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"Fair Descendant of the Mohawk": Pauline Johnson as an Ontological Marker[1]

JENNIFER I.M. REID

"I spent my childhood . . . in reading and dreaming and writing," Pauline Johnson (Tekahionwake) once told a reporter, "My verses just sung themselves in my head until I had to write them. Then, of course, I wanted to read them to people. That is all there is to tell."[2] In spite of her clarity regarding the motivations that ultimately made Johnson one of Canada's most enduringly popular poets, scholars at the turn of the twenty-first century have generally agreed that there is indeed more to tell.

Pauline was, as she'd hoped, a reciter of verse. For seventeen years she engaged and enthralled audiences across Canada, the northern United States, and in London, England[3] with poetic and dramatic recitals that focussed on such diverse themes as the dispossession of aboriginal land, the hardships of aboriginal and mixed-blood women, Canadian patriotism, loyalty to Britain, and canoes. According to a number of scholars of the past decade, she was also variously a native activist, an early feminist, a post-colonial interpreter or a self-generated "counter-discursive site."[4] At the risk of failing to respect Pauline Johnson's assertion of simply wishing to read her verses to people, I believe that both she and her work can be appreciated in yet another fashion: as religious entities that served as a link between Canadians and a particular transhuman agency that underlay their existence.

Pauline Johnson was born on the Six Nations Reserve near Brantford, Ontario in 1861. Her father was Mohawk, and her British-born mother acquired aboriginal status upon marriage. Her children, consequently, were

by law Canadian Indian.[5] In 1884, Johnson began publicly performing poetry and prose that would ultimately be published in six collections, as well as in Canadian, British, and American newspapers, literary journals, and magazines.[6]

For most of the twentieth century, this work met with critical disdain or, more often, complete disregard.[7] Despite scathing literary condemnations of her work, and its absence from major anthologies, Johnson has remained a constant in the Canadian public imagination. During her lifetime, her performances and writing mesmerized audiences,[8] rendering her, according to *Canadian Magazine* in 1895, "the most popular figure in Canadian literature."[9] Public affection continued throughout her life,[10] and when Johnson died in Vancouver in 1913, the response of the city was unprecedented. Offices were closed, flags were lowered to half-mast and her funeral procession was a civic event.[11] Nearly fifty years later, in 1961, the Government of Canada issued a postage stamp in commemoration of her birth a century earlier, rendering Pauline Johnson the first woman (aside from the Queen), the first author, and the first person of aboriginal descent to be portrayed on a Canadian postage stamp.[12] Throughout this period, her work continued to be read. Scarcely an English Canadian child has left grammar school without reading her poem, "The Song the Paddle Sings;" and both *Flint and Feather* (from which the poem is taken) and *Legends of Vancouver* are still in print. In fact, *Flint and Feather* remains the largest selling volume of Canadian poetry.[13]

Now, over the past decade, scholars have rediscovered Pauline Johnson, and most concur with the Mohawk writer Beth Brant in calling Johnson "a revolutionary."[14] The precise nature of her revolution, however, appears to be up for grabs, as issues of ethnicity, gender, and post-colonial power variously drive the figure emerging from this scholarship. Although this growing corpus provides insightful snapshots of the woman's significance, it betrays a general uneasiness with Johnson's apparently contradictory nature. Most scholars, for instance, find her use of native stereotypes to be problematic, given her repeatedly expressed resistance to such stock characterizations. Some are simply baffled by the incongruity,[15] while others suggest that she was locked in an inescapably ambiguous position, at home in neither aboriginal nor white culture,[16] that she utilized racist conventions in order to ensure that whites would hear her criticisms,[17] or that her condemnations of white stereotyping were "ideologically underdeveloped" and her work was characterized by "semiotic confusion."[18] The difficulty

pervading this scholarship hinges on the question of accounting for the paradoxes that emerge once Pauline has been defined as an activist, or feminist, or post-colonial critic. It may be, however, that she is a figure who would best be approached in a reversed manner, assuming as a point of departure these incongruities, rather than one or another form of activism. This approach might well provide the most promising portal through which Pauline Johnson can be viewed and appreciated as a coherent figure. I shall suggest that this reversal of focus is possible if Johnson is regarded as a religious figure who provided Canadians with a particular form of historical and ontological orientation.

Alongside recent scholars' uneasiness with Johnson's contradictions is a common assumption that she can be situated in a world of relatively distinct, colour-coded, cultural entities. This notion of cultural purity (which is most often articulated in terms of "native" and "white") creates fundamental difficulties when it comes to interpreting her life and work.

George W. Lyon has claimed, for instance, that tensions over her conflicted ancestry created a state of "anomie" within Johnson, and that this confusion and lack of identity was expressed in her native stage costume, which was an exercise in pure fancy.[19] The issue of the costume's "authenticity" is raised also by Shelly Hulan,[20] and it is a serious one, as it involves a value judgment that privileges distinct native tribal culture over that of Pauline's own creolized heritage.[21] In respect to her stage attire, one might ask what an authentic "Indian costume" would have been for a woman educated in English literature by a British-born mother who was, by law and by virtue of her marriage to a Mohawk chief, an Indian. It is not unreasonable to expect that such a costume might look much like the one worn by Pauline: embroidered buckskin, Mohawk-made silver broaches based upon literary images of Minnehaha, the wife of Longfellow's Hiawatha, her father's hunting knife, a Huron scalp that had belonged to her grandfather, a bracelet of mountain lion claws and elk's teeth given to her by the naturalist writer Earnest Thompson Seton, and a neckline cut in the style of an English evening dress.[22]

The issue of the costume's authenticity rests on an assumption of static native and white cultural purities – an interpretative construct to which most recent work on Johnson appears wedded. Hulan, for instance, proposes an explanation for Pauline's apparently anomalous character based upon Ashcroft's, Griffiths', and Tiffin's post-colonial theory of "interpreters": colonized figures who learn new languages and cultures in order to save their

cultures of origin and, subsequently find themselves alienated from both cultural frameworks. On this account, Johnson was a "perennially ambiguous" outsider in respect of both native and white cultures.[23] Even if the theory of the "interpreter" is applicable to other figures, the presumption of clearly-defined, native and white cultural categories simply does not apply to Pauline Johnson. She did not oscillate between homogenous tribal and colonizing cultures, acquiring the language of one to preserve the other. If such purities existed, they did not figure in Johnson's cultural situation.

A cursory examination of her background serves to illustrate this. Pauline's mother, Emily Howells, was born in Bristol, England, the daughter of an abolitionist Quaker who moved his family to Ohio in the early-nineteenth century.[24] Her father, George Johnson was a non-hereditary chief, whose own father Smoke Johnson had been made chief at the request of the British, after heroically fighting the Americans in the War of 1812. Pauline's grandmother, Helen Martin, was the daughter of George Martin (who was Mohawk) and Catherine Rollston, a Dutch captive who had been adopted as a thirteen-year-old by Pauline's great-great grandfather, Tekahionwake. The man had taken the name Jacob Johnson at baptism, and both names – Johnson and Tekahionwake – were passed to Pauline through his Dutch daughter Catherine.[25]

Johnson grew up in a manor (Chiefswood) built by her father, which had two entrances: one facing the water to accommodate aboriginal guests arriving by canoe, and one facing the road for those – principally whites – travelling in vehicles. Numerous members of Canadian high society, writers, and scholars dined at Chiefswood, including the anthropologist Horatio Hale, and Alexander Graham Bell (with whom Pauline's father conducted the first successful long-distance telephone experiment).[26] For the most part, Johnson was educated at Chiefswood, where her mother introduced her primarily to British Romantic literature.[27] The context out of which Pauline emerged was not a world of insular cultures in conflict with one another, nor were there new languages and cultures for her to learn, since her first cultural language was that of Chiefswood, composed of Mohawk stories, British literature, aboriginal, British, and Dutch ancestors, Canadian aristocrats, scientists, and academics.

The appeal to uniformly stable cultural forms in order to understand Pauline Johnson is an error that ultimately results in attenuated conclusions in which she is defined in respect to what she is not – as inconsistent, confused, conflicted, or culturally dislocated. She was undoubtedly a

remarkably multifarious figure. This was a woman who, for instance, once emphatically told a London newsman, "You English . . . . you have a very poor idea of the Indian nature. I daresay, you, like the rest, think and write of him as a poor degraded savage walking round with a scalping knife in one hand and a tomahawk in the other . . . ,"[28] and yet, during another interview she drew out her father's scalping knife and proceeded to demonstrate the motions of scalping to a bewildered *Toronto Globe* reporter.[29] Johnson's Mohawk name, Tekahionwake, could be translated as either "double wampum" or "double life." She herself preferred the latter – "double life" – and went so far as to tell a British reporter in 1894, "there are two of me."[30]

Although I would argue that it does not point to chronic confusion on Pauline's part, the knotty issue of duality is nonetheless inescapable when considering her life and work. At first glance, Marilyn Rose' postmodern account of Pauline Johnson appears to shed some light on the woman while avoiding the pitfall of suggesting an interpretation based upon what she is not. Rose believes this poet should be regarded as a conflicted individual who willfully cultivated "competing identities," thus creating herself as a "complex cultural site." Rose locates Johnson in a postmodern arena of language in which colonization is defined as a process of "linguistic acts" that force upon the colonized the need for the creation and deployment of counter-discourses. Depending on the situation, Johnson cultivated and accentuated rival aboriginal and bourgeois European images, alternating identities in order to meet her needs. By refusing to be a clearly classifiable person, Pauline Johnson created herself as a postmodern figure who embodied a form of hegemonic critique.[31]

Rose's interpretation is appealing, but it may not take us very much farther than other recent analyses. This is due, first, to the submersion of the category of post-colonial within that of postmodern, such that the former is essentially reduced to a context merely of resistance, and second, to a postmodern – and self-constructing – model of identity. The new world is not reducible to a set of linguistic acts, and this is because, simply, something actually transpired beyond language in 1492. What occurred was the beginning of an alteration in the matrix of global population through which unprecedented numbers of people were to be compelled into relationships with one another. Colonization, missionization, and the trade in African slaves were to bring the people of three continents together in North America; and, far from existing in isolation from one another, these people exploited, despised, at times loved one another. No one remained untouched.

This was not a new world exclusively within the discursive constructions of colonial Europeans. This was an arena in which something humanly new occurred; and given this novelty, it is unlikely any North Americans have ever had the option of creating themselves as new world people. In other words, we might pose the question, "What else can a North American possibly be?"

A postmodern appraisal of someone like Johnson risks being flawed because it preserves a Cartesian model of self-construction: if one can construct oneself as a new world person, one might, presumably do otherwise. This, of course, cannot be so. What makes Johnson noteworthy is not simply the fact that she was a self-constructed new world person who embodied a counter discourse. Rather, her significance lies in her ability to express the meaning of being a new world person. Further, I do not believe, as does Rose, that she was multi-vocal,[32] but that she was a single voice articulating cultural meanings bound in memories of pre-contact North American life, of injustices wrought aboriginal peoples in the wake of contact, of Canadian patriotism, and of fidelity to the British Crown. This was one voice and body. Some scholars discern contradiction and confusion within this single entity; others believe she exhibited a self-constructed and "slippery racial identity."[33] Both interpretations presume stable external cultural referents against which Johnson is measured; the latter also assumes a self-generating model of identity that necessarily disregards much of what she actually articulated in both her discourse and writing. What is most remarkable about Pauline Johnson is that she called both of these cultural measurements and this model of identity into question. She did not typify the human power to create itself, but rather the capacity to express the constitutive relationship between the self and the space one occupies. History, and especially colonial history, was for her the principle force in the construction of identity, and she unremittingly called those around her to recognition of this relationship.[34]

Regardless of the palatability of the history of contact, Johnson confronted her public with the fact that it had been a mutual affair. At an early performance at Penetanguishene, for instance, she introduced herself to the audience by referring to their mutual relationship with a nearby shrine dedicated to Father Brebeuf and other Jesuits who had been killed by the Iroquois in the seventeenth century: "Most of you have never heard of me and I am sure we have never met before, but some of my ancestors met some friends of yours not far from here some two hundred and forty years ago."[35]

This shared history was not a mere backdrop for her: it was the source for a recreation of human beings through which new cultural entities came to inhabit the colonial landscape. The post-colonial blurring of pre-contact cultural purities was a constant motif in both her poetry and prose, as was the notion that human beings were the creations of historical circumstance.

It was Johnson's Toronto recitation of "A Cry From an Indian Wife" in 1892 that brought her the public recognition that she would continue to receive over the next two decades. The poem, written the year of the second Métis uprising, concerned an aboriginal woman vacillating between bidding her husband to join in the rebellion against the Dominion forces, and urging him to remain at home.[36] In the end, the character urged her mate to join the resistance, yet her final statement underscored a clear lack of human agency in the face of history.[37] "Perhaps the white man's God," she wrote in her final version of the poem, "has willed it so," pointing to a sort of inevitability in which human beings were not so much agents as cast members in an historical and ontological drama.

The recreation of human beings within the context of this drama was a theme to which Johnson turned repeatedly in her work.[38] We might consider in this respect her short story, "As it Was in the Beginning," which scholars have generally noted is a piece of fiction concerned the discriminatory treatment of mixed-blood women.[39] Relatively little notice, however, has been afforded the significance of hell in the story.[40] At the outset of the story, Johnson had the heroine's mother assert emphatically, "If the white man made this . . . hell, let him go to it. It is for the man who found it first. No hell for the Indians. . ."[41] However, as the story closed the heroine, now back in her village following her murder of her white lover, exclaimed: "I dream nightly of the white man's hell. Why did they teach me of it, only to fling me into it?"[42] If there was indeed "no hell for the Indians," as the mother claimed, then the heroine who found herself dwelling nightly in that hell, may well have been no longer an "Indian." At the very least, her relationships with whites had brought about an alteration such that she was no longer the person she had been at the beginning. Missionary, romantic, and murderous relationships with whites were, in this instance, the constituents from which a person was recreated.

Although Johnson often explored the disconcerting results of this recreation, she also accepted – indeed, embraced – it as an unalterable event. She stated this clearly in the inscription to *Canadian Born*, where she concluded with a testimony to the defining power of place and national

history: "White Race and Red," she wrote, "are one if they are but Canadian born." She appears also to have, on occasion, enjoyed humourously calling others to confront this unavoidable transformation too. Over the course of a return voyage from London in 1907, for instance, a woman from New York City complained to Johnson about English manners: "Why, when I asked for ice water," she said, "they looked at me as though I were a North American Indian savage." Pauline is said to have replied, "Do you know, that's just the way they look at me." At this point the American woman asked, "Say, Miss Johnson, was your father a real wild Red Indian?" When the writer answered affirmatively, the woman replied, "Excuse me, but you don't look a bit like it." Johnson then asked the woman, "And was your father a real white man?" "Why yes," was the reply, to which Johnson quipped, "Excuse me, but I'm equally surprised."[43]

The world out of which Johnson emerged was not culturally pure. This was a world in which historical circumstances inevitably altered human beings, a world of vicissitude in which events and relationships were the defining principles in human identity. For Johnson, the human being belonged to this changeable realm of history, rather than to the natural world, which throughout her work was described as eternal and belonging to "the God who never changes."[44] Blurred cultural distinctions, malleability in the nature of identity, and the formative power of historical contingency were Johnson's stock in trade. In the course of articulating this kaleidoscopic notion of identity she came to be regarded as "an authentic Canadian voice."[45]

Johnson performed the first half of her recitals in her "Indian costume," leading audiences to believe that her gestures and glances, "emotions and passions" were "pure Indian." Dressed in an evening gown for the second half, audiences concluded that she "must surely be almost white," because "in her features and complexion they could see nothing of the Indian."[46] Johnson was a figure who resided in a space between the cultural categories of native and white and who, by virtue of this position as the "*fair* [my italics] descendant of the Mohawk,"[47] possessed the ability to entangle them. In spite of all her apparent contradiction, she ultimately found her way into the hearts of her contemporaries, into school books and postage stamps, and, judging by the sales of *Flint and Feather*, into more homes than any other Canadian poet.

Pauline Johnson may have acquired this significance for Canadians because, to some degree, she served a religious purpose. Mircea Eliade once

suggested that traditional cultures generally accomplished the religious task of orienting themselves within their worlds in ultimate terms by means of sacred points that represented ruptures in otherwise homogenous space. Mountains, caves, temples, and other objects could become such sacred points through which human beings were able to communicate with the "transhuman agencies" that underlay their existence.[48] If such ontological markers[49] might exist also in the new world – points through which people are afforded access to the world-defining agency of a transcendent framework – a figure like Pauline Johnson might well occupy such a position.

The generative force towards which she directed attention was located within the structure of Canadian history. This was a defining context characterized by colonial contact, violence, and reciprocities: appropriation of land, wars and death, love and marriage and mixed-blood children, missionization, and colonial ties to England. Johnson stood before the public as a figure for whom these were neither benign nor disjunctive events associated with one or another sub-group within Canadian society. These were the contingencies through which a formative power revealed itself as a source for the creation of a world. Colonial history was in this sense a cosmogonic (or world-creating) context, due to its transhuman power to create new modalities of being human. Colonial history created a surplus that was entirely specific to itself; and this surplus – this new creation – was the Canadian. Johnson might well be regarded as having both embodied this new creation and called others to recognize it in respect to themselves.

Measured against other human and cultural entities, the Canadian that she substantiated was nonsensical: not quite British, not quite Mohawk, not quite American, nor Dutch. Her public found this complexity intriguing (a contemporary critic described her as the "most unique figure in the literary world of today").[50] More recent scholars, however, have stumbled in the face of it, seeing either inadvertent or willfully-crafted contradiction. It may be that scholars' perception of ambiguity actually obscures what were, in Johnson's case, both the message and a medium through which the history of the new world could present itself as a "transhuman" agency that undergirded human identity. From this perspective, apparent ambiguities might well constitute the normative state of humans who have been fashioned within the context of colonial history.

She was created by the complexity of the new world, and she wrote and spoke of this complexity at every turn. Her words cannot entirely be regarded as reactions against one or another form of hegemony, since she

was part and parcel of all of these: her Mohawk grandfather was a British war hero; her father worked for the Canadian government; her British mother became an "Indian" by loving and making children with an aboriginal Canadian; and Pauline herself dated only white men. Neither colonial governments, nor European culture, nor white men were objects of her sustained assault in terms of being consistently distinct cultural, political, or gendered entities. Hers was neither a discourse nor a life of resistance against these, so much as an expression of a notion of identity that all too often reeled in the face of such purities. Her language expressed what had occurred – both historically and in transcendent terms of human origins – in the course of the unfolding of the new world: the recreation of human beings.

Endnotes

1. I wish to thank Kristin McLaren for her assistance in the preparation of this essay.

2. *Harper's Weekly (*New York), 23 June, 1894; cited by the E. Pauline Johnson Project, Archives and Research Collections, McMaster University: http://www.humanities.mcmaster.ca/~pjohnson/life.html

3. Marilyn J. Rose, "Pauline Johnson: New World Poet," *British Journal of Canadian Studies* 12, No. 2 (1997): 298-307, 298; George W. Lyon, "Pauline Johnson: A Reconsideration." *Studies in Canadian Literature* 15, No. 2 (1990): 136-159, 137; and A. LaVonne Brown Ruoff, "Justice for Indians and Women: The Protest Fiction of Alice Callahan and Pauline Johnson," *World Literature Today* 66, No. 2 (1992): 249-255, 252;

4. The following examples should serve as sufficient illustration: (i) Sheila M. F. Johnston, *Buckskin and Broadcloth: A Celebration of E. Pauline Johnson Tekahionwake 1861-1913* (Toronto: National Heritage/National History, 1997), 10, believes Pauline made use of her eloquence to speak "on behalf of the First Nations of North America"; (ii) Mary Elizabeth Leighton, "Performing Pauline Johnson: Representations of 'the Indian Poetess' in the Periodical Press, 1892-95," *Essays on Canadian Writing* 65 (Fall 1998): 141-164, 148, 158, suggests that she was concerned in her writing with raising issues of Native land loss and "assimilation policies"; (iii) A. LaVonne Brown Rouff in her introduction to Johnson's *The Moccasin Maker* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 25 and 31-32, discerns in her work variously articulated feminist themes and native resistance to white stereotyping that together render her a writer of "protest

fiction" (see Rouff, "Justice for Indians and Women: The Protest Fiction of Alice Callahan and Pauline Johnson," *World Literature Today* 66, No. 2 (1992): 249-255, 249; (iv) Veronica Strong-Boag, "No Longer Dull: The Feminist Renewal of Canadian History," *Canadian Social Studies* 32, No. 2 (Winter 1998): 55-57, 56, defines her as a "counter-hegemonic figure" who understood the ways in which women were injured by ethnic and sexual prejudices; (v) Carole Gerson, "The Most Canadian of all Canadian Poets: Pauline Johnson and the Construction of a National Literature," *Canadian Literature* 158 (Fall 1996): 90-107, 102 has shifted Johnson into a wider arena, believing that her work has contemporary relevance for those who are concerned with issues of "power, literary value, race and gender"; (vi) Shelly Hulan, "Life of Johnson: From Biography to Celebration," a review of *Buckskin and Broadcloth: A Celebration of the Life of E. Pauline Johnson-Tekahionwake 1861-1913* by Sheila M.F. Johnston, *Canadian Poetry* 44 (Spring/Summer 1999): 85-100, 97, characterizes her as an "interpreter" concerned with preserving traditional aboriginal culture; and (vii) Marilyn J. Rose, "Pauline Johnson: New World Poet," *British Journal of Canadian Studies* 12, No. 2 (1997): 298-307, 299, calls her a "complex cultural site," that embodied a postmodern Canadian identity.

5. Her father's band had been moved by the British from upper New York state to the Grand River area subsequent to the revolutionary war in the United States (Rouff, "Introduction," in *The Moccasin Maker*, 1-2; Betty Keller, *Pauline: A Biography of Pauline Johnson* [Vancouver, BC: Douglas and McIntyre, 1981], 1; and Johnston, *Buckskin and Broadcloth*, 24).

6. Johnson published, during her lifetime, *White Wampum*, *Canadian Born*, and *Legends of Vancouver.* In addition, she prepared a third volume of poetry, *Flint and Feather,* for publication immediately prior to her death from breast cancer in 1913, and wrote sufficient prose to warrant posthumous publication of two volumes, *Shagganapi* and *The Moccasin Maker* (see Rouff, "Introduction," in *The Moccasin Maker*, 1-2; Rouff, "Justice for Indians and Women," 252; and the E. Pauline Johnson Project, McMaster University.

7. Aside from an article by Norman Shrive published in 1962, Johnson's work was virtually absent from the Canadian literary scene until another article by George W. Lyon, which appeared in 1990. Aside from these (and her inclusion in Margaret Atwood's Clarendon lectures on the North in Canadian literature in 1991), she remained removed from critical discussion until the mid-1990s. Any attention afforded her work tended to be scathing.

Earl Birney pronounced her writing to be "not at all important;" R.E. Watters dismissed it for lacking "philosophical or intellectual content;" Robertson Davies described it as "elocutionist fodder;" and Desmond Pacey dismissed it as "meretricious," "cheap, vulgar, and incredibly bad" (Norman Shrive, "What Happened to Pauline?" *Canadian Literature* 13 (1962): 25-38; George W. Lyon, "Pauline Johnson: A Reconsideration," *Studies in Canadian Literature* 15, No. 2 (1990): 136-159; and Gerson, "The Most Canadian of all Canadian Poets," 90, 98-99.

8. The *Toronto Globe* reported in 1892, for instance, that a number of prominent political and literary figures had remained throughout an entire performance in Ottawa. This "unusual" conduct, the article concluded, was "a tribute to the artiste." Another review the same year claimed that she had outshone Archibald Lampman and Duncan Campbell Scott, with whom she had shared the stage on one occasion, winning a "storm of applause" in response to her "ernestness and intensity" (see the E. Pauline Johnson Project, McMaster University).

9. Hector Charlesworth, *Canadian Magazine* in 1895. The writer added that she was also "in many respects the most prominent one" (cited in Johnston, *Buckskin and Broadcloth*, 138).

10. When Pauline became too ill to work, a number of Vancouver Women's societies joined together to create a trust fund to promote national sales of *Legends of Vancouver*. The cost of the book was set at the unusually high price of $2.00. The group (whose vice-president was former Prime Minister Sir Charles Tupper) elicited an exceptionally large response from the Canadian public (see the E. Pauline Johnson Project, McMaster University).

11. The procession was comprised of distinguished Vancouverites, representatives of all the city's clubs and societies, and a delegation of Squamish led by their chief – the son of Pauline's closest friend during the last years of her life, Joe Capilano. Johnson had been living in Vancouver since her retirement from the stage in 1908 (see the E. Pauline Johnson Project, McMaster University; and Rouff, "Justice for Indians and Women," 252).

12. Gerson, "The Most Canadian of all Canadian Poets," 90; Roseanne Hoefel, "Writing, Performance, Activism: Zitkala-Sa and Pauline Johnson," in *Native American Women in Literature and Culture*, eds. Susan Castillo and Victor M. P. Da Rosa (Fernando Pessoa University Press, 1997), 107-118, 117.

13. Charles Lillard, review of *The Moccasin Maker* by E. Pauline Johnson, in *Canadian Literature* 118 (Fall 1988): 154-155, 155; and Lyon, "Pauline Johnson: A Reconsideration," 137.

14. See the E. Pauline Johnson Project, McMaster University.

15. See Rouff, "Introduction," in *The Moccasin Maker*, 32. Roseanne Hoefel suggests that Johnson was simply providing her white audience with what they wanted to hear, but in so doing she supported Canadian imperialist interests (see "Writing, Performance, Activism: Zitkala-Sa and Pauline Johnson," in *Native American Women in Literature and Culture*, 107-118, 137, 140).

16. Hulan, "Life of Johnson," 97.

17. Leighton, "Performing Pauline Johnson," 148.

18. Lyon, "Pauline Johnson: A Reconsideration," 139-140.

19. See Lyon, "Pauline Johnson: A Reconsideration," 139.

20. Hulan, "Life of Johnson," 99, 95.

21. Johnson created the outfit with some initial assistance from her sister Evelyn, who later referred to it as Pauline's "Indian costume." "Indian" was the term that the writer used freely as both a description for herself and a blanket-term useful for speaking with whites for whom tribal distinctions were irrelevant. In an interview published in *Harper's Weekly* (New York), 23 June 1894, for instance, Johnson described herself as "only a Mohawk with an ambition to show that even an Indian can do something in the world." In an interview conducted in London the same year (published as "Tekahionwake," in *The Sketch* (13 June 1894), she told a reporter, "I am a Red Indian, as you know, and feel very proud of my 'copper-tinted face and smouldering fire of wilder life.'" Both interviews can be accessed through the E. Pauline Johnson Project, Archives and Research Collections, McMaster University. In "A Strong Race Opinion on the Indian Girl in Modern Fiction," *The Dominion Illustrated Magazine* (February 1893), Johnson wrote: "I quote 'Indian' as there seems to be an impression amongst authors that such a thing as tribal distinction does not exist amongst the North American aborigines" (Johnston, *Buckskin and Broadcloth*, 110). In the *Boston Herald*, a year earlier, Johnson was quoted as saying, "You will say that I am not like other Indians, that I am not a representative. That is not strange. Cultivate an Indian, let him show his aptness, and you Americans

say he is an exception. Let a bad quality crop out and you will stamp him as an Indian immediately" (Johnston, *Buckskin and Broadcloth*, 115).

22. Evelyn H.C. Johnson, *Chiefswood* (Toronto, Ontario, 1936), manuscript in Archives of Ontario; cited in Johnston, *Buckskin and Broadcloth*, 113; and Lyon, "Pauline Johnson: A Reconsideration," 139.

23. Hulan, "Life of Johnson," 97.

24. Pauline's cousin was the American novelist W.D. Howells. Emily moved from Ohio to the Six Nations Reserve in 1845 to live with her sister and brother-in-law (who was a clergyman). There she met and married Pauline's father, George Johnson.

25. See Rouff, "Introduction," in *The Moccasin Maker*, 2-4; and Johnston, *Buckskin and Broadcloth*, 23. Both Smoke and George were noted orators, with George having represented the Council before the Canadian Parliament on several occasions (see Rouff, "Justice for Indians and Women," 252; and Hoefel, "Writing, Performance, Activism," 111).

26. Others included the Marquis of Lorne and the Princess Louise, Lord and Lady Dufferin, General Sir Garnet Wolseley, See Rouff, "Introduction," in *The Moccasin Maker*, 5; Rouff, "Justice for Indians and Women," 252; Marcus Van Steen, *Pauline Johnson: Her Life and Work* (Toronto: Hodder and Stoughton, 1968), 3; Pauline Johnson, "The Story of the First Telephone," in *The Boy's World*, 27 October 1910; and Pauline Johnson, "Forty-Five Miles on the Grand," *The Brantford Expositor* (December 1892); cited in Johnston, *Buckskin and Broadcloth*, 56.

27. Johnson spent two years respectively at the Reserve school and Central Collegiate in Brantford (Rouff, "Introduction," in *The Moccasin Maker*, 5; Rouff, "Justice for Indians and Women," 252).

28. "Tekahionwake," in *The Sketch* (13 June 1894), the E. Pauline Johnson Project, McMaster University.

29. The E. Pauline Johnson Project, McMaster University.

30. The reporter had asked Johnson whether she could deny that the European "invasion" of North America had created the possibility of her "life of culture," to which she indicated agreement before adding the above comment (*The Gazette* [London], Summer 1894; cited in Johnston, *Buckskin and Broadcloth*, 121).

31. From this perspective, even the notion of the new world is bound by language, since it can be considered new in the eyes only of the colonizers. On this account, Pauline Johnson's father provided her with a model for the cultivation of dual identities, as a non-hereditary chief who worked for the Canadian government, wore English clothing, revered Napoleon, and spoke three European and six Iroquois languages. He lived in two worlds, as his daughter would ultimately do (Rose, "Pauline Johnson: New World Poet," 298-302, 304-305. She draws specifically on the work of Gayatri Spivak, Stephen Greenblatt, and Helen Tiffin in constructing her argument).

32. Rose, "Pauline Johnson: New World Poet," 305.

33. Rose, "Pauline Johnson: New World Poet," 304.

34. She once told a Canadian reporter, for instance, that the images that most writers of "Indian stuff" propagated were "dwarfed, erroneous, and delusive," owing to a general lack of knowledge of both the history of contact and contemporary aboriginal peoples. Most had never been on a reserve, she said; most were unaware that there were "many combats he [the aboriginal] had won in history . . ." and, moreover, "there are many girls who have placed dainty red feet upon the white man's neck" (Johnson, "A Strong Race Opinion on the Indian Girl in Modern Fiction," *The Dominion Illustrated Magazine*, February 1893; cited in Johnston, *Buckskin and Broadcloth*, 110-111). On another occasion, she raised the issue of a general lack of knowledge with a *Boston Herald* reporter, in this way: "let [an Indian] show his aptness, and you Americans say he is an exception. Let a bad quality crop out and you will immediately stamp him as an Indian" (*The Boston Herald*, 1893; cited in Johnston, *Buckskin and Broadcloth*, 115).

35. Van Steen, *Pauline Johnson: Her Life and Work*, 21.

36. Considering the fact that colonial Canadians "forget we Indians owned the land/From ocean unto ocean," and had brought only "wars and graves" to native peoples, she told her husband in one moment, "Therefore take your tomahawk and go." Yet she considered also the way in which colonial history had made pawns of all its participants, she wavered, and she advised her husband, "Revolt not at the Union Jack/Nor raise Thy hand against this stripling pack/Of white-faced warriors . . ./They are all young and beautiful and good;/Curse to the war that drinks their harmless blood./Curse to the Fate that brought them from the East" (E. Pauline Johnson, *Flint and Feather* [Toronto: Musson Book Company, 1931], 17-19).

37. Pauline wrote two versions of the final statement. In the original version of 1885, the woman directed her husband to fight because "God and fair Canada have willed it so." The second version appeared in *White Wampum* four years later.

38. The young son of an Irish immigrant who was the subject of "Joe," for instance, and who was pictured sitting on a grey prairie fence after an exhausting day of "husking Indian corn," was described much as one might imagine an aboriginal child being depicted by a white author from the period: " . . . perched upon/The topmost rail, sits Joe, the Settler's son,/A little semi-savage boy of nine" (Johnson, *Flint and Feather*, 44-45).

39. Rouff, "Justice for Indians and Women," 252; and Rouff, "Introduction," in *The Moccasin Maker*, 27.

40. In a review of the 1998 edition of Johnson's *The Moccasin Maker,* Patricia Clark Smith makes note of the presence of hell in "As it Was in the Beginning," but minimizes its importance. She suggests that aside from the central character's dreams of the "white man's hell" (a notion learned from her "hypocritical teachers"), she "gets clean away" with the murder of her lover (see *American Indian Quarterly* [Summer 1990]: 338-339).

41. Johnson, *The Moccasin Maker*, 145.

42. Johnson, *The Moccasin Maker*, 156.

43. See the E. Pauline Johnson Project, McMaster University; and Van Steen, *Pauline Johnson: Her Life and Work*, 4.

44. In "The Trail to Lillooet," for instance, she referred to "God's country," "God-begotten nights," and "God's copper-coloured sunshine;" in "The City and the Sea," she wrote, "the city is the work of man/But all the sea is God's"; and in "Golden of the Selkirks," she spoke of "God of the *eternal* [my italics] peaks . . . God of the days so golden." It is in the poem, "The Cattle Country," that one finds a definitive claim regarding the immutability of the God of nature. In speaking of the Canadian prairies, she wrote: "the God who never changes/Holds it in His hand" (Johnson, *Flint and Feather*,142-143, 121, 99, 138). One senses that Johnson did not clearly equate the God of the natural world with the Christian God who was implicated in the history of colonial contact. "A Cry from an Indian Wife," for instance, referred specifically to the "white man's God"; and "As it Was in the Beginning" pointed to the non-universal nature of the realm of hell.

45. Leighton, "Performing Pauline Johnson," 141.

46. *Winnipeg Free Press*, December 1897; cited in Johnston, *Buckskin and Broadcloth*, 145.

47. See the E. Pauline Johnson Project, McMaster University.

48. Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion* (New York: Harper and Row, 1961), 20-37; and William E. Paden, "World," in *Guide to the Study of Religion*, eds. Willi Braun and Russell T. McCutcheon and New York: Cassell, 2000), 334-347.

49. Paden, "World," 343.

50. *The Magnet Magazine*, 6 January 1897; cited in Johnston, *Buckskin and Broadcloth*, 143.

Prairie Farm Women Organizing: A Faithful Commitment

GAIL ALLAN

I own a video titled, *Prairie Women*, which portrays the organizing efforts of farm women on the prairies from 1913 through 1939.[1] As a daughter and granddaughter of prairie women, I find these stories of struggle, courage and commitment deeply inspiring – part of the legacy of "critical memories,"[2] which can nurture today's work for justice and social transformation. In the images of women driving miles through mud and snow with petitions on suffrage or world peace, and in voices describing isolation, hardship and the strength found in community, I am reminded at what cost our now-threatened assurance of basic levels of social welfare and the right to participate in defining them, was achieved.

Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau have suggested that the shape of the Canadian welfare state is a result of an alliance of "Protestant churches, middle -class women and agrarian organizations,"[3] and have discussed the intersection of these interests in the farm women's movement.[4] Yet neither Christie and Gauvreau, nor most histories of prairie women,[5] provide much sense of how the women who participated in these movements related issues, actions and religious convictions. In what way were these prairie women informed by faith as they struggled to name their reality and transform their lives?

I sought answers to this question in one of the sources in which prairie women were given a voice: the women's pages of the prairie farm press. For various periods in the history of these journals, these pages came under the editorship of activist women who invited their readers to contribute to a

discussion of social issues as well as the problems and joys of daily life. The pages, and often the individual letters, were thus an eclectic mixture of concerns about the farm economy, world peace, women's rights, raising children and getting rid of bedbugs – with plenty of recipes sprinkled throughout. Space was also given to reports from the organized women's movement. It seemed likely that if faith was acknowledged as an influence, it would be apparent in this writing. Although several such sources exist, I have limited my investigations primarily to the *Grain Growers' Guide*, a weekly paper published by the United Farmers of Alberta and the Grain Growers Associations of Saskatchewan and Manitoba. I have focussed on the period from June 1912 to June 1917, when the women's pages were edited by Francis Marion Beynon, a feminist with links to the Social Gospel, and a catalyst for some of the early organizing work of prairie women.

Prior to Beynon's editorship, the women's pages of the *Grain Growers' Guide*, like those of many other farm papers,[6] were not without discussions of social and political issues, or reflections of an assumed Christian context. Indeed, Isobel Graham, who "conducted" the page from 1909 to 1911 initiated a lively correspondence and petition campaign towards homesteads for women, and Beynon's immediate predecessor, Mary Ford, began with a column promoting the value of eugenics.[7] However, Beynon brought a unique blend of activism, Christian commitment, and skill at inviting women to exercise their voices, not only by writing, but by organizing as farm women – an activity she promoted both through the pages of the *Guide* and through speaking engagements across the prairie provinces. Beynon drew on strong Methodist roots and an affinity with the tenets of the Social Gospel, influenced by such figures as Salem Bland, W.F. Osborne, and J.S. Woodsworth. Ramsay Cook assesses Beynon's views as being "close to those of Woodsworth," and suggests that she "doubtless participated in the endless discussions of reform politics, the social application of Christianity, and the plight of the "foreigner," which were part of the intellectual diet of J. S. Woodsworth and his associates."[8]

Beynon taught in rural schools and worked in advertising before becoming the first full-time women's editor of the *Grain Growers' Guide* in 1912. She remained in this position until 1917, when her pacifism and public opposition to conscription ended her employment with the *Guide*, and forced a move to New York where she joined sister Lillian (former women's editor of the *Manitoba Free Press*) and her husband A.V. Thomas (former *Free Press* editor), who had left Canada for the same reason. She remained in

New York for most of her life, and there wrote *Aleta Dey*, a semi-autobiographical novel reflecting her feminist commitments and her search for a faith which would promote human dignity and freedom.[9]

The main section edited by Beynon in the *Grain Growers' Guide* was titled "The Country Homemakers." She was also briefly in charge of a page called "The Sunshine Guild" through which women offered each other material and moral support, and she soon began editing "Farm Women's Clubs," a regular page of reports from the growing number of women's organizations being established on the prairies.

The Organizational Context

Farmers in the west began organizing to gain a stronger voice in decisions affecting agriculture early in the century. Although strongly focused on economic questions, the Manitoba Grain Growers, the Saskatchewan Grain Growers and the United Farmers of Alberta also took stands on social and political issues. Encouraged by the growers' leadership, and a number of activist women, including Beynon, the Women Grain Growers' Association (WGGA) was established at a women's meeting held in conjunction with the 1913 Grain Growers convention in Saskatoon.[10] This was followed by the United Farm Women of Alberta in 1915.[11] In Manitoba women participated in the annual Grain Growers convention, and a few clubs were formed, but a Women's Section was not formally organized until 1918.[12]

Although there are initially some references to these women's sections as auxiliaries, these were soon dropped, and women expressed a clear self-understanding of their organizations as having an equal standing and particular mandate within the broader organization. Members of the women's sections were considered members of the general organizations; however, women affirmed the importance of bringing a united women's voice to farm issues, of attending to issues which particularly affected women, and of having places to meet for education and mutual support.

Farm women also became involved in a number of other groups active in the prairies. The Women's Institutes (called Homemakers' Clubs in Saskatchewan) were important in both rural and urban areas, and received some government support. Some critique suggests that the Women's Institutes were viewed as at best a-political, and at worst an instrument of government policy, possibly intent on making women more satisfied with

their status as "homemakers."[13] Certainly, the Institutes grew from the burgeoning Home Economics movement, with the stated intent of "improv[ing] the conditions surrounding rural life by disseminating a greater knowledge of domestic and sanitary science and household art."[14] While there are reports of tensions between the Institutes and other farm women's groups, the *Guide* often had reports from both and some local groups appear to have been interconnected. As Carbert suggests, at the local level the creation of more viable rural communities was a primary concern of both groups; while strategies sometimes differed, local activities were often similar.[15] Also important during this period was the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), with which organized farm women formed alliances in the struggles for suffrage and prohibition.

The *Grain Growers' Guide* was established as the "official organ" of the farm associations in 1905. Its editorial policy leaves little doubt about its orientation towards reform:

> The Guide is designed to give uncolored news from the world of thought and action and honest opinions thereon, with the object of aiding our people to form correct views upon economic, social and moral questions, so that the growth of society may continually be in the direction of more equitable, kinder and wiser relations between its members, resulting in the widest possible increase and diffusion of material prosperity, intellectual development, right living, health and happiness.[16]

The path toward these goals was stated succinctly on the masthead: "Organization - Education - Cooperation."

It is clear from the pages of the *Guide* that a similar orientation shaped the women's organizations from their inception. In an early editorial calling on women to form clubs Beynon wrote: "There is no reason why, if they choose, these organizations may not consider municipal, Provincial and Dominion questions – homesteads for women, Direct Legislation, suffrage or any other matter of great moment which interests them."[17] As the organizations developed, their leaders demonstrated that they did indeed consider all such questions in their purview, and that they expected to contribute significantly to the transformation of their communities and their society. Addressing the 1915 Saskatchewan WGGA convention, the vice-president, Mrs. S.V. Haight declared that "the whole idea of the Women

Grain Growers' Association . . . is organization and cooperation for the purpose of bettering financial conditions for farm men and women, bettering educational systems, bettering social conditions, and to help labor conditions."[18] In 1916 Alberta's Irene Parlby, as president of the UFWA, expressed an equally sweeping vision:

> Let us not leave our ambitions at better butter, better produce of all kinds, better marketing, important tho' all these are. Let us hitch our wagons to the stars, and see if by aiming at the very highest, we may not thereby in co-operation with others add somewhat to the betterment of this old world of ours. Better produce and better marketing are badly needed, but better men, better women, better homes are still more needed. Let our United Farm Women make their homes a model for the whole land.[19]

Thus in local, district and provincial meetings, women studied issues and offered their opinions in resolutions and petitions to governments and other institutions. They sought changes in legislation affecting women, improvements in education, accessible health care, and an end to those vices that they perceived as a threat to the well-being of women and their families: liquor and prostitution. Most of all, they lobbied for the right to a say in these decisions, as voters and legislators.

Yet these broader political objectives cannot be separated from the vital role of the local groups in the creation of community. The WGGA was characterized at one point as an alternative to going quietly crazy alone, and the stories of women cracking in the prairie's isolation were frequent enough to make this a real choice. Organizing social activities, fundraising for the Red Cross war effort or relief for local families, cooperative buying of fruit and marketing of eggs and butter and "rest rooms" where women could gather during trips to town all contributed to the sense of a shared life where interdependence could be valued and enhanced. These activities were integrated with education and political mobilization in a program that seemed to display little practical recognition of a public/private split.

We can discuss anything that we desire: prohibition, gardening, pickles, the best methods of washing, management of children, the improvement of our rural schools, the franchise, and through our women's sections we can get our trained nurses stationed just where we desire, establish rest rooms and work for better communities. As the franchise is

coming to us we must study political needs, not party needs, and as grain growers we must keep to principles.[20]

Issues Debated

This growing organization of women was the context for the letters and reports that appeared on those pages of the *Grain Growers' Guide* dedicated to women's concerns. While not all who wrote to "The Country Homemakers" were association members, their experiences were certainly the grist from which the policies and programs of the organizations were formed, and most writers appeared eager to debate the reforms the activists were promoting.

Discussions during this period were framed by the debate about suffrage. Women wrote of the need to carry the values of motherhood and home into the public realm, but also of their equal humanity and capabilities, insisting that women's business included every sphere of life. For many, suffrage was seen as a defense against laws, institutions and activities that harmed women and children. There were those – both women and men – who continued to contend that involvement in public life would undermine women's responsibilities in the home. But most, like "Norma," insisted that the ballot would give people "the weapon of power, the right to decide what shall be done," and heard her question, "Is a woman a person, a human being?" answered four years later when "Elizabeth" reported on her first voting experience: "You see I have a feeling of power because I am not now an onlooker but an actor."[21]

Underlying farm women's desire for suffrage was a complex of issues unique to their situation. A major one was entitlement to land; although the gradual passage of dower laws gave some assurance that a woman would not wake to find herself homeless – an experience several wrote about in the early years – this protection was generally limited to the home quarter. Women were guaranteed no say or title in the rest of the property, and many shared the despair of the woman who wrote "Is life worth living when it is only hell on earth and wives are to have nothing when they are old, after years of toil and deprivations?"[22] A related issue was that of homesteads for women: with the exception of widows with children, single women were generally prohibited from homesteading.

Women also desired recognition for the value of their farm labour, and a measure of financial independence and equality in return for the drudgery

of their days. While some could boast of partnership in decision-making or a joint chequing account, others shared the experience of "A Northwest Woman" who wrote:

> As, of course, he makes all the money because he has the handling of it, he thinks it is all his hard earning. When a woman raises a family of children, does all the sewing, knitting, washing, ironing, baking, churning, scrubbing, sweeping, making beds, cleaning dishes, dusting, cleaning stoves, making quilts, putting up fruits and pickles, put in a garden, raise chickens, weed a garden, and take care of the vegetables in the fall, pack butter for winter and have a couple of hundred dollars' worth to sell, don't you think she is earning her board and a couple of print dresses in a year?[23]

Together with a number of her correspondents, Beynon urged her readers to reconceive "earning her board" as "add[ing] to the wealth of the nation" and declared that "the position of the wife on the farm . . . should be a partner . . . his wife is paying for his land and his barns and his stock with good red blood."[24] Women who did view their work as a contribution to the total farm economy had little question about entering into debates about free trade, tariffs and cooperation. Some writers brought to these discussions a cogent economic analysis that sought nothing less than the establishment of a new social order.

Women protested the system of child guardianship which made men the sole guardian of children unless illegitimate, yet also made it possible for men to deny children any support or inheritance. They told stories of children being sent away to school without the mother's agreement. A motion sent to the provincial government by the Wiseton and Dinsmore WGGA reflected these concerns:

> That the present law of parental control is unjust to the mothers of this land and, further, that we demand that a law giving the mother equal rights with the father in regard to the educational, religious and general upbringing of their children be immediately brought forward by the legislature.[25]

There were also demands for improvements in education, and a greater say in the school system; the possibility of women becoming school trustees was one frequently cited benefit expected from the franchise.[26]

Access to health care was also a leading issue. It no doubt contributed to the steady stream of home remedies discussed, as well as to more pointed commentary on the effects of an inadequate system:

> "A Canadian prisoner in Germany," said Mrs. John McNaughton [at a Saskatchewan Homemakers' Convention] "could say of his country that, for so young a country, our roads and bridges and public buildings are truly remarkable, but that on the prairies we leave our mothers to die in childbirth."[27]

There were strong connections made between the struggle for suffrage and the campaign for prohibition. Indeed, a prohibition referendum provided Saskatchewan women with the first opportunity to exercise their franchise, and its success brought closer the goal of "stamping out that monster Drink."[28] It has been suggested that the struggle for prohibition represented a response to violence against women.[29] Certainly the spectre of violence haunts a number of these letters. "I wish that every woman had her rights in this country too, for so many of us are servants or mistresses and without pay; we must obey because the law says so yet we are helpless to defend ourselves on the farm," says one, while another mourns "the fight has been too hard and long, and I look and feel as if I'd been married twenty years instead of seven."[30]

Although women's clubs contributed to the war effort, most of the commentary on the war was provided by Beynon, whose pacifism intensified together with her critique of the political machinations and economic interests which she saw as the real beneficiaries of the war. A few correspondents agreed, while others focussed on the economic sacrifices being asked of farmers. Eventually a number of writers entered the conscription debate, especially in relation to whether single and married men should be conscripted at the same time.

These represent some of the lively, articulate and often poignant discussions which took place in the "women's" pages of the *Grain Growers' Guide*, reflecting the factors which impelled women to organize, to study and to act. The culmination of their work during this period was symbolized by the presentation of petitions containing over 43,000 signatures to the Manitoba legislature in December 1915,[31] and the granting of the franchise in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta in quick succession early in 1916.

Many of these letters and reports also reveal a deeply-held faith which informed this movement and its debates in a variety of ways.

Connecting Faith and Reform

There are several strands apparent in the way that farm women expressed religious convictions in relation to their reform work. One strand is the claiming of scriptural warrant for the stand taken on a particular issue. A second strand frames arguments in terms of social purity. A third strand emphasizes a personal relationship with Christ, while a fourth constitutes an embrace of the social gospel. A related view perceives the organized farm movement as religious in character.

Claims of scriptural warrant for opinions were especially prominent in the debate around suffrage, and were used to argue both sides of the issue (often from the same passage). The creation story was the basis for some women to argue their humanity and equality, often quite creatively: "The very fact that God placed Eve outside in this big world, not inside the four walls of a kitchen, ought to prove that she was intended to be a companion for her husband, and to see and understand whatever interests him."[32] The fifth chapter of Ephesians was also a favourite, with interpretations ranging from submission to mutuality, and some willingness to question Paul's authority, with the suggestion that his advice "can be taken too literally" and that "there are times when it would be a sin for the wife to submit to her own husband . . ." Others cited Jesus' attitudes to women in support of the suffrage cause: "He always showed himself to be their friend and our hearts glow with the thought that Christ never condemned a woman."[33]

Scriptural and religious arguments were also put forward in relation to the war. Beynon raised questions about the peace Christ was meant to bring, and in 1914 declared that she did not have the heart to write a Christmas editorial while war denied belief in "Peace on Earth, Good Will to Men."[34] At least one writer, however, declared her opposition to ministers who preached peace, insisting that Canada's soldiers were "honourable . . . glorious . . . noble" and that "we don't want peace agitators, because a world lasting peace cannot be secured until we knock Germany to her knees." Opposed to this view was "an Englishwoman," who declared that it was wicked to pray for victory and that if clergy thought this was a holy war, then they should go to fight.[35]

Beynon also claimed a scriptural warrant for her opposition to ethnic and racial prejudice, an issue on which she differed from the stated opinions of a number of her readers.[36] Suggesting that distrust of what is different represents "the spirit that crucified Christ," she concludes with a statement that interestingly foreshadows much feminist discussion today. "It may even be that in that dim and shadowy future the world will have sense enough to value people just because they are different, because they have a new way of looking at things."[37] When she applied this attitude to her stance on the relation of suffrage to conscription, it brought her into conflict with others in the suffrage movement, notably Nellie McClung.[38]

The notion of purity as a goal to be embodied by women has been identified as a Victorian ideology which "assaulted" people from many directions.[39] Evidence of its interpretation as a Christian ideal can be found in a resolution of the 1911 Manitoba WCTU convention, reported in the *Guide:*

> Divine revelation, enlightened science and individual experience all declare that the highest mental, moral and physical development is dependent upon a pure life . . . We urge the inculcation through our educational institutions of the principles of pure thinking, pure speaking and pure living, as binding upon both sexes alike, and we plead with the Church of Christ, by whatever name it may be known, to declare more earnestly than ever the gospel of a pure manhood as also a pure womanhood.[40]

The turn to arguments based in a vision of social purity can be seen in the connection drawn between suffrage and the values assumed to belong to motherhood. "A Suffragist Mother" characterized suffrage as "the first step to bringing the mother spirit freely and fully into politics," and declared that "my heart is in the effort to make life brighter, better, holier on this old world of ours . . ."[41] Beynon offered an expansive vision of this argument, resisting the privatized view of motherhood that opposed women's active involvement in society.

> We have too long been contented with the kind of motherhood that can look out of the window and see little children toiling incredible hours in factories or canning sheds over the way, until their small heads grow dizzy and their little fingers are bruised and bleeding, and say calmly, "Thank God, it isn't my children" . . .

> I tell you sisters, this kind of motherhood isn't good enough for the present day. We want a new spirit of national motherhood – mothers whose love for their own children teaches them love for all children . . .[42]

One writer acknowledges the unique contribution of feminine values from those who, like Florence Nightingale, are not mothers, but serve society in other ways, "who . . . pour out their love upon a suffering, sorrowing world, and shed joy and gladness from the crushing of the 'alabaster box' of their own sweet-fragrant souls." She asks, "Are these less womanly than the mothers so greatly extolled?" and urges "Then let all women fight for truth . . ."[43]

For other writers, purity was gained in the application of "Biblical truth" in their day-to-day life and relationships: "If, by some miracle every mother and sister and wife and daughter could become intensely interested in all the wonderful truth contained in the Bible I think at once a great saving wave of happiness would cover all the land," wrote "Homelover." Concerns for purity also informed campaigns against alcohol and the "White Slave Trade"; "Progressive" complaints about laws which allowed the "Evil One" to tempt children into "impurity" and the expectation that women would "furnish the moral capital with which to keep humanity from sinking into utter degradation."[44]

In some cases a strong individual faith was cited as a source of the strength to endure the struggles of overwork, poverty and neglect, even while declaring belief in the importance of gaining the vote.

> But I must tell you I have found a Friend who will all our sorrows share, if we let Him. I thank Him every day that He gives me strength to perform my material duties and I know He'll give me strength to perform my spiritual duties also. I pray that He'll take away my pride and independence, make me humble and lowly and willing to bear my cross . . . if we are faithful and prayerful, we will someday get our reward, both here and hereafter.[45]

A woman who had signed herself "Discouraged" was counseled: "Has she ever asked God to help her thru [sic] her trials? I know He will help her if she will only ask him in faith . . ."[46]

However, a more dominant view expressed commitment to a social faith which mandated active work for reform. This was a perspective that

was well-represented in the *Guide* and in the farm organizations as a whole. Both J.S. Woodsworth and Salem Bland were regular contributors. Woodsworth was also a speaker at Grain Growers' conventions, including those of the women's associations. The *Guide* promoted Grain Grower or Farm Association Sundays, and published a selection of letters (apparently initiated on the "Country Homemakers" page) dealing with the relationship of church and community. Responses to this topic ran the gamut from those who saw denominationalism as a major problem, and described local church union initiatives, through calls for a church more spiritual and focused on "inner transformation." There was also support for active involvment in ensuring that the economic and social needs facing the community would be met.[47] Beynon also initiated a discussion of the "superannuation" of retiring clergy, which led to considerable debate about the clergy's role. Some critique accused clergy of a bias toward "the moneyed class" or of being captive to those who paid their salaries, constituting a "bulwark of established prerogative and special privilege."[48] A challenge to preach a social gospel was strongly voiced:

> Had the clergy been free men and preached the gospel of love and brotherhood, salary or no salary, the world today would not be plunged into wholesale murder . . . If [study] were devoted to finding out the basic cause of strife and poverty, and the remedy to be applied, and then firmly and unyieldingly standing for the remedy being applied, I grant the preacher's life would not be "easy" for a time anyway . . . I . . . only desire to further real Christianity instead of churchianity.[49]

Women wrote of this vision of social Christianity in relation to their work and to their expectations of the church. UFWA member Leona Barrett reported her experience of a Rural Leadership conference, where "the co-operative effort, the struggle against the present economic situation was lifted into the realm of spiritual struggle, and . . . shown to be . . . a plea for the coming of the brotherhood of man, when the Father's will shall be done on earth as it is in heaven." Writing of her first experience voting "Jessica" adds: "I do believe with Rev. Dr. Bland, that the church must not only preach the Gospel, but also expose and rebuke sin wherever it is found, for in a sense we are our brothers' keepers." And Beynon spoke of the rise of "a body of social workers . . . teaching the old Christ doctrine, that whoso would be the greatest among us must be the least – the one who serves," and who saw their

role as "education of the people to see the economic conditions which cause poverty and remove them."[50]

There was some resistance to this vision. A male correspondent asked "Why do so-called ministers of the Gospel preach politics etc. from their pulpits?" Another declared "it does make one wrathy to think that by co-operation, organization, women's franchise, referendum and recall, etc. we will accomplish the evangelization of our race . . . be patient and wait until He appears to judge the world in righteousness." Such views would not have surprised Beynon, who had noted the uneasiness of those who wanted to keep Sundays and week days strictly separated, and had urged that "the church, having put her hand to the plow, cannot turn back. She must continue to preach a religion that will endure the test of good citizenship."[51]

For some correspondents, the social gospel was linked to a conviction that Socialism was the appropriate form for a new social order. Jesus was declared to be "the greatest socialist that ever lived, the one who levelled all class distinctions" and Socialism, in WCTU president Frances Willard's words, "God's way out of the wilderness and into the promised land." Jesus' concern was with this world, and Socialism would lead to the "co-operative commonwealth."[52]

Another dimension of this adoption of a social gospel vision was reflected in the self-understanding of leaders in the WGGA and the UFWA, who saw their work very much as a religious venture. At some points this was expressed quite directly, as when Erma Stocking, WGGA secretary, asserted that "in its appeal to the intellectual and moral as well as the practical side of life, the association acts as, and is, a broad religious movement."[53] Other statements were more subtle, and more eloquent.

> In a few years all our restless and angry hearts will be quiet in death, but those who come after us will live in the world which our sins have blighted or which our love of right has redeemed. Let us do our thinking on these great questions, not with our eyes on our bank book, but with a wise outlook on the fields of the future and with the consciousness that the spirit of the Eternal is seeking to distill from our lives some essence of righteousness before they pass away.
>
> Let us, this coming year, through our organization, show the world what we women of the West stand for.[54]

That this religious dimension permeated the organizations could also be seen in the reports of local groups, which described meetings interspersed with hymns and prayers, conducting Sunday worship and planning for a church building, and support for scripture reading and prayer in schools. Attempts to influence church policy were also described: of particular note was a presentation by members of Saskatchewan's Provincial Equal Franchise Board to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church and the Methodist conference concerning the need for women to have a voice in church courts.[55]

In part, the ease with which women blended their faith and their reform work represented an assurance that they were building a Christian society, and that every improvement would only make it more possible to live a truly Christian life. These activist women were confident in their role as community leaders, contributing to the Canadian project of nation-building, even while maintaining a critical perspective on the character of the society being created. In her first annual report as president of the United Farm Women of Alberta Irene Parlby declared, "We are building the structure of our nation from the foundation stone . . . Each one of us is getting some stone in place. Are we laying them true and straight, good, honest, rock moulded and chiselled with our best endeavour . . .?"[56]

Conclusion: "To Fulfill the Command of Love"[57]

In their writing women gave voice not only to struggle, but also to the joy and hope that they could feel in the beauty of the prairie and the new life that they were creating: "And best of all it is our home, and when we see it all our hearts are glad that we can live, and love, and know that God is good."[58] One dimension of the relationship of faith and action as viewed through these letters encompasses the role of the women's pages themselves in the development of what today might be recognized as women's spirituality. Women discovered their own voices, raised difficult questions, and gained a sense of solidarity, competence and value to society. They joined a desire for "comfort and beauty" with a willingness to engage in political struggles for survival and justice. Many found in these pages a source of strength, courage and friendship in times of isolation.[59] It seems clear that for many writers a part of this process was an opportunity to give expression to faith, to name sources of hope in scripture, tradition and community, and to identify values and convictions leading to action.

The qualities demonstrated and nurtured by women through this correspondence were given greater scope in the work of farm women's organizations. Considerable effort has been directed towards discerning the ways in which this work represents either "maternal" or "equal rights" feminism, and in distinguishing its relationship to various political agendas, particularly those of suffrage and post-suffrage feminism and of the broader agrarian reform movement. Were women's commitments to home or work, social order or justice, other women or other farmers? From the perspective of this sample of women's writing, these dichotomies seem misplaced. As Strong-Boag argues, all of these issues are effectively dimensions of women's work; they were not disconnected in women's lives.[60] Women demanded acknowledgment of the values, knowledge and skills they possessed, and the right to use them in whatever sphere of life they chose. At the same time, most were open to new possibilities, and not a few were willing to contest barriers to equal access to the opportunities and privilege that society afforded men. Farm women also well understood the economic and political pressures affecting prairie agriculture and farm life. Thus their letters show women for whom issues of trade, tariffs and grain prices, land rights, war and peace, could be integrated with "maternal" concerns for adequate schooling, health care, prohibition and child welfare.

The "maternal" versus "equal rights" debate can be seen as part of a discourse which insists on the existence of a public/private split, with the home distinguished from the political realm. An analysis which recognizes the interstructured nature of women's oppression seems more fruitful for understanding the writing and action of these women. Such an analysis will also notice the complex interplay of struggle, resistance and hope in the daily lived reality of women's lives, where "politics, pitchforks and pickle jars"[61] were indeed quilted together in a pattern which would create the society they envisioned. Most women were clear that access to national and provincial political life was indeed a requirement for creating that society, but as Christie and Gauvreau have noted, an understanding of women's role in Canadian political life requires an examination of "the wider grass-roots and non-electoral dimensions of agrarian reform, which revolved around local community issues of improved education, public health, the creation of community centres, and the general uplifting of farm housing and working conditions."[62]

For many women settling on the prairie at this point, to view this public engagement[63] through the eyes of faith was no doubt a quite natural

move – the evidence of the letters suggests that these were not yet communities where faith had become privatized and secularism had won out (though some writers clearly had concerns about this possibility). These were women for whom faith was a force interwoven through the fabric of daily life. As a result, many appear to braid with ease the strands I have identified. Women for whom the social gospel offered a vision of a world which could be made better, and a call to work for its improvement in all of life's endeavours, could still acknowledge a need for an image of God as strength and comfort in a context of isolation and spirit-destroying labour. Some heard the social gospel as encouragement to ensure that the values intended to instill "purity" in the home would be inculcated into society as a whole. Women claimed with assurance scriptural warrant for all of these stances, some demonstrating considerable depth of biblical knowledge.

While some historians have downplayed the role of religion in prairie women's lives,[64] the evidence in these *Grain Growers' Guide* pages seems to suggest otherwise. Although organized religion and denominational loyalties became less vital where population was sparse and in transition, for significant numbers of women faith was clearly a motivating factor in reform activities. Richard Allen has suggested that the social gospel provided a necessary framework for "ideas and hopes . . . not reducible to economics or even politics." The challenges of faith represent a deeper motivation for efforts to transform society. Allen concludes that:

> Patterns of behaviour, individually and collectively, emerge which sometimes owe more to religious concerns of alienation and reconciliation, of guilt, justification, redemption, and ultimate hope than to the cold rationalities of economic interest. The two impulses meet in a framework of ideas, or an ideology, combining self-interest and ultimate aspirations by which a group, class, section or nation, explains to itself and to the world, what its problems are, how it is approaching them, where it is going and why. To a remarkable degree, the social gospel and the ideology of the agrarian revolt coincided.[65]

For women with visions of justice and well-being for themselves, their communities and their nation, the social gospel created a religious mandate for their efforts, and an assurance that there could be grace and blessing in petition campaigns, speeches and discussions, and the persistent refusal to back down in the face of political resistance, paternalism and the exhausting

work of wresting a living from the prairie. The joys and sorrows, fears and dreams shared in editorials, letters and reports, communicate an awareness of the presence of the Spirit in the community being created as women worked together. Thus women who as individuals addressed their struggles and dreams in the light of faith, celebrated that faith through their movements for reform, and would surely have welcomed Leona Barrett's joyful declaration that "the line between secular and sacred had vanished."[66]

Endnotes

1. Barbara Evans, *Prairie Women*, prod. Caryl Brandt (National Film Board of Canada, 1994).

2. See Gregory Baum, "Afterward," in *Faith That Transforms: Essays in Honour of Gregory Baum*, ed. Mary Jo Leddy and Mary Ann Hinsdale (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1987), 176.

3. Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau, *A Full-Orbed Christianity: The Protestant Churches and Social Welfare in Canada 1900-1940* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 77.

4. Christie and Gauvreau, *Full-Orbed Christianity*, 117-120.

5. See for example, Susan Jackel, *Canadian Prairie Women's History: A Bibliographic Survey* (Ottawa: Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women, 1987); Alison Prentice, et al., *Canadian Women: A History* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Canada, 1996), 214-242; Linda Rasmussen, et al., *A Harvest Yet to Reap: A History of Prairie Women* (Toronto: The Women's Press, 1976); Veronica Strong-Boag, "Pulling in Double Harness or Hauling a Double Load: Women, Work and Feminism on the Canadian Prairie," in *The Prairie West: Historical Readings*, 2nd ed., ed. R. Douglas Francis and Howard Palmer (Edmonton: Pica Pica Press, 1992), 401-423. Somewhat of an exception is Eliane Leslau Silverman's *The Last Best West: Women on the Alberta Frontier 1880-1930*, rev. ed. (Calgary: Fifth House Publishers, 1998), which contains a chapter dealing with religion and ethnicity, but finds only vague links to women's reform work.

6. An interesting selection of women's letters to seven papers serving western rural people has been compiled by Norah L. Lewis in *Dear Editor and Friends: Letters from Rural Women of the North-West, 1900-1920* (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1998).

7. While Graham and Ford did encourage women to write letters, after Beynon's successor Mary McCallum took over, the page became largely her commentary, reports and extracts from other sources, with only an occasional letter. Reports from women's clubs, however, continued to be given their own section (sometimes running to two pages).

8. Ramsay Cook, "Francis Marion Beynon and the Crisis of Christian Reformism," in *The West and the Nation: Essays in Honour of W.L. Morton*, ed. Carl Berger and Ramsay Cook (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1976), 191-192.

9. Francis Marion Beynon, *Aleta Dey* (London: Virago Press, 1988; first published by C.W. Daniel Ltd., 1919).

10. *Grain Growers' Guide* (hereafter *GGG*), 22 January 1913, 10. Nellie McClung and Lillian Beynon Thomas were also present.

11. *GGG,* 18 March 1914; and 27 January 1915, 5, 10.

12. Rasmussen, et al., *Harvest Yet to Reap*, 123.

13. Carol Bacchi, "Divided Allegiances: The Response of Farm and Labour Women to Suffrage," in *A Not Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada 1880s-1920s*, ed. Linda Kealey (Toronto: The Women's Press, 1979), 103-104; Louise I. Carbert, *Agrarian Feminism: The Politics of Ontario Farm Women* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 11-13.

14. *GGG*, 25 January 1911, 35.

15. Carbert, *Agrarian Feminism*, 12; and Rasmussen, et al., *Harvest Yet to Reap*, 122-123, 132, 138. A hint of this critique entered the *Guide*, when one writer declared her view of the Institutes as "kitchen, kitchen, and again kitchen" (*GGG,* 16 September 1914, 8).

16. *GGG*, 19 June 1912*,* 3.

17. *GGG*, 24 July 1912, 9.

18. *GGG*, 17 February 1915, 17.

19. *GGG*, 9 February 1916, 41.

20. *GGG*, 19 April 1916, 39.

21. *GGG*, 29 January 1913, 10; and 31 January 1917, 15. Both the Grain Growers and UFA had pro-franchise policies, reflected in the editorial stance of the *Guide*.

22. *GGG,* 27 November 1912, 10. An excellent overview of the dower issue is provided by Margaret E. McCallum, "Prairie Women and the Struggle for a Dower Law, 1905-1920," *Prairie Forum* 18, No. 1 (Spring 1993): 19-34. McCallum notes that through the stipulations of territorial entry into confederation, dower rights that existed in eastern Canada had been abolished in the prairie provinces, leading to this particular struggle as women discovered how little assurance they had of protection from loss of the land and its income.

23. *GGG*, 13 November 1912, 10.

24. *GGG*, 3 September 1913, 9; and 9 October 1912, 9.

25. *GGG*, 15 September 1915, 19.

26. In fact, municipal and school board participation required further action, since that franchise was defined in terms of ratepayers, and women who had not formally arranged joint title were not considered ratepayers.

27. *GGG*, 12 July 1916, 10.

28. *GGG*, 04 June 1913, 9.

29. Strong-Boag, "Pulling in Double Harness," 404.

30. *GGG*, 23 October 1912, 10; and 08 January 1913, 10.

31. *GGG*, 05 January 1916, 8. These included 4,250 names all collected by Mrs. Amelia Burritt, aged 93.

32. *GGG*, 12 August 1914, 8.

33. *GGG*, 17 December 1913, 10; and 5 November 1913, 22.

34. *GGG*, 5 January 1916, 8; and 9 December 1914, 16.

35. *GGG*, 1 September 1915, 10; and 04 August 1915, 10.

36. Beynon's views contrasted strongly not only with the ethnocentrism of many readers (directed most often towards East European immigrants), but also with her predecessor, whose homesteads for women campaign had explicitly excluded those who were not British citizens, referred to as "a heterogeneous mass of foreign femininity" and also raised the spectre of "the horrors of a Negro attack" (*GGG*, 16 August 1911, 20; and 3 May 1911, 24).

37. *GGG*, 7 March 1917, 10.

38. *GGG*, 27 December 1916, 10; and 24 January 1917, 10.

39. Prentice, et al., *Canadian Women*, 156.

40. *GGG*, 17 May 1911, 25. Clearly, the emphasis here on purity as a shared responsibility is a contrast to the frequent assertions that maintaining purity was a particular responsibility of women.

41. *GGG*, 1 September 1915, 10.

42. *GGG*, 1 October 1913, 10.

43. *GGG*, 22 October 1913, 10.

44. *GGG*, 2 July 1913, 9; and 26 November 1913, 10.

45. *GGG*, 4 June 1913, 9.

46. *GGG*, 14 July 1915, 10.

47. *GGG*, 20 December 1916, 8; and 18 April 1917, 24.

48. *GGG,* 4 August 1915, 10; and 15 September 1915, 10.

49. *GGG*, 14 July 1915, 10.

50. *GGG,* 6 September 1916, 23; 31 January 1917, 15; and 26 November 1913, 10.

51. *GGG*, 16 June 1915, 10; 26 November 1913, 10; and 11 August 1915, 10.

52. *GGG,* 16 February 1916, 10; 1 March 1916, 10; and 21 July 1915, 10.

53. *GGG*, 16 May 1917, 25.

54. Letter from Violet McNaughton, President of the WGGA, *GGG*, 17 March 1915, 31.

55. *GGG*, 13 December 1916, 23.

56. *GGG*, 31 January 1917, 38.

57. Jean Reed, speaking to the Alberta Women's Convention as UFWA president, ascribed this responsibility to the farm women's organizations.

58. *GGG*, 17 July 1912, 9.

59. See Strong-Boag, "Pulling in Double Harness," 407, 412; Lewis, *Dear Editor*, 7-12, 152; Rasmussen, et al., *Harvest Yet to Reap*, 88-89; and Angela E. Davis, "'Country Homemakers': The Daily Lives of Prairie Women as Seen through the Women's Page of the *Grain Growers' Guide*, 1908-1928," *Canadian Papers in Rural History* 8, ed. Donald H. Akenson (Gananoque, ON: Langdale Press, 1992), 163-174. It does need to be acknowledged that voices were left out

of this correspondence. Lewis notes among the missing (or unidentified) voices "First Nations or Metis women . . . those not yet literate in English, many non-subscribers, the very poor, and those not motivated to write" (*Dear Editor*, 5). Although Anglo-Saxon voices appear to dominate, there were some notable exceptions. A frequent contributor was Mary Nicolaeff, a Russian immigrant who expressed in strong words a well-integrated gender and economic analysis ("Under this [capitalist] system . . . how can sincere love be combined with the economical, social and political dependence?" 22 September 1915, 10), occasionally illustrated with biblical allusions.

60. Strong-Boag, "Pulling in Double Harness," 403.

61. Nanci Langford, *Politics, Pitchforks and Pickle Jars: 75 Years of Organized Farm Women in Alberta* (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1997).

62. Christie and Gauvreau, *Full-Orbed Christianity*, 108-130, 119.

63. I would argue that letters written to the women's pages concerning "private" matters were in fact a way of bringing the "private" into public purview – a process that clearly did not begin with second wave feminism.

64. Silverman, *Last Best West*, 191-204. A very different view is taken by Prentice, et al., who identify religion as a "major focus" which "gave meaning to [many women's] existence and was the foundation for their work in the larger world" (*Canadian Women*, 164).

65. Richard Allen, "The Social Gospel as the Religion of the Agrarian Revolt," in *The Prairie West: Historical Readings*, 2nd ed., ed. R. Douglas Francis and Howard Palmer (Edmonton: Pica Pica Press, 1992), 562. Allen notes the importance of the prairie press for connecting the social gospel to the agrarian reform movement, 564-565.

66. *GGG*, 6 September 1916, 23.

Emancipation Theology and the British West Indian Plantocracy

THOMAS A. WELCH

In a previous paper, I looked at the role of the Bible in the British abolition of slavery. Evangelical Protestants, led by the Quakers and the Clapham Sect, launched a massive campaign against slavery during the latter part of the eighteenth right into the early half of the nineteenth century, which eventually resulted in the emancipation of the slaves of the British empire. Most of these slaves were in the British West Indies: now the English-speaking islands of the Caribbean, together with Guyana in South America. In this reflection, I will be looking at the way in which the ruling planter class in the Caribbean responded to the idea that the slaves should be instructed in the Bible, how the slaves resisted oppression, and how the evangelical missionaries fared in the West Indian colonies.

Missions among the Slaves

Quite paradoxically, though the home missionary societies in Britain were populated with anti-slavery supporters, the missionaries in the British West Indian colonies sang a contrary tune. While the anti-slavery movement in the mother country was propagating its Biblical arguments against slavery, the situation in the West Indies among those very evangelical churches was radically different. The missionaries did not work towards the emancipation of the slaves; on the contrary, they took pains to prove to the ruling planters – the plantocracy – that their exposition of scripture was specifically geared to keep the slaves in docile contentment with their

bondage. Nevertheless, the missionaries still made a biblical contribution towards the anti-slavery cause. However, that contribution came about because of the doctrine of equality within the Christian message itself and not on account of any deliberate abolitionist activity on the part of the missionaries: it was the message of human equality within the divine economy which, more than anything else, supported the slave in his struggle for emancipation. Mary Turner argues that from the outset the missionaries in Jamaica were little more than religious appendages of the plantation economy. She states:

> The Onesimus story was hammered home in sermons and classes; a Wesleyan missionary asked a class of boys, Was (Onesimus) a good and dutiful slave? No, he was a very bad one, for he was a thief and runaway. And how did the slave behave himself after his repentance and conversation to Jesus Christ? He behaved himself well and was profitable to his master.[1]

Coupled with this, the missionaries sought to ingratiate themselves with the plantocracy. Turner notes:

> A mission family in Jamaica employed domestics, usually free coloured servants or hired slaves, on the same scale as respectable whites, and had a cook, a cleaner, and probably a boy to look after the garden and the horse. They spent three times as much on servant hire as their London colleagues, whose families however large, had only one servant. But the Wesleyan missionary committee's strictures on this point were ignored.[2]

It is because of these kinds of issues that the early missionaries to the British West Indies have given credence to the charge that they were agents of the system of oppression and exploitation that ravaged the exiled people of Africa. It is predominantly this factor which makes the story of emancipation, when viewed from within the West Indian milieu fundamentally different from that of Britain.

This attitude on the part of the missionaries, however, has to be understood against the backdrop of the conditions under which they worked. Because they could not perform their ministerial duties without licences from the government in the colony, and in order to make things easier for

themselves, Wesleyan, Moravian and Baptist missionaries in Jamaica supported the planters. Turner argues:

> The missionaries . . . tended to respond to the "aristocratic embrace" and identity their interests with the interests of their patrons. Their class origins, to a degree, encouraged this tendency. They were recruited from the sons of small traders, skilled workers, and farmers who made up the bulk of their parent churches . . . To become a missionary represented, for most of them, a distinctly upward social step.[3]

Even if Turner's socio-psychological analysis were to be queried, the facts of the missionaries' conduct remain. The biblical concepts of emancipation did not find any outlets in the mouths of missionaries. Because they already had to exert so much energy to struggle for their own liberty to minister in the colonies, it might have been too much to expect them to fight also for the freedom of the slaves. The missionaries laboured in constant dread of the plantocracy.[4] Even within Britain, during the first three decades of the nineteenth century, religious freedom for Dissenters was an issue of debate. Turner remarks:

> Measures of this freedom, it will be recalled, had been portioned out during the eighteenth century by the Toleration Acts, but full freedom for Dissenters was not accorded until; 1812, within the memory of most of the missionaries and all their mentors, after sharp political rights for all (Protestant) denominations were granted only in 1828.[5]

The dread of the planters on the part of Methodist missionaries was clearly demonstrated in 1824 when the Methodist missionaries in Jamaica publicly repudiated the anti-slavery cause. The home missionary society rebuked them soundly for it.[6] It was not until the Baptist Resistance of 1831 that the missionaries in Jamaica became decidedly anti-slavery.[7] Life on a West Indian plantation was a turbulent experience. Humiliated to the level of the lowest of beasts, the slave had to survive by his cunning, his wits and his grit. Ever in mortal dread of the slave, the planters launched a reign of terror in the Caribbean, too nauseating to be documented in any single body literature. Consequently the West Indian colonies were the scene of many a slave revolt.

The 1831 slave uprising in Jamaica, after it was crushed, forced the missionaries to take sides. The slaves had conducted themselves with

amazing tolerance and restraint: "they fought the only whites who attacked them, while whites who offered no opposition met with no harm." Yet when they were subdued they were met with insane savagery.[8] These incidents made the missionaries realize that in order to maintain the trust of the slave and to keep their membership from falling away they had to support the slaves in their fight for freedom.[9]

In the West Indies, the missionary churches provided the slaves with a community of brotherhood and equality which was in stark contrast to the kind of life experienced by slaves on the plantations. Foremost among the aspects of brotherhood and equality experienced by the converted slaves was their participation in the various responsibilities of the congregational life of the church on a free and voluntary basis. This was notably so in the case of the Baptists of Jamaica. The Baptist church in Jamaica was pioneered by George Liele (also spelt "Lysle" by some historians), an ex-slave from Georgia, USA.[10] This kind of church life provided the slaves with a standard of dignity that was not found within the slave system. Even in the case of the churches pastored by missionaries from Britain, there was this sense of brotherhood. F.R. Augier, S.C. Gordon, D.G. Hall and M. Reckford note that the "missionaries in the West Indies were to all intents and purposes saying for the first time that a European was the 'brother' of a Negro slave."[11]There is little doubt that the evangelical churches provided the slaves with an egalitarian community which supplied an affirmation of their worth and dignity as human beings.

Perhaps the most important product of this affirmation of dignity and equality, was the development of the leadership skills of slaves who were members of evangelical churches. Again the Baptists of Jamaica were a good example of this. In December 1791, Liele wrote:

> I began, about September 1784, to preach in Kingston, in a small private house, to a good smart congregation, and I formed the church with four brethren from America besides myself, and the preaching took very good effect with the poorer sort, especially with slaves. The people at first persecuted us both at meetings and at baptisms, but, God be praised they seldom interrupts us now. We have applied to the Honourable House of Assembly, with a petition of our distresses being poor people, desiring to worship Almighty God according to the tenants of the Bible, and they have granted us liberty, and given us their sanction . . . I have baptized four hundred in Jamaica . . . We have nigh three hundred and fifty members: a few white people among them, one white brother of the

> First Battalion of Royals from England, baptized by Rev. Thomas Davis . . . I have deacons and elders, a few; and teachers of small congregations in the town and country, where convenience suits them to come together, and I am pastor.[12]

This culture, which promoted equality and leadership within the church, undermined the rationale of the inferior status of the slave. The planter society recognised this. As Augier and his colleagues carefully point out: "This was certainly alarming to some, 'What will be the consequences,' asked the *Demerara Royal Gazette*, 'When to that class of men is given the title "beloved brethren" as is actually done.' "[13] In Trinidad, concerns were expressed over the leadership roles filled by slaves. In 1816, Governor Woodford wrote Lord Bathurst, the Colonial Secretary:

> I shall not fail; to adhere the tenor of your Lordships instructions as to the missionary and Methodist preachers; one of the former has been for some time seeking to establish a right to administer the sacraments of the church and perform the offices of the proctor; my present principal objection to the Methodist preacher is that he teaches and allows the slaves to preach.[14]

Because the slave system was an institution dependent upon the degradation of its "drudges" and its "chattel," it could not tolerate any overt or official confession of the genuineness of the slaves' humanity.

As the missionaries continued their ministry among slaves in the various Caribbean colonies, the Bible continued to play a distinctive role in strengthening the resolve of the slave to shake off the strangle hold the planter had upon his life. Though the missionary did not tell them so, as their literacy in the English tongue increased, the slaves saw for themselves that the very Bible the planter possessed, affirmed the dignity, freedom and equality of all humans under God. It was this that caused the plantocracy to tremble.

Reaction of the Plantocracy

Any doubts about the threat the Bible posed to the West Indian slave system ought to be removed when one considers the persistence of planter resistance against the slaves' receiving Scriptural instruction. Winsome Gibson-Davis comments about the experience of George Liele, in her thesis, "The 'Colonial Church Union' in Jamaica." She states:

> his success, however, was short-lived. Slave-owners became disturbed about the words of hymns and about his biblical texts. The were, it seems, very upset with hymns with words such as,
>
> "Shall we go on in sin
> Because thy Grace abounds,
> Or crucify the Lord again
> And open all his wounds?
> We will be slaves no more
> Since Christ has made us free,
> Has nailed our tyrants to the cross
> And brought us liberty,"
>
> which his congregations sometimes sang.[15]

This fear about the slaves' receiving biblical teaching was expressed by an act passed by the Council of Jamaica in 1807. The act declared:

> Be it therefore enacted, and ordained by the Common Council of the city and parish of Kingston . . . that from and after the first day of July next, no person not being duly authorized, qualified and permitted, as is directed by the laws of this island, and of Great Britain, and in the place mentioned in such licence, shall, under pretence of being a minister of religion of any sect or denomination, or of being a teacher or expounder of the gospel, or other parts of the Holy Scriptures, presume to preach, or teach, or offer up public prayer, or sing psalms in any meeting or assembly of Negroes, or persons of colour within this city and parish.[16]

Such a law was particularly significant when it is borne in mind that George Liele took care to ensure that all slaves had the permission of their masters before they were baptized or admitted into the membership of the church, and that the other missionaries bent over backwards to teach the slaves to be in subjection to their masters.[17]

Resistance on the part of the planters was sharpened as proof of their fears was shown: the biblical perspectives of the slaves with respect to human rights and emancipation were exactly as the planters had anticipated. This proof came through the actions of the slaves of Demerara. Under the plantation practice the only regular day the slaves had to themselves was Sunday. And even this was sometimes limited – especially at harvest times. Sunday, however, was the day the slave farmed his small plot to provide for himself and family (if he was allowed to have one), and it was also the day on which he did his trading. So, market day for the slave was Sunday morning. When the missionaries began to preach about the importance of assembling for worship on Sundays, the slaves began to leave the plantation and go to church without permission of their masters. Then they went a step further: they started demanding that Saturdays be given them as their market day, so that Sunday might be set apart entirely for worship and religious activities. This demand on the part of the slaves was interpreted by slave owners as a direct proof that the missionaries had come to preach doctrines from the Bible that would upset the slave system.[18] Proclaiming the biblical principle of setting one day out of the seven for rest and worship was seen to be very subversive the slave institution. This tension was illustrated by the proclamation issued by Governor Murray in Demerara in 1823. It stated:

> The existence of a misconception, of a very serious nature, which appears to prevail amongst the Negroes in some districts, and particularly on the estates on the East coast; leading them to consider the permission of their masters unnecessary to authorise their quitting the estate on Sundays, for the purpose of attending Divine Worship – a misconception of so injurious a tendency as to render the most active measures necessary, effectually to eradicate it . . .

Murray then went on in his proclamation to urge planters to refuse Sunday passes only in cases of emergency and to send white observers to church services "to judge of the doctrine forth to his slaves."[19]

The opposition to the ministry of the missionaries took a very ugly turn when in 1816, on the island of Barbados, the Methodist chapel was torn down. A handbill announcing the incident boasted:

> ***"Great the signal Triumph over Methodism, and total destruction of the Chapel!!"***

> Bridge Town, Oct. 21
>
> The inhabitants of this island are respectfully informed that, in consequence of the unmerited and unprovoked attacks which have repeatedly been made upon the community by the Methodist Missionaries (Otherwise known as agents to the villainous African society), a party of respectable gentlemen formed the resolution of closing the Methodist concern altogether. With this view, they commenced their labours on Sunday evening, and they have the greatest satisfaction in announcing, that, by destruction of the chapel. To this information they have to add, that the missionary made his escape yesterday afternoon, in a small vessel, for St. Vincent; thereby avoiding that expression of the public feelings towards him personally, which he had so richly deserved. It is hoped, that, as this information is circulated throughout the different islands colonies, all persons who consider themselves true lovers of religion will follow the laudable example of the Barbadians, in putting an end to Methodism and Methodist Chapels throughout the West Indies.[20]

Negro Slavery noted that the demolition of the chapel took two full nights to accomplish, yet it met with no opposition from the local authorities.
On the following day, a proclamation was issued by the governor offering a reward of 100 pounds to anyone who supplied information leading to a guilty conviction for the crime. Then on the 23rd, the day after the governor's proclamation, the vandals released another of their own. They threatened any prospective informers: "they shall receive that punishment which their crimes will justly deserve." The publication then proceeded to inform its readers that those who committed the act were "of the first respectability, and were supported by the concurrence of nine-tenths of the community." They claimed their motives were "patriotic and loyal," and that they were acting to protect the interests of the Church and State. They ended with the following astonishing remarks: "with a fixed determination therefore, to put an end to Methodism in this island, all Methodist preachers are warned not to approach these shores: as, if they do it will be at their own peril. God save the king and the people."[21]

The Legacy of John Smith

No case illustrates more vividly the hostility of the plantocracy to the religious instruction to their slaves as the painful tale of John Smith. His ministry brings into sharper focus the distinctive role of the Bible in the emancipation cause from within the West Indian context. The words of the Bible operated quietly in the mind of the slave and undergirded a resolve not to acquiesce to the yoke of bondage. Theological concepts that could have been proclaimed from the housetops of Britain, from the moment they entered the vicinity of the Caribbean Sea, had to be whispered in the secret chamber – and even this was deemed dangerous. Anyone who dared to breach this unethical code risked their neck. John Smith was born in 1790 at Rothwell, Northamptonshire, and during the course of his life, came under the influence of the evangelical movement. Cecil Northcott, in his biography of John Smith, *Slavery's Martyr*, states:

> The independent Chapels of inner London were Smith's educational as well as spiritual homes. Their pulpits were manned by eloquent Bible expositors who regularly explored and authorised version of the Scriptures twice on a Sunday and at least once weekday evening.[22]

The effect of this type of evangelical preaching produced in the life of Smith the same sort of dedication that had been found in men like John Wesley and Jonathan Edwards. Northcott continues,

> In 1810 he "met the Lord" through a discourse on Isaiah 55 by an eminent London divine, Dr. John Liefchild. It "dispelled my fears," he said, "eased my conscience and gave me confidence in the mercy of God." He was soundly converted.[23]

John Smith, then, was a full-blooded evangelical. His unique ministry was of such a kind that is demonstrated the dangerous power of biblical preaching over the slave system. *Negro Slavery* had reported around 1824, reflecting on the previous and current events transpiring in Demerara, that the planters in Demerara were rather a vicious lot. The pamphlet stated:

> The planters of Demerara have, in general, shewn themselves pre-eminently hostile to the religious instruction of their slaves. To prove this it would be only necessary to read the colonial journals, which have been filled from time to time with the most violent abuse from those who made the attempt to instruct them.[24]

It was into this milieu that John Smith and his wife Jane walked.

Early in 1817, John Smith arrived in Demerara as a missionary sent out by the London Missionary Society. This society was predominantly a Congregationalist organization. On 25 January he was introduced to the governor of the colony, Major-General John Murray. Smith noted: "his Excellency frowned upon me. He asked me what I had come to do, and how I proposed to instruct the Negroes. I answered: 'By teaching them to read; by teaching Dr. Watt's catechisms; and by preaching the gospel in a plain manner.'" The governor's reply to this revelation was: "If you ever teach a Negro to read and I hear of it, I will banish you from the colony immediately."

Northcott is of the view that missionaries of the North London Missionary Society, "unlike the placid and more biddable clergy of the English and Scottish established churches," were "anti-establishment, speaking with the voice of the slave rather than that of masters, and inclined to listen to London advice rather than that of the governor."[25] Yet, the instructions from the London were extremely favourable to the status quo. Smith's seniors had instructed him:

> Not a word must escape you in public or in private, which might render the slaves displeased with their masters or dissatisfied with their station. You are not sent to relieve them from their servile condition, but to afford them the consolidation of religion . . .[26]

From all appearances, Smith complied with these requirements although the scenes of misery around him constantly tore at his heart. Time and again Smith recorded the savagery of plantation life. To Smith, the witness of the Bible was plainly against what he saw before him.[27] Indeed, even the plantocracy knew that there was an inconsistency between slavery and Christianity. C. Sylvester Horne points out: "to attempt to make the Negroes

Christians was, in the eyes of the planters of those days, criminal; and yet many of these men themselves professed to worship according to the Christian faith." Horne then quoted from the identical passage of the *Royal Gazette* that Augier and his colleagues cited. The article was published in 1808 in Demerara. The *Royal Gazette* warned: "it is dangerous to make slaves Christians without giving them liberty . . . will not the Negro conceive that by baptism, being made a Christian, he is as credible as his Christian white brethren?" Horne argues that the planters saw that they could not consistently teach their slaves the doctrines of Christianity and remain their owners. "To introduce Christianity was to introduce the spirit of freedom and to hasten the day of emancipation."[28] The attitude of the planters was a grudging testimony to the influence of the biblical witness against the slavery they practised. Though there were some who tried to prove that West Indian slavery was in accord with the principles of the Bible, those who ran the plantation knew better. In the practical out- working of the slave system they never acted upon that premise.

Bethel Chapel at Le Resouvenir on the east coast of Demerara became the focal point of the religious life of the slaves – not only of Le Resouvenir, but also of a much wider area of that part of the coast. At Bethel, Smith expounded the Bible and performed his pastoral duties. His ministry was so well received by the slaves that the planters became nervous and attempted to curb his influence by finding extra jobs for the slaves to do on Sundays.[29]

There was no doubt about the fact that the planters feared the preaching of John Smith. His services were frequently visited by white informers who, like the Scribes and Pharisees of Jesus' day, came "that they might find an accusation against him." Northcott claims, however,

> the fact that he was being listened to and watched by white planters, as well as Governor's emissaries, was no deterrent to Smith. He pursued his simple unadorned approach to his ministry, expounding the story of Exodus and the entry into the promise Land with an almost naive boldness. Every Negro slave and every plantation manager knew what the story meant for Demerara.[30]

It seemed as though Smith was walking a pastoral tight rope. Though he did not deliberately put into the heads of the slaves the idea of resisting slavery, he did not shirk his responsibility of preaching the Bible – and there were

certain sections of the Bible that dealt with the theme of divine deliverance from oppression.

Matters came into a head when on the 18 August 1823, the slaves believing that London had proclaimed emancipation, began to be agitated at not being set free. What had really occurred, was that the British Parliament had adopted measures for the amelioration of the condition of the slaves. The bill was passed in May of that year. Instructions for its implementation arrived in Demerara on the 7th of July. The bill called for the abolition of the practice of "driving" the work gangs on the sugar plantations with the cart whip, the end to the flogging of women, slaves to be given time for religious and moral instruction, and the selling of slaves away from colonies to which they belonged, to be abolished.[31] At long last – after 260 years – the British had mustered the courage to enact legislation to remove a few of the atrocities of the slave system.

But there was more. In another dispatch, Murray learned of more laws along the path of amelioration. Northcott says: "by mid-August, therefore, Murray knew the strength of Whitehall's proposals for reforming the lot of the slaves." This latter dispatch called for marriages to be established, mothers to be exempted from field work, and families not to be split up and sold separately. Flogging was to be reduced to three stripes.[32] This stipulation on flogging alone was enough to drive planters into a state of trauma. On one occasion, Smith and his wife each counting silently recorded lashes given to one slave as 141 and 140 respectively – only a difference of one between them. Northcott, quoting from Smith's journal writes:

> 30 April 1821. I was induced to reckon the lashes and counted 105 stripes on one individual – Philis, for running away.
> 1 May. Hearing 86 lashes.
> 2 May. Eighty-one lashes.
> 3. 34 lashes and then 72 more.[33]

Such was a bit of the everyday life on the plantations of that part of the British Empire.

Up to the 18th of August, Murray had made no public proclamation about the new measures to be adopted. The slaves, overhearing the whispers among the whites but being still kept in the dark, began to believe that "freedom had come" and that the governor and the planters were keeping it

from them. By the 20th of August, the slaves were in rebellion. The following day, Smith was arrested as the instigator of the plot and was imprisoned.

Instead of bringing Smith before a civilian court, Murray arraigned him before a military tribunal. This, apparently, was but the tip of an iceberg of legal irregularities in the Smith trial. Chief Justice Charles Wray of the colony of Demerara and Essequibo was forced to sit simply as a member of the tribunal. He was the only lawyer around them. Northcott observes:

> Henry Brougham in the House of Commons castigated Murray's conception of martial law as "entirely unknown to the law of England," and therefore an illegal court in Demerara. He recognized the authority of a Mutiny Act and the trial of military persons before military tribunals, but to bring a civilian before a military tribunal such as the Demerara Court was, was contrary to English legal practice.[34]

Northcott also claims that the witnesses against Smith included that of convicted felons who were offered pardon on exchange for incriminating testimonies against the missionary.[35] But the tribunal was also concerned about biblical issues. During the cross-examination of the slave, Bristol, the Judge Advocate asked the following questions and got the subsequent replies:

> Was it also read to you why Moses went to deliver the children of Israel?- -Yes, because they were slaves under Pharaoh.
> Did he read Exodus to you?- - Yes.
> Did he read Joshua to you? - - Yes.
> Do you recollect any particular chapter from Exodus? - - No.
> Do you recollect the purport of any chapter? - - No.
> Do you recollect anything from Joshua? - - Joshua was the person who let the children of Israel after Moses was dead.[36]

Another portion of scripture the tribunal was interested in was Luke 19:41, 42, from which Smith had preached a sermon. The text contained the incident of the Lord's weeping over Jerusalem, and in the subsequent verses a warning about the judgement that would follow them because their rejection of God.[37]

Smith was sentenced to death. Then quite paradoxically, he was recommended for mercy by the very ones who condemned him. As Northcott observes:

> "Is it possible," asked Brougham in the House of Commons, "to draw any other inference from this marvellous recommendation than that they distrusted the sentence to which it was attached?" Brougham saw the Court in full flight with guilty consciences for having "dared to take this innocent man's life. Nothing in the trial is so astounding as this recommendation to mercy coming from persons who affected to believe him guilty of such enormous crimes."[38]

All the evidence indicates that the trial was a farce. Horne observes:

> Paris, one of the authors of the plot, declared that one of the prosecutors had prevailed upon them to swear to certain false accusations against the missionary. The evidence was abundant that Mr Smith had earnestly and systematically discouraged all violence, and had counselled patient obedience to their masters. He had even offended many of the more ardent slaves, and had run the risk of being counted an enemy of their freedom.[39]

In spite of this, the tribunal wrung its vengeance out on Smith. Yet it was reluctant to face the possible repercussions from London if it executed Smith by means of its corrupt process of law. Smith's reprieve was granted. His sentence was commuted to banishment "from Demerara and the West Indies." Unknown to London, he had died eighty days earlier, on 6 February 1824.

Even over Smith's dead body, Governor Murray was taking no chances. He ordered that Smith be buried at 4 a.m. the following morning and that no one be allowed to follow the corpse to the graveside. Later he agreed to a compromise: Mrs. Jane Smith and a friend were permitted to meet the body of John Smith at the grave. To this date no one knows for sure where John Smith was buried. The most popular tradition in Guyana is that Smith's grave is somewhere on the grounds of the St. Phillips Church in Georgetown.

When the news of Smith's death reached Britain, there was a strong outcry against the carryings-on of the West Indian plantocracy. British public opinion was turned against slave holders in a new wave of protest.[40] It became perfectly clear that it was futile to expect the planters to be benevolent to the slaves. If Smith, a white Englishman, met such ferocity from the planters; then there was no hope for the slave.[41]

Back in Demerara, the planters, in the aftermath of Smith's trial, were reminding themselves of the dangers biblical preaching posed to the rationale of slavery. According to Northcott, *The Colonist* of 18 February 1824, warned:

> If we expect to create a community of reading, moral, churchgoing slaves we are woe fully mistaken. It is not the smallest matter of surprise that a Negro slave, who has been taught that all men are equal in a religious point of view, should wish the same principle to prevail in politics.

Then reporting the sentiments of *Guiana Chronicle* of 27 February 1824, Northcott points out:

> If this kind of preaching, said the *Guiana Chronicle*, was not to be tolerated, then the missionary system must go for the "independent missions" are a threat to the feeling of mutual dependence and attachment which united master and slave and which, as it was the firmest basis of our security, was the fairest and most promising source of substantial benefit improvement to slave.[42]

The missionary way of preaching the Bible was too powerful for the slave system to withstand. Though they carefully instructed the slaves in their Christian responsibility to be respectful to their masters, other parts of the Bible still taught the slaves about freedom. Northcott's findings about the slaves of Demerara are virtually identical to Turner's about the slaves in Jamaica: missionary instruction had assisted the slaves in developing moral strength to exercise restraint in their quest for liberty. Northcott says that the Demerara affair was "a nonviolent insurrection."[43] Even the report of Governor Murray, corroborated this to some extent. The Committee of the Society for the Mitigation and Gradual Abolition for Slavery reported:

> Governor Murray himself, writing on the 26th of August 1823, when affairs had already assumed a "peaceable aspect" testified that he had not heard of any whites having being deliberately murdered by the misguided slaves. On one plantation where the whites resisted, two of them were killed. But it does not appear that, except in this instance, the insurgents took the life of a single individual, or that they demolished a single house, or set a fire a single cane piece.[44]

All of this demonstrates the true source of the hostility of the planters towards the missionaries: to preach the message of the Bible to the slaves was a dangerous thing. Though there was no evidence that John Smith had incited the resistance, it seemed evident that his exposition of the Bible had assisted the slaves in developing a free and independent spirit that rejected the *raison d'etre* of the slave institution. The power of the Bible's witness against such oppressiveness is the legacy John Smith, "slavery's martyr," has left us.

Scripture's Role in Emancipation

Unquestionably, there were biblical arguments in support of the abolition of slavery. The evidence indicates that these arguments were quite credible and were not forced interpretations of the Bible. From the time of George Fox in 1671 to early 1770s, it was among the Quakers that a theology of biblical perspectives on slavery developed, but it was Granville Sharp's publications of 1776 that made a clear breakthrough in the field of anti-slavery exegesis.

From the period of 1780s, the Anglican evangelicals took the lead in the further development and propagation of anti-slavery theology. Granville Sharp, himself an evangelical, laid the foundation for this. Other Christians, especially those from the wider evangelical community, also participated in contributing towards a deeper understanding of the biblical witness about the subject. All of this led to a distinctive theology of emancipation that was clearly recognizable by the early part of the nineteenth century.[45]

In the West Indies, however, the evangelical missionaries ministering among the slaves did not voice these biblical anti-slavery concepts. Planter resistance was fierce. Yet the missionaries persisted in their preaching of the gospel to the slaves, and the message of the Bible itself supported the slave in his quest for freedom, and dislodged the entrenchment of the slave plantation culture.

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34. Northcott, *Slavery's Martyr*, 80, 81.
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Dreams for Missionaries, Realities for Diplomats: Why the United Church of Canada's Chinese Missionaries were involved in Politics during the 1940s and 1950s

SACHIYO TAKASHIMA

This paper addresses the church-state problem in Canada after World War Two. It will focus specifically on the involvement of the United Church of Canada (UCC) in Canadian foreign policy in the context of Pearson's diplomatic efforts in recognizing Communist China. On a personal level, this topic holds importance for several reasons. First, I was born and raised in a Christian family in rural Japan, and my church in Tokyo was established by Canadian Methodists. I am interested in researching my church heritage in the context of Canadian Church history. Second, I realized that many Asian Christian leaders participate in politics regardless of their official, political allegiances or theological opinions. These leaders often have a political agenda when they teach from the pulpit. It seems that Christianity has had limited influence on Asian society, with the exceptions of South Korea and the Philippines, even though Christian leaders often act as political leaders of the nation. Third, I have witnessed the same problem in North America as denominations often compete with one another. Denominations exert their power over each other and on political issues. Thus, church and state are strongly connected in today's secular world.

The specific situation that will be explored pertains to post-World War Two Communist China and her relationship to the government of Canada through Lester Pearson and the UCC. Lester Pearson and his friends James Garth Endicott, Chester Ronning and Herbert Norman were ministers' sons.[1]

Pearson used them as advisors and informants for Canadian foreign policy in Asia.[2] Influenced by John English's biography of Lester Pearson,[3] researchers have acknowledged a correlation between Pearson's "Methodist origin" and his politics.[4] This perspective has merit, but more research must be conducted by those who have theological and church history backgrounds; the question of why the UCC missionaries cooperated with Canadian diplomatic policy needs analysis. Further, Pearson's motives, Methodist heritage, and vision for creating "God's World" all need clarification and study.

Factors Influencing Canada's Failure to Recognize Communist China

Under the "Middle Power" policy, Canada wanted to become a country that could bridge east and west, north and south. China was one of the most important countries in Asia after World War Two because it was one of the permanent delegates to the Security Council in the United Nations. During the civil war in China, Canada supported the Nationalist Party by sending goods and arms to them.[5] However, the communists defeated the nationalists, declaring the establishment of the People's Republic of China on 1 October 1949. The Communist Party won the civil war and governed mainland China. For this reason, recognition of Communist China was one of the immediate and important tasks for Canadian foreign policy in the 1950s. In November 1949, the Cabinet decided they should recognize Communist China as soon as possible.[6]

However, in spite of their efforts, Canada failed to recognize the People's Republic of China until 1970. There were several reasons for this. First, the issues in China were of less importance to Canada than were European problems.[7] Also, those involved with Communist China had less influence on Canadian policy than those connected with Europe. Canada's policy in China was patterned after the decisions of other powers such as the United Kingdom, the United States and Commonwealth countries. The United States had always supported the Chinese nationalist government; gradually, as American influence over Canada grew stronger after World War Two, Canada followed American decision-making. Second, Canada had granted Chinese immigrants Canadian citizenship in 1948. Because of this, government officials were influenced by what Chinese Canadians thought about recognizing China.[8] The Canadian Chinese population, however, was small in comparison to today and so their influence on

Canadian politics was limited. Third, Chinese Canadians supported the former nationalist government in China. These dynamics hindered Canada's ability to recognize Communist China. Fourth, the Canadian government thought initially that non-Allied powers such as India and Egypt would be united in recognizing Communist China worldwide. Eventually, however, Pearson realized that these countries would not unite over this issue.[9] Therefore, they were unable to create a unified front against western powers.

One question persists: why was Pearson so eager to recognize Communist China at the end of 1949 and into the early 1950s?[10] Was it for political and economic reasons? I don't think so. Pearson had always tried to create a "Better World," an ideal that was motivated by his Methodist beliefs. Pearson's efforts in connection with the Chinese problem are rooted in his beliefs and experiences as a Methodist, a dynamic that requires analysis.

Two Contrasting Mission Fields in Mainland China

The UCC had two primary mission fields in mainland China before communist rule. The first field was called the Honan mission in northeastern China, and the other one was the Szchewan mission in western China. The UCC had other missions such as South China in the province of Canton, but it had comparatively little influence on Canadian society.[11] Therefore, only the first of these two missions mentioned will be examined.

The Honan mission was established by the Presbyterian Church of Canada in 1886,[12] and their work was continued by the UCC after the union in 1925. However, most of the missionaries were from a Presbyterian background, and they worked in cooperation with other Presbyterian and Reformed missions from the United States and Europe. The mission, therefore, maintained a Presbyterian ethos even after the union. Another characteristic of the Honan mission was that it had been established in a more urban area in comparison to the Szchewan mission.

The Szchewan mission was established far from any urban area in one of the most rural regions in China. It was established by the Methodist Church of Canada in 1889.[13] After the union of 1925, most of the missionaries at the Szchewan mission continued to be those with Methodist backgrounds, and had been influenced by the social gospel movement in Canada before they had become missionaries. One final characteristic of this mission

was its advocacy of interdenominational work, such as the founding of West China Union University in 1919.[14]

Both of these missions were comprised of notable missionary families: the McClure family at the Honan mission and the Endicott family in the Szechwan mission. These families (or members within their families) became spokespersons for Chinese nationalist and communist policies in Canada both during and after China's civil war.

William and Robert McClure and their families were famous missionary doctors. They had friendships with Nationalist Party leader Generalissimo Chan Kai Shek and his wife Son Mei Ling. Ms. Son was a daughter of a famous Chinese Presbyterian minister during the early-twentieth century, and was the sister of Dr. Sun Yat Sen's wife. Sun himself was baptized in a Congregational church in Hawaii, and his revolution was supported by the Chinese Protestant community.[15] The McClures became supporters of the nationalists because of their relationship with Mr. and Mrs. Chan Kai Shek and their Presbyterian relations. For example, Robert was nominated as a candidate for Minister to China at Chungking in 1942 because of his friendship with Mr. and Mrs. Chen Kai Shek.[16] He also became the moderator of the UCC in 1968 as the first lay moderator; this occurred during the period when Pierre Elliott Trudeau recognized Communist China as "one, legitimate government in China" in 1969.

James Endicott (father) and James Garth Endicott (son) were also famous missionary families. They were missionaries in western China. James, Sr. became the second moderator of the UCC as a result of a recommendation from the first moderator, George Campbell Pidgeon who wanted to generate enthusiasm for missions at that time.[17] The Endicott family maintained considerable influence within the UCC and among Canadian people. J.G. Endicott and his wife Mary were close friends with Lester Pearson, a friendship that had begun years before when Mary and Lester attended the same church in Chatham, Ontario.[18] After Mary's marriage with J.G. Endicott, he and Pearson also became close friends. Because Mary's family was a typical Methodist working-class family, Mary was interested in social justice.[19]

Both the McClures and the Endicotts knew China well, and both of their sons were born in China, speaking Chinese well. But each family's view of China was totally different from the other. During the 1940s and 1950s, the McClures became strong supporters of the nationalists, while the Endicotts supported the communists. Each asserted that their view was

"God's World in China." The differences in their perceptions require examination.

How Two "Missionary Giants" Could Perceive "God's World" in China So Differently

Both the McClures and the Endicotts were in China at the same time, but their thinking was very different. There are at least three factors that account for these differences in perception. These include: 1) differences in theological standpoints; 2) differences in social class (in Canada) and their situation on the mission field; and 3) differences in their relationships with the Chinese.

James Endicott, Sr. had grown up in a poor, immigrant, farming family in the prairies. At the end of the nineteenth century, he entered the Methodist Training School in Winnipeg.[20] At that time the prairies were so poor that the social gospel was influential and widespread in that area. The Methodist Church was one of the centres of the social gospel in Canada at that time. When James became a missionary, he was sent to Szchewan. It was one of the poorest regions in China at that time. He saw lots of peasants and poor workers. He understood that oppression to the poor came from the centralized government of China with the cooperation of the four rich families in China[21] as well as from the invasion by Japan.[22] It is understandable that Endicott related to the poor and felt that the social gospel was justified.

Thus, J.G. Endicott saw the Chinese situation within the framework of the social gospel. When Jim became a second-generation missionary to China, he taught in the middle school in Szchewan and english at West China Union University. He was a supervisor for the Student Christian Movement (SCM) at that university.[23] Many students involved withthe SCM were connected with the rural communist party. One of this party's most notable participants was Li Chao-ji.

Gradually, Jim established connections with communists and eventually believed that communism was the way to make "God's World" in China. At the time of his furlough in August 1934, he met J.S. Woodsworth and joined the CCF.[24] Although he maintained a degree of hope that Chan Kai Shek could improve China, he and his wife eventually discontinued their support of the Nationalist Party. Endicott had experienced the realities of the party as a New Life supervisor and as a political advisor for Madame Chiang Kai Shek. He was discouraged by the nepotism, dictator-

ship, and terrorism within the party.[25] He also relinquished his role as advisor to the Nationalists in 1944, and transferred his support to the communists. He was introduced to the Communist Party's Foreign Minister Chou En-lai at Chungking in January 1945 by Ruth Weiss.[26]

In contrast to Endicott, William McClure was born in Montreal and graduated from the medical school at McGill University to become a missionary doctor. He was sent to Honan as the president of the mission hospital and later became a professor at the medical school of Cheeloo University in Shantung. These two provinces are in the northeastern region of China and at that time were close to international ports and the former capital of Beijing.[27] Compared to Szchewan, they were rich. The social gospel had less influence on the Presbyterian Church of Canada than on the Methodists. In addition, in Asian countries people respected professionals such as doctors, professors and teachers. Most of William's Chinese friends, therefore, were from the upper or intellectual middle-class and supported the Nationalist Party.[28]

Robert McClure followed in his father's footsteps by becoming a missionary doctor after graduating from the University of Toronto and Edinburgh. Robert himself was four years younger than Pearson, and he was a graduate of Knox College at University of Toronto. The two families had no personal ties in their early years. The McClures networked with other missionary doctors, such as the Kilbourn family, through marriage,[29] and became one of the most influential missionary families in China. Robert worked as a missionary doctor as well as in a trading business which connected him with the Canadian government in the 1940s.[30]

Why Many Missionaries in China Became Secret Agents or Government Delegates

From the analysis above, one can understand the backgrounds of these families, but the question of why many missionaries such as Robert McClure and Jim Endicott were so cooperative with Canadian foreign policy persists. It is difficult to understand their enthusiasm over becoming informants for the OSS (later the CIA) and the RCMP. For example, Jim became an OSS informant in 1942;[31] he voluntarily approached Ottawa in 1944 in order to ask officials in the Department of the Secretary of State for permission to become an informant.[32] At one point in 1942, Robert wanted to become the Minister to China.

These men recognized Canada as part of "God's World," but they thought that Canadian officials did not understand the real situation in China. As a result, Canada sometimes was misguided in their policy in China. Missionaries saw this as being negative for both sides. In particular, after the outbreak of World War Two, Canada and China were involved with the Allied forces to prevent an attack from Japan. Misunderstandings from both sides sometimes hindered the war effort. They thought the Canadian government needed good intelligence about China. They thought that they had advantages in comparison to diplomats, merchants or journalists for recognizing what was happening in China. Because they were involved in China, most of them could speak Chinese well. They also had friendships with Chinese from every social class, including leaders of the Nationalist and Communist Parties, the working class, and peasants. Moreover, they had lived outside of the capital and other large cities for quite a while.

Another factor is the legacy of Norman Bethune on Canadians. Bethune became a national hero in the 1940s because of his efforts to prevent Japanese fascism.[33] It was natural, therefore, for other missionaries such as Robert and Jim to desire to become national heroes in Canada. These beliefs justified their actions.

Finally, one must consider the development of the intellectual discussion over China in the west. During and after World War Two, China was a champion for democracy in Asia. Chan Kai Shek was the successor of Sun Yat Sen, and under his command fascist Japan was defeated. Also, Mao Tse Tung and Chow En Lai were great leaders who improved the lives of Chinese peasants under communism. Missionaries who supported either side became admirers of their respective leaders because of their great personalities as leaders. Missionaries thought that they should inform Canada of this "Good News" from China. The enthusiasm of the missionaries led them to become informants and agents for Canada and United States.

Lester Pearson's Religious Dream and Vision for Missionaries

Lester Pearson spoke little about his spiritual life. In his autobiography, "Mike" rarely refers to his faith and focuses mostly on his professional life.[34] However, John English does mention that some international agencies such as the United Nations and NATO to which Pearson was strongly committed had a "Methodist sense." In addition, his correspondents for international relations came from the "Methodist manse."[35]

I have already pointed out that Lester Pearson became Undersecretary for External Affairs in 1945. As Undersecretary, he appointed Chester Ronning (the son of a Lutheran missionary to China)[36] and Herbert Norman (the son of a Methodist missionary to Japan) as diplomats to China and Japan.[37] In addition, his Methodist friends who were missionaries to China became informants. Jesse Arnup, the General Secretary for the Foreign Mission Board of the UCC, and Pearson communicated frequently about the policy toward China during the 1940s and 1950s.[38] Why did he pick so many from the "Methodist manse?" There are several reasons why Pearson selected these people.

First, they were knowledgeable about Asia. They were also more reliable than those involved in business or journalism. Second, these men had trustworthy friends in China including communists who could not communicate easily with other westerners. Third, Pearson felt some sympathy to people who devoted their lives to revolution, though he was a conservative person. He strongly believed that democracy and capitalism were better than dictatorship and communism as political systems; yet, he thought capitalism needed reform for the sake of making a better world for people.

China and Japan were remote and exotic places to Canadian Methodists during the early-twentieth century, but they were also of interest to missionaries.[39] Most of the magazines about inland and foreign missions selected different cultures from various mission fields. For example, the Canadian Methodist Church magazine entitled *Missionary Outlook* often carried excerpts of letters from missionaries with pictures of mission fields. Upon recent review of these magazines, I discovered that some of the photos of Japan or China were interchanged and outdated.[40] But people would likely believe such articles and pictures to be accurate. Such misconceptions in North America about Asia persisted during the 1940s and 1950s because the news about Asia dealt mostly with war, poverty, refugees and social injustice.

Pearson himself had much experience in Europe, particularly at Canada House in London. He had also taught as a British historian, so he understood European perspectives. Pearson was knowledgeable in biblical history and geography. His knowledge and experiences benefited him during the Cold War conflicts in Europe and in the Middle East. However, his experience and knowledge about Asia was limited. He needed reliable people who were knowledgeable about Asia. Some missionaries and their

sons were considered more reliable than merchants or journalists on this matter; they were seen as fair and impartial on issues.

Some of the people from the "Methodist Manse" helped Pearson achieve his purpose. Jim Endicott sent accurate information about the Communist Party, and Chester Ronning continued his relationship with Premier Chou En Lai. Left-wing UCC missionaries such as Leslie Earl Willmott[41] and Howard James Veals remained in Szchewan and continued their work in education at Chengtzu for more than two years under communist rule. During this time they reported to Pearson.[42]

One must also look at China's position in the UN. Until 1971, the Republic of China (Nationalist Party) had an official seat in the United Nations as the representative of China. Canada had officially recognized the Republic of China, so Canada could not communicate with Communist China officially. Therefore, Ronning could not contact Chou En Lai. By the early 1950s, the status of the Republic of China was unstable because it only governed Taiwan and the surrounding islands. Many countries from the east and south asked the UN to change the Chinese representation to someone from the People's Republic. Canada needed to maintain an unofficial route to Communist China. Endicott was the person because he had lots of friends and acquaintances in Communist China including Chou En Lai.

Finally, Pearson believed that western democracy was better than dictatorship led by charismatic leaders or bureaucrats within the social structure. He also believed that capitalism was better than communism in economic order. Yet, he believed traditional democracy and capitalism sometimes made people unhappy. This belief came from his experiences. He had served in World War One as a volunteer and was injured severely in battle. He spent two years recovering in the hospital. Although he worked as a professor and diplomat, he had friends and classmates who served the poor and the oppressed. In light of these influences, he believed that some kind of social, democratic policy ought to be introduced in Canada and that promoting world peace was better for the progress of people. However, he did not have much experience or knowledge in social democracy; he needed input from the experts in this area. Thus, he communicated with leaders of the CCF and Canadian communist leaders in order to exchange ideas. He selected left-wing people to assist and advise him.

Church Involvement in World Politics

One question remains: what was the UCC's attitude toward China? During the civil war in China, Arnup, a UCC leader in overseas missions, said that communism was the antichrist. After the communist victory, however, he changed his opinion and openly supported communism from the pulpit, stating that communism would bring progress for Asia. Arnup asked Pearson to recognize Communist China as soon as possible. Finally, the General Conference of the UCC sent a petition in 1952 to the Canadian government seeking recognition of Communist China. The denomination also wanted to remove Jim Endicott's ministerial status. Why did the UCC want to recognize Communist China during a time when there was still much debate over the issue from within the denomination?

One of the primary reasons is that the UCC's mission in China held the greatest presence than any other field in the denomination at the end of 1940s.[43] They wanted to protect their trustees and missionary work in China despite the Chinese government. During the civil war, the United Church thought that the Nationalist Party would win and protect the Church; therefore, they said that the communists were the antichrist, and that Endicott was an enemy of the Christian church even though he was a minister. However, the communists won, and so the United Church changed its stance as quickly as possible to protect its trustees. In addition, the head office ignored the voices of some of the missionaries who had supported the nationalist government, such as William and Robert McClure and Walter Small. These men were under house arrest or deported from China after the takeover by the communists.

After the takeover, the Honan mission and South China mission discontinued at once, and the missionaries, local ministers, and staff personnel were either killed, sent to jail or put under house arrest. The Szchewan mission continued their work for two years, and for the first six months did not have to change anything. Some of the Szchewan missionaries hoped to maintain the mission even under communist rule as long as they continued friendships with local communists.

But the desire to continue the mission was not realized. Beginning in July 1950, the Communist Party gradually changed their policy toward the Szchewan mission. At first the curriculum had to be modified to include communist-related courses. Next, missionaries had to resign as board members of the university and schools, and were replaced by local commu-

nist leaders in the fall of 1950. Finally, the university and schools were transferred to the authority of the government, and the churches on mission property were transferred to the United Church of Christ in China in early 1951. Some missionaries were asked to continue teaching or managing the work after the transition, but this did not last for long. They were finally evacuated to Hong Kong in March 1952.[44]

The UCC head office still wanted to reopen their mission in China in mid-1952. As mentioned previously, they decided to petition the Canadian government. However, some people in the UCC wanted to find scapegoats to blame for the closing of the mission in China. Jim Endicott was one such person; he had resigned in 1946 and became involved in the peace movement within communist countries where he became known as "Reverend of the United Church." For his work he received the Stain Peace Prize in 1952. His efforts angered the UCC, and at their General Conference in 1952, the denomination withdrew his ordination.

In May of that same year, under the pressure of McCarthyism, the RCMP and the CIA wanted the Canadian government to charge Jim with treason, punishable by death. This issue was discussed at a cabinet meeting, but St-Laurant and Pearson were strongly opposed. Although no charges were laid against Jim, this was a critical year for him.

Pearson wanted to protect Jim and Mary Endicott during this serious time. They were still close friends, and the Endicott's connection with communists such as Premier and Foreign Minister Chou En Lai made them helpful and important to Pearson. The sentiment toward communist sympathizers or suspects in North America worsened in the 1950s.[45] Pearson was aware of the realities of people's lives in eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union under communist rule. He warned Jim and Mary to speak more moderately about their opinions on communism;[46] he did not want them to become victims of McCarthyism. However, Jim and Mary would not modify their convictions that communism could facilitate "God's World" in China.[47] Communication between Pearson and the Endicotts gradually diminished in 1952.

Conclusion

In conclusion, Pearson had dreams of making a "Better World," and he sought to fulfill these dreams in the context of his Methodist background. His eagerness to connect the UCC and missionaries to Asia stemmed not

from his religious enthusiasm primarily, but from the usefulness and influence of informants. He did his best to build a relationship with Communist China but failed. He considered cooperating with the western world first, but this hindered Canada's ability to interact with China freely.

Missionaries to China such as James Endicott and Robert McClure held strong convictions about how to create "God's World." They wanted to influence the Canadian government because they saw that either communism or nationalism was the way to realize this desire. Pearson and other people in the Canadian State Department used them for their knowledge and connections with the communists and nationalists. The government did not share their personal beliefs.

However, Pearson and Ronning held a secularized view of "Christian beliefs. During the mid-1900s, mainline Protestantism pursued a more "secular success" in order to prove that their beliefs were good. They thought "Real World Peace" would be a virtue to Christianity; peace between the east and west, and the north and south were the keys to bringing about world peace. Therefore, recognition of Communist China became integral to Christian belief, because Communist China was one of the key players for world order after World War Two. Such views influenced missionaries to become involved in politics.

However, Pearson was not influenced by this Christian perspective. He continued to concentrate on peace in Europe and the Middle East. After a visit to Moscow in October 1955, Pearson wanted to build relationships between the UCC and the Russian Orthodox Church.[48] This remains a topic for future research.

Endnotes

1. Lester Pearson was born in Newtonbrook, Ontario in 1897. His father was Edwin Arthur Pearson (1868-1931), a Methodist minister in Ontario. James Garth Endicott was born in Chungking Szechuan, China in 1898. His father was Rev. James Endicott (1868-1954), missionary to China and later the second moderator for the UCC between 1928-1930. Chester Ronning was born in China in 1894 as the son of an American Lutheran missionary. His family received its Canadian citizenship in 1927 and lived in Alberta. Here he became a teacher at Camrose Lutheran College until 1942. In 1932 he ran as a candidate for the CCF, and became an acquaintance of J.S. Woodsworth. Herbert Norman was born in Nagano, Japan in 1909. His father was Daniel Norman, a Methodist missionary who served rural Japan for over thirty years.

2. John English, *Worldly Years – The Life of Lester Pearson 1945-1972* (Toronto: Ayers, 1990).

3. John English, *Shadow of Heaven – The Life of Lester Pearson 1897-1945* (Toronto: Lester & Orpen, 1989).

4. The first book to refer to the relation between Pearson's Methodism and his view of world politics was John R. Beal, *Pearson of Canada – The Making of a Statesman* (New York: Duell, Slone and Pearce, 1964). More recently, the issue is addressed in Norman Hillmer ed., *Pearson – The Unlikely Gladiator* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 19??).

5. Canada sent special convoys to China carrying weapons for supporting Nationalists during the civil war (see LSL ?Louis St. Laurent–make spelling of St. Laurent consisten throughout?? Papers [LSLP], National Archives of Canada [NAC]).

6. "Recognition of Communist China," The Cabinet Conclusions, 22 November 1949, RG2 Series A-5-a.

7. Robert Bothwell, "Eyes West: Canada and the Cold War in Asia," in *Canada and Early Cold War 1943-1957*, ed. Greg Donaghy (Ottawa: Department of Foreign Affairs and International trade, Canada, 1998), 59-72.

8. Lester B. Pearson Papers [LBPP], NAC.

9. LBPP, NAC.

10. After the Commonwealth Foreign Minister's Meeting was held at Columbo January 1950, Pearson sent a letter to Prime Minister Saint-Laurant stating that Canada should recognize Communist China as early as possible. Saint-Laurant was surprised by this letter and commented that he should discuss this matter after Pearson returned to Canada (LSLP, NAC).

11. Most of the missionaries involved in the South China mission were transferred from the Honan mission or Szechuan mission. Because the South China missionfield included Hong Kong, it was more easily access to other missions. There was, therefore, more competition among denominations than in inland areas such as Szechuan.

12. Honan Mission Files, United Church of Canada Archives (UCCA).

13. Szechuan Mission Files, UCCA.

14. West China Union University Files, UCCA.

15. Sun Yat Sen was baptized in 1882 , having been influenced when studying English at a school run by the Congregational Church in Hawaii.

16. LBPP, NAC.

17. Excerpt from a letter from Dr. Pidgeon, Toronto to Principal Clarence Mackinnon, D.D., Halifax, NS, 2 February 1926, 86.095C, Tr. File 2 of 3. UCCA.

18. Edwin A. Pearson biofile, UCCA. E.A. Pearson served Park Street Methodist Church, in Chatham, Ontario between 1914 to 1917. That facilitated a friendship between Mary Austin (later wife of J.G. Endicott) and Lester Pearson.

19. Stephen L. Endicott, *James G. Endicott – Rebel Out of China* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 60-67.

20. James (senior) was born in England, but he could not go to middle school there. So he immigrated to Plarie, Canada and eventually entered the Training School in Winnipeg (James Endicott Biofile, UCCA).

21. It was called Four Rich Families including the Family of Chan Kai Shek. They formed conglomerates in Shanghai and connected with foreign trade companies in 1920s.

22. After the victory in the Sino-Japanese War in 1895, Europe, the United States and Japan exported industrial goods into China because the Chinese tariff was down. This situation made Chinese rural people more poor. So rural Chinese people gradually became anti-foreigner and anti-Christian. In 1899, such feelings emerged during the Boxer Rebellion in North and South China. Europe, the United States and Japan cooperated in sending troops to China in the name of protecting their civilians living in China and they defeated rebellion troops in 1900. These countries gained the right to station their troops in China permanently and thereby gained freer access to China. In 1915, during World War One, Japan asked the Republic of China to accept twenty-one demands. These demands permitted Japan to have freer access and more exclusive priviledges in China. Despite his objections, President Yuan Shi Kai was forced to accept these demands. Disclosure of these demands to the public infuriated the Chinese people got angry, and led to an anti-Japan movement in 4 May 1919.

23. SCM at the West China Union University was founded at the establishment of the University. J.G. Endicott served as advisor for SCM from 1937 to 1946.

24. Endicott, *James G. Endicott*, 132.

25. Endicott, *James G. Endicott*, 141-152.

26. Endicott, *James G. Endicott*, 191-192. Ruth Weiss was teaching English at West China Union University, and worked part-time as a secretary at the Canadian Embassy in Nanking at that time.

27. At the time of the Republic of China (1912-1949), the capital was officially moved from Beijing to Nanking. But Beijing was the centre of the North China and often the *de facto* capital of China (especially during the presidency of Yuan Shi Kai between 1912-1916).

28. Most of the intellectuals in China operated businesses or became bureaucrats. They had a vested interest in continuing capitalism in China.

29. Kilbourn was appointed to the West China mission as a missionary doctor by the Methodist Church of Canada. He was married to Dr. Janet McClure in 1921 (daughter of William McClure, who died in 1942). Because of this connection with the McClure family, Kilbourn was under house arrest just after the Communist takeover of Canton Province in the autumn of 1950. After his evacuation to Hong Kong in March 1952, he became a Professor of Physiology in the University of Hong Kong until 1960 and he served as Vice President of Chun Chi College (medical school) in the Chinese University of Hong Kong from 1960 to 1963 (*Chung Chi College Bulletin*, No.33, July 1963).

30. Robert McClure Papers, UCCA; and LBPP, NAC.

31. Endicott, *James G. Endicott*,184-195.

32. LBPP, NAC.

33. Norman Bethune was killed in 1939 during an attack by Japanese Military. At the time he was the chief doctor of the Red Army (Eight Route Army). One should consider also the impact of Edgar Snow's best-seller *Red Star Over China* in 1937.

34. Lester B. Pearson, *Mike: The Memoirs of the Right Honourable Lester B. Pearson*, 3 Vols. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972-77).

35. English, *Worldly Years*; and *Shadow of Heaven.*

36. Chester Ronning, *A Memoir of China in Revolution- From Boxer Rebellion to the People's Republic* (New York: Penthouse Books, 1974).

37. Roger Bowen, *Innocent is not Enough – The life and Death of Herbert Norman* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1986).

38. General Secretary of Overseas Mission Files, UCCA.

39. English, *Worldly Years*; and *Shadow of Heaven.*

40. Pictures of the Missionary Outlook for Japan and China, 1876-1911.

41. Leslie Earl Willmott was born in Toronto on 1895. He received a B.Sc.(Engineering) from the University of Toronto and served at the Szechuan mission as a teacher of Middle School in Chungking and West China Union University between 1926 to 1953. He was one of the last foreign teachers in the Szechuan Province.

42. Szechuan Mission Papers, UCCA.

43. Szechuan mission was larger than any other missions of the UCC. They had ninety missionaries in 1926 (Overview about Chinese Missions, F.A.26, UCCA.

44. Letter from M. Robertson, Hong Kong to J. H. Arnup, 3 December 1951. 83.047C, Box 17, File 68, UCCA.

45. The suicide of Herbert Norman in April 1957 was one of the typical tragedies of McCarthyism. See Bowen, *Innocent is not Enough*.

46. Letter from Lester B. Pearson to Mary Endicott, 21 May 1951, LBPP, NAC.

47. Mary Endicott to Lester B. Pearson, 25 May 1951, LBPP, NAC. Mary also sent her brochure, "My Journey for Peace (1951)." In her letter, which was attached to the brochure, she stated that she wanted Pearson to understand the realities of the peace movement led by the Soviet Union and asked him to guide Canadian foreign policy to support this peace movement.

48. General Secretary for Overseas Mission Files, UCCA

"The Wilderness Will Rejoice and Blossom Like the Crocus": Bishop David Anderson's Perceptions of Wilderness and Civilization in Rupert's Land

A.A. den Otter

Bishop David Anderson, appointed the first Anglican bishop of Rupert's Land in 1849, saw a stark dichotomy between his conceptions of wilderness and civilization. His writings reveal that he perceived a tension between civilization, which he considered to be good, and the wilderness, which he thought to be evil. These conceptions rested in the nineteenth-century British culture that had nurtured him, but they also leaned on his contemporary Christian theology. His correspondence, published sermons, and books, articulated the principles that underpinned his attitude towards the landscape of Rupert's Land and that informed his perspective on its aboriginal inhabitants. Moreover, they expose his belief in a battle between civilization and the wilderness, an abstraction that formed a vital part of his missionary mandate.[1]

Born 10 February 1814 in Scotland, David Anderson was educated at the Edinburgh Academy, the University of Edinburgh, and Exeter College, Oxford. Originally a Presbyterian, he became an Anglican and in April 1837, was ordained a deacon and the following July a priest. He served parishes in and near Liverpool and in 1842 joined the faculty of St. Bees. In 1845, he became vice-principal but left the college a year later for St. Paul's in Kilburn, London. In 1848, he was named Perpetual Curate of All Saints' Church, Derby, and in the spring of 1849 accepted the Bishopric of Rupert's Land.[2]

Anderson's appointment undoubtedly stemmed from his commitment to the evangelical movement, a reaction against the formality and casual Christianity of High Church Anglicanism. Believing that faith in Christ must be a transforming power in personal and social lives, evangelicals stressed the heart over the mind, active over intellectual Christianity, the infallibility of the Bible over doubt and critical inquiry. Seeing life as a battle against the temptations of evil, they preferred an ascetic lifestyle and admitted few pleasures. They viewed overseas missions as an essential campaign in the fight against the forces of Satan.

Anderson's evangelicalism was sharpened by his connection with descendants of the Clapham Sect, an informal association of prominent and wealthy evangelicals, many of them conservative politicians, who combined their individualistic evangelical concerns with a lively preoccupation with social reform and justice. Apart from their successful anti-slavery movement, the Claphams laboured for prison reform, religious instruction in Sunday Schools, self-improvement training for the poor, dissemination of the Bible, as well as domestic and foreign missions. In 1799, they founded the Society for Missions in Africa, renamed the Church Missionary Society (hereafter CMS) in 1812.[3] Although the group had lost its prominence by the middle of the nineteenth century, its legacy remained. Henry Venn, son of the sect's founder, was secretary of the CMS and transformed it into a large organization, spreading the Christian gospel to several continents, including North America.[4] In 1849, the society expanded to Rupert's Land and established a diocese there. It named David Anderson its first bishop, an appointment in keeping with his long and deep concern for missions and his interest in education.

After being consecrated in May 1849, Anderson and his family left for Rupert's Land on the Hudson's Bay Company vessel. They arrived at York Factory in mid-August and two weeks later commenced the three-week journey to Red River, arriving there in September.[5] Anderson busied himself with the routine administrative affairs of this missionary diocese, concerning himself especially with the education of native children for the ministry, the translation of various religious publications into indigenous languages, and the visitation of outlying missionary stations. Toward the end of his tenure, he occupied himself with the expansion of the Anglican mission to the north in fierce competition with the Roman Catholic Church.[6] Never entirely at home in pioneer Red River society, Anderson resigned from his post in 1865 and returned to England with his family. He served at St. Andrew's in

Clifton, a suburb of Bristol for the remainder of his career. He also accepted the post of Chancellor of St. Paul's cathedral in London and remained an active speaker and supporter of missions. He retired from St. Andrew's in 1881 and died in November 1885.[7]

Anderson's reaction to Rupert's Land's environment was ambiguous and his attitude changed over his sojourn there. While he admired the obvious natural beauty of the territories, he deplored the seemingly empty land, devoid of people, farms, towns and cities. Aesthetically, he saw the wilderness both as sublime and mundane, picturesque and drab. Had he been pressed to define his concept of wilderness, however, he likely would have said what it lacked rather than what it possessed. And, no matter how long he remained in the northwest, he never felt fully at home in the wilderness. Although he sometimes wavered in his conviction, he continued to believe that the wild, uncultivated landscape would yield to civilization. Driven by an evangelical theology that equated wilderness with breaking and civilization with keeping faith with God, he was convinced that the outcome of the battle to redeem the wasteland would succeed.

At times Anderson could be fulsome in his praise of nature. In a published account of his 1852 trip to Moose Factory he created some vivid and positive images of the landscape. He wrote rhapsodically about the stillness of the countryside with no melody "except the scanty music of the birds."[8] He described the forests, the species of trees, fruits, flowers, and birds. He delighted in roaring waterfalls and narrow channels as well as peaceful islands. While Métis voyageurs carried the canoes and provisions across one long portage on the White River early in July, Anderson pushed his way through a tangle of wild roses, peas, raspberries, and strawberries to admire the large waterfall. "The scenery is here very noble," he proclaimed, "the river broad, and only in places contracted."[9] The following day was Sunday and the party of ten men stopped for a day of rest and worship. Anderson described in detail the natural amphitheatre in which he conducted services. Backed by a bowl of sheer rock crowned with tall trees and fronted by the still water of a lake, the little group prayed and sang hymns. In his sermon, Anderson felt compelled to remark that faith in God could grow by hearing the sounds of nature as well the words of the Bible.

Anderson's suggestion that the stillness of the wilderness turned the mind inward and to God, reflected a familiar strand of thought in the Bible. In many passages, the Bible pictures the wilderness, or the desert, as a place of contemplation, worship, and renewal. Elijah fled into the desert to escape

murderous Queen Jezebel and met God in the gentle whisper of wind. John the Baptist, "a voice of one calling in the desert," preached in the wilderness and many came to hear him. And Christ himself went into the desert for forty days and nights to be tested by Satan (1 Kings 19:1-18; Matthew 3:1-4; and Matthew 4:1-11). In keeping with his evangelical notion of deprivation, the theme of the wilderness as a place of ascetic withdrawal surfaced in Anderson's sermons and he often evoked the notion that the hardships that his missionaries faced in their daily struggle to survive ennobled them, made them morally superior to their colleagues in the civilized world.[10]

As in the Bible, Anderson's positive view of the wilderness was a minor theme, however: more prominent was the perception of the surrounding prairies and forests as a wasteland, a hostile, lonely expanse. Its climate was destructive. It stunted vegetation and killed wildlife. It brought privation to its human inhabitants and destroyed morale, even among Europeans. "The tendency of the climate is to lead to a degree of apathy uncongenial with spiritual growth,"[11] he complained and observed that beyond the river valley lay a "dark land," a "mighty wilderness" where "an almost unbroken sameness prevails." That land, he lamented "has been long desolate and waste."[12]

To one as familiar with the Bible as Anderson, the notion of the wilderness as a hostile rather than friendly environment was commonplace.[13] "In a desert land," Deuteronomy recalled, God found Jacob, "in a barren and howling waste." For forty years, the Israelites wandered through "a vast and dreadful desert, that thirsty and waterless land, with its venomous snakes and scorpions."[14] Throughout, the biblical writers modify the desert or wilderness with adjectives like arid, barren, desolate, dreadful, hot, and vast and associates it with death, fatigue, hunger, plagues, thorns, and wild animals.

Even more fundamental to Anderson's perceptions was the biblical identification of wilderness with the actions of humans and the reactions of God. After the fall, God ejected Adam and Eve from the garden of Eden and told them:

> Cursed is the ground because of you;
> through painful toil you will eat of it all the days of your life.
> It will produce thorns and thistles for you
> and you will eat the plants of the field.

The theme, that wilderness is the result of sin, courses through the remainder of the Old Testament. The Psalmist's warning is but one example:

> He turned rivers into a desert.
> flowing springs into thirsty ground,
> and fruitful land into a salt waste,
> because of the wickedness of those
> who lived there (Psalm 107:33-34).

The prophet Isaiah admonished:

> Now I will tell you what I am going to do to my vineyard [Israel and Judah]: I will take away its hedge, and it will be destroyed; I will break down its wall, and it will be trampled. I will make it a wasteland, neither pruned nor cultivated, and briers and thorns will grow there, I will command the clouds not to rain on it (Isaiah 5:6-7).

If God punished disobedient nations by cursing their fields, the obverse, that He blessed the lands of faithful people, is also true. Again, the Bible is replete with teachings on this. Leviticus bluntly stated: "Follow my decrees and be careful to obey my laws, and you will live safely in the land. Then the land will yield its fruit, and you will eat your fill and live there in safety" (Leviticus 25:18-19). Later, the Psalmist exalted Jehovah for favouring his faithful people:

> He turned the desert into pools of water
> and the parched ground into flowing springs;
> there he brought the hungry to live,
> and they founded a city where they could settle.
> They sowed fields and planted vineyards
> that yielded a fruitful harvest;
> he blessed them, and their numbers greatly increased,
> and he did not let their herds diminish (Psalm 107:35-38).

Or, as Isaiah put it,

> The Lord will surely comfort Zion
> and will look with compassion on all her ruins;
> he will make her deserts like Eden,

> her wastelands like the garden of the Lord,
> Joy and gladness will be found in her,
> thanksgiving and the sound of singing (Isaiah 51:3).

In other words, read literally, the Bible make a direct connection with faithfulness to God and the fertility of the land.

Reflecting his Victorian theology, David Anderson in one of his sermons clearly transposed the Biblical disobedience-wilderness and obedience-fertility theme directly to Rupert's Land. Seeking to boost the morale of his clergy, Anderson admitted that missionary labour was often discouraging and progress slow. The end, he encouraged, however, was certain. "We are still only clearing the waste land, and likely to find it true, that such as the country is such will be the religious state of its inhabitants."[15] Continuing on, he claimed that,

> Nowhere is man's power over nature more forcibly seen than in a newly reclaimed country . . . Take the banks of the Red River, with the forest unfelled, and view them now with productive fields, and studded with the abodes of happiness and comfort, and the two clauses of the verse are seen fulfilled, if anywhere, "the earth yield her increase, and God, even our own God, gives His blessing.[16]

To be sure, Anderson was not alone in connecting the fecundity of the land with Christianity. In fact, in his sermon he made a passing reference to Richard Trench's *Lessons in Proverbs.* In this book, Trench, a clergyman and prolific linguist, quoted the French proverb, "As the man is worth, his land is worth," and then explained it by suggesting that "Man is lord of his outward condition to a far greater extent than is commonly assumed; even climate which seems at first sight so completely out of his reach, it is his immensely to modify; and if Nature stamps herself on him, he stamps himself yet more powerfully on Nature."[17] Psalm 107 was not merely a figure of speech, according to Trench, but a sign that God made land barren because of human sloth, indolence, and shortsightedness. In other words, the condition of the land reflected the moral and spiritual state of its cultivators.

Not surprising, then, Anderson implicitly defined wilderness as the absence of civilization, that is, the lack of British and western European culture, economy, and especially Christianity. Camped on the Winnipeg River, on his way to Moose in 1852, he reflected on the scene before him. He

found the river very beautiful but also dangerous and concluded that the country was not poetical. While certain spots on the river rivalled the Rhine in beauty, it lacked Europe's poetry. Why would that be so, he wondered. Was it the absence of the human element? Must nature have human society and culture, ruins and castles to make poetry? Even the full moon that softly lit the campsite, adding warmth to its charm, failed to impress him fully. While the romantic setting reminded him of an evening in Baden, he felt it lacked the music.[18]

The Red River, even if not fully civilized, had villages with churches and houses, it had farms and fences, and it had the thriving Indian settlement. It was, according to Anderson, "the centre of light, the little oasis in the wilderness" with "all darkness around."[19] Similarly, the small mission at The Pas was an outpost in a barren land and to see the church spire from a distance was a pretty sight and its name, Christ Church, was appropriate for "the last[est] of the Church of Christ in the Wilderness. May it be a bright light there – it must attract every eye from its conspicuous position – may many hearts be attracted by the proclamation of a Saviour's love therein."[20] And on a small hill near Fairford he recalled:

> The view from the slight rising ground down on the River is very much that of an English village, the school tower as seen through the Trees adding much to the effect. How great in this and many other instances the power of association! I feel convinced that without the Tower I should never have experienced half the amount of pleasure from the situation of the place. With the tower, imagination carried me at once to England and passed on to anticipate the time when our Church might be firmly established in this country, and the Church Tower no such uncommon spectacle on the banks of the Lake or River.[21]

The few families, that spent the summers in the mission, formed, he believed "a nucleus for civilization: they are a centre from which the light of divine truth and the power of a Christian example may be diffused."

Clearly, then, Anderson believed that church towers and Christians parishes were beacons of British civilization in the wilderness. In other words, he would argue, Christianity was the vanguard, preparing for the redemption of a land kept waste and barren by a heathen people. Interpreted literally, the bishop's favourite text, one he repeated over and over again, was Isaiah 35:1-2.

> The desert and the parched land will be glad;
> the wilderness will rejoice and blossom.
> Like the crocus, it will burst into bloom;
> it will rejoice greatly and shout for joy.

Here, then, was a powerful codicil to Anderson's missionary mandate. Not only must he concern himself with saving the souls of the natives of Rupert's Land, but in doing so he would also redeem the land. He would turn the wilderness into a garden. "Apart from . . . [the Holy Spirit] the earth lies in desolation," he wrote, "and sin and Satan hold an undisputed sway, "until the Spirit be poured out upon us from on high, and the wilderness be fruitful fields."[22] Although his language was spiritual, even mystical, his perspective of the environment as a barren wasteland in need of civilization was temporal and physical. And, that viewpoint informed his attitude toward the aboriginal peoples of Rupert's Land. While surveying the progress of the Anglican mission in the territories, he remarked that growth, while slow, was steady. "The desert begins to smile," he noted because people who only a few years had no knowledge of Christianity worshipped in its church.

> The land has been long desolate and waste. She is now beginning to enjoy her Sabbaths: prayer and praise echo through her bounds, thanksgiving, and the voice of melody. The Indian, whose heart was long cold and cheerless as his own long winter, is now warmed by the promises of God and rejoicing in the light.[23]

For the bishop, the links between wilderness and heathendom, civilization and Christianity, were crystal clear.

Bishop Anderson's theology, which underpinned his perceptions of the wilderness, also inspired his judgment of the aboriginal peoples of Rupert's Land and like his impressions of the environment, they were ambivalent. With some condescension, he found the natives at York Factory and in Red River were more intelligent and knowledgeable about the Christian religion than he had expected. He understood that at Fort Pelly the aboriginal people were "very tractable and docile."[24] In fact, he generalized that the mind and attitude of the natives presented no obstacles to evangelization. As with the landscape, the inhabitants had attractive characteristics, that is, as long as they were receptive to Christianity.

Indigenous people who resisted or had not yet accepted the Christian gospel, he viewed with a complex mixture of displeasure, sadness, and pity. He could not comprehend that without belief in Christ there could be happiness in the physical world or a joyous place in the heavenly realm. A visit to a native, who was ill, grieved him deeply. "Cut off from the pursuits of the chase, without the power of gaining a livelihood for himself and family he soon becomes a prey to melancholy and pines away in secret anguish."[25] Individuals, who appeared to be struggling with the Christian message, he admired but anyone, who actively opposed the missionaries, earned his angry scorn. Such a person was, according to the bishop, a "child of the devil," an "enemy of righteousness," who still lived in a world of "mist and darkness."[26] He drew a clear distinction, then, between those who had accepted and those who had rejected the Christian religion, those living in a position of grace or mired in a state of nature. Meeting two aboriginal men on one of his journeys, he noted that one of them had two brothers, one who "is civilized and intelligent," and the other who "is still in the darkness of nature."[27]

With his evangelical concern for the souls of those who had not yet heard the gospel a heavy burden on his mind, the mandate to proclaim Christ was extremely urgent for Bishop Anderson.

> May God then enable us to occupy and possess the land, and to do so steadily and securely. Much will depend upon the next three years, if during that period God shall graciously guide us in the selection of spots and bless us with men after his own heart, and give us souls among the Indians, then a Christian character and an aspect of civilization may be imparted of this poor country. Its condition weighs heavily on my mind, so many are its wants so selfish the poor Indian's natural heart, and yet the spirit of God is all sufficient to soften and guide as in days of old.[28]

Although Anderson's concern for the spiritual and material welfare of the natives was genuine and heartfelt, his belief in a civilization/wilderness dichotomy, produced a paternalistic attitude. Operating from the assumption that the learning of civilization was better than that of the wilderness, he and his fellow missionaries took all the initiatives in teaching the doctrines of Christianity, the knowledge of Europe, and the techniques of a settled existence. Although they never coerced, neither did they understand their missionary mandate in terms of a partnership. Instead an attitude of

economic, spiritual, and intellectual superiority dismissed any contributions native culture might contribute to the new northwestern society. Anderson often referred to the natives as my "poor Indians,"[29] intending that in a spiritual as well as economic sense. Fairford mission, for example, enjoyed the most tangible progress of any settlement outside Red River. Yet poverty was still common and native converts repeatedly asked for houses, tools, cattle, and clothing. They required continual care and attention. That dependence, whether it was of Christians or non-Christians was a problem. "You will learn," he wrote London, "that the Indian here is far more dependent upon us than we ever imagined."[30] Like his fellow missionaries, Anderson had discovered that teaching aboriginal hunters to become farmers was more difficult than he had imagined. But he had not yet realized that nineteenth-century agricultural technology could not cope with the climate and soils of Rupert's Land. Instead, he blamed the inexperienced native rather than the environment. "He is a child in temporal matters as in spiritual," he maintained, "and has to be led by the hand ere he can walk alone."[31] Continuing in this benevolent paternalistic vein, he observed that natives "require to be taught to think, to look beyond the present hour; they have to be guided by the hand in each step, as they emerge from a state of nature and barbarism, into the very lowest rudiments of civilization."[32]

Especially paternalistic was the practice of giving English names to converts at their baptism. Anderson, obviously not totally at ease with the custom, defended it by saying that many of the native names, such as those that labelled handicaps or deformities, were demeaning. More to the point, perhaps, was Anderson's argument that an English name connected the convert with believers in the old country. And, implicitly, it recognized the end of a wild, pagan existence and the beginning of a new civilized, Christian life.

Anderson's renaming of converts reflected the standards by which he measured progress. At the top of his scale was the English rural village. The closer a mission resembled the countryside of his homeland, the less it appeared as wilderness. In the late 1850s, Anderson felt that The Pas and Fairford had made significant strides towards this ideal. "Fairford is more and more the Christian, the Missionary village," Anderson proudly related, "the School Chapel, opened during my visit, the Mission House, the Wind Mill, the Indian cottages – the marriages of the young Christians – the fenced farms, the nice large Mission farm – all this has a settled air."[33] On a visit to the community, he asked the congregation to look around the settlement and

then memorize his beloved Isaiah 35: 1. "Did they not think that these words were being fulfilled in Fairford?" he asked. "Surely there was something of a partial fulfilment of its prophetic words," he replied for them. "The desert and the parched land will be glad, the wilderness will rejoice and blossom like the crocus." Were they not happier than before, he recalled also asking them. Was there "not more melody to the ear in the sound of the bell which summoned them to the House of God than in the discordant noise of the Indian drum – more music in kids singing hymns than in howls of tribal chants?" The tower pointing to God, the stillness of the Sabbath, the best clothes to church, he said, were all signs of a better life. "Here were glad sights and sounds in one remote corner of the wilderness."[34]

In the end, then, Anderson not only sought to convert Rupert's Land's aboriginal people to Christianity, but he also sought to civilize, or as he called it, to "raise" them. This involved two aspects, literacy and farming. In the latter, Anderson took little personal interest. He left the instructing of agricultural techniques to the clergy in the field.[35] He did, however, become intimately concerned with the education of indigenous clergy and teachers as well as the translation of religious materials into native languages. For Anderson, the written word was fundamental to spurring religious, moral, as well as social change among the natives. Literacy was central to Protestant missions.[36] Education, he believed, would become the most powerful means by which to dispel the "darkness" of the wilderness and admit the "light" of civilization.

Immediately upon his arrival in Red River, Anderson purchased the Red River Academy. The purpose of the college, he suggested, would be to train aboriginal boys to be clergy among their people in Rupert's Land. "I wanted a hold upon the young, a nucleus for my College School, he confided."[37] In light of the hardships missionaries faced at remote stations, he believed it very important to create a body of native priests who would have an indigenous mentality and network as well as the ability to survive in, as he would put it, the little oasis in the desert. Anderson also nurtured a Model or Training school for young women at St Andrew's. These establishments brought him joy because he believed that the education of aboriginal children was extremely important.

Anderson also favoured the translation of Christian religious materials into local native languages. Although he approved of the syllabic system developed by James Evans, a Wesleyan missionary stationed at Norway House,[38] in keeping with the civilizing mandate, he preferred to teach his

charges English. Accordingly all missionaries and schoolmasters taught English to the aboriginal children at the missions' day schools.[39] Meanwhile, as a temporary expedient for the adults, the bishop pressed his subordinates to translate the important church documents into the local indigenous languages.

Apart from education and translation, Anderson also took an interest in northern expansion. In the late 1850s, he approved plans to set up missions along the Mackenzie River. This campaign, phrased in military language, gained great urgency because the Roman Catholic Church was also moving into the region. The bishop despised the Catholic priests, a dislike that went beyond mere denominational rivalry and embodied the belief that the other church was leading the natives to eternal damnation. Like many Protestants, he equated Roman Catholicism with an idolatry that hardly differed from native shamanism.[40] Thus, he carried the feuds and quarrels of old world civilization into the new, a mutual hostility that seriously damaged the Christian message of love and peace.[41]

The successful expansion into the north capped Anderson's tenure. He had reasons to be satisfied with his work. Under his direction, the diocese had expanded from a fledgling, relatively small mission field to a maturing establishment. From the day he arrived to when he left, it had grown from five clergy to eighteen. From its base of the three churches in Red River and the missions at The Pas and Fairford, it had established itself on the Mackenzie River and the shore of Hudson Bay.[42] Meanwhile, he had competently administered the diocese, established a solid educational system in Red River, and supervised the translation of important manuscripts. As the first bishop of the diocese, he had laid a solid foundation for the future.[43]

If Anderson took any comfort in his accomplishment, he also expressed serious doubts about his achievements. The task of evangelizing and civilizing the wilderness of Rupert's Land seemed at times insurmountable. The mission could not possibly minister adequately to a population scattered over enormously vast territories. He had hoped, for example, to visit the Mackenzie district and British Columbia but he could not spare the time nor the money.[44] He was also concerned about the lack of deep spirituality among the converts and was disappointed many of them fell into apathy after the initial euphoria of conversion. "At all events the Indian is less hopeful and more difficult to act upon than he was found to be five years ago," he lamented.[45] Visits to Christ Church and English River did not cheer him; they were still only small spots in a "bleak and barren portion of the

earth." He pitied the missionaries, "who labour, and labour alone – who look out, from week to week, on the same scene – the snowy waste, the ice-bound river or bay in winter, and the unvaried landscape in summer, and on a very few souls, and those, it may be, very dead and dry, like the bones in the valley of vision."[46] In a decade and a half, the gains the diocese had made seemed insignificant compared to the work that remained to be done.

By the end of his tenure in Rupert's Land, however, many changes were advancing on its southern regions. In 1849, Bishop Anderson had trekked from York Factory to Red River in an open Yorkboat; in 1860, he made a trip to Canada by paddlewheeler most of the way to St. Paul, Minnesota, and by train the remainder of the way. At the beginning of his stay, Anderson's mail had come irregularly and was months, sometimes a year old; in1859, he received a letter mailed only thirty-two days earlier in England.[47] By the late 1850s, rumours abounded that the British government would soon declare Rupert's Land a crown colony, appoint a governor, and station troops in Red River.[48] Anderson, and many of his British-born followers supported colonial status as the stability it promised would facilitate their endeavours: "While the British rule has been recently extended over the whole of India, we could wish that the same rule were also extended over the whole of this Territory," the bishop hoped and piously added, "But after the country is thrown open, it is God alone who can open an effectual door for the proclamation of His own truth."[49] Although his hopes for direct British control were not realized, the talk of it was a powerful indication that Red River and the southern prairies were on the cusp of a profound transformation from an isolated fur trading frontier to a connected agricultural settlement. "I only hope the rapid influx of strangers may not affect for the worse the simple piety of our people," Anderson sighed, "We must pray for . . . the . . . outpouring of the Spirit . . . Oh that it might make the wilderness to smile."[50]

Even though Anderson worried about the approach of settlement, in the end, he thought it desirable. He was, after all, a man of his times and defined civilization by the ethos of his era, a mentalité basking in the glory of an empire at its apex. To him, civilization was mid-nineteenth century Britain with its cities, towns, villages, and fenced farmlands, its universities, colleges, and schools, and, above all, its churches. His mental picture of the Britain he had left behind was that of a great agricultural and industrializing country where a Christian civilization had pushed back the edges of the wilderness. Those wild lands that still remained were no longer the dark and

bleak wastelands of the Old Testament but the retreats of the New. In sum, British civilization had tamed the wilderness and was assuming a mandate to develop the natural and human resources of the entire world. At the same time, Victorians believed that this civilizing task also included the mandate to disseminate around the world the knowledge that had produced this unprecedented wealth. Thus, Bishop David Anderson was only one of a host of civil servants, entrepreneurs, teachers, and missionaries scattering across the globe to bring the learning of their society to uneducated people everywhere. The whole world must be civilized, he and his peers assumed; that is, peoples everywhere must be raised to the level of enlightened, Christian, still largely agricultural, Victorian Britain.[51]

Although the need to spread British values, products, and technology across the globe were only implicit in the bishop's writings, he explicitly articulated his belief that it was his country's duty to spread the Christian teachings. Anderson often expressed the commonly held belief that Britain was "the especial instrument in the hands of God for the spread of the Gospel."[52] He was very conscious of the global reach of the Church Missionary Society, subscribed to its publications, and followed developments in New Zealand, China, India, and Africa. Thoughts of the more glamourous fields, with their teeming populations, made his own pasture seem rather insignificant and much more the lonely wilderness, an isolated outpost of British civilization.[53]

Evidently, Anderson never surrendered his negative feelings for the wilderness. Although he travelled much of it on foot, on horseback, in Yorkboats and in canoes, he never fully acclimatized to its vast expanses. The country encircling Red River and the remote missions was, in his estimation, bleak, lonely, hostile; it was undeveloped, savage, and a symbol of humanity's sin. The wilderness was a land under God's curse, waiting to be redeemed. And, its heathen inhabitants were similarly doomed. Destined to live a nomadic, marginal, and ignorant existence, aboriginal society and culture, like the land, was the bishop believed, primitive and unfinished, savage and crude. In sum, Anderson saw very little difference between the uncultivated wilderness and its indigenous peoples. Profoundly affected by his evangelical leanings, he always viewed the wilderness and its aboriginal inhabitants under the power of evil forces.

That dark view, however, was brightened at times with an appreciation for the details of nature. He saw God working in creation. He once preached how flowers, insects, the sea, and the heavens revealed God's power, while

the Bible and the complexity of the human spirit and soul, revealed His wisdom.[54] The veteran traveller of the territories, when trips still were extremely difficult and arduous, likened his expeditions to the desert wanderings of Israel and saw in them a metaphor of his own and other's personal faith journeys. Very conscious of his surroundings at a campsite at Eagle's Nest Lake, in the late fall of 1852, he referred to the providence of God, seeing a passage in Deuteronomy as an apt parable for him and his companions.

> Like an eagle that stirs up its nest
> and hovers over its young,
> that spreads its wings to catch them
> and carries them on its pinions (Deut. 32: 9-12).[55]

For Anderson then, the wilderness as a whole was a dark and frightening place but upon close examination it contained evidence of the Deity's work. Thus he remembered with nostalgia emotional worship services, yet, like most who venture into the wilds, denounced the mosquitoes and blackflies that had tormented him.

These competing visions of the meaning of the wilderness fed Anderson's optimism that in the end the Christian Gospel, enveloped in British civilization, would drive barbarism from the wilderness. Natives, enlightened by Christianity and British culture, living in permanent communities and cultivating the land, would uproot the expansive plains and dark forests. They would begin the process of civilizing the land. But more importantly, by adopting civilization, the native peoples would prepare themselves for the inevitable onslaught of European settlement.

For Anderson, the task of civilizing the wilderness and its peoples was enormous because the land was vast and its inhabitants scarce and the time so short. But, with the certainty of a man fully convinced of the rightness of his cause, he trustfully believed that in this spiritual war, Christianity would eventually triumph. The wilderness would bloom. On his return from his voyage to Moose, he preached on Isaiah 54:2-3, in which the Lord commanded the people.

> Enlarge the place of your tent,
> stretch your tent curtains wide,
> do not hold back;

> lengthen your cords,
> strengthen your stakes.
> For you will spread out to the right
> and to the left;
> your descendants will dispossess nations
> and settle in their desolate cities.

That passage, applied to Rupert's Land, embodied a measure of expansionist imperialism.[56] Without a doubt, Bishop David Anderson, and his fellow missionaries, hoped to destroy what they perceived to be a depraved wilderness, a barren wasteland, populated by a savage, wretched and pagan people. Inspired by his Old Testament theology and New Testament gospel, he hoped to establish in the northwest an idealized form of the British society he had left behind. That vision restored a romanticized rural society where the squire's benevolent paternalism ensured the welfare of his charges. That conception, nurtured by Anderson's interpretation of the Bible, lay in the background of his notions of wilderness and civilization. Sitting in his study, on a cold, snowy winter night, would he not remember the rolling landscape of his native England, with its stone fences, winding roads and footpaths, horses, cows and sheep grazing in its green pastures, the smell of newly plowed fields, the profusion of flowers in country gardens, warm barns and brick houses? And, central to pastoral scene, the church spire rising above the leafy canopy of the rural village. Cast in his understanding of the Bible, and glamorized by absence, that daydream no doubt influenced his perceptions of the wilderness as a bleak, lonely expanse. But, always elemental to the bleak wasteland image were its people. Despite his paternalism, his unsympathetic misunderstanding of native culture, his inability to understand that the indigenous inhabitants saw the wilderness as sacred and as home, and despite his feelings of superiority, Anderson's evangelistic faith and Clapham humanitarianism bequeathed him a deep and burdensome, but what would prove to be an insightful, concern for the natives. "By what shall they rise," he asked himself, "how shall they be supported, taught, civilized, and prepared for heaven?"

Endnotes

1. Three useful books that help place Bishop Anderson's missionary perspectives in a broader context are Robert Berkhofer, *Salvation and the Savage: An Analysis of Protestant Missions and American Indian Response, 1787-1862* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965); C.L. Higham, *Noble, Wretched, & Redeemable: Protestant Missionaries to the Indians in Canada and the United States, 1820-1900* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2000); and George W. Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology* (New York: The Free Press, 1987).

2. Frank Peake, "David Anderson: The First Lord Bishop of Rupert's Land," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 24 (April 1982): 3-11.

3. Michael Hennell, *John Venn and the Clapham Sect* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1958); and Earnest Marshall Howse, *Saints in Politics: The "Clapham Sect" and the Growth of Freedom* (Toronto: Allen & Unwin, 1952).

4. T.E. Yates, *Venn and Victorian Bishops Abroad: The Missionary Politics of Henry Venn and the Repercussions upon the Anglican Episcopate of the Colonial Period 1841-1872* (Uppsala: Swedish Institute of Missionary Research, 1978).

5. Bishop of Rupert's Land to Venn, 22 August 1849, Church Missionary Society Papers, University of Birmingham; Anderson to Committee of CMS, 29 August 1849; and Bishop of Rupert's Land to Venn, 22 November 1849.

6. Bishop to Venn, 9 November 1857, CMS Papers.

7. Peake, "David Anderson," 39-41.

8. David Anderson, *The Net in the Bay, or Journal of a Visit to Moose and Albany* (London: Thomas Hatchard, 1854), 12.

9. Anderson, *The Net in the Bay*, 13.

10. See for example, David Anderson, *A Charge Delivered to the Clergy of Rupert's Land, at his Primary Visitation* (London: T. Hatchard, 1851), 27.

11. Anderson, *Charge at Primary Visitation*.

12. David Anderson, *A Charge Delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Rupert's Land at his Triennial Visitation* (London: Thomas Hatchard, 1854), 1, 24.

13. Commentaries on the biblical concept of wilderness are plentiful. For an interpretation that most closely approximates that of Bishop Anderson see E. Calvin Beisner, *Where Garden Meets Wilderness: Evangelical Entry into the Environmental Debate* (Grand Rapids: Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Liberty and Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1997). For a relatively similar

reading, but one that stresses human responsibility, particularly in a modern world, see Robert R. Gottfried, *Economics, Ecology, and the Roots of Western Faith: Perspectives from the Garden* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 1995). Most useful are Max Oelschlaeger, *The Idea of Wilderness: From Prehistory to the Age of Ecology* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991); and *Caring for Creation: An Ecumenical Approach to the Environmental Crisis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994).

14. Deuteronomy 32:10 and 8:15. Admittedly, the Bible usually refers to desert rather than wilderness, but the desert was one type of wilderness. Moreover, in some cases the words are synonymous.

15. Anderson, *Charge at Triennial Visitation* (1854), 47-48.

16. Anderson *Charge at Triennial Visitation* (1854), 48. Anderson cited Psalm 67:6.

17. Richard Chenevix Trench, *Lessons in Proverbs: being the Substance of Lectures Delivered to Young Men's Societies at Portsmouth and Elsewhere* 2nd ed. (New York: Redfield, 1860), 135.

18. Anderson, *The Net in the Bay*, 11.

19. Anderson, *Charge at Primary Visitation*, 7.

20. Anderson to Venn, 9 August 1850, CMS Papers.

21. Anderson to Sir, 16 July 1851, CMS Papers.

22. David Anderson, *The Winner of Souls: A New-Year Ordination Sermon Preached at Saint John's Church, Red River, on Tuesday, January 1, 1856* (London: Thomas Hatchard, 1856), 17-8.

23. Anderson, *Charge at Triennial Visitation* (1854), 24-25.

24. Anderson to Venn, 22 January 1850; Bishop of Rupert's Land to Venn, 22 August 1849; and Anderson to Committee of CMS, 29 August 1849, CMS Papers.

25. Anderson to Sir, 16 July 1851, CMS Papers.

26. Anderson, *The Net in the Bay*, 261.

27. Anderson, *The Net in the Bay*, 215.

28. Bishop of Rupert's Land to Venn, 22 March 1852 [original not in CC1/O2E], CMS Papers.

29. David Anderson, *The Seal of Apostleship: An Ordination Sermon Preached at St Andrew's Church, Red River, Sunday, 22 December 1850* (London: Hatchard, 1851), 13; and Anderson, *Charge at Primary Visitation*, 44.

30. Bishop of Rupert's Land to Venn, 6 August 1851, CMS Papers.

31. Anderson to Sir, 16 July 1851, CMS Papers.

32. David Anderson, *A Charge at his Triennial Visitation, 29 May 1856* (London: Thomas Hatchard, 1856), 25-26.

33. Bishop of Rupert's Land to Venn, 22 June 1858, CMS Papers.

34. Anderson to Sir, 16 July 1851, CMS Papers.

35. David Anderson, *A Charge Delivered to the Clergy of Rupert's Land at his Triennial Visitation, 6 January 1860 (*London: Hatchard, 1860), 11.

36. John Webster Grant, *Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter Since 1534* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 112.

37. Bishop of Rupert's Land to Venn, n.d. (possibly 22 November 1849), CMS Papers.

38. Lorne Pierce, *James Evans* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1926); and Bruce Peel, *Rossville Mission Press: The Invention of the Cree Syllabic* (Montreal: Osiris Publications, 1974). Syllabics used characters to represent the sounds of syllables in the native language.

39. Bishop of Rupert's Land to Venn, 27 November 1850, CMS Papers.

40. See, for example, Anderson, *Charge at Triennial Visitation* (1854), 9-17; and Grant, *Moon of Wintertime*, 229.

41. Bishop to Venn, 9 November 1857, CMS Papers. Robert Choquette, *The Oblate Assault on Canada's Northwest: Religions and Beliefs* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1995), studies this topic using the military analogy.

42. File C C1, CMS Papers.

43. Peake takes a more jaundiced view of Anderson's accomplishments ("David Anderson").

44. Anderson, *Charge at Triennial Visitation* (1860), 10.

45. Anderson, *Charge at Triennial Visitation* (1860), 12.

46. Anderson, *Charge at Triennial Visitation* (1860), 42, 55.

47. Bishop of Rupert's to Lay Secretary, 12 August 1859, CMS Papers.

48. Frits Pannekoek, "The Flock Divided: Factions and Feuds at Red River," in *Readings in Canadian History: Pre-Confederation*, 5th ed., eds. Douglas Francis and Donald B. Smith (Toronto: Harcourt and Brace, 1998), 422-423, discusses the religious implications of Crown status or its alternative, union with the Canadas.

49. Bishop of Rupert's Land to Venn, 11 February 1859, CMS Papers.

50. Bishop of Rupert's to Lay Secretary, 12 August 1859, CMS Papers.

51. Ronald Hyam, *Britain's Imperial Century 1815-1914: A Study of Empire and Expansion* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), 31-36.

52. Anderson to Venn, 22 January 1850, CMS Papers.

53. David Anderson, *Britain's Answer to the Nations: A Missionary Sermon Preached in Saint Paul's Cathedral, on Sunday, 3 May 1857* (London: Thomas Hatchard, 1857).

54. Anderson, *The Net in the Bay,* 193-194.

55. Anderson, *The Net in the Bay,* 258-259.

56. Robert Coutts, "Anglican Missionaries as Agents of Acculturation: The Church Missionary Society at St Andrew's, Red River, 1830-1870," in *The Anglican Church and the World of Western Canada, 1820-1970,* ed. Barry Ferguson (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1991) sees the role of the CMS in Red River as an example of European colonial imperialism.

Christian Thought in the Age of Ecology: Historical Roots of a Religious Crisis

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Americans and Canadians have long assumed that Christianity is the enemy of nature. This presupposition became common in academic circles in 1966 when Lynn White, a professor of medieval history at the University of California, Los Angeles, waxed philosophical in a paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science entitled, "The Historical Roots of our Ecological Crisis." His conclusion that "modern Western science was cast in a matrix of Christian Theology" amounted to a damning indictment of the Christian community's human-nature relationship in North America. The publication of the lecture in the journal *Science* the following year popularized to a broader North American audience White's theory that "Christianity bears a huge burden of guilt" for America's degraded environment.[1]

It is unlikely that White understood his article's far-reaching implications. Appearing five years after the sensational publication of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*, which questioned the moral authority of science in matters of the environment, it fundamentally undermined the Christian church's future role in either reforming science or restoring the environment.[2] In the highly politicized atmosphere of the beginnings of the Age of Ecology in the 1960s, American society characterized Christians interested in environmental issues as interlopers. In subsequent decades the assumption predominated that Christian thought could contribute little to environmentalism because, as the cause of the earth's degradation, it had no basis of reference or tradition for preserving what remained. That White, a

self-proclaimed churchman, would detail such a critical self-examination proved to those outside the church that biblical principles could not play a meaningful role in the burgeoning environmental movement.

The acrimony between western culture and nature resulted in a desire for a new moral compass not polluted by Christian traditions. As had been predicted by social critics in the 1930s, the triune of capitalism, science and technology had become gods unto themselves, the masters of society rather than the servant of humanity. In the turbulent 1960s and 1970s philosophies of nature in North America drew their inspiration from non-western traditions such as Asian and Native American religion. Of course the rejection of Christianity for alternative forms of spirituality was not confined to the post-war environmental crisis. Teitara Suzuki, for example, extolled the virtues of Zen Buddhism for a half a century after his arrival in the United States in 1897.[3] Similarly, Alan W. Watts, the Buddhist immigrant from Britain, had wide-ranging impact on American thought with his twenty-five books on topics ranging from the fundamentals of Zen to the "seamless unity" of Buddhist thought in *Nature, Man and Women*, published in 1958. The transcendentalist movement and its most eloquent spokesperson, Henry David Thoreau, embraced Asian religious practices, as did the so-called beatniks in the 1950s led by Jack Kerouac and Gary Snyder. However, when *Christian Century* published articles on Zen as an alternative to Western attitudes it illustrated the degree to which Asian spiritual traditions – Buddhism, Hinduism, Taoism, Jainism, Shinto – had become a mainstream guide to restructuring humanity's relationship with nature.[4] Christians, especially those more theologically liberal, argued that their faith had lost in western culture what Asian spirituality had retained in the east, namely the unity of all things and the intrinsic value of all life.[5]

The dualistic and anthropocentric theology of western Christianity in the late 1960s faced powerful challenges from Native American spiritualists as well. "Ecology" became synonymous with the limitations that First Nations' societies voluntarily imposed upon themselves for the sake of nature. "Bear people," "fish nations" and "mother earth" became familiar symbols for a young environmentalist movement. Speeches by Chief Seattle of the Suquamish, or Luther Standing Bear of the Lakota, resounded with the oneness of humanity with nature. However unfair or inaccurate, Native Americans became the "first ecologists" and environmentalists recast their original societies as utopias that provided for the unity of all things. In stark contrast to western Christianity, which stressed the supremacy of humanity,

the pantheism of Asia and the animism of North America met in direct confrontation to the biblical injunction to "dominate and subdue" the earth.[6] In the public debate, the positive attributes of the nature-human relationship were ascribed to Eastern and Native American religions while negative, environmentally degrading aspects of Western civilization were almost exclusively presented as Christian concepts.[7]

In the highly-charged atmosphere of race riots, the detonation of underground nuclear devices and the Vietnam War, Christians waded into the ideological conflict to rescue their faith. They quickly discovered, however, that while Asian and North American religions authoritatively drew on their traditions to explore the solution to environmental crisis, Christians, tainted by their association with the west, struggled to reinvigorate seemingly old, tired, worn out philosophies of the early church or to revive the forgotten and ignored teachings of Jesus. To many observers, even Christians, monotheism and the biblical responsibility of humanity in creation, to name two examples, precluded Christians from engaging in the environmental debate.[8] By the mid-1970s most American and Canadians explicitly or implicitly understood that the Supreme Being, if they in fact believed in one, had only revealed a plan for nature to those outside of Christendom.[9]

The assumption that linked Christian principles to anti-environmentalism was illustrated well by the way in which Christians responded to the ideological conflict over the earth and humanity's place on it. The hostility towards Christian ideas of environment led to desperate attempts of "the church" to remake itself and renew its commitment to "earthkeeping." Revised notions of "dominion" and the biblical mandate to "subdue the earth" became common. Immediately after White's thesis, a burgeoning of Christian scholarship revitalized theological debates over the accurate biblical portrayal of "stewardship."[10] The greening of religion even produced new genres of theology such as theology of nature, theology of ecology, and theology of creation. Perhaps the most significant, although certainly not the most sophisticated, response was that of Francis Schaeffer with the publication of his *Pollution and the Death of Man: the Christian View of Ecology* in 1972.[11] The evangelical Protestant community's high regard for Schaeffer meant that the book received broad readership in the churches and became mandatory reading in seminaries and Bible colleges across North America.

In the midst of the raging cultural conflict over the environment, essentially a battle over moral authority over the rights of nature, most Christians tried to remake their ideological framework in order to overturn the anthropocentric and dualistic assumptions inherent in their relationship with nature.[12] Unfortunately, in calling for a "new relationship" with creation and characterizing their scholarship as "new thinking," Christian scholars reinforced White's full argument, namely, that since 1850 Christians have been largely unconcerned with the environment and have utilized a misinformed theology developed in medieval times to exploit and degrade God's good creation. By separating themselves from the historic past of the church most Christian environmental authors and organizations magnified the assumptions of other authors. Thus, the predominant characterization of Christianity as "so heavenly minded as to be no earthly good" became entrenched within and reinforced by the church, even though integration was one of the central themes of the new Christian environmental conscience.[13]

The theological arguments on the human-nature-God paradigm amounted to variations on a theme across the Christian doctrinal spectrum.[14] The sheer weight of the voluminous studies on Christian responsibility for nature propelled Christians from different traditions to assume leadership in the attempt to rectify the dualism between Christianity and the world around it. So great was the response, and the perceived need to create a Christian response to the environmental crisis facing North America, that numerous workshops and even separate programs in religiously affiliated universities and colleges began to train leaders to be "stewards" of the earth. In 1979, the Au Sable Institute of Environmental Studies in Madison, Wisconsin became a central gathering place for ideas around which the church has responded to the "environmental crisis." The Institute's attempts to train Christian environmental sciences and their efforts to host significant conferences on different aspects of the theology of creation greatly enhanced the respect of Christian ideology.[15] Other organizations such as the North American Conference on Christianity and Ecology have also contributed with journal publications such as *The Quarterly of Christian Ecology*. New programs, such as the Environmental Studies program at Trinity Western University in Langley, BC will undoubtedly have an impact in the future as well. As these academic efforts increase, so too does the sophistication with which environmental issues are approached through a faith perspective.

These scholars, agencies and ecumenical associations did not, however, stimulate a broad-based activism within the Christian church. All

of the work on the theological basis of the human-nature-God paradigm did not equip parishioners, who were able to recite the re-duce, re-use, and re-cycle pledge, with a clear connection between their environmentally aware actions and their faith. Similarly, theologians, or Christian academics from various disciplines disguised as theologians, only scratched the surface of the historical context of the rich tradition that Christians had developed in response to their understanding of humans in their relationship to God through different eras and various cultural settings. The result is that while Christian ecology thrived in theory, it had little connection to reality for most North American Christians.

It is ironic that the Christian church after 1980 did not develop the same respect for its theology as academia did for Christian principles. Indeed, one of the unforeseen consequences of White's paper was that it signaled a departure in science away from its strict creed of religious exclusion that it had held since around the 1920s. That *Science* even considered an article with a religious theme, however damaging to the evangelical cause it might have appeared to be, provided an avenue within the scientific establishment itself to at least begin to dialogue with issues of Christian faith and not dismiss them as the antithesis of reason. White provided an unmistakable link between the rise of science through Judeo-Christian traditions in the middle ages even though the moral costs were largely borne by Christianity, not science. Nevertheless, he made the firm connection between reason and faith that had been lost to the church in the early-twentieth century.[16] In his words, "since the roots of our trouble are so largely religious, the remedy must also be essentially religious, whether we call it that or not."[17]

Since 1967 academia has been increasingly open to Christian ideas on the environment. This is not to say, however, that they have accepted the simplistic paradigms too often presented from a Christian perspective. Environmental historians have been especially vehement in their forthright appraisals of the intellectual baggage associated with Christianity. Roderick Nash, a historian noted for his exploration of the intellectual origins of wilderness, decried the "pervasive otherworldliness of Christianity."[18] Nash recounts the generally accepted interpretation that "Christians' aspirations were fixed on heaven, the supposed place of their origins and, they hoped, their final resting place . . . Indeed, Christians expected that the earth would not be around for long. A vengeful God would destroy it, and all unredeemed nature, with floods or drought or fire," and concludes that "obviously this

eschatology was a poor basis from which to argue for environmental ethics in any guise."[19] With reference to resource exploitation, for example, Donald Worster exclaims: "What we humans have done over the past five hundred years to maim this continent and tear apart its fabric of life is in large degree the consequence of the Judeao-Christian religious ethos and its modern secular offspring – science, industrial capitalism, and technology."[20]

Despite the antipathy towards Christian thought on the environment, most authors agreed with White's basic notion that Christian ideas operated within a particular cultural context to shape the environment. Indeed, analysis of the conquest of the American west, for example, clearly illustrated that Edenic myths and metaphors of virgins shaped the interaction between humans, land and resources.[21] In the exploitation and conquest of the west it was not necessarily Christianity, but rather a particular interpretation of biblical passages acting within a unique historical context that provided justification for human action. Unfortunately, the recognition and appreciation of the complexity of Christianity thought as found in good analytical writing did not result in an exploration of people whose actions on behalf of nature reflected their biblical beliefs.

Scholars who attempted to articulate a Christian theology of nature, such as Calvin DeWitt and Loren Wilkinson, felt compelled to distance themselves from Judeo-Christianity's historical record of environmental abuse.[22] Attempts of Christian authors to separate themselves from their maimed historical roots in the short term, however, produced unintended consequences for the long-term viability of Christian environmentalism in both the church and academia. In attempting to develop distinctness from the past, Christian scholars effectively gave up the rich traditions that would ground their theology in history. While much work went into exploring the nature of biblical relationships to nature, little exploration of Christian thought and action on ecological issues has been attempted in what only can be termed as the missing century of "creation history" between 1850-1950. This is especially troubling when the environmental studies are pre-occupied with putting humans back into the environment and exploring the way in which human agency has impacted the earth.[23] As Simon Schama has explicitly stated recently, no part of landscape is beyond memory, all of nature expresses humanity's occupation and use.[24]

The Judeo-Christian tradition, with its long, detailed history of man-nature interaction should be included in this history, but too often its past is limited to biblical history or explicitly Christian epochs.[25] Because little has

been done to ground balanced Christian interpretations of nature within the context of our modern age, theologies of nature flounder and historical treatments remains incomplete. One cannot ignore the ways in which religion, and especially Christianity, justified "subduing of the earth." However, one would be remiss not to explore the ways in which men and women of faith have, in fact, inherited the earth in the past 150 years.

Church historians have also embraced the notion of Christianity forming the peripheral matter of American and Canadian association with nature. Mark Noll argues that the political and social marginalization of Christians has been ongoing since roughly 1920. Although he does not specifically mention the church's relationship to nature or the environmental movement, it is evident in his choice of metaphor, "Wilderness Once Again" that such considerations were never very far below the surface. In Noll's analysis the only thing left to decide about Christianity's twentieth century walk in the wilderness is whether the future will entail renewal or readjustment.[26]

It is a sad fact of history that more Christians did not disavow their connection to western culture with the rise of modernity. This is not to say, however, that since the eighteenth century, Christians have not actively engaged in the debate over the status of nature (creation),[27] the care of animals (husbandry),[28] and debate over human agency in the environment (conservation, preservation).[29] A cursory overview of Canadian and American history reveals plenty of examples of Christian actors that made significant contributions to creation history. John William Dawson, the Canadian geologist and articulate defender of creation through science.[30] William Howland, the mayor of Toronto the Good, implemented Christian principles into politics with the result being the defense and protection of the poor, women and animals. John Muir who rejected formal Christianity and adopted a "religion of nature," yet articulated in his journals and writings a deep struggle to be faithful to the basic tenants of the Christian faith.[31] Walter Lowdermilk, the forest and hydrologist turned land conservationist, who constructed an "eleventh commandment" that began: "Thou shalt inherit the holy earth as a faithful steward."[32] All of these actors and more reveal an abiding tradition of creation history in our time. Although none of them are perfect or ideal, they are nevertheless the models and examples of people living out their faith in the historical context of North American society. Their history is something North American society and creation history desperately needs.

Endnotes

1. Lynn White, Jr., "The Historical Roots of our Ecological Crisis," *Science* 155: (10 March 1967): 1203-1207.

2. Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring* (Greenwich, CN: Fawcett Publications, Inc., 1964).

3. C.J. Glacken, *Traces on the Rhodian Shore: nature and culture in western thought from ancient times to the end of the eighteenth century* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1967).

4. William R. Hoyt, "Zen Buddhism and Western Alienation from Nature," *Christian Century* 87 (7 October 1970): 1194-1196; and Hwa Yol Jung, "Ecology, Zen and Western Religious Thought," *Christian Century* 89 (15 November 1972): 1155.

5. Thomas Merton, *Zen and the Birds of Appetite* (New York: New Directions, 1968); and John Cobb, Jr. *Beyond Dialogue Toward a Mutual Transformation of Christianity and Buddhism* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982).

6. J. Baird Callicot, *Nature in Asian Traditions of Thought: Essays in Environmental Philosophy* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989).

7. For a forthright critique of Christianity that is representative of the time see C. J. Glacken, "Man Against Nature: An Outmoded Concept," in *The Environmental Crisis: Man's Struggle to Live With Himself*, ed. H.W. Helfrich, Jr. (New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 1970).

8. This attitude can be readily apparent in the coverage of the "White controversy" (see *Time,* 2 February 1970; and "The Link Between Faith and Ecology," *The New York Times*, 4 January 1970). The most clearly articulated critique of Christian theology is a thoughtful analysis by John Passmore in *Man's Responsibility for Nature: Ecological Problems and Western Traditions* (New York: C. Scribner, 1974). Passmore argued that Christianity cannot create an environmental ethic without ceasing to be distinctly Christian. Interestingly, he also argued that pantheism, mysticism and non-Christian traditions would not offer the solution, but rather they should be sought in Western philosophical, scientific and religious traditions.

9. Even those inside the church began calling for "a new Christianity" (Frederick Elder, *Crisis in Eden: A Religious Study of Man and Environment* [Nashville: Abingdon, 1972]). Elder, who was a student at Harvard Divinity School in 1972, called for the church to follow the teachings of Aldo Leopold in order to overcome its "ethical parochialism." Other authors like Henlee H. Barnette, in

The Church and the Ecological Crisis (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972), called for an "expanded zone of ethics" that included the "organic and the inorganic."

10. Those wanting a fairly exhaustive bibliography of the response from theologians to White's thesis should consult the excellent bibliography compiled by Joseph K. Sheldon entitled *Rediscovery of Creation: A Bibliography of the Church's Response to the Environmental Crisis* (Metuchen, NJ: American Theological Library Association and Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1992), 27-28.

11. Schaffer, *Pollution and the Death of Man: The Christian View of Ecology* (Wheaton, IL: Tyndale Books, 1970).

12. Roderick Nash makes this point well. He argues that the environmental movement was about extending American liberalism, the political theory of natural-rights, to nature. While some Christian traditions moved more quickly to support this notion, others, especially conservative or fundamentalist denominations resisted either because they viewed the "new theology" as heresy or because they distrusted "this world" as a result of their belief in premillennial dispensationalism (*The Rights of Nature: A History of Environmental Ethics* [Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989]).

13. It is telling, for example, that in the introduction to almost every book there is a reference to Lynn White and his thesis about the history of the Christian church and then a statement that somehow the book written deviates from that tradition or is a new interpretation of Christian doctrine. Of course there is the exception and books after the mid-1980s tried to underscore the Christian tradition but few detailed its history. For example, Ian Bradley, Minister in the Church of Scotland, writes: "greening Christianity does not involve grafting on to it some alien philosophy but simply restoring its original character" (*God is Green: Ecology for Christians* [New York: Image Books, 1990], 7).

14. J.K. Sheldon, "Twenty-One Years after "The Historical Roots of Our Ecological Crisis": How Has the Church Responded?" *Perspectives on Science and Christian Faith: Journal of the American Scientific Affiliation* 41, No. 3 (1989): 152-158.

15. See Sheldon, *Rediscovery of Creation*, 30, for bibliographic citations of conference proceedings.

16. George M. Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991).

17. White, "Historical Roots," 1207.

18. Roderick F. Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 1967).

19. Nash, *The Rights of Nature,* 91-92.

20. Donald Worster, "John Muir and the Roots of American Environmentalism" in *The Wealth of Nature: Environmental History and the Ecological Imagination*, ed. Donald Worster (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 185.

21. Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (New York: Vintage Books, 1950); Patricia Limerick Nelson, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: Norton, 1987); and Richard White, *It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own: A New History of the American West* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991).

22. Loren Wilkinson, ed., *Earthkeeping: Christian Stewardship of Natural Resources* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1980); and Calvin DeWitt, *Caring for Creation: Responsible Stewardship of God's Handiwork* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1998).

23. William Cronon, ed., *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature* (New York: Norton, 1995).

24. Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (Toronto: Vintage Canada, 1996).

25. As Lynn White, Jr. discovered in his attempts to bring St. Francis of Assisi into the twentieth century taking actors and ideas out of their historical context is extremely problematic. This is lucidly analyzed by Roger D. Sorrel in *St. Francis of Assisi and Nature: Tradition and Innovation in Western Christian Attitudes Towards the Environment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988). White's characterization of St. Francis as the patron saint of nature in the modern sense is largely false. Sorrel states; "Francis himself never used the term *natura*, and this lack is revealing in a saint who is often portrayed as a "lover of nature." Francis instead talks of the "heavens," "earth," and "the world," and "all creatures which are under the heavens." The terms – and indeed, his whole outlook – arise not from a modern concept of nature as the intricate array of scientific laws governing the universe, or the personification of these laws . . . instead the biblical literature Francis draws on . . . asserts the belief in a divine creation, organized according to a plan that is hierarchical and unchanging, with all parts having their established positions and dependent on divine will and action. This was the most fundamental basis for Francis' conception of the natural world.

26. Mark Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1992).

27. Two important works on this include P.N. Joranson and K. Butigan, eds., *Cry of the Environment: Rebuilding the Christian Creation Tradition* (Santa Fe, NM: Bear & Co., 1984), which argued that Christian traditions needed to be "rebuilt;" and P. Santmire, *The Travail of Nature: The Ambiguous Ecological Promise of Christian Theology* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), which argues that the notion of "nature" is undergoing a transformation, not Christian thought. For a good overview of the problem of faith and the environment see Ernest L. Fortin, "The Bible Made Me Do It: Christianity, Science and the Environment," in *Human Rights, Virtue, and the Common Good: Untimely Meditations on Religion and Politics*, ed. J. Brian Benestad (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.), 111-133.

28. Andrew Lindzey, *Animal Theology* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995); and Rod Preece, *Animals and Nature: Cultural Myths, Cultural Realities* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1999).

29. Wendell Berry, "The Gift of Good Land," *Sierra* 64 (November/December 1979): 20-26.

30. Susan Sheets-Pyenson*, John William Dawson: Faith, Hope and Science* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996).

31. The environmental movement has made a hero of Muir. The themes and concepts expressed in his writing have made him out to be less a Christian seeking to address the man-nature dichotomy in his faith and more a disciple of "untutored Buddhism." For an interesting alternative exploration of Muir's faith see R.C. Austin, *Baptized Into Wilderness: A Christian Perspective on John Muir* (Atlanta, GA: John Knox Press, 1987).

32. Nash, *Rights of Nature*, 97.

Songsters and Preachers: Female Salvationists in Calgary, 1897-1930

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Calgary's Songsters

In the heart of downtown Calgary, on the corner of Stephen Avenue Mall and First Street South West, stands an interpretative mural that also functions as a City walking guide. Situated on the site where the first Salvation Army Open-Air evangelistic rally was held in 1887,[1] the mural is dedicated to the *Entertainers*, and contains an illustration of the 1912 Salvation Army Band.[2]

The Stephen Avenue outdoor location was situated adjacent to Boynton Hall, which was in turn the first building rented by the Salvationists in Calgary.[3] The site continued to be used regularly for open-air meetings into the 1900s, and functioned to promote the presence of an Evangelical tradition, which offered spiritual and physical rehabilitation to those who sought assistance through its various programs. Over the years and even to the present, the Army continues to maintain a presence within the Calgary downtown core and to be a "part of the Stephen Avenue activities."[4]

The inscription on the walking guide pays tribute to some of that early work and commemorates the Salvation Army songsters and band personnel who would meet on a regular basis for worship, song and testimony, in the centre of the rapidly expanding frontier City of Calgary.[5] The mural celebrates the music and entertainment of those weekly marches and meetings led by the band, and acknowledges the Army's contribution to Calgary's early days.

The mural, however, does not present the early Salvationists in their full religious colours. In its early years the Salvation Army was regarded as a flamboyant and unconventional sect. In Calgary, as on every other Salvationist mission field, the Army was aggressive in its activities and encouraged the public profile and participation of its female adherents. Women preached, evangelized, and sang in public, often to hostile, jeering crowds, and it is within the context of the early Salvation Army music ministry that many women found an arena to proclaim their faith. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, women, known as "Songsters" or "Hallelujah Lasses," would have been acknowledged as lay officers, thus in effect, recognized and accredited within their sect as evangelists.[6] As lay officers, these women would have had a regular opportunity to function as exhorters and, if they demonstrated stronger preaching ability, would also have been given the opportunity to preach at the open air meetings.

Sectarian Mandate

As part of the religious heritage of the Salvation Army, women were from the inception of the movement, officially regarded as equal members. William Booth ((1829-1912) and his wife Catherine Mumford Booth (1829-1890) as founders of the Salvation Army, perceived the Army's mission to be one of evangelism, spiritual and moral restoration, the enhancement of social order and respect for the law.[7] Incorporated within this claim to mission, the Booths held an official platform that advocated personal salvation and practical care, along with compassion and assistance for the needy, all based on New Testament ideals. Within the parameters of this self-proclaimed mandate, both William and Catherine Booth advocated the rights of women to preach, teach and evangelize.

When Catherine Mumford Booth wrote "Female Ministry; or, Woman's Rights to Preach the Gospel" (c. 1859), she made her platform clear: women were equal in the sight of God, had worked as evangelists in the early church, were equal inheritors of the Spirit of God, and as such should take their rightful, equal place within the Army.[8]

To be historically accurate, however, it would appear that equality was never fully realized by female Salvationists within the ranks and on the mission field. Nevertheless, it is correct to state that the ministry of women in the Army during its formative years and into the present indicates that they

have been able to play an influential role and exert a public presence within the movement.

In the early years the Salvation Army offered the working class, and sometimes the middle-class woman, an opportunity for independence and responsibility within a new religious institution.[9] In London, Ontario, where the Army was first established in 1882,[10] this liberating influence was noted early in the history of the movement. In 1884, a columnist for the *London Advertizer* reported that an old lady was overheard to state: "There's a brave lot of lasses in the ranks, and they walk just as bravely as the men, and take just as big a step."[11]

The Army's Invasion of Calgary

By the early summer of 1887, the Salvation Army had reached Calgary. On 21 August 1887, they marched down Stephen Avenue, boldly singing and with banners waving. The Salvationists sang emotionally charged hymns and were accompanied by fiddles, tambourines and a drum. The *War Cry* stated that the music was impressive and that there was "none so tuneful."[12] Four Salvationist officers were mentioned in the same report published in the 17 September 1887 edition of the *War Cry* concerning this event. The officers were Staff Captain Young, Captain Dawson, Captain Mercer and Lieutenant Patterson. Captain Helen Mercer was the only commissioned female officer in the group.[13]

The months from September to November 1887 were considered to have been very successful for the Army and twenty-four soldiers enrolled in the first Corps,[14] which was named the Calgary Citadel Corps.[15] During this time, the Army lasses or songsters were objects of curiosity and proved to be an effective means of evangelism for the Calgary audiences. It is recorded that "Army girls sang their salvation with bright enthusiasm, cultivating the interest of the youth, and with their earnest heart appeals won many for the Saviour."[16] Two of these young women, known only by their married names, later became leaders within the Calgary Citadel Corps. One woman, known as Mrs. Charlie Jackson, was acknowledged as a pioneer Salvationist in the west. She served in the Army for forty-seven years, and rose to become an officer in its ranks.[17] The second woman was Mrs. Brown, who was accorded no given or Christian name. This lady was made a Rescue Sergeant after only six months as a soldier because "she was of a sympathetic nature."[18]

Early Female Leadership in Calgary

The Army kept up its aggressive evangelistic campaign in Calgary and in one report circa 1888, from a male Salvationist known as Captain Desson, it is mentioned that on Sundays there were four marches per day.[19] Facts surrounding the reception of the Army and its practices during this time are varied. In one instance in the early days, the record indicates that Boynton Hall was filled almost every night for indoor meetings. The same report indicates that the open-air meetings were often boisterous with "a hostile element mingling with the crowd."[20] Yet the *War Cry* reported that the press and the people appeared to welcome the Salvationists and that "the kindness of the western folk could hardly be surpassed."[21] Whatever the facts that lie behind these reports, it is clear that Calgary as a frontier city, was never hostile to the Army. Indeed, an English politician who was visiting Calgary in 1888, wrote home stating that "it would evidently fare ill with any cowboy or idler who ventured to say a rude word to any of the Hallelujah Lasses."[22]

It was not, however, only the Hallelujah Lasses, who enjoyed popularity or a degree of influence within the community. In a *War Cry* report circa 1949 there is a list identifying the commissioned officers stationed at Calgary Citadel Corps from 1887 until 1946. In this context, it should be noted that a Corps Officer is by definition a pastor of a congregation or corps.[23] Over the fifty-nine years covered there are fifty-four officers named with thirteen of these being single female Corps Officers or pastors.[24] In addition to this, of the forty remaining male officers the majority listed would also have been married as the Army placed great value upon the joint ministry of a married couple. Many of the wives were also officers but were not listed in their own right. The women merely took the name and rank of their spouse, thus losing their own separate title while continuing in the work of the Army.[25]

In Calgary, the female officers, songsters and band members[26] continued to play and lead in worship, and in 1892 the Calgary Citadel Band was founded.[27] The work and influence of the Army grew rapidly during the period from 1887 until 1940, and the presence of female leaders was evident at every stage of its development. Landmarks in the establishment of religious communities, together with the development of social and medical services, all detail the major contribution made by female Salvationists.

By 1901, Ensign Annie Taylor, who was the Officer-in-Charge or Corps Officer, purchased the property that was designated to become the site

of the Calgary Citadel building, situated in downtown Calgary. The Citadel was eventually completed in 1910.[28] Records indicate that Taylor was assisted by Sergeant Major K. Fullerton in the purchase of the property.[29] This legal transaction demonstrates an interesting historical dimension. Women in Alberta, and throughout the Dominion during the first three decades of the twentieth century, did not have the same legal rights as did their male counterparts not even being considered full persons under the law until 1929. Ironically, in addition to this legal reality, when Annie Taylor purchased the property on behalf of the Salvation Army, she was also at a disadvantage due to the fact that she did not possess suffrage rights in the Northwest Territories or the Dominion.[30] That she, as Officer-in-Charge, was given the authority to enter into this transaction on behalf of the Army testifies to the fact that as a person and a leader, Taylor's authority was recognized and her judgment respected. That Sergeant Major Fullerton assisted her in the purchase speaks more to the existing legal inequality and prevailing social prejudice of the time rather than to a display of the Army's sexist bias.

In the same year of 1901 another woman, known only as Mrs. Campbell, opened the first Salvation Army Sunday School in Calgary. Mrs. Campbell, who had herself been a convert from Methodism, joined the Army because it projected itself as "Fighting Sin and the Devil." Mrs. Campbell was by trade a seamstress and she modified one of her dresses into a Salvation Army uniform. Because uniforms were not standardized at this time, she wore a flat hat rather than the regular heavier peak bonnet worn by many Salvationist women.[31]

The Sunday School opened with twelve children, some of whom were illiterate. Using a tried and true Methodist approach, Mrs. Campbell taught them to read using the Bible as the teaching aid. The Sunday School proved to be a great success and it soon became necessary for her to enlist the help of several other members of the Corps as teachers.[32]

Mrs. Campbell was also the first person to organize the League of Mercy in Calgary. The League's function was to respond to the spiritual and social needs of the community and initially was consisted of eleven members, both female and male. The mandate of the League was to visit the sick and those in prison, and to help these people according to their needs.[33] In 1915, Adjutant and Mrs. John Merrett, together with Mrs. Elford, Mrs. Stunell and Mrs. Jackson were also listed in its ranks.[34] From its inception,

the League of Mercy was a highly respected and successful organization and is still an identifiable ministry in Calgary.

In October 1904, Mrs. Adjunct Adams and Ensign Kane (later Mrs. C. Bishop) were the first two social officers (social workers) to arrive in the City of Calgary. These women introduced one of the most important branches of Salvation Army work in the City,[35] which was a home for unmarried mothers. Later, with the assistance of a prominent Calgarian named W.H. Cushing, the women, negotiating under the same legal handicaps as had Ensign Taylor, secured property for a hospital and rescue home. This property was later used as an Eventide Home for elderly women.[36]

Further outreach through institution building came with the opening of the Children's Home in Calgary in 1908. Four Salvationists are named as the officers responsible for its establishment and one of these officers was Captain Lizzie Newell, who later married a Major Fullerton and hence became Mrs. Major Fullerton.[37]

By October 1912, increased membership led to a second Corps being established in East Calgary. The Corps was led by Captain Lizzie Newell and Lieutenant Mardall.[38] Later, in 1914, the Corps was transferred to the Hillhurst district in the City's northwest .[39]

By 1924, the proven success of the Salvation Army's social work program and its hospital care for women, necessitated the relocation of the original facility to larger premises. The work with unmarried mothers and the growing demands for the Army's high quality medical maternity care eventually led to the opening of the famous Grace Maternity Hospital and Girls' Home. This facility was always under the charge of a high-ranking female Army officer.

In addition to all of this work, female preachers, leaders and songsters also participated in other aspects of church life. These women organized groups such as the Citadel Home League in 1917 as an outreach program for women and children, and also became involved in the Scouting and Guiding movements. Further, female Salvationists became involved in women's organizations outside of their religious communities, such as the Calgary Local Council of Women and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.[40]

Specific Profiles

It is evident from this information that Salvation Army women contributed to the formation of the social infrastructure of the City of Calgary, and more broadly, to the building of Alberta society. Against the Calgary backdrop specific information regarding the contribution of several women is available through which to demonstrate this personal dynamic.

There were woman like Millicent Shaw, who was born in Crossgate, Yorkshire in 1869. Millicent emigrated to Canada with her husband George McElroy in 1911, and the couple settled in Calgary that same year.[41] George McElroy had previously been the Band Master of Belfast Citadel and Millicent was a famous Salvation Army musician in Northern England.[42] Millicent McElroy played the cornet and was known as "the lady who played the cornet."[43]

In Calgary, Millicent McElroy participated in the Saturday and Sunday night open-air services, playing, singing and preaching. She was also an involved member of the community and a veteran campaigner, working on the influential Calgary Local Council of Women for women's rights and improvement of social conditions. In the context of women's legal recognition, she campaigned alongside Nellie McClung, on the issue of recognition for women as full persons under Canadian law, which later culminated in the Person's Case decision in 1929. In addition to all this, Millicent McElroy was a leading member of the Hillhurst WCTU in the campaign for a "dry Alberta." She was also a dedicated supporter of the Red Cross during the First World War and developed a deep compassion for those affected by war, either as a solider or as a member of a soldier's family.

During the First and Second World Wars, Millicent McElroy regularly waited at the Calgary downtown Canadian Pacific Railroad train station for the Thursday train that brought the troops home during and after the war. She affectionately called the soldiers "the boys" and when the men disembarked from the train she would play rousing tunes to greet them. Throughout both wars it is reported that she never missed a train, even when on one occasion during World War Two an irate station master tried unsuccessfully to evict her from the platform. The event caused such an uproar in the community that the President of CPR granted her free access to the premises to play for the soldiers. The CPR President also gave her an open train ticket to compensate for the unpleasant event. For her work with the returning soldiers after World War One, Millicent McElroy received the King George

Medal. Later in 1935, she was the recipient of the prestigious Salvation Army Colonel's Medal and in that same year was awarded the Queen Mary Silver Jubilee Medal.[44]

Millicent McElroy was deeply committed to the care of war veterans by organizing weekly church services for the soldiers who were admitted into the long-term care facility at the Colonel Belcher Hospital in Calgary. She was also Chaplain of the Calgary Canadian Legion's main branch and held this position until her death in 1950 at the age of 81.[45]

Another dedicated Salvationist was a woman named Mrs. Lilly Williamson. Williamson was a Young People's Sergeant Major in the early 1920s, attached to the Hillhurst Corps, and she was influential in youth work for over fifty years. She was a talented, athletic woman, who encouraged children in sports and recreational activities. During the depression, Williamson organized outings for children who could not otherwise have afforded trips to places like the Cave and Basin in Banff. Mrs. Williamson was also a dedicated worker in the League of Mercy and active in her local community. Of note was the fact that she was a magician and the only female member of the exclusive Magic Club of Calgary. She had been invited by the Club to become a member and felt honoured by this recognition. Mrs. Williamson, however, worried that she might compromise her religious ideals in some way as a member and so stipulated that she would only use the magic tricks for Sunday School work to illustrate Bible lessons. To Mrs. Williamson's credit, another story is also part of her history. Mrs. Williamson had a sister who became pregnant out of wedlock. The sister gave birth to a little boy and abandoned him. Mrs. Williamson took the baby in and raised him as her own son. Even in later life, although he knew his origins, the man always affectionately referred to Mrs. Williamson as "mother."

In the 1930s, the Children Home was well-established and there was an unmarried female officer in her fifties, identified only as Major Haywood who was serving there. A tragedy occurred at the Grace Hospital in Calgary when a woman died shortly after delivering twin boys. Unable to care for the children, the father asked Major Haywood take them. As the Army at that time did not have extensive facilities to care for children under the age of three, Haywood declined. The father returned a few days later desperate for help. Major Haywood decided to care for the twins personally and stated, "I will take them and raise them until they are three years old." She kept her promise and for the next three years she took the little boys with her on most of her duties. When the twins reached the age of three Major Haywood gave

up her charge and the boys were placed for adoption.[46] Unfortunately, no record exists of how Haywood felt when she parted with her little charges.

Historical Influence

As observed earlier, true equality was never fully achieved for female Salvationists in the early years, yet it is clear that they exercised strong leadership and exhibited tremendous dedication. From the early days in Calgary when they participated in loud and flamboyant evangelistic marches, to the time of building religious organizations, their presence was always visible. Sadly, but consistent with the problems surrounding the documentation of women's religious history in general, their work has been largely overlooked. However, what is remarkable is that so much of their work has withstood the rigours of historical oversight and inadequate reporting. The women were dedicated to a religious cause and this gave them identity, self-esteem and a substantial amount of authority. Within their religious group they experienced a degree of emancipation that many of their sisters in other denominations were still working to achieve in the 1940s.

What makes the Calgary connection so intriguing is the fact that their sect allowed them to express their strength, creativity and independence with an amount of freedom that sometimes bordered on the flamboyant and theatrical. In the early years, Calgary was a frontier city that experienced rapid growth, booming populations, and massive waves of immigration and migration as the West was settled. Despite the sanction sometimes rendered by members of "polite" society, the female Salvationists contributed to the building of the West, and their legacy is very evident in the City of Calgary. They were often the unrecognized but indispensable co-builders in a religious organization that is still respected for its dedication, courage and compassion today. With all the good will in the world, the Stephen Avenue mural's tribute to the *Entertainers* could not even skim the surface of these women's legacies.

Endnotes

1. Letter from Major John E. Lake to Lieut. Col. Howard Moore, 29 September 1991, The Salvation Army Public Relations Department, Calgary.

2. *Press Release,* 19 September 1991, The Salvation Army Public Relations Department, Calgary. See also Letter from Major John E. Lake to Lieut. Col. Howard Moore.

3. Boynton Hall was rented as the first Army hall and was used for indoor meetings (*Calgary Glenmore Presents the History of the Salvation Army in Calgary from 1887-1974* [Calgary: The Salvation Army, Public Relations Department, 1974], 4).

4. Letter from Major John E. Lake to Lieut. Col. Howard Moore

5. Jean Leslie, *Glimpses of Calgary Past* (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1994), 7. Calgary was incorporated as a city in 1894. In 1874, Fort Calgary had been established as a North-West Mounted Police fort. The settlement grew rapidly and was incorporated as a town in 1884 (Virginia Byfield, "New Year's Eve, 1899," *Alberta in the 20th Century*, Vol. 1 [Edmonton: United Western Communications Ltd.], 14-17).

6. Robert Collins, *The Holy War of Sally Ann: The Salvation Army In Canada* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1984), 179.

7. Catherine Booth, *The Salvation Army in Relation to Church and State, and Other Addresses* (London: S.W. Partridge and Co., 1883), 6.

8. Catherine Booth, *Female Ministry* (London: Morgan & Chase n.d. [c. 1859]; reprint, New York: The Salvation Army Supplies Printing and Publishing Department, 1975); and Collins*, The Holy War of Sally Ann*, 88, 97, 104, 105.

9. Diane Winston, *Red-Hot and Righteous: The Urban Religion of the Salvation Army* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 51.

10. R.G. Moyles, *The Blood and Fire in Canada: A History of the Salvation Army in the Dominion 1882-1976* (Toronto: Peter Martin and Associates Limited, 1977), 7.

11. *London Advertizer*, 18 April 1884.

12. *Calgary Glenmore Presents the History of the Salvation Army in Calgary from 1887-1974* (Calgary: The Salvation Army, Public Relations Department, 1974), 6.

13. *Calgary Glenmore Presents the History of the Salvation Army,* 4.

14. *The Salvation Army Glenmore Temple Band – History*; see http://www.sallynetalta.com/glenmoretempleband/gtbhistory.htm

15. *The Salvation Army Glenmore Temple Band – History*.

16. *The Salvation Army Glenmore Temple Band – History*.
17. *Calgary Glenmore Presents the History of the Salvation Army,* 23.
18. "Mrs. Brown, Rescue Sergeant, Calgary Citadel," *War Cry*, 3 June 1893, G. S. Railton Heritage Centre Archives, Toronto.
19. *Calgary Glenmore Presents the History of the Salvation Army,* 5.
20. *Calgary Glenmore Presents the History of the Salvation Army,* 4.
21. Report from Staff Captain Young, *War Cry*, 24 September 1887.
22. Moyles, *The Blood and Fire in Canada*, 26. Moyles does not give a primary source reference but merely indicates a quotation.
23. Salvation Army Terminology; see http://www.salvationarmy.ca/Information/ArmyTerminology/default.asp
24. "List of Officers Stationed at Calgary Citadel Corps Since Opening of Work, 21 August 1887," *War Cry*, c. 1949.
25. Collins, *The Holy War of Sally Ann,* 87.
26. Men and women were active as band members and musicians.
27. *The Salvation Army*, *Glenmore Temple Band - History*.
28. *Calgary Glenmore Presents the History of the Salvation Army,* 10.
29. *Points of Interest* (n.p., n.d.), Glenmore Temple Archives, Calgary.
30. Women obtained the provincial vote in Alberta in 1916. In the Dominion of Canada, they obtained the right to vote in federal elections in 1918.
31. Salvation Army Research Project, March 2001, G.S. Railton Heritage Centre Archives, Toronto.
32. Salvation Army Research Project, March 2001.
33. Salvation Army Research Project, March 2001.
34. *Calgary Glenmore Presents the History of the Salvation Army,* 14.
35. *Calgary Glenmore Presents the History of the Salvation Army,* 14.
36. *Calgary Glenmore Presents the History of the Salvation Army,* 8.
37. *Points of Interest*.

38. *Points of Interest*.

39. *Calgary Glenmore Presents the History of the Salvation Army,* 13.

40. Interview with Ada Kelter, 24 April 2001, Glenmore Temple, Calgary. Ada was born 4 May 1914, Calgary, and was the granddaughter of Millicent Shaw McElroy.

41. Interview with Ada Kelter.

42. Pamphlet advertizing Miss M. Shaw, *Otley and Wharefedale Mission*. The date of Miss Shaw's performance is listed as Sunday, 4 January 1891 (From the personal archives of Ada Kelter).

43. From the personal archives of Ada Kelter.

44. From the personal archives of Ada Kelter.

45. From the personal archives of Ada Kelter.

46. Interview with Ethel Garnet.

"The Jesuits Did It!" Charles Chiniquy's Theory of Lincoln's Assassination[1]

PAUL LAVERDURE

Like any good preacher, or public speaker, there are three points I want to make. First, I will describe briefly the religious impact Lincoln's assassination made on the minds of millions. Second, I want to share one religious theory about the assassination. Hence, we have "The Jesuits Did It!" in the eye-catching first spot of the title which undoubtedly gave me the privilege of catching your attention. Third, I will give you some of my thoughts on what this theory means, not only in the fertile brain of Charles Chiniquy but also in the religious hate literature of modern North America.

The sixteenth president of the United States, Abraham Lincoln, as we know, preserved the American Union through the Civil War and brought about the emancipation of the slaves. Among American heroes, Lincoln continues to have a unique appeal for his fellow countrymen and also for people of other countries. Fifteen years ago, I gave an early version of this paper to the Lincoln Society, the oldest continuous Lincoln organization in the world. The headquarters and meeting place are in Hamilton, Ontario. Lincoln's continuing appeal is based on the charm of his remarkable life – the rise from humble origins, the dramatic death (no pun intended) – and his distinctively human and humane personality, as well as from his historical role as a saviour of national unity (a Canadian fixation), emancipator of the slaves, guardian of self-government and spokesman for democracy. He was an inspiration to liberty lovers in France, Germany, Italy, England, and of course Canada.

Tragically, on the 14th of April 1865, five days after the surrender of the Confederate forces under Lee, Abraham Lincoln was assassinated by the actor, John Wilkes Booth. The entire nation went into mourning. The North lamented the passing of a victorious president at the height of his success. The South feared the arrival of a less conciliatory one.

Lincoln had become too great. His murder was seen as a martyrdom. The fact that he was killed on Good Friday and buried on Easter Sunday – Black Easter on American calendars – was too circumstantial for people to avoid thinking of a crucifixion or at least a type of civil sainthood. Lincoln's birthday, 14 February, still celebrated on American calendars, sometimes falls on Ash Wednesday or on Shrove Tuesday and is always St. Valentine's Day.

The race to find the assassin ended in Booth's bloody death, but the shameful trial of the "conspirators" dragged for weeks, as the military tribunal sought scapegoats to atone for the national, almost religious trauma. One murderer was not enough for such a crime.

Charles Chiniquy was born in Beauport, near Quebec City, in 1809. As an ordained Roman Catholic priest he gained fame as a powerful temperance preacher until his exile to the United States where he left the Catholic Church and eventually joined the Old School Synod Presbyterian Church of Illinois. After a series of sensational exposés of supposed Catholic immorality, published most notably in the 1875 *The Priest, the Woman and the Confessional*,[2] he published his first autobiography in 1885. This was a hefty collection of his anti-Catholic pamphlets, together titled *Fifty Years in the Church of Rome,* in which one section was dedicated to joining religion to Lincoln's murder. It was Chiniquy's conviction that "Booth was nothing but the tool of the Jesuits. It was Rome who directed his arm, after corrupting his heart and damning his soul."

Others have analysed Chiniquy's writings – Joseph George, Jr., "The Lincoln Writings of Charles P.T. Chiniquy" in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* (1976) and William Hanchett, *The Lincoln Murder Conspiracies* (1983) – and have ridiculed Chiniquy's theory as being so obviously bogus that words and breath spent refuting Chiniquy were almost wasted. But truth must be served. As some of you know, I am a self-employed historian, researcher, writer, translator, and editor. I have sometimes worked as a consultant on film and television projects, for Vision and History Television. I was recently approached by one film company asking, in effect, for historical vindication of Chiniquy's theory, since the

company, which had the word, White, in its title – I will say no more – wanted to sell a proposal for a documentary to History TV showing how the Catholic Church had been involved in every presidential assassination. I will do almost anything related to religious history. Not quite anything. My research and the writings by George and Hanchett disappointed the would-be KKK film writers.

For our amusement tonight, let us go into details. I will not indulge in an *ad hominem* argument, giving Chiniquy's biography and discrediting him and his anti-Catholicism. We do not have the time and others, most notably Marcel Trudel and I, have already done so at length elsewhere.[3] Chiniquy's theories can be divided into the following two statements. (1) The Catholic Church was antagonistic to the Northern Union, to republicanism, and to Lincoln who represented the republican ideals of the United States. Lincoln, therefore, was a target for Catholic hatreds. (2) Lincoln's assassination had been announced in certain Roman Catholic circles before it had taken place. So, Booth and the conspirators were Roman Catholics and tools manipulated by the Jesuits.

Does this first theory hold any water? Was the Catholic Church antagonistic to the United States, to Republicanism, or to Lincoln? Thundering pronouncements coming from the beleaguered palace of Pius IX seemed to imply Catholic rejection of republican democracy. This was taken for granted by many Americans, both Protestant and Catholic. The New World's seeming departure from hierarchical traditions and its emphases on freedom of conscience and liberty of speech ran counter to the retrenchment of a Rome faced with the revolutions of nineteenth-century Europe. It also seemed particularly dangerous to the Dominion of Canada, a Canada which pointed to the Civil War as proof of the insanity of republicanism.

Many Americans, such as Samuel Morse, the inventor of the telegraph, had long been convinced that Catholic immigration was a plot by Roman Catholic despots to inundate the States with the poor and ignorant rejects of their own societies.[4] These people would form a majority and would replace republican freedoms with Catholic monarchical, repressive institutions. The large number of Roman Catholics in French Canada, Louisiana, Mexico, and California, as well as in the expanding cities of the east gave rise to fears and the nativist, "Know-Nothing party" (1845), which became a bulwark of the Whig-Republican party headed by Lincoln. The Democrats, the party of the cities, of the immigrants, and of the south,

received the Catholic vote in return. Lincoln, as the head of the Republicans, then became the target of the Democratic south and the Catholic immigrant.

As Chiniquy phrased it:

> Above everything, it was ordered to oppose the election of Lincoln at any cost. For, from the very first day his eloquent voice had been heard, a shrill of terror had gone through the hearts of the partizans [sic] of slavery. The Democratic press, which was then, as it is still now, almost entirely under the control of the Roman Catholics, and the devoted tool of the Jesuits, deluged the country with the most fearful denunciations against him. They called him an ape . . . [5]

So, it was possible to conceive of the fantastic idea that the whole affair was a Catholic plot. It seems to fit some of the facts so well. But what were Chiniquy's proofs? They rest on three interviews Chiniquy claims he had with Lincoln. Chiniquy affirms that Lincoln knew of the Catholic danger for Union forces and had spoken of it to Chiniquy. On Chiniquy's first visit to Lincoln (c. 14-31 August 1861),[6] Lincoln had said, Chiniquy reports, that he felt

> . . . that it is not against the Americans of the South, alone, I am fighting, it is more against the Pope of Rome, his perfidious Jesuits and their blind and blood-thirsty slaves, than against the real American Protestants, that we have to defend ourselves. Here, is the real danger of our position . . . It is Rome who wants to rule and degrade the North, as she has ruled and degraded the South . . . There are only very few of the Southern leaders who are not more or less under the influence of the Jesuits . . . The fact is, that the immense majority of Roman Catholic bishops, priests and laymen, are rebels in heart, when they cannot be in fact; with very few exceptions, every priest and every true Roman Catholic is a determined enemy of Liberty.[7]

Chiniquy's second visit (c. 1-7 June 1862)[8] was uneventful, but on his third visit (8 June 1864)[9] Chiniquy states he was warmly received and honoured. He stood at Lincoln's right hand to receive a delegation and, later, travelled with him to visit wounded soldiers. They repeated their conversation of 1861[10] and discussed the significance of a recent letter by the Pope to Jefferson Davies. The Pope acknowledged the legitimacy of the Southern Republic. Chiniquy informed Lincoln that this means the Pope "tells

logically the Roman Catholics that you are a bloody tyrant!"[11] and worthy of death. Lincoln supposedly agreed with Chiniquy's opinion and added that, "From the beginning of our civil war, there has been, not a secret, but a public alliance, between the Pope of Rome and Jeff Davies."[12] "The true motive power" of the South, furthermore, "is secreted behind the thick walls of the Vatican, the colleges and schools of the Jesuits, the convents of the nuns and the confessional boxes of Rome."[13]

This brings us to consider independent corroboration of Chiniquy's conversations with Lincoln. Marcel Trudel claims that Chiniquy's first and third visits may be true, but the second is impossible, because Chiniquy was defending himself before a Chicago Presbyterian Synod on charges of unbecoming conduct and language. Joseph George says that Lincoln's private records and date books do not mention the first and third visits and argues very strongly that the first is out of the question. As for the third visit, it coincides with the day Lincoln was officially renominated for the Republican Party. It does not seem that Chiniquy ever met Lincoln on these three occasions.

Chiniquy wisely wrote that Lincoln concealed these private conversations and fears because, otherwise, "if the people knew the whole truth, this war would turn into a religious war, and it would, at once, take a tenfold more savage and bloody character."[14] Convenient!

Marcel Trudel states, "Nowhere in the most modern and complete editions of Lincoln's writings, do we find the smallest bit of paper which mentions such a warmly awaited visitor: a man whom Lincoln takes as a confidant and whom he wishes to name as secretary to an embassy: a man on whom he depends to end the papist plot. Not once do Lincoln's most detailed biographers . . . print Chiniquy's name."[15]

Not so. Carl Sandburg's comprehensive and exhaustive biography mentions Chiniquy. Once, in Sandburg's *Abraham Lincoln. Volume 4. The War Years*, page 325. Lincoln travelled on a regular court circuit to Urbana, Illinois in 1856. There he was involved in a case defending Chiniquy. Sandburg mentions little else. Pierre Berton went into this detail for a television series later published in book form and found out that Chiniquy was on trial for slander and defamation of character of a man named Spinks. Chiniquy claimed in return that Spinks was hired by the Church in the person of Bishop O'Regan to put Chiniquy in jail. Lincoln arrived, Chiniquy states, won the case, and the two men, Chiniquy and Lincoln, became fast friends in their anti-Catholic feelings.[16] Actually, Berton, Trudel, George, Sandburg

and anyone else interested in looking out the court records and the newspaper accounts found that Lincoln arrived as a court-appointed defendent, sized up the situation as a petty, dirty business, had Chiniquy apologize, pay his share of the court costs (and Lincoln's entire fee), and convinced Spinks to drop the case that had Chiniquy jailed. There had been no Lincoln victory over a Catholic bishop. There had been no bishop, no victory, and probably very little contact between Lincoln and Chiniquy. One may, therefore, look at Chiniquy's later assertions of a fast friendship with a sceptical eye.

Was Lincoln anti-Catholic in his political or religious beliefs? In a study of Lincoln's religious influences, Glen Thurow could not find any particular instance of Lincoln giving evidence of a precise belief except his refusal to accept the "Hebraic-Puritan" traditions of New England.[17] Lincoln was personally unfavourable to religious particularity. What Thurow showed is that Lincoln attended Presbyterian services with his wife in Springfield, Illinois, and in Washington, but never joined any church. He once explained, "When any church will inscribe over its altars, as its sole qualification for membership, the Saviour's condensed statement of the substance of both Law and Gospel 'Thou shalt love thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul and with all thy mind and thy neighbour as thyself' That church will I join with all my heart and all my soul." Basically, Lincoln knew his Bible and did not care for religious divisions and did not care about them.

Politically, Lincoln refused to endorse the Know-Nothing Party. In 1855, he declared,

> Our progress in degeneracy appears to me to be pretty rapid. As a nation, we began by declaring "*all men are created equal*." We now practically read it "all men are created equal, *except negroes*." When the Know-Nothings get control, it will read "all men are created equal, except negroes, *and foreigners, and catholics*." When it comes to this I should prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretence of loving liberty.[18]

Lincoln had publically repudiated a part of the Republican party's possible constituency. During the Civil War, overzealous American nativist Protestants put their anti-Catholic concerns in storage. The Republican Party was a Union party, not an anti-Catholic one. As Ray Allen Billington states, the slavery issue sounded the "death knell of Know-Nothingism. This greater sectional problem and the civil war alone proved strong enough to

break the hold that the [Maria] Monks . . . the Morses . . . had on overzealous American Protestants."[19]

Was Lincoln personally fearful of a Catholic plot? If Chiniquy was not alone in speaking of Lincoln's concern for his life, one might give Chiniquy the benefit of the doubt. Lincoln, however, received several threats and "had persistently dismissed all such rumours."[20] Lincoln was quoted by one biographer as saying, "I know I'm in danger . . . but I am not going to worry about it."[21] Other biographies agree with this portrayal. Chiniquy's picture of an obsessed Lincoln is hardly credible. Every president has had to deal with cranks and lunatics.

But was Lincoln a victim of a Catholic plot? That is Chiniquy's main point. Was it possible that the Catholic Church in America, because of historic ties with Catholic countries which condoned slavery, opposed the Union? Here again, Chiniquy is misleading. Although the Catholic Church was the only Christian Church in America not to split over the issue, yet it did experience some division. While Catholic priests were blessing standards in the South,

> The Roman Catholic Church in the North, never vocal on the subject of slavery, followed traditional church practice in giving its support to the established government . . . Archbishop John Purcell demonstrated his espousal of the Union cause in 1861 by directing that the American ensign be flown from the spire of his cathedral.[22]

Was the institutional hierarchy in Rome favourable to Jefferson Davis rather than to Lincoln? No. It could be argued that the Confederacy and the United States were equally strange beings to Rome. As well, the Catholic Church in the United States became so involved in the fight that, in October 1862, Pope Pius IX addressed letters to Archbishop Hughes of New York and to Archbishop Odin of New Orleans asking for mutual conciliation.[23] This was no papal letter acknowledging the South's legitimacy.

Chiniquy was not finished. He presented the information that St. Joseph, Minnesota, a small town populated mainly with Catholics, had already received the information about Lincoln's assassination approximately four hours before the fact.[24] He gathered affidavits in 1883 attesting to that fact, and concluded that the town "got the news from your priests of St. Joseph!"[25]

> The 14th of April, 1865, the priests of Rome knew and circulated the death of Lincoln four hours before its occurrence in their Roman Catholic town of St. Joseph, Minnesota. But they could not know it, without belonging to the band of conspirators who assassinated President Lincoln.[26]

Such a leap in logic is unsubstantiated. Chiniquy had no proof of a priest's participation in the rumour. The affidavits make no mention of it. Chiniquy's affidavits, furthermore, are dated 1883. Memories about a "strange coincidence" after a lapse of eighteen years could have been the result of some judicious prodding. One must also remember, however, with Marcel Trudel and other historians, that the threats against Lincoln's life never stopped and that rumours about his death were constantly circulating.[27]

The matter rests, then, in the evidence of the suspected conspirators. Were they Catholics? Were they under the influence of Roman Catholics? Chiniquy states, "There is a fact to which the American people has not given a sufficient attention. It is that, without a single exception, the conspirators were Roman Catholics."[28] Actually, four out of the ten people brought to trial were Catholic.[29] Chiniquy himself recognizes that three of the people hanged asked for Protestant ministers, but states,

> But when those murderers were to appear before the country, and receive the just punishment of their crime, the Jesuits were too shrewd to ignore that if they were all coming on the scaffold as Roman Catholics, and accompanied by their father confessors, it would, at once, open the eyes of the American people, and clearly show that this was a Roman Catholic plot.[30]

John Wilkes Booth, who had little chance to explain the reasons for Lincoln's assassination, was accused of being a Protestant "pervert to Romanism."[31] Chiniquy bases this claim on the similarity of Booth to Ravaillac, the Catholic assassin of Henry III in 1589.[32] The similarity is, almost needless to say, forced.

Booth's sister, Asia Booth Clarke, in what is now an obscure book, *The Unlocked Book*, wrote of her brother's association with the Know-Nothing Party, where they debated the demerits of Irish and Catholic immigrants.[33] Booth eventually rose to be a steward of this anti-Catholic society.[34]

John Surratt, however, the son of Booth's landlady, Mary Surratt, was a fervent Catholic and Booth's friend. He had studied for the priesthood.[35] Suspected in the conspiracy, he had fled through Montreal to Europe and to Rome wherein he clandestinely enrolled with the Papal Zouaves. These facts were knit together by Chiniquy to implicate by association Montreal's Bishop Bourget and Pope Pius IX.[36] The Pope, however, extradited Surratt to the States and the Zouave was acquitted by a different, non-military court, at a later time in a calmer atmosphere.

Weichmann, another Chiniquy-labelled "pervert," and Surratt's friend from seminary days, was released when he gave evidence against Mary Surratt after threatened with death and subjected to some physical abuse while in prison.[37] One can imagine the value of his testimony. Payne, Atzeroth, and Harold, "Booth's and Weichmann's proselytes,"[38] as Chiniquy calls them, were arrested and executed without right to speak except in court. They had been guilty of planning to kidnap Lincoln to exchange him for Southern soldiers. Mary Surratt hanged with them, in a tragic miscarriage of justice. No Catholic plot was mentioned.

Out of ten people accused, four were Catholic. Three of the four were hanged, probably unjustly. Weichmann and Surratt had the most obvious connection with the Catholic Church, but were allowed to go free. Chiniquy's thesis has little substance.

Why was and is this thesis given any credence? Richard Hofstadter, in his insightful and classic essay, "The Paranoid Style in American Politics," has outlined a useful method for understanding such North American religious mentalities.[39] The paranoid mentality, he explains, is one which perceives an apocalyptic conspiracy as a motive force behind events. The enemy is demonic and omnipotent, hated for its aims and admired for its power. The renegade from the enemy's camp is usually its most vocal opponent and uses a highly rational, pedantic style of rhetoric to state his case. Chiniquy, a "renegade" Catholic priest, certainly portrayed a demonic, omnipotent conspiracy behind Lincoln's assassination. He, too, marshalled pedantic, footnoted chapters, complete with affidavits, to support his arguments, but Hofstadter distinguishes the paranoid style as not "the absence of verifiable facts (though it is occasionally true that in his extravagant passion for facts the paranoid occasionally manufactures them), but rather the curious leap in imagination that is always made at some critical point in the recital of events."[40]

Hofstadter does not claim to pinpoint this illogicality. Chiniquy, however, provides a clue. The flaw in Chiniquy's thinking about Lincoln may lie in the deductive syllogistic logic he employs. In his second autobiography, *Forty Years in the Church of Christ*,[41] his Lincoln argument is much clearer and shorter, since he had posthumous editors, and can be abstracted as follows.

Fact: Catholics were charged as conspirators.
Chiniquy's Deductive Thesis: All conspirators are Catholic.

New Fact: Booth is a conspirator.
Chiniquy's Thesis: All conspirators are Catholic.
Conclusion: Booth is a Catholic.

Chiniquy's Thesis: All conspirators are Catholic.
New Fact: Mary Surratt is a Catholic.
Conclusion: Mary Surratt is a conspirator.

Northrop Frye noted the prevalence of a deductive mentality in the United States and explicitly connects this with the religious mentality.

> A country founded on a revolution acquires a deductive way of thinking which is often encoded in constitutional law, and the American reverence for its Constitution, an inspired document to be amended and reinterpreted but never discarded, affords something of a parallel to the Old Testament sense of Israel as a people created by its law.[42]

In a new country, there are few British precedents or inductive particulars to check deductive reasoning. Assuming that Chiniquy was wholly sincere in his writings, once a belief has been acquired, it is nearly impossible for the belief to be changed by contradictory proof. Contradictions become synthesized in ingenious rationalizations.

Remember that Chiniquy made his first logical leap at the very beginning of his recital. He writes that Booth "was nothing but the tool of the Jesuits. It was Rome who directed his arm, after corrupting his heart and damning his soul." Then he gathered his materials. It is significant that the following sentence is placed after the accusation. "After I had mixed my tears with those of the grand country of my adoption, I fell on my knees and

asked my God to grant me to show to the world what I knew to be the truth, viz.: that that horrible crime was the work of Popery." Chiniquy clearly had known his conclusions before gathering the affidavits in 1883.

In recent scholarship, Chiniquy's thesis about the assassination of Abraham Lincoln has been ignored, although it has influenced some people in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[43] Other authors have found the Eisenschiml thesis of a governmental conspiracy headed by War Secretary Stanton a more interesting one for debate.[44] Marcel Trudel, Chiniquy's most implacable biographer, writes that only one writer mentions Chiniquy's thesis, and he classifies it as a literary oddity.[45] Sandburg's Lincoln biography which cited evidence of Lincoln's brief acquaintance with Chiniquy was edited in 1954; Chiniquy's existence was one of the casualties. Chiniquy's own admirers in a later collected edition of Chiniquy's life and works let the Lincoln episodes disappear.[46] Yet Chiniquy dedicated more than sixty pages in *Fifty Years in the Church of Rome* and his posthumous editors gave over twenty to this theory in *Forty Years in the Church of Christ*.

With good reason, Marcel Trudel and many other historians have consigned Chiniquy's thesis of Abraham Lincoln's assassination by the Jesuits to the dustbin of history. The "conspirators" were, in the majority, Protestant, if they were of any religious affiliation. Booth, whose religion was vague, seemed to have been activated by personal grandeur or Southern sentiment. Chiniquy's proofs, as in much of his writings, fall to conjecture, insinuation, and slander.

Yet, while hate-filled and malicious, banned from entering Canada because classified as hate literature, Chiniquy provides insight into nineteenth century religious mentalities. Chiniquy should not be thrown out of the history books by disgusted editors. His is a classic deductive paranoid style of reasoning. This type of thinking is still with us and still has the power to ensnare unwary readers. Pamphlets are regularly passed out along the Pope's route, repeating Chiniquy's theories as fact. Chick publications of California and the Alamo Foundation of the American midwest put out new, glossier, more lurid illustrated versions of Chiniquy's biographies. Lincoln's name has been a peg on which to hang many things, Lincoln's son, Todd, wrote. Chiniquy's theories, too, seem to have taken on a life of their own, in comic books, and history television proposals. It is an interesting chapter in the Protestant pornography or hate literature of anti-Catholicism.

Endnotes

1. This paper was presented as a banquet speech to the Canadian Society of Church History, 24 May 2001.

2. Paul Laverdure, "Charles Chiniquy's *The Priest, The Woman and The Confessional*: Protestant Pornography?" *The Canadian Society of Presbyterian History Papers, 1984-1985* (Spring 1986): 59-71.

3. Charles-Marie Boissonnault, "Le Chiniquy de M. Marcel Trudel," *La Revue de L'Université Laval* 10 (1955): 900-905; Gaston Carrière, "Chiniquy, Charles Paschal,"in *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (1967), 3:617; Paul Laverdure, "Creating an Anti-Catholic Crusader; Charles Chiniquy," *Journal of Religious History* 15, No. 1 (June 1988): 94-108; an earlier version published as "Charles Chiniquy; the Making of an Anti-catholic Crusader," The Canadian Catholic Historical Association *Historical Studies* (1987): 39-56; Paul Laverdure, "The Wandering Life of Charles Chiniquy," in *Called to Witness: Profiles of Canadian Presbyterians,* ed. John S. Moir (Hamilton: The Committee on History, The Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1991), 3:32-42; and Marcel Trudel, *Chiniquy* (Trois-Rivières: Éditions du Bien Public, 1955).

4. *Foreign Conspiracy Against the Liberties of the United States* (1835); cited in Clifton Olmstead, *History of Religion in the United States* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1960), 326.

5. Chiniquy, *Fifty Years in the Church of Rome* (Chicago: Craig & Barlow, 1885), 691.

6. Chiniquy, *Fifty Years in the Church of Rome*, 691-697.

7. Chiniquy, *Fifty Years in the Church of Rome*, 696-697.

8. Chiniquy, *Fifty Years in the Church of Rome*, 698.

9. Chiniquy, *Fifty Years in the Church of Rome*, 698-710.

10. Chiniquy has Lincoln saying, "This war would never have been possible without the sinister influence of the Jesuits. We owe it to Popery that we now see our land reddened with the blood of her noblest sons" (Chiniquy, *Fifty Years in the Church of Rome*, 699).

11. Chiniquy, *Fifty Years in the Church of Rome*, 701.

12. Chiniquy, *Fifty Years in the Church of Rome*, 703.
13. Chiniquy, *Fifty Years in the Church of Rome*, 714.
14. Chiniquy, *Fifty Years in the Church of Rome*, 699. He also has Lincoln say "But I keep those sad secrets in my heart; you are the only one to whom I reveal them, for I know that you learned them before me" (697). "I want your views about a thing which is exceedingly puzzling to me, and you are the only one to whom I like to speak on that subject" (693).
15. My translation from Trudel, *Chiniquy*, 241-242.
16. Pierre Berton, "The Zeal of Charles of Chiniquy," in *My Country: The Remarkable Past* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), 153.
17. Glen Thurow, *Abraham Lincoln and American Political Religion* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1976), 16.
18. Carl Sandberg, *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years and The War Years* (one volume edition) (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1954), 120.
19. Ray Allen Billington, *The Protestant Crusade 1800-1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism* (New York: Macmillan, 1938), 430.
20. Stephen Oates, *With Malice Toward None: The Life of Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), 415.
21. Oates, *With Malice Toward None*, 416.
22. Olmstead, *History of Religion in the United States*, 387.
23. Olmstead, *History of Religion in the United States*, 389.
24. Chiniquy, *Fifty Years in the Church of Rome*, 730-735.
25. Chiniquy, *Fifty Years in the Church of Rome*, 734.
26. Chiniquy, *Fifty Years in the Church of Rome*, 735.
27. Trudel, *Chiniquy*, 242.
28. Chiniquy, *Fifty Years in the Church of Rome*, 723.
29. Trudel, *Chiniquy*, 243.
30. Chiniquy, *Fifty Years in the Church of Rome*, 723-724.

31. Chiniquy, *Fifty Years in the Church of Rome*, 723.

32. Chiniquy, *Fifty Years in the Church of Rome*, 720-721.

33. Asia Booth Clarke, *The Unlocked Book: A Memoir of John Wilkes Booth by his sister, Asia Booth Clarke* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1938), 71-72, 75.

34. Booth Clarke, *The Unlocked Book*, 105.

35. Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln*, 720.

36. Chiniquy, *Fifty Years in the Church of Rome*, 727-729.

37. Joseph George, Jr., "Nature's First Law: Louis J. Weichmann and Mrs. Surratt," *Civil War History* 28, No. 2 (1982): 109.

38. Chiniquy, *Fifty Years in the Church of Rome*, 723.

39. In Richard Hofstadter, *The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays* (New York: Vintage Books, 1967), 3-40.

40. Hofstadter, *The Paranoid Style in American Politics*, 37.

41. *Forty Years in the Church of Christ. Rev. Charles Chiniquy, D.D. Author of "Fifty Years in the Church of Rome"* (Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1900).

42. Northrop Frye, *The Great Code: The Bible and Literature* (Toronto: Academic Press, 1983), 118.

43. An interesting example of this influence is Justin D. Fulton who quotes Chiniquy at length (*Washington in the Lap of Rome* [Boston: W. Kellaway, Office of the Free Press; Fremont Temple, 1888], 115-125). The copy I consulted is dedicated by hand "To my distinguished friend Rev. Charles Chiniquy with heartfelt love of Justin Fulton. Boston, Oct. 18th, 1888," and was donated to the Presbyterian College of Montreal by Chiniquy's son-in-law, the Reverend Mr. Morin, in 1899.

44. S.K. Ratcliffe, "Why was Lincoln Murdered?" *The Spectator* 158 (1937) 1046-1047, has not a word about Catholicism and concerns itself mainly with Stanton. See also William Hanchett, "The Eisenschiml Thesis," *Civil War History* 25, No. 3 (1979): 197-217.

45. Trudel, *Chiniquy*, 245, and xxxiii. The writer Trudel cites is George Bryan, *The Great American Myth* (New York: Carrick and Evans, 1940).

46. *Chiniquy (précédé d'une notice biographique par Hector Langevin)* (reprint Trois-Rivières: Éditions Beauport, 197-). This is one of the more interesting editions because the preface reveals the anti-clerical leanings of this prominent Liberal cabinet minister.

CSCH Presidential Address 2001

Twentieth-Century Religious History: The Need for a Socio-cultural Approach[1]

Catherine Gidney

Protestantism is today generally assumed to have little public voice in English-Canadian society. This assumption may be seen most forcefully with the rise of the Reform Party, and its rather wobbly successor, the Canadian Alliance. These parties are taken as aberrations of the Canadian political tradition, as imports from the United States, outgrowths of the moral majority. Social democrats fear, in particular, Stockwell Day's social policies: the sacrosanctity of heterosexual marriage, the privileging of this institution as the proper sphere for sexual relations and child-rearing, along with his anti-abortion stance.[2] Yet less than fifty years ago many of these ideals were taken for granted – not by a minority of practising Christians but most within the mainstream culture of English-Canada.

The inability of educated Canadians – the media or academics, for example – to recognize these religiously-based ideals as a particular form of Canadian political rhetoric should not come as a surprise to historians of religion who also teach Canadian history. The three basic textbooks used for university survey courses – J.L. Finlay and D.N. Sprague's *The Structure of Canadian History*; Douglas Francis, Richard Jones, and Donald B. Smith's *Destinies: Canadian History Since Confederation*; and Alvin Finkel and Margaret Conrad's *History of the Canadian Peoples: 1867 to the Present* – deal with Protestantism in *twentieth-century* Canada in only a cursory

manner. Although these texts detail the more obvious religious events of the twentieth-century – the social gospel movement, the creation of the United Church of Canada, the rise of Social Credit, the religious resurgence of the 1950s and the decline of religious attendance in the 1960s – they either compartmentalize religion, disconnecting it from the broader political and cultural arena, or treat Christianity within the construct of secular society.[3] University students using these texts, or their instructors for that matter, would have little sense of religion as a central component of twentieth-century Canadian society.

Historians of religion have been more successful at placing their topics at the center of women's history. Discussions of women's religious organizations are fully incorporated into the survey textbook *Canadian Women: A History*.[4] Yet religion has had less play in the first general readers on gender history.[5] While students are often encouraged to grapple with the analytical categories of race, class, gender and sexuality, religion is rarely of central concern.[6]

This current situation is due in part to the limited amount of research being done in twentieth-century Canadian religious history – a situation which should be rectified with time. Yet historians of religion have also had to combat an orthodoxy which has developed among non-religious historians who assume that secularization – or the loss of the cultural authority of Christianity – is a feature of early-twentieth-century Canadian society. Of course this assumption has been fed to some extent by the secularization debate among historians of religion themselves.[7] The result, however, as indicated by Finkel and Conrad's treatment of Protestantism during the interwar years under the heading, "Religion in a Secular Society," is that it is the perspective of secularization which informs the historical interpretation of twentieth-century English-Canada.

In this paper I want to direct the attention of historians beyond the secularization debate, to the centrality of religion for an understanding of the social and cultural fabric of Canadian society. I want to do so less through an historiographical analysis of the state of the current literature – though this will constitute a part of the paper – than by presenting three case studies from my own work which are illustrative of the way in which Protestant values and ideals, in particular, informed aspects of twentieth-century English-Canadian history. The first case study traces the courtship of a working-class Protestant Ontario woman in the 1930s. The second one focuses on academic freedom at Victoria College during the depression. And the third

case study explores the phenomenon of the teach-in at the University of Toronto and at McMaster University thirty years later during the 1960s. Seemingly disparate topics, these case studies nevertheless connect working-class, family, and educational history through the connective tissue of Protestantism.

To start with the first case. I'm currently working on a paper based on a number of diaries left by my paternal grandmother, Kay Chetley, during the period from 1934 to 1944. The diaries, which contain a few lines each day detailing Kay's activities, provide a rich resource to begin the process of unearthing the everyday life of a Protestant working-class woman in the first half of the twentieth century. Women's and gender historians have made significant contributions in the past several decades to our knowledge of twentieth-century working-class women – to their paid work and more recently their role within the domestic economy.[8] They have equally been involved in unearthing middle-class women's religious activities – from women's involvement in missionary activities, to their contribution to temperance organizations and their creation of, and involvement in, youth groups.[9] However, little work has been done on the intersection of working-class women's history and religious history.[10] These diaries, then, offer a rare glimpse into the familial and religious life of a twentieth-century working-class woman.

For the sake of brevity I want to focus on my grandparents' courtship. Historians contend that while nineteenth-century courtship occurred within supervised settings under the watchful eye of the family and broader community, in the twentieth century, and in particular after the First World War, courtship became a more private affair. This was due in particular, they argue, to the growth of urban spaces which allowed youth greater anonymity and freedom.[11] In my grandparents' case, however, these two patterns of courtship overlapped.

Kay and Harry met in the 1930s in the industrial town of Welland where they both lived. They spent much of their courtship strolling about town, window shopping, going to the library, the movies, or, on special occasions, going to Eaton's for a soda.[12] They also took the occasional day trip out of town – to a local beach, for example, or to Niagara Falls. Such outings afforded the couple at least a degree of freedom from familial supervision. Yet courtship also continued to occur under the watchful eye of their church community. Both Kay and Harry were raised Baptist. Kay's mother was a pillar of the Baptist Church in Welland, hosting Ladies' Aid

and Mission Circle meetings in her home.[13] For both Kay and Harry, First Baptist Church framed their weekly activities. Kay was usually at the church three times a week, for church service, Sunday school, or choir practice. It was natural, then, that many of Kay and Harry's shared activities took place at church. For example, Harry would walk Kay to choir practice and they would also sometimes attend church together. Both were also heavily involved in the Baptist Youth. It was from within this group that they developed their network of friends. "B.Y.," as Kay referred to it, combined theological or religious discussion with a variety of social events. It opened yearly with a banquet at which members divided into groups. At the weekly meetings one group would present a topic, such as the evils of alcohol, for all B.Y. members to discuss. Most importantly, however, the Baptist Youth provided a social milieu. Through the group young Baptists organized Valentine's Day parties, Christmas pageants, picnics and wiener roasts. These were often held at local picnic spots such as Grimsby Beach, Nickel Plant Beach, and the Niagara Glen.[14]

Moreover, Welland Baptist Youth frequently met with other Baptist groups in the Niagara area. In February 1935, for example, the Welland group attended a skating party at Grimsby followed by a lunch hosted by the local Baptist Youth. In May, the Welland Baptist Youth returned the invitation hosting the Grimsby youth group for the evening.[15] Such meetings provided young Baptist men and women with a chance to socialize in a supervised environment and to meet future partners.

In the 1930s Baptist community of Welland, then, leisure, courtship, and religion were intertwined. Historians have noted that until the 1960s the only respectable form of sexual activity occurred within marriage. Yet they have generally left unstudied the way in which Protestant beliefs shaped courtship or family life more generally in the twentieth century. Within the Baptist community of Welland, courtship continued to draw on nineteenth-century patterns of community surveillance. The Baptist community provided opportunities for courtship, while at the same time ensuring, if not dictating, proper standards of conduct for youth.

Working-class family life was not the only place of influence for Protestantism in the 1930s. During this period some of the most serious trials for academic freedom within Canadian universities occurred among academics who saw in social Christianity a radical means of reform. Historians have examined, on the one hand, the relationship between Christian socialists and the Church and, on the other hand, the role of

radicals in the history of academic freedom.[16] Yet such cases, as we'll see, also tell us about the underlying religious and moral assumptions within the university and society more generally.

I want to focus on one particular incident at Victoria College involving Eric Havelock, a classics professor. In 1932 Havelock gave a public address on "Why I am a Socialist" in which he stated, "among other things, that governments are the puppets of capitalism." In response to inquiries by a reporter with the *Daily Star*, President H.J. Cody of the University of Toronto, and the Premier of Ontario, George S. Henry, stated that they supported the professor's right to voice publicly his personal opinions.[17] Their private comments, however, indicate they were less than enamoured with Havelock's public pronouncements. Writing to E.W. Wallace, President of Victoria College, Cody disclosed his fear that Havelock's support of socialism would contribute to social unrest.[18] Premier Henry censured Havelock for talking "drivel" and for failing to uphold his position of moral authority. The college, Henry contended, should take disciplinary action.[19]

Henry also decided to keep a watchful eye on the professor. In 1933 Henry again wrote to Wallace, this time condemning Havelock for being present at a convention of the League for Social Reconstruction at which participants echoed the platform of the CCF.[20] At this point, Wallace came to the defense of both Havelock and the CCF. In a reply to the Premier, Wallace argued that the crisis of the times was not simply economic but also "moral and spiritual." He continued, "We desire to seek for a deeper commitment of ourselves and of the peoples of the world to the Christian life as the power that will enable men and women to find salvation for themselves and to work out a salvation for society."[21] The Premier, not surprisingly, was none too pleased with this response, believing that churches should be fostering stability and confidence in government. In his reply to Wallace, Henry argued that concern about the radicalism emanating from Victoria College extended to the highest echelons of political office. The Prime Minister himself, Henry stated, "is concerned as a member of the United Church, with the damage that is being done in . . . misleading the people when there should be an attempt of creating confidence, assurance and faith in their country."[22]

Historians of education assume the interconnectedness of religion and higher education in the nineteenth century. However, the influence of religion on campus is generally considered to have waned after the First

World War as the research ideal took hold.[23] Yet, as was the case in the nineteenth century, during the 1930s at least some political and educational leaders continued to understand the role of the university professor as one of moral exemplar – it was the professor, after all, who was helping to mould the future leaders of the nation. As the Havelock case indicates, the concept of moral responsibility or Christian duty was not uniform. For Havelock it involved the transformation of society along more cooperative lines of conduct. In his advocacy of socialism, even in the guise of Christianity, Havelock ignited fears among the Canadian political and social elite that he was helping to overturn not only a democratic, but also a Christian, society. But despite diverse points of view about the meaning of Christian responsibility, what also emerges from this case is the continuing existence of belief among members of the elite in the 1930s in Canada as a Christian society and in the important function the university played in shaping that society.

These two cases illustrate two different ways in which religion influenced people's lives in the decade of the 1930s. John Webster Grant has noted that the Second World War and immediate post-war years brought a religious resurgence, but one which was short-lived, and which had begun to dissipate by the 1960s.[24] Changes in the influence of religion may certainly be seen by following up on the case studies just presented. For Kay and Harry, for example, courtship led to marriage and marriage to children. By 1958 they were ready to send their firstborn son to university, and they chose McMaster. Kay and Harry were familiar with this institution not simply because it was Baptist, but also because McMaster's professors periodically led services in their church.[25]

However, the year 1958, when their son began to attend McMaster, also marked the first anniversary of the university's official re-organization as a secular institution. Secularization was not immediately apparent. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, President George P. Gilmour continued to teach Religious Knowledge, a compulsory subject for all first-year students. Traditional Protestant moral imperatives also remained in force. Drinking, for example, was prohibited on campus. Yet by 1962, the year Kay and Harry's son graduated, Religious Knowledge had become optional. Four years later restrictions on drinking in residence had been lifted.[26]

The year 1958 also marked what is now considered to be a turning point for academic freedom in Canadian universities. In that year the Board of Regents of United College, Winnipeg, fired Henry Crowe, a professor of history. As Ken McNaught, a colleague of Crowe's who became embroiled

in the affair, recounts in his memoirs, Crowe was dismissed after the President of the College, Wilfred Lockhart, intercepted a letter from Crowe to another colleague. The letter vaguely impugned the character of the president and, more importantly, condemned Christianity as a "corrosive force."[27] After much political intrigue Crowe was eventually reinstated as a member of the staff of the College. However, the affair raises an important issue beyond that of academic freedom. Although in the 1930s, Havelock, Wallace, Cody and Henry held competing visions of the relationship between Christianity and education, they also held in common the assumption that this relationship was important. In contrast, by 1958, academics at denominational colleges were beginning to chafe under the traditional prerogatives of a Christian university administration which seemed increasingly out of date for a modern university.

The late 1950s, then, marks a turning point in the relationship between religion and education. The Crowe Case and the reorganization of McMaster signified the gradual process of secularization which had been occurring within the universities since the late-nineteenth century. Yet two issues are important to note. First, the very fact that these two events occurred so far into the twentieth century should push historians to examine further the place of religion within Canadian universities during the past century. Interrelated with this first point is a second: despite the pressures of secularization, it is important not to overlook the ways in which Christianity continued to inform campus culture well into the twentieth century.

It is this latter point to which I now want to turn, by briefly examining several of the teach-ins at Toronto and McMaster universities in the mid-1960s. American historians have illustrated the influence of religion in the events of the early sixties, particularly the civil rights movement. Canadian studies point to similar involvement. Concerned Christians participated in particular in the peace movement of the late 1950s and early 1960s which in Canada gave rise to the New Left.[28] Yet we know little about the role of religion in the events of the middle-to-late 1960s.

While churches may have been an easy target for attack by radical students opposed to all establishments, at least some students and faculty continued to be interested in religious issues, which were indeed a feature of 1960s teach-ins. Toronto's first teach-in, held in October 1965 on "Revolution and Response", explored the relation of the major powers to revolutionary changes in underdeveloped countries. The topic of central concern was Vietnam. Ken McNaught, a member of the organizing committee, remem-

bered the teach-in as an exciting event, drawing nearly 6,000 students.[29] Although there was nothing particularly religious about the teach-in itself, the organizing committee approached the Sir Robert Falconer Association, an informal organization of campus chaplains, to sponsor a religious service during the event.[30]

The teach-in held two years later, in 1967, addressed religious issues more explicitly through its focus on "Religion and International Affairs." Michael Ignatieff and Paul Rose, the two students who suggested the topic, considered it important because, they argued, the current struggles in the world were of a moral and religious nature.[31] Several weeks after the 1967 Toronto teach-in, McMaster, now a secular institution, held one on a similar topic, "The Religious Dilemma of Man in a Technological Society," sponsored by the University Christian Council with the support of the university.[32]

That religion would be included in teach-ins, the very symbol of anti-establishment activity during the 1960s, is striking. What it means requires further study. Religious leaders at McMaster acknowledged that students were challenging "the morals and faith of the past." But they also seized the opportunity of the teach-ins to present, as they put it, "how some contemporary leaders give answers to these questions appropriate for our day."[33] The presence of religion at these teach-ins suggests the need to probe further the nature and role of religion as a moral force on campus in the 1960s.

These cases provide three snapshots of the place of religion in twentieth-century Canadian society. In some respects, at least on the surface, they reinforce views regarding the increasing secularization of that society. Despite Kay and Harry's attempt to create a strong Baptist environment at home, their son's spiritual journey followed that of many young people who, growing up in the 1950s and 1960s, rarely ventured into a church as adults. Yet this linear trajectory also ignores the complexity of lives lived. Kay and Harry courted, married, and had children during a period, from the 1930s to the 1950s, in which religion maintained a strong presence in their community. The religious revival of the 1950s brought new members into the mainline Churches. Ken McNaught, only a few years younger than Kay and Harry, was not raised in the church but became a confirmed member of the Anglican Church in 1954.[34] The social conscience which saw McNaught support Harry Crow at United College and choose J.S. Woodsworth as a dissertation topic also led him, in the mid-1960s, to help organize and

participate in teach-ins that, while not overtly religious, were at times informed by religious concerns.

If religion and social democratic ideals led McNaught and those of his generation to participate in the moderate radicalism of the sixties, the ideals and values of that generation may also be said to have influenced student protest in the 1960s. During the 1940s and 1950s parents such as Kay and Harry transmitted values and ideals such as the uplifting power of Scripture and of the Protestant heritage more generally, the importance of critical enquiry, and a concept of service. Such ideals were articulated in the university during the 1930s by administrators such as E.W. Wallace and during the 1940s and 1950s by leaders like G.P. Gilmour. And they were reappropriated by the student protest leaders of the 1960s: in their demands for a liberal education and in their assertion that knowledge should serve social justice.

The argument here is not that secularization did not occur – nor that it is not an important phenomenon of twentieth-century Canadian history. Indeed it is. But the secularization thesis has also come to overshadow the presence of a Protestant moral voice in Canadian society and culture. When we look at religious history through the prism of social history rather than intellectual or ecclesiastical history, we see the persistence of a moral dimension within the university and Canadian society more generally, shaped by community life, ideas about character formation, and in a public discourse, the roots of which lie in the nineteenth century. This Protestant morality, largely overlooked by historians, continued to shape Canadian society well into the twentieth century. Moreover, if the prism of social history problematizes the secularization debate, so too should the issues emerging from religious history complicate our understanding of Canadian society. Twentieth-century Canadian social and cultural history cannot be understood without religious history. In many communities issues of class, gender, race, and sexuality were interwoven with religious identity. This is not to argue that mainstream Protestantism dominated everything, for it did not. But in the first three quarters of the twentieth century, it did "tint" much of the social and cultural fabric of English-Canadian society.

Endnotes

1. I would like to thank Michael Dawson, R.D. Gidney, W.P.J. Millar, and Marguerite Van Die for their comments on earlier versions of this address.

2. Jennifer Ditchburn, "Stockwell Day and his advisers scrambled Tuesday to explain discrepancies between their public platform and a policy manual for Alliance candidates," *Canadian Press Newswire*, 7 November 2000; and Judy Rebick, "Taking Stock of the Day," *Herizons* 14, No. 2 (Fall 2000): 48.

3. Finlay and Sprague's text, which focuses on political and economic history, barely mentions religion. *Destinies* tends to compartmentalize religion apart from politics or cultural ideas. *History of the Canadian Peoples* generally integrates the religious ideals of the nineteenth century into the social, cultural and political events of that period. However, in the period after the Great War, Christianity suddenly appears under the heading, "Religion in a Secular Society" (J.L. Finlay and D.N. Sprague, *The Structure of Canadian History*, 6th ed. [Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall, 2000]; R. Douglas Francis, Richard Jones and Donald B. Smith, *Destinies: Canadian History Since Confederation*, 4th ed. [Toronto: Harcourt, 2000]; Alvin Finkel and Margaret Conrad, *History of the Canadian Peoples: 1867 to the Present*, 2nd ed. [Toronto: Copp Clark, 1998]).

4. Alison Prentice, et al., *Canadian Women: A History*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Harcourt Brace, 1996). This is achieved in a more limited way in Veronica Strong-Boag's *The New Day Recalled: Lives of Girls and Women in English Canada, 1919-1939* (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1988).

5. Joy Parr and Mark Rosenfeld's collection *Gender and History in Canada* (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1996) contains no essays on religion. Two more recent collections each contain one essay on religion and gender, but religion does not appear as a category of analysis in the other essays. See Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde, eds., *Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women's History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992); and Kathryn McPherson, Cecilia Morgan, and Nancy M. Forestell, eds. *Gendered Pasts: Historical Essays in Femininity and Masculinity in Canada* (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 1999).

6. A few historians have begun to apply these categories of analysis to their work. For the importance of these categories to an understanding of Protestant culture in the nineteenth century see Lynne Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure, and Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Small-Town Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); and Marguerite Van Die, "'The Marks of a Genuine Revival': Religion, Social Change, Gender and Community in Mid-Victorian Brantford, Ontario," in *Canadian Historical Review* 79, No. 3 (September 1998): 524-63. For the interconnection of sexuality and religion in the twentieth-century see Catherine Gidney, "Under the President's Gaze: Sexuality and Morality at a Canadian University during the Second World War," *Canadian Historical Review* 82, No. 1 (March 2001): 36-54; Tina Block,

"'Boy Meets Girl': Constructing Heterosexuality in Two Victoria Churches, 1945-1960," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*, New Series, 10 (1999): 279-96; Norman Knowles, "The Rector and the Deaconess: Women, the Church, and Sexual Harassment in Early-Twentieth-Century English Canada, a Case Study," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 31, 2 (Summer 1996): 97-114.

7. See for example, Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau, *A Full-Orbed Christianity: The Protestant Churches and Social Welfare in Canada, 1900-1940* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996); David Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief, 1850-1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992); Phyllis D. Airhart, *Serving the Present Age: Revivalism, Progressivism, and the Methodist Tradition in Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992); Michael Gauvreau, *The Evangelical Century: College and Creed in English Canada from the Great Revival to the Great Depression* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991); Marguerite Van Die, *An Evangelical Mind: Nathanael Burwash and the Methodist Tradition in Canada, 1839-1918* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989); Brian J. Fraser, *The Social Uplifters: Presbyterian Progressives and the Social Gospel in Canada, 1875-1915* (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1988); and Ramsay Cook, *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985).

8. Veronica Strong-Boag, "Keeping House in God's Country: Canadian Women at Work in the Home," in *On the Job: Confronting the Labour Process in Canada*, eds. Craig Heron and Robert Storey (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986), 124-151; Suzanne Morton, *Ideal Surroundings: Domestic Life in a Working-Class Suburb in the 1920s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995); Nancy M. Forestell, "The Miner's Wife: Working-Class Femininity in a Masculine Context, 1920-1950," in *Gendered Pasts*, 139-157; and Joy Parr, *The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men, and Change in Two Industrial Towns, 1880-1950* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).

9. See for example, Rosemary R. Gagan, *Canadian Methodist Women Missionaries in Canada and the Orient, 1881-1975* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992); Ruth Compton Brower, *New Women for God: Canadian Presbyterian Women and India Missions, 1876-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990); Sharon Anne Cook, *'Through Sunshine and Shadow': The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario, 1874-1930* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995); and Margaret Prang, "'The Girl God Would Have Me Be': The Canadian Girls in Training, 1915-39," *Canadian Historical Review* 66, No. 2 (June 1985): 154-184.

10. One notable exception is Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks*. Morton briefly points to the centrality of Christianity to concepts of respectability for working-class families in Halifax in the 1920s (*Ideal Surroundings*, 35-36).

11. Peter Ward, *Courtship, Love, and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century English Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 5, 65-66, 86. For the United States see Beth Bailey, *From Front Porch to Back Seat: Courtship in Twentieth-Century America* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1988).

12. See for example 4 July 1935 to 14 August 1936, Kay Chetley Diaries, Private Collection of Jennifer Brooks.

13. In September 1934, for example, Mrs. Chetley hosted a meeting of both groups so that they could express their appreciation for the work of Mrs Norton, wife of the pastor of Rosedale Mission (see *Canadian Baptist*, 23 October 1934, 9).

14. 18 February 1935 to 6 July 1936, Chetley Diaries.

15. 28 February 1935 and 20 May 1935. Many other examples of such visits exist in the diaries. For example, the B.Y. of First Baptist, Welland, visited the B.Y. group in Wainfleet on 17 April 1935 and Port Colborne B.Y. on 7 March 1938. Port Colborne B.Y. visited the Welland B.Y. on 11 May 1936 followed by Dunville B.Y. on 1 March 1937 (see Chetley Diaries).

16. For the relationship between Christian Socialists and the Church, see N.K. Clifford, "Religion in the Thirties: Some Aspects of the Canadian Experience," in *The Dirty Thirties in Prairie Canada*, ed. D. Francis and H. Ganzevoort (Vancouver: Tantalus Research Ltd., 1980), 125-140. Michiel Horn uses this case to illustrate the history of academic freedom. He does not examine the way in which Christian values underpinned administrators' expectations of conduct. Rather, he attributes administrators' concerns about conduct primarily to their fears that private and public financial support might be withdrawn from the university (*Academic Freedom in Canada: A History* [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999], 111-12).

17. 27 October 1932, *Daily Star*, Clipping, File 4, Box 53, 89.130v, Records of President's Office, United Church of Canada/Victoria University Archives (hereafter UCC/VUA).

18. 27 October 1932, H.J. Cody to E.W. Wallace, File 4, Box 53, 89.130v, Records of President's Office, UCC/VUA.

19. 28 October 1932, George S. Henry to E.W. Wallace, File 4, Box 53, 89.130v, Records of President's Office, UCC/VUA.

20. 6 February 1933, George S. Henry to E.W. Wallace, File 4, Box 53, 89.130v, Records of President's Office, UCC/VUA.

21. 8 February 1933, E.W. Wallace to George S. Henry, File 4, Box 53, 89.130v, Records of President's Office, UCC/VUA.

22. 13 February 1933, George. S. Henry to E.W. Wallace, File 4, Box 53, 89.130v, Records of President's Office, UCC/VUA.

23. See A.B. McKillop, *Matters of Mind: The University in Ontario 1791-1951* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994): 563-564.

24. John Webster Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era*, 2nd ed. (Burlington, ON: Welch Publishing Co., 1988), chapters 8 and 9.

25. In the mid- to late 1930s, for example, Professors Orchard, G. P. Gilmour, and R.J. McCracken, along with the McMaster Volunteer Band, all led services at First Church, Welland (see Chetley Diaries, 20 January 1935, 8 December 1935, and 17 November 1935; and *Canadian Baptist*, 24 January 1935, 2 March 1939, and 6 December 1934).

26. By 1962 Bible courses were no longer mandatory (see Charles M. Johnston and John C. Weaver, *Student Days: An Illustrated History of Student Life at McMaster University from the 1890s to the 1980s* [Hamilton: McMaster University Alumni Association, 1986]: 95-97).

27. For a full account of the Crowe case see Kenneth McNaught, *Conscience and History: A Memoir* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), chapters 9-10; and Horn, *Academic Freedom in Canada*, chapter 9.

28. For the United States see Robert S. Ellwood, *The Sixties Spiritual Awakening: American Religion Moves from Modern to Postmodern* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1994), 72-6, and for Canada see Myrna Kostash, *Long Way From Home: The Story of the Sixties Generation in Canada* (Toronto: James Lorimer and Co., 1980).

29. "International Teach-In, University of Toronto, October 8-10 1965, Revolution and Response," File: Sir Robert Falconer Association, Box 9, B79-0059, SCM Records, University of Toronto Archives. At Toronto the International Teach-In was supported by the administration, faculty, and the Students' Administrative Council. McNaught, *Conscience and History*, 177-179.

30. 14 September 1965, Board of Chaplains Meeting, Falconer Association, File: Sir Robert Falconer Association, Box 9, B79-0059, SCM Records, University of Toronto Archives.

31. Kingsley Joblin, "The Third International Teach-In," *Victoria Reports* 17 (December 1967), 22-24.

32. 26 October 1967 and 14 November 1967, *McMaster University News*, Press Releases 1963-68, William Ready Division of Archives and Research Collections, Mills Memorial Library, McMaster University.

33. 26 October 1967, *McMaster University News*, Press Releases 1963-68, William Ready Division of Archives and Research Collections, Mills Memorial Library, McMaster University.

34. McNaught, *Conscience and History*, 83-84.