clout it possessed, as well as the SED's desire to appropriate religious organizations to shape the political future of East Germany, secured a limited amount of physical and intellectual space within which the Church and other ecclesiastical institutions could legally operate. This space was

codified in the GDR's first constitution, drafted in 1949, in which the Church was termed the "embodiment of public rights."[15] In section V of the 1949 constitution, entitled "Religion and Religious Institutions," article 41.1 guaranteed the freedom of religious belief and practice for every citizen.[16] Legal clauses providing the East German Protestant Church its right to exist were reiterated, although in a more ambiguous formulation, in the revised 1968 constitution.[17] The ostensibly harmless gap in the ideologically anti-religious armature of the SED dictatorship that the churches came to occupy, marked the beginning of the one-party system's own demise. Often unnoticed by the SED-leadership, the religious space consecrated to ceremonial acts of devotion grew ever more radical in its willingness to take on social causes that were not being addressed by the party. When reinforced by the economic and geo-political changes of the coming decades, beginning with the Helsinki Accords of 1975, this religious space became the arena in which communist East Germany fought and eventually lost the Cold War.

Despite the apparently clearly-defined political positions of the Church and state in the GDR, the narrative of religion in East Germany is rife with contradictions. It is problematic to depict the "Protestant Church" as if it had acted historically as a unified, coherent organization.[18] Although the EKD, which existed in both parts of the divided country until 1969 and was replaced in the GDR by the Union of Protestant Churches of East Germany (*Bund der Evangelische Kirche-DDR*, BEK-GDR), was the official mouth piece of the faithful, there were often irreconcilable ideological differences internal to these institutions that pitted congregation members, vicars and pastors, against church leaders who sat on the synods and church councils such as the Conference of Church Leaders (*Konferenz der Kirchenleitung,* KKL).[19] Similarly, it is tempting to frame the Church, despite diverse opinions, as having had an anti-state agenda aimed at overthrowing the SED. Instead, the dominant (sanctioned) discourse sought to define a third-way, a "church in socialism," whereby the GDR under the SED would be reformed, not destroyed.[20]

It is equally oversimplified to characterize the history of the SED's relationship to the Church and to individual believers as one of simply oppression. The SED pursued various public campaigns of appeasement and reconciliation, while unofficially attempting to utilize the Church leadership for its own propagandistic ends, endeavoring to marginalize and discredit those who would not conform to the approved line.[21] For example, as the celebration in 1983 of Martin Luther Year attests, the

SED's official policies towards the role of religion in the state occasionally showed signs of tacit acceptance.[22]

However, although some church leaders, such as the head of the Union of Protestant Churches of East Germany, Bishop Albrecht Schönherr, tried to reconcile themselves with the restrictive policies of the SED, and even though there were instances when the party's persecution of believers was less severe, the ideological boarders that separated the Church and state are clear. The SED viewed the Church, as one party member put it, as "the most powerful legal oppositional imperialist force" in the GDR.[23] Paul Verner of the SED's central committee (*Zentralkomittee*), explained that it was the government's responsibility to re-educate and thereby liberate religious believers from the mire of their superstition.[24] Church members tended to regard the state's attempted implementation, through discriminatory and repressive policies, of what was termed a "primitive atheism" as the most serious threat of its time.[25]

Several events in the forty years of GDR history were formative in shaping the trajectory of the resistance movement, which took the shape it did largely by reacting to the ever-encroaching restrictive policies of the party. Among these could be listed: the worker uprising on 17 June 1953; the introduction in 1955 of the "youth betrothal" (*Jugendweihe*), which were oaths of allegiance to the SED-leadership meant to replace communion; the building of the Berlin Wall on 13 August 1961; the forced creation of the East German Union of Protestant Churches-GDR in 1969; the public suicide of the Reverend Brüsewitz in 1976; and the introduction of paramilitary training for all school children in 1978.

The resistance movement tended to coalesce around two central issues, education and peace. Although education and peace as unifying themes were responses to specific SED policies such as paramilitary training in schools, more importantly they were strategies to voice general political critiques in a state where a legally organized opposition was virtually impossible.[26] Although many dissenters were practicing Christians and even though the Church was the physical space that housed the opposition movement, the decidedly non-religious quality of the issues that the Church made its own including, for example, the de-escalation of the arms race and environmentalism, had several important consequences.

Laying claim to the only relatively free political space in the GDR and willing to take political stances, the Church managed to attract many people who would not otherwise have been active members of a congregation, including Marxists critical of the SED-dictatorship and other political

dissidents, disenfranchised and rebellious youths, and non-religious pacifists.[27] Also, the moral hue of the issues that mobilized congregations legitimated their political opposition beyond the confines of a theological discourse.[28] In effect, the traditional (West European) secularist distinction between religion and politics was completely eradicated. "To speak of Jesus" as one church member described his activism, "is to make politics."[29] Under the guise of doing a-political religious work in a religiously sanctioned space activists and dissidents were able to pursue their politically subversive ends.[30] This constellation of factors, which grew out of the centrality of the Church in post-war Germany, and which took shape in the 1960s, grew in force throughout the 1970s to become an explosive revolutionary power uncontrollable by the SED in the 1980s.

The introduction of the universal draft, which was one step towards the SED's aim of militarizing the general population, provides a pertinent example of how the Church, often despite the efforts of accommodating leaders, was forced into a political position by short-sighted social policies of the government. After the SED officially closed the un-patrolable boarder between East and West Berlin by building the euphemistically named "anti-fascist protection Wall," it no longer needed to concern itself with the threat of a mass-exodus if unpopular policies were introduced. In the years 1949 to 1953 alone, 800 000 people fled from the GDR.[31] Emigration, especially of well-educated young East Germans, was the most problematic trend confronting the fledgling state.

One of the first policies the SED passed after building the Wall was a mandatory two-year military service for which, unlike in West Germany, there was no alternative for conscientious objectors. As of January 1962, every man over the age of eighteen was forced to serve in the army.[32] The draft issue presented an arena in which a theology inspired by prominent Protestant thinkers like Dietrich Bonhoeffer, one of the central theorists for the Church-based resistance movement, could be actualized and implemented through small practical steps. The Church found support for their protests against a mandatory armed service in large sections of the populace, who still had clear memories of the consequences of the Second World War.[33] During the 1960s the Church became a representative organization for those who refused to serve their military terms. The fierce lobbying of church groups, coupled with the political embarrassment that those who refused to serve represented, led to a success of sorts for the activists. The SED created the "construction soldier" (*Bausoldat*) alternative, a unit of weaponless soldiers who were nonetheless used for

the building of military infrastructure.

The introduction of mandatory military service and the formation of the construction soldier alternative are quintessential examples of failed SED policies with regards to the Church as political actor and the repression of an anti-communist opposition. Construction soldiers, often members of Protestant congregations, were brought together by the government in their rejection of armed service. They represented the most important human resource from which the political opposition movement of the 1970s and 1980s drew.[34] Bernd Eisenfeld, for example, who was one of the first construction soldiers to serve his term, was an active church member and critic who was involved in the protest against the invasion of Czechoslovakia by Warsaw Pact soldiers on 20 August 1968; he was sentenced to a long prison term as a result. In 1975 he was shipped off to West Germany and became one of the most important chroniclers of the resistance to the draft in the GDR.[35]

Prison and deportation were only some of the measures used by the SED to counter political dissent. Other tactics often resorted to by the government included revoking work permits or preventing suspected activists from entering or retaining a job (*Arbeitsverbot*), preventing suspects from entering university or receiving other forms of higher education, and espionage. "Suspected dissidents" were as a rule not formally charged. Choosing to object to military service, or making other explicit declarations of dissent, therefore, entailed drastic ramifications. Young men who avoided the draft, even though they were still drawn into the military apparatus as construction soldiers, were almost exclusively barred from receiving a university education and secure work.[36]

By allowing the Church to become intimately involved in the issue of the military service, by not quickly creating an alternative, and by discriminating so decisively against those who did not want to serve with a gun, the SED effectively created political dissident camps, where resisters met other like-minded young people, formed networks, and exchanged ideas. At the centre of this movement of emerging rebels was the Church, to whom those young people not wanting to be drafted could go for counseling and administrative support. By 1977, more than 10 000 men chose not to serve in the regular military, and it was usually at the behest of individual clergy members that they became construction soldiers.[37]

The pattern of bringing those dissatisfied with official policies together into the relatively free political space of the Church was repeated

with every issue on which the clergy and congregations took a stand. The combination of tenacious activism and social resistance by the various grass-roots movements and the seeming inability of the SED leadership to recognize that a unified opposition was being created by the lack of any legal alternative meant that by the late 1970s the situation had already become uncontrollable, and even the wave of arrests and deportations that took place from 1983 to 1986 could barely make a dent.[38] The SED had certainly managed to install accommodating leaders in the Church administration, among them the already-mentioned Bishop Schönherr who in 1978 had a much publicized conversation with Chancellor Erich Honecker about the role of religion in the GDR.[39] In their conversation, Honecker promised to ease the restrictions on church activity. The congregations and others who formed the grass-roots resistance movement were, however, no longer listening to gestures of appeasement made by the Church functionaries or the vacuous promises of the SED administration. Rather, elements within the Church were on a head-on confrontational course with the government. Consider theologian Heino Falcke[40] or Bishop Fränkel[41] – by 1972 two of the most important figures in the Church-based opposition movement – who were making a much bigger impact on the grass-roots by addressing issues of free speech and human rights.

The question of de-escalating the arms race was another example that illustrates the pattern of how the SED systematically, if inadvertently, funneled political resisters within the GDR into the growing oppositional space of the Church, the infrastructure of which was then utilized by these activists to mobilize even larger sections of the population.[42] The general dissatisfaction with the official stance on arms development was in part responsible for a systematic dialogue between disenfranchised Marxists and the church-based resistance movement that began in the 1970s.[43] The Church-Marxist dialogue was most active in Leipzig, a university city where the mass-uprising of 1989 began. The fact that Ernst Bloch was another important intellectual influence in the church-based resistance movement attests to the fact that activists, regardless of their worldview, were crossing the ideological lines between orthodox theology and classical Marxism and uniting in their opposition to the socialist dictatorship of the SED.

Had there been a legal political opposition in the GDR, ideologically opposed factions such as atheist Marxists and Protestant theologians may not have joined together to form a united front. However, by the early

1980s, the church-based resistance movement incorporated almost all opponents of the SED.[44] Organizations such as "Women for Peace," "Democracy Now," or "New Forum" were united in the Church under the banners of the "peace-movement" and the "environmental-movement." When the geo-political climate changed in the early-1980s, the virtually-unified opposition mobilized its members and systematically undermined the SED administration through various public acts of solidarity for political prisoners, mass-demonstrations, publication and distribution of illegal newsletters, and education and counseling campaigns. The Helsinki Accords, which Chancellor Honecker promised would allow people to move freely between East and West Germany, would contribute to reuniting families and grant freedom of the press, were instrumental in providing a legal basis upon which the activists could establish their protests.

Gorbachev's *Glasnost* and *Perestroika* brought about immense social and economic strain on the GDR. The internal political opposition, which by 1987 had become encouraged by the more progressive policies in the Soviet Union and emboldened by their own numbers, revealed itself as too great a force for the Ministry of State Security (*Ministerium für Saatsicherheit*, MfS) to counter. At the Zion Church in Berlin, for example, attendants of the weekly political meetings became ever more vocal about their demands, which centered mostly on the relaxation of travel restrictions, the liberalization of the press, and a transparent election process. On 7 May 1989, church-based activists organized to unofficially supervise the federal election and were for the first time able to demonstrate conclusively that the election results of 98.85% in favour of the SED leadership had been a fabrication. The wide-spread recognition that the elections had been falsified resulted in both spontaneous and organized protests. Most important were the Monday meetings at the Nikolai Church in Leipzig which grew weekly. When the border to Hungary was opened on the 27 June 1989, 15,000 people fled the GDR in the three days. Together with the ever growing demonstrations that spilled out from the churches, the Brandenburg Gate was surprisingly opened on 10 November 1989. The SED dictatorship had been effectively toppled.

After the fall of the SED, the church-based resistance movement virtually disappeared.[45] Integrated into the democratic system, the once-allied factions of Marxists, theologians and adherents of various youth subcultures did not manage to continue to speak with a unified political voice. The role of the East German Protestant Church itself receded from

the political realm and reverted back to a more secular conceived notion of the religious as not political.

Endnotes

1. Although many sensitive records documenting the SED's political repression were destroyed after the Fall of the Berlin Wall, Ehrarht Neubert suggests that there were more than 200 000 political prisoners in the GDR. Ehrahrt Neubert, *Geschichte der Opposition in der DDR 1949-1989* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1997), 28.

2. The GDR was officially founded on 7 October 1949. However, the territories which eventually became the East German state were those under the control of the Soviet Union's Red Army since the capitulation of the NAZI government in 1945. As such, the years before the official begin of the GDR are as important as the subsequent years for understanding the history of East German Church-state relations.

3. See for example John M. Headly, "Luther and the Problem of Secularization," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 55, no. 1 (Spring 1987): 21.

4. Ruth M. Ediger, "History of an Institution as a Factor for Predicting Church Institutional Behavior: The Cases of the Catholic Church in Poland, the Orthodox Church in Romania, and the Protestant Churches in East Germany," *East European Quarterly* 39, no. 3 (2005): 314.

5. See for example Alexandr I. Solzhenitsyn, *The Gulag Archipelago: 1918-1956: An Experiment in Literary Investigation*, trans. Thomas P. Whitney and Harry Willetts (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc., 1985), 22-23.

6. Neubert, *Geschichte der Opposition in der DDR 1949-1989*, 52.

7. Ediger, "History of an Institution as a Factor for Predicting Church Institutional Behavior," 311-12.

8. Neubert, *Geschichte der Opposition in der DDR 1949-1989,* 52-53.

9. Ediger, "History of an Institution as a Factor for Predicting Church Institutional Behavior," 312.

10. Ediger, "History of an Institution as a Factor for Predicting Church Institutional Behavior," 312.

11. Neubert, *Geschichte der Opposition in der DDR 1949-1989*, 52.

12. Neubert, *Geschichte der Opposition in der DDR 1949-1989*, 53.

13. Rudolf Mau, "Der Weg des Bundes 1969 bis 1989 als Problem der SED," in *Gottlose Jahre?: Rückblicke auf die Kirche im Sozialismus der DDR*, ed. Michael Beyer (Lepizig: Evangelsiche Verlagsanstalt, 2002), 37.

14. Neubert, *Geschichte der Opposition in der DDR 1949-1989*, 53.

15. Der historischen Dokumenten- und Quellensammlung zur deutschen Geschichte ab 1800, "Die Verfassung der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik (07.10.1949)" documentArchiv.de, http://www.documentarchiv.de/ (accessed 2 October 2006).GDR constitution of 1949, Section V. article 43.3. The original German states: "Religionsgemeinschaften bleiben Körperschaften des öffentlichen Rechtes, soweit sie es bisher waren. Andere Religionsgemeinschaften erhalten auf ihren Antrag gleiche Rechte, wenn sie durch ihre Verfassung und die Zahl ihrer Mitglieder die Gewähr der Dauer bieten. Schließen sich mehrere derartige öffentlich-rechtliche Religionsgemeinschaften zu einem Verbande zusammen, so ist auch dieser Verband eine öffentlich-rechtliche Körperschaft."

16. Der historischen Dokumenten- und Quellensammlung zur deutschen Geschichte ab 1800, "Die Verfassung der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik (07.10.1949)" documentArchiv.de, http://www.documentarchiv.de/ (accessed 2 October 2006)41.1. The original German states: "Jeder Bürger genießt volle Glaubens- und Gewissensfreiheit. Die ungestörte Religionsausübung steht unter dem Schutz der Republik."

17. Der historischen Dokumenten- und Quellensammlung zur deutschen Geschichte ab 1800, "Verfassung der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik (06.04.1968)" documentArchiv.de, http://www.documentarchiv.de/ (accessed 2 October 2006). See especially article 20.1 which states: "Jeder Bürger der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik hat unabhängig von seiner Nationalität, seiner Rasse, seinem weltanschaulichen oder *religiösen Bekenntnis*, seiner sozialen Herkunft und Stellung die gleichen Rechte und Pflichten. Gewissens- und Glaubensfreiheit sind gewährleistet." (Emphasis added).

18. Brendan R. Ozawa-De Silva, "Peace, Pastors, and Politics: Tactics of Resistance in East Germany" *Journal of Church and State* (Summer 2005): 510.

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20. Ozawa-De Silva, "Peace, Pastors, and Politics: Tactics of Resistance in East Germany," 527.

21. Christian Dietrich, "Die Gründung des Bundes der Evangelishen Kirchen in der DDR in den Jahren 1968/69," in *Gottlose Jahre?: Rückblicke auf die Kirche im Sozialismus der DDR*, ed. Michael Beyer (Leipzig: Evangelishe Verlagsanstalt, 2002), 24.
22. See for example Gordon R. Mork, "Martin Luther's Left Turn: The Changing Picture of Luther in East German Historiography," *The History Teacher* 16, no. 4 (August 1983): 585-95.
23. Mau, "Der Weg des Bundes 1969 bis 1989 als Problem der SED," 39.
24. Mau, "Der Weg des Bundes 1969 bis 1989 als Problem der SED," 38.
25. Neubert, *Geschichte der Opposition in der DDR 1949-1989*, 73.
26. Neubert, *Geschichte der Opposition in der DDR 1949-1989*, 272.
27. Ediger, "History of an Institution as a Factor for Predicting Church Institutional Behavior," 313.
28. Neubert, *Geschichte der Opposition in der DDR 1949-1989*, 272.
29. Neubert, *Geschichte der Opposition in der DDR 1949-1989*, 186.
30. See for example Ozawa-De Silva, "Peace, Pastors, and Politics: Tactics of Resistance in East Germany," 514.
31. Neubert, *Geschichte der Opposition in der DDR 1949-1989*, 68.
32. Neubert, *Geschichte der Opposition in der DDR 1949-1989*, 187.
33. Ozawa-De Silva, "Peace, Pastors, and Politics: Tactics of Resistance in East Germany," 512.
34. Neubert, *Geschichte der Opposition in der DDR 1949-1989*, 194.
35. Neubert, *Geschichte der Opposition in der DDR 1949-1989*, 194.
36. For a full discussion of SED repression of political dissidents see Neubert, *Geschichte der Opposition in der DDR 1949-1989*.
37. Neubert, *Geschichte der Opposition in der DDR 1949-1989*, 300.
38. Neubert, *Geschichte der Opposition in der DDR 1949-1989*, 336.
39. Neubert, *Geschichte der Opposition in der DDR 1949-1989*, 15, 203.
40. For a short biographical sketch please see, Neubert, *Geschichte der Opposition in der DDR 1949-1989*, 255-56.

41. For a short biographical sketch please see, Neubert, *Geschichte der Opposition in der DDR 1949-1989*, 264-65.

42. B. Welling Hall, "The Church and the Independent Peace Movement in Eastern Europe," *Journal of Peace Research* 23, no. 2, (June 1986): 201.

43. Neubert, *Geschichte der Opposition in der DDR 1949-1989*, 202, 320.

44. Neubert, *Geschichte der Opposition in der DDR 1949-1989*, 335.

45. Lothar Probst, "What's Left? Antipolitics and the Decline of the East German Citizen's Movement in Postunification Germany," *New German Critique*, no. 72 (Autumn 1997): 138.

Can Any Good Thing Come Out Of Palestine? Orientalism and Eastern Christianity in Protestant Writings about the Holy Land, 1839-1908

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The French invasion of Egypt in 1798 stimulated western European and North American interest in the Near East. Napoleon had hoped to cut off Britain's route to India, but his plans ended in defeat at the hands of joint Ottoman and British forces in Palestine in 1799. He slipped back to France to bask in the glory of his "Oriental excursion" while the rest of Europe grew increasingly fascinated by the region he had helped to thrust into the spotlight, not least through the work of more than 150 scientists, scholars and artists who had escorted the invading army. Thus, the politics of colonialism surrounding the decline of the Ottoman Empire, the so-called Eastern Question, merged with a European religious imagination animated by the novelty of easy penetration of Muslim territory and the focus soon came to rest on the familiar territory of Palestine. As homeland of the Judeo-Christian scriptures and backdrop for the Gospel stories of the life of Jesus, this region inspired intense and pious interest among the inhabitants of Christian Europe. In particular, English-speaking Protestants of the Victorian period came to play a key role in what has been called "the rediscovery" of Biblical lands.[1] As the evangelical revival of the early nineteenth century gathered steam, missionaries from Great Britain, the United States of America, and Canada, among other countries, took advantage of technological innovations in travel and the extension of European colonial power to fan out into the farthest reaches of the British Empire and beyond. For mission-minded, sometimes millenarian and often

martially-inclined Protestants, dreaming of the evangelization of the world in this generation, the Holy Land held out special promise.

In this paper, I propose to study Orientalism along its hitherto neglected eastern/western Christian axis. More specifically, I will examine the nineteenth century Protestant portrayal of the Holy Land with particular emphasis on western constructions of Eastern Christianity. Edward Said calls Orientalism, "the discipline by which the Orient was (and is) approached systematically, as a topic of learning, discovery, and practice." [2] Western "(re)discoverers" of the Near East, whether tourists, pilgrims, missionaries, scholars, or diplomats, all participated in that system of approach and so contributed to a modern invention of the East, and of Eastern Christianity in particular. Bypassing almost two thousand years of tradition and the living witness of the people in the land, Protestants claimed the Holy Land for themselves by the authority of scripture and in the name of true and enlightened Christianity. They asserted their primacy over and against the contemporary eastern guardians of the holy places whom, for the most part, they found repellent and incomprehensible. The Protestant agenda was both devotional and rational, aiming to edify, educate, and stir up the faith of Christian believers back home at the same time as pursuing the objective truth of the Bible, through modern scientific methods and emerging academic disciplines, such as archeology and ethnography. A certain individualistic, text-oriented, and even romantic understanding of the priority of the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments overshadowed all other concerns. The religious quest for both a historical and existential experience of the Holy Land along with a yearning to return to unchanging biblical authenticity characterized this western religio-cultural project. In their effort to claim the Holy Land, these writers disregarded the native inhabitants of Palestine by holding to a broad pattern of excoriating Orthodox Christians, appropriating Jews, and expurgating Muslims.

I will focus on the writings of selected British, American and Canadian travelers in Palestine whose works were published between 1839 and 1908. The first volume was published in 1839 at a time when Palestine, under the rule of Ibrahim Pasha of Egypt since 1830, was open to westerners to an unprecedented extent. In power from 1831 to 1840, the Egyptians protected Christians, both native and visiting, and welcomed Europeans to the Holy Land. The final work appeared in 1908 just prior to World War One and the eventual occupation of Palestine by British forces. The preponderance of books, twelve to be exact, published in the

approximately thirty years between 1868 and 1895 illustrates the amazing proliferation of travel books and historical geographies on the subject of Palestine within that time-frame.

Jerusalem represented the ultimate goal of Christian travelers to the Holy Land, whether they were Russian pilgrims or British tourists on a Thomas Cook expedition. As the venue for so much biblical action, the city of David offered an abundance of specific sacred sites, but it was also the locale of many stories about Jesus especially his last days, death, and resurrection. The first view of Jerusalem was a special and symbolic moment. Felix Bovet, professor of Hebrew in Neuchatel, Switzerland, responds with considerable emotion upon initially viewing the Holy City from a distance:

> The impression made upon me surpasses all that I had imagined. My eyes fill with tears . . . My first feeling was a kind of softening of the heart, that indescribable mixture of admiration and of pathos which is inspired by the sight of that which one loves. Here, then lies before me that poor little town which has felt itself greater than all the greatest things of the earth, and has recognized itself as the principal city of the world.[3]

The "imagined" city evokes soft feelings and love. This "indescribable mixture of admiration and of pathos" was shared by many Holy Land travelers. Bovet perceives a dual identity for Jerusalem by contrasting the "poor little town" and "principal city of the world." Philip Schaff, professor of biblical learning at Union Theological Seminary, New York and an influential nineteenth-century church historian, elaborates on this ambivalence:

> This was my first, this is my last impression of Jerusalem. I can understand the traveler who said, "I am sadly disappointed, yet deeply impressed;" sadly disappointed as to the present condition of Jerusalem, deeply impressed as to its sacred associations. My low expectations of the former and my high expectations of the latter have been fully met. No city in the world excites such opposite feelings. It is the most holy and the most unholy, or I should say, the most desecrated spot in the world.[4]

In other words, Schaff is deeply impressed at the sacred associations of Jerusalem and deeply disappointed with almost everything else about the

place.

At the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, western observers directly encountered, often for the first time, the Orthodox Christian guardians of the biblical sites. As a result, many concluded that Eastern Christians were to blame for the desecrated and lamentable state of Jerusalem. They designated their Oriental co-religionists as opponents of the twin Protestant causes of "rational religion," as conducted with reverence "in Spirit and truth." George Burnfield, "ex-examiner" in oriental languages and literature in the University of Toronto, derides the "ignorant superstitions" of the "hordes" at worship and proclaims that "sweeping away the rubbish of monkish traditions and absurdities there remains a foundation of historical truth, which can support the theory that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre covers the spot of the lord's tomb and probably his crucifixion."[5] He thus reasserts the truth-seeking agenda of enlightened religion over against "the traditions and absurdities" – he equates the two – of monks and their attendant deceptions. Later, in the wake of Palm Sunday celebrations at the church, Burnfield writes:

> The Latins, Greeks, Armenians, and Copts, march on Palm Sunday, three times round the church over the tomb of our Lord. I saw the procession of the Latins and Greeks, and came away convinced that ignorance, formality and fanaticism, not spirituality, govern in the city, and near the grandest scenes of the Son of God, who is the light and life of men.[6]

Eastern Christians, he suggests, set the tone for the whole city with their unfaithful denial of true spirituality and their desecration of the holy sites. David Randall, for his part, resents the strange and noisy incarnations of Oriental Christianity within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre for thwarting his personal attempts at reverence and piety:

> Worship was being conducted in different languages in several parts of the church; lawless multitudes were sauntering about; the peal of the organ's notes, the nasal song of the Greek, and the monotonous chant of the Syrian, blended with the tramp of soldiers and careless talk of the rabble, made a singular jargon, calculated to inspire any feelings but those of devotion.[7]

More than mere crude prejudice, these statements reveal the shape of Protestant Orientalism. Specific discordances emerge between western

Protestant and Eastern Orthodox cultures in the western preoccupation with a quiet and well-ordered devotional propriety.

Protestants strenuously objected to the Holy Fire Ritual which took place at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre one day before Easter. The population of Jerusalem doubled during Holy Week due to the presence of large numbers of Russian, Greek and Armenian pilgrims in the city.[8] The highlight for many visitors was the ceremony on Holy Saturday during which a sacred flame was miraculously lit over the tomb of Christ. Mary Rogers describes the scene witnessed by an enormous crowd of pilgrims:

> Wild-looking men, with their clothes disordered and their caps and tarbouches torn off – some with their shaven heads exposed, were performing a sort of gallopade round [the carved and decorated marble shrine over what is supposed to be the tomb of Christ]. They jumped, they climbed on each other's shoulders, they tossed their arms into the air, dancing a frantic dance, that would have suited some Indian festival . . . They kept this up until they looked mad with excitement, and they beat themselves and each other fearfully. Then they broke up the separate circles and ran round and round the sepulchre again, with frightful rapidity, heedless of trampling one another under foot. Here and there a priest was giving himself up to the frenzy of the people, and to gain a reputation for sanctity, he allowed himself to be most unceremoniously handled . . . The pilgrims believe that the fire would never come down on the tomb unless bands of the faithful thus encircled it.[9]

This continued for two hours until a priest went forward to retrieve and then distribute the miraculous fire from within the Sepulchre.[10] Rogers goes on to describe a great fight which broke out between the Greek and Armenian contingents. She notes that the "many educated Greeks, both priest and laymen" with whom she has spoken regarding this ceremony are "heartily ashamed of it" and later explains that the true reason for this ongoing ritual lies with the huge profits to be made at pilgrimage time by "priests, shopkeepers, [and] relic manufacturers."[11] Rogers thus perpetuates the image of Eastern Christians as wild, superstitious, credulous, and of their leaders as power-hungry charlatans. For most travelers the ritual merits little more than scornful dismissal. William Thomson, Presbyterian missionary in Beirut for forty years, lets us down easy: "I will not shock your sensibilities with details of the buffoonery and the profane orgies

performed by the Greeks around the tomb in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on the day of the Holy Fire. I doubt whether there is anything more disgraceful to be witnessed in any heathen temple."[12] Readers are left to draw the inference: Eastern Christians are no better than the heathen.

Protestant travelers turned away, often in revulsion, from the claustrophobic and sometimes dangerous experience of sharing confined sacred spaces with throngs of pilgrims. Leaving the Oriental space of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, they took sanctuary in alternatives, ranging from such wide open spaces as the Mount of Olives to the familiar turf of western church and home. Philip Schaff articulates the urge to retreat by commenting: "We are charmed with the beautiful situation and the hills that surround the city of David; but we are disgusted with the wretched interior, the ill-paved, narrow and dirty streets, the ignorance, poverty, and misery of the inhabitants."[13] The Protestant path to enlightenment charted a figurative course out of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, heavy with the smoke of base superstition, through the crowded city and then well beyond its poor, ignorant people, to a commanding vantage point safely removed from danger. Even without heading for the hills, westerners found ways to escape from the East. Henry Van Dyke, a Presbyterian minister and professor of English literature at Princeton, fled from the Chapel of the Crucifixion in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, "a little room, close, obscure, crowded with lamps and icons and candelabra, encrusted with ornaments of gold and silver, full of strange odours and glimmerings of mystic light," in search of ". . . the open air, the blue sky, the pure sunlight, the tranquility of large and silent places." Van Dyke ended up in the "cool, clean, quiet German [Protestant] Church of the Redeemer."[14] In another account, John Lloyd Stephens

> disappointed, disgusted, and sick at heart, while hundreds were still struggling for admission, I turned away and left the church. A warmer imagination than mine could perhaps have seen, in a white marble sarcophagus, "the sepulchre hewn out of a rock," and in the fierce struggling of these barefooted pilgrims the devotion of sincere and earnest piety, burning to do homage in the holiest of places; but I could not. It was refreshing to turn from this painful exhibition of a deformed and degraded Christianity to a simpler and purer scene . . . I found [Mr. Whiting, an American missionary] sitting at a table, with a large family Bible open before him. His wife was present, with two little Armenian girls, whom she was educating to assist her in the school . . . It was so long since I had heard the words of truth from the

> lips of a preacher . . . Here on the very spot whence the apostles had gone forth to preach the glad tidings of salvation to a ruined world, a missionary from the same distant land was standing as an apostle over the grave of Christianity, a solitary labourer striving to re-establish the pure faith and worship that were founded on this spot eighteen centuries ago.[15]

Cool, open, clean, and tranquil spaces helped counteract the ill effects of Eastern Christian ritual and bustle, but "the words of truth" served as the essential antidote to be ingested through Bible study and faithful preaching. The presence of two little Armenian girls at the table, receiving "pure" instruction from an American Protestant missionary, adds to the symbolic weight of Stephens's redemptive journey from temple of Oriental superstition to the comfort of bible-suffused Protestant hearth and home.

Jerusalem may have frustrated western travelers with its crowds, dirty streets and manifold idolatries, but a sojourn in bucolic Galilee presented less in the way of distractions. If the Mount of Olives pleased Protestants withdrawing from Eastern urban disorientation, enabling them to regain their bearings, it also attracted them due to its associations with the life of Christ. As Schaff puts it,

> Whoever approaches Jerusalem from the west, the north, or even the south, will be disappointed. But viewed from Mount Olivet, on the east, Jerusalem presents a beautiful and imposing sight, and justifies all the praises lavished upon her by the singers of Israel… That sight can never be forgotten. It is the spot from which the Saviour looked upon the temple and wept over the unbelief and approaching doom of the ungrateful city.[16]

A pleasing vista is one thing, but to imagine oneself standing where Jesus looked out on Jerusalem – now that was worth a great deal more. Walking on the shores of Lake Galilee, Protestant pilgrims seem to have had this experience more than at any other location. The beauty and peacefulness of the environment combined with biblical images of disciples sitting at the feet of Jesus, soaking up his teaching, to create the perfect conditions for a religious epiphany. David Randall describes a common occurrence among Protestant travelers in the Holy Land:

> What numerous associations conspire to embalm this lake in the

> memory of the Christian! . . . At 11 o'clock, by previous agreement, our little company assembled in an upper room of one of the old deserted watch-towers of the wall that overlooked the sea [of Galilee], for a season of social worship. Each one selected a portion of Scripture narrating some incident in the life or teachings of the Savior connected with these waters; these read in turn, intermingled with prayer and singing. With what deep interest we read these narratives, and with what life and power they seemed invested as we looked out upon the localities where they transpired . . . Thus we spent the hours of worship, feeling that we were nearer than ever to Him whose words and deeds transcend all human wisdom and power.[17]

Lakes and other pastoral landscapes promised the freedom for an individualistic retreat from the sensual assault presented by alien liturgy. Perhaps most importantly, in these areas it was also easy to avoid the local population. Everywhere throughout the Holy Land, Protestant travelers reached instinctively for their scriptures and extracted biblical texts that matched their locale, often imagining themselves in the company of Jesus as they did their reading. These places were lodged deep, "embalmed," in the memory of the Christian; and then, like Lazarus, they were resurrected, "invested" with new "life and power," through devotion and experience. Palestine lay outside of history for these western observers. The land achieved its transcendent meaning when deserted, only then could it exercise its spiritual force to conjure up the biblical narrative. Along the shores of the Sea of Galilee, no strange people or curious customs interfered with the Protestant claim to that inheritance from scripture.

In Protestant Holy Land writings, the oriental peoples of Palestine divide neatly into three groups: Muslims, Jews, and Christians. Members of the first of these religions receive least attention. The terms "Mohammedan," "Turk," and "Arab" are used interchangeably by most commentators; only rarely do they distinguish between Ottoman Turks and Palestinian Arabs, for example. In general, Muslim people are largely expurgated from the Protestant accounts of Palestine. They make no appearance in the Judeo-Christian scriptures and, hence, they can contribute nothing to the desire of western readers to have a historical experience of the Bible. In his chapter on "Religion in Jerusalem," Philip Schaff completely ignores Muslims. He covers Eastern Christians, "the Old Churches" as he labels them, in one page; Jews take up three pages; and the tiny Protestant community in the city requires a full five pages.[18] And yet, Muslims did serve one useful purpose. From the earliest modern incursions into

Palestine, Protestants were mystified that the land was no longer flowing with milk and honey. H. H. Milman's *History of the Jews* quotes Malte-Brun, an influential Danish geographer at the turn of the nineteenth century, who offers what would become the standard explanation: "Galilee would be a paradise were it inhabited by an industrious people under an enlightened government."[19] The Ottoman Empire was to blame for the state of Palestine. Thomas Talmage, a high-profile Presbyterian minister from New York, goes even farther:

> . . . you must remember the land is under the Turk, and what the Turk touches he withers. Mohammedanism is against easy wharves, against steamers, against rail-trains, against printing presses, against civilization. Darkness is always opposed to light . . . That Turkish Government ought to be blotted from the face of the earth, and it will be.[20]

He continues in the same vein: "Let the Turk be driven out and the American, or Englishman, or Scotchman, go in, and Mohammedanism withdraw its idolatries, and pure Christianity build its altars, and the irrigation of which Solomon's pools was only a suggestion, will make all that land from Dan to Beersheba . . . fertile, and aromatic and resplendent . . ."[21] This large-scale attribution of blame echoes in the more mundane writings of Protestants travelers as they journey throughout the Holy Land. Even as they are occasionally glad to accept hospitality from upper-class Arabs, the Muslim villages they pass through en route to new sacred sites are seen as dangerous places and their anonymous inhabitants as thieves. More often, however, Muslims fail to show up in these accounts. Beshara Doumani explains the lacuna thus: "the dominant genres at the time [the late Ottoman period] – travel guides and historical geography – focused primarily on the relationship between the physical features of Palestine and the biblical events described in the Old and New Testaments."[22] Limited in this way by a narrow biblical frame-work, Protestant commentators effectively erased Muslims from their histories.

Western accounts of the Holy Land favoured the Jews of Palestine. The Jewish presence was indispensable in the quest for the historical Jesus and an authentic biblical experience. As Thomson puts it, "Jerusalem is trodden down under the feet of the Gentiles, the Jews are treated with indignity by Mahommedan and Greek. They are aliens in their own land, and strangers in the ancient capital of Israel."[23] He implies that only the Jews belong in Jerusalem. Some Protestants championed the Jews due to a theological commitment to dispensational millenarianism, the belief that

the second coming of Christ would only take place when the Jews were restored to the Holy Land. Schaff describes what he saw at the west wall of the temple, "the Wailing Place," as "touching and pregnant with meaning." He then suggests that "God has no doubt reserved this remarkable people, which, like the burning bush, is never consumed, for some great purpose before the final coming of our Lord."[24] Burnfield elaborates on the theme:

> Palestine, Jerusalem in her humiliation, and the Jews in their steady and continued unbelief, are a united and impregnable witness for the truth of Scripture. Their history is full of lessons for nations in these days. History repeats itself, because God's law repeats itself . . . The hope of the nations of modern times is not in education alone or in the progress of scientific knowledge, but in a firm adherence to the law of God, and the will of God. Not only is our life as a race bound up with that of the Jews, but they are a factor in the future of all races of the world; "for if the casting away of them be the reconciling of the world, what shall the receiving of them be, but life from the dead."[25]

How, then, could Protestants fail to lend the Jews their support? The roots of western, and particularly American, support of Zionism lie in the way many Protestants read and revered the Judeo-Christian scriptures. Doumani argues that

> The amazing ability to discover the land without discovering the people dovetailed with early Zionist visions. In the minds of many Europeans, especially Zionist Jews, Palestine was "empty" before the arrival of the first wave of Jewish settlers in 1881-1884. "Emptiness," of course, did not denote, except for the most ignorant, the physical absence of the native population. Rather, it meant the absence of "civilized" people, in the same sense that the Americas and Africa were portrayed as virgin territories ready for waves of pioneers. The famous Zionist slogan, "a land without a people for a people without a land" was, therefore, but a manifestation of a wider European intellectual network characterized by chauvinistic nationalism, racial superiority, and imperialistic ambitions.[26]

Bovet supplies compelling evidence for Doumani's claim in what appears to be a prophetic statement regarding the future conversion of the Jews.

> The Christians who had conquered the Holy Land were not able to keep it; to them it never was anything but a field of battle and a cemetery. The Saracens who took it from them saw it in turn taken from them by the Ottoman Turks. These latter, who are still nominally its owners, have made it into a desert, in which they hardly dare to set foot without fear. The Arabs themselves, who are its inhabitants, can only be considered as encamped in the country; they have pitched their tents in its pastures, or contrived for themselves a place of shelter in the ruins of its towns; they have founded nothing in them; strangers to the soil, they never became wedded to it; the wind of the desert which brought them there may one day carry them away again, without them leaving behind the slightest trace of their passage through it. God, who had given Palestine to so many nations, has not permitted any one to establish itself or to take root in it; He is keeping it, no doubt, in reserve for His people Israel, for those rebellious children, who will one day have become the "men of a meek and humble spirit," of whom Jesus said that "they shall inherit the earth."[27]

And yet, in spite of the widespread view that God would use the Jews of Palestine for his mysterious eschatological purposes, Protestants hardly saw them as equals.[28] Rather, the Jews were viewed as allies due to their status as both proto-Christians – the people with whom the Old Testament originated – and future Christians whose salvation was foretold in the New Testament. With the benefit of unassailable biblical credentials, the Jews were considered to be the best guardians of the Holy Land out of three not-very-good options.[29]

As evidenced by their observations at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, among other holy sites, western Protestants consistently decried the superstition of Eastern Christians. Nonetheless, they wrote about them. Cunningham Geikie explains the fashion in which Holy Week was celebrated in Jerusalem with reference to the diverse body of visiting Christians: "The pilgrims who represent every country of Eastern Christendom – Armenians, Copts, Abyssinians, Russians, Syrians, Arabs, each race by itself, in its national dress, marked by its colors as well as its style . . ."[30] Eastern Christians needed to be classified, though not necessarily explored in depth, if only to help readers understand the proprietary arrangements at sacred sites, such as the multitude of chapels in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, each associated with a different

Eastern Church.

However, beyond the practical considerations of outlining the various denominations and conveying the everyday realities of religious life in the Holy Land, Protestants also present Eastern Christianity in a positive light. Their common faith engendered some measure of loyalty. The western attitude toward Bethlehem and Nazareth illustrates the fraternal instinct in this regard. Both towns were inhabited by largely Christian populations. Protestant travelers took note of the difference. Schaff observes that "the Christian women of Nazareth are more beautiful in person, more cleanly in attire, and more courteous in manner than any in Palestine, with the exception of their sisters in Bethlehem, where nearly the whole population is Christian. They certainly contrast favorably with the ignorance and degradation of women in purely Mohammedan villages."[31] For his part, Bovet draws more overarching conclusions from the atmosphere in Christian Bethlehem:

> One must have seen Oriental countries to form an adequate idea of the civilizing power of Christianity. In Europe it sometimes seems to us as if Oriental Christianity in its degenerate state, atrophied by ignorance, disfigured by formalism and superstition, must be little better than Mahometanism. But it is not so. There is in the Gospel an immortal power of light and life, which the world's darkness may in some degree overshadow, but can never completely destroy. One is struck with this on visiting Bethlehem: the influence of Christianity makes itself felt; the passengers salute you with a certain affability; they have in their conduct, manners, and expression, more of vivacity and of openness than the other Arabs. They are more energetic, more industrious, more cheerful. Here the people work . . .[32]

Bovet suggests that "the influence of Christianity" opens up a beachhead for the "immortal power of light and life" struggling against the darkness of "Oriental countries." The positive light which Protestant commentators perceived in Eastern Christianity comes refracted and interpreted through the gospel of western civilization.

The Protestant authors of books on the Holy Land were generally convinced that their version of Christianity was best and that their civilization was supreme. In Palestine, these hegemonic impulses merged with the transcendent significance of the land to set the stage for a unique Christian colonialism. Thomson sums up this sentiment nicely, saying that "Jerusalem is the common property of the whole Christian world – belongs

neither to Greek nor Latin, is neither Papist nor Protestant. I claim a share in Zion and Moriah, Olivet and Siloah, Gethsemane and Calvary; and I mean to pursue my studies and researches with as much freedom and zest as though no eye but mine had ever scanned these sacred sites."[33] For all that Protestants felt an affinity for the Jews and remembered from time to time that they shared a common faith with the Eastern Christians, they saw themselves as the final solution to the Palestinian problem. As Schaff puts it, "Palestine needs for its regeneration a good government, an industrious population, capital, and a better religion, even the religion of the Bible, which sprung from its own soil and is now almost unknown . . . And what the indolent Turks will never do, the industry and zeal of foreigners will do, and make Palestine once more a land of promise 'flowing with milk and honey . . .'"[34] The Protestant "re-discovery" of the Biblical lands created an approach to the Orient which expurgated Muslims from the record, appropriated Jews for theological purposes, and attacked Eastern Christians for abandoning the true faith. In the process, British, American and Canadian observers insisted upon a way of reading scripture which dispensed with centuries of tradition in the pursuit of a devotional experience grounded in the clean, well-ordered, and rationalistic emphases of western religion and society. The common Christian identity of Protestants and Eastern Christians failed to significantly undermine the divisions erected by this Orientalist outlook.

Endnotes

1. The use of this expression confounds more than it clarifies. The "re-discoverers" were completely different from the "discoverers" – so much so that one can find negligible continuity between nineteenth century Protestants and medieval Crusaders. In addition, the terms "discovery" or "rediscovery" may suggest, as in the debate surrounding the European "discovery" of the Americas or "the New World" in 1492, that no one lived there before, or, at least, no who mattered. As we shall see, this issue is pertinent to the concerns of this paper. See, among others, Yehoshua Ben-Arieh, *The Rediscovery of the Holy Land in the Nineteenth Century* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University, and Israel Exploration Society, 1979); Ruth Kark, "From Pilgrimage to Budding Tourism: The Role of Thomas Cook in the Rediscovery of the Holy Land in the Nineteenth Century," in *Travellers in the Levant: Voyagers and Visionaries*, eds. Sarah Searight and Malcolm Wagstaff (Durham, NC: Astene, 2001), 155-74; Naomi Shepherd, *The Zealous Intruders: The Western Rediscovery of Palestine* (London: William Collins Sons & Co., 1987).

2. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 73.

3. Felix Bovet, *Egypt, Palestine, and Phoenicia: A Visit to Sacred Lands*, trans. W.H. Lyttelton (New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, 1883), 111.

4. Philip Schaff, *Through Bible Lands: Notes of Travel in Egypt, the Desert, and Palestine* (New York: American Tract Society, 1878), 232.

5. George Burnfield, *Voices from the Orient, or, The testimony of the monuments: of the recent historical and topographical discoveries: and of the customs and traditions of the people in the Orient to the veracity of the sacred record* (Toronto: C. Blackett Robinson, 1884), 298.

6. Burnfield, *Voices from the Orient*, 352.

7. David Austin Randall, *The Handwriting of God in Egypt, Sinai, and the Holy Land: the records of a journey from the great valley of the West to the sacred places of the East with Maps, Diagrams, and Numerous Illustrations* (Philadelphia and New York: John E. Potter & Co, 1868), 154.

8. Mary Eliza Rogers, *Domestic Life in Palestine* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1862), 296.

9. Rogers, *Domestic Life in Palestine*, 299-300.

10. Rogers explains that the priest "had paid a large sum of money for the privilege of representing the patriarch, and gaining for the occasion the title of: '*The bishop of the holy fire.*"' Kamiel Pasha was also in attendance and must have been pleased by what Rogers reported that the worshipers shouted: "Christ the Son of God died for us! Christ the Son of God rose for us! This is the tomb of Christ our Saviour! God preserve the Sultan!" (Rogers, *Domestic Life in Palestine*, 301).

11. Only in the final paragraph of the chapter does she inquire in more constructive directions, asking: "Is this strange ceremony a relic of the services of the Fire-worshippers of old? There are two or three Moslem shrines which are said to be miraculously illumined on certain days, and I am told that as early as the ninth-century the Syrian Christians believed that an angel of God was appointed to light the lamps over the tomb of Christ on every Easter-eve" (Rogers, *Domestic Life in Palestine*, 306).

12. William McClure Thomson, *The Land and the Book, or, Biblical Illustrations drawn from the Manners and Customs, the Scenes and Scenery of the Holy Land*, Volume 2 (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1858), 565.

13. Schaff, *Through Bible Lands*, 233.

14. Henry Van Dyke, *Out-of-Doors in the Holy Land: Impressions of Travel in Body and Spirit* (New York: Charles Scribner's and Sons, 1908), 118; quoted in Edward L. Queen, "Ambiguous Pilgrims: American Protestant Travelers to Ottoman Palestine, 1867-1914," in *Pilgrims and Travelers to the Holy Land*, ed. Bryan F. Le Beau and Menachem Mor (Omaha, NB: Creighton University Press, 1996), 218.

15. J.L. Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Egypt, Arabia Petraea, and the Holy Land* (Edinburgh: William and Robert Chambers, 1839), 90-91.

16. Schaff, *Through Bible Lands*, 234.

17. Randall, *The Handwriting of God in Egypt, Sinai, and the Holy Land*, 313.

18. Queen, "Ambiguous Pilgrims: American Protestant Travelers to Ottoman Palestine, 1867-1914," 223.

19. H.H. Milman, *History of the Jews* (London: John Murray, 1866), 173; quoted in Alistair Mason, "Milman's History of the Jews: a Real Place with Real People," in *The Holy Land, Holy Lands, and Christian History: Papers Read at the 1998 Summer Meeting and the 1999 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. R.N. Swanson (Rochester, NY: Boydell and Brewer, 2000), 323.

20. Thomas Talmage, *Thomas on Palestine: A Series of Sermons* (Springfield, OH, 1890), 9-10; quoted in Queen, "Ambiguous Pilgrims: American Protestant Travelers to Ottoman Palestine, 1867-1914," 222.

21. Talmage, *Thomas on Palestine*, 85; quoted in Queen, "Ambiguous Pilgrims: American Protestant Travelers to Ottoman Palestine, 1867-1914," 222.

22. However, Doumani admits that "the indigenous inhabitants were not entirely invisible." He goes on to make the point that "Most importantly, perhaps, Palestinians were the subject of ethnographic studies on peasant society, custom, and religion. More often than not, however, these valuable studies aimed not so much at investigating Palestinian society as it actually was, but rather at documenting an unchanging traditional society before its anticipated extinction due to contact with the West." While ethnographers had their agenda too, this final criticism – that they failed to investigate Palestinian society "as it actually was" – seems both unrealistic and anachronistic. Nonetheless Doumani's broader thesis is well taken (Beshara Doumani, "Rediscovering Ottoman Palestine: Writing Palestinians into History," *Journal of Palestinian Studies* 21 [Winter 1992], 8).

23. Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, Vol. 2, 469.

24. Schaff, *Through Bible Lands*, 252.

25. The quote is from Micah 3:12. Burnfield, *Voices from the Orient*, 357.

26. Doumani, "Rediscovering Ottoman Palestine: Writing Palestinians into History," 8.

27. Interestingly and strangely enough, the native Eastern Christian people are nowhere mentioned in this thumbnail sketch of Palestinian history. Crusaders come up, but not the descendants of the early church (Bovet, *Egypt, Palestine, and Phoenicia*, 379).

28. As Lester Vogel notes, the Jews of Palestine were among the world's poorest and depended upon financial support from Europe and North America (*To See A Promised Land: Americans and the Holy Land in the Nineteenth Century* [University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993], 79-83).

29. This was more and more the case as the nineteenth century progressed with the arrival of large numbers of European Jews, particularly after 1875.

30. Cunningham Geikie, *The Holy Land and the Bible: A Book of Scripture Illustrations gathered in Palestine*, Volume 1 (New York: John B. Alden Publisher, 1888), 292.

31. One page later, he mentions that "the Protestants [in Nazareth] number not more than one hundred, but represent the hope of the future." The juxtaposition of "superior" women (which he attributes to the salutary effect of scripture contra the Roman Catholic claim that the influence of the Virgin Mary is responsible) and the leavening effect of western Protestants cannot be accidental – and begs questions surrounding the key issues of sexuality and gender as they relate to Orientalism (Schaff, *Through Bible Lands*, 324).

32. Bovet, *Egypt, Palestine, and Phoenicia*, 276-77.

33. Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, Volume 2, 468.

34. Schaff, *Through Bible Lands*, 388-89.

Wrestling with the Lesser Evil: Quakers and the Sons of Freedom in Mid-twentieth Century British Columbia

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In 1954 the Kootenay region in the southeastern corner of British Columbia erupted into violence as the Sons of Freedom, a zealous group of Doukhobors, clashed with their neighbours, the RCMP, and the British Columbia government over the incarceration of Doukhobor parents and the forcible removal of their children to New Denver for education in a publicly-run residential school. Conflict with mainstream society had been an enduring aspect of fifty years of Doukhobor settlement in Canada. There had been ongoing disputes between the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood, as the Doukhobors were formally called, and the provincial and federal governments (as well as the Canadian populace generally) over a number of issues: communal land ownership first in Saskatchewan and then in British Columbia, the franchise, recognition of Doukhobor marriages, and the education of the sect's children. The methods Svobodniki or Freedomites used to protest their treatment was legendary in Canadian society (and indeed in Canadian history) and wherever it occurred it had garnered significant public attention and shock value. But the demonstrations of the mid-1950s went beyond the inflammatory (arson and dynamiting) and provocative (nude marches). Instead of being the objects of media scrutiny as they had been in the past, the Sons of Freedom made careful and strategic use of the media to publicize their plight and attack those they considered their "persecutors." "Open" letters of appeal called attention to the "persecution" and "unbearable suffering" of the Doukhobors in Canada. Most notable in this

genre at this time is an open letter to North American Quakers, condemning them as responsible for the seizure and removal of Doukhobor children.

"An Open Letter-Appeal to the Society of Friends (Quakers) Living in Canada and in the United States of America from the Members of the Christian Community and Brotherhood of the Reformed Doukhobors in British Columbia, Canada,"[1] is hardly a letter at all. Rather, it is a fifty-one page professionally-produced (though not glossy) publication complete with photographs. It offered a stinging indictment of the Society of Friends generally and the work of American Quaker Emmett Gulley among the Doukhobors specifically. Accusing Gulley and the Society of Friends of dishonourable and disgraceful behaviour unbefitting a "religious society,"[2] the Sons claimed that they were forced to resort to the tactic of an open letter to achieve the recall of Gulley since two previous requests had been "ignored" by Friends and Gulley, and his continued presence in the area "together with the Government of British Columbia [is] continuing to cause us and our children, further, unbearable suffering."[3] The open letter was a vicious personal attack on Gulley and, by extension, the Society of Friends whom he represented. The Sons of Freedom were "convinced that Gulley and the government has [sic] conspired to destroy our sect,"[4] and no amount of correspondence with Friends could convince them otherwise.

Gulley, an American Friend, had been sent to the Kootenays in 1950 as the representative of the Canadian Friends Service Committee and American Friends Service Committee in response to a request by the British Columbia government for Friends' assistance in solving the "Doukhobor problem." The RCMP believed that ongoing disputes with the Sons of Freedom "required an approach on a spiritual plane."[5] Considering Quakers as neutral and the spiritual kin of the Doukhobors (on the basis of mutual pacifist beliefs), they suggested that the government request Friends' assistance to "find a fair and proper solution to the problem."[6] Quakers were delighted and eager to assist. They had a long-term interest in the welfare of the Doukhobors and had been instrumental, along with Leo Tolstoy, in their immigration to Canada in 1899. Their sympathy for Doukhobor principles and their own memories of persecution and suffering for the sake of their faith made for a strong philosophical and financial commitment to the difficulties Doukhobors faced.[7] Friends' involvement after 1950 did lead to solutions on several fronts and things appeared to be going very well. Imagine the disquiet among Quakers

throughout North America, then, when the entire situation erupted into greater violence and protest.

Blamed for colluding with the government by "stag[ing] a trap for [Doukhobors] in order to send them to prison and take their children away from them,"[8] the Society's name was publicly vilified by the very people they had set out to assist. The accusations levelled at Quakers caused great turmoil among Canadian and American Friends. They divided on how to address the allegations against them and how to resolve the painful situation created by the conduct of the Sons of Freedom, the actions of the British Columbia government and the decisions of their own representative, Emmett Gulley. What we see is a crisis of interpretation of the ancient peace testimony as Friends struggled to determine whether the ideology of lesser evil could have a place in the context of their belief structure. Resolution of the crisis (that there was no place for the lesser evil in Quaker theology) was neither straightforward nor inclusive. Nevertheless, the decisions that were made in this instance were foundational to further Quaker peace activism throughout the twentieth century.

Quakers' response to the "Doukhobor problem" and to the Freedomite backlash took place in the context of the Cold War and newly forming ideas and attitudes toward non-violence and passive resistance. WWI had marked a noticeable shift among Friends to a more pro-active peace testimony, as opposed to an anti-war testimony. And, in the wake of WWII and its concomitant prospect of nuclear annihilation, Friends stepped up their efforts to bring about peace rather than just refusing to participate in war. This was a new environment with new ideas and Quakers were on a steep learning curve. They had lived for almost three centuries with the certain refusal to participate in military activity. Faced with ideas of passive resistance, civilian defence, and civil disobedience, the principle of non-violence was taking on a whole new shape. The problem for Friends was that they were not certain what its final expression would be. Flash points, like those created by the conflict with the Sons of Freedom, pushed Friends to define their limits within the context of their faith.

Friends' longstanding relationship with the Doukhobors stemmed from a similar commitment to pacifism, the belief of God within each individual, and a commitment to freedom of religious expression. In 1895 many members of the Russian sect burned their weapons in protest against compulsory military service. The resulting intense persecution of the Tsarist government was brought to world attention by Tolstoy and

Quakers who advocated for the emigration of Doukhobors from Russia. It took years of negotiation with a number of countries before arrangements were made in 1898 for Doukhobors to immigrate to Canada. As part of Clifford Sifton's "open door" policy, the federal government offered them free land in Saskatchewan and exemption from military service. Approximately 7,500 arrived in Canada in 1899; over 12,000 remained in Russia.[9] The Doukhobors settled in Saskatchewan near Yorkton. They lived communally and prospered; the arrival in 1902 of Peter Verigin (The Lordly), their spiritual leader since 1887, was considered a special blessing. In 1907, a change in government attitude toward Doukhobors led to the demand that they register and work their land individually and swear an oath of allegiance. Rather than contravene their religious principles and destroy their communal way of life, Verigin purchased land in West Kootenay near Grand Forks. Over the next few years, 5,000 Doukhobors moved west, although roughly 3,000 "Independents" complied with the law and stayed in Saskatchewan. Through the 1910s and 1920s, under the leadership of Peter the Lordly, the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood established forty-eight communal villages, eight sawmills, the famous KC Brand jam factory in Brilliant, the Kootenay River bridge, and extensive irrigation. They also accumulated a large debt to the tune of $1.2 million.[10]

Conflict re-emerged in British Columbia after WWI when veterans in Nelson passed a resolution to appropriate Doukhobor lands for redistribution to soldiers.[11] Citizens of Grand Forks passed a similar resolution demanding that "all the members of the sect, known as 'Doukhobors,' be deported to Russia, being undesirable in this country."[12] "The community was saved," thanks to the intervention of a number of individuals and groups, only to have a new quarrel surface in regards to the education of Doukhobor children.[13] In 1923, the school inspector in Brilliant levied $300 in fines against the sect for keeping their children out of schools. The Supervisor of Schools in Doukhobor Colonies Samuel Vereschagin immediately fired off a letter to the minister assuring him that the sect would "not pay this fine voluntarily" and warned that "if the police take the fine by seizure, as they did in Grand Forks, then all the schools in the Doukhobor districts will be closed and I cannot guarantee that they will not be burned down."[14] Sure enough, when in 1924 all the schools in the Doukhobor districts did burn down, the government demanded that Doukhobors replace them. According to the Sons of Freedom, when Peter Verigin and the directors refused to comply, "Peter

Verigin was murdered by a bomb in the train."[15]

After his father's death, Peter Petrovich Verigin (Chistiakov) came to Canada from the USSR in 1927 to lead the sect. He immediately applied himself to reducing the community's debt and, by the time of the Great Depression, the debt on the sect's property was about $280,000.[16] Even greatly reduced, the debt was unmanageable during the Great Depression with the result that the mortgage companies foreclosed on the community's property. In 1938 the provincial government took over the land in order to save the sect from eviction, the community organization was liquidated, and the Doukhobors became tenants on their lands. An increasing number left their communal villages. Divisions within the sect that had been informal up to that point began to crystallize. The Independents in Saskatchewan had long since accepted Canadian laws. The majority in British Columbia who were known as the "Orthodox" Doukhobors tried to live peacefully within Canadian society and its laws. This signalled to the small, zealous group of the Sons of Freedom, who took the formal name Council of the Christian Community and Brotherhood of Reformed Doukhobors, that there was increasing assimilation of the sect into the Canadian way of life. They considered this intolerable and stepped up their protests against this behaviour within their community and the pressure from mainstream Canadian culture. Nude marches and the destruction of property through arson and explosive devices became a matter of course in Kootenay communities, much to the horror of those who did *not* belong to the sect. It all made for great press, but did nothing to elicit the sympathy of the authorities or Doukhobors' neighbours who threatened vigilante action.[17] Feeling that they would never get any satisfaction in BC, some Freedomites attempted to organize migrations to other countries, something their neighbours encouraged and would have welcomed. But their reputation preceded them and the Sons of Freedom discovered that their particular expression of their religious principles was not welcomed outside of Canada any more than within. It was at this point, as the situation rapidly deteriorated that the British Columbia government invited Friends to assist in finding a solution to the problems at hand.

When Emmett Gulley was sent to British Columbia in 1950 he worked to increase patience and understanding and to seek viable resolution to what seemed an intractable dilemma. As a representative of the Society, the service committees supported him financially for 18 months "as a contribution to this work of understanding."[18] In the fall of 1951, Gulley became a member of the Doukhobor Research and Consulta-

tive Committee set up under the auspices of the University of British Columbia. The committee was financed by a provincial government subsidy and Gulley became the committee's salaried secretary.[19] There he was able to have great influence in recommending non-violent solutions to the Doukhobor problem. When W.A.C. Bennett's Social Credit government was elected in 1952, the Consultative Committee was superseded by a group in Nelson, called the Local Co-ordinating Committee, made up of the local administrative heads of the departments involved in Doukhobor affairs (public health, education, RCMP).[20] Gulley served as secretary of the Local Co-ordinating Committee and became advisor to the BC government on Doukhobor affairs. This is where the waters were muddied because Gulley's position raised the question of jurisdictional representation. When the Social Credit government decided to enforce its school laws and forcibly remove Doukhobor children and arrest their parents, Gulley appeared – to the Sons of Freedom at least – to be front-and-centre in the action as an agent of the hated government.

Was Gulley a representative of the BC government or of the Society of Friends? Throughout the conflict, Gulley maintained that he "[held] no position in the administrative pattern of this Government and [had] never been asked by the Government to do anything other than to perform the service of advice and consultation. … I am free to come and go, express opinions and criticize, and I feel exactly the same freedom from limitations as I did during the first year and a half of my stay here, when I was supported wholly by the Service Committees."[21] Friends faced an intensely embarrassing situation, much of which was caused by the tension between their heartfelt commitment to the plight of all Doukhobors along with their desire to have a representative on the frontlines, and the benefits of having someone else pay to keep that representative in the field. As one Friend said when the situation was at its nadir, "I am highly concerned about the margins on which Friends operate and feel increasingly that Friends should get their financial house much more in order than it is at present. That, I suggest is the real reason for the present horrible situation, i.e. we thought it cheaper to let the B.C. Government pay Emmett than to pay him ourselves. And we shall find more and more trouble unless we are honest with ourselves about it."[22]

Either way, Friends found themselves in terribly awkward circumstances as they tried to balance their deep commitment to social justice with their desire to live peaceably within society and to effect change from within. Writing in 1953 to Stephen Sorokin, the spiritual leader of the Sons

(who at the time was in Uruguay), the Canadian Friends Service Committee (CFSC) and American Friends Service Committee (AFSC)[23] urged compliance:

> We feel that further progress depends on the willingness of the Sons of Freedom to strive towards a more sensitive understanding of Christian values . . . If a suitable arrangement cannot be made for emigration [to Uruguay] the Sons of Freedom will have to adjust to life in Canada. The Government is insisting on a reasonable program of law enforcement, including school attendance of school-age children. The Quakers have had a long-standing interest in education and have established many schools of their own without jeopardizing the peace testimony of the Society. We cannot sympathize with opposition to education laws.[24]

Within the Society, there was great consternation and little consensus. The Sons of Freedom painted Emmett Gulley as a villain who conspired with the government to do violence to Doukhobor children and their families. The personal attacks against Gulley were scathing; when the Society refused to recall him, those attacks were extended to all Quakers. Consider "An Open Letter to Quaker Emmett Gulley," written in 1955. The author, A. Gusskin, wrote from Italy where he sketched for his readers the terrible plight of children remanded in the residential school in New Denver. He then challenged Gulley:

> In view of all this, have you a right to call yourself a Quaker? One of our Russian adages says: 'A family is seldom free from a freak'…[sic] However of late, there have been altogether too many 'freaks' in the Quaker family and the logical conclusion from this is that Quakers too have not escaped the general fate: became likewise subject to moral degeneration under the influence of our pseudo-culture and our pseudo-civilization. … Only the moral poverty of the Quaker Society can explain the systematic visits of your Quakers to the rapacious Red Mecca when before the eyes of the whole world true followers of the teachings of Jesus Christ (whom Quakers consider themselves to be) hob-nob with professional executioners, murder-maniacs, – and even recommend them to the world as …[sic] 'makers of peace.' . . . Is it proper for Quakers, as true christians [sic], to whitewash murderers and heinous tyrants – to guise them in the garb of peace-makers? For verily, this is no simple lack of comprehension, but a moral participation in the crimes of a godless, god-

> resisting power, dominated by the truly authentic representatives of the pits of satan [sic]."[25]

Members of the CFSC Minorities Committee and the AFSC to whom Gulley reported were divided. Nevertheless, they were compelled to respond.

The Minorities Committee prepared a draft statement which they circulated among a select group of BC Friends. For publicity's sake, the draft statement did try to distance Friends from the actions of the British Columbia government.[26] This engendered further division within the Minorities Committee. Richard Broughton, a Victoria Friend, responded to general secretary, Fred Haslam,

> Until I have actually seen the situation at Nelson, Crestova [sic] and Argenta I will try to avoid formulating any final opinion. But meanwhile Gordon Peter's opinion that Emmett Gulley "crossed a rubicon" when he became a salaried employee of the BC government has great force with me, and I do not think we can wash our hands of the matter by saying "the decision to implement its education laws was made by the BC government itself, etc."[27]

One of the major problems for CFSC was the distance between Toronto and the Kootenays. Lacking in-depth knowledge of the situation, rumour and accusation had the service committees in Toronto and Philadelphia questioning Gulley's activities. As Haslam remarked to Gulley, "while many of the letters we have received indicate inadequate knowledge of the situation, the uneasiness, which is now fairly general in Canada, cannot be ignored."[28] Haslam then went on to suggest that the issues at hand came under four of the Quaker testimonies: regard for education which seemed to be "at fundamental variance with the Sons of Freedom"; respect for democratic law "when conscientious scruples are recognised"; the ideal of family "which is not confined to life within the family, but which prepares our children for the larger life in community, country, and especially with Friends, in the international scene"; and finally, the peace testimony. In this situation, Friends appeared to be most concerned about "the disruption of family life, notwithstanding the deficiencies which may exist in the family life of the Sons of Freedom," and "the danger of government action impinging on our testimony for peace and against violence."[29]

Haslam's comments reveal the unease and underlying tensions

inherent in the Society's changing attitudes towards an active peace testimony. Gulley responded, that he was "startled" by parts of Haslam's letter. He indicated that "it was [his] understanding that the two Service Committees had reached a firm, joint decision …in regard to the handling of the 'Doukhobor Program'" and that Haslam's feeling of "embarrassment due to methods being employed by the Government and a possible responsibility for what is happening" appeared to reflect a change of policy in his [Haslam's] thinking.[30] Gulley reminded Haslam that to his knowledge there had been no change of policy on the part of the government and that "one needs to be cautious that he does not read into present methods the idea of violence which does not exist in fact. Coercion is not synonymous with violence, surely."[31] Gulley was concerned that the removal of CFSC/AFSC representation at that time "might well jeopardize any future cooperation" with the government. Therefore, he suggested that representatives of the service committees should spend some time getting a "first hand 'feel' of the situation" before there was "any serious change in policy."[32]

An investigative trip did occur in April 1955 in order to make recommendations on Gulley's position as representative of the service committees and future work among Doukhobors.[33] There is no doubt that Friends wrestled mightily with their decisions. Between the time of the visit and the presentation of the report in May 1955,[34] a number of Friends weighed in on the philosophical arguments. Particularly telling of the challenges to consensus among Quakers as a whole and the service committees particularly was a letter from Levi Penington of Newburg, Oregon, a member of AFSC. In his letter, worth quoting at length, he wrote that he was:

> fearful that action may be taken by one or both of the Service Committees that will do injustice and injury to Emmett Gulley, the Orthodox Doukhobors, the Sons of Freedom and the British Columbia government, in addition to creating more division among Friends than it can possibly cure. I understand that both Service Committees are under pressure to require Emmett Gulley to withdraw from his connection with the British Columbia government and its program of enforcing the school law on the Sons of Freedom, as that law is enforced on the rest of the people of British Columbia, or to cease to be the official representative of the two Service Committees and thus, to whatever degree that involves, of the Society of Friends.

> You will, of course, take into consideration the source of this pressure that is being put upon you . . . is not all spontaneous, but has been stimulated by [none] others than Sons of Freedom. You will not lose sight of the fact that in dealing with the Sons of Freedom, you have to deal with grown-up children, with some who are unquestionably insane, with some who are definitely criminal, with people who are unscrupulous liars, with people who have declared that their mission in life is to make trouble – whatever other elements there are among these Sons of Freedom, and whatever excellences they may have, these are the things that have to be dealt with in any effort to help them.

Pennington went on to say that he recognized that:

> the two Service Committees, have no lack of appreciation of the great work that Emmett Gulley has done, in securing the restoration of the ballot to the Doukhobors, in securing the legalization of the Doukhobor marriage, in promoting the legislation that will enable the Doukhobors to recover their land, in improving the relations between the Doukhobors and their Canadian neighbors, and getting the latter to distinguish between the Orthodox and Independent Doukhobors and the radical split-off called the Sons of Freedom, who alone are nudists, incendiarists, saboteurs – not to mention other offenses that must cast some doubt on the sincerity of their devotion to Christian ideals, and in many other ways in which Emmett has been of great service to the Orthodox Doukhobors and the government, and has offered service and sacrifice to the Sons of Freedom such as no other man has ever offered them.

This crisis was about much more than the reputation of a single Quaker. It struck at the heart of Friends' struggles to define an active peace testimony in the context of the Cold War world where peace activism and a commitment to non-violence frequently occurred in areas not clearly addressed by an anti-war testimony. Pennington's concluding statements are indicative of the sentiments with which Friends wrestled:

> When I was a boy, I used to think that right was white and wrong was black, and that it was always possible to do the <u>absolutely</u> right thing. I know realize that sometimes we make the absolutely right thing impossible, and our highest achievement is limited to the best thing under the circumstances. In this situation as in many others there is no

> solution possible that will not hurt somebody. May you be divinely guided to seek and to find the solution that is the best under the circumstances.[35]

This was the acceptance of the philosophy of the lesser evil – a marked change of attitude from earlier attitudes towards the peace testimony.

The report of Canadian Friends issued in May 1955 indicates that while it was necessary to deal with the philosophy of the lesser evil that had been thrust upon them (i.e., the children had already been apprehended), they refused to embrace the course of the lesser evil. Even though the individual notes of their visit commented on the pleasant atmosphere at the school in New Denver (for instance, one delegate made note of the presence of puppies), Quakers who participated in the investigation remained terribly troubled by the forcible removal of children from their parents, even *if* their parents were nudists, arsonists, and dynamiters. Their report – which naturally recognized the valuable contributions of Emmett Gulley and his wife Zoe in the community – was firm that the relationship between the service committees and the British Columbia government had to change:

> Without reflecting any criticism of the government we still believe that the Society of Friends cannot continue in <u>partnership</u> with it in its present policy. We recognize the need for government to compromise in meeting the demands of conflicting interest, and that any political body is sometimes forced to operate on the principle of the lesser evil. The present school program as applied to the Sons of Freedom is a case in point and we commend the British Columbia authorities on the patience, the restraint, and the skill with which its present program is being administered. / In thus sympathizing with the government's position, we still do not believe that a religious society can join with it. The Society of Friends is founded on the belief that there is that of God in <u>every</u> man. No one, however depraved, can be considered beyond redemption through the overcoming power of love. To admit any limitations in this philosophy is to destroy it, for faith is only valid if it is limitless. Thus the doctrine of the lesser evil can have no application for a religious society. Similarly, the government's admission that it is "playing percentages" in carrying forward its policy of enforced education, while entirely proper for government, is not proper for a religious society whose insistence is on the sacredness of every individual.[36]

The service committees who directed the Society's peace work had spoken. Emmett Gulley resigned as representative of Friends in 1956 after the BC government returned the franchise to the Doukhobors; he remained in Nelson as a consultant on Doukhobor affairs to the provincial government,[37] a position from which he retired in March 1957.[38] The press release announcing Gulley's resignation was telling. The service committees expressed their deep appreciation to the Gulleys for "their six years' labour under difficult conditions, made more trying by the sharp divergence of opinion among Friends and the violent accusations of the Sons of Freedom."[39] Friends had weathered a storm that forced them to assess the extent to which they would or could make concessions on non-violence. Looking back, Friends acknowledged that "most important of all, perhaps, is the change of attitude on the part of the people of British Columbia to the Doukhobors and probably to some extent vice-versa. Herein, it is felt, lay the greatest value in the work of Emmett Gulley since he pointed out to the citizens of British Columbia that by their attitude to the Doukhobors they helped create the Doukhobor problem."[40] Regardless of the extent of the problems that continued to emerge in the Cold War era and the Society's evolving response to those problems, the situation with the Sons of Freedom in the 1950s pressed Friends to crystallise their interpretation of the peace testimony and to deny any place in the testimony to the ideology of the lesser evil.

Endnotes

1. "An Open Letter-Appeal to the Society of Friends (Quakers) Living in Canada and in the United States of America from the Members of the Christian Community and Brotherhood of the Reformed Doukhobors in British Columbia, Canada," 3; Simon Fraser University (SFU) Special Collections, Burnaby, BC.

2. "An Open Letter-Appeal to the Society of Friends," 6.

3. "An Open Letter-Appeal to the Society of Friends," 3.

4. "An Open Letter-Appeal to the Society of Friends," 50.

5. "Release to: The American Friend, Friends Journal, The Canadian Friends, The Pacific Coast Bulletin, The Friend (London)," 1; undated, CFSC Minorities Committee File, 1956, '57, '58, '59, Canadian Yearly Meeting Archives (CYMA), Newmarket, ON.

6. "An Open Letter-Appeal to the Society of Friends," 34.
7. The AFSC and CFSC paid Gulley a salary to take up his work in British Columbia.
8. "An Open Letter-Appeal to the Society of Friends," 5-6.
9. Koozma J. Tarasoff, "Doukhobors," 3, <www.multiculturalcanada.ca/ecp/contnet/doukhobors.html> (accessed 22 May 2006).
10. "An Open Letter-Appeal to the Society of Friends," 24, 32.
11. "An Open Letter-Appeal to the Society of Friends," 19.
12. "An Open Letter-Appeal to the Society of Friends," 24.
13. "An Open Letter-Appeal to the Society of Friends," 29.
14. "An Open Letter-Appeal to the Society of Friends," 30.
15. "An Open Letter-Appeal to the Society of Friends," 31. There is great debate on who actually killed Verigin. The standard explanation is usually that the Sons of Freedom killed him; they claim otherwise. The case remains unsolved and has recently become one of the Great Unsolved Canadian Mysteries located at http://www.canadianmysteries.ca/indexen.html.
16. "An Open Letter-Appeal to the Society of Friends," 32.
17. Draft Statement (Not for publication) – Friends' Service Committees and the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood, (Sons of Freedom)," CFSC Minorities Committee File, January – June 1955,CYMA.
18. "Draft Statement."
19. "Release to: The American Friend, Friends Journal, The Canadian Friends, The Pacific Coast Bulletin, The Friend (London)," CFSC Minorities Committee File, January – June 1955, CYMA.
20. "Release to: The American Friend, Friends Journal, The Canadian Friends, The Pacific Coast Bulletin, The Friend (London)," CFSC Minorities Committee File, January – June 1955, CYMA.
21. Letter, Emmett Gulley to Lewis M. Hoskins, 17 June 1955, CFSC Minorities Committee File, January – June 1955, CYMA.
22. Letter, Richard Broughton to Dorothy Starr, 19 May 1955, CFSC Minorities Committee File, January – June 1955, CYMA.

23. The Canadian Friends Service Committee (CFSC) and American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) act on the peace and social justice concerns of the Religious Society of Friends in their respective countries.

24. Letter, Stephen G. Cary, Secretary, American Friends Service Committee, and Fred Haslam, Secretary, Canadian Friends Service Committee to S.S. Sorokin, 1 December 1953, as in "An Open Letter-Appeal to the Society of Friends," 2.

25. "An Open Letter to Quaker Emmett Gulley,"(translated and released by the Fraternal Council of the Christian Community and Brotherhood of Reformed Doukhobors)," SFU Special Collections.

26. Letter, Fred Haslam to Alfred Lash, 10 January 1955, CFSC Minorities Committee File, January – June 1955, CYMA.

27. Letter, Richard Broughton to Fred Haslam, 8 January 1955, CFSC, CFSC Minorities Committee File, January – June 1955, CYMA.

28. Letter, Fred Haslam to Emmett Gulley, 25 January 1955, CFSC, CFSC Minorities Committee File, January – June 1955, CYMA.

29. Letter, Fred Haslam to Emmett Gulley, 25 January 1955.

30. Letter, Emmett Gulley to Fred Haslam, 31 January 1955, CFSC, CFSC Minorities Committee File, January – June 1955, CYMA.

31. Letter, Emmett Gulley to Fred Haslam, 31 January 1955.

32. Letter, Emmett Gulley to Fred Haslam, 31 January 1955.

33. See correspondence and planning notes in the CFSC Minorities Committee File, January – June 1955 and CFSC Minorities Committee File, July – December 1955, CYMA.

34. "A Report on a Survey of Friends' Work Among the Doukhobor People," 16 May 1955, CFSC Minorities Committee File, January – June 1955, CYMA.

35. Letter, Levi T. Pennington to Lewis M. Hoskins, Executive Secretary , American Friends Service Committee and Fred Haslam, Executive Secretary, Canadian Friends Service Committee, 26 Apirl 1955, CFSC Minorities Committee File, January – June 1955, CYMA.

36. "A Report on a survey of Friends' Work Among the Doukhobor People," 16 May 1955, CFSC Minorities Committee File, January – June 1955, CYMA.

37. "Release to: The American Friend, Friends Journal, The Canadian Friends, The Pacific Coast Bulletin, The Friend (London)," CFSC Minorities Committee File, January – June 1955, CYMA.

38. "Restricted Report on visit to Western Canada in May 1957 to ascertain the present situation regarding the Doukhobors by Cecil Evans," CFSC Minorities Committee File, January – June 1955, CYMA.

39. "Release to: The American Friend, Friends Journal, The Canadian Friends, The Pacific Coast Bulletin, The Friend (London)," CFSC Minorities Committee File, January – June 1955, CYMA. The Gulleys remained in the area for quite some time and remained close friends with Orthodox Doukhobors. Laura P. Verigin and Zoe H. Gulley collaborated on the compilation of a cookbook – *Practical Cook Book: Selected Doukhobor and Quaker Recipes* (Rossland: Miner Printing Co., 1972), SFU Special Collections.

40. "Release to: The American Friend, Friends Journal, The Canadian Friends, The Pacific Coast Bulletin, The Friend (London)," CFSC Minorities Committee File, January – June 1955, CYMA.

Work, Vocation, and Ministry: Theologies of Call in the United Church of Canada, 1945-1980

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One of my former colleagues was once remarking on his vocation as an economist. It seemed an unusual career, as he had a good theological pedigree – he was the son of two generations of Anglican priests. His response has haunted me as I prepared this paper: "Economics is theology of the fallen world." This paper is an effort to gain an historical sense of some significant changes within theology – both that which is aimed at the city of God, and that which is profoundly shaped by the city of humans as the United Church of Canada re-imagined, revised and reorganized its understanding of ministry within its "second generation" of ministry – a period after the Second World War to 1980. This era, often referred to as Fordist by economists, is characterized by industrialized, assembly-line production, and is also one of economic growth and stability within North America. While I am not suggesting that economic restructuring was the only force shaping theologies of ministry at that time, I will suggest that it was a significant one.[1] It will be the aim of this paper to give a snapshot of some of the ways in which the economy of this period in Canada encroached upon the *oikos*, the household of faith, within the United Church of Canada. This encroachment affected the manner in which ministry and work were construed as the emergence of a new professional class arose. Yet, this picture is not a fatalistic one: while one can surely see the traces of Adam Smith's "invisible hand" of the market[2] upon theologies of ministry at that time, there emerge also some formidable instances of theological and organizational resistance. Finally, I would like to

suggest some theological implications of these observations by briefly considering our own period of challenges and changes in labour participation, and consider how theologies of ministry within the United Church of Canada might offer an alternative to these pressures.

The period after the Second World War was one of tremendous economic change and growth. "Fordism," a term originally coined by Antonio Gramsci, refers to a specific type of capitalist production and consumption, in which productivity is maximized through the specialized labour forms, aimed at mechanized power, as in assembly-line production, a type of work segmentation that became normative in Henry Ford's auto industry. The displacement of specialized and crafts-based labour gave rise not only to increased alienation in Marx's terms, but also to an increased bureaucratization of management, as management became a class unto itself in the surveillance of worker productivity. Increased consumption and productivity offered, for a time, a rise in real wages among the working class, and the conditions of work became ones that focused upon intense productivity, while working conditions were generally improved through the activity of labour unions, which themselves often cooperated with management in order to maximalize individual worker benefits. While Fordism refers to a specific set of economic and social reproduction, it is its corollary form of labour management, generally referred to as Taylorism, which became dominant in the organization of workers.[3] Taylorism derives from the writings of Frederick W. Taylor, the first management expert, who, at the turn of the twentieth century, developed a set of ideas designed to get employees in manufacturing industries to produce more efficiently. His term for this collection of strategies was "scientific management." In order to implement his ideas, Frederick Taylor divided manufacturing into several simple tasks. Instead of doing many different things, workers in Taylorized factories executed the same simple tasks over and over. This not only increased production, but also reduced an employer's need for skilled labor. For this reason, employers could generally decrease their wage costs.

Clearly, the logic was one of production within a *system* or machine, and thus the stratification of work also became increasingly evident. The separation of manual labour from intellectual labour, itself historically unprecedented,[4] characterized work relations in the classical dyad between management professionals and (alienated) workers in assembly-line productions. However, not all of this was bad news to the worker. While there was a decrease in skilled labour, or craft, this system was accompa-

nied, in general, by job security and benefits, for the (predominately male) worker. Furthermore, this period of economic growth and prosperity supported the expansion of social services, as a means of mitigating against fluctuations within the economy. As Kenneth Norrie and Douglas Owram describe Canadian labour in this period:

> The period from 1945 to 1973 was exceptional in one way, if in no other. Most of the social policies and regional-development commitments now taken for granted as an essential part of the Canadian fabric had their beginnings in these years. Federal and provincial governments played a relatively small role in these areas before the Great Depression. Welfare was a private responsibility, assisted by churches and other charitable institutions, and, as a last resort, by municipalities. Attitudes changed significantly during the Great Depression, however; the state was forced to take a more active role in the managing of the economy and in providing relief to the unfortunate.[5]

For ministers in the post-war era, this period of increased state-directed social security resulted in a loss of existential security in the need for one of its traditional roles: that is the care of the poor. Historian Ramsay Cook's insights into the challenge to Christian identity through the secular welfare state are germane even up to the period being examined.[6] No longer were ministers and the church called upon to offer social assistance to the poor: a new class of professionals was called upon to do that, and the government became responsible for the implementation and maintenance of social programs.

The crisis of identity of the minister was heightened as a corollary feature of post-war economic structuring, which included the emergence of a new professional class that would become servants of the new social order. As church-run charities gave way to secular helping agencies, ministers (as helping agents) took their place among other social workers.[7] Such change resulted in a new imperative to re-define and justify the role of the minister within a broader realm of helping agents in public life. What is to be noted is that the public life that included the politician, the social worker, and the tax collector also included the minister who was now responsible for staking out his particular function within the broader framework of society. In other words, the church was no longer a unique public which the minister cared for, but was instead incorporated into a larger whole aimed at the functioning of a broader society.

The idea of functioning is central to Fordist economics. The worker, like the components of a product, becomes a part of the properly-ordered *machine*, and his or her aims are intended to produce a product that will contribute in its unique way to the output of a smoothly-operating and efficient whole. Each workplace was to perform specific ends that were idiosyncratic to the industry itself. Yet society as a whole could also be viewed mechanistically, as each discrete industry contributed uniquely to a well-ordered, functional social order. The church thus takes its place as one domain within this order, and, divested as it was of biblical and theological confidence, was forced to interpret its own aims within this overarching teleology. Therefore, the minister took up his role in relation to other "ministers" within the church, and, in society, to a host of other professional helpers. Ministry itself became redefined to include not only ministry of Word, sacrament and pastoral care, but other specializations. As the introduction to the 23rd General Council *Report on The Ministry in the Twentieth Century* urges, the Church must now ". . . define the place of specialized ministry in relationship to the ministry of Word and Sacraments (board secretaries, counselors, chaplains, deaconesses, certified employed churchmen, Christian education directors, radio and television specialists." [8]

While there can be a great deal of debate around the merits of the expansion of ministry to include other aspects of ordained ministry, the purpose of critical examination here is simply to consider the extent the language of the new marketplace was appropriated in so doing. Consider again the markedly unbiblical language of the Report's recommendations as it advocates new ways of thinking about ministry for the twentieth century:

> It is recommended that there be one professional "order of ministry" whose function is to enable the whole Church to perform its ministry. Members of the order of ministry shall be educated, trained and commissioned or ordained to serve in the following capacities . . .[9]

The performance of the whole church required the proper functioning of each of its members, whose work could be parsed out and overseen in accordance with the new managerial mindset. The Appendix to the Report, titled "Schema," offers some terse recommendations for the implementation of the new model of ministry, including the contract-like "Check List of Shared Responsibilities,"[10] which included the ministry of perennials

and shrubs (15), and TV antennas (20h). The interesting theological point is the neat and straightforward flow of such minutiae a mere three steps removed from the Report's ecclesiology, titled (1) "What is the Church for?"

The Twenty-Third General Council adopted the Commission on Ministry's Report, while referring several of its sections to the subsequent General Council, which by 1972, had not managed to shake off the managerial mind-set. Under the title, "Professional Ministries," the Executive Committee of the General Council affirms:

> It is to be understood that the ministry in the twentieth century requires varieties of expression beyond that traditionally associated with these functions:
>
> Proclamation of the gospel [sic] to the Church and the world should be understood not only as words spoken from the pulpit, but also, for example, the production of radio and TV programs and other contemporary means . . . The pastoral function is exercised within the congregational setting, and also in counselling as a specialized function, broadly interpreted and carried on in secular settings such as general or psychiatric hospitals, penitentiaries, etc. The representative and liturgical functions are not confined to formal church services, but may be exercised in a variety of situations according to the need and opportunity.[11]

Clearly, the managerial model of ministry in the post-war period became increasingly identified with producing specific outcomes based upon quantifiable goals and measurements. This view is problematic on at least two counts. First, it substitutes the biblical ideal of the Kingdom of God, a future that is open-ended and contingent upon God's disruptive grace, with a flattened picture of the Church as a society whose chief aim is its own preservation. Further, it subordinates the people of God to the functioning of this machine – persons become functional specialists. The reciprocity and nuance of concrete relationships within a sacramental community are reduced to rigid and one-dimensional roles. This managerial mind-set is, of course, not exclusive to the baby-boomer era. As contemporary theologian Michael Hanby writes:

> Assuming that we "ought" to be happy, [therapeutic] techniques – help us to "manage" loss, to put it where it no longer exists, namely

> "behind us" in the past. This is to say that the managerial mindset, in its therapeutic guise, creates in our souls the same relationship to time and to the past that it produces in our bodies in its industrial guise. Grief and loss are best avoided, but, failing that, they are obstacles to be managed and overcome. So we institute psychological strategies to emancipate ourselves from the past just as our hyper-mobility as workers drives us from home and from those institutions – like friendship, marriage, and child-rearing – through which we make bodily commitments.[12]

If I am right that the "invisible hand" of the economy has far-reaching effects upon the ways in which the language, policies and practices of ministry are shaped, is there any hope for an alternative? It is fascinating to note that in the wake of the re-structuring of ministry within the United Church of Canada, a group of prairie ministers, whether they realized it or not, presented both a robust critique and alternative to the professional ministry. This group, formed in the 1970s in Saskatchewan, called themselves the "Christian Workers' Collective," and they lobbied for, among other things, a parity plan for ministers, as well as better working conditions for all those under the employ of the United Church of Canada. While one might be tempted to think that these ministers were merely substituting the language of Marxism for that of Fordism, consider the analysis in a document titled "A Minority Report on the Commission for Salaries,"[13] a report commissioned by the General Council of 1974:

> …the biblical Word judges our cultural value systems, particularly our ideology of the marketplace.
>
> … talents in ministry are God-given gifts and the Church has every right to expect us to use our God-given gifts to the full extent of our abilities.[14]

Ministry is re-framed in this document, not as profession, but as vocation. Vocation, as a theological principle, could not be reduced to function or to the "ideology of the marketplace." While the Christian Workers' Collective held that one of its principal tasks was to advocate a parity system, this was viewed principally as a means of breaking of the idolatry of success-*cum*-wages, and moving toward a more equitable stewardship of the church's resources. The document, "Theological Principles on Which the Parity System is Based," contains four single-spaced pages of

theological argument for the parity system, but the most notable is one that offers a marked contrast to the confidence and the utilitarianism of those previously examined:

> Our hope would lie not in the parity system itself, which would be imperfect, but that to which the parity system would bear witness, an attempt to express the kingdom values in a corporate way. This is the fourth theological principle on which the parity system is based. As the church is called to be a foretaste of the kingdom where the greatest of all is the servant to all and the highest reward is knowing that we do His will, so within the church those who are charged with responsibility of equipping God's people for work in His Service have the opportunity to be pioneers in obedience and to bear witness in corporate action to our faith in the reality of kingdom life.[15]

It is worth considering in our own era of economic restructuring how the language of ministry is co-opted by market forces. In a technology-driven economy one may do well to critique contemporary theologies of ministry discourse as the church speaks too fluently the language of contract-based employment, flex-time, multi-tasking and virtual work-places. While I am not suggesting that ministry ought never change, I would suggest that, like our exemplary Saskatchewan radicals, that it is best done with an ear that is finely tuned to the cadences and the nuances of biblical speech, a speech robust enough to resist the economy's ever changing and ever-ringing siren call.

Endnotes

1. I do not intend to engage in a sustained Marxist reading of this era, suggesting that all social (and theological) change can be reduced to economics. Rather, I hope to suggest something more akin to a postmodern reading of the times, which examines the discursive features of a period which tended to be dominated by the logic of the dominant modes of production. As Frederic Jameson writes: "I have felt, however, that it was only in the light of some conception of a dominant cultural logic or hegemonic norm that genuine difference could be measured and assessed. I am very far from feeling that all cultural production today is postmodern in the broad sense I will be conferring on this term. The postmodern is, however, the force field in which very different kinds of cultural impulses – what Raymond Williams has usefully termed "residual" and "emergent" forms of cultural production – must make their way. If we do not achieve some general sense of a cultural dominant,

then we fall back into a view of present history as sheer heterogeneity, random difference, a coexistence of a host of distinct forces whose effectivity is undecidable. At any rate, this has been the political spirit in which the following analysis was devised: to project some conception of a new systematic cultural norm and its reproduction in order to reflect more adequately on the most effective forms of any radical cultural politics today" (Frederic Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* [Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003], 6).

2. "Every individual necessarily labours to render the annual revenue of the society as great as he can. He generally neither intends to promote the public interest, nor knows how much he is promoting it . . . By preferring the support of domestic to that of foreign industry, he intends only his own security; and by directing that industry in such a manner as its produce may be of the greatest value, he intends only his own gain, and he is in this, as in many other cases, *led by an invisible hand* to promote an end which was no part of his intention. Nor is it always the worse for society that it was no part of his intention. By pursuing his own interest he frequently promotes that of the society more effectually than when he really intends to promote it. I have never known much good done by those who affected to trade for the public good" [italics mine] (Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*, Volume IV [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976], 477).

3. See, for example, Frederick Taylor's injunction: ". . . [I]t should also be perfectly clear that the greatest permanent prosperity for the workman, coupled with the greatest prosperity for the employer, can be brought about only when the work of the establishment is done with the smallest combined expenditure of human effort, plus nature's resources, plus the cost for the use of capital in the shape of machines, buildings, etc. Or, to state the same thing in a different way: that the greatest prosperity can exist only as the result of the greatest possible productivity of the men and machines of the establishment that is, *when each man and each machine are turning out the largest possible output; because unless your men and your machines are daily turning out more work than others around you, it is clear that competition will prevent your paying higher wages to your workmen than are paid to those of your competitor*. And what is true as to the possibility of paying high wages in the case of two companies competing close beside one another is also true as to whole districts of the country and even as to nations which are in competition. In a word, that maximum prosperity can exist only as the result of maximum productivity" [italics mine] (Frederick Taylor, *The Principles of Scientific Management*, originally published 1911, <http://melbecon.unimelb.edu.au/het/taylor/sciman.htm> (19 December 2006).

4. See Hannah Arendt on the "division of labor": "[The modern-day division of labor] can be so classified only under the assumption that society must be conceived as one single subject, the fulfillment of whose needs are then subdivided by "an invisible hand" among its members" (Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 2nd ed. [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996], 48).

5. Kenneth Norrie and Douglas Owram, *History of the Canadian Economy* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace, 1996), 428- 29.

6. See Ramsay Cook's pithy description of the unforeseen consequence of the Social Gospel: "That union of the sacred and secular, so ardently wished for by the Christian reformers anxious to regenerate the social order, unexpectedly acted as the accommodating midwife to the birth of secular society" (Ramsay Cook, *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada* [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987], 231).

7. As the authors of *Voices and Visions: 65 Years of the United Church of Canada* note: "In the fifties, members of the church, like most Canadians, were caught up in a new project of reconstructing a world in which was had been put behind us and technology was creating a new future. The United Church records show that we too supported the strengthening of a federal government as a means of creating a larger base on which to exercise and facilitate our collective neighbourliness. It was a watershed of sorts. Prior to the war, most of the social welfare efforts in the country had been carried out by private organizations, including the church; the government had been too weak to provide much security. It was as if before the war the man found beaten by the side of the road in Jesus' story was picked up by the Samaritan and taken to an inn, which he himself owned and operated. During the 1950s, the Samaritan would have taken him to an inn owned and operated by all of us through federal and provincial governments. The Samaritan's taxes would have paid for the neighbour's care, but the means of delivering the care definitively changed" (John Webster Grant et al., *Voices and Visions: 65 Years of the United Church of Canada* [Toronto: The United Church Publishing House, 1990], 87).

8. 23rd General Council Records of Proceedings, August 27 – Sept. 4, 1968, "The Ministry in the Twentieth Century" (Toronto: United Church of Canada General Council, 1968), 228.

9. 23rd General Council Records of Proceedings, 228.

10. 23rd General Council Records of Proceedings, 262.

11. 24th General Council Records of Proceedings, August 27 – Sept. 4, 1968, "The Ministry in the Twentieth Century" (Toronto: United Church of Canada General Council, 1970), 131.

12. Michael Hanby, "Giving Grief to Management," *The Blackwell Companion to Christian Ethics*, eds. Stanley Hauerwas and Samuel Wells (Malden: Blackwell, 2004), 243.

13. This document was penned by a commission established by the 26th General Council of the United Church of Canada. While many of its members were also founding members of the "Christian Workers' Collective" (most notably theologian Ben Smillie), the groups are not identical.

14. Ben Smillie, et al., "A Minority Report on the Commission for Salaries," A Report Commissioned by the 26th General Council of the United Church of Canada, 1974, courtesy of Rev. Paul Campbell (former Conference President), personal records, 11.

15. Christian Workers' Collective, "Theological Principles on which the Parity System is Based," 1979, Saskatchewan Conference, courtesy of Rev. Paul Campbell (former Conference President), personal correspondence, 4.

Charles De Koninck at the Crossroads of Catholic Moral Thought: The "Common Good" Controversy and its Echoes in the Americas

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Though Charles De Koninck was the first French-language philosopher based in Canada to be known internationally, his is no more a household name in French than in English Canada – except in Quebec City. There, on 25 February 2006, three full pages of the Saturday issue of the local daily newspaper *Le Soleil* were devoted to a presentation of the "De Koninck Dynasty" of scholars, intellectuals and professionals, who have made their mark at Université Laval, in the Quebec City area, throughout the province, and beyond. The genealogical chart that covers the front page of the section shows the exponential spread of this prolific Catholic family over three generations of illustrious citizens, from the initial germ cell of a young Flemish couple who came to Quebec in 1934, when Charles De Koninck, having completed a dissertation on the philosophy of Sir Arthur Eddington at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, was invited by Université Laval to help set up its new Faculty of Philosophy. De Koninck's wife, Zoe Decruydt, is now in her nineties; De Koninck, who would have been one hundred in 2006, died in 1965 at the height of his glory. At the time, the philosopher was in Rome, a lone lay expert called by Pope Paul VI to actively participate in the deliberations of the Second Vatican Council on two burning social issues facing the Roman Catholic Church: freedom of conscience and birth control. This father of twelve was strongly in favour of the latter, and is said to have been on his way to deliver to the pope some impregnable Scholastic arguments for allowing

birth control, when God somehow thought it better to call De Koninck back to Himself, perhaps thereby changing the course of contemporary religious history.[1]

This is not the only family legend that precedes his eldest son Thomas De Koninck wherever he goes in Quebec. There is a rumour that, as a little boy, the future philosopher was the model for the inquisitive *Little Prince* of the children's classic of that title. The rumour is based on the time Antoine de Saint-Exupéry stayed with the De Koninck when he came from New York City at the invitation of Charles to give lectures in Quebec City.[2] In May 1942, in addition to presenting his new book *Pilote de guerre* (*Flight to Arras*) published in the United States in February, Saint-Exupéry also spoke on the question of the common good[3] – the very topic on which the founding dean of Laval University's Philosophy Faculty was writing the articles from which he would draw the book he is best known for in both Canadian intellectual history and the history of Catholic thought: *De la Primauté du Bien Commun contre les personnalistes. Le principe de l'ordre nouveau* (1943).[4] Thomas De Koninck, who has followed in his father's footsteps as sometime dean of Université Laval's Faculty of Philosophy, asked me to help prepare an edition of Charles De Koninck's main works for the Presses de l'Université Laval. I am currently preparing a critical introduction for *De la Primauté du Bien Commun contre les personnalistes* and am thus seizing this opportunity for advanced publicity for this project within the academic community.

The impact the book originally owed a lot to the peculiar conditions of the Second World War. Saint-Exupéry was far from being the only French intellectual based in the United States for the duration of the conflict. The cream of Catholic thinkers were also there, and during the Axis occupation of Europe, it was in America that they carried on their debates freely, so that for a while the Old Continent was no longer the centre of Catholic intellectual life. At the vanguard of this group was the Neo-Thomist Jacques Maritain, who had gradually come around to embracing liberal democracy after authoritarian beginnings as a turn-of-the-century neophyte. In 1942, he felt able to rally all Catholic intellectuals in the fight for freedom against totalitarianism. He did this by drafting a manifesto to that end. Charles De Koninck's refused to sign the document. His refusal was grounded in deep-seated philosophical differences with Maritain. Those differences go back to fine points involving the assumptions of the philosophy of science (such as the Thomist understanding of contingency that he would later invoke to

critique existentialism),[5] the area where he first gained serious credentials as a universally-respected Catholic thinker. He was increasingly uneasy about the popularity of Maritain's ideas and the concomitant spread of the personalist discourse with which he allowed himself to be associated. This prompted him to direct the serious Thomist argumentation of his book on the common good "against the personalists" in general. While he did not name anyone in particular (aside from lesser figures like Mortimer Adler on democracy and Fr. Herbert Doms on marriage), everyone thought of Jacques Maritain, and no personalists ever recognized themselves in De Koninck's ascription to them of positions they also rejected as a matter of course.[6] Still, Notre Dame University's Dominican Father I.T. Eschmann thought it fit to contradict de Koninck by writing an article "In Defence of Maritain."[7] This reinforced De Koninck's original stance, motivating him to charge back with "In Defence of Saint Thomas," a substantial essay in the second issue of the journal he had just founded: *Laval théologique et philosophique*.[8] Though other contributors were often more irenic, the debate continued well beyond its wartime context, especially in the Americas, which gained, for the first time, center-stage in a debate of vital importance to the Roman Catholic Church.

This becomes apparent in recent scholarship that has brought to light the significance of the gradual replacement of a post-Tridentine morality of individual redemption through pious submission to an immutable social order with a new personalist ethos of human dignity in engaged incarnation for social transformation. This has been done by situating the background to Quebec's Quiet Revolution within the context of cultural transfers from fast-evolving Christian circles in Europe around the middle of the last century.[9] *De la Primauté du Bien Commun contre les personnalistes* no doubt marks the first time thinking from French Canada grabbed world attention for being at the center of a controversy that mobilized Thomists into two camps either for or against Maritain, the most prominent Catholic thinker of his day. For it was deemed the one book that dared to aim at the anonymous designation of "personalists" in the text. From what I have seen of Charles De Koninck's correspondence, this suspicion was correct, despite the claims by some (such as their mutual friend Yves Simon[10]) that this could only be a misunderstanding. The false assumption that the book was an immediate reaction to recent Quebec publications has been perpetuated since then.. Among these publications was the December 1942 issue of *La Nouvelle Relève* entirely devoted to Maritain on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday. Some of his intellectual

admirers in the province, led by the review's young editors Claude Hurtubise and Robert Charbonneau, joined together to publish original works from exiled French writers (including in this case Yves R. Simon).[11] But it is François Hertel's book, *Pour un ordre personnaliste* (1942), that is most often cited as the trigger for this attack on Maritain. In fact, the articles that would be reworked into De Koninck's book had already appeared in instalments over several issues of the *Semaine religieuse de Québec* in 1942, and neither this weekly nor other Quebec publications at the time never linked the two works. They even reviewed Hertel rather favourably on the whole.[12]

Hertel was a relatively unconventional (for the Quebec context of the time) Catholic intellectual; an important article by the University of Ottawa's Marie Martin-Hubbard discussing Hertel's work has recently underlined that Thomism in Quebec was not as monolithic as is often assumed.[13] This is no less true on a global scale, as shown by the echo this debate found for over a decade as far away as Latin America. If a Spanish edition of De Koninck's book appeared in 1952,[14] 1948 had already seen the publication of a hefty tome entitled *Crítica de la concepción de Maritain sobre la persona humana* by Father Julio Meinvielle, a friend of Charles De Koninck who drew on his work and repeatedly invited him to speak and teach in Argentina.[15] De Koninck did not necessarily share Meinvielle's reactionary politics, even though this has often been taken for granted in light of his early stance in *The Primacy of the Common Good*. It was after all explicitly aimed "against the personalists," who were soon to reshape the Catholic worldview in a sense consonant with some modern assumptions, and may therefore be deemed progressive in retrospect. This is why De Koninck is popular today with traditionalist Catholics who reject Vatican II, and can draw for this on Julio Meinvielle's denunciations of the Council's liberal and modernist antecedents. Yet the fact remains that he was the highest placed lay North American actor of the Council – indeed the only lay *peritus* as adviser to Cardinal Maurice Roy. Likewise, he took controversially "liberal" stances on the need to accommodate freedom of conscience in the Quiet Revolution's debates about secular education. Based on recent reassessments of the triumphalist view of the Quiet Revolution (as the vindication of modern self-determination and emancipated subjectivity over against the heteronomous claims of religion and traditional authority in general) that is still central to public discourse and social consensus in Quebec today, I think it might be time to take a fresh look at De Koninck's book. His critique was more than just a

rearguard action. In some ways it was a prophetic warning of a notable drift towards hedonistic secular individualism, which progressive Christian personalism unwittingly helped usher in Catholic societies such as Quebec.[16]

The positions of Maritain and De Koninck are often seen as complementary by their admirers who are often the same people.[17] I was even asked to contribute an entry on Charles De Koninck to an Italian encyclopaedia of twentieth-century personalists.[18] To be sure, De Koninck questions the conceptual meaningfulness and Thomist credentials of the distinction between individual and person that is central to personalist discourse, particularly where it is used to oppose the spiritual generosity of the one to the narrow egotism of the other. Following this distinction, the individual is simply writ-large in social collectives, which the person therefore cannot be subordinated to, by virtue of his or her own direct relation to God, in the accounts that directly prompted De Koninck's critique. Yet De Koninck is not denying the paramount dignity of the human person, nor that this dignity is tied to the person's nature as an organic whole with a capacity for deliberation, as Maritain insists. He simply adds that it has even more to do with the end that orients this freedom: to live in common with other beings within a larger whole ordained to the good of those of which it is made up, in a harmonious diversity that expresses God's perfection. This supreme created good is a common good that rests on the proper good of each insofar as it is not merely private, but diffusive of itself in the larger wholes of which it is part and that ensure it, whether they be of the order of nature or of the order of culture.

The person therefore does not transcend political society (or the universe for that matter), as some personalists have seemed to suggest, for a true polity is in essence a community of persons and of intermediate communities. This is not unlike Joe Clark's definition of Canada as a "community of communities." Political society in this sense is not to be confused with the state as such, which, if it usurped to itself all the legitimate prerogatives of the communities that pre-exist in civil society, would no longer serve the common good. It would be merely a super-individual lording it over society instead of serving its interlocking communities as an overarching "meta-community" (if I may hazard this neologism). For every person also belongs to communities other than the political one, such as those defined by family or religion. Moreover, God transcends yet upholds all communities as the uncreated good of everyone,

common to all. According to Charles De Koninck, to ignore the primacy of the common good in the name of private goods (whether material or spiritual in nature) that cannot be shared would thus amount to undermining the dignity of the person. This is not unlike the sentiments espoused by his son Thomas in his award-winning book *De la dignité humaine*.[19]

Once removed from the polemical backdrop of the minutiae of a Scholastic disputation about the Common Good, this constant in the elder De Koninck's thought ironically brings it so close to some basic stances of personalist discourse as to make it undistinguishable from the latter. This proximity can be illustrated by a few sentences from the last collection of articles he published, entitled *Tout homme est mon prochain*, where he states that "this dignity does not emerge when man is content with holding on to what nature has given him." Personalists would say this stingy self-centeredness is what they mean by the given individual in each of us, which the genuine person is called to transcend by deliberately giving him/herself to her/his special vocation. If for the early Swiss Protestant personalist Denis de Rougemont (who happened to be close to Saint-Exupéry in wartime New York) the person was defined early in the 1930s as the "free and responsible human being," in 1964, De Koninck likewise asserted that "man expresses his dignity by acting by himself, by performing actions for which he is held responsible."[20]

In his key contributions to the theology of co-redemption through Mary and the definition of the Catholic dogma of her assumption, De Koninck had long based his case on the Virgin's free assent and total submission (over against the prideful self-assertion he thought he found in personalism[21]) to her part in the Incarnation of the divine Word, since "the human person enjoys here a *bonitas propter se* wholly beyond compare." De Koninck framed his argument in terms of an Aristotelian-Thomist definition of "dignity," which "is said of the person in general, and of the citizen in particular, inasmuch as he is *causa sui* and enjoys a certain power of contradiction."[22] With the proviso that this power is best held latent in unison with divine will, such self-determination plays a similar role in defining the image of God in human beings for Greek Church Fathers like Saint Maximus the Confessor, who refers to it as *autexousia*. De Koninck will again cite this definition, illustrating "the part of the human person in the work of redemption" in *Le scandale de la médiation* (1962), to specify in *Tout homme est mon prochain* (1964) the "rights and duties of parents in educational matters"; for the freedom of conscience that allows the citizen to act by himself is essential to the common good

of political society, which therefore grants rights to the person, down to the freedom to err even on the most basic issues of life. Yet if "the good life allowed by political society takes its source in the recognition of the dignity and freedom of the human person," "a community that would only see in its organization a means to protect men against each other, as indispensable as this may be, is not worthy of the name of political society,"[23] since it is not ordained to the common good for its own sake. Visions of the good life may vary and need to be respected in recognition of the personal dignity that citizenship presupposes, but their strict confinement to the private realm would prevent the pursuit of the common good through the practice of particular virtues that belong to the essence of political society.

This might situate Charles De Koninck's lifelong reflection on the centrality of the common good as a harbinger of the kind of sophisticated Anglo-American communitarian thinking that has emerged in critical opposition to the prevailing liberal consensus in the last quarter of the twentieth century, and especially of the comeback of the Aristotelian-Thomist position with the publication of Scottish moral philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre's *After Virtue*.[24] But by the contrast it offers with the kind of rugged individualism canonized in the American Constitution – as a Machiavellian system of checks and balances designed to offer basic protection against each other to the citizens in their untrammelled pursuit of happiness as a private good, *The Primacy of the Common Good* can be read as a classic statement of the distinctive historic assumptions of Canadian thought. It has long been championed as such by the University of Ottawa's Leslie Armour.[25]

In this as in other respects, Charles De Koninck can thus be compared with George Grant (1918-1988). His *English-Speaking Justice*[26] was in large part a prescient critique of the late modern form of liberalism represented by John Rawls,[27] which knows only changing social conventions between individual claimants to discretionary rights, deliberately bracketing substantial visions of the good as private matters in order to privilege procedural norms over the common good they normally presuppose. Viewing himself as a political philosopher within the framework of a broadly conceived Christian Platonism, George Grant was English Canada's most prominent public intellectual before Charles Taylor – another Christian communitarian philosopher. His *Lament for a Nation*, subtitled "*The Defeat of Canadian Nationalism,*" ironically became the latter's enduring manifesto, even though it claimed "the impossibility of

conservatism in our era is the impossibility of Canada."[28] For Grant defined the Canadian project as the wager of maintaining particular historic identities within an orderly whole for the common good, which is also how De Koninck understood the polity. Grant was also close to De Koninck in the grounds he invoked for Canadian resistance to the American Empire as the vanguard of the modern project of mastery over the natural order, leading to the tyranny of the "universal homogeneous state" (to use a term from Leo Strauss' Aristotelian critique of Hegelian Alexandre Kojève that Grant made his own). Asking at the same time as George Grant if love of one's own country was out of date in an interdependent global society, De Koninck recognized the need for an international body of political communities ordained to the greater good of all of humanity, as long as this universal good did not cease to be that of countries and political societies, as in the "Grand État monolithe"[29] that a federation like Canada was best designed to hold in check.[30] For "such an organism must be founded on human rights, among which is the right to political life in a more limited community, more attuned to human beings in their natural and historic diversity." Such differences could only be viewed as a hindrance by the world body, of which the United Nations are but an early stage, if its goal was to "homogenize humanity in a formless paste whose only rights would be those of abstract man, the common denominator that is devoid by definition of any right; of the nondescript human who can only claim the right to give up all his rights" as a particular being.[31] Like Grant, De Koninck sought to preserve the concrete reality of human rights and freedoms from any abstract universalist discourse that would use them to undermine the claims of morality, the fabric of society, historical loyalties, or the authority of such political institutions as allow the good to be sought in common in a meaningful context. Given the way these two thinkers have best articulated in both languages of Canada some of the characteristic assumptions of this country's beleaguered traditional self-understanding, I find it fitting that in 1949, when the milestone Massey Royal Commission on Canadian culture needed reports on the state of philosophy in English and French Canada, it turned to George Grant and Charles De Koninck respectively.[32]

These forays into both the local and global contexts – Quebec and the Roman Catholic world, Canada and the English-speaking world – of Charles De Koninck's *De la Primauté du Bien Commun contre les personnalistes* were meant to give some sense of the current relevance, as well as the historical importance, of this classic of political theology, as a

foretaste of the planned new critical edition, before I move on to the Belgo-Canadian thinker's other significant contributions to political theory, the philosophy of natural science, and Catholic theology, in further volumes of this projected collection of his main works.

Endnotes

1. Louis-Guy Lemieux, "La philosophie et la théologie comme art de vivre," *Le Soleil*, Saturday, 25 February 2006, D2.

2. Actually, the Little Prince was no doubt a composite of the various models from Saint-Exupéry's life – including himself – of which it has alternatively been claimed he drew from after being prompted by his American publisher that summer to flesh out as a Christmas story the character he had been doodling and imagining for many years already. As a summary of recent reconstructions of the genesis of *The Little Prince*, see Alain Barluet, "Le roman du Petit Prince," in *Le Figaro hors-série: Entre ciel et terre. Saint-Exupéry, Le Petit Prince a 60 ans*, July 2006, 50-59.

3. Louis-Guy Lemieux, "Le Petit Prince, c'est Saint-Ex avec les traits du jeune Thomas De Koninck," *Le Soleil*, Saturday, 25 February 2006, D2; to underscore its point, this article features a side-by-side comparison of pictures of Thomas De Koninck as an eight-year old boy and the Little Prince as drawn by Saint-Exupéry. Writing to the latter to ask him to return in the Fall for seminars with Laval philosophy faculty and students on the basis of his *Pilote de guerre*, Charles De Koninck takes up the general tenor and specific passages of this book to illustrate some of his own theses on the common good. See Charles De Koninck's letter to Antoine de Saint-Exupéry recorded 22 June 1942, Fonds Charles De Koninck, Archives de l'Université Laval, Quebec City.

4. Charles De Koninck, *De la Primauté du Bien commun contre les personnalistes. Le principe de l'ordre nouveau* [Foreword by Cardinal Rodrigue Villeneuve, Archbishop of Quebec] (Quebec City: Presses de l'Université Laval & Montreal: Éditions Fides, 1943). The second part of the title refers to a distinct secondary study of humanism, dwelling on Feuerbach to show that its inherent denial of both the givenness and the Giver of the created order must always lead to the nihilism of the self-creating "new order" of modernity perfected in Marxism and other totalitarian trends, and that in this respect personalism is no exception. De Koninck would go on to introduce the serious study of Marxist-Leninist philosophy at Laval University in the midst of the Cold War – with the idea of "knowing the enemy" of Christian civilization no doubt, but this was still a bold step of intellectual independence and rigor in a context where Church dominance left little scope for opposing views.

5. See Charles De Koninck's letter to Fr. Julio Meinvielle recorded 19 July 1951, Fonds Charles De Koninck, Archives de l'Université Laval, Quebec City.

6. The personalist positions De Koninck was actually aiming at are probably well represented in Michael D. Torre, ed., *Freedom in the Modern World: Jacques Maritain, Yves R. Simon Mortimer J. Adler* (Mishawaka, IN: American Maritain Association; Notre Dame, IN: distributed by University of Notre Dame Press, 1989).

7. Father I.T. Eschmann, "In Defence of Maritain," *The Modern Schoolman* 22, no. 4 (May 1945): 183-208.

8. Charles De Koninck, "In Defence of Saint Thomas. A Reply to Father Eschmann's Attack on the Primacy of the Common Good," *Laval théologique et philosophique* 1, no. 2 (1945): 8-109.

9. See É.-Martin Meunier & Jean-Philippe Warren, *Sortir de la "Grande Noirceur." L'horizon "personnaliste" de la Révolution tranquille* (Sillery: Les Éditions du Septentrion, 2002).

10. Yves Simon, "On the Common Good," *The Review of Politics* 6 (1944): 530-533.

11. See Stéphanie Angers & Gérard Fabre, *Échanges intellectuels entre la France et le Québec (1930-2000). Les réseaux de la revue* Esprit *avec* La Relève, Cité libre, Parti pris *et* Possibles (Quebec City: Presses de l'Université Laval & Paris: L'Harmattan, 2004), 24-29.

12. See Marie Martin-Hubbard, "Incursion personnaliste chez les thomistes canadiens-français des années 1930 et 1940: L'exemple de François Hertel," in *Mens, Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 6, no. 1 (Fall 2005): 64n.89.

13. Marie Martin-Hubbard, "Incursion personnaliste chez les thomistes canadiens-français," 29-67.

14. Charles De Koninck, *De la primacía del bien común contra los personalistas; el principio del orden nuevo*, trans. Jose Artigas (Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispanica, 1952).

15. Julio Meinvielle, *Critica de la concepción de Maritain sobre la persona humana* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Nuestro Tiempo, 1948).

16. This Weberian paradox of the heterogeneity of the spiritual intentions and social effects of religious reform movements as applied to the Quiet Revolution is a keystone of its critique by new generations of intellectuals since the turn of the century, which I have tried to synthesize in my postscript

entitled "De l'utopie à l'uchronie" to Stéphane Kelly, ed., *Les idées mènent le Québec. Essais sur une sensibilité historique* (Quebec City: Presses de l'Université Laval, 2002), 197-219, as well as in my contribution entitled "Echoes of George Grant in Recent Critiques of Post-Quiet Revolution Quebec," Ian Angus, Ron Dart, and Randy Peg Peters, eds., *Athens and Jerusalem: George Grant's Theology, Philosophy and Politics* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006).

17. See the nuanced discussion of the Maritain-De Koninck controversy in Michael A. Smith, *Human Dignity and the Common Good in the Aristotelian-Thomistic Tradition* (Lewiston, New York & Queenston, ON: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1995). A critical but balanced Thomistic assessment of Maritain's personalism that took in some of De Koninck's arguments, but avoided the excesses of his polemics or those of Meinvielle was already to be found in Jacques Croteau, O.M.I., *Les Fondements thomistes du personnalisme de Maritain* (Ottawa: Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1955). On the same topic, see also John Brendan Killoran, "Virtue and the Common Good: The Thomistic Roots of Maritain's Personalism," *Études maritainiennes / Maritain Studies* 5 (April 1989): 83-102.

18. Antonio Pavan, ed., *Personalisti del XX^mo^ secolo* (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, forthcoming), a project of the Università degli Studi di Padova sponsored by the Italian Ministry of Universities and Scientific Research and the International "Jacques Maritain" Institute (see Leslie Armour, "Escaping Determinate Being: The Political Metaphysics of Jacques Maritain and Charles De Koninck," *Études maritainiennes / Maritain Studies* 21 [2005]: 61-96).

19. Thomas De Koninck, *De la dignité humaine* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1995).

20. Charles De Koninck, *Tout homme est mon prochain* (Quebec City: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1964), 114. Compare for instance Denis de Rougemont, *Politique de la personne* (Paris: Éditions Je Sers, 1934).

21. "Ma certitude de l'incompatibilité absolue entre le personnalisme et l'esclavage de Marie a été le principe le plus profond de mon attaque contre les personnalistes," wrote De Koninck in a private letter (CDK 15/15.01L Charles De Koninck to Rev. Henri Guidon 1943/0611, in the Charles De Koninck Papers at the Jacques Maritain Center of the University of Notre Dame, Ill.). I owe this revealing clue on the intimate link between De Koninck's Marian theology and his political philosophy to Sylvain Luquet Plantier, translator of De Koninck's "In Defence of Saint Thomas. A Reply to Father Eschmann's Attack on the Primacy of the Common Good" and author of the special introduction to it to follow the main text of *La Primauté du Bien commun* in

our planned new edition.

22. Charles DeKoninck, *Le scandale de la médiation* (Paris: Nouvelles éditions latines, 1962), 143.

23. De Koninck, *Tout homme est mon prochain*, 114.

24. Alasdair MacIntyre, *After Virtue: A Study In Moral Theory* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1981).

25. See for instance Leslie Armour, "The Canadian Tradition and the Common Good," *Études maritainiennes / Maritain Studies* 5 (April 1989): 23-40.

26. George Parkin Grant, *English-Speaking Justice* (Sackville, NB: Mount Allison University Press, 1974).

27. John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971).

28. George Grant, *Lament for a Nation: The Defeat of Canadian Nationalism* (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1970), 68.

29. De Koninck, *Tout homme est mon prochain*, 115. The chapter of this book which is quoted here originally appeared as a two-part article entitled "L'amour de la patrie est-il dépassé?" in *Le Devoir*, Saturday, 16 November 1963, 4, and Monday, 18 November 1963, 4.

30. See *La Confédération, rempart contre le Grand État*, one of Charles De Koninck's contributions to the Province of Quebec's Royal Commission of Inquiry on Constitutional Problems, published separately from the main report as Annex No. 1 in 1954.

31. De Koninck, *Tout homme est mon prochain*, 115.

32. Royal Commission Studies: A Selection of Essays Prepared for the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences (Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, Printer to the King, 1951), 119-133; George P. Grant, "Philosophy," 135-143: and De Koninck, "La Philosophie au Canada de langue française."

Return to Christianity: Herbert Norman's Letter to his Brother Before his Suicide

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Return to Christianity or Remain in Christianity

Herbert Norman committed suicide on 4 April 1957. Just one night before, he saw a Japanese movie about how deposed Shogun Minamoto Yoriie was killed in Shuzenji Hot Spring.[1] He was greatly shocked by the movie and under the pressure of McCarthyism he felt that he could never again see Japan, his beloved birthplace. He decided to commit suicide the next day and spent his last night writing three letters to family members.

One of the letters was sent to his older brother Howard and his wife Gwen, who were missionaries to Japan and resided in Kobe. In it Norman confessed his faith in Christianity. This confession is still a controversial issue in Canadian politics. Some view the letter as evidence of Norman's return to Christianity. Others, however, contend that Norman was still an agent of the Soviet Union and a strong believer in Communism and, accordingly, was merely pretending to return to Christianity in order to avoid damaging the reputation of his supervisor, Lester Pearson.[2]

Norman's suicide denied us the opportunity to procure direct evidence to resolve this controversy. Accordingly, we must consider indirect evidence, both psychological and historical. My personal circumstances allow me some insight into Norman's state of mind. Like Norman, I am a member of the United Church. I too have suffered from depression and considered committing suicide. Moreover, Norman may have been gay[3] and I am a transsexual. Finally, we have both moved

regularly between cultures.[4] I can imagine the difficulties he faced in the 1950s.

The United Church especially in Canada has traditionally been more tolerant of the beliefs of its members than have other denominations. There is no strict doctrine in the "United" tradition. This is especially true of the United Church of Canada due to the influence of the Canadian Methodist tradition, which emphasizes social concern and local charity rather than belief in strict doctrine.[5] When Norman, who was born in rural Japan and met many poor people there in early twentieth century, encountered the Great Depression and the bad behaviour of Canadian Government during his younger days in early 1930s, it is understandable that his social concern led him to study Marxism. And his decision to enter the Communist Party in Great Britain during his study abroad at Cambridge was not so curious in view his family's belief in the Social Gospel. Accordingly, I believe that, even in the 1930s, Norman embraced what might be called "loose Christian beliefs" and retained these beliefs until his death.

Okubo Genji, a famous translator and introducer of Norman's works to Japan, discussed Norman's letter to his brother[6] in his explanatory notes for the complete works of Herbert Norman. Okubo wrote that Norman's "Christianity saved him from false ideas." By this he meant that Christianity allowed Norman to continue to receive the love and care of his family. However, Okubo did not view Norman's return to Christianity as total or complete. Okubo also noted that Norman prayed several days before his commit suicide, so Christianity did not save his life. Yet, it connected him to his family and their beliefs. I define this attitude toward Christianity as "loose beliefs."

There are precedents for such "loose beliefs" in the United Church tradition. Lester Pearson, the son of a famous family of Canadian Methodist (and United Church) ministers, was on the verge of quitting the Church when he entered Victoria College in the University of Toronto. However, he had strong ties with the United Church executives and occasionally attended worship services.[7] Though he never became a Marxist or a Social Gospeller himself, social concerns inherited from his ancestors led to his "Middle Diplomatic Policy" after the World War II. John Endicott also espoused "loose beliefs." Endicott was a second-generation missionary to China with connections to Canada and the Chinese Communist Party. He became a secret agent of the OSS and Canada's Ministry of the State during the 1940s, and was involved in the peace movement led by Stalin's Soviet Union in the 1950s. Certainly,

many assumed that he and his wife Mary had renounced Christianity and become Marxists. Though it is true that, at the time, John and Mary believed communist countries had better conditions for peace and human rights, they never thought of themselves as having left Christianity. They merely thought the road to "pure Christianity" lay in Marxism.[8]

We should consider Herbert Norman's thought regarding his reliance on Communism in 1930s in the same way. Before he entered communist movements, he had been strongly influenced by the Social Gospel movement through his brother Howard and his colleagues at Victoria College. During the Great Depression he pondered the nature of "pure Christianity" and sought an answer in communism. Also we should remember that many United Church members, including their families, expected him to become a second-generation missionary to Japan like his older sister and brother; his father, Daniel Norman, was very famous missionary. Moreover, Norman may have felt some peer pressure because many young people in the church, under the influence of their parents and others, wanted to become missionaries. Accordingly, he may have needed a "clear cut" reason not to become a missionary. "Leaving Christianity, and embracing communism" became Norman's "clear cut" message to his family.[9]

I cannot determine when Norman finally abandoned his belief in communism and returned to his "loose beliefs" in Christianity. He was hired as a translator for the Canadian Legation in Tokyo in 1939 and then taken prisoner by the Japanese authorities after the attack on Pearl Harbor. He may not have abandoned his faith in communism at this point because, following his returning to North America as the result of an exchange of prisoners in 1942, he visited Tsuru Shigeto's former apartment at Cambridge, Massachusetts in search of Marxism-related books, unaware that the apartment was under FBI surveillance. This resulted in the FBI listing Norman as a "suspicious person, a Marxist." This is a very controversial event and one about which there have been many rumours. I heard from one source several years ago that when Tsuru Shigeto died, his oral history, based on interviews conducted by Kato Norihiro, would be published and that it would include recollections related to Herbert Norman issues. Tsuru died in February of 2006. Accordingly, we may find more evidence when this book is published. At this writing, we cannot determine whether Norman was a Marxist or not in 1942, but he may still have sympathized with Marxism at that time.

Norman's Reaction to the Brutal Massacres by Stalin

However, when he returned to Ottawa and was doing intelligence work related to Japan and East Asia for the Secretary of State, he may have had access to intelligence information on the situation in the Soviet Union. This may have included information regarding huge massacres and brutal events ordered by Stalin in the Soviet Union, because many western secret agents had already entered or resided in the Soviet Union and sent many reports at that time. If this were the case, it would have been a great shock to Norman. Thus, I suppose he returned from Marxism to loose Christianity sometime in the early 1940s.

When he returned to Japan in 1945, before the beginning of the Cold War, most people said they didn't sense the influence of communism in Norman's activities or thinking.[10] After he became a head of the Canadian Delegation in Tokyo, he relied heavily on Lester Pearson's leadership and, in addition to official letters, sent him many of personal letters[11] about private matters. Almost all of these personal letters that are contained in the National Archives of Canada are still closed to the public. However, there is some public evidence for Norman's reliance on Pearson. When Pearson attended the Commonwealth Foreign Minister's Conference held at Colombo, Ceylon at February 1950, he stopped over in Tokyo for several days on his return journey. He ordered Norman to make preparations for this stop over. At that time, Norman sent a very long, very sensitive letter, in the form of an official letter, in which he asked Pearson to become a kind of counsellor to him.[12] Pearson's reply was brief and businesslike. But we don't know what kind of conversation occurred between them in Tokyo. At the same time, the Secretary of State asked Norman to go to Moscow. Norman declined this offer because he wanted to work at the East Asian Section at Ottawa.[13] Norman might have been afraid to become a chief of the intelligence department in Moscow. It was surely dangerous job at that time.

The investigation by the RCMP of Norman, who was under suspicion as a Marxist, was part of a conspiracy against the group who cooperated with Pearson's diplomacy and an effort to undermine the "Middle Diplomacy Policy" led by Canada, Sweden and Australia. Norman was one of the weakest but most important people in the Pearson's group. Accordingly, he was targeted by "Cold War" supporters and ultimately committed suicide. It was surely a tragedy.

The United Church's Position in the 1950s

The Presbyterian Church, the Methodist Church, the Congregational Union of Ontario and Quebec and other small Protestant denominations merged to form the United Church of Canada in 1925. Accordingly, in comparison to other denominations in North America in the 1950s, the Church did not have strict doctrines. It tolerated a "loose Christian attitude" among its members more than other churches did. However, in the 1950s, Canada was still dominated by European descendants and Canadians themselves regarded their country as a "Christian nation." There was no concept of "multiculturalism" or "cultural diversity" in Canada. Victorian style Christian ethics and British manners were still dominant among upper and middle class Canadians.[14] Most of the United Church members still honoured this style even though their actual beliefs were closer to "loose Christianity."

Many United Church members still believed in the superiority of the modern Euro-American living style and that it was their duty to promote it as a Christian mission in developing countries. The living style was described in Max Weber's *Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism*: Protestant people should study hard, become good workers, marry early and not divorce, and produce good citizens for the next generation. Also many people were concerned about Marx's pronouncement that "religion is the opiate of the masses" and feared that if communists occupied the world, religions might banned and Christian churches would oppressed by communists. In the context of the Cold War, this idea was justified.

Under these circumstances, many people who once "officially left" the church because they were fascinated with communism, a very different lifestyle from the Victorian lifestyle and ethics, felt it difficult to return to the Church officially, even the United Church of Canada which accepted "loose beliefs."

The Difficulty of Returning to the United Church in the 1950s

Norman might have wanted to return to the Church in order to avoid his suicide. He was born and grew up in a manse in rural Japan. Even though his belief in God was not firm, he still had some loose relationship with Christianity. After he left communism in the early 1940s, he might have needed another "reliable truth" to sustain him. Lester Pearson was a good advisor to him and he might have provided "reliable truths" to

Norman. However, Pearson was a very busy person and he could not be a psychologist to Norman. So he wanted another "reliable truth" to guard him in 1950s. The United Church of Canada should have provided the "reliable truth" for him at that time. But, under the circumstances, the United Church could not do so, and Norman never returned to it.

Norman committed a lonely suicide but stated his "return to Christianity" in his last letter to his brother. Reflecting from my feelings of a strong desire to commit suicide and other difficulties in my life, I think that people who are born and raised in any religious tradition would tend to want to revitalize his or her strong reliance on their religion in a time of crisis. Norman wanted to pray for God at the Church instead of committing suicide. What prevented Norman from returning to the Church in 1950s? It was the attitude of the Church. The United Church expected a "Christian-like" attitude from their members at that time. According to that attitude, Christians should wed a person of another gender, love that person monogamously forever, and raise some children and to become good citizens. For Christians, rejecting communism was also an important issue in the 1950s. So John Endicott suspended his ministership of the United Church[15] in 1956 as it was rumoured that he believed in communism, shortly following the death of the influential John Endicott, Sr.

In those circumstances, Norman felt many difficulties in returning to Christianity. He had no children, which caused many people to rumour that he was gay or that he had a girlfriend other than his wife. His life history of entering the British Communist Party in 1930s still made many United Church people think that he might be a communist. The United Church was not so "inclusive" for such people at that time.

Also the influence of McCarthyism was very strong even in Canada at that time. Under McCarthyism, one either believed in the superiority of western culture and Christianity, or he or she was a communist. There was no middle stance regarding the plurality of the cultures, middle diplomacy policy, and so on. From the point of view of McCarthyism, such people were a front for others who wanted to promote communism for the common people. At that time, many North American professionals who worked for mutual understanding among cultures, especially in communist countries and areas, were shunned by the common people. Norman was one of them.

Under these tough circumstances, Norman could not return to the Church even though he wanted to do so. From the point of view of salvation of Christ, the people of the Church showed bad judgement and

a superficial attitude. Even today, elements of this attitude remain and must be changed.

Changes Since the 1950s

After the transformation of Canada from an "Anglophone Superior Society" to the "Multicultural Society" in the 1960s,[16] Canadian churches gradually changed their attitude toward the people living in Canada. The United Church had once decided to merge with Anglican Church of Canada, but that effort failed in 1975. Afterwards, many older executives of the United Church lost their power and new, more liberal people took the reins.

Under their leadership, the United Church made many reforms. It apologized to the First Nations, allowed the ordination of gay ministers, provided stronger support for ethnic churches, and so on. With these reforms, many older members who loved Victorian manners and values left the church, and the younger members with more evangelistic ideas went to evangelical or fundamentalist churches. However, the people who still had "loose Christianity," but hated strict-minded Victorian ethics and enthusiastic, charismatic Christianity returned to the church. These numbers are small compared to the number of people who left. However, if the church can become more inclusive and encourage more to return, it can play a great role in stabilizing society as a "dominant religion" in Canada.

So we should not judge people's beliefs in a superficial atmosphere affected by secular culture. As Robert Bellah explained, some people express religious feelings as "Civil Religions."[17] The task of the mainline churches is to take care of the souls of the religious-minded who lose their way in the secular world. I feel that mainline Protestant churches in North America are making efforts to do so, especially the United Church of Canada which has officially announced itself as an "Inclusive Church." I recognize these efforts. However, many people still cannot return to the church today because they remember the "exclusiveness" of the church attitude.

If Herbert Norman were alive today, he might be welcomed back into the church. And he would probably live comfortably in a "loose Christianity" lifestyle, without huge mental or other problems. He might use his profound historical knowledge of North America and Asia to improve mutual understanding. So his situation in 1950s was tragic and we

should not repeat such a situation. How may we show our inclusiveness right now? I think we should reconsider Norman's beliefs and officially recognize his honour as a "sincere United Church member." Such efforts help churches regain the trust of ordinary people and may lead to the return of some people to the Church. Even though it is smaller than evangelical and charismatic churches, the United Church of Canada is a very important church that plays a significant role in the stabilization of society in North America.

Endnotes

1. The showing of this movie was hosted by the Japanese Embassy in Cairo. The name of the movie was "Shuzenji Monogatari (Mask of Destiny)." It is generally thought that Norman's decision to commit suicide was precipitated by this film. This movie was a last time for him to recollect of his birthplace, Japan (Roger Bowen, *Innocence is not enough: The Life and Death of Herbert Norman* [Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1986], 316).

2. Most supporters of the former interpretation were supporters of the Liberal Party or the New Democratic Party, and were mainline Christians or Catholics. Conversely, most who espoused the latter view were supporters of Progressive Conservative Party and were fundamentalist Christians. So the dispute was more political and religious than it was an investigation of the facts. And this dispute still continues. See, for instance, Bowen *Innocence is not Enough* and James Barros, *No Sense of Evil: Espionage, the case of Herbert Norman* (New York: Ivy Books, 1986).

3. At that time, Canadian law punished gay activity. So we cannot find any evidence to conclude whether Norman was gay or not. But rumours about Norman had strong influence in the society so we should consider such issues in this context (Miyoko Kudo, *Higeki no Gaikokan-Herbert Norman no Shogai* [Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1989], 254).

4. Japanese feelings regarding suicide are totally different from those in western cultures. Japan has a "hara-kiri" suicide, which was conducted by samurai during the Middle Ages until early modern Japan (around 1870s). Hara-kiri was the "honourable death" for samurai. Norman's suicide was not a kind hara-kiri. However, he was strongly influenced by Japanese culture. He might have harboured some sympathy for "honour death" in his mind.

5. See, for example, Phyllis Airhart, *Serving the Present Age: Revivalism, Progressivism and the Methodist Tradition in Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992).

6. Okubo Genji, ed., *Herbert Norman Zenshu: The Complete Works of Herbert Norman*, Vol. 4 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1978-79), 454.

7. John English, *Shadow of Heaven* (Toronto: Lester & Orphan Dennys, 1989),16-17.

8. Please see my article, "Missionary, Reality for Diplomats," *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2001): 65-80.

9. Letter from Norman to his family, Daniel Norman Papers, 16 January 1933, United Church Archives, Toronto, ON.

10. Bowen, *Innocence Is Not Enough*, 116-120.

11. Personal Letters from Herbert Norman to Lester Pearson are not yet open to the public. However, Norman mentioned that he wrote personal letters to Pearson in his official letter to Ottawa. We could assume many letters, maybe one per week, were sent to Pearson at that time.

12. Letter from Herbert Norman to Lester Pearson, 19 February 19, 1950, Lester Pearson Papers, National Archives of Canada (NAC), Ottawa, ON.

13. Letters between Herbert Norman and Secretary of State in early 1950. Papers of the Department of the Secretary of State, NAC.

14. At that time Canada was still a "Christian Country" with official hours of Christian radio shows during the 1950s. Many sincere church members flourished in the 1950s.

15. It was decided by the General Assembly of the United Church of Canada in 1956.

16. Lester Pearson's "Biculturalism" in 1964, and Pierre Trudeau's "Multiculturalism" declared in 1968 changed Canadian Society very clearly.

17. Robert Bellah, *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).

"Broad Is the Road and Narrow Is the Gate Leading to the Land of Promise": Canadian Baptists and Their Voice in Restricting Immigration Policy, 1914 to 1929

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The early summer of 1914 was one of the best in many years, and Canadians generally showed very little concern for the crisis that was brewing in an obscure corner of Europe. The Balkans, it seemed, had always been a region of instability, and Canadians neither appreciated nor sensed that the nations of Europe had embarked upon an uncontrollable march toward one of the most destructive wars in human history. The assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne, by a Serbian nationalist in Sarajevo triggered a series of events that plunged the major European powers into a state of war.

While Britain was not bound by any formal military obligations to enter the conflict (though Britain was a guarantor of Belgian neutrality), the German refusal to withdraw its troops from Belgium inevitably drew the British empire into the conflict partially for strategic reasons. Consequently, at 8:55 p.m. on 4 August 1914, the governor general of Canada, the Duke of Connaught, received a telegram announcing that the British empire was at war with the German empire. While Canada "had the right and the responsibility to decide the scope of their involvement," she was nevertheless automatically at war with Germany. On 1 August 1914, even before the formal British declaration of war, Canada's prime minister Sir Robert Borden promised Britain "that if unhappily war should ensue the Canadian people will be united in a common resolve to put forward effort and make every sacrifice necessary to ensure the integrity and

maintain the honour of the Empire."[1] Even Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the leader of the Opposition, was unequivocal in his support of both Borden and Canada's participation in the war.

Thus Canada entered the war as a largely united nation. At the outset there was a great deal of "good cheer and high spirits." The war was seen to be as much a Canadian war as a British war. The Toronto *Globe* declared on August 3rd:

> . . . of one thing let there be no cavil or question: If it means war for Britain it means war also for Canada. If it means war for Canada it means also union of all Canadians for the defence of Canada, for the maintenance of the Empire's integrity, and for the preservation in the world of Britain's ideals of democratic government and life.[2]

Even the French-Canadian nationalist paper of Henri Bourassa, *Le Devoir*, was "carried along by the wave." The nation was, therefore, caught up in an euphoria of patriotism and nationalistic fervour from which even its churches were not immune. This alacrity was to have profound consequences for the nation's recent arrivals, its subsequent immigration policy and the attitude and work of Baptist churches among these newcomers.

The churches of the nation enthusiastically rallied behind the war effort. At their annual convention in 1914, the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec passed the following resolution "On the War":

> Resolved, that we herewith put on record our sincere and profound conviction that all the people of the Dominion of Canada should realize the serious duty that we are now facing to do everything in our power to support the cause of Great Britain in the present terrible and deplorable war. We feel that no one should underestimate the seriousness of the present situation, and we desire to emphasize the duty that rests upon [all of] us to put all our resources and our services at the disposal of the Empire . . . [3]

Baptists were also concerned that the war might have a detrimental effect upon the denomination's Home Mission Enterprises. In its annual report of 1914 the Home Mission Board warned that

> there is a real danger that for months, and even years, the interests of the Kingdom of God may be obscured, and for the time being forgotten. We believe not only that this ought not to be true, but we

> firmly believe that if the Christian world will properly relate itself to the war, the thoughts of all our people may be turned towards God as they have not been for many years, and that as a consequence we may and ought to witness a great revival of the church and multitudes of conversions. Let us keep constantly before us that fact that, however much we may think about present world conditions, and however deep our personal interest in the war may be, the interests of the Kingdom of God should occupy the place of supremacy in all our thoughts. The great world war must effect in a very vital way the interest of the Kingdom, and it is for the Church of Christ to determine whether the religious result of the war shall be a great religious and spiritual awakening, a great turning to and seeking after God, a fuller recognition of the unity of the race and the brotherhood of man, and an ushering in of the period so long foretold, when the sword shall be beaten into the plowshare, and the spear into the pruning hook, and the nations shall learn war no more, or whether it shall leave the nations worse than when it began, more cruel, more revengeful, more surrendered to the precept that 'might is right,' and that war is the only honourable occupation for humanity.[4]

The strong millennial overtones here are painstakingly obvious. In spite of the war, Baptists were encouraged to keep the interests of the Kingdom of God paramount in their thoughts; in this way the war could serve as a vehicle through which spiritual renewal would be awakened, eventually "ushering in that period so long foretold" – the Millennium, the Kingdom of God on earth.

Furthermore, emphasis was also placed on the need to recognize "the unity of the race" and "the brotherhood of man." Thus, it would appear that there was at least some recognition on the part of Baptists that the war was likely to arouse hostile nativistic sentiments towards some groups of people living in Canada. In this context, Baptists stressed the need to recognize the humanity of their German cousins in spite of the war, and that they too had a place within God's universal kingdom. As F.A. Bloedow remarked in 1914, shortly after the war began and before the body count grew unimaginably high:

> We are at war with Germany, but on very cordial relations with German Baptists in Western Canada, who think for themselves, and talk of the war from their point of view just as freely as we would talk with one of our fellow countrymen with whom we differed in politics.

> The war will be very trying on them. There is more or less of the disposition, when a force must be curtailed, to let the Germans and Austrians go. This will make it very hard for their churches. Many of them have no sympathy with the German war machine, and those who feel that the Kaiser is fighting a righteous war are good-mannered enough to know that they are in Canada, and that Canada is at war.[5]

In spite of such assurances, as has already been noted, the war unleashed a most pronounced patriotic zeal that precipitated an insistent hostility to "hyphenated Canadians" and demanded their unswerving loyalty to the nation.[6] Some Baptists, including T.T. Shields, pastor of Jarvis Street Baptist Church, were not so accommodating to their German brethren. Shields saw the advance of Prussianism as a precursor to the spread of modernism, noting that "Prussian militarism is the ripe fruit of the brutal doctrine of the survival of the fittest." Seen in this context, the war was represented as a struggle between the "brute force" of evolutionary liberalism and the "weaker things" of an "omnipotent God." Germany, he noted, had shown "us what to expect – Hell with the top taken off!"[7] For many Canadians, including members of the nation's churches (Baptists included), these "foreigners" constituted "a real menace to our Canadian civilization."

The coming of the Great War, therefore, had profound implications not only for immigration, but also for many of the new Canadians scattered throughout the land. The war and the shutdown of passenger shipping from the continent effectively brought an end to the great migratory movement of population from the nations of Europe to the shores of Canada. Those few immigrants who did arrive were almost entirely of English-speaking nationalities. There was even some outflow of Allied nationals from Canada to Europe. Russian, Italian, French and other reservists living in Canada heard the bugle call and returned to their respective countries.

In May 1914, even before hostilities broke out in Europe, Borden's government passed the British Nationality, Naturalization and Aliens Act, which fundamentally changed Canadian naturalization practice. Prior to the passage of this act, an immigrant merely required a sworn affidavit that testified to three years residence in Canada in order to gain naturalization. With the enactment, immigrants were required to prove both five years residency and an adequate knowledge of either English or French to a superior court judge. Furthermore, the secretary of state was granted absolute discretionary power to deny naturalization to any individual

deemed a threat to the "public good."[8] Once Canada found herself at war, the government also saw fit to pass the War Measures Act which gave the executive branch of government almost unlimited powers in the interest of "security, defence, peace, order and welfare of Canada," including the powers of arrest, detention, exclusion and deportation.[9] Even before the act became law, the government had already issued an order in council designed to regulate the flow of "enemy aliens" out of the country. While assuring that their property and businesses would remain safe, the government nevertheless demanded they surrender "all firearms and explosives."[10]

In late October the government passed further legislation demanding that all "enemy aliens" were required to register and submit themselves for examination. Special registrars of "enemy aliens" were commissioned in major urban centres, while police authorities were empowered in other jurisdictions. Following registration and examination, "foreign aliens" who were deemed non-threatening were permitted either to leave Canada or remain free provided that they reported monthly to the registrar. Those characterized as "dangerous" were interned along with those who either failed to register or who refused the examination. This "initial wave of enthusiasm" resulted in the internment of some six thousand aliens, many of whom surprisingly were former Galicians (Ukrainians), subjects of the Austro-Hungarian empire, most of whom passionately hated the Austro-Hungarian empire.[11] By 1916, most of these internees were released.

Nevertheless, while the internment experience outraged Ukrainian Canadians, some Canadian historians have tended to downplay the internment's horrors, even describing it as "charity to indigent, unemployed foreigners."[12] Robert C. Brown and Ramsay Cook go so far as to assert that the government's major concern was beneficence designed "to safeguard the rights of aliens" against nativist hostility. By taking the internees out of harm's way they conclude "that the government's actions held in check the unrestrained enthusiasm of native Canadians to persecute their fellow citizens."[13] In other words, "these aliens" were interned for their own protection. Ukrainian-Canadian historians have not shared the same enthusiasm for the policies of the Borden government. Mark Minenko notes that the internment of Ukrainian-Canadians "was a grave injustice against a people who had come to contribute to the opening of western Canada . . . the restrictions that were progressively imposed on all Canadians, and specifically upon Ukrainians, went beyond any measures required to ensure law and order in Canada during the First World War."[14]

The Home Mission work of Baptists among the new Canadians was affected by the wave of anti-foreign nativism. An economic recession at the war's outset and the conditions arising out of the war hindered the work in non-English missions. The closing down of large-scale immigration into Canada saw the number of immigration chaplains at Quebec representing the Presbyterians, Methodists, Congregationalists and Baptists reduced from three to one representing all four denominations. That one, incidentally, happened to be Rev. M. Hughes, "our Baptist man in Quebec City."[15] But, more significant, were obvious instances of flagrant discrimination, ridicule and suffering that many pre-war immigrants were forced to endure. And while the denomination tried throughout the war to depict work among the immigrants in the most positive light it could, asserting that "the work among the non-English churches continues . . . with general good harmony [despite] the fact the races represented are opposing each other overseas,"[16] it is clearly evident that serious problems plagued this work. As one commentator remarked concerning Slavic Canadians, the churches have "misunderstood them." While the churches "are on a fair way to appreciat[ing] them for some prejudices are being removed, and it will be in the interest of our mission work and for the good of our country if [sic] we be not too hasty in our judgment of any people coming to us."[17] The effectiveness of church outreach programs, it would appear, was being seriously undermined by the misinformed and erroneous attitudes held by many towards this ethnic community.

In 1916, the Women's Baptist Home Missions Board of Ontario West reported that "this has been a year of common suffering in our German work,"[18] and the Western Missions Board reported that "the war conditions sometimes make the relations between these people and their English brothers a little difficult, but on the whole the work has gone on harmoniously."[19] Johann Fuhr, an immigrant of German origin, recalled that "[i]n World War I, the hatred for Germans was obvious. Before World War I Germans were tops . . . they were workers. During World War I people were talking so much against the Germans that Germans felt downhearted and discouraged at the hatred."[20] Commenting on work among the German immigrants, the president of the Convention remarked in 1918 that the war presented one of the most significant reasons for propagating the Gospel amongst the 500,000 Germans living in Canada. This, he asserted, was the only way to prevent "their old ideals" and "philosophy of life" from being set up here in Canada. Propagation of the Gospel was not only the means to spiritual salvation, but political salvation

as well: "If we give them Jesus, we first save them, then we save our country, and who knows? perhaps we may save Germany."[21]

Even Scandinavians, considered by Baptists as "among the most valuable of immigrants" and our "best class of settlers" were also subject to this outpouring of nativistic sentiment. One Swedish Baptist lamented:

> Some unscrupulous writer has incorrectly accused the Scandinavians of not being loyal to their new King and country during the present life-and-death struggle in defence of the high cause of freedom, the rights of humanity and lasting peace. A few isolated individuals who are still under the influence of the old country may claim that they are neutral – whatever that may mean – but it is equally true that probably 5,000 or more have enlisted for overseas service. Several have already been reported killed in action. Last year two distinctly Scandinavian battalions were recruited in Winnipeg. We positively refuse to create any sort of "Scandinavianism." Our ambition is – and the word should be taken in its proper sense – our endeavor is to make the youths of the noble blonde race better Christians and better Canadians.[22]

The fact that such a letter would be printed in the *Yearbook* is indicative that the editors were concerned that good Baptists would be tarred with a nativist brush. The last few words of the statement, "better Christians and better Canadians," suggest that Baptists maintained their assimilationist zeal throughout the war years and this, as we have already noted, was grounded in nativistic and racial ideology.

Throughout the war years Baptists sought not only to maintain, but actually to intensify their work among the non-English speaking people from Europe as something of vital national interest. As one commentator noted, "No missionary work . . . is more needful, interesting, important and encouraging, than that among the non-English people from Europe."[23] Baptist evangelism, the Western Missions Board asserted, is "a force which makes for the highest ideals and the [surest] counsels in national life."[24] The need to Canadianize these people was heightened near the close of the war when rumoured immigrant support for a number of radical organizations served to intensify anti-radical nativist fears of the "menace of the aliens."[25] The Russian Revolution, with its public affirmation of atheism, frightened some Canadian religious spokespersons who feared that immigrants from the former Russian empire might be more sympathetic to the revolutionary ideals of the Bolsheviks. Furthermore, the civil war between the Reds and the Whites was regarded by some as the battle

of the godless against the word of Christ.

These fears of a "Red Menace" were further heightened following the events of the Winnipeg General Strike and echoed the America Red Scare of the same period.[26] As Dr. F.W. Patterson, General Secretary of the Baptist Union of Western Canada, asserted,

> This work among the non-English peoples of Western Canada is not only a Christian obligation, but is of especial importance in these days of reconstruction. The 'Foreigner' of to-day will be the Canadian of to-morrow. A deliberate and heavily-financed attempt is being made by Bolshevistic leaders to capture the allegiance of the people of non-English origin. Whether the Canada of the future will be a hell of anarchy or whether it shall develop along constitutional lines toward a freer and better citizenship will depend on whether the church of Jesus Christ or the Bolshevist is the winner in this struggle for the allegiance of the new Canadian.[27]

Patterson concluded his survey by pointing out that the almost ceaseless propaganda campaign aimed by the radical left at the non-English population mandated a "more aggressive and vital evangelistic and educational policy among these peoples than we have yet had."[28] Now, more than ever, the Canadianization of these new immigrants was of vital importance since frightened religious leaders feared that weak-minded former immigrants were susceptible to radical ideas bent not simply on changing Canadian society, but on actually destroying it, transforming it into a godless immoral society. Patterson's remarks, furthermore, mark a transition in the concept of Canadianization from a "racial" to a "political" phenomenon.

To combat alien political ideas, the Canadian government introduced significant amendments to the Immigration Act that allowed for the immediate deportation of anarchists and any other proponents of armed revolution. Following the Winnipeg General Strike in 1919, the government also amended the Naturalization Act allowing it to revoke the naturalization of any person, even of British heritage, who propagated revolution. The government also changed the Criminal Code allowing it to lay charges against anyone who attempted to promote change outside of the peaceful parliamentary model.[29] As Howard Palmer correctly remarked, "[b]y 1919, notions of ethnic, cultural and political acceptability had triumphed over economic considerations in the formation of national immigration policy."[30]

The economic recession of the early 1920s once again brought immigration policy to the forefront of public debate in Canada. Hoping to recapture the boom spirit of the pre-war era, leaders of the Liberal Party, the urban press, and the business community all vigorously promoted immigration in the early 1920s. Their ideals were still largely tied to several basic assumptions of the National Policy: farmers were needed to provide traffic and freight for the railroads, to purchase and settle Canadian Pacific Railroad lands, and to provide a domestic market for Canadian-made products. Generally, it was believed that a larger population could provide a stable base for the economic and social development of the country. The need for increased immigration was viewed as "particularly pressing" due to the fact that Canada's railroads were largely over-extended, national debt had increased substantially during the war, and Canadians were emigrating in increasing numbers to the United States.[31]

While the recession prompted some groups in Canada to call for increased immigration quotas, others, like farmers, labour unions and war veterans, seriously questioned the desirability of further immigration. The opposition of these groups to immigration was almost entirely economic. Farmers and labour organizations questioned "the connection between immigration and economic growth and wondered if immigration would lead to [further] unemployment and a reduced standard of living for Canadian workers or to an overproduction of grain through an increased number of farmers."[32]

During the war Baptists understood that once hostilities ceased, Canada would most likely again become a destination for many European immigrants seeking new homes. As early as 1916, the Home Missions Board warned,

> [a]fter the war closes, undoubtedly upon Canada will come a deluge of immigration . . . The history of events following every European war in the last two centuries tells us that emigration is the escape valve from imminent insurrection. As Canada is the only country in the world that offers the new-comers a free home on the land, we can reasonably expect that a large majority of these foreign immigrants will settle in the Dominion. What preparations are we making to meet the incoming tide of immigration?[33]

Baptist fears were put to rest when the Canadian government in the early 1920s amended the Immigration Act to further restrict immigration from

south, central and eastern Europe, as well as Asia. These changes virtually excluded all Chinese immigrants from Canada while most central and eastern Europeans were classified as non-preferred or restricted categories of immigration. Southern Europeans and all European Jews were classified as permit class immigrants, making it even harder for them to enter Canada.

The 1922 immigration policy of Prime Minister Mackenzie King's Liberal government sought to uphold the major provisions of the pre-World War I policy. It was selective and made provisions for farm labourers, individuals with "sufficient means" to begin farming, domestics, British subjects and Americans. All other immigrants were virtually excluded. Basically the

> policy was an attempt to find a middle ground between business on the one hand, which was demanding that immigration doors be thrown open to allow in larger numbers of immigrants, and organized labour and patriotic groups on the other hand, who wanted the doors kept closed since they feared competition from cheap labour or a new influx of unassimilable and 'inferior' immigrants. The 1922 regulations gave formal expression to the long-standing preference for British immigrants.[34]

Baptists had, in fact, called for just such a change in immigration policy as early as 1919. Dr. F.W. Patterson, general-secretary of the Baptist Union stated: "If we might be pardoned for venturing into the realm of national politics, it looks as though our Government should immediately discontinue all non-English immigration until we have digested and assimilated the enormous amount we have already taken in."[35] As part of its goal of seeing changes implemented with respect to Canada's immigration policy, the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec passed the following resolution in 1918:

> Resolved, that the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec extend its support to the Department of Immigration and Colonization of the Dominion Government in revising the laws regulating immigration and colonization so as to embrace the following recommendations: First: To discontinue the licensing of [the] [F]emale [L]abour [B]urea[u] and other agencies whose chief consideration is personal gain. Second: That the Dominion Government and Local Legislatures be requested to use the organized agencies of the overseas religious

> bodies, and thus secure from the British Isles only those who are likely to make good away from parental control; and in Canada use the Strangers' Department, or its equivalent, now found in operation in all well-organized Protestant denominations, in both city and country, for the purpose of determining positions suitable to the industrial capacity of the employee, and at the same time for exercising moral oversight. Third: That the Department of Immigration and Colonization be urged to substitute for the profiteering agencies, interdenominational directorates in all large cities, similar to that which is now in successful operation in Montreal, under the designation of the Protestant Directorate of Female Immigration.[36]

The following year, the Convention was proud to acknowledge its heartfelt appreciation to the Department of Immigration and Colonization of the Dominion Government for its work in reversing the laws relating to immigration with respect to the Female Labour Bureau and the perceived control profiteering agencies appeared to have over this organization. The Convention "heartily commend the action of the said department in establishing well-kept and well-inspected hostels in the chief centres from coast to coast to assist female immigrants to get established in suitable situations under proper safeguards."[37]

Baptists also expressed strong disapproval of their government with respect to its policies regarding the immigration of Mormons to Canada. Once again, Baptists were targeting a specific immigrant community because of its religious beliefs and practices:

> Instead of nipping this evil in the bud, the Government has allowed these people to come in greater numbers every year, until now Mormonism has grown to be a more serious menace than any of us quite realized . . . Like the Roman Catholic menace, Mormonism not only provides a field for missionary work, but is itself an aggressive enemy of Christianity . . . [Furthermore], Mormonism is the deadly foe of womanhood and the home. Let us [therefore] awake from our indifference to this great menace . . .[38]

Mormons have had a long history of oppression and persecution as a result of their religious convictions, something Baptists as dissenters should have easily related to. It was, after all, this religious suffering and persecution that gave rise to two principal Baptist distinctives: religious liberty and separation of church and state. However, as Baptists found themselves

increasingly a part of mainstream Protestantism and culture in Canada, they appeared less inclined to extend such privileges to groups whose ideologies challenged or threatened their own perceptions of what Canada should be. From the Baptist perspective the best thing the Government could have done was to "nip this evil in the bud" and prevent the Mormon "menace" from ever setting foot on Canadian soil.

Reservations were also expressed about the danger of having masses of non-English speaking peoples settled together in one locale, since it was assumed this would perpetuate the customs and traditions of the homeland. While recognizing that this was difficult to control in cities,

> . . . protest should be made against the Government's granting to non-English speaking peoples, tracks of land for community settlements. [Furthermore], [t]here should be no diminishing of the required standards for full citizenship along lines of education and other qualifications. Responsibility along these lines rest primarily with the Government, and we should expect thorough enforcement of our Canadian laws.[39]

Foreign blocks were thus to be discouraged because they would lead to the "balkanization of Canada" and hence prevent assimilation.

In addressing this conflict between community and ethnic solidarity, sociologist C.A. Dawson remarked:

> It was expected that these separatist communities [Mormons, Doukhobors, Mennonites, among others] would arouse the antagonism of those settlers who belonged to neighbouring communities in which a more secular pattern of life prevailed. Many of the social and economic movements which had received the ready support of other settlers were met with stout opposition in these colonies. The politics of the latter were uncertain; they seemed to be opposed, in some instances to public schools, to avoid the official language of the region, and, in certain groups, to be antagonistic to the nationalistic sentiments of the linguistic majority. In other instances, while the members of a colony spoke the official language, they adhere to religious tenets which seem strangely alien. In such a situation the members of outside communities felt uncomfortable and insecure. Naturally they brought pressure to bear on governmental representatives to bring these blocs under school, homestead, and all other regulations without delay or compromise. In many instances these

> ethnic minorities were made extremely self-conscious and resentful by the antagonistic attitudes of their neighbours.[40]

Fears were also raised concerning "the fact that a large proportion of these peoples are opposed to prohibition and presumably to other legislation of a moral nature." Consequently, it was necessary for Baptist churches to become more aggressive in reaching out "the helping and guiding hand to these, 'Strangers within Our Gates.'" It was believed that the churches should open classes to teach the English language and present Canadian ideals of life and citizenship to as many men, women, and children as possible within these communities. Only by implanting Christian ideals was it possible to remedy "the evils of which we complain."[41] Clearly, as Baptists prepared to deal with the expected onslaught of immigrants that was soon to arrive sometime in the 1920s, they were armed and waiting with their program of Canadianization.

When the Baptist Home Mission Society (and the Women's Home Mission Society) began their work among post-World War I immigrants to Canada, they spoke for Baptist churches affirming what they saw as their divine mission to "evangelize," "Christianize," and "Canadianize" these folk. As the *Canadian Baptist* asserted in 1922:

> The subject of immigration is in the limelight. The number landing and the character of the men and women who are to people our vast Dominion is of vital interest both to church and State. Socially, politically, and religiously, immigration is an issue of prime importance . . . It is difficult to say what the future will be, but the expectation is that [sic] the number entering our country will increase. It will be pleasing if the future immigrants are still more largely of British origin or from those countries of the continent whose political, social and religious ideals are akin to our own.[42]

The *Canadian Baptist* continued, that "[f]rom the stand point of national life the work of Home Missions must continue to hold a place of paramount importance." Not only was it "vital to our future," but the "foreign element" was "impinge[ing] on Our national life." Furthermore, the cities were gathering places for the growth and spread of all manner of "isms" – religious, social and political.[43] Quite simply, the influx of foreign speaking peoples was seen as one of the most serious issues facing the nation. Baptists supported the efforts of the Canadian government to Canadianize these "strangers within our gates," but asserted that this goal

could only be accomplished if the immigrants were also Christianized. As the *Canadian Baptist* asserted, "If this work is pressed there is yet a chance to assimilate the foreign elements. Slavic, Italian, Polish, Scandinavian and other peoples are crowding in. They cannot be ignored. But long and patient work must be done among them with the Gospel of Christ, if, as Christian citizens, they are to be built into the structure of the body politic."[44] With the prospect of increased immigration on the horizon, Baptists were clearly concerned about the social, political and religious consequences that would result. This was true not only for Western Canada, but for the larger urban centres of the nation where increasing numbers of these immigrants settled. C.J. Cameron commented,

> [t]he chief problem of the city is the problem of the immigrant. The incoming tide that has flooded the central region of the city is largely foreign. New Canadians is the term used to describe this great host of strangers that have come within our gate. How to assimilate this heterogeneous mass of people composed of a hundred nationalities, making them virtuous living and liberty – loving sitizens [sic], loyal to our free institutions and capable of self-government is the greatest problem Canada has to face. The World War revealed how many citizens in Canada were in it, but not of it.
>
> There are many agencies that are of valuable help in solving the foreign problem, such as the Public Schools, the press, our political institutions, etc. But serviceable as these may be for certain ends, they fail to develop the noblest character.
>
> The chief contribution toward the solution of this vexed problem is made by the Christian church. Its great task in our land is to teach these new Canadians the spirit of Christian brotherhood by seeking to bring them into a spiritual relationship with God.[45]

Cameron remained as convinced after the war as he had been before that the only institution capable of realistically dealing with the immigrant question was the church. While the schools, press and political institutions could meet "certain ends," their effectiveness in addressing the issues surrounding immigration was at best limited. Since the root of all social ills Cameron believed was spiritual, what was required was a spiritual solution that only the churches could offer.

Canadian Baptists, as such, believed that immigrants and immigration lay at the heart of many of the nation's social problems, and that urban centres were their breeding grounds.[46] Likewise, they held that nothing

short of the Gospel of Jesus Christ could rectify the situation. Many were convinced that nothing short of religion could conserve the "true value and promote the highest interest of society." Religion was in their judgment "an indispensable factor" not only in the reconstruction of the world following the devastation of the World War I, but also in the "restoration of social harmony":

> All races and classes of men cannot succeed . . . without the motives and experience of religion . . . The need and the opportunity of the present hour conspire to make it especially propitious for the promulgation of the religious views and practices which Baptists hold and have consistently exemplified through a long history . . . We have all races and classes represented here and the only power sufficient to fuse these people and make them a common people, lovers of God and followers of Jesus Christ, is the power of the Gospel . . . it is either Jesus Christ or chaos. The Baptists of Canada must see that it is Jesus Christ and not chaos.[47]

Clearly for these Baptists the only way Canadians could truly be a "common people" was to be "lovers of God" and "followers of Jesus Christ." Furthermore, it was only through the Christianization of Canadian society that social chaos could be avoided. This dictated not only the regeneration of the individual, but of society as well. The millennial overtones in all of this are quite obvious, and it is clear that the war had not dampened Baptists' desires to turn Canada into "His Dominion" from sea to sea. As one Baptist commentator remarked, ". . . the Christian church must . . . not shirk the social obligations of her mission . . . [the] hope in time, by the grace of God [is] to create a healthy Christian atmosphere, that in due season conditions of human life and human government will be permeated with the Spirit of Christ, and conditions of life in all its varied spheres, will be favourable to the realization of the Kingdom of God."[48]

In the confusion of the post-war era, with its seeming drift to secular and material values, there was an "urgent call" from the Baptist Young Peoples Association for a textbook that could be used at mission circles or band meetings, and that presented a renewed perspective on missions from a Baptist point of view. The Home Mission Board issued *The Call of Our Own Land*. It was essentially a reprinting of an earlier work by C.J. Cameron.[49] The "Preface to the Text" stated that, "it is extremely important for our young people to become intimately acquainted with our

history, sufferings and distinctive principles."[50] Unfortunately, *The Call of Our Own Land* pointed a finger at immigrants as a source of moral and social decay, especially in the chapter entitled "The Task of the City," where immigrants were held principally responsible for the ills of urban life.[51] Likewise, the subsequent chapter "New Canadians" condemned not only immigrants but also viciously attacked Mormons and Roman Catholics. By contrast Baptists were described as defenders of liberty and freedom. In a section entitled "The Peril of Our Immigration," the text states,

> If a sliver of wood be accidentally driven into the hand one of three results must take place. The foreign substance may be assimilated into the blood. If this process be impossible the flesh will fester around the intruder and try to cast it out. If it fails in this act there follows mortification to the hand. The same order of action prevails in solving the immigration problem. We must endeavour to assimilate the foreigner. If the mixing process fails we must strictly prohibit from entering our country all elements that are non-assimilable. It is contrary to the Creator's law for white, black or yellow races to mix together. Black and yellow races cannot be assimilated by the white, and therefore, should be excluded from Canada. May our country be delivered from a yellow peril on the Pacific Coast similar to that which the United States suffers in its black problem of the South.[52]

The text goes on to assert that "many evils" in the land, everything including disease, drunkenness, illiteracy, low standards of living, and crime, exist because of the "great mass of unassimilated foreign population." The solution to the problem, apart from excluding those deemed most undesirable, was to turn them into Christian Canadians: "[I]f we have a spark of patriotism, a love for this land of every land the best [solution]. . . [is to] Canadianize the foreigner by Christianizing him."[53]

Despite criticism from farmer and labour organizations and Protestant church leadership, enthusiasm for immigration "as an economic panacea continued unabated throughout the mid-twenties" among the business community. In 1924 and 1925 several powerful sectors of Canadian society, which included transportation companies, boards of trade, newspapers and politicians of various political parties pressed the Liberal government of Mackenzie King to open the doors to immigration. These groups were convinced that only a limited number of immigrants could be expected from the "preferred" countries of northern Europe and

Britain and "that probably only central and eastern Europeans would do the rugged work of clearing unsettled farm land." With the economy in a state of growth by the mid-twenties, the federal government yielded to this pressure and changed its immigration policy with respect to immigrants from central and eastern Europe. In September 1925, the King government entered into the "Railways Agreement" with the Canadian Pacific and Canadian National Railways. This agreement opened the doors to more central and eastern Europeans, but it also fuelled the sentiments of nativism with ever increasing passion.[54] Historian Howard Palmer notes that

> [f]rom 1926 to 1930, the predominant nativist cry was that non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants would subvert Anglo-Saxon institutions and racial purity. This Canadian version of Anglo-Saxon nativism was slightly different from its American counterpart. Whereas Anglo-Saxon nativism in the United States had been concerned primarily about a "racial" threat to the purity of the Anglo-Saxon "race," Anglo-Saxon nativism in Canada was given added impetus by the desire of some traditionalists to preserve Canada as "British." Americans and Canadians could share Anglo-Saxonism as a racial concept, but "Britishness," though closely related, was a nationalist sentiment peculiar to Canada. The intensity of late twenties nativist reaction stemmed in part from an overall concern about the decline of things "British" in Canada.[55]

As post-war immigrants once again began arriving on the shores of Canada, Baptists were told to be "armed and ready" with their program of Canadianization and Christianization. In fact, the two had essentially become synonymous. M.L. Orchard, in his treatise *The Time for the Sickle*, asserted: "[t]o be truly Canadian must include being truly Christian. If we would Canadianize these people we must surely Christianize them. The New Birth is a prime essential to the New Canadian."[56] Baptist churches, Orchard believed, "just because they claim to be New Testament churches and because they emphasize a spiritual religion" were under "a peculiar obligation" to dispense this message of the "New Birth to every New Canadian."[57] In doing this Baptists could ensure that they were preparing not only the individual, but also the social order "for the coming of new world and the making of Our Dominion His Dominion . . ."[58]

For most Baptists of the 1920s, the most vexing problem associated with immigration was still the Roman Catholic question. As C.H. Schutt

of the Baptist Home Mission Board charged:

> The most important problem – in my opinion, is the evangelization of the Roman Catholics of our land, who number at the present time nearly 39 % of Canada's population, and comprise a large proportion of every Province of the Dominion, and are rapidly growing in proportion and influence in many communities which were formerly Protestant.[59]

Baptists feared that a continued influx of Roman Catholic immigrants would result in a *coup de grace* for freedom and liberty. W. T. Graham noted that "The Roman Catholic church is doing all it can to capture Canada for the Pope. I do not blame them for it, but I do know it will be a dark day for this Dominion if the teaching of the Catholic church becomes dominant here."[60] Baptists were still convinced that the aim of Roman Catholicism was to "capture Canada for the man at the Vatican . . . by her Catholic immigration . . . In 50 or 100 years from now, if the world continues, what religious force will dominate Canada? Will it be Catholic or Christian?"[61]

The city problem, which was an immigrant problem, was also a Roman Catholic problem. Baptists held that they (and other Protestant churches) were being driven from the inner cities because of "a steady stream of Catholic citizens from Italy, Russia, Poland and other parts of the world."[62] Immigration was, therefore, feeding Catholic growth in metropolitan areas. Furthermore, since the recent "stream of immigrants had been from the south" of Europe, "a people alien" to Canadian "customs, ideals and religion,"[63] many of the social and moral problems of the nation were also directly attributable to these Catholic immigrants. Consequently, it is not surprising to find once again Baptists calling for the "strictest care" in the selection of immigrants and the maintenance of immigration from the British Isles "in a ratio far in excess of that from all non-English speaking countries."[64] In advocating a narrow selectivity Baptists hoped to keep Catholics out (or at the very least reduce their numbers substantially), while ensuring that Canada remained British and Protestant. Baptists, therefore, ended the decade as they had begun it, demanding rather severe restrictions be placed on Canada's immigration policy.[65]

As the 1920s drew to a close, there were, however, inklings within the Baptist ranks that the nativism so much a part of the Baptist Home Mission outreach might be counterproductive to the church's efforts. In an

article on "racialism" in the *Canadian Baptist* in 1928, Dr. Frederick C. Spurr, in outlining several solutions to the immigrant problem, remarked that Baptists needed to have "courage" and abandon "our contempt for tanned skins; our sneers at Eastern culture; [and] the belief in the moral and intellectual inferiority of Eastern peoples."[66] There was, however, still a sense of moral superiority and intolerance in Spurr's comments when he concluded by stating "[i]t involves the acceptance, in the name Christ, of responsibility for all peoples who are less enlightened and less advanced than ourselves."[67] Likewise, in addressing the issue of "Evangelism and Home Missions," Rev. M. Simmonds noted:

> We are being confronted with a larger problem than we appreciate, and one that involves very delicate questions, which will have to be answered in accordance with Christian principle. We are being told that the Canadianization of these newcomers is an imperative need from the nationalistic standpoint. Personally, I am not quite sure that we are truly Christian when we speak thus.[68]

While acknowledging the un-Christian nature of this Canadianization program, Simmonds, like the majority of his Baptist brethren, was not quite ready to give it up. In the very next sentence he concedes that ". . . there is no better means of Canadianizing than evangelizing. But evangelizing is not to be degraded to a means, it is a most worthy end in itself . . . immigrants stand as a potential danger to themselves and to us, growing up in the confused juxtaposition of variant cultures, traditions and sanctions . . . they must be evangelized . . ."[69] While Simmonds would call for a greater "sympathetic appreciation on their traditions," evangelism had and would continue to remain "a means"– a means whereby Baptists had sought to assimilate the immigrant through a program of "Canadianization," and "Christianization."[70] While Baptists were not quite ready to abandon this Canadianization scheme, some voices were beginning to question its value, effectiveness, credibility and reflection of Christian charity.

Endnotes

1. Cited in N. Hillmer and J.L. Granatstein, *Empire to Umpire* (Toronto: Copp Clark Longman Ltd., 1994), 52.
2. As cited in Hillmer and Granatstein, *Empire to Umpire*, 53.

3. *Baptist Yearbook*, 1914, 28, Canadian Baptist Archives, McMaster University, Hamilton, ON (hereafter CBA).
4. *Baptist Yearbook*, 1914, 62, CBA.
5. *Baptist Yearbook*, 1914, 226, CBA.
6. Howard Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice: A History of Nativism in Alberta* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1982), 47-50.
7. T.T. Shields, "'Culture' and Evolution," *Revelations of the War* (Toronto: Standard Pub. Co., ca. 1915), 26-28.
8. G.S. Kealey, "State Repression of Labour and the Left in Canada, 1914-20: The Impact of the First World War," in *A Nation of Immigrants: Women, Workers, and Communities in Canadian History, 1840s-1960s*, ed. Franca Iacovetta with Paula Draper and Robert Ventresca (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 386.
9. Kealey, "State Repression of Labour," 387.
10. Kealey, "State Repression of Labour," 387.
11. Kealey, "State Repression of Labour," 387-88.
12. Kealey, "State Repression of Labour," 388.
13. R.C. Brown and Ramsay Cook, *Canada, 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1974), 226; cited in Kealey, "State Repression of Labour," 388.
14. Mark Minenko, "'Without Just Cause': Canada's First National Internment Operation," in *Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity*, ed. L. Luciuk and S. Hryniuk (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 302-3.
15. *Baptist Yearbook*, 1915, 74, CBA.
16. *Baptist Yearbook*, 1917, 260-61; also see Baptist *Yearbook*, 1915, 234, 237; and *Baptist Yearbook*, 1916, 271, 274, CBA.
17. *Baptist Yearbook*, 1915, 262, CBA.
18. *Baptist Yearbook*, 1916, 250, CBA.
19. *Baptist Yearbook*, 1916, 271, CBA.
20. Johann Fuhr, 20 June 1972, Phonotape 73.295, Provincial Archives of Alberta; cited in Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice*, 48.
21. *Baptist Yearbook*, 1918, 230, CBA.

22. *Baptist Yearbook*, 1917, 262, CBA.

23. *Baptist Yearbook*, 1916, 271, CBA.

24. *Baptist Yearbook*, 1918, 278, CBA.

25. For discussion of how government legislation (PC 2381 and 2384) moved to censure all "publications" in "an enemy language," see Kealey, "State Repression of Labour," 392-403.

26. See David Bercuson, *Fools and Wise Men: the Rise and Fall of the One Big Union* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1978); David Bercuson and Kenneth McNaughton, *The Winnipeg General Strike, 1919* (Don Mills, ON: Longmans, 1974); Donald Avery, *"Dangerous Foreigners": European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart,1979); and Donald Avery, "The Radical Alien and the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919," *The West and the Nation: Essays in Honour of W.L. Morton*, ed. Carl Berger and Ramsay Cook (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1976), 207-31.

27. *Baptist Yearbook*, 1919, 273, CBA.

28. *Baptist Yearbook*, 1919, 283, CBA.

29. Kealey, "State Suppression of Labour," 402; and Avery, "The Radical Alien and the Winnipeg General Strike," 222-24.

30. Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice*, 56.

31. Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice*, 64.

32. Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice*, 70.

33. *Baptist Yearbook*, 1916, 68, CBA.

34. Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice*, 65.

35. *Baptist Yearbook*, 1919, 274, CBA.

36. *Baptist Yearbook*, 1918, 35-36, CBA.

37. *Baptist Yearbook*, 1919, 34, CBA. Part of the impetus for Baptists here was clearly moral reform to ensure that these women were established in "suitable situations," and hence not in prostitution.

38. *Baptist Yearbook*, 1918, 239-40, CBA. Baptists had expressed concern about Mormonism in the past (see C.J. Cameron, *Foreigners or Canadians?* [Toronto: Baptist Home Mission Branch of Ontario and Quebec, 1913]).

39. *Baptist Yearbook*, 1919, 222, CBA.

40. C.A. Dawson, *Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada* (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1936), 379.

41. *Baptist Yearbook*, 1919, 222, CBA.

42. "Man at the Gate," *Canadian Baptist*, 2 February 1922, 4.

43. "Home Missions and the Nation," *Canadian Baptist*, 18 May 1922, 8.

44. "Home Mission and the Nation," *Canadian Baptist*, 18 May 1922, 8.

45. "The Task of the Churches in the City," *Canadian Baptist*, 6 January 1921, 13.

46. As one Baptist commentator put it, the "foreign population is large and a source of danger" (see "Heart Cry of the Canadian West," *Canadian Baptist*, 1 March 1923, 1).

47. "Open Doors in Saskatchewan," *Canadian Baptist*, 23 February 1922, 3.

48. "Social and National Well Being," *Canadian Baptist*, 12 May 1921, 2.

49. "Text Book on Home Missions is Coming," *Canadian Baptist*, 26 April 1923, 3; The earlier work on which much of this text is based is C.J. Cameron's *Foreigners or Canadians?*; "I heartily commend it", was the endorsement of the editor of the *Canadian Baptist*, "to our people generally, and especially to the Baptist Young People's Unions, and the study groups in our colleges" (see "The Call of Our Own Land," *Canadian Baptist*, 31 May 1923, 3).

50. C.H. Schutt and C.J. Cameron, *The Call of Our Own Land* (Toronto: American Baptist Publishing Society for the Home Mission Board of the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, 1923), Preface.

51. Schutt and Cameron, *The Call of Our Own Land*, 96-110.

52. Schutt and Cameron, *The Call of Our Own Land*, 143.

53. Schutt and Cameron, *The Call of Our Own Land*, 144, 146.

54. Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice*, 93-94. The agreement originally covered a period of two years. It was renewed in October 1927, for another three years. For a discussion of the rise of nativist sentiments during the years from 1925-30, and the debates with immigration "boosters" (see Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice*, 96-122).

55. Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice*, 98.

56. M.L Orchard, *The Time for the Sickle* (Winnipeg: Baptist Union of Western Canada, 1925), 53.

57. Orchard, *The Time for the Sickle*, 53.

58. "The Social Need of the World," *Canadian Baptist*, 9 June 1932, 7; and "Evangelizing Canadian Life," *Canadian Baptist*, 9 June 1932, 14.

59. "Opening for Bi-Lingual Work," *Canadian Baptist*, 29 March 1928, 2; and "Home Mission Board Report," *Baptist Yearbook*, 1928, 110-11, where similar rhetoric is used.

60. W.T. Graham, "The Baptist in History," *Canadian Baptist*, 13 October 1927, 11.

61. Schutt and Cameron, *The Call of Our Own Land*, 177-78.

62. "Immigration – Not Strategy," *Canadian Baptist*, 11 December 1930, 3.

63. "Making a Great People," *Canadian Baptist*, 2 June 1927, 14.

64. "Home Mission Board Report," *Baptist Yearbook*, 1927, 114-15, 219, CBA.

65. It also seems that Baptists saw the "melting pot" concept that began to emerge in the 1920s as a failure as well. "Will this melting pot result in Canada remaining British in her ideals, her motivating principles of truth and justice and righteousness or will she be subjected to creeds, dogmas, superstitions and slavery as [prevail] in continental Europe. It has only taken these years of depression to prove to us the strength of these New Canadians. Their influence now is not beneficial"(M.A. White, "The Task at Home," *Canadian Baptist*, 2 August 1934, 7).

66. "Racialism," *Canadian Baptist*, 6 September 1928, 7.

67. "Racialism," *The Canadian Baptist*, 6 September 1928, 7.

68. "Evangelism and Home Missions," *Canadian Baptist*, 10 July 1930, 7; also see M.A. White, "Joy in Service," *Canadian Baptist*, 3 November 1932, 14.

69. "Evangelism and Home Missions," *Canadian Baptist*, 10 July 1930, 7.

70. See "Eleven Nations in this School," *Canadian Baptist*, 9 August 1928, 6.

Dr. Jonathan Woolverton: A Nineteenth-Century Canadian Physician and Educator with a Protestant Conscience

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Dr. Jonathan Woolverton died on 12 April 1883 at the age of seventy-two. At his death, his son Algernon recorded that the greatest monument to his father was the memories of the people of Grimsby – "a memory of love and a remembrance of kindly deeds enshrined in the hearts of his people that speak louder than monumental structures, however grand."[1] Dr. Jonathan Woolverton was a physician, surgeon, professor, temperance society president, local school superintendent, chairman of a grammar school board, justice of the peace, husband, father, and son. After more than one hundred and twenty years, Jonathan Woolverton's cemetery stone, diary, journals and letters are fading.

Jonathan Woolverton did not seek to be remembered for his works and his tombstone; rather, he sought out a reward that was primarily eternal. Woolverton's diary revealed his conviction in an eternal relationship with God. This was a relationship that he was able to maintain during times of triumph and tragedy, a relationship that he held as supreme over his professional and personal works, and in guiding his life's path.

Dr. Woolverton seems an unlikely candidate for a biography.[2] He is not remembered for anything grand. His reputation was not of national significance, or of significance within his denomination, and it may be contested as to whether he has any enduring local significance. Yet, the study of his life provides insight into the intellectual and spiritual pursuits of a relatively unknown, non-clerical nineteenth-century Upper Canadian

with a Protestant Conscience.

This research sheds light on faith outside of the nineteenth-century institutional church. John Webster Grant has argued that there is a need to explore the faith of ordinary citizens because "we attach undue weight to the writings that have come down to us, which represent in the main the opinions of clerics and heretics, or we draw such inferences as we can from the public activities of Ontarians."[3] Likewise William Westfall has shown that the faith of many Protestants in early Upper Canada was based on a belief in "a rational being who worked according to certain principles and did not choose to disrupt the course of human events, it did not draw such a clear line between sacred and secular space: the two were joined together in nature, the social system, and the institutions that sustained society."[4] This paper builds on Grant and Westfall's research by exploring the historical significance of Protestant Conscience in an ordinary professional man through the careful study of a selection of his reflections on the interconnection between the secular and spiritual.

Jonathan Woolverton had a strong interest in medical science, a keen enthusiasm for educational reform, and a deep commitment to his family, community, profession, country and God. He disseminated his views on faith, education, science and the family within his diary, temperance and education speeches, and letters to the Department of Education. Taken together, these records not only provide a detailed public statement of the concerns of an Upper Canadian citizen and professional man, but also offer a rich and unusual insight into the inner life of a man who was profoundly influenced by his faith.

Protestant Conscience is a concept that can be understood as the implementation of those shared and scripturally-informed Protestant principles, beliefs and practices that would, according to nineteenth-century believers, work actively to improve individuals and society.[5] The term Protestant Conscience is used in reference to the faith process or lens through which Dr. Woolverton sought to engage his world both personally and professionally.

Jonathan Woolverton called the small rural village of Grimsby, Upper Canada his home and although he spent the majority of his lifetime in this rural community, his family was able to provide him with the economic and social connections that enabled him to venture often to the "cities" of Hamilton and York, make a number of visits to Philadelphia, with travel beyond to Montreal, New York, Liverpool, London and Paris. His rural life provided him with his Protestant foundations, allowed him

a place of refuge and stability, and a platform from which to promote his ideals and practice within his profession. The city provided him with the intellectual, professional, spiritual and political stimulation necessary to allow him to grow in his faith and his community service. Woolverton was able to secure both a formal and informal education within the city which far surpassed that of his peers, many of whom never ventured out of their Grimsby village.

Woolverton's parents differed in many ways from that of their Grimsby neighbours. Parental division on both religious and political lines placed the young Jonathan in a unique situation. His mother considered herself a United Empire Loyalist with strong ties to the Anglican Church. Her family shared loyalties to the Crown and the Family Compact. Jonathan's American father was not an United Empire Loyalist or an Anglican. In politics, Jonathan's father was a member of parliament who demonstrated allegiance to the Reform cause. Within this divided family, Jonathan Woolverton found a diversity of ideas regarding Reform politics, Americanism and Protestantism.

As a young man, Woolverton was exposed to a variety of political and religious beliefs and conflicts in a time of social and political change. He was born at a time when his family and country were exploring practices and values, and experiencing radical changes in physical environment, political process and technological advancement. Familial and political conflicts spurred him toward decision rather than the blind adoption of values, beliefs, and practice. In religion, family tensions between his family's Anglican and Baptist traditions demanded that Jonathan resolve his own religious affiliation, and at the age of twenty-one he was baptized and accepted into membership in the Baptist Church.[6]

Dr. Woolverton's efforts at improving the school system in his community and the province began in 1850 with his appointment to the role of local superintendent of education and continued into the 1860s. Dr. Woolverton was an Upper Canadian reformer who saw education as a vehicle for the acquiring of scientific, political, and spiritual knowledge. Dr. Woolverton believed that in order to ameliorate the opportunity for evil that existed in society, an educational system needed to "guide and guard us safely through this state of our probation to bring us to our end in peace and give us a blessed hope of immortality beyond this transitory scene of our existence." Woolverton stated that the words of God "should therefore be assiduously impressed upon the mind and especially upon the minds of the young." He was adamant that the Bible was to be viewed as

"the pocket companion of every individual," in order to develop and protect the conscience.[7]

Woolverton was influenced by Chief Superintendent of Education Egerton Ryerson. Although both Woolverton and Ryerson viewed Bible-based education as free from "any sectarian bias" or "any peculiar dogmas," this form of educational delivery remained offensive to those nineteenth-century citizens with a Catholic faith. [8]

Ryerson based his educational directives to local superintendents such as Dr. Woolverton on his belief that Protestants and Catholics shared a common set of fundamental principles that would allow them to be educated together – in what was labelled "mixed schools." Here Protestants and Catholics would be bound together through six common principles that included a desire to live peacefully with love, without hate or violence, treating one another as one wished to be treated, being convincing without being abusive and finally, behaving in kindness and gentleness.[9] The use of the Bible in the classroom, however, remained a point of nineteenth-century educational division, a division that Woolverton wished without success to see eliminated.

Melding the secular with the spiritual, Woolverton explained in his educational and temperance speeches that conscience held a very critical role in the development of the human body and its successful existence on earth. He believed that Protestants who endeavoured "to keep a conscience void of offence towards God & towards man, health and peace of mind," would surely follow. In his opinion, those with a pure conscience would be able to rejoice in "*Mens Sana in Corpore Sano*," or a sound mind in a healthy body. He believed that if the "mind is at all times free and unclouded," the individual would be "prepared for every emergency," able to anticipate in his words, "the coming storm" and remain sheltered from such through an ability, as he stated, to "forseeth the evil," and hide from it.[10]

Woolverton felt that by striving towards the development of a pure conscience, he was able to protect himself from an intemperate lifestyle, loss of fortune and reputation, and future punishment. He instructed teachers, parents and students that the man of Protestant Conscience would "not permit his judgements be dethroned nor wander with its 'helm of reason lost,'" in order that he be "enabled to pursue 'the even tenor of his way' unruffled by the storms and commotions of life.'"[11]

Ample documentary evidence about Jonathan's faith indicates that he would not deny the existence of God or his belief in a personal

relationship to his God. As he stated with reference to his nineteenth-century studies in the sciences, within either the "dance in the transient sunbeam" or "the depths of the great abyss," humanity should become, "equally surprised, delighted and astonished at the Wisdom, the Goodness, the adaptation, and the perfection displayed in the manifold works of God."[12] Woolverton's reflections with regard to science and religion indicate that he found no conflict between the two studies that provided him with the foundations for his life's work and an ability to meld things sacred and secular.

In examining Dr. Woolverton's medical career, it is clear that he merged his faith, his practice, and his community advocacy. His experiences with death demonstrate his melding of the secular and spiritual. During his medical career, he attended many bedside lectures and witnessed and participated in amputations, bleedings, surgeries, and a variety of unsuccessful treatments for disease. One of Dr. Woolverton's colleagues wrote that these dreadful treatments would make even "angels weep."[13] Woolverton performed surgeries without chloroform, set broken thighs without the use of weights or pulleys, and had no hot water after amputation or for the draining of wounds. He tried unsuccessfully to save the lives of a number of adults and children who succumbed to painful and agonizing deaths.

In working out his own personal belief about God, faith, and death, Woolverton reflected on the story of Jesus' birth: "But is it not lamentable to reflect that although it is now more than 1800 years since their glad tidings were first published, there are so many who have not as yet heard of a Saviour and consequently are ignorant of the way of salvation and still more lamentable that so few among those who have heard thereof, have embraced it."[14]

Woolverton felt that life was short, uncertain, and insidious. He reasoned that if it was only by chance that people lived and died, then it would not matter which path was taken in life. As a consequence, he resolved that a life of temperance and order would be his choice. Woolverton believed that God presented the incentive that so many were rejecting. God's power of wisdom, justice and mercy, he realized, did not protect him from an unavoidable death which he believed could come at anytime. Woolverton wrote that he aimed to pursue the road of reason rather than inclination, boldness rather than temerity, liberty rather than slavery to lusts, and discretion in serving his God in the world, stating that: "It is not the discretion of a wise man but the folly of a fool that instigates any one

to forego future happiness in order to indulge his present inclination."[15]

Each of the cities where Dr. Woolverton received his medical training and experience afforded him an opportunity to witness a culture that would to some extent be felt in his rural hometown only in later years. Urban experiences in York, Montreal, the United States and Europe enabled him to begin advocating in advance for medical and social needs that may not yet have been of critical importance to the people of the small rural nineteenth-century Upper Canadian village of Grimsby. Urban life allowed Dr. Woolverton to see other ways of social, criminal and educational reform and mirrored in many ways the manner in which other reformers, such as Egerton Ryerson, sought out ideas through travel. Urban life challenged his faith and his practice.

The amount of detail recorded in Dr. Woolverton's medical accounts indicated his frustration and stress with death. Woolverton recorded that his "mind almost recoils upon itself" when he contemplated the scenes of the "sick, the dying or the dead" and the "dozen bodies mangled" and dissected.[16] His reflections regarding his experiences as a physician and surgeon stimulated his belief that he had to reflect on his treatment plans and autopsy results, carefully, research new and alternative forms of medicine delivery, participate in ongoing education and cope with death through faith.

In reflecting on death from cancer, Dr. Woolverton noted that cancer had given one of his patients time to think and reflect on his spiritual life, something that his patient had not done in his past. He recorded that his patient "was mercifully led to consider his ways and to seek after the one thing needful," noting that the patient "thought the Consumption was one of the happiest diseases ever a person has."[17] This opportunity for spiritual growth that could be taken during a time of illness was accepted by Woolverton as a gift from God and a last opportunity to gain an everlasting life.

Woolverton found the "dealings of Providence and His ways" most mysterious. He recorded the reflections on the life and death of one of his patients whom he believed was a central member within her family, stating that she was "in the prime of life, in whom the affections of a husband centered, to whom a young and numerous family looked for direction; the only comfort of her aged Parents." He understood the grief of her family and friends but he wanted to consider the young woman's new state. Being taken away by God was something that he felt any Christian would want as it provided an opportunity to leave the evils and snares of the world to

experience a perfect life in heaven. Jonathan rhetorically asked his diary, "Who would not die a Christian?"[18]

Realizing that he could not always affect a cure, Dr. Woolverton began the process of learning how to provide comfort and pain relief to the sick. He consistently relied on his relationship with his God and reflected on the spiritual aspects of illness and death, and in these reflections he was able to find hope, support, a life's focus and leave behind a witness and an example of an ordinary nineteenth-century professional man with a Protestant Conscience.

The opportunity to delve into the life of a man of Protestant Conscience is representative of only one small step to accomplishing Grant's challenge of "perhaps some day a massive exploration of private diaries" that "will make possible a more thorough expose of the religious mind – or minds – of the province."[19] Grant's words have inspired my study of Dr. Jonathan Woolverton, a study which has provided for an opportunity to explore some complex issues as experienced and perceived by an ordinary Upper Canadian with a Protestant Conscience.

Endnotes

1. William Canniff, *The Medical Profession in Upper Canada, 1783-1850* (Toronto: W. Briggs, 1894), 668. CIHM 00470.

2. Dr. Bowler is currently editing Dr. Woolverton's primary source documents and her doctoral thesis material to produce a biography entitled, *The Cry was 'Keep him Up'!: The story of Dr. Jonathan Woolverton.*

3. John Webster Grant, *A Profusion of Spires: Religion in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), ix.

4. William Westfall, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 127.

5. Sharon Marie Bowler, "Protestant Conscience in Ontario Education" (M.Ed. thesis, Brock University, 2002); and Sharon Marie Bowler, "Biography as History: Dr. Jonathan Woolverton and Protestant Conscience in Nineteenth-Century Ontario" (Ed.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 2006).

6. This church was located in York. It was later named Jarvis Street Baptist Church.

7. Jonathan Woolverton, *Speech Journal,* 79-81, Grimsby Museum, Grimsby, ON.

8. Woolverton, *Speech Journal,* 79-81.

9. Egerton Ryerson, "Report on Education," *Appendix P of the Legislative Assembly of 1846, 9 Victorieae*; and Egerton Ryerson, "The Constitution and Government of the Common Schools, in Respect to Religious Instruction," in J.G. Hodgins, *Historical and other papers and documents illustrative of the educational system of Ontario, 1856-1872, Volume II* (Toronto: L.K. Cameron, 1911), 65. This advocacy for the common principles of Christianity was emphasized by Ryerson because he believed that a Christian morality could be the common thread binding Catholics and Protestants together within the Common School system.

10. Woolverton, *Speech Journal*, 30. From a Temperance Speech dated January 1848.

11. Woolverton, *Speech Journal*, 30. From a temperance speech dated January 1848. See James 3:4.

12. Woolverton, *Speech Journal*, 151. From an educational speech 1850.

13. Canniff, *The Medical Profession in Upper Canada*, 515-7.

14. Jonathan Woolverton, *The Diary*, 4 (24 December 1832); Grimsby Museum, Grimsby, ON.

15. Woolverton, *The Diary*, 5-6 (31 December 1832).

16. Woolverton, *The Diary,* 35 (Winter 1835).

17. Woolverton, *The Diary*, 36 (23 May 1835).

18. Woolverton, *The Diary*, 40 (8 June 1835).

19. Grant, *Profusion of Spires,* ix.

Death of Christian Canada? Do Canadian Church Statistics Support Callum Brown's Theory of Church Decline?

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> The decline in church membership in all of Canada's major denominations has been making headlines. Our own statistics show that there were 2,373 fewer Presbyterian members in 1966 than in 1965, a decrease of more than one percent.
>
> The situation calls for concern but it should not cause alarm. There have always been inactive people on communicants rolls . . .
>
> The church and its members will never cease to evangelize, but the true strength of the Christian church cannot be measured by numbers. Pruning dead branches from the tree is just as necessary in the congregation as it is in the garden. The quality of witness is what counts in today's world (*Presbyterian Record* [1967]).[1]

DeCourcy H. Rayner, the editor of the *Presbyterian Record* was correct. Religion is about more than numbers; at the same time, however, statistics of church attendance or membership have become one of the ways in which churches have tested their health and vitality. Churches began to count their congregations in the nineteenth century because they believed these numbers told them something.[2] Likewise, historians have used statistics to advance various arguments and theories related to the changes that we believe have happened to the nature of religion and the strength of religious denominations within Canada and other countries.

While there are various questions we could ask concerning the

nature and practise of religion in Canada, this paper is concerned with discovering when certain measurable indicators of religious behaviour changed among three Protestant denominations that were traditionally dominant within Canada.[3] Influenced by Callum Brown's findings for Britain,[4] this paper examines indicators of religious decline among Anglicans, Presbyterians and the United Church of Canada and argues that the 1960s were the crucial decade in their declension. It was in the late 1950s or early 1960s that decades of uninterrupted growth suddenly shifted for these denominations, a trend that has continued to the present.

Callum Brown's *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularization 1800-2000* (2001) has reframed arguments concerning the timing of religious decline in modern Britain. In dating the origins of religious declension to the 1960s, Brown notes:

> For most scholars, Christian religion in Britain, Europe and North America has been in almost constant decay for at least a century, and for some sociologists for even longer – for between two hundred and five hundred years. They have imagined religious decline as one of the characteristics of the modern world, caused by the advance of reason through the Protestant Reformation and the Enlightenment, and through the social and economic dislocation of the industrial revolution.[5]

Brown notes that between 1945 and 1958 British churches were growing and argues that "the dating of religious decline . . . [must be] shifted from the nineteenth century to the late twentieth century."[6] This was not long term decline, but a sudden sharp turn downwards, sometime in the "long 1960s," a period he defines as between 1956 and 1973.[7] Brown further suggests that while scholars have imagined a long gradual decline, they have not dissected the implications of a post-religious society.[8] As he states,

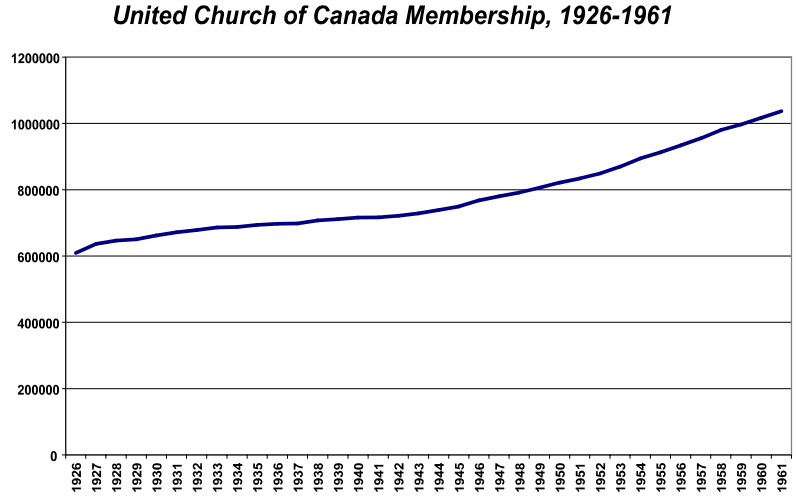
> What emerges is a story not merely of church decline, but of the end of Christianity as a means by which men and women, as individuals, construct their identities and their sense of "self." This breach in British history, starting in the 1960s, is something more fundamental than "failing churches." What is explored and analysed is a short and sharp cultural revolution of the late twentieth century which makes the Britons of the year 2000 fundamentally different in character from those of 1950 or 1900 or 1800, or from people of many other

countries.[9]

Could similar arguments also hold true for Canada? To test this we need to turn to Canadian data. Statistics that exist on religion in Canada can be described in the following manner.[10] First, there are census statistics on religion. These are generated every ten years by the statistical bureau of the government of Canada as part of the overall census, of which religion is only one small concern. The responses are to the basic question, "What is your religion?" This question has been asked and the answers tabulated differently over the period of more than a century, but longitudinal comparisons – comparisons over time – are still possible and revealing.[11] What the census data reveals concerns religious identity – what people say or think they are – and not much more. We do not learn about attendance, or membership, or belief from the census data. A second broad category of statistics on religion in Canada is generated by the particular churches or denominations themselves. Most churches count. How and what they count – membership, baptisms, kinds of activities, and so on – varies from denomination to denomination. Some have stricter definitions of membership than others. Cross-denominational comparisons thus need to be undertaken very carefully. At the same time, the data a denomination generates is generally consistent and can be used in longitudinal studies within that denomination. A third category of statistics relates to worship attendance. How many people actually attended a worship service in the past week? These statistics have been collected by independent polling companies and, more recently, by Statistics Canada.[12] Fourth, there are the attitudinal surveys related to belief. Intense polling has been done of individuals as to their faith and religious behaviour. The crucial work of Reginald Bibby over the past decades – as articulated in *Fragmented Gods* (1987), *Unknown Gods* (1993), *Restless Gods* (2002) and other studies[13] – would fall into this category. At the same time, other research firms have also done intense studies on Canadian religious beliefs.[14]

Several introductory points need to be made. First, most of what has been written about religion in Canada in the last decades has relied primarily on attitudinal surveys related to belief. This is certainly true of Bibby's work, where the focus is understandably on the results of the surveys he has conducted with other data being brought in to supplement and support his findings. While these attitudinal surveys give us important details, they are only available for the last several decades. This data does

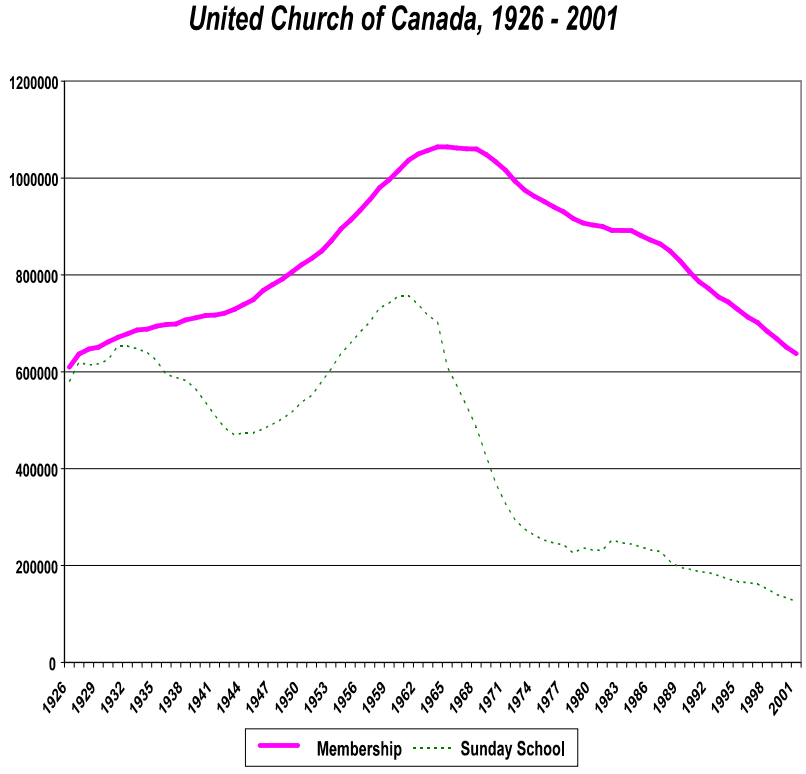
not cover the period before the early 1970s.[15] Second, there are weaknesses and limitations to the data in each of these categories. For example, church attendance statistics may over-represent the number actually attending church on a given Sunday.[16] Church-generated statistics have come under criticism. Dean Kelley, in *Why Conservative Churches are Growing*, expresses this cautionary concern while still noting their value.[17] It is also true that while some church-generated statistics (for example, membership numbers) can be easily inflated, other data (the number of baptisms, financial data) is much less prone to inflation or similar inaccuracies.



Graph 1: United Church of Canada Membership

Finally, a word of caution needs to be expressed in terms of cross-category comparisons. We need to ensure that any comparisons we use address the questions we are asking, and do not mislead us. Mathematical accuracy is not enough. The comparisons we generate must help us better understand the situation regarding religion in Canada. The approach of the political scientist Robert Putnam is helpful – that we consider statistics and use them to "triangulate": that is, if several data sets all point in a similar direction, we should look closely at what they are telling us.[18] With these cautions in mind, we now turn to look at some of the statistics from each of the three denominations we are considering.

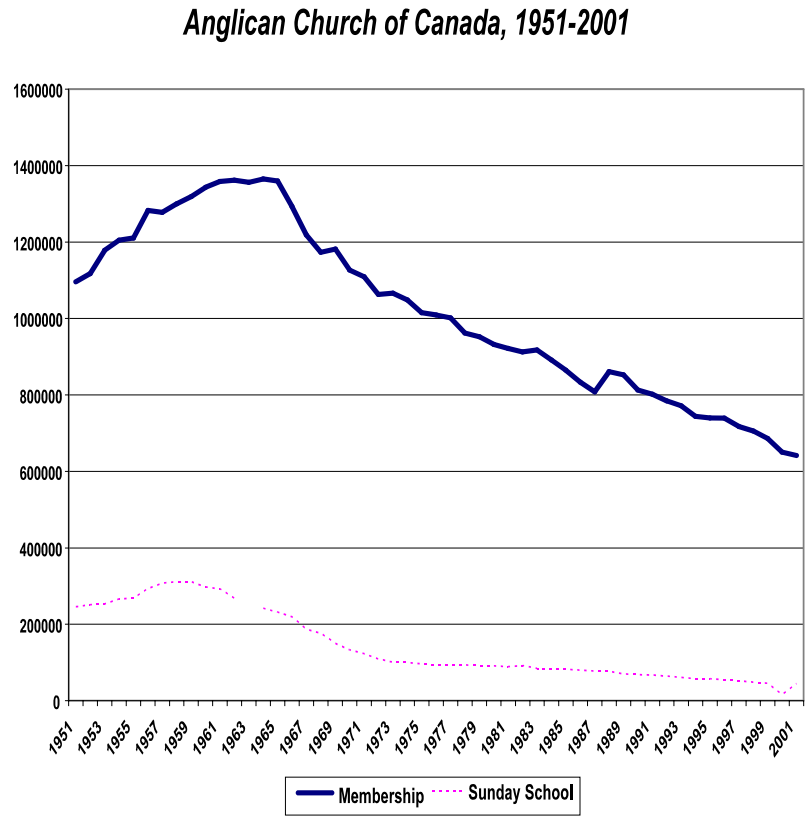
In 1961 if we were to have taken a look at the membership growth in the United Church in Canada over the nearly four decades since its foundation in 1925, the story we would tell would be one of consistent growth (see Graph 1).[19] Indeed, with a membership then standing at slightly over one million and with a Sunday school enrolment of over three quarters of a million, the future for the United Church of Canada looked strong. It is important to begin by noting this. The optimism and certainty that one would have had in 1961 within the United Church was reflected in this data. However, as Graph 2 illustrates, the subsequent story of the United Church has been quite different. Both membership and, even more so, Sunday school enrolment have consistently declined over the last



Graph 2: United Church of Canada Membership and Sunday School

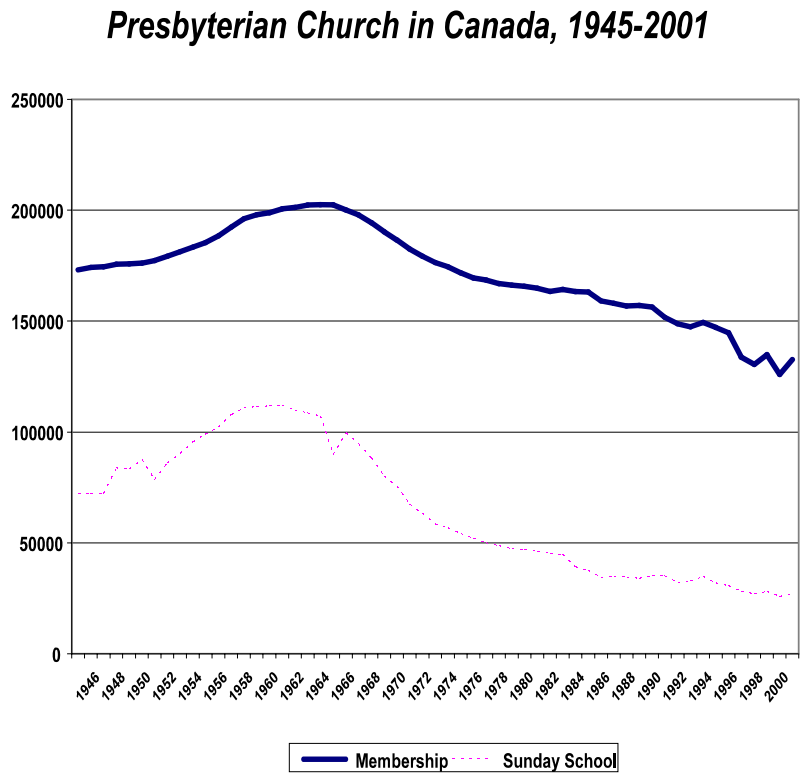
decades. The peak year for the United Church of Canada's membership was 1965 with 1,064,033 members, after which membership went into

decline. In 2001 the membership stood at 637,941. Following dramatic growth in the post-war period, Sunday school enrolment reached its peak year in 1961 (757,338), after which time it declined.[20] These trends were not unique to the United Church of Canada. Graph 3 illustrates the membership growth since 1951 of the Anglican Church of Canada until 1964 (1,204,601 members), after which it declined and fell by almost half to 641,845 by 2001. Anglican Sunday schools reached a peak membership in 1958 or 1959 – 311,859 members were recorded in each year – but membership declined after 1960 and stood at less than 45,000 in 2001. The Presbyterian Church in Canada (Graph 4) witnessed similar declines



Graph 3: Anglican Church of Canada Membership and Sunday School. No Sunday School data was reported for 1963.

during this period. Like the United Church and the Anglicans, the Presbyterians grew from 173,152 members in 1945 to a peak membership of 202,566 in 1964; in 1965 that number fell by sixty-eight members (the first decline since World War II), and by over 2,300 the following year (1966), which, as we noted, prompted comment by DeCourcy Rayner of the *Presbyterian Record*. In a pattern similar to the United Church, Sunday school membership peaked in 1961 (112,157) and has fallen steadily since. In 2001 the membership stood at 132,659 (some 40,000 fewer than in 1945) and Sunday school enrolment stood at slightly over 27,000.



Graph 4: Presbyterian Church in Canada Membership and Sunday School

On one level, there is little new in recognizing that many of these indicators, particularly church membership, declined in the early 1960s.[21]

What is new (or perhaps an older position that is being re-asserted) is the argument that we need to take these numbers as representative of a crucial turning point and not of a longer trend toward secularization that found its origins in the nineteenth century. In the first edition of *The Church in the Canadian Era* (1972), John Webster Grant pointed to the 1960s as a crucial turning point noting that "Few suspected when the 1960s began that the decade would bring notable surprises in Canadian church life."[22] However, by the second edition in 1988 a more cautious appraisal of the 1960s as a turning point for change had appeared:

> In retrospect we can recognize the warning signs were already there for the reading. Protestant Sunday school enrolment had begun a precipitous decline in the early 1960s that could not be explained altogether by a falling birthrate. Contrary to all appearance, and despite what has been said in a previous chapter, the Gallup poll had already begun to report declining attendance at Sunday services during the supposedly boom years of the 1950s.[23]

One statistic – Gallup poll data on church attendance – was thus given priority over church-generated statistics and, as a result, the growth in the 1950s was dismissed. Various theories concerning the declension of religion in the western world diverted attention away from the 1960s as a crucial turning point.[24] In Canada, the idea that the 1950s did not see growth and was not a golden age was noted in Reginald Bibby's influential *Fragmented Gods* (1987).[25] As Bibby's influence has been so important to our understanding of religion in Canada, it is worthwhile to examine his argument. For Protestants the key section began with a discussion of church attendance. According to Gallup poll data cited by Bibby, 60 per cent of Protestants in 1946 claimed to have gone to church in the previous week. By the 1950s, this had already been reduced to 45 per cent and by the middle of the next decade had declined further to 30 per cent. In the 1970s and 1980s this stabilized at about 25 per cent. In spite of this evidence, churches thought they were growing. Reginald Bibby poses the question, "why all the confusion?"[26] and notes: "The problem seems to lie, in part at least, with the failure to take the population increase into account."[27] Bibby states that "The statistical truth of the matter is that most of Canada's religious groups were essentially standing still when they thought they were enjoying tremendous growth."[28] This Protestant illusion was well summed up in the phrase – "numbers up, proportions down."[29] Bibby notes that the United Church of Canada

maintained a proportional membership of 6.2 per cent of the Canadian population in 1926, increased briefly through the 1930s, but was at 6 per cent in 1946 from which time it declined steadily, reaching 5.7 per cent in 1961 and only 3.5 per cent in 1985.[30] He summarizes this downward trend:

> Even during the time of the alleged peak expansion in the mid-1950s and early 1960s, Canada's dominant religious groups saw their membership proportions shrink. No group – including the Pentecostals – increased their proportional share of the national population during religion's alleged golden era.[31]

While there have certainly been developments in Reginald Bibby's thought since the publication of *Fragmented Gods* in 1987, his advocacy of long term trends leading toward declension remains intact.[32]

Changes in the 1960s were thus portrayed as reflective of longer term trends. These three denominations had been in proportional decline throughout the twentieth century and thus decline in the 1960s was not seen as significant but merely the continuation of what was already going on within Canadian religion. This argument was based upon two sets of data as evidence: first, a decline in attendance; and second, the results of a comparison of denominational membership to total Canadian population. But was this latter comparison appropriate for the kinds of interpretations that passed judgement on the vitality and health of these denominations? Certainly it was not an uncommon comparison. The Presbyterian Church in Canada used the same comparison – denominational membership to total Canadian population – in its first report on membership decline in 1971. It too concluded that growth in the 1950s was insignificant.[33] But there is a problem with this comparison: what does it actually tell us? It gives us one more indicator – along with the census – of the way in which Canada was divided along religious lines. What it does not tell us is the vitality of a religious denomination. The reason for this is very simple: a denomination's share of the overall population can go down not based upon anything occurring within that denomination, but based upon other factors affecting the total population. One denomination's share can go down, if another religious denomination is growing. In particular, one of the fundamental realities of the immediate post-World War II period was the growth of the Roman Catholic population within Canada, through both natural increase and immigration. As W.E. Kalbach and W.W. McVey note:

> The proportion of foreign born belonging to all Catholic denominations combined increased from 28 to 42 per cent during the twenty years following the 1951 census. Clearly, immigration during the 1950 and 1960s favoured the Catholic denominations.[34]

Roman Catholics went from 43 per cent of the Canadian population in 1941 to 46 per cent by 1961, and to 47 per cent by 1971. What happened in post-war Canada was that many denominations declined in their proportion to the overall population due to this growth among Roman Catholics. As such, the comparison of Anglican membership to total Canadian population tells us very little about Anglicans. We can, however, learn something about Anglicans and other Protestants by using a different comparison.

On the surface, a similar approach was taken by Dean Hoge, Benton Johnson and Donald Luidens in *Vanishing Boundaries: The Religion of Mainline Protestant Baby Boomers*.[35] The important difference is that Hoge, Johnson and Luidens did not compare membership of the traditions they studied to the total population of the United States, but to a baseline of what they believed the traditional strength of that tradition had been. A baseline was necessary for one simple reason – religious identification is not one of the questions asked by the American census. In their study, Hoge, Johnson and Luidens compared Presbyterian membership to a baseline of 2.03 per cent of the American population, while Methodists were compared to a baseline of 6.15 per cent of total population.[36] Scholars interested in Canadian religion have an advantage over their American counterparts due to the fact that the Canadian government asks a census question about religion. Unlike their American counterparts who must create a benchmark in order to do their comparison, Canadian scholars can use census results to compare those of a particular tradition as recorded in the census with those who appear on denominational membership rolls. If it is the religious vitality of particular denominations in which we are interested, this comparison – membership to census proportion[37] – will tell us far more than a comparison of membership to total population.

Table 1 illustrates this data for the three denominations. The 1941 census records 1.7 million Anglicans. Unfortunately, church statistics for that year are not as complete as they should be (membership and Sunday school rolls present in Table 1 draw upon data from 1942). As Table 1 illustrates, by 1951 this number had increased to 1,342,055, followed by

a further increase to 1,650,885 by 1961. During the same two decades the number of Anglicans recorded on the census rose to 2.06 million in 1951 and again to 2.4 million in 1961. The statistics for 1971 saw a dramatic change. Parish rolls listed only 1,232,748 compared to a continued increase in the number of census Anglicans to 2.5 million. As these numbers indicate, while there was a growth throughout of census Anglicans as part of the larger population growth of Canada in this period, the number on parish rolls increased up to 1961, then began to decline. But did the proportion on parish rolls increase in comparison to the number of census Anglicans? In 1942, 53 per cent of census Anglicans noted in the 1941 census appeared on parish rolls. By 1951, 65 per cent of census Anglicans appeared on a parish roll, a proportion which grew to 69 per cent in 1961, before plummeting to 48 per cent in 1971 – a level lower than the proportion in the middle of World War II. For Canadian Anglicans, the period from 1951 and even to 1961 was one of growth in terms of the number of census Anglicans who also appeared on parish rolls. The dramatic decline by 1971 is notable.

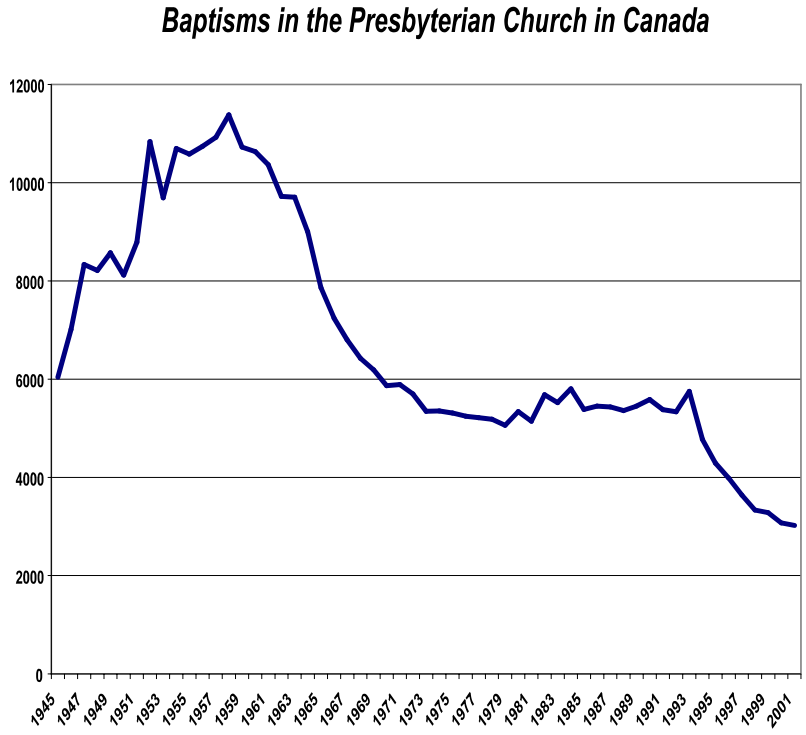
	Anglican			**United Church**			**Presbyterian**		
Year	Census	Membership and Sunday school	%	Census	Membership and Sunday school	%	Census	Member-ship & Sunday school	%
1941	1,754,368	928,474	53	2,208,658	1,227,522	56	830,597	254,607	31
1951	2,060,702	1,342,055	65	2,867,271	1,385,040	48	781,747	256,044	33
1961	2,409,068	1,650,885	69	3,664,008	1,794,324	49	818,558	312,797	38
1971	2,543,180	1,232,748	48	3,768,800	1,344,710	36	872,335	250,090	29
1981	2,436,375	1,010,450	41	3,758,015	1,131,755	30	812,105	211,458	26
1991	2,188,115	869,347	40	3,093,120	973,056	31	636,295	190,080	30
2001	2,035,500	686,532	34	2,839,125	764,023	27	409,830	156,940	38

Table 1: Comparison of denominational membership and Sunday school enrolments to Census share of the specific denomination.[38]

Data from the United Church of Canada and the Presbyterian Church in Canada is also included in Table 1 and this data shows a similar trend. The United Church of Canada was only sixteen years old when the 1941 census was taken. A close look at its census share and that of the Presbyterian Church suggests that there was still some sorting out after church union. This may explain the very high percentage (56 per cent) of those who indicated on the census that they were United Church who also appeared on the membership and Sunday school rolls. This percentage declined to 48 per cent by 1951. Note that the number of census Pres-

byterians also declined from 1941 to 1951. This suggests that in 1941 there was an ongoing census identification by some individuals as "Presbyterians" even though they now appeared on United Church of Canada rolls. What is notable is that the United Church grew both in its census numbers and in terms of its membership through to 1961, at which point the membership and Sunday school rolls stood at nearly 1.8 million, and the census recorded 3.6 million. Although less dramatic, the membership and Sunday school rolls of the Presbyterian Church in Canada grew through this period, particularly from 1951 to 1961. In this same period the proportion of census Presbyterians on church rolls also increased from 33 per cent to 38 per cent.

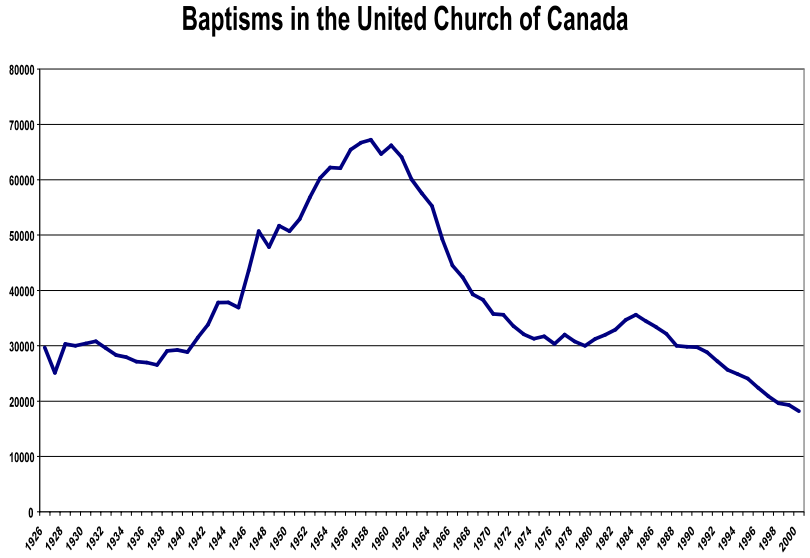
The next decade told a dramatically different story for both denominations. The 1971 United Church census figures had increased only slightly to 3.76 million, but the Sunday school enrolment was halved to 327,810 and the membership had also declined to 1,016,900. United Church rolls included only 36 per cent of those who appeared as United Church on the census, a dramatic decline from 49 per cent in one decade. Similarly, census Presbyterians grew in the period from 1961 to 1971 while those on church membership and Sunday school rolls plummeted. The proportion of census Presbyterians on the rolls, not surprisingly, fell to only 29 per cent in 1971. For Presbyterians, as for the other two denominations, this proportion has fallen in each census since, with only one exception, which will be explained below. Thus only 32 per cent of census Anglicans appeared on church rolls in 2001, a decline from the 44 per cent who appeared in 1971, and an even more dramatic decline from the high water mark of 56 per cent in 1961. This occurred while the census numbers, as well as those on the church rolls, all consistently declined. This has been true since 1971 for all three traditions until 1991 to 2001, when the Presbyterian proportional share of census Presbyterians increased from 30 per cent to 38 per cent. This is not a positive trend. It merely shows that the number of census Presbyterians is falling at a more rapid rate (down over 35 per cent from the 1991 census) than the church membership and Sunday school rolls. A comparison of those on the church rolls with those who identified with each of these denominations on the census, displays a general pattern of growth through the post war period to the 1961 census, followed in the 1971 census by a notable decline that has continued.



Graph 5: Baptisms in the Presbyterian Church in Canada

The data we have looked at so far from these three Protestant denominations tells a similar story of growth through the 1950s followed by decline. This has been noted before as historians and church officials have looked at membership and Sunday school numbers, but when these numbers have been compared to the total Canadian population the argument has been made that these denominations witnessed no real growth and that a pattern of long term decline was inaugurated. A different comparison – of Anglicans on the parish rolls to Anglicans on the census (and likewise for the other two denominations) – gives a different picture, one which affirms the original story of growth in the early post-World War II period, followed by decline. There are other church-generated statistics we can also use to test whether they support this pattern of growth followed by decline. For the purposes of this paper, we will use three other

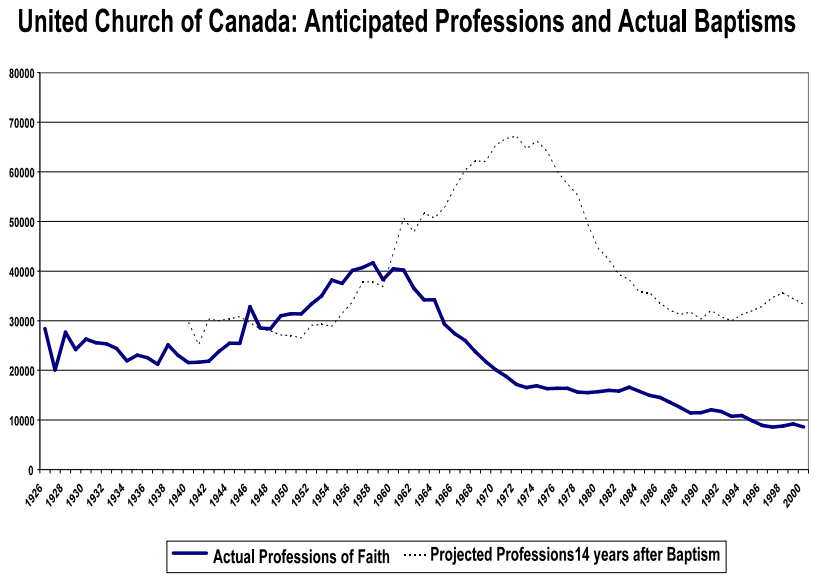
statistics – baptismal numbers for the Presbyterian Church in Canada, baptismal numbers for the United Church of Canada, and a comparison of baptismal numbers to professions of faith within the United Church of Canada.



Graph 6: Baptisms in the United Church of Canada

One of the advantages of looking at the number of baptisms and the number of professions of faith is that these statistics represent religious events that occurred within the particular year. Unlike membership numbers, where a person may remain on a list long after they have stopped any active involvement in the organization, a child has to be presented for baptism, or a person has to appear to make a profession of faith. While we can not and should not use these numbers as indices of religious commitment or belief, they do tell us what happened in a particular year. Graph 5 represents the number of baptisms in the Presbyterian Church in Canada, of both adults and children. These increased throughout the post-World War II period reaching a peak in 1958, after which time they declined. Graph 6 represents the same data from the United Church of Canada. The growth peaked in 1958, declined briefly in 1959, recovered in 1960, but has declined steadily thereafter. The number of baptisms performed in

denominations that practice infant and child baptism is clearly related to the number of children born. In the years of the baby boom the growth of baptisms is not surprising. What is worth noting is that while both the number of baptisms after 1960 and the number of children born after 1959 declines,[39] the number of baptisms falls much faster. In other words, after about 1961 it seems that fewer of the children being born are being presented for baptism in the United Church. This is a preliminary suggestion only, but it is one where further research would be helpful. Another comparison we can make is of the number of children brought for baptism compared with the number who are confirmed at a later date. Graph 7 examines this comparison, beginning with the assumption that



Graph 7: The anticipated number of professions of faith in the United Church of Canada assuming that those baptized will make a profession of faith fourteen years after baptism, compared to the actual number of professions of faith.

in the United Church of Canada confirmation normally happens 14 years after baptism, or at approximately 15 years of age. Given the demographics of the baby boom and the number of children being presented to the

United Church for baptism, the number of professions of faith should have reached their peak in 1972. Instead, the peak year was 1958.[40] This finding should not, one assumes, be affected by the birth rate. Something else seems to have happened. Much of this data is suggestive rather than definitive. At the same time, the consistency with which we see the pattern of growth followed by decline should at the very least open us to the possibility that these numbers are reflecting a change in how people approached key religious institutions at this time.

As noted previously, this paper examines when certain key indices of three large Protestant denominations indicate they experienced religious decline. This was not a long gradual process. All of the indicators studied and discussed, with the exception of Gallup poll data on church attendance, illustrate a sudden change in direction beginning sometime in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The data presented is consistent with the findings of Callum Brown in relation to Great Britain, namely that church growth in the 1950s was followed by a sudden, sharp decline. Certainly within this same period each of these three denominations – Anglican, United Church, and Presbyterian – declined in their proportionate share within the overall Canadian population. At the same time, I have argued that this was due to a change within the larger Canadian population, namely the increase in the proportion of the total population who were Roman Catholic. When we compare those on denominational membership rolls with those who identified with themselves as Anglican, Presbyterian or United Church in the Canadian census, the picture we see is not one of decline of these denominations, but rather growth in the immediate post-war period (1946-1961). The only statistics that might counter this picture are those related to religious attendance. However, we need to be careful not to privilege one statistic – church attendance – while ignoring other data that might suggest varying conclusions.[41]

This reinvestigation of the various statistics for religion in Canada would suggest that we need to focus our attention on the late 1950s and early 1960s as a crucial period in the history of Christian religion in Canada. The original questions raised by earlier historians who noted this change need to be considered again. Interestingly some recent scholarship has talked about significant changes in this period, notably Catherine Gidney's *The Long Eclipse: The Liberal Protestant Establishment and the Canadian University 1920-1970* (2004) and Gary Miedema's *For Canada's Sake: Public Religion, Centennial Celebrations, and the Re-making of Canada in the 1960s* (2005).[42] Both of these works move far

beyond the scope of this paper – which has concerned itself with church-generated statistics about various measures of involvement within those denominations – to the more salient features of Callum Brown's argument, namely the change of cultural discourse from a Christian rhetoric to an entirely different reality.

The timing of religious decline in Canada needs to be reconsidered. This paper has tested Callum Brown's findings for Great Britain using church-generated statistics, and has found similarities between the British and Canadian experiences. While certainly not all religious denominations have followed this pattern, three large Protestant denominations have.[43] Statistics from the Presbyterian, United Church and Anglican denominations indicate a sudden, dramatic move from growth to religious decline – a decline from which there is currently no evidence of recovery.

Endnotes

1. DeCourcy H. Rayner, "No Cause for Alarm," *Presbyterian Record* 92, no. 11 (November 1967): 4. I would like to acknowledge the contributions of Brian Clarke and Andrew Irvine, for their assistance and feedback on the argument regarding how best to compare census and membership data; Peter Coutts for sharing his data and for his expertise on Presbyterian statistics; and Jeffrey Murray, who helped compile some of the statistics on the Presbyterian Church.

2. Callum Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation 1800-2000* (London: Routledge, 2001), 38.

3. In the period from 1941 through 1971, these were the three largest religious Protestant religious denominations, and have remained significant even since 1971.

4. Throughout this paper the phrase "religious decline" is used as a simple short form for those combined indices of falling numbers of baptisms, falling numbers of professions of faith, fewer members, and fewer Sunday school members. Other scholars, including Callum Brown, may define this term differently or raise questions about its value; however, for the purposes of this paper it will be used to refer to these indicators.

5. Brown, *Death of Christian Britain*, 3.

6. Brown, *Death of Christian Britain*, 9.

7. Callum Brown, "The Secularisation Decade: What the 1960s have done to the study of Religious History," in *The Decline of Christendom in Western Europe, 1750-2000*, ed. Hugh McLeod and Werner Ustorf (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 31.

8. Brown, *Death of Christian Britain,* 3.

9. Brown, *Death of Christian Britain*, 2.

10. These are the categories as I define them. A slightly different categorization can be found in Reginald Bibby, *Restless Churches: How Canada's Churches Can Contribute to the Emerging Religious Renaissance* (Toronto: Novalis, 2004), 11- 12.

11. This paper does not deal extensively with data from the census. My colleague Brian Clarke and I are currently working on a related research project using data from the census.

12. The General Social Survey has recently published some findings in this regard. Alain Baril and George A. Mori, "Leaving the Fold: Declining Church Attendance," *Canadian Social Trends* 22 (Autumn 1991): 21-24; Warren Clark, "Pockets of Belief: Religious Attendance Patterns in Canada," *Canadian Social Trends* 68 (Spring 2003): 2-5; Warren Clark, "Patterns of Religious Attendance," *Canadian Social Trends* 59 (Winter 2000): 23-27.

13. A selected list of works by Reginald Bibby would include *Fragmented Gods: The Poverty and Potential of Religion in Canada* (Toronto: Irwin, 1987); *Unknown Gods: The Ongoing Story of Religion in Canada* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1993); *Restless Gods: The Renaissance of Religion in Canada* (Toronto: Stoddart, 2002); *Restless Churches: How Canada's Churches Can Contribute to the Emerging Religious Renaissance* (Toronto: Novalis/Wood Lake, 2004); "Why Conservative Churches *Really* Are Growing: Kelley Revisited," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 17, no. 2 (1978): 129-73; and various other published articles.

14. Vision TV/Environics Research Group, *Canada Ten Years Later – Still a Nation of Spiritual Seekers*, www.visiontv.ca, 2004. Don Posterski and Andrew Grenville, "The Complicated and Irrepressible Canadian Church," *World Vision Envision* (Spring 2004), 2-7.

15. Most of the data begins in the 1970s or later. This is the case of Reginald Bibby's work, and that of others. A survey of this data can be found in Kurt Bowen, *Christians in a Secular World: The Canadian Experience* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004), especially chapter 2.

16. The challenges of dealing with church attendance data were well covered in various articles which formed "A Symposium on Church Attendance in the United States," *American Sociological Review* 63, no. 1 (February 1998): 111-45, which followed the publication of C. Kirk Hadaway, Penny Long Marler and Mark Chaves, "What the Polls Don't Show: A Closer Look at U.S. Church Attendance," *American Sociological Review* 58, no. 6 (December 1993): 741-52.

17. Dean Kelley, *Why Conservative Churches Are Growing: A Study in Sociology of Religion* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), 14-16.

18. Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000), 26-28.

19. For the data in this paper I chose not to use the *Yearbook of American and Canadian Churches* but the statistics of the denominations themselves, as published yearly in their statistical records. The data upon which the graphs are based, comes from the following sources. For Presbyterians, the data appears yearly in statistical tables in *The Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada.* Data usually appears one year later (for example, 1945 statistics in 1946) and corrections may be made a year later. For the Anglican communion, see the *General Synod of the Church of England in Canada: Journal of Proceedings* (1943): 192; and (1952): 434-35. As well, the *General Synod of the Anglican Church in Canada: Journal of Proceedings,* and the *Anglican Church Directory*, were consulted for the statistics. For the United Church of Canada, a complete set of statistical data is updated each year and published in the *Yearbook.* The most recent edition consulted for the statistics on 2001 was the 2003 edition of the *Yearbook*.

20. Sunday school enrolment is clearly sensitive to alterations in the birth rate. Thus, it is not surprising that it dipped during the Great Depression or that it grew with the explosion of births after World War II. The sudden decline of enrolments beginning in the late 1950s does need to be looked at seriously as there were certainly many children in Canada of Sunday school age at that time. This is true of all three denominations in this study.

21. No precise dating of "secularization" – perhaps even an agreed upon definition of what we are even talking about when we use that term – exists in Canada. Generally, the notion that this process began in the late nineteenth or sometime in the twentieth century seems common. For a good discussion of this issue, see David Lyon "Introduction," in *Rethinking Church, State & Modernity: Canada between Europe and America*, ed. David Lyons and Marguerite Van Die (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), esp. 10.

22. John Webster Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1972), 184.

23. John Webster Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era: updated and Expanded* (Burlington, ON: Welch, 1988), 227.

24. It is beyond the scope of this brief paper to engage a thorough discussion of the various theories related to religious change in the period following the Reformation. Certainly by 1988 many researchers would have been aware of Dean Kelley's argument that conservative churches were growing (Kelley's argument, as many have noted, was related to strictness, not necessarily conservative theology). Popular versions of the secularization theory that anticipate that religions should decline as societies became more modern, industrial and urban, were also prevalent.

25. Bibby, *Fragmented Gods*, 11-16.

26. Bibby, *Fragmented Gods*, 12.

27. Bibby, *Fragmented Gods*, 13.

28. Bibby, *Fragmented Gods*, 13.

29. Bibby, *Fragmented Gods*, 13.

30. Bibby, *Fragmented Gods*, 15.

31. Bibby, *Fragmented Gods*, 14.

32. In *Unknown Gods* the comparison between membership statistics and census data was not used; however, a similar portrait of long term decline was painted using attendance data, and a comparison of membership data, which was based upon the 1957 Gallup poll, and the 1975 and 1990 Project Canada surveys. See *Unknown* Gods, 6-8. Denominational statistics were not used. While *Restless Gods* (2002) represents a significant shift in Reginald Bibby's thinking, the idea of religious stagnation in the 1950s, and hence an advocacy of long-term trends of church membership decline, was reaffirmed: "Sheer numbers were up in this alleged peak period, but the proportion of people who were participating was actually declining" (see *Restless Gods*, 12).

33. "Declining Church Membership", *Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada*, 1971, 289-301. Loren Mead in his important book *Transforming Congregations for the Future* (Bethesda, MD: Alban Institute, 1994), 8-11, also used this comparison.

34. W.E. Kalbach and W.W. McVey, "Religious Composition of the Canadian Population," in *Religion in Canadian Society*, ed. Stewart Crysdale and Les Wheatcroft (Toronto: Macmillan, 1976), 236.

35. Dean R. Hoge, Benton Johnson and Donald A. Luidens, *Vanishing Boundaries: The Religion of Mainline Protestant Baby Boomers* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1994).

36. Hoge, Johnson and Luidens, *Vanishing Boundaries*, 5-6.

37. This comparison was first presented in May 2004 at a meeting of the Canadian Society for the Study of Religions in a paper presented by Dr. Brian Clarke and myself. I am indebted to Brian for his permission to use this data in the current paper. This comparison will also be included in a forthcoming paper on census Protestants.

38. It is difficult within each of these denominations to determine which is the best denominational statistic to compare to the census. Membership and Sunday school enrolment are combined for the comparison, as children would be counted as part of the census populations of each of these denominations. For both the United Church of Canada and the Presbyterian Church in Canada, children would not be counted as members. The situation in the Anglican Church of Canada as to whether children were included in parish membership numbers is less clear. For consistency, I have used the same measure – membership and Sunday school combined – for all three denominations. While this may be an imperfect measure, it does give us a consistent comparator. The same basic trend, although obviously with different proportions, occurs for the Anglicans and Presbyterians if membership without Sunday school is used. The United Church of Canada is an exception here. Membership alone follows a different pattern, showing a gradual decline in the post-war period. Given the large size of the Sunday schools in the United Church of Canada in this period this is not surprising. The Sunday School enrolment in 1961 was larger (757,338) than the 2001 membership (637,941). Another statistic kept by the United Church of Canada, persons under pastoral care, is helpful. Its proportion to the census follows the same pattern as that of membership and Sunday school enrolment combined.

39. Statistics Canada data on number of live births in Canada, Statistics Canada, Historical Statistics, Vital Statistics, "B1-14, Live births, crude birth rate, age-specific fertility rates, gross reproduction rate and percentage of births in hospital, Canada, 1921 to 1974" <http://www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/11-516-XIE/sectionb/B1_14.csv> (accessed 27 September 2006).

40. If we assume instead that most young people make their profession of faith 16 years after baptism, the peak year should then be 1974.

41. Statistics related to religious attendance are infrequent in this period.

42. Catherine Gidney, *A Long Eclipse: The Liberal Protestant Establishment and the Canadian University 1920-1970* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004); and Gary Miedema, *For Canada's Sake: Public Religion, Centennial Celebrations, and the Re-making of Canada in the 1960s* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005).

43. More theologically conservative religious denominations seem to have fared better in the period since the 1960s. This might be strong evidence for the thesis advanced by Dean Kelley that strict churches were continuing to grow in the United States while mainline churches were losing members. See Dean Kelley, *Why Conservative Churches are Growing*. This situation requires careful study in Canada. More recent census trends note the decline in the Salvation Army and the Pentecostals. See data from the 2001 Census or "2001 Census: analysis series – Religion in Canada" (Statistics Canada: catalogue 96F0030XIE2001015, released 13 May 2003). A conventional acceptance of either the secularization thesis or of Kelley's arguments, has not helped us in our research into how any of the Protestant denominations, mainline or conservative or evangelical or charismatic, have fared in Canada since 1960. My suspicion is that losses from the mainline tradition (including Anglican, United Church of Canada, and Presbyterian) have not been replaced by other kinds of Protestants, and instead the real growth has been in those with no connection to or interest in any institutional religious body. While we continue to hear stories about mega-churches and a general interest in spirituality, Canada strikes me as a less religious and far different culture now than it was in 1960. Further study would be enlightening, regardless of whether it confirms or disproves any theories or suspicions.

CSCH Presidential Address 2006

Religion and Public History

PAUL LAVERDURE
Laverdure and Associates

Last April I was traveling around France on a tour of the chateaux. While in the Louvre I found the Mona Lisa in a new place; it had been moved and is now all by itself behind some very thick protective plastic. *The Da Vinci Code* was to blame. Everywhere I turned, visiting Da Vinci's grave for example, and some of the other important sites of the book, there were more people with *The Da Vinci Code* in their hands. I, too, have read the *Code*. Although it was not very well written, I thought it was a hoot, because I'm a new kind of church historian. I'm a public historian who specializes in religion; the *Code* hides no terrors for me.

In *The Da Vinci Code*, there is a bathroom down the hall from the Mona Lisa. This brought me to think of a different bathroom. It was February of 1991 and I was beginning one of my first and largest contracts as a public historian. I was trapped, locked into a narrow toilet cubicle in an abandoned wing of a bombed out monastery in Belgium. The lock on the heavy oak door had jammed. There was no space to crawl under the door or the walls, as in our North American stalls; these European stalls were built to last centuries and to guarantee privacy; they were ten feet high; they were oak, two inches thick. Shouting at the top of my lungs and banging on the door accomplished nothing. There was not a hope that any of my cries for help would reach anyone. No one was going to notice anything was wrong until I had done solitary confinement for at least a day

or two. Leaping up on the toilet tank, climbing up the pipes, I was able to twist around, jump off the side of the wall, and grab the top edge of the stall. With great effort, since I have rarely been athletic, I hauled myself up the edge, noticed how few times the edges had been cleaned, swung my feet over the door and dropped to hang from my fingers. There I was, hanging two feet off the ground holding on to the top of the bathroom door by my fingers. Looking around, I could see that if I tried to bend my knees to break the fall, I could severely hurt myself on the useless hunk of metal that passed for a radiator next to the wall. If I tried to swing a few feet across the narrow corridor onto a deep window ledge behind me, I might just keep on going through the window and land on the cobble stones two stories below. Unlike the *Code*, this was not fiction.

Traditionally, there have been three ways to deliver a presidential address at the Canadian Society of Church History. One is a peek at a sliver of a work in progress. I can't do that right now, for some of the work I do is legally confidential. It is best if you buy one of my published books to see some of what I've done, rather than what I am actually doing or I am about to do. The second is an overview of the field with an analysis of trends. When elected president last year, I was specifically asked to do this by some of the members present. Well, it is difficult; I've done it before, and it doesn't pay unless you teach and must do this kind of overview for your students. I do not. The third is autobiography. This last development is relatively recent, and as you can see from my anecdote about my first visit to some Belgian Catholic archives, has its own fascination. It is relatively easy, too, and doesn't take much research, although my memory of events in my own life is sometimes hazy, to my wife's bemusement. Yet, autobiography is hardly appropriate when I hope I am only half-way into my own working life as a religious historian. So, I will give a presentation that is half biography and half a description of a new field within religious history.

A New Field

For the past twenty years, my own work as a public historian of religion illustrates what public history is and its relationship to religion. My nomination to the honour of this society's presidency – besides the fact that I was one of the few people in the room during the business meeting not to have been president – is due in part to a recognition of the flood of work by my company in disparate fields: theology and history, including

eighteenth-century Italy; nineteenth-century Austria; and the half-dozen books and hundreds of articles both popular and scholarly in the area of Canadian religious history spanning Protestantism, Catholicism, Orthodoxy, and Judaism. In the past year alone, the company of Laverdure & Associates helped produce books and articles about Ukrainian Catholics, Saskatchewan Hutterites, and nineteenth-century northern Roman Catholic missions among the Gwich'in Dene. We've been consultants for a number of films, film festivals, radio, newspapers, magazines, drama presentations, archives, anniversary books, museums, and have participated in the conception, edition, translation and publication in print, in film, and on radio of hundreds of items. I am no longer alone. There are history companies springing up, ranging from the one-person office to the multinational.

This is not public religion and history, a field blossoming with Kevin Kee, Gary Miedema, Norman Fennema, and encouraged by Marguerite Van Die at Queen's Theological College. Their field is a discussion of religion in the public square, which is really a development of the traditional church and state studies. I will be talking about public history and religion.

Twenty-six universities in the United States recently announced having doctoral programmes in history with a specialization in public history. Only five are registered with the American Historical Association as having specializations in religion, another two in religious studies or religion and society. The number of canadian universities with public history specializations is also growing. The American Historical Association has recently profiled and highlighted the growing interest in public history and the role of public historians especially in departments of history. The National History Society of Canada, with its magazine, *The Beaver*, is making great strides in attracting people to history; these are sometimes the same people who are turned away by the Canadian Historical Association. So, the term "public history" is recent; *The Journal of the Public Historian* has only been published out of California since 1979.

We in religious studies, however, have been slow to recognize public history, even though the last twenty years have been miserable years for any student in the humanities and none more so than in the area of church history. Positions have been abolished or combined with other subjects in seminaries, which have decreased in number. Ever since the promulgation of *Sapientia Christiana* in 1979 the de facto requirement of,

at least, a licentiate from a Catholic institution and usually ordination, in order to teach religious history – since it is erroneously confused with the history of theology – has blocked one of the positions, i.e., church history, open to Catholic lay people. Departments of history and departments of religion have been traditional refuges of the non-ordained or heretical church historian. Here, I am thinking especially of Victoria College's relationship to Emmanuel College and the Université de Montréal's departments of history and religious studies relationship to the department of theology. The lay religious historian usually falls between the stools of history and theology. Even in religious studies departments, the religious historian has been squeezed out by the demands of other topics. Public history is, however, an option for religion students, too.

Definition of Public History

I will not give a definition of religion here, to avoid starting a war (but if you are really interested in my own definitions, you should consult my work, *Sunday in Canada*). The definition of "public history," for our purposes here, is history for non-historians. This is a radical challenge to the historical profession, journals, and teaching of the past forty years which has sometimes equated professional history with obscure history.

I agree with Gerald Prokopowicz, a public historian in the United States who said,

> Public history is a format (or rather a wide variety of formats) in which historians can practice their craft, but it is not a substantive area of history. Those of us who learned the craft in a traditional academic program, and then picked up the practical aspects of public history on the job, are examples to our students that the first requirement for a public history career is the study of history itself. If departments begin to hire teachers of public history whose primary qualifications are advanced degrees and publications in the field of public history itself, they run the risk of following the same path that too many schools of education have followed, turning out graduates who are masters of whatever theories are in vogue at their institutions, but lacking any real knowledge of the subjects they are about to teach.
>
> I see public history as means to an end, not an end in itself. It is defined by its connection to public audiences, and can only continue to thrive and develop in constant contact with the public. As soon as

> it is isolated in the university classroom, it begins to lose whatever it is that distinguishes it from academic history. Public history only became recognized as a separate field after too many academic historians lost interest in educating and communicating with the public. If public history were to be taught primarily by classroom-trained specialists instead of practitioners, it would eventually lose its public dimension. Wouldn't it be ironic if a field that exists in response to the proliferation of obscure, jargon-filled, theory-driven, highly specialized history were itself to become an obscure, jargon-filled, theory-driven specialty? I would much prefer to see universities training good historians who go on to practice public history, not training theorists who go on to teach other theorists.[1]

Too many people teaching history merely teach people who will teach history. To most people, such as J.K. Rowling in the Harry Potter books, the traditional teaching of history is dull and irrelevant. While it is important for historians and religionists to study, be aware of, even know such theories, public history clients are not interested in the "lit-crit" that passes for modern academic discourse, nor are they the least bit interested in Hayden White or Michel Foucault. They want clear, pleasant, jargon-less writing using traditional chronological narrative. If the public does not "get" it, the public historian does not get hired, rehired, or paid.

Public History's Relationship to Religion

While preparing this speech, I was surprised that I could not find a single article or speech about the relationship of public history to religion throughout the academic religious or historical literature. While this speech about public history is a first in the area of religion, it is part of the growing call among all historians for greater readability and relevance. The public is genuinely interested in history and in religion and will get both from us or from Dan Brown. The public is turning to the Dan Browns of the world because history and religion have become increasingly self-referential and, as Prokopowicz has said "obscure, jargon-filled," and "theory-driven." Public history, as I have said, is a means of communicating our findings to the public.

Yet, theory has blanketed North America in a deep and, to the majority of people, dull historical discourse. This leads me to ask, did we historians and historians of religion ever have a "public"? I think we did, but we will need a literary historian to tell us for sure. I suspect Ryerson

Press successfully published a number of religious histories that made the jump from the academy to a wider "public" readership. McGill-Queen's and Wilfrid Laurier University Press are trying, but I have not heard about any authors celebrating huge royalty cheques. Every university press has its hand out for subsidies. The university historian may get a book published at a university press, hugely subsidized by a government grant, but few will buy it; fewer still will read it. The Beaver publishes tens of thousands of copies a month. My company is now publishing miniature or leaflet religious biographies with an initial press run of four thousand copies each month. This makes for almost fifty thousand a year. They are short, pithy, illustrated, and accessible. And, they are all paid for in advance. So, the historical study of religion also needs the techniques of public history. Or it doesn't get read.

Who is a Public Historian?

Looked at one way, public history is old news. Church historians have already worked as archivists, popularizers, museum keepers, editors, anniversary writers, and consultants. What is new is the realization of what exactly ties us all on a methodological level.

Most public historians, in the past, were amateurs, and rarely had advanced academic training in history or museums or archives, all relatively recent fields of graduate training. Even most church historians were and still are theologians first and historians second. Many of those who could now be called public historians were then government employees, librarians, or a long-serving employee, secretary-turned archivist. Most were not – as I am not now – affiliated with any university. Even I have only been associated with a university merely occasionally as a sessional in bizarrely disparate fields when business was slow or I made costly mistakes in my contracts and needed to pay off some bills. Still, while I am presently unaffiliated, most public historians are usually found as employees in larger institutions such as libraries, archives, public relations offices, government, as well as in different educational institutions.

The broad range of positions that produce public history also demonstrates what jobs are available to people interested in history and religion and how adaptability is an essential skill of the public historian. My own type of public history is not for everyone – it is certainly not for those who need institutional support or for those who wish to feel secure

– but what really is tenure or job security today? Public history's adaptability has a pedigree. Throwing aside the vision of the historian as gentleman scholar of independent means, Professor John Moir, in his 1980 presidential and later talks to the Canadian Society of Church History called himself a "garden-variety historian." What he meant was that he was willing to teach anything relating to history; moreover, he believed that his training and the expectations of the day when he graduated in the 1940s, having trained under even more traditional Canadian and British historians, was that he could and would teach in any field, including ancient history, world history, British Empire, American, French, or whatever was asked. This attitude was fostered by those historians who lived through the Depression and were happy to work in any field. As a student who has lived through a series of the worst recessions since the Great Depression, I could do nothing but agree with Moir. I left the Faculty of Religious Studies at McGill for Toronto to study with Moir and to train in what was seen even then as traditional, rather old-fashioned history, specifically in order to apply it to religion. I adapted and enlarged Moir's dictum to mean that an historian of religion is willing to do anything . . . (well, almost anything) . . . relating to religious history, not just to teaching. So, public history includes archives, translations, editing, publishing, and film consulting. Thus, I believe that public history begins with history and then moves towards its presentation to the public. I and others like me were willing to work as historians of religion, not just teachers. But how?

Training

What John Moir, C.T. McIntire, John Webster Grant, Harry McSorley, Ed Furcha, Arthur Silver, and others I studied all meant and what their even narrower pool of professors trained in the Canadian and European schools meant by history, aside from the givens or historical data they imparted, was a method of approaching, thinking, and working in history. The method presupposed source criticism and linguistic skills just as in biblical studies. Since these same professors also trained in biblical studies – before or after their historical training – the crossover was obvious and my transition from religious studies at McGill to history at Toronto was made possible. There, everything stopped.

What I did not learn from my professors was how to turn these skills into a life-long career, outside or alongside teaching. Most graduates do

not become professors. This is not the time to discuss the benefits of a general arts education, but it certainly is the time to discuss how we can keep our graduate students in the field, even if they do not go into teaching. In fact, I learned that money is the last taboo; it is never discussed in polite company. Some professors, when approached, promised to show me their book and article contracts; none ever did. Some professors were surprised to find me asking about their research techniques, their note-taking techniques, their writing, their publishing. None, not one, gave a single piece of advice or allowed me to view exactly how they researched, wrote, and disseminated their work. Teaching was never training; it was always just testing to see if you knew what they knew or you could produce what they were doing, never mind exactly how you did it. Universities in French Canada, however, make historical methodology a required course in every year of the three-year history degree. French Canada trains historians, not just people who can read history textbooks.

I ask all professors and sessional teachers to consider presenting some of the elements of public history in their church history or religious history methods class; this includes materials about archives, libraries, museums, and business, including advertising, marketing, and law (such as privacy legislation) and contracts. There could be sessions on negotiations and human resource management, which includes insurance issues. Succession planning may mean "who gets the car or the house," but scholarship succession planning means: what do you do with your private library, with your research notes, your manuscripts, and your contracts? Who and how will your work carry on? There should be sessions on continuing education, such as encouraging all of your students, not just the best and the brightest in your graduate classes, to attend annual conferences. There could be brief sessions on scholarly and commercial writing, translation, editing, and publishing. The list could be longer, but since we generally have not spoken to our students – or I never heard anything – about any of these issues, anything at all will be an improvement.

Few students of the history of religion without the institutional support of a university or a church have the time, leisure or inclination to indulge in research. Even before I graduated in 1990 with my doctorate in history from the University of Toronto, I had studied the job market and realized that few people would be employed as teachers of history in colleges or universities, all shrinking from budget cuts. Fewer still would be employed as historians in church positions. The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education had just done an end run on tenure and closed down

its department of history, laying off some of the finest historians and scholars in Canada. I decided that I would not subject my young family to the life of a vagabond sessional in the capricious university world, nor would I take up work in a large institution such as government and risk leaving the religion and history fields which I enjoyed. I moved to Montreal to set up my company as I took business courses at night for four years after my doctorate and learned what I could to apply to church history.

Money

One historian asked me once why I worked so hard without an employer to hold a whip or tenure over me. If poverty was the only motivation, I would have left history and religious history rather quickly. I think that many people who have the opportunity to study choose to study something with deep personal meaning and are willing to forego some financial compensation if the work is interesting enough. It is called the loyalty tax. We can joke about how psychologists and psychiatrists really need to study their area; and you can think of other people who study subjects that they need to study. I have always been fascinated by time; the physics of time, the measurement of time, here in Canada and around the world. Some of that appears in my book Sunday in Canada. Fundamentally, I am thinking about death and eternity, continuity and change and I pay attention to histories of these topics, such as those by Jean Délumeau. This should partly explain my twin interests in religion and history.

But I also want to eat. As a self-employed public historian, I look at things that have immediate, commercial, or public relations value. Quite a few years ago, I was approached by a then up-and-coming scholar who wanted to put out an edited work of readings: “Great!” I replied, “I have often thought of doing something along those lines. There is a great need for such a work. Do you need a co-editor?” Well, no, this person already had a co-editor and had a list of articles for the book. “What do you want me to do, if I don’t get to choose or edit the articles?” Well, translate some of the articles from French into English. “Great! Yes, there are some excellent things written about French Canada. How much do I get paid?” Well, this person was hoping that I would do it for free, but I would be thanked in the acknowledgments. As one of my political science friends at the conference asked shortly afterwards, “No fame? No money? So, who

do you get to sleep with?" That is the reality of the marketplace. I turned the offer down, just as I ignore the university offers of free office space and a telephone should I wish to work, for free, in their hallowed halls. I already have a telephone and space at home. I was astonished, to say the least, at the university (or universal) expectation that I would want to work for free, because I loved my subject.

This does not mean that I or public historians do no *pro bono* work. This is where public relations comes in. I am or we are merely much more choosy about which *pro bono* work we do. When Bryan Hillis asked me to help with the religion section in the *Encyclopedia of Saskatchewan*, not only did I agree to do some of the entries *pro bono*, out of interest and general curiosity, but I also agreed so as to prepare myself to take up other work that I knew clients would want done. Since I have worked for encyclopedias before and know the work involved, I approached clients and asked if some of the articles could be sponsored. Some reviewers have since noticed that the Ukrainian Catholic Church of Saskatchewan received more space than the Orthodox; I was able to convince some clients to sponsor me to write or supervise some articles about the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Unfortunately, I have fewer contacts with the Orthodox. Other articles, that went unsponsored, helped me increase my knowledge about different fields and served as advertising to new clients. Even some of the *pro bono* work has to have a slight mercenary angle, I admit, but the scholarship is excellent – or so my clients and the awards given to the *Encyclopedia of Saskatchewan* say – and it is getting done. Money and scholarship do mix. The sciences have always known this; we should, too.

One of my most satisfying experiences relates to the founding of Public History, Inc. One of a trio of students from the Ottawa area came to interview me about a recent article I had published in the area of human resource management and history. While that group already had a good idea of where it wanted to go before it spoke to me, I take some pride in knowing that it has since become the largest company hiring more historians every year, possibly than all of the universities of Canada put together. Public History, Inc., grew rapidly at a time when the government was cutting and reducing costs, especially its HR (historical research) sections across all departments, just before the residential native school cases hit the newspapers. Public History now specializes in native claims.

When I asked if I could join as a partner, I was refused; the company believed that I would take it into an area of public history that it did not

want to go. Obviously, that area is religion and non-profit institutional history. Not for profit is an unattractive area of public history. That is why my company has remained small, diversified, and I have few clients willing to pay enough to keep me. Younger scholars have come to me asking if they could study with me, to learn how to live, work, and make money in the area of the religious history of Canada. Most of them are between jobs or degrees. I have had to send almost all of them away and I am very willing to continue sending them to one of you. Research in religion, unfortunately, for most public historians, is usually entirely *pro bono*. There is not much paid work in public religious history except in museums, archives, editing, translation, publishing and other ancillary fields to history research and writing. Also, there are so many amateurs and university historians willing to do it for free.

This brings me to how much money can the public historian make in religion? One of the most tightly guarded secrets of our society is how much money can or is made. Although institutions such as governments, universities, and even churches usually publish their salary scales, people do not speak about such things, to avoid jealousies. In the public history field, I recommend that students get what they negotiate, aware of their skills, degrees, experience, the difficulty of the contract, the overhead costs of travel, equipment, and human resource support such as insurance and continuing education, aware of what institutional employees receive for equivalent work and also aware that there are volunteers, even university professors or students or ministers or parishioners, willing to undercut their price. What does all of this mean? The public historian gets paid what he can get, nothing more. It is not very helpful, but the wide range of income possible in this field baffles us all. Some are doing well. Most are not.

Challenges

1. Agreement in Principle

The greatest challenge to those interested in public religious history is the negotiation between the researcher and the client, not just about means and money, but about the results. While the historian needs to ask questions and present findings, the client may not be interested in the questions or the answers. Although the public historian may concentrate on methods and topics likely to be popular, even sensationalistic, to attract

attention and funding, and thus remain in the general area of religious history, the religious client may have something else in mind. It is a delicate balancing act, writing history that is both true and interesting, objective yet relevant to the intended audience.

Many public historians will find that they are confused with or seen as publicists, advertisers, paid cheerleaders, recruiters, and copywriters. It is a hard education for both the historian and the client to reach agreement on a mutually acceptable public history. The historian may try to produce a work acceptable to the academy when the client or the employer really want a work that is not history, but advertising or part of a marketing plan. There must be agreement about what is to be produced before work begins.

Public historians are sometimes required to be subservient to earn their wages. Subservience means to write or proclaim as history what the historian may doubt to be the true story. It means accepting the received history of an institution and rewriting it in a new form for a different audience, academic or other. It is a form of intellectual prostitution. So, public service can degenerate into low-paid or volunteer servitude, but it can also go further into servility. The best option during a disagreement, of course, is that the written history is then rewritten by a third person to suit the religious institution's purpose. If the historian is paid for the first version, and if the historian's name is removed from the final version, then there is not much else that can be done. The historian and the client have to get agreement in principle before work begins about what happens to the work.

2. Confidentiality

A religious organization is no different from any other organization in a heightened belief in its own self-worth – hence the desire to record and present its history – and a hyper-sensitive desire to keep some less worthwhile things private. As one individual frankly told me, "I'm not going to wash our dirty linen in public." What is the public historian to do when faced with such an attitude on the part of a religious institution? I've worked on native residential school cases, clergy abuse cases, native land claims, had a brief time on the outskirts of the Mount Cashel inquiry, and other sensational subjects. I've produced histories that are staying in private files and will never be published. That is why I sometimes state that the particular kind of public history I do is really private history.

There must be an agreement in place about how the work will be published, if ever, before work begins. Too often, an historian will work, perhaps for years, on a project that does not get published, although there was some vague understanding that it would. This happens to all historians. If the draft or final narrative is not meant to be published, then there should be clear agreement about this, too. Some historians have given talks or published sections of works-in-progress, and found that there were unpleasant legal consequences.

3. Access

Another disadvantage to the public historian is when the employer or the client does not see the historian as sympathetic. There is a lack of trust. The Christian employer may have John 10:12 in mind: "He is a hireling . . . sees the wolf coming and leaves the sheep and flees." Unless the historian can prove in some way that he or she has some interest, a vested interest, in the well-being of the organization, of the church, the parish, the congregation, the non-profit organization; unless the historian has shown long-term commitment, membership, donations in time and money, the historians does not automatically gain trust and access. At one Vatican archive, I danced attendance every day for almost a month and received permission to see documents on the day before I was scheduled to return to Canada – a day the authorities very well knew about since it was part of the application. Does this sound like a Vatican conspiracy worthy of Dan Brown? I have not yet returned to find out if my permission is still good, but I'm told it is not a conspiracy, these people do it to everyone. Roma is misspelled as Mora, which means delay. Compare the Vatican with what happened to me during research into a native residential school question. I was physically prevented from entering an archive room by a government lawyer who stood in the doorway and threatened legal action should I lay a finger on him to move him out of the way.

However, volunteering to do some *pro bono* work in an institution sometimes opens the doors. When visiting an institution in Victoria, I was denied access to some papers, but was eventually granted access after I volunteered to translate some nineteenth-century documents from Spanish that the secretary had stashed in the archives. It is a technique I do not recommend, although it may be necessary. It means working for free and this is the aspect most religious and non-profit organizations appreciate most, unfortunately. After volunteering to do some work at another

archive, I was given the task of trimming some bushes outside. Then I gained access to several files. A furious afternoon of pulling files from bulging cabinets gave me some information, but still not enough to answer my questions. The administrator who sat there in the office watching me work, satisfied with getting the bushes trimmed or stricken with some guilt or inkling of why I was there, that I needed documents, statistics, files, anything, then informed me that several boxes of old files were in the basement. I had one evening left before my plane left, so I worked again in a dank basement with no desk or chair with boxes and papers scattered all around as I squatted and squinted to see whether any could be considered important.

4. Trust

Before visiting one archive in Edmonton, I had been careful to get all necessary permissions, or so I thought. Once in Edmonton, I was told I needed yet another permission to view the unaccessioned, unorganized papers, too. The busy religious administrator took three days to type the letter; I was staying in the same building and we ate at the same table at breakfast, but it took three days and my return flight was already booked. Again, I must insist that this religious organization acted no differently than the Alberta provincial government employee who shook so much from nervousness that I had to hold his hand to sign the permission slip allowing me to look at the Lord's Day Act criminal files that were nestled between the explosive Lubicon Indian files and the files describing the administration of the War Measures Act of 1970 in Alberta. Public History does not differ when researching Religion. The challenges of standards, credibility, and access are the same as in other fields.

Religious institutions, however, can be reminded that Ranke's methodological aim of objectivity was motivated by a religious agenda, the same one that will continue to send historians to religious archives. Ranke wanted to grasp the divine intention in history. How can an historian test the hypothesis of God's intervention in human history? How can historians write a history of a religious institution where the subject concerned is convinced of Providence? People who are interested in this question will continue to show up at religious archives. Most people who show up at religious archives are already predisposed to like religious history and their subject. Why else would they spend any time doing it? So, religious communities have little to lose in welcoming historians.

Although some individual visiting historians may write hatchet-job histories, I believe that religious communities should be grateful for the publicity, thinking as do many public figures, that it did not matter what was written, as long as the names were spelled right. (My name is usually misspelled.) Take the Jesuits for an example. Despite centuries of calumnies, they are the most famous of all Catholic Reformation organizations. They continue to attract benefactors and novices; despite suppression they were able to revive after the French Revolution, and they are one of the largest religious communities of men in the Catholic world today. A little persecution goes a long way. Opus Dei should take note. The tourist office south of Edinburgh should make a small donation to Opus Dei so that Opus Dei can continue its fight against Dan Brown's book. It seems tourism to the Scottish community where part of *The Da Vinci Code* was filmed is getting even more visitors than ever before since Opus Dei and other Catholic religious organizations started raging about the book and the film.

As in *The Da Vinci Code*, all roads lead to the Vatican's Secret Archives and security is tight, tighter still in other Vatican archives. Unfortunately, the portable computer newly-bought and tested in North America belched smoke and burst into flames fifteen minutes after I turned it on. I had ordered and paid for the proper wiring, but the Canadian distributor provided substandard equipment. The Romans shrugged their shoulders; no replacement could be had in Italy: "a third-world country" one German remarked. I had to take notes with pen and paper and beg the loan of a photocopier that periodically seized up in the heat. One archivist, who had taken to wandering into the archives wearing nothing but his underwear because of the heat, finally handed me the keys to the place and left on vacation. Was I being set up? Was this a conspiracy? Actually, the documents I needed were in another building.

One of my many techniques for getting past a reluctant archivist is to ask for the grand tour. A tour sometimes helps me to know how an archive is organized and what is in it so that I can be more precise in my requests and also, to know what materials are available. So I asked one of the clerks in the Curia for a tour. He proudly agreed and soon we were in the basement with the Curial archives. In this case, the secret archives were stored in a former bank vault, with each part of the world assigned a separate locked box. Very casually, I asked if the clerk had the keys, say, to a box cryptically identified with a number I knew was the one assigned to English Canada. He had the keys. In a moment, I had a bundle of papers

in my hands. I paged through a few documents, and almost in a panic with excitement, I asked to return to my room to get note paper; I rushed across the court yard and back only to be met by a small man barricading the main door with a broom. This Brother, a Vietnamese refugee, had faced down more dangers than any historian could throw at him. The sweaty clerk soon appeared behind the good Brother and announced that the tour was over. I never again saw the inside of those archives. Now, I also always carry a pencil and paper.

Beginning a Career

Remember, although I stand before you all, safe and in one piece, I started this talk hanging from my fingers. It was actually a tough contract that everyone else, perhaps even some people in the Canadian Society of Church History, had refused. Three previous in-house historians had died, one after the other, and so I was hired to do the job. I arrived in Brussels groggy with jet lag, fended off a clutch of pirate taxi drivers and jumped into a legal car and gave the directions: the wrong ones. The driver honestly brought me to where I asked and I foolishly left the taxi only to wander for two hours in the streets with my bags. When I asked for directions, people stared at me strangely. Unshaven, haggard, clutching bags, I must have seemed a disreputable street-person, but then the Flemish character of northern Brussels was forcibly brought home to me; no one could or would understand my French. As I paged through the Flemish-French dictionary I had handily brought with me, I tried to convince people that all I needed was a telephone or some directions. Coincidentally or maybe not, one man turned out to be a priest and he called the monastery for me. Thirty minutes later, three Belgian priests drove up and hastily bundled me off as if I had recently escaped from their monastery. They gave me some bread, coffee, and cold cuts and showed me my room in the abandoned wing of the monastery, close to the archives. When I woke up the next day I had some kind of intestinal flu which the monks put down to my general state of health and the stress of travel.

I greatly appreciated the fact that the monastery allotted me a room in the building in which the archives were stored. Some organizations do not, requiring hours of commuting between hotel and archives. I overlooked the fact that the room was in the abandoned wing of the monastery, the windows were broken and that Belgium was suffering one of the

coldest winters of the decade; I overlooked the fact that I woke up most mornings shivering under several woollen blankets and a light dusting of snow. The same had happened to me before, when I visited the Baptist Archives in Hamilton in 1984 and McMaster University had assigned me to the dormitory that, I later learned, had been the model for the fraternity in the b-movie *Animal House*. The *Animal House* dorm had been trashed in traditional fashion shortly before I arrived and did not even have blankets on the bed as the temperature dipped below zero. Belgian hospitality at least included woollen blankets! I overlooked the fact that only one meal was served each day, at noon, and that this was costing me (or I should say, my Canadian sponsors) thirty euros a day.

I didn't mind that I didn't understand much of the Flemish being spoken all around me. It was an adventure; a chance to learn something of another language and culture. I didn't even mind that no one seemed to be taking any notice of me, talk to me, or ask if everything was all right. They were probably busy. I didn't find it extraordinary that there were no tables or chairs in the archives, or that the archives were in the abandoned part of the monastery, in a bell tower, reached only by a rickety circular wooden staircase without a handrail in the blackness. I was not discouraged when I had to work with every piece of clothing I could put on wrapped around me. I cut the fingers off my gloves and worked to copy documents in pencil, since the pen froze. I came from Canada where I had seen worse in private, church, and diocesan archives, where the conditions were sometimes just as primitive, where I had been frozen, dirty, sitting cross-legged on floors, and tired. I was in Belgium to work and a few inconveniences were part of the contract. That's what public history is all about. As they say in cowboy Canada: "Yuh gitter done."

I was young; I was excited. OK, I was foolish, but how often does a Canadian historian have the chance to work in a European archive? I was willing to put up with a lot. Despite the fact that much of Canada's religious history is from Europe, hardly anyone goes there to explore Canada's religious roots. I began to suspect the reason. It is so much easier to declare religion in Canada unique - just as the historians of the United Church of Canada try to prove. I was very happy to be working as a religious historian in Europe. In any case, my room was as cold as the archives and time was short, since I had booked only three weeks for this trip. I sat on the floor of the archives and worked my way through the materials, probably in the same way as some early church historian had.

I laughed at the fact that there was no electricity in the archives and

that I had to work by the grey daylight that filtered through the bell tower window openings. After my experience in Rome, I had wisely decided not to bother bringing a laptop computer. After Rome, all international travel would see me minus the extra ten pounds of luggage that caused airport officials to frisk me, sometimes ungently. The lead-lined bags that held the computer diskettes were heavy and suspicious and caused more delays. European airports' extra-strength x-rays had scrambled hard drives and diskettes. I returned to the traditional church historian methods; the same methods used a hundred and a thousand years before. Solid penned or pencilled notes in my hand luggage and stored under my own plane seat were more secure than anything yet devised by clever programmers. It was slow work, but when I returned home, I would be certain to have my notes. Some of my friends and colleagues over the years have had their notes zapped in the airport, lost in the e-mail transmission, and in one case, dropped out of the plane's cargo bay somewhere over the Indian Ocean.

The line of monks in front of the better working toilets on the other side of the monastery seemed to be getting longer as the mysterious flu that sent me into the bathroom began to claim other victims. Since I was not a monk, I was not expected for prayers, only for the one hot meal of the day, at lunch. Breakfast was dry bread and coffee. Supper was bread, cheese, and cold cuts set out on the tables. With the weather so cold, there was no need to put the food away; the salted meats stayed on the end of the table, replenished occasionally when they got low.

So, there I was, hanging from my fingernails from the top edge of the door to the one toilet that still worked in the abandoned archive wing. Death seemed a short two-story drop. The thought that all of my predecessors in this work had died crossed my mind. The bell for lunch had sounded. Hanging from my fingers, yelling at the top of my lungs while banging on the door with my feet accomplished nothing. Everyone was probably in the refectory, at the other end of the monastery, across the courtyard, enjoying or enduring the same bowl of soup that sometimes served as stew if too much water had boiled off. No matter; it was the only meal being served that day and I, sick or not, wanted some of it. Dirty and bleeding from the scrapes and limping from the bruises caused from falling onto the radiator, I limped into the refectory to eat the soup. No one seemed to notice. Opus Dei's storied discretion towards its own traveling members had nothing on this group of monks.

Shortly before I left, with the entire monastery throwing up and emptying out their chamber pots in the bathroom at regular intervals, a

doctor was called in, condemned the unhygienic kitchen practices, and blamed the cold cuts. The meat disappeared; it wasn't replaced. The food poisoning almost disappeared by the time I left for Canada, several pounds lighter. One thing I can promise you is that public history in religion will keep you trim.

My memories are already the stuff of history. Technology has changed; laptop computers are more reliable, smaller, lighter, and more acceptable to airport security officers. Most archives in North America and Europe have instituted archival transfer policies and documents are made available to researchers. Many religious archives have catalogued entire archives on the item level – a massive task – and the catalogue is on computer as well as available to researchers. More and more religious archives even have rooms, desks, chairs, catalogues, and archivists. Cardboard boxes have been replaced by fire-resistant steel, catalogues have been updated, air-conditioning and humidity controls have been installed. It is so much easier being a public historian of religion now.

I feel a little nostalgic for the years when one needed to be completely mad about religious history in order to undergo the grueling tests of perseverance required. You can, however, still obtain the pasty-white look of a crazed albino Dan Brown assassin after a few years spent in sunless basement church archives.

Conclusion

I have only touched on some of the issues faced by the public historian. Basically, there is nothing wrong with negotiating a better contract or organizing your work in such a way that it is professionally and physically possible to continue doing it in the long term, even without the support of a large institution. Our society has too long relied on unpaid, volunteer historians, religionists, and other clerks or clergy to do highly specialized, long-term work and wonders why no one can do a good job once an historical question comes up. Volunteers, whether students or professors, move on to other interests and jobs that can sustain them. We should try to train people who can remain in our field.

My time in Belgium was a moment of low comedy, but it taught me more about the nitty-gritty of public history in religion than any document

I could read. Public historians can afford to go to Europe or elsewhere to learn about Canada in world perspective. University historians who stay home in Canada to teach rarely can get away to the archives and when they can, summers, Easter, or Christmas, the archives in Rome, I know, are closed. You have to be on sabbatical; or you can hire a public historian. Public history can be a full-time job. Finally, the public historian who studies religion can easily read *The Da Vinci Code* without being threatened by its fiction. Finding the truth in religious history can be stranger still.

Endnotes

1. See "Teaching Public History: Jonathan Spence in conversation with Gerald Prokopowicz," *Perspectives* (May 2004); reprinted in <http://www.historians.org/Perspectives/Issues/2004/0405/0405pre1.cfm>