HISTORICAL PAPERS 2000
Canadian Society of Church History

Annual Conference
University of Alberta
26-27 May 2000

Edited by
Bruce L. Guenther

Canadian Cataloguing in Publication Data
Main entry under title:

Historical Papers

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

1. Church History—Congresses. 2. Canada—Church history—Congresses. 1. Canadian Society of Church history.

BR570.C322 fol. 277.1 C90-030319-0

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The paper presented by Lucille Marr, "Ontario's Conference of Historic Peace Church Families and the 'Joy of Service,'" may be found in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* (forthcoming). A revised version of the paper presented by Douglas H. Shantz, "The Master Work of a Minor Prophet: The Literary Career of German Court Pietist Court Preacher Conrad Bröske," may be found in the *Festschrift für Prof. Dr. Hans Schneider*, to be published and presented to him in July 2001. The volume will appear in the series "Quellen und Studien zur hessischen Kirchengeschichte." The papers by Elsie Watts ("From YMCA to University 101: Secularization and the University of South Carolina after 1945") and Thomas W. Evans ("British Religious Experiences in Nineteenth-Century New Brunswick") were not made available for publication.

Answering Darwin's Challenge: Evolution and Evangelicalism in the Theology of Richard Roberts

MICHAEL BOURGEOIS

In his 1998 historical novel, *Mr. Darwin's Shooter*, Roger McDonald tells the fictionalized life story of the historical Syms Covington, the young English sailor who, while on the *Beagle* with Charles Darwin from 1831 to 1836, shot, snared and by other means collected many of the specimens which Darwin analysed and which featured in the development of his theory of evolution by natural selection. As portrayed by McDonald in the characters and relationships of Darwin, Covington and John Phipps, the evangelist-sailor who converted the young Covington and recruited him for service on the *Beagle*, part of the novel's story is the tension between traditional Christian belief and the implications of Darwin's theory. In his review of McDonald's book, Paul Quarrington noted this theme and commented: "It is my contention that what began aboard the Beagle has never really been resolved, that Darwin's challenge to religion has not been satisfactorily answered."[1] Quarrington may be right, particularly if one takes only popular, public accounts of the ongoing North American controversies about creationism as the main and perhaps only Christian answer to Darwin's challenge. Creationism, however, is but a small part of the broader account of religious attempts to answer Darwin's challenge, but the rest of the account is rarely told and little known, even among Christians who do not espouse creationism. Christianity may not yet be in a position to resolve what began aboard the *Beagle* but the task of doing so certainly requires a more complete public account than is presently available of its efforts to date.[2] Further, a more complete account may also

suggest some of the reasons why public discourse continues to assume the opposition of evolution and religion and perhaps some fruitful directions for answering Darwin's challenge.

Since the publication of Darwin's *The Origin of Species* in 1859, many Christians have endeavoured to reconcile Christianity and evolution, not only in terms of relating biblical truth and the origin and development of life on earth, but also in terms of the theological implications of evolution by natural selection for understandings of divine transcendence and immanence and divine sovereignty and providence. One lesser known exponent of such an approach was Richard Roberts (1874-1945), the Welsh-born evangelical pastor and theologian who, after immigrating to Canada in 1922, became moderator of the United Church of Canada from 1934 to 1936.[3] Roberts was born in 1874 in the slate quarrying town of Blaenau Ffestiniog, northern Wales. His mother was the daughter of a shipping clerk and his father a quarry worker who became a minister in the Calvinistic Methodist Church. After concluding his own theological studies at Bala, Wales in 1896, Richard Roberts worked with the Calvinist Methodist Church's Forward Movement in towns in the coal fields and seaports in southern Wales. In 1900 he accepted a call to the Willesden Green Welsh Church in London; the following year he married Anne Catherine Thomas, another native of Wales whom he had met in London. In 1903 he transferred to the Presbyterian Church of England and became minister at St. Paul's Church, Westbourne Grove, London, where he made the acquaintance of Roman Catholic philosopher of religion Baron Friedrich von Hügel. In 1910 Roberts was called to the ministry of Crouch Hill Presbyterian Church, where one of the members of the congregation was the young John Macmurray, with whom Roberts was to become closely acquainted and whose later religious and philosophical writing would influence Roberts' own theology.

Just a few months after the outbreak of the "Great War" in August 1914, Roberts and others seeking a means to express Christian opposition to the war founded the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR). His pacifism and other congregational tensions compelled him to resign his position at Crouch Hill in 1915, whereupon he became Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. This work led him in 1917 to ministry at the Church of the Pilgrims in Brooklyn, New York, where he worked part time while advancing the work of the FOR in the United States. He lectured at the Pacific School of Religion in Berkeley in the spring of 1920, and was

considered as a candidate for the school's presidency; his pacifism and socialism likely played a role in his not being offered the position. He hoped to return to England, but no employment options developed there. In 1921 he accepted a call to the American Presbyterian Church in Montreal, began work there in early 1922, and helped it to join the United Church of Canada at its founding in 1925. Two years after union he moved to Sherbourne United Church in Toronto, where he remained until 1938. During this time, from 1934 to 1936, he also served as the sixth moderator of the United Church. His years at Sherbourne roughly corresponded to the Great Depression and his work in this time was marked by attention to evangelism, social service, and economic justice. Although not a member of the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order, he was sympathetic to its work and wrote the preface to its influential 1936 book, *Towards the Christian Revolution*. In the seven years before his death in 1945, he lectured at theological colleges, preached in churches, and led retreats for students.[4]

Roberts had studied science in university before turning to the study of theology and the practice of ministry, and he retained a keen interest in and deep affection for the natural world all of his life. By the late 1920s, he began to articulate his sense of the inadequacy in coming to terms with evolution of both fundamentalist and liberal evangelical theologies. According to Roberts, fundamentalist evangelicals failed to address the proper implications of evolution for divine immanence while liberal evangelicals neglected due consideration of divine transcendence. He therefore attempted to clarify the issues at stake in a way that, while admittedly not yet offering a satisfactory synthesis, might at least on the basis of a "provisional dualism" point the way toward a more adequate understanding of divine immanence and transcendence and their relation to evolution.

Evolution and Evangelicalism

Four elements of the religious and scientific context in which Richard Roberts worked help to illuminate his reflections on evolution and Christianity: first, Darwin's relationship to the idea of evolution; second, the scientific response to Darwin's contribution to evolutionary thought; third, the religious response to evolutionary thought in general and to Darwin's account in particular; and fourth, the intellectual and religious

state of Canadian evangelical theology in the first decades of the twentieth century.

Despite common usage, Darwin did not discover evolution and is not the sole source of the challenge to religion that evolution presents. At the broadest level, evolution was one part of a complex of ideas that were reasonably common in European thought in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a complex that encompassed natural sciences and political thought and included concepts that correspond to the English words transmutation, transformation, development, and revolution. By the time that Darwin boarded the *Beagle*, such ideas were prevalent in both popular and scholarly writing. The work of the physician Erasmus Darwin (grandfather of Charles), the French naturalist Jean-Baptiste Lamarck, the Scottish geologist Charles Lyell, and the English philosopher Herbert Spencer all contributed to the broad cultural discourse about evolution and development of the earth and life on it. By 1858, the naturalist Alfred Russell Wallace had independently developed a theory of the development of species that was virtually identical to the one that Darwin was by that time finally beginning to write for publication. Indeed, it was a letter from Wallace and the urging of two of Darwin's friends that motivated him to complete the "summary" of his theory that was published in 1859 as *On the Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*.[5] When considering how Christians have developed their theological responses to evolution, then, one must bear in mind, as Richard Roberts did, that "evolution" is a larger and more complex concept than that entailed in Darwin's particular understanding of evolution by natural selection. Darwin's work has certainly sharpened the challenge from evolution, but the challenge comes not only from Darwin.

If Darwin did not discover evolution, neither did contemporary European and North American scientists immediately and universally take his understanding of it to be definitive. Certainly, some were almost immediately convinced, including physician and naturalist Joseph Hooker, botanist Asa Gray, geologist Charles Lyell, and of course Thomas Henry Huxley, a comparative anatomist who as the chief public advocate of evolution by natural selection earned the title "Darwin's bulldog." Nevertheless, some scientific contemporaries criticized Darwin's method or reasoning, or continued to prefer Lamarck's account of evolution. Some also argued that the gaps in Darwin's theory of natural selection hindered

its persuasiveness. Foremost among the gaps, one which Darwin himself acknowledged, was the lack of a biological mechanism by which randomly generated and naturally selected traits would be transmitted from one generation to the next. Similarly, for evolution by natural selection to have had the time to work along the lines Darwin suggested, the earth had to be considerably older than had yet been demonstrated. By the late-nineteenth century many scientists were seriously entertaining the idea that the earth was much older than the five to six thousand years suggested by a literal reading of biblical chronology, but few thought it was as old as the billions of years required by Darwin's theory. Darwin died in 1882, well before supporting evidence for either matter was confirmed. Although published in 1866, Gregor Mendel's work on the transmission of biological traits was largely unnoticed until 1900. It was not until about 1930 that scientists of various disciplines began, based on the discovery of radioactivity and its application in radiometric dating of geological strata, to conclude that the earth was indeed old enough for evolution by natural selection to have had its necessary temporal scope. Until the 1920s, however, it was far from clear that Darwin's view of evolution would prevail.[6] When Richard Roberts wrote and lectured on the implications of evolution for Christian theology in the late 1920s, then, the scientific consensus on evolution by natural selection, what came to be known as "the modern synthesis," was still being achieved, and the full terms of Darwin's challenge to Christianity were only then becoming firmly established. It is perhaps not surprising that Christianity should not yet have satisfactorily resolved what began aboard the *Beagle*.

And if European and North American scientists did not consistently rush to adopt evolution by natural selection, neither did contemporary ministers and theologians – some of whom were also scientists – consistently rush to reject it. Notwithstanding the debate between Thomas Huxley and Bishop Samuel Wilberforce in Oxford in 1860 and the Scopes trial in Tennessee in 1925, and the ways they have been used to portray the "warfare" between religion and science, by 1930 there had been no uniformly negative reaction among Christian responses to Darwin in Great Britain, Canada, and the United States. Certainly many Christian preachers and writers had criticized or rejected evolution, but many others had either cautiously or enthusiastically favoured it, or were simply unconcerned. And while it is true that there was a spectrum of responses among those now called traditionalists, liberals and modernists, even some traditional-

ists sought to accommodate Christianity and evolution. For example, while his understanding of God, Christ and humanity remained largely consistent with traditional Christianity, Princeton's James McCosh accepted evolution and argued that God both had designed the evolutionary process and continues to work through it. Similarly, some other traditionalist Protestants from Calvinist traditions tended to welcome Darwinian evolution with its emphasis on natural selection because they understood it to be consistent with their view of divine sovereignty, providence and predestination as acting through the laws of nature. In this they differed from the modernists, who tended to favour both Lamarck's emphasis on the role of internal forces in evolution and Spencer's confidence in the inevitability of progress. The fundamentalist response arose later and became focussed only with the publication of the pamphlet series, *The Fundamentals*, beginning in 1909. Nevertheless, while two of the early authors of *The Fundamentals* rejected evolution on the grounds of its "atheistic and materialistic influence," three other authors accepted evolution.[7] Richard Roberts, then, was by no means unique in his attempt to reconcile Christian theology and evolutionary biology, but the fact that so many theologians of such different theological persuasions made such attempts does weaken claims for the opposition of religion and science in general and of Christianity and evolution in particular. Examining Roberts' approach not only helps to extend the case for rejecting any supposed necessary opposition, but also, as we shall see, reveals some features that warrant further consideration as Christianity continues to try to resolve what began aboard the *Beagle*.

The readiness of Christian thinkers of various theological schools to consider evolution positively points to the state of the Canadian evangelical theological project in the first decades of the twentieth century. In *The Evangelical Century*, Michael Gauvreau offers an account of Canadian Presbyterian and Methodist religious thought from 1820 to 1930 in the context of contemporary transatlantic evangelical thought. This account includes the stories of the theological colleges of these denominations and their role in preparing leadership for the churches and in developing the theological synthesis that harmonized the "evangelical creed" with the intellectual currents and social, economic, and cultural changes of the time. Both Presbyterians and Methodists sought a harmony of faith and learning, of the "culture of the revival" with the "culture of inquiry," of the "evangelical creed" with the new evolutionary thought and higher biblical

criticism, the purpose of which was the transformation of both individuals and society. Gauvreau argues that this project was reasonably successful in Canada from 1860 through 1905, but that from then until 1914 the historical relativism that had arisen in the 1890s began to erode the evangelical synthesis in ways that evolutionary thought and higher biblical criticism had not. Of course, by the time Richard Roberts arrived in Montreal in 1922 the breakdown of the evangelical synthesis was well underway. Nevertheless, Gauvreau's characterization of the late-nineteenth-century Canadian evangelical synthesis remains useful for understanding his work, for Roberts' reflections on theology and evolution can be understood as an example of the transatlantic evangelical project of achieving a harmony of faith and learning for the purpose of transforming both individuals and society.[8]

Roberts' Reflections on Evolution and Theology

Richard Roberts had been thinking about evolution a lot by the mid-1920s. From 1926 to 1928, he discussed evolution and theology in some detail in one article, two sets of published lectures (the 1926 Southworth Lectures at Harvard and the 1928 Merrick Lectures at Ohio Wesleyan), and an unpublished series of lectures delivered to the students of Emmanuel College, Toronto, in 1927. Another unpublished manuscript, undated but likely also from the late 1920s, also shows his interest in the relation of theology and science, including physics as well as biology.[9] These essays and lectures show that Roberts was actively working out the multiple implications of evolution in a variety of ways, and testing these ideas with various audiences. Although he briefly mentioned William Jennings Bryan and the 1925 Scopes trial, the timing and content of Roberts' essays and lectures indicate that the trial itself was not the sole or even a major impetus for his attention to evolution. In fact, he had begun to consider the implications of evolution for Christianity no later than 1912 in addresses to the congregation at Crouch Hill Presbyterian Church, London. His later reflections about fundamentalism, liberalism and their responses to evolution, however, suggest that by the late 1920s Roberts was also concerned to address the widening rift between liberals and fundamentalists in North American evangelicalism. Further, a significant common theme in his theology is the need to synthesize or at least hold in tension various ideas and truths – the personal and the social, divine

immanence and transcendence, evangelism and social service, prayer and revelation, humanity seeking God and God seeking humanity, Barth's emphasis on revelation and Macmurray's emphasis on community. Roberts clearly hoped to articulate a theology that, if not providing a synthesis, at least held together the authentic points of the various dualities that, he maintained, persisted throughout Christian history and indeed all religious history.[10]

Roberts was not, however, motivated only by a desire to respond to the shortcomings of liberalism and fundamentalism and to provide an alternative to their polarization. He was also addressing for his time the relationship between religion and science, between the declining religious view of life and the ascendant materialist, mechanist, determinist, and behaviourist view of the world. On the one hand, Roberts did not accept the claim of science's authority over religion. "Mechanistic biology is evidently here to stay; but its jurisdiction over other fields, and particularly over religion, is not to be admitted."[11] On the other hand, neither did Roberts desire a Christianity that rejected or ignored science. He accepted a provisional dualism of science and religion, but only as "a bivouac on the march," a temporary phase in humanity's journey towards more complete understanding. Nevertheless, he wondered "whether, if the march had been pressed a little further before calling a halt, a more satisfactory inn might not have been found." Even though he regarded himself as only a "journeyman" in such matters, he endeavoured not only to raise the question but also to suggest a tentative answer by offering a biological account of religion. "Should we not decline any longer to regard religion as lying outside the world of 'nature' and treat it frankly as a biological phenomenon? If religion is not a manifestation of life, then it is nothing; and if it is a manifestation of life, then it must stand somehow in an organic relation to the rest of life; and the religious life becomes a part of the subject matter of biology." Roberts sought not to reduce religion to biology; rather, affirming that "religion involves revelation as much as evolution (to my mind) seems to involve religion," he maintained that "there are important ways in which Christianity may be regarded as continuing the development of life as evolutionary biology has revealed it to us." Roberts thereupon undertook "a modest and unpretentious essay in the theology of immanence."[12]

In this theology of immanence Roberts spent little time with three of the standard issues in the theological discussions of evolution to date,

namely, the truth of the Bible, evolution as inevitable progress, and the status of humanity in creation. His understanding of continuing revelation and its relationship with prayer included not only the Bible but also all of science, culture and history, but especially human personal relationships and the life and work of Jesus Christ. This view of revelation therefore precluded any unique, final authoritative status for the Bible over against that which is revealed by natural science.

> Properly understood, everything that is, is a revelation of God. We may speak of the whole body of modern science as a revelation of God, so too we may speak of art . . . But in the specific theological sense, revelation is revelation of God in personal relationships; and of this man has acquired a volume of illuminating experience. Through his life of prayer, line upon line, here a little, there a little, he received information concerning the dweller in the innermost.
>
> Now this information can come to any man who is looking for it; but most men even if they have it cannot report it; but there have been and still are men of unusual sensibility who have received communications out of the unseen and have reported them to their fellows in a speech which they can understand . . . And so little by little, the record of revelation is created. It is our way as Christians to say, and we shall have to return to this in greater detail at a later stage, that once in the fullness of time the unseen spoke in a man, not merely through man – in the man Jesus of Nazareth.[13]

On evolution and progress, Roberts believed that human and social progress was a *possibility* but he rejected its *inevitability*. He regarded the "myth of a fated Progress" as a clearly failed prediction, however confidently it had previously been proclaimed. And on the matter of humanity's lowered status in creation as the descendants of apes rather than the special creation of God, Roberts argued that while this claim may have led some people to repudiate evolution and join the fundamentalist ranks, the issue was nevertheless "adventitious and not of the essence of the matter."[14]

What was essential for Roberts were the implications of evolution for a Christian understanding of divine immanence and transcendence. He stated the terms of the problem starkly:

> Creation implies a "transcendent" God; evolution an "immanent"

> God. Creation requires a God standing outside the universe, having brought it into being by His own *fiat*, and operating upon it from without in perfect freedom according to His own will. It may be true that evolution does not logically imply immanence; but there is no doubt that the two ideas make good company in the mind. And to most minds evolution certainly does suggest a God *within* the universe, involved in and therefore limited by its processes, and somehow fulfilling Himself in its development.[15]

Roberts argued that human intelligence and religious experience, respectively, testify to God's immanence and transcendence, and he criticized both liberals and fundamentalists for emphasizing one element of this duality at the expense of the other. Nevertheless, he recognized the difficulty of reconciling these and other dualities, such as the humanity and divinity of Jesus Christ or the eternal completeness of the divine and its relatedness to the world. Roberts also acknowledged the ways in which Christians from Paul to Pascal had struggled to come to terms with these dualities but had tended, with some exceptions, to almost exclusively emphasize transcendence. Evolution, however, had brought the struggle with these dualities to a crisis. Roberts observed:

> But the antithesis has become acute in our time because we are persuaded that we live in a universe which is, so to speak, on the move . . . From our first slow recognition of biological evolution on this planet science has led us on to a conception of the entire cosmos in a process of development. Not only biology, but physics, seems to show that *process* is the law of all things in the heavens no less than on earth . . . No age has been confronted with a conception so vast and bewildering; and it is useless to pretend that theology can remain unaffected by it. It is no longer possible to treat the notion of divine immanence (as it has been commonly treated in the past) as a comforting postscript or as a compensation-balance to the traditional theology. It must be accepted as a principle of equal validity and coefficient with transcendence.[16]

Adopting what he regarded as Paul's strategy of using *both* transcendence and immanence theologies and their cognate concepts (e.g., justification for the former and the indwelling Christ for the latter), Roberts proposed no systematic synthesis. Arguing that the limits of human knowledge

prevented for the present a way of reconciling these dualities, Roberts proposed to do what he understood Paul to have done, namely, to rely on *both* ideas and their cognate conceptual complexes.

> For the moment then, since it seems impossible to construct a single theology that shall do full justice to the implications both of immanence and transcendence, the only alternative open to those who desire to preserve the full value of both is to consent to a provisional dualism. This will require that we hold two theologies at the same time – the substance of the traditional theology of the Church and the nascent theology of Immanence. Obviously, neither can be held as final, but both as necessary to the final synthesis which is yet to be worked out. For my own part, I shall continue to affirm the main theses of a "transcendence" theology – Inspiration, Revelation, Incarnation, Redemption and Grace; but I propose also to hold the main theses of an "immanence" theology – the inborn and indwelling Christ, the "new man," the Kingdom of God as the purpose and goal of the evolutionary process . . . I propose to be both a traditionalist and a modernist, in the belief that a frank dualism is a healthier state of mind than a premature and muddled synthesis.

Reiterating that "this dualism is provisional, a temporary lodging" and that a satisfactory synthesis could be our only permanent abode, Roberts suggested that, in light of the dominance of transcendence theology to date and the recent findings of biology and physics, the first step toward such a synthesis "would appear to be the working out of the philosophical and theological implications of immanence."[17]

The immanence of God in the processes of nature and history implied for Roberts that these processes reveal God and that we can learn about God by studying these processes. According to Roberts, these processes reveal the striving of the universe for God, developing increasingly complex forms until the evolution of consciousness and spirit in humanity but possibly continuing beyond these forms. The striving for God manifest in humanity is different from non-human striving only by degree, not kind. And this striving is not the whole story, for it is only that which can be observed from the perspective of immanence. From the perspective of transcendence, one may also observe the divine striving toward the uni-verse. Taken together, the two perspectives would suggest or point toward the ultimate unity of the dualities.[18]

> Is there any reason why, believing in the essential unity of all things, I may not provisionally conceive of two movements – from inert matter toward mind and from mind toward inert matter – abstractions from a reality which, if I could conceive it, I should find including both, and probably much beside, in one harmony?
>
> If this much be conceded, it seems at least conceivable that these movements have met in man, in whom mind becomes self-conscious in matter. What is there then to hinder us seeing this double movement still at work on the human plane, God in search of man and man in search of God?
>
> Then History will appear as the divinely-impelled but blundering search of the unseeing child for its Father, and Revelation as the search of the Father for His purblind child.
>
> In Jesus, we shall say, nature achieved its goal in Deity, and Deity took upon it the flesh and form of man. The Word Incarnate both came up from the ranks and came down from the throne.
>
> In the Cross, nature in man and man in Jesus bring to God the offering of a perfect obedience, and God in Christ is reconciling the world unto Himself.[19]

Roberts' Response to Darwin's Challenge

Despite the present and likely future state of cultural secularization, religious pluralism and disestablishment, and the post-modern deconstruction of truth claims, reclaiming the evangelical project of harmonizing faith and learning for the purpose of transforming both individuals and society seems a worthy if never more difficult task. As is suggested by recent public and scholarly attention to the relation between religion and science and to the relation of creation and evolution, the task of providing a compelling Christian response to Darwin's challenge has not yet been accomplished. Richard Roberts and others who have undertaken it may offer some assistance.

Roberts maintained for example that evolution has a purpose, a direction, a *telos* – an argument specifically repudiated since the late nineteenth century by many evolutionary biologists and other scientists, perhaps including Darwin himself.[20] The supposed purposelessness of evolution has also been a reason for some Christians' rejection of Darwinian evolution, but some other Christian thinkers – notably the controversial Catholic paleontologist and theologian, Pierre Tielhard de

Chardin, who died ten years after Roberts – have spoken of the *telos* of evolution in ways similar to Roberts. Those who reject evolutionary purpose sometimes argue that the proponents of purpose rely on non-scientific data, while the proponents point out that those who reject purpose do so based on their own faith in a materialistic and mechanistic understanding of science that is not necessarily warranted by science itself. Nevertheless, Roberts, like other preachers, theologians, and scientists since Darwin, could readily and without internal inconsistency adopt an approach to evolution that incorporates purposiveness. While many from Roberts' time until our own have debated the *telos* of evolution, both theologians and scientists continue to explore not only questions of how to account for complexity in the universe and the relationship of mind and matter, but also the extent to which issues considered to be "non-questions" by some scientists might be legitimately addressed by philosophy and theology. Some scientists and theologians are examining the possibility that complexity is not an accidental and aimless consequence of evolution but a tendency or direction that is somehow built into the very nature of the universe, into the very being of all matter and energy, or are considering that mind may not simply arise out of the evolution of matter by may have a role in the creation of reality. While we would certainly revise Roberts' particular account of the *telos* of the evolving world in light of continuing scientific and theological understanding – a task which Roberts himself would have encouraged – he may nevertheless serve not only as evidence that Christian theologians have in fact been trying to answer Darwin's challenge constructively for some time, but also as one model of how that task might be undertaken in a way that gives due attention to both science and theology.[21]

Perhaps more importantly, Roberts undertook to rework Christian theology in terms of a theology of immanence, not as a replacement of but as a complement to the theologies of transcendence that have been prevalent in Christian history. The dominance of theologies of transcendence since Roberts' day – indeed their reinvigoration in the neo-orthodox theologies of Barth, Brunner, the Niebuhrs and their disciples – has perhaps to some extent curtailed the further development of theologies of immanence along the lines that Roberts was beginning to explore. Combined with the prevalence of materialist and mechanist assumptions in twentieth-century western science, the transcendental emphasis of most twentieth-century theology has until recently prevented most liberal and

conservative Christians alike from even thinking there might be outstanding questions about the relationship between theology and science and between God and the universe. Indeed, most public discourse about religion and evolution seems to operate exclusively within a framework of a theology of divine transcendence that, precisely because such a theology makes it difficult to account for divine action in the world in a way that does not contravene physical and biological laws, reinforces the sense that religion and evolution are necessarily opposed. Of course, some theologians, especially process and eco-feminist theologians, have undertaken theologies of immanence that have, like Roberts, suggested ways of conceiving God, the universe, and their relationship that foster alternative ways of understanding the interaction of divine sovereignty and natural processes.[22] Richard Roberts demonstrates that such work has deep roots in Christian thought and, more distinctly, reminds Christians to recognize the provisionality of their conceptual systems and the need for a theology that comprehends, in however incomplete a manner, both transcendence and immanence in our understanding of the relation of God and the universe.

Endnotes

1. Roger McDonald, *Mr. Darwin's Shooter* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1998); and Paul Quarrington, "Evolution's Hired Gun," *The Globe and Mail*, 13 March 1999, D16.

2. A notable recent exception is Robert Wright, "The Accidental Creationist," *The New Yorker*, 13 December 1999, 56-65, where Wright concludes his critique of Stephen Jay Gould's treatment of evolution and theism: "My point is that Darwinism needn't put theologians out of a job. Granted, it may force them to abandon beliefs. Scientific progress, as the philosopher Alfred North Whitehead wrote, has long spurred the amendment of religious doctrine – 'to the great advantage of religion' – while religion's essence remained intact. For many religious people, part of that essence is the belief that, above and beyond the vestigial cruelties and absurdities of the human experience, there is a point to it all, a point that, even if obscure, may yet become manifest. So far, biological science has provided no reason to conclude otherwise."

3. Catherine Gidney, "Richard Roberts: A Case Study in Liberal Protestantism in Canada During the Interwar Years," *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1995): 81-100; and Gidney, "Contextualizing Richard Roberts' Thought: Liberal Protestantism and the Dilemmas of the Modern

Age," in Gwen R. P. Norman, *Grace Unfailing: The Radical Mind and the Beloved Community of Richard Roberts* (Etobicoke: The United Church Publishing House, 1998), 263-286.

4. Norman, *Grace Unfailing*.

5. Gillian Beer, "Introduction," in Charles Darwin, *The Origin of Species* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), x-xii; Peter J. Bowler, *Evolution: The History of An Idea*, rev. ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 1-150, 237-45; Timothy Ferris, *Coming of Age in the Milky Way* (London: Vintage, 1988), 221-36; Michael Ruse, *The Darwinian Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), ix-xiv, 1-159; and Stephen Jay Gould, "What Does the Dreaded 'E' Word *Mean*, Anyway?" *Natural History* Vol. 109, No. 1 (February 2000), 28-44.

6. Beer, "Introduction," xvii-xxi; Bowler, *Evolution*, 187-217, 246-81, and *The Eclipse of Darwinism: Anti-Darwinian Evolution Theories in the Decades around 1900* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), 3-19; Ferris, *Coming of Age*, 245-53; Ruse, *Darwinian Revolution*, 202-33; Julian Huxley, *Evolution: The Modern Synthesis*, 3rd ed. (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1942, 1974), 13-28; and James R. Moore, *The Post Darwinian Controversies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 125-90.

7. Moore, *Post Darwinian Controversies*, 217-345; Phyllis Airhart, *Serving the Present Age: Revivalism, Progressivism, and the Methodist Tradition in Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 54-57; Ian Barbour, *Religion and Science: Historical and Contemporary Issues* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1997), 57-74; John Brooke and Geoffrey Cantor, *Reconstructing Nature: The Engagement of Science and Religion* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998), 247-81; John Dillenberger, *Protestant Thought and Natural Science* (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1960), 217-51; 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), 125-80; and J.D. Rabb, ed., *Religion and Science in Early Canada* (Kingston: Ronald P. Frye, 1988), 297-348.

8. Gauvreau, *Evangelical Century*, 178-79, 218-12, 222, 290. Gauvreau is rightly and explicitly careful to avoid assuming that Canadian religious history simply reflects that of Great Britain or the United States. I too hope to observe similar caution and yet note how well Gauvreau's account of the Canadian evangelical synthesis illuminates the theology of a transplanted Welsh evangelical. Transatlantic evangelical theology *may* have been sufficiently similar to render the consonance between Roberts' theology and the Canadian synthesis more than a happy coincidence, but demonstrating such similarity

does not concern me in this context. And although by Gauvreau's reckoning, by the time Roberts arrived in Montreal the breakdown in the Canadian evangelical synthesis was already well underway, Roberts' late evidence of such an approach to theology may simply mean that he was an exception to the rule, or that he failed to take account of or even be bothered by the problems posed for Christian theology by historical relativism. Assessing Roberts' place in what Gauvreau calls "the passing of the evangelical creed" following the First World War could be useful, but must await another discussion.

9. Richard Roberts, "The Theological Dilemma in America," *The Hibbert Journal* 25 (October 1926-July 1927): 140-141; *The New Man and the Divine Society* (New York: Macmillan, 1926); *The Christian God* (New York: Macmillan, 1929); "The Scope of Theology," unpublished lectures, 1927, Box 4, File 112, United Church of Canada Archives (UCCA); and "Wheels and Systems: A Plea for Another Theology," unpublished manuscript, Box 3, File 17, UCCA. The various sources contain some duplication of material. His 1926-27 essay, "The Theological Dilemma in America," is almost identical to the introduction to his 1926 Southworth Lectures, published as *The New Man and the Divine Society*, and his unpublished 1927 lectures at Emmanuel College, "The Scope of Theology," were likely an early version of his 1928 Merrick Lectures, published in 1929 as *The Christian God*.

10. Roberts, *The High Road to Christ* (London: Cassell and Co., 1912), 93-97; "The Theological Dilemma in America," 141; *The New Man and the Divine Society*, 11; Norman, *Grace Unfailing*, 183; and Gidney, "Contextualizing Richard Roberts' Thought," 267-76.

11. Roberts, *The New Man and the Divine Society*, 5-6, in which Roberts was referring to Joseph Needham, ed., *Science, Religion and Reality* (London: Sheldon Press and Macmillan Co., 1925). Contributors to the symposium included Arthur James, B. Malinowski, C. Singer, A. Aliotta, A.S. Eddington, Joseph Needham, J.W. Oman, W. Brown, C.C.J. Webb, and W.R. Inge (see Roberts, "Wheels and Systems," 1: "One can hardly rise from the reading of [Alfred N.] Whitehead and [Arthur S.] Eddington without wondering why we allowed ourselves to be brow-beaten so sadly by 'Science' all these years. By we, I mean *we* preachers and teachers of religion. Materialism is as dead as Queen Anne. The discovery of a "principle of indeterminacy" in the physical world knocks the bottom out of all determinisms and behaviourisms whatsoever. And now that Science has, in honourable obedience to its own first principles, reached the point at which it is readily admitting that it is not "the only pebble on the beach," the admission is so obvious that it seems positively absurd that we should have been so incontinently scared into an apologetic posture").

12. Roberts, *The New Man and the Divine Society*, 6-9, 17.

13. Roberts, "The Scope of Theology," 12-14; cf. *The Christian God*, 25-33.

14. Roberts, "The Theological Dilemma in America," 140; and *The New Man and the Divine Society*, 9-10, 40.

15. Roberts, "The Theological Dilemma in America," 140-41; and *The New Man and the Divine Society*, 10.

16. Roberts, "The Theological Dilemma in America," 144; and *The New Man and the Divine Society*, 15.

17. Roberts, "The Theological Dilemma in America," 145; *The New Man and the Divine Society*, 16; and "The Scope of Theology," 15-18.

18. Roberts, "The Theological Dilemma in America," 147; and "The Scope of Theology," 14-15, 26-27.

19. Roberts, "The Theological Dilemma in America," 147.

20. Barbour, *Religion and Science*, 58-59, 237-47; Richard Dawkins, *The Blind Watchmaker* (Essex: Longman Scientific & Technical, 1986), 169-93; Daniel C. Dennett, *Darwin's Dangerous Idea: Evolution and the Meaning of Life* (New York: Touchstone, 1995), 23-25, 61-84; Stephen Jay Gould, *Wonderful Life: The Burgess Shale and the Nature of History* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1989), 23-52, 277-323.

21. Barbour, *Religion and Science*, 165-94, 237-49; Pierre de Chardin, *The Phenomenon of Man* (New York: Harper & Row, 1959); John F. Haught, *God After Darwin: A Theology of Evolution* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2000), 11-44, and *Science and Religion: From Conflict to Conversation* (New York: Paulist Press, 1995), 63-69, 142-61; Paul Davies, *God and the New Physics* (London: Penguin Books, 1983), 72-87, 100-18, 164-76; and Nancey Murphy and George F.R. Ellis, *On the Moral Nature of the Universe: Theology, Cosmology, and Ethics* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996).

22. On the history of the development of the emphasis on divine transcendence in Christian theology and the difficulty of balancing transcendence and immanence, see James W. Jones, *The Redemption of Matter: Towards the Rapprochement of Science and Religion* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1984), 15-32, 115-18. For examples of theologies of immanence, see Barbour, *Religion and Science*, 281-332; John Cobb and David Ray Griffin, *Process Theology: An Introduction* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1976); Sallie McFague, *The Body of God: An Ecological Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993); Rosemary Radford Ruether, *Gaia and God: An*

Ecofeminist Theology of Earth Healing (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1992); and Marjorie Hewitt Suchocki, *The End of Evil: Process Eschatology in Historical Perspective* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988).

"Minister of the Gospel and Doctor of Medicine": Dr. Robert Grierson, Physician Missionary to Korea (1898-1913)

LAURA MACDONALD

This case study of the medical and missionary career of Robert Grierson (1868-1965) with the Canadian Presbyterian mission to Northern Korea from 1898 to 1913 examines the practical context and implications of changing mission ideology in the early-twentieth century for medically trained missionaries. Historians such as William Hutchison and Robert Wright have argued that, in the early-twentieth century, Protestant mission theology began to replace an earlier strictly evangelistic model of missions, which had subordinated all missionary tasks to the salvation of souls, with a more socially oriented approach to mission which provided for temporal as well as spiritual needs. In examining Grierson's early career, this paper explores the tensions experienced by medical missionaries under the transition from an evangelistic to a social gospel mission model.

Robert Grierson was a pioneering member of the Canadian Presbyterian mission to Korea. He dedicated thirty-six years to missionary service there from 1898 until 1934. Unlike many of his colleagues, Grierson ar-rived in Korea with both medical and ministerial training. As a physician missionary, he expected to practice medicine and also to evangelize for Christ. Grierson championed the cause of medical work within the Canadian mission but, as an ordained minister, he was constrained by the practical realities of his ministerial responsibilities. Due to his extensive evangelistic duties Grierson was not able to develop fully

medical services in Sung Chin, Korea, until 1913.

For the purposes of this paper, studies examining the changing vision and nature of foreign missions by American historian William Hutchison and by Canadian Robert Wright are significant. William Hutchison argues that American Protestant mission theology evolved from a strictly evan-gelistic model to a more inclusive social gospel approach after the turn of the century. The principal goal of both models of mission was to win converts to Christianity. The nineteenth-century evangelistic view of missions placed a particular emphasis on effecting conversions, and social services were used by missionaries to gain access to the unconverted. This approach to missions shifted in the early-twentieth century with an emerging liberal theology and the social gospel movement which sought to combine a spirit of evangelism with a desire to eradicate social problems such as poverty, illness and illiteracy. For mission theorists, administrators and leaders, there was significant ideological tension between those who sought to evangelize purely for souls and those who believed in a more socially oriented mission.[1]

Robert Wright applies Hutchison's thesis to a Canadian context and observes that the mission administrators and leaders in Canada between World War I and II were also caught between the traditional evangelistic agenda and the new model of missions and foreign outreach. The evangelistic approach which prescribed conversion to Christianity as the solution to societal ills had been replaced by the late 1920s and early 1930s with a "true spirit of internationalism . . . based on the teachings of Christ, [which] could not abide by outworn notions of the Christian conquest of the world but must be rooted in the principles of cooperation and mutual respect."[2]

Hutchison and Wright have identified the ideological tensions experienced by North American mission theorists and administrators as they attempted to harmonize the mission goals of promoting conversions and providing social services. However, their work examines the philosophy rather than the practice of missions and needs to be further supported by studies of actual missionary practice. In order to understand fully the mission experience beyond its intellectual and ideological framework, one must explore the day-to-day context of how mission ideologies were played out on the field. Did these tensions between promoting conversions and providing social service prove to be problematic for the individuals carrying out the mission objective?

Robert Grierson, the first physician missionary sent to Korea by the Presbyterian Church in Canada, was born in Halifax Nova Scotia in 1868 to John Grierson and Mary Parrett.[3] Robert was educated in Halifax where he had attended Halifax Academy, and subsequently Dalhousie University where he earned a Bachelor of Arts in 1890. Grierson graduated from Pine Hill with a theology degree in 1893 and from Dalhousie Medical College with his medical degree in 1897. In 1898 he was ordained in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island.[4]

In Grierson's graduating year at Dalhousie an American spokesman for the Student's Missionary Movement had addressed the student body. Grierson later remembered, "When he made the appeal for candidates to VOLUNTEER for foreign work, the Lord put His hand under my elbow, and I raised my hand, the only one."[5] John and Mary Grierson were elated that their son was joining the foreign mission service. They told him for the first time that the year he was born they had been refused for the Presbyterian mission to the New Hebrides because they had lacked the necessary formal education. The Griersons had prayed to God that when Robert was an adult, he would go and serve in foreign missions in their place.[6]

Grierson believed, therefore, that he was called to foreign mission service and in particular that he was called to service in Korea. In 1897, the Presbyterian Church in Canada advertised for two men to open their mission in Korea. Grierson applied and was accepted.[7] His belief that he was called to be a missionary in Korea was further confirmed by his admiration for the Rev. William MacKenzie, an independent Canadian missionary who had recently worked and suddenly died in Korea.

Many years later, in writing his memoirs, Grierson noted with a tone of awe how his life had mirrored that of MacKenzie. Both MacKenzie and Grierson had earned a Bachelor of Arts from Dalhousie University and they both had joined the Grenfell Mission in Labrador, MacKenzie as the first Canadian preacher and Grierson as the first Canadian doctor. Grierson also had succeeded MacKenzie as pastor at Bethany Church in Halifax and had given the farewell address when MacKenzie left for Korea.[8] Grierson noted how he had been called to follow in MacKenzie's footsteps and how the two of them had been called by God, who had thus played "pied-piper to us both."[9]

McKenzie was not only an inspiration to Grierson but also the impetus for a formal Canadian Presbyterian missionary to Korea. Shortly after completing his theological training in 1891, McKenzie felt strongly

called to leave the Maritimes and undertake mission work among the Koreans. Initially seeking denominational support from the Presbyterian Church in Canada in 1892, he was unable to persuade the members of the Foreign Mission Committee (Eastern Division) FMC(ED) to send him to Korea, as they felt the committee possessed insufficient funds to pursue a mission in Korea. The FMC(ED) declined to finance McKenzie as they were heavily in debt and already supporting missions in the New Hebrides, Trinidad and India. Undaunted, in 1893 McKenzie journeyed to Korea under the auspices of friends and family.[10]

The first active and organized Protestant missions to Korea had begun in 1884 with the American Presbyterian Church and the American Methodist Episcopal Church.[11] In 1889, they were joined by the Presbyterian Church of Australia.[12] There was no Canadian denominational presence in Korea until 1898. The initial Canadian experience in Korea was through the individual ventures of James Scarth Gale, Malcolm Fenwick, Dr. Robert Alexander Hardie and Dr. Oliver Avison. The four men arrived in Korea between 1887 and 1893, sponsored by Canadian University mission societies, business interests and American denominations, as well as their Canadian families and friends. While they traveled to Korea as independent missionaries, unstable financing from their Canadian supporters forced all but Fenwick to join an established denominational mission with either the American Presbyterians or the American Methodists.[13]

After he arrived in 1893, William McKenzie settled in Sorrai in southern Korea.[14] In 1895, eighteen months after arriving in Korea, McKenzie died suddenly. While at the time it was reported in the Maritime Presbyterian paper, *The Presbyterian Witness,* that he had died of malaria and typhoid fever,[15] later sources made clear that McKenzie had in fact committed suicide.[16] His diary indicated that McKenzie was ill with a fever and vomiting before he died, and had shot himself, possibly in delirium from his illness.[17] The physician who investigated the death blamed McKenzie's suicide on his solitary existence and self-imposed exile among the Koreans.[18] The first Canadian Presbyterian missionaries, Robert Grierson included, did not learn that McKenzie died by his own hand until they arrived in Korea in 1898 and visited his followers in Sorrai.[19]

After McKenzie's death, *The Presbyterian Witness* was inundated with letters and articles by Maritime Presbyterians eager for the FMC(ED) to find the necessary funding to open Korea as a mission field. McKenzie

had bequeathed $2,000 raised by his supporters in Canada for the establishment of a Canadian mission in Korea. Many letters expressed the view that the church was responsible for following up McKenzie's work and honouring his dream of a Presbyterian presence in Korea.[20] Nevertheless, in 1896 the FMC(ED) declined once again to enter Korea as their financial position had not improved since 1893 when McKenzie had first requested monetary assistance.[21] Even an anonymous offer of $3,000 for the first three years of the mission was not seen to be enough to finance the venture.[22]

It was the Eastern Section of the Presbyterian Women's Foreign Missionary Society (WFMS) that took up the call in 1897 and presented a strong case for choosing Korea as a new mission field. The women warned that the FMC(ED) could not, in good conscience, appropriate the legacy intended by McKenzie for Korea for another mission. The WFMS also argued that the mission opportunities in Korea were rich and unique and as of yet ill served by Western churches. Their interest and promise of funding and support were sufficient for a reconsideration of the matter by the Foreign Mission Committee.[23]

In 1898, the FMC(ED), upon the advice of the Maritime Synod, supported the opening of a Korea mission and agreed to employ McKenzie's bequest in establishing mission work in Korea.[24] They advertised for male missionaries and by February 1897 appointed William Foote, Robert Grierson and Duncan MacRae.[25] Shortly before leaving Canada for Korea, William Foote married Edith Sprott and Robert Grierson married Lena Venoit in Halifax.[26] Thus, by the time of their departure in July 1898, the final party of the Canadian Presbyterian mission in Korea included the Rev. and Mrs. Foote, Dr. and Mrs. Grierson and the Rev. MacRae.[27]

These five Canadians arrived in Korea in early September 1898. In deciding where to establish their mission stations, Grierson, MacRae and Foote attended a meeting of the Council of Presbyterian Missions in Korea in October 1898. The Council, which included all the missionaries in Korea representing the American and Australian Presbyterian missions, extended membership to the Canadian missionaries.[28] The American Presbyterians offered to withdraw from the city of Wonsan on Korea's north-east coast if the Canadians would take over that field. Grierson, Foote and MacRae quickly accepted the proposal.[29]

The Footes and MacRae moved to the busy harbour city of Wonsan in 1899 and were joined by the Griersons later in the year. They found that,

in addition to the large native Korea population, there were small groups of Japanese, Russian, Chinese, German, British and American inhabitants and visitors.[30] The Canadian missionaries subsequently decided that they would establish a second mission centre in Ham Heung, north-east of Wonsan. It was an inland city, and not at all comparable to the cosmopolitan hubbub of Wonsan. Ham Heung had seen few Christian missionaries and those who ventured to the city had met with little success.[31]

In 1900, two years after the Canadians' arrival in Korea it became obvious that additional help was necessary. The territory was large and the demands of mission work exceeded the time and resources of Grierson, Foote and MacRae and there were no additional ministers to share the evangelistic duties in their vast territory.[32] They had also chosen a third location for a mission station, Sung Chin, a small but rapidly developing port city north of Ham Heung under-served by missionaries.[33] As the only evangelists in a mission field of thousands, the task was too great for the three men.[34]

In response to the request for additional staff, in 1901 the FMC(ED) sent the Rev. and Mrs. Alec F. Robb, as well as Dr. Kate McMillan and Miss Louise H. McCully, to assist in the mission operations.[35] The previous year, Edith Sutherland, Duncan MacRae's financeé, had joined him in Korea and they had been married shortly after her arrival.[36] Invigorated by the arrival of new personnel, a great effort was made to organize and bring to life the three planned mission centers in Wonsan, Ham Heung and Sung Chin.

As soon as possible in 1901, the Griersons moved to Sung Chin to pursue evangelistic and medical mission work. The Robbs and the Footes were assigned to Wonsan. The MacRaes and Dr. McMillan were designated to establish a mission station in Ham Heung.[37] In sending Grierson to Sung Chin and McMillan to Ham Heung, the mission staff ensured that their physicians were sent to the two stations lacking hospitals, physicians and dispensaries as the American Methodists already provided Wonsan with medical services.[38]

Within the evangelistic model of missions, as early as the 1840's but increasingly in the 1870s and 1880s, a number of evangelists with medical training were sent as missionaries by American and Canadian mission boards. When missions provided medical services lacking in native communities they quickly gained a position of trust that facilitated their evangelistic work.[39] In the late-nineteenth century, supporters of medical

missions agreed that the service was valuable, not in and of itself, but due to the trust it gained for the missionaries so that they could more expediently bring the Christian gospel to their patients.[40] Looking back on this experience, an article in the American mission journal *The Korea Mission Field* in 1914 described the evangelistic potential of physician missionaries in the early years of a mission:

> The doctor could go where the preacher's way was closed, the relieved sufferer would listen to the message of his physician where he would have only scoffed at the strange doctrine of another, prejudice was broken down, countries were thrown open, and even when the field was well occupied few could command such large audiences as the worker among outpatients and none came into such close personal contact with the unconverted as those who tend them in hospitals.[41]

Medical missions were thus a pragmatic means of gaining access to the unconverted.[42]

When the Canadian Presbyterian mission to Korea began in 1898, physicians were hired with the expectation that neither evangelism nor medical work would be done to the exclusion of the other. Bill Scott, a member of the Canadian Presbyterian mission who arrived in Korea in 1914, wrote a history of the Canadian mission in 1975, describing how at the beginning of the mission, "medical work was evaluated largely on the extent to which it contributed to the winning of converts."[43]

As the mission developed, this thinking changed and medicine became a compassionate service which missionaries could provide. In the early twentieth century, missionaries, including the Canadian Presbyterians in Korea, became aware of the tremendous work and long-term responsibility involved in transplanting Christianity. Mission theory found new expressions in the social gospel movement, and through this, there was a heightened sense that Christians bore a responsibility for the future direction of foreign societies.[44] This new approach to missions highlighted the compassionate provision of social services, medical services in particular.

In Korea, the earlier mission model of pure evangelism existed, in parallel with the emerging social gospel model. The two ideals of mission were simultaneously applied and remained unresolved until 1913, after

which time the view of the social gospel took a stronger hold and largely replaced the traditional evangelistic mission model.[45] As a result, from 1898 until 1913 missionaries were assigned to ambiguous, and at times conflicting, goals.

In this context, as an ordained minister and a medical doctor, Robert Grierson sought to balance the uncertain goals of the mission by combining his two occupations.[46] The difficulty in combining both roles was evident from the beginning of Grierson's tenure in Korea. During his first year in Seoul, Grierson had planned to refuse medical calls so that he could tend to the important responsibility of language study. In spite of this, in April he confessed in his diary that he was doing some medical and surgical work which he felt he could not refuse.[47]

In 1899, Grierson traveled to Wonsan to join the Footes and MacRae where he had intended to complete his language instruction before beginning official medical and mission work. Although he resolved again to refuse all patients and devote himself entirely to language study, Grierson's plans were short-lived as he was compelled to attend to the medical needs of local Koreans. He recalled that, "we had scarcely time to get into the house we had rented when we were besieged by sick people . . . so piteous and persistent were the calls for help that it did not seem humane to refuse; and very reluctantly study was almost entirely laid aside and medical and surgical work undertaken."[48] Thus, the needs of the Korean population influenced how mission work was pursued.

Although Grierson again tried to limit the number of appointments, his home in Wonsan was inundated daily with patients seeking treatment. Grierson worked out of a make-shift clinic in his house and examined patients in his living room. In his report to the FMC for 1900 he wrote of his distress at the large number of Koreans seeking his medical help. Describing "the scores who swarmed about the house daily" and "the throngs of people about our house," Grierson seemed overwhelmed.[49]

Despite these interruptions, he learned to speak excellent Korean in a short time which was an asset in his travels to rural communities. These itinerant journeys lasted anywhere from two weeks to a month, during which time he traveled from village to village, preaching and providing minor medical assistance. Grierson's long periods away from Wonsan prevented him from opening a permanent medical practice in 1900.[50]

Grierson left Wonsan to open Sung Chin station in May 1901.[51] As the sole resident missionary in Sung Chin station, Grierson assumed

extensive responsibility for establishing and managing the station. In 1901 he detailed just a few of his chores at the station: "Property selection, house building, well-digging, preaching, book-selling, doctoring, traveling . . ."[52] He was assisted from 1902 to 1904 by the Rev. Alex Robb who joined the mission staff in 1901, but the work at the station was still tremendous, even for the two men.[53] When Robb returned to Wonsan, Grierson resumed solitary management of Sung Chin station. He continued to spend a significant amount of time traveling, both on itinerant journeys and visiting Wonsan. Thus, it is not surprising that in his annual reports to the FMC from 1901 to 1905 there was only the vaguest mention of medical work at the station.[54] As late as 1909, Grierson admitted that "medical work is but an incident in the life of Sung Chin station." [55]

Grierson's attempts to maintain a regular medical practice were, therefore, impeded by his extensive responsibilities as an evangelist. He was also responsible for serving as pastor, supervising evangelism in connection with medical work, and managing the boys' school. As pastor of the church in Sung Chin, Grierson was responsible for leading weekly church services, managing the daily needs of his congregation, which included visiting the newly converted and their families and officiating at marriages, funerals and baptisms. Grierson also taught Bible study classes during the week to members of his congregation.[56]

In addition to his duties as pastor, Grierson's status as a founding member of the Canadian Presbyterian mission to Korea placed an increased burden on his shoulders. He was responsible for attending meetings in Wonsan every year which considered the future direction of the Korean mission as a whole. While on his year-long furloughs in Canada, Grierson spoke to Presbyterian congregations and mission conferences to raise awareness and funds for the Canadian Presbyterian mission in Korea. He also corresponded frequently with the FMC, keeping the committee members informed of the status of the mission's work and their needs for either supplies or funds.[57]

These responsibilities left little time for medical work which was still significant and could not be avoided. Physician evangelists were responsible for infusing every activity in their clinics with the evangelistic spirit of the mission.[58] As the only physician in Sung Chin, Grierson oversaw the operations of the dispensary and hospital, coordinating medical staff training and teaching a number of his assistants himself. Responsibility for finding suitable Koreans to send to medical or nursing school fell to him,

as did the supervision of the evangelistic work at the hospital.[59]

As early as 1906, when Grierson returned to North America on furlough, he was frustrated and dissatisfied with his inability to fulfil both his medical and evangelistic obligations. Grierson articulated his dissatisfaction when he addressed a student volunteer convention in Nashville, Tennessee, on the subject of medical missions. He disagreed with the preceding speakers who had lauded the practicality of sending evangelists trained as physicians into foreign missions and instead argued that mission boards should divide responsibilities so that separate mission staff pursued either evangelism or medical work:

> The view of medical missions which they hold is that the medical man should not be confined to doing distinctly medical work, but that he should rather combine the medical with the evangelistic. That which I hold is that he should do medical work only, and that he should leave the evangelistic work to other persons to whom it is given.[60]

His words may have had some impact on his own denomination. Citing reasons that Grierson was over-extended in his medical and evangelistic work, the Canadian Presbyterians in Korea requested another missionary in 1908, either a physician or minister, to assist him. They felt that both services were suffering from a lack of appropriate attention. The missionary, likely Grierson himself, writing the unsigned report of the Sung Chin station for 1908 elaborated:

> As this is a work of love, the only philanthropic work we do and the only scientific medical equipment for a population of over half a million people cannot be discontinued, we must have either another doctor to relieve Dr. Grierson, or another evangelist missionary to take a part in the pastoral over-sight of the immense field.[61]

By characterizing medical work as a "philanthropic" and loving service, the station report suggested that medicine was seen as valuable beyond its ability to provide access to the unconverted.

Grierson's difficulties were compounded by a financial crisis in the FMC(ED) which had administered the Canadian Presbyterian mission in Korea from 1898 to 1908. In 1908 the FMC(ED) was financially unable to respond to repeated and urgent calls for additional staff in Korea. This

caused tremendous frustration as the small mission staff tried to minister to growing numbers of converts without adequate support from Canada. Grierson even threatened to resign if the FMC(ED) did not increase the financial assistance needed to secure the position of the mission in Korea.[62]

In response to this crisis, the FMC(ED) requested assistance from the Western Division of the FMC (FMC-WD) later in 1908. The latter agreed to enter Korea and assist by opening a mission station. This did not resolve the financial difficulties of the FMC(ED) but it did provide additional staff for the mission. The seven new missionaries established their stations in Hoiryung and Yongjung in the far north on the border of Manchuria, fast-growing centres of Japanese commerce that were filling with Korean immigrants.[63] While the new staff and mission stations assisted in the mission's outreach to a greater number of Koreans, the dispersal of the staff and resources did little to alleviate the pressures at the original station, Wonsan, Ham Heung and particularly Sung Chin.

Grierson's difficulties continued and in 1911 the annual mission report to the FMC described how his multiple responsibilities caused difficulties for the Sung Chin mission, "Medical work in Sung Chin can never be conducted satisfactorily while the doctor in charge is so immersed in Church, school, administrative, class, theological and other work."[64] The report acknowledged that medical work was done inconsistently and that the dispensary would have to be open at regular hours to ensure a trusting and returning population of patients. In spite of the flagging success at the dispensary, evangelistic duties persistently took priority over medical responsibilities.[65]

The following year, in 1912, Grierson boldly decided to devote himself to medical work in the coming year and absolve himself of evangelistic duties outside of the hospital and dispensary. He stated, "until we have a doctor with no other duties, we shall have a medical work only in name; and the medical work unsatisfactory as it is, will but limit the activities of the senior missionary in his other important spheres."[66] Grierson felt that he could still make a significant contribution to the mission effort by dedicating himself solely to his medical practice. He argued that he could still find time for quiet, individual preaching during his medical work but was not likely so easily to integrate medical work into a full time evangelistic career as had formerly been expected. Calling the practice of medicine a, "beautiful, useful, and Christlike profession," Grierson viewed medi-cine as an indispensable element of the mission's

work in Korea and argued that while there were numerous evangelists in Korea from the various Protestant missions, there were very few physicians in his territory and they were difficult to come by and not easily replaced.[67]

When Grierson decided to devote himself fully to his medical practice he believed that his medical work was an extension of the gospel message of love and compassion. This was affirmed by his observation that his Korean patients needed and sought a reliable medical service at the mission station. The rising social gospel movement in North America prompted many missionaries similar to Grierson to observe social inequalities in their mission fields and look beyond their goal of conversion and carefully examine their role in improving the moral fabric of the non-Christian societies.[68]

Grierson's sentiments were repeatedly echoed by other physician mis-sionaries in Korea writing for the journal, *The Korea Mission Field* from 1912 to 1916. In this venue they began to articulate a new vision of how medical work fit into their mission objective. An editorial in 1912 articulated the change in thinking, "Not long ago a missionary who studied theology and medicine was believed to be doubly equipped for the foreign field; now, such procedure is considered unwise because concentration and not diffusion is *the* word."[69]

Purely humanitarian justifications for providing medical service, indicating a shift in the missionary focus from the individual's state of grace to the moral character of all of society, began to appear in *The Korea Mission Field* after 1912.[70] In 1916, the journal published an article by A.M. Sharrocks, a physician missionary who supported the provision of medical service purely on the basis of compassion:

> It is time for us to turn our attention more directly upon the sick man and, purely out of compassion for him in his present need, do our best to give him relief . . . any society or church that uses its medical work chiefly for its own propagation is far from being Christian in the true sense and deserves only to fail in its ultimate aim.[71]

The new compassionate justifications for medical service articulated the obligation of the West, privileged with its advanced medical technology and scientific knowledge, to bring scientific medical treatment to the mission field.[72] As a result, the new interpretation of the role of missions insisted that the West had a responsibility to share its knowledge by

providing medical care and in teaching native physicians. Dr. S.P. Tipton, an American Presbyterian, wrote in *The Korea Mission Field*: "Medical science as we know it to-day is a product of Christianity, and we are under more of an obligation to non-Christian lands to give them a knowledge of this science and to heal their sick than we are to give them an education or any other accompaniment of Christianity."[73]

In this vein, the development of western medicine was expected to be for the benefit of all, and as a witness to God, must be shared. In 1914 Hugh Weir, a physician in Korea, described this relationship between medicine and the Christian Gospel:

> We find that medical missions are an essential part of the Gospel, that they are a part of the fruit of that tree whose leaves are for the healing of the nations. No one would venture to preach Christ without living Him too, and the work of a mission hospital is . . . an inevitable outcome of His Spirit.[74]

Grierson's decision to leave evangelism to develop a medical practice foreshadowed these forthright justifications for medicine on the mission field from 1912 to 1916. He had argued since his furlough in 1906 for a separation between medical and evangelistic work because he had per-sonally experienced disappointment and frustration in trying to serve as both a physician and an evangelist. Grierson championed the cause of medical work in Korea but he was constrained by the practical realities of the mission which struggled to balance the provision of services with the ultimate goal of evangelism. Robert Grierson's career bears witness to the practical conflicts between the evangelistic and social gospel models of mission that defined his career as a "Minister of the Gospel and Doctor of medicine"[75] in Korea from 1898 to 1913.

After the Canadian Presbyterians began their work, which initially focused on conversions, Grierson and his colleagues saw the practical needs of the people and subsequently responded by trying to both evangelize and provide social services.[76] This shift in mission thought and practice in Korea mirrors the general transition described by William Hutchison and Robert Wright in their assessment of Protestant mission agencies. Evidently, mission administrators and theorists, but also missionaries working in the field, were caught between the traditional evangelical world-view which stressed conversion to Christianity as the

solution to societal ills and the new emphasis on foreign outreach which responded to the realities encountered on the mission field and sought to morally uplift society.[77] As seen in this study of Robert Grierson's career as a medical evangelist, missionaries on the field, unlike mission activists at home, experienced tension not in ideological but in very practical terms.

Endnotes

1. William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).
2. Robert Wright, *A World Mission: Canadian Protestantism and the Quest for a New International Order, 1918-1939* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), 176.
3. Robert Grierson, *Episodes on the Long, Long Trial*, 1957, 84, Biography File G10, United Church of Canada/Victoria University Archives (hereafter UCA).
4. Biography File G10, UCA.
5. Grierson, *Episodes on a Long, Long Trail*, 3, UCA.
6. Grierson, *Episodes on a Long, Long Trail*, 3, UCA.
7. Minutes of the Foreign Mission Committee Eastern Section, File 1 1898, no. 33, 2 and no. 34, 1, Presbyterian Church of Canada Board of Foreign Mission Fonds, Records Pertaining to the Korea Mission (1906-1913) 79.204C (hereafter 79.211C), UCA.
8. Grierson, *Episodes on a Long, Long Trail*, 11, UCA.
9. Grierson, *Episodes on a Long, Long Trail*, 13, UCA.
10. E.A. McCully, *A Corn of Wheat or The Life of the Rev. W.J. McKenzie of Korea*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: The Westminster Co. Ltd, 1904), 19-65; and George Paik, *The History of the Protestant Missions in Korea 1832-1910* (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1929; reprint, 1980), 192-193.
11. Paik, *Protestant Missions in Korea*, 85-86, 97-110; and R.A. Hardie, MD, "Founding of Missions in Korea," *Korea Mission Field*, February 1935, 34-37.
12. Paik, *Protestant Missions in Korea*, 186-187.
13. William Scott, *Canadians in Korea: Brief Historical Sketch of Canadian Mission Work in Korea*, unpublished manuscript, 1975, 19-25.

14. Scott, *Canadians in Korea*, 30-31.

15. "Rev. W.J. McKenzie," *The Presbyterian Witness*, 24 August 1895, 265.

16. The fact that McKenzie's death was a suicide is clarified in Helen Fraser MacRae, *A Tiger on Dragon Mountain: The Life of Rev. Duncan M. MacRae*, eds. D. D. Janice and Ross Penner (Charlottetown: Williams & Crue Ltd., 1993), 30-31; and Scott, *Canadians in Korea*, 33.

17. Paik, *Protestant Missions in Korea,* 193.

18. Young-Sik Yoo, "The Impact of Canadian Missionaries in Korea: A Historical Survey of Early Canadian Mission Work" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Toronto, 1996), 419.

19. MacRae, *A Tiger on Dragon Mountain*, 30. Duncan MacRae was the first Canadian missionary to learn of McKenzie's suicide when he visited McKenzie's followers in Sorrai in 1898. MacRae indicates that the Koreans of Sorrai were aware of the nature of MacKenzie's death. However, it is unclear if the suicide was unreported in Canada due to the cultural stigma associated with suicide or if the McKenzie family and Presbyterian church were unaware of the details of his death.

20. *The Presbyterian Witness*: "Korea," 26 October 1895, 337; "Korea," 27 February 1897, 70; "A Korea Mission, Letter from Rev. G.M. Clark," 13 March 1897, 81; "Korea's Cry," 13 March 1897, 82; "The Korean Mission," 20 March 1897, 90; "Korean Mission: Letter from Rev. Dr. McKay," 27 March 1897, 101; "More About Korea," 3 April 1897, 107; "Korea," 17 April 1897, 122; "The Korean Mission," 15 May 1897, 153; "Korea," 15 May 1897, 156; "Korean Mission," 22 May 1897, 162; and "Letter From a Korean Missionary," 26 June 1897, 202.

21. Appendix No. 6, Report of the Foreign Mission Committee (FMC) 1895-96, *The Acts and Proceeding of the 22nd General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada* (hereafter A&P). Dr. H.G. Underwood indicated to the Canadian FMC that two missionaries was the minimum to open a mission. The FMC did not have the resources to provide for the mission salaries.

22. Minutes of the Foreign Mission Committee Eastern Section, File 1 no. 27, 1896, 2, 79.211C, UCA.

23. "The Korean Mission," *The Presbyterian Witness*, 20 March 1897, 90 and Scott, *Canadians in Korea*, 36-37.

24. Report of the FMC (ED) 1897-1898, A&P.

25. Minutes of the Foreign Mission Committee Eastern Section File 1 1898, no. 33, 2 and no. 34, 1, 79.211C, UCA.

26. "Rev. Robert Grierson, BA, MD, CM – Last of the Pioneers," *The Observer*, 15 March 1958, Biography File G10, UCA; "A Devoted Missionary – Rev. W.R. Foote, D.D.," *The Bible Class Magazine*, 1930, 3, Biography File F5, UCA and Scott, *Canadians in Korea*, 44.

27. MacRae, *A Tiger on Dragon Mountain*, 10-12.

28. Scott*, Canadians in Korea,* 42-43.

29. MacRae, *A Tiger on Dragon Mountain*, 33.

30. MacRae, *A Tiger on Dragon Mountain*, 41-47.

31. MacRae, *A Tiger on Dragon Mountain*, 49-53.

32. Scott, *Canadians in Korea*, 49.

33. Third Annual report of Rev. Robert Grierson, MD, Korea, 120, A&P 1901.

34. Scott, *Canadians in Korea*, 49.

35. Paik, *Protestant Missions in Korea*, 276-279; and MacRae, *Tiger on Dragon Mountain*, 79.

36. MacRae, *Tiger on Dragon Mountain*, 55-58.

37. Scott, *Canadians in Korea*, 48-49. The plan to move to Ham Heung was not realized until 1905. While Duncan MacRae was initially able to choose a mission site and purchase some buildings, a smallpox and cholera epidemic, and then war between the Japanese and Russia over Korea, made it too dangerous to establish mission facilities in Ham Heung until 1905. Kate McMillan and the MacRaes, therefore remained in Wonsan and assisted the Robbs and Footes in the interim.

38. Paik, *Protestant Missions in Korea*, 276-279.

39. Paik, *Protestant Missions in Korea*, 127-138.

40. Paik, *Protestant Missions in Korea*, 127-138; Alvyn Austin, *Saving China*: *Canadian Missionaries in the Middle Kingdom, 1888-1959* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 167-184; and Ruth Compton Brouwer, *New Women for God: Canadian Presbyterian Women and India Missions, 1876-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 53-91.

41. "The Place of Medical Mission Work in Korea," *The Korea Mission Field*, July 1914, 191. *The Korea Mission Field* was published primarily for the readership of Protestant missionaries in Korea, but also for the mission supporters in North America. A majority of the submissions are from American Presbyterian missionaries and mission stations with occasional Canadian and Australian news and contributions. The journal included short news articles, letters from missionaries, reports from mission stations, opinion pieces and articles on subjects of interest to the varied Protestant mission community in Korea. The opinion pieces and articles about methods of mission are highly informative in revealing the goals of missionaries on the field and how they perceived their work in light of shifts in the mission model.

42. Arthur H. Norton, MD, "Possibilities of Evangelism in Mission Hospitals," *The Korea Mission Field*, July 1914, 200-201; Rev. Allen F DeCamp, "Things Done and Not Done," *The Korea Mission Field*, July 1914, 191-193; W.T. Reid, "The Medical Missionary as Preacher," *The Korea Mission Field*, October 1916, 261-262; and A.H. Norton, "The Healed and Converted Patient as a Preacher," *The Korea Mission Field*, October 1916, 262-265.

43. Scott, *Canadians in Korea*, 63.

44. Richard Allen, "The Background of the Social Gospel in Canada," in *The Social Gospel in Canada: Papers of the Interdisciplinary Conference on the Social Gospel in Canada,* ed. Richard Allen (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975), 2-35; and Austin, *Saving China*, 81-85.

45. Scott, *Canadians in Korea*, 63, 117-125.

46. Scott, *Canadians in Korea*, 63.

47. 01 April 1898, Diary of Robert Grierson, MD Missionary to Korea, 37, file 1, Vol. 2270, MG 1, Public Archives of Nova Scotia Maritime Missions to Korea Collection (hereafter PANS MMKC). The diary is typed and dates from August 1898 to March 1900.

48. Report of the FMC (ED) 1899-1900, 117, A&P.

49. Report of the FMC (ED) 1899-1900, 118, A&P

50. Report of the FMC (ED) 1900-1901, Annual Report of Dr. R. Grierson, 118-120, A&P. The annual reports of the FMC in the *Acts and Proceedings* of each General Assembly initially included full reports from each missionary, signed by them. In later years, the reports of the FMC quoted from the personal missionary reports or used information contained therein to complete a more general report of Committee work in Korea. In any case, the authors

of the specific station reports, or more general reports on the status of medical or educational work in Korea, are not consistently named.

51. Scott, *Canadians in Korea*, 48.

52. "Korea Mission: Letter from Rev. Robert Grierson," *The Presbyterian Witness*, 23 November 1901, 378.

53. G. Engel, "Memorial Minute," 1, Biography File R7, UCA.

54. Report of the FMC (ED), Annual Report of Dr. R. Grierson, A&P 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905 and 1906.

55. Quoted in Scott, *Canadians in Korea*, 63.

56. Song Chin Station Reports and Annual Reports of Dr. R. Grierson, Report of the FMC, A&P 1902-1906, 1908-1914.

57. Song Chin Station Reports and Annual Reports of Dr. R. Grierson, Report of the FMC, A&P 1899-1914. Missionaries typically went on furlough after six years of service in the mission field.

58. A.M. Sharrocks, MD, "Can Less than Two Doctors in a Single Hospital Achieve the Best Results?" *The Korea Mission Field*, January 1916, 15-19; and C.S. Hoffman, "The Hospital as an Evangelistic Agency," *The Korea Mission Field*, February 1916, 48-50.

59. Song Chin Station Reports and Annual Reports of Dr. R. Grierson, Report of the FMC, A&P 1901, 1902, 1908, 1909, 1912, 1913, 1914.

60. Song Chin Station of the Canadian Presbyterian Mission in Korea Report for 1912, Box 1 File 8, 79.204C, UCA.

61. Report of the FMC for 1907-1908, Report of Sung Chin Station for 1908, 137, A&P.

62. Grierson to McKay, 10 May 1908, and Foote to McKay, 12 October 1908, Box 1 File 3; and McKay to Grierson, 24 February 1909, Box 1 File 2, 79.204C, UCA.

63. Mansfield to Armstrong, 28 July 1911, Box 1 File 6; Mansfield to Armstrong, 30 April 1912, and Barker to Armstrong, 8 April 1912, Box 1 File 7, 79.204C, UCA.

64. Report of the FMC on Korea, 97, A&P 1912.

65. Report of the FMC on Korea, 97, A&P 1912.

66. Song Chin Station of the Canadian Presbyterian Mission in Korea Report for 1912, Box 1 File 8, 79.204C, UCA.

67. Song Chin Station of the Canadian Presbyterian Mission in Korea Report for 1912, Box 1 File 8, 79.204C, UCA.

68. Brian Fraser, *The Social Uplifters: Presbyterian Progressives and the Social Gospel in Canada, 1875-1915* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1988), 23-38.

69. Rev. Allen F. DeCamp, "Things Done and Notdone [sic]," *The Korean Mission Field*, July 1914, 189.

70. A.M. Sharrocks, MD, "Can Less than Two Doctors in a Single Hospital Achieve the Best Results?" *The Korea Mission Field*, January 1916, 15-19 and A.M. Sharrocks, MD, "Medical Work – Its Aim," *The Korea Mission Field*, July 1916, 175-179.

71. A.M. Sharrocks, MD, "Medical Work – Its Aim," *The Korea Mission Field*, July 1916, 177.

72. A.M. Sharrocks, MD, "Medical Work – Its Aim," *The Korea Mission Field*, July 1916, 175-179.

73. Dr. S.P. Tipton, "Why I am a Medical Missionary," *The Korea Mission Field*, July 1916, 193.

74. Dr. S.P. Tipton, "Why I am a Medical Missionary," *The Korea Mission Field*, July 1916, 193.

75. Biography File G10, UCA.

76. Scott, *Canadians in Korea*, 63, 117-125.

77. Hutchison, *Errand to the World;* and Wright, *A World Mission.*

Karl Holl and the Fatherland Party, 1917-1918: A German Liberal Protestant Embraces the Right

SONIA A. RIDDOCH

Towards the end of World War I, debates over war aims created sharp poli-tical divisions in German society. A left-liberal alliance for whom domestic political reforms were uppermost in importance was prepared to begin negotiations for a peace settlement. Their opponents on the right were not opposed to peace but what they had in mind was an "annexationist peace," or more precisely, territorial acquisitions to establish German hegemony on the continent. The means to this end required a renewed war effort for which public support was needed and to achieve that goal they organized a movement known as the German Fatherland Party.[1] Dissension within the political sphere found echoes within German Lutheran Protestantism. Leading voices in the Lutheran community, including Adolf von Harnack, Ernst Troeltsch and Martin Rade rejected an annexationist peace. One major exception, however, was Karl Holl, professor of church history at the University of Berlin, best known to English-speaking readers as the spiritual father of the Luther Renaissance. Holl chose to support the Fatherland Party's aggressive agenda; the reasons why he did so and the significance of his decision in the context of German political culture are the foci of this paper.

In Germany, as elsewhere in Europe, the outbreak of World War I inspired an efflorescence of national unity.[2] All the differences – social, political, confessional, ethnic, regional – that had fragmented German society in the pre-war period had been transcended. The feeling of unity was captured in a phrase known as the "spirit of 1914." By September,

however, military stalemate on the western front forced the German people to confront the reality of a protracted war with the result that the euphoria of August quickly dissipated and before long war-weariness became apparent, a trend that more than one observer including Holl noted with some dismay. Instead of determination to fight, Holl saw "smug self-satisfaction, moral relativism, the sense of fatalism, decline in the sense of duty, and the reluctance to sacrifice one's life for the Fatherland." All this he feared had ominous implications for the future.[3] By 1917 widespread dissatisfaction in the population at large reached a crisis point. Anti-war attitudes were exacerbated by the weather which also seemed to conspire against the German war effort. The winter of 1916-17 was the coldest in memory and to make matters worse heavy rains devastated the potato crop. Events in Germany were complicated by developments elsewhere in the world. A revolution convulsed Russia in March, overthrowing an autocratic Tsarist regime. Because German Social Democrats had justified their support for the war by depicting it as a fight against autocracy, it seemed that no compelling reason remained for continuing the conflict. In April, the US declaration of war on Germany raised the prospect of the imminent arrival of American troops on German soil. Thus it could be argued that conditions both domestic and external favoured a speedy termination of hostilities. On 19 July 1917 a left-liberal coalition consisting of deputies from the Social Democratic party, the Catholic Centre party and the Progressives succeeded in passing a peace resolution in the Reichstag. Its tone was conciliatory. "The Reichstag strives for a peace of understanding and permanent reconciliation of the peoples. With such a peace, forced acquisitions of territory and political, economic or financial oppression are inconsistent."[4]

This act of parliamentary defiance, or so it was perceived in some circles, provided the stimulus for the creation of the German Fatherland Party in September 1917. Its titular leader was Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz who assumed the role of propagandist for the movement. One of the party's supporters observed "everybody suddenly hoped that this new party would rally all nationalist and energetic Germans in a large and strong organization. It seemed as if, in the twelfth hour, a star [Tirpitz] had appeared galvanizing our last hopes."[5] As he proceeded from one engagement to another Tirpitz impressed on his audiences "that Britain was the key to the enemy alliance, that Anglo-American capitalism wanted to subdue the last remnants of freedom in the world, and that Germany

would decline unless it secured hegemony over Belgium." Territorial acquisitions were needed because "a peace without annexations would leave Germany with astro-nomic debt and a debilitating economic crisis."[6] Tirpitz' rhetoric succeeded in pumping up enthusiasm for a continuing commitment to war, particularly in the ranks of the middle classes and nationalistic elements of the working classes. At the high point of its expansion, it had close to a million members organized into more than 2,000 local chapters[7] though it did not maintain its cohesion after the war ended.

Holl did not take an active part in the Fatherland Party's activities[8] but he backed the movement fervently nonetheless.[9] As he put it in a letter to a colleague, Heinrich Baumgarten, "I stand decisively on the side of the Fatherland party."[10] It does not seem to have been an easy decision for Holl to take for two reasons. In the first place, as a former Anglophile, he regretted "as strongly as anyone our break with England for I am almost as indebted to English theologians such as Robertson and Kingsley as much as to those who are German," he wrote to Baumgarten. "But I am strongly convinced that the first condition of any rapprochement [with Britain] requires that we must defeat the Anglo-Americans." The second source of Holl's distress had a religious basis; namely, how to reconcile his nationalism with Christian teaching. The manner in which he resolved this religious difficulty was discussed in a pamphlet entitled "Luther's Conception of Gospel, War and Duty of the Church in light of the World War" based on a speech he had given the previous year to the annual Lutheran church conference.

The reference to Martin Luther was timely. During the pre-war period Luther had been regarded as a national hero; idealization of the sixteenth-century Reformer intensified during the war, reaching a peak in 1917, the 400th anniversary of the nailing of Luther's 95 theses to the Württemberg church door. For Holl the reliance on Luther whom he read during the war "with burning intensity as never before"[11] was the natural outcome of his pre-war research into Luther's theology. Salvation for Germany both political and religious, it seemed to Holl, lay in a return to the teachings of Martin Luther. "Only Luther can help us, not the orthodox, Luther as interpreted by his disciple Melanchthon but the genuine, honest great Luther,"[12] he declared to a former student. Expounding Luther's theology and its socio-political implications was his own personal contribution to the war effort *(Kriegswerk)*, the primary example being his

1917 address "Luther's Conception of Religion" in which he provided a powerful synopsis of Luther's religion and how it succeeded (in his estimation) in freeing Europe from the burden of Catholicism. The pamphlet mentioned above, "Luther's Conception of Gospel, War and Duty of the Church in the light of the World War" complemented his other Luther studies. In it Holl addressed himself to religious-socialists, Social Democrats and persons Holl called "friends of peace," all of whom had sharply criticized the German war effort, German Christianity and Martin Luther, the author in their view of everything pernicious in German religion. With an intensity that matched his critics Holl insisted that "it is Luther who first considered all the questions which we are presently considering regarding Christianity and war, Christianity and social relationships."[13] In justifying Christian participation in war, Holl drew on Luther's distinction between the Kingdom of God which is governed by the law of love (*Liebesordnung*) as found in the gospel, and the secular realm under the jurisdiction of the state (*Rechtsordnung*) where reason and human law prevail.[14] The spiritual realm governs relationships between Christians only, whereas the secular realm deals with both Christians and non-believers. Secular authority has as its responsibility, "its God-given duty," the protection of its subjects "even if the consequence is war."[15] The Christian in his capacity as soldier carries out a similar function; indeed, the more the soldier "slashed his sword and stabbed at his enemy, the better he protected the innocent, the weak and the defenceless in his Fatherland."[16] Because of self-seeking egotistical drives in human nature it is not easy to carry out this duty in a Christian spirit, as Luther himself recognized. The soldier may be motivated by the sheer pleasure of conflict or vindictiveness but such impure motives can be overcome through faith, dependence on God and the awareness that as a Christian he is part of the invisible church. In other words action that appears contradictory to God's will is transformed into God's work if undertaken with the right motives.

Having provided a legitimation for war on both the national and individual levels, Holl then addressed the issue of German territorial expansion. Momentous economic and demographic changes have profoundly transformed the world since the sixteenth century. Among the most significant changes is the rise to world importance of various peoples.[17] Utilizing a Hegelianzed version of geopolitical theories current at the time, Holl declared that it is not fair that a growing *Volk* (by implication Germany) should be restricted within geographical boundaries

that are too narrow while a declining people (the British) hang on to their possessions. It is also contrary to God's will as revealed in history for it is God who allows one *Volk* to grow and another to decline, just as it is God who endows some *Völker* with the spirit of resistance to difficulties while others sink under the same burdens. It is God who determines their geographical boundaries, and for this reason as well war is something inevitable between peoples.[18] Only military might could decide – temporarily at least – the appropriate limits for each *Volk*. According to Holl, God was not making a judgment about the moral worth of a *Volk* when he gave it military success; it simply meant that God had decided it needed more space in which to live at that point in its historical development. What would be its eventual destiny in world history was God's secret to be revealed in the course of time.[19]

Nowhere in the essay did Holl refer directly to the Fatherland Party, nevertheless the argument he developed to justify participation in war makes it clear why he had no difficulty supporting the Party's dreams of territorial aggrandizement. There was a convergence on social issues as well. In sketching out the basis for an ideal social order, Holl returned to Luther's distinction between spiritual and secular realms but took as his departure point Jesus' conception of religion as he, Holl, understood it. To use Jesus' conception of the Kingdom of God as a basis for an earthly social and political order – something which the religious-socialists did – was wrong, in fact a misuse of the term. Jesus came solely as a religious reformer.[20] He was indifferent to worldly things and had no desire to change them. Indeed the more obstacles with which a person had to struggle, the easier it was to turn to God. Jesus taught his disciples that they should seek inner independence from their earthly circumstances, that their duty to God and concern for their souls was more important than earthly happiness. Put in slightly different terms, Holl insisted that Gospel offered no guidelines whatsoever concerning economic or political issues but spoke only of matters touching the soul.[21] Any to attempt to derive any political ethic from Jesus' religion was useless. The Apostle Paul's advice to slaves to accept their lot in life showed that he understood the nature of Jesus religion in a similar manner,[22] as did Luther in making the distinction between the Kingdom of God and the secular world.[23] Holl's social vision based as it was on the principle of social inequality was entirely compatible with the anti-socialist values of the Fatherland Party's primary adherents in the worlds of big business, the aristocracy, and the educated bourgeoi-

sie.[24]

Holl's adoption of a stridently nationalistic position legitimated by religious arguments was not exceptional. Protestants were among the most fervent in their readiness to go to war; some went so far as to interpret the spirit of 1914 in terms that echoed very closely the account of the first Pentecost described in Acts 2 when the Holy Spirit descended upon Jesus' followers and united them in enthusiastic anticipation of his imminent return. Protestant theologians also developed a war theology *(Kriegstheologie)* justifying Germany's invasion of Belgium. They accepted the claim that Germany had been encircled by her enemies and forced to undertake a defensive war. Holl's mentor, Adolf von Harnack compared Germany's invasion of Belgium to the actions of King David, who, when his men were starving took consecrated bread reserved for the priests and gave it to his soldiers. Unusual circumstances demanded action that would otherwise be unacceptable.[25] But as the war continued, Harnack underwent a change of heart. Along with other intellectuals who included Ernst Troeltsch, Albert Einstein, and Max Weber, Harnack became part of a movement that rejected extensive territorial acquisitions in favour of a foreign policy that would allow Germany to live in peace with its neighbours.[26] Another of Holl's colleagues, Martin Rade, the editor of the foremost liberal Lutheran journal *The Christian World*, went so far as to describe the outbreak of war in 1914 as a bankruptcy of Christianity and was willing to establish a dialogue with church representatives from neutral nations, pacifists and religious socialists. From Holl's perspective changing course in this fashion suggested a dangerous weakness in character. Sustained by the conviction that Germany's cause was reasonable and right, that God would neither allow Protestantism to disintegrate nor permit German defeat,[27] Holl never wavered in his personal commitment to the war. Doing one's duty whether as on the battlefield or on the home front, was paramount. Even the deaths of his brother in law and his nephew did not shake him although his mood became more sombre as casualty lists mounted, and as one after another of his former students died. The move to a more stridently nationalist and politically conservative position cooled relations between Holl and Harnack, Rade and others in the liberal ranks of the Lutheran community and brought him closer to such religious conservatives as Reinhold Seeberg, one of the most outspoken supporters of the Fatherland Party.[28]

What is the significance of Holl's support for the Fatherland Party?

Historians of the Weimar Republic have drawn attention to what Larry Eugene Jones has called the "dying middle,"[29] that is, a weakening of support for liberal political values and practices in German political culture. Karl Holl's decision to embrace a movement whose goals were antithetical to liberal values reflects the same trend. In doing so he became part of what has been called the conservative revolution. It took several forms, and yet it was united by certain elements – dismay over the materialism and the loss of spiritual values in German society, fear of Bolshevism and its German counterparts which included both communists and socialists, dislike of parliamentary democracy and a call for a dictatorship, which meant, in the context of that period, a strong authoritarian government. Rather enigmatic too are Holl's references to the *Volk.* As interpreted by Holl, *Volk* did not have the romanticized connotations typical of its usage among extreme conservatives but nonetheless in Holl's usage *Volk* was an exclusionary concept. It signified a homogeneous group, centred on Luther's teachings and organized on a religious basis,[30] a community that by definition excluded Catholics whom he once described as "our worst enemy"[31] and Jews. It would be going to far to suggest that Karl Holl helped prepare the ground for the Third Reich; nevertheless the direction of his political thinking as well as his conception of an ideal society certainly did not equip him to challenge National Socialism; nor is it surprising that Holl's student Emmanuel Hirsch did decide to take the fateful step and cast his lot with a repressive regime.

Endnotes

1. The term "party" in the Fatherland Party's name was somewhat misleading because it suggested a structured organization. In fact the Party was made up of several groups and associations on the super patriotic right wing of German political culture. Additional details on the groups who made up the Party are found in Heinz Hagenlücke, *Deutsche Vaterlandspartei: Die nationale Rechte am Ende des Kaiserreiches* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1997), 143-192. Dirk Stegmann points out that the leaders of the various groups who made up the Party shared "an anti-socialist, anti-democratic, and anti-parliamentary ideology" (*Die Erben Bismarcks: Parteien und Verbände in der Spätphase des wilhelminischen Deutschlands* [Cologne: Verlag Kiepenheuer und Witsch, 1970], 512).

2. Recent research has modified this claim. In more than one locality, ambivalence, anxiety and fear were characteristic emotions (Richard Bessel, "Germany Between War and Dictatorship," in *German History Since 1800*, ed. Mary Fulbrook (London: Arnold, 1997), 236.

3. Holl to Schattenman, 24 October 1915, in Paul Schattenmann, "Briefe von Karl Holl 1914-1921," *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 79 (1968): 79.

4. Quoted in Arno J. Mayer, *Wilson vs. Lenin: Political Origins of the New Diplomacy* (Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1964), 133.

5. Rafael Scheck, *Alfred von Tirpitz and German Right-Wing Politics, 1914-1930* (Boston: Humanities Press, 1998), 67.

6. Scheck, *Alfred von Tirpitz*, 68.

7. Roger Chickering, *Imperial Germany and the Great War, 1914-1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 165.

8. Dietrich Korsch, "Zeit der Krise und Neubau der Theologie: Karl Holl als antipode Ernst Troeltschs," in *Umstrittene Moderne: die Zukunft der Neuzeit im Urteil der Epoche Ernst Troeltschs* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, Mohn, 1987), 221.

9. Friedrich Meinecke recalled that at a meeting of the discussion group known as the Wednesday Club, Holl took strong exception to an article Meinecke had written criticizing the Fatherland Party. When Meinecke stood his ground, Holl's response was to break off relations with members of the group. *Holl zerschnitt das Tischtuch zwischen uns beiden und erklärte darauf seinen Austritt aus der Mittwochs-Gesellschaft* (Friedrich Meinecke, *Erlebtes: 1862-1919* [Stuttgart: K.F. Koehler Verlag, 1964], 264-265).

10. Holl to Heinrich Baumgarten, 30 June 1918, unpublished.

11. Holl to Schlatter, 05 May 1917 in Robert Stupperich, ed., "Briefe Karl Holls an Adolph Schlatter 1897-1923, *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 2 (1976): 223.

12. Holl to Schattenmann, 25 June 1915, in Schattenmann, 78.

13. Karl Holl, *Gesammelte Aufsatze* (hereafter *GA*), 3:148.

14. Holl, *GA*, 3:150.

15. Holl, *GA*, 3:151.

16. Holl, *GA*, 3:152.

17. Holl, *GA*, 3:165.

18. Holl, *GA*, 3:162.

19. Holl, *GA*, 3:166.

20. Holl, *GA*, 3:163.

21. Holl, *GA*, 3:151.

22. ”Slaves obey your earthly masters in fear and trembling, in singleness of heart, as you aboey Christ, not only while being watched, and in order to please them, but as slaves of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart. Render service with enthusiasm, as to the Lord and not to men and women, knowing that whatever good we do, we will receive the same from the Lord, whether we are slaves or free,” Ephesians 6: 5-8, New Revised Standard Version.

23. Holl, *GA*, 3:163.

24. Dirk Stegmann, *Die Erben Bismarcks: Parteien und Verbände in der Spätphase des wilhelminischen Deutschlands* (Cologne: Verlag Kiepenheuer und Witsch, 1970), 512.

25. Arlie J. Hoover, *God, Germany, and Britain in the Great War: A Study in Clerical Nationalism* (New York: Praeger, 1989), 75.

26. Gordon A. Craig, *Germany 1866-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 362.

27. Holl to Schattenmann, 24 October 1915, in Schattenmann, 79.

28. Klaus Böhme, ed., *Aufrufe und Reden deutscher Professoren im ersten Weltkrieg* (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam, 1975), 125-135.

29. Larry Eugene Jones, “ ‘The Dying Middle’: Weimar Germany and the Fragmentation of Bourgeois Politics,” *Central European History* 5 (1972): 23-54.

30. Holl, *GA*, 3:167-168. It was the first task of the institutional church “to awaken the feeling for the church among our people . . . Church understood in Luther’s sense as a community of believers united in God and Christ.” The Protestant understanding of the sense of community was deeper than that found among Catholics, according to Holl.

31. Quoted in Johannes Wallmann, "Karl Holl und seine Schule," in Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche, Beiheft 4, in *Tübingen Theologie im 20m Jahrehundert*, Eberhard Jüngel, ed. (J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1968), 9.

Redeeming the City: Premillennialism, Piety and the Politics of Reform in Late-Nineteenth Century Toronto

DARREN DOCHUK

When William Howland addressed his loyal supporters gathered at Shaftesbury Hall on 1 December 1885, the inauguration of his first campaign for mayor of Toronto, he spoke candidly and honestly about the need for urban reform. About the election itself, Howland declared that it would be one "in which politics have nothing to do as far as I am concerned."[1] While on one level this prediction resonated with a proverbial rhetoric typical of municipal politicians at this time, it also spoke substantively to the need for change in a civic governmental system that was clearly fueled by "partyism" and "self-interest." Even more ambitious than his first, Howland's second proclamation targeted the moral fabric of the entire city. Howland pledged to retain for Toronto "the character of an honourable city, a God-fearing city," claiming that he "would rather see it thus than the greatest and richest city in the continent."[2] The overwhelming support of these statements voiced by the 1,500 supporters gathered in the Hall, as well as the pointed criticisms leveled against them by more cynical observers,[3] revealed the degree to which the public already recognized Howland's campaign as an unprecedented one that extended beyond the traditional bounds of civic politics. Upon his election to the mayor's office, Howland quickly confirmed the public's perception of him as a new breed of politician by opening City Council in prayer and erecting a large motto in his office that read "Except the Lord keep the City, the Watchman Waketh in Vain."[4]

Despite the intrigue and seeming novelty of the electoral proceedings of 1885, William Howland's speech to his supporters voiced the aspirations of a group of social and political reformers that has received limited treatment in Canadian historiography. As historians of religion and social reform in the transatlantic, Anglo-American world have noted, the voluminous and variegated responses by Protestants to social developments during the late-nineteenth century have made it difficult to refer to "social reform" in monolithic terms. Yet, while acknowledging the broad spectrum of Protestant social initiatives that appeared in the late-Victorian era, Canadian historians have usually slighted what is perceived as the highly moralistic, individualistic and reactionary activities of evangelicals like Howland in favour of more socially "innovative," more intellectually "modern," or more "scientifically and collectively" oriented patterns of social reform that took root in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[5] It is my contention here, however, that by ignoring, dismissing or even condemning altogether the political and social activities of Howland and the coterie of evangelical reformers around him, historians not only miss out on an important dimension of reform at work in late-Victorian Toronto, but also overlook an important stage in the evolution of a much-broader developing social consciousness in central Canada.[6]

If Howland and like-minded advocates of reform have been on the historiographical margins it certainly is not because of their social and cultural standing. Encompassing all of central Canada but primarily Toronto-centric in composition and focus, the network of evangelicals of which Howland was a part represented one segment of a new Canadian urban elite that was inherently business-derived and oriented.[7] Among the laymen who operated at the centre of this network of evangelicals, three of the most prominent (and most familiar to historians) were Samuel Blake, Henry O'Brien and Howland.

The second son of Chancellor William Hume Blake of University College and brother to the popular Hon. Edward Blake, Samuel Blake (1835-1914) was born into a well-established family with widespread influence.[8] Like his brother, Samuel became a lawyer and was called to the bar in 1860. In 1872 he was made a Queen's Counsel by the Ontario Government and then became vice-chancellor of the Ontario Court of Chancery, a post offered to him by John A. Macdonald. Like Samuel Blake, Henry O'Brien (1836-1931) was a low-church Anglican who

succeeded in the legal profession.[9] O'Brien also was born into a reputable family which included his father, Col. E.G. O'Brien, a naval and military officer in charge of the first settlement at Barrie and Shanty Bay, and his brother, William O'Brien, a federal politician who acquired prominence during the Equal Rights affair of the early 1890s. Henry was the long-time editor-in-chief of the *Canadian Law Journal* and editor of the important *O'Brien's Division Court Manual*, both significant contributions to the legal literature of the time. Although less involved in the business world than many of his evangelical associates, O'Brien did devote a great deal of time and effort to local politics, even serving as Howland's campaign manager in the latter's drive for municipal reform in Toronto during the 1880s.

Without question, the most prominent layman in the network was William Holmes Howland (1844-1893).[10] Howland too was born into an economically and politically influential family: Howland's father was Sir William Pearce Howland, a man of Puritan stock who came to Canada at a young age from Watertown, New York and quickly made his fortune in the grain trade.[11] William H. Howland was involved in numerous business ventures during his relatively short life;[12] he was, in fact, president, vice-president or a director of more than a dozen companies during his lifetime. During the late 1870s and the 1880s Howland turned his attention toward the political arena by becoming a founding member of the Canada First movement and, most significantly, by running successfully as mayor in Toronto.[13]

As part of the larger business community, these men were not averse to consolidating social, professional and political ties with Protestants of different denominational and theological stripes through active participation on various boards and councils or in common recreational interests. Henry O'Brien, for example, founded one of the most prominent social clubs in Toronto, the Argonaut Rowing Club, as an outlet for this sort of interaction with other leaders in the community.[14] Their involvement in various interdenominational enterprises and religious associations further indicates the extent to which Howland, Blake, O'Brien and their cohorts shared with many other contemporary evangelicals a common belief in the efficacy of the traditional revivalistic approach to social reform. Imbibed with a "religious zeal" that would soon be considered by more radical reformers as anathema to social change, these "conservative evangelicals"

maintained that the most effective means of correcting societal ills was through the spiritual salvation of the individual.

But as willing as they were to form broad alliances with other reform-minded Protestants on the basis of shared sensibilities, Howland, Blake, O'Brien and their associates also maintained certain distinct theological views about what this process meant and how it should be carried out – views that have perhaps served to marginalize them further within the annals of late nineteenth-century reform. Generally speaking, this group of reformers drew exclusively from only those denominations that were committed to a Calvinist view of the Christian faith: Anglican, Presbyterian and Baptist.[15] Conspicuous by their absence from this network of reformers were Methodists. In trying to account for this truancy one contemporary observer half-jokingly surmised that for this group of Calvinist "holy discontents" there "was always the sinister doubt as to whether on that particular day, or in that particular week or month, the Methodist was or was not fallen from grace."[16] While derisive in tone, this explanation nevertheless points to some of the doctrinal differences that prevented Methodists from joining the ranks of this network of reformers.[17] But if doctrinal orientations and denominational loyalties set these Calvinistic reformers apart from their Methodist counterparts, even more important in bolstering this group's theological sympathies were the underpinnings of two other intellectual currents: Keswick holiness and premillennialism.

A transatlantic movement that emerged during "Bible and holiness" conferences held at the scenic Lake-District site of Keswick, England, Keswick or higher life holiness selectively integrated ideas from Wesleyan perfectionism, Romanticism and moderate Calvinism,[18] and blended them into a unique theology which stressed personal holiness, intense piety, millennial expectations and Christian service.[19] Essential to this teaching was the idea that the Christian experience was two-tiered state, consisting of a lower or "carnal," and a higher or "spiritual" state. Movement from the lower to the higher state required, first a crisis conversion experience, and second, a definite act of consecration at which time the believer surrendered fully to God. It was only after this full surrender that the believer was able to realize victory over sin and become a "clean vessel" ready of Christian service.

Within British and North American evangelical circles, Keswick's heavy emphasis on service in the Christian community and

activism in society at large, as well as its strong dimension of supernaturalism, engendered a real affinity for premillennialism. "Those who believed in the imminence of the second advent, the decisive entry into history, were attracted by the idea that the power of God could already break into human lives."[20] Indeed, whereas Keswick holiness provided Canadian evangelicals like Blake, Howland and O'Brien with a personal, experiential basis for service in the community, premillennialism supplied the energy for such activism. Among the most pressing forces underlying the reformist activities of these Canadian evangelicals was the sense that personal and societal betterment needed to be realized contiguously lest the impending return of Christ find a city and a nation unprepared for the final judgement.

Contrary to the more popular postmillennial belief in progress and the gradual Christianization of society, nineteenth-century premillennialists thus believed that churches and culture were both in decline and that this inexorable trend would continue until the apocalyptic return of Christ. Rather than trying to "Christianize the social order," an ideal which, in their minds, could never be fully achieved, premillennialists considered it the duty of all believers to "redeem the time" by saving as many souls as possible before Christ returned. Far from a radical innovation, this notion of time was deeply embedded in the historical development of Christianity and corresponded with nineteenth-century revivalism and its innate accent on crisis and immediacy.[21] Explicit in this theology, therefore, was a cultural view that decried the seeming complacency that accompanied societal "progress"; while social and human betterment was accepted as good in itself, it was not to be equated with the realization of a spiritual kingdom.

Because premillennialism often assumed a more radical form in nineteenth-century Canada, such as in the Millerites who predicted the end of the world in either 1843 or 1845,[22] this belief system has usually been dismissed by Canadian historians as a fringe movement that had little bearing on the mainstream of Canadian society.[23] Yet, in the late-nineteenth century premillennialism also gained a following among a more gentrified and respectable class of evangelical Protestants. Howland, Blake and other Canadian premillennialist reformers were just a few of the many leading evangelicals from all parts of North America and Britain, for example, who, throughout the 1880s and 1890s, gathered annually at Niagara-On-The-Lake, Ontario for the Niagara Believers'

Conference.[24] Held in July, "in the dog-days, between tennis and polo tournaments, in a pavilion on the grounds of the Queen's Royal Hotel on the high cliffs overlooking the river and the lake," this week-long event encouraged fellowship and worship across denominational lines as well as the collective study of Bible prophecy.[25] Unlike early-nineteenth-century Millerites or twentieth-century fundamentalists, the Canadians who gathered at this annual prophecy conference (as well as at other similar conferences scattered across North America) espoused a moderate form of premillennialism that rejected any systematic attempts to apply prophecy to historical or current developments and instead emphasized the necessity of spiritual readiness and action communicated through biblical prophecy. As one prominent Canadian clergyman declared in this regard, "What the prophet wishes to fix attention upon is the justice of the Divine government and the necessity of man keeping in mind that the day of retribution will certainly arrive. This is what is really important in the case."[26]

Although less insistent than their clerical counterparts in articulating their premillennialist outlook (thereby making it more difficult to measure how exactly this belief system personally impacted them), Howland, Blake and O'Brien nevertheless operated from a clear understanding that Christ's return was imminent. For the most part, this meant that the reforming efforts of these men elevated the salvation of the individual over the complete restructuring of society. It was this type of thinking that encouraged Howland, Blake and O'Brien to focus much of their attention on the systematic creation and maintenance of several "gospel welfare" institutions ranging from homeless shelters and rescue homes for women to halfway houses and orphanages.[27] One of the most important and prominent of these was the Toronto Mission Union, an institution founded in 1884 by Howland, Blake and O'Brien as a corrective to what they considered a serious neglect of the poor by mainline denominations.[28] By providing broader, more efficient services to the unchurched of St. John's Ward and other areas of Toronto without the encumbering formalities of the denominational system, this organization sought to provide for the physical and spiritual needs of the poor, with a decided emphasis on the latter.[29]

But also embedded within this "salvationist" ideology of reform was an inveterate sense that the spiritual redemption of the individual was closely tied to the restoration of the community. It was only in a

morally upright and physically safe and nurturing environment, these reformers believed in true Keswick fashion, where individuals would be most able to realize salvation, and in turn, live out the disciplined Christian life in the last days before Christ's return. Of course among those whose moral and physical environments garnered the most attention from this group were children and youth, that sector of society which was considered the most innocent and least deserving of God's impending wrath. On one level Howland and his associates worked toward helping inner-city children through the temporary removal of them from the oppressive physical environments in which they were forced to live. This was accomplished, among other ways, by supporting the Children's Fresh Air Fund, a program organized in 1888 by John Joseph Kelso to allow poorer children to leave the poverty-stricken St. John's ward for a day outing on the water.[30] Less temporary but similar in nature were this group's efforts (led by Blake) to promote educational reform and provide alternative forms of institutional correction for juveniles. Two of the most notable programs supported by this network which demonstrated this type of commitment were the Victoria Industrial School for boys and the Alexander School for girls, institutions that sought to provide special instruction for neglected boys and girls in academic and occupational subjects as well to nurture them in the spiritual, moral, and intellectual virtues of "true manhood" and "true womanhood"[31]

As articulated in Howland's election diatribe against the extant political machine, informing this group's social activism was a clear sense that the old voluntaristic spirit of nineteenth-century evangelicalism was the most efficient and effective means of dealing with social problems.[32] Unlike later, more radical social reformers whose organic view of society eventually abated distinctions between the state and the individual, these conservative evangelicals for the most part maintained a classical liberal idea of government that saw the institution as a source for primary aid only when called upon by individuals. Nevertheless, despite this inherent faith in "depoliticized," voluntaristic forms of social reform, Howland and his associates were not entirely averse to the increased role of government in social improvement; nor were they ideologically opposed to operating themselves within the state apparatus. One may say, in fact, that in many ways, these evangelicals were among

the first to envision the shift from laissez-faire political and economic thinking to a more positive, interventionist view of the state.

One of the most common ways these reformers enjoined government involvement was through effective lobbying for legislative reform; often, such lobbying took place through the less arresting support of sympathetic provincial and federal politicians who themselves were petitioning for legislation on issues ranging from education and juvenile correction to the defense of female propriety and voting privileges. But these reformers also lobbied for institutional reform on their own behalf and on their own terms. Among the most important political quests for these men was their ongoing campaign for prison reform. With Howland acting as its first president and Blake as its primary legal representative, the Prisoners' Aid Association was founded in the 1870s to help prisoners re-enter society after their release,[33] and more importantly, to promote change at the institutional level.[34] Besides lobbying for greater distinctions between juvenile and adult offenders, the Prisoners' Aid Association petitioned for the proper classification of adult prisoners according to the severity of their crimes.[35]

Howland's election as mayor, moreover, demonstrates that these premillennialist reformers were also willing to operate from within the political system – a fact that appears to many historians as incongruous with the "otherworldly" emphases of this group's eschatology. In dealing with the paradoxical question of why nineteenth-century British apocalyptic evangelicals who believed in the world's imminent destruction were among the most interventionist in their political ideology, Boyd Hilton suggests that these paternalists were eager to use any means possible, including governmental intervention, to protect their inferiors from the impending "stormy blasts."[36]

While Hilton's assessment contains much truth it fails to appreciate fully the extent to which premillennialist reformers, at least on this side of the Atlantic, actually challenged existing social and political structures and affected substantive, more permanent change to the benefit of Toronto's under classes. Though infused with the rhetoric and moralizing sentiments of the dominant upper middle-class, male, Anglo-Saxon elite, Howland and his associates were concerned with more than providing a moral and spiritual "safety net" for the disenfranchised. Some of their efforts, it may even be suggested, anticipated (whether intentionally or not) and even encouraged a transformation in social

consciousness that would ultimately lead to the broadening and deepening of concerns for structural deficiencies in Canadian society. One area in which this was evident was in Howland's dealings with working class men and women.

Despite the list of reasons offered by the local "working-class" paper the *World* for why Howland should not garner the support of the working man (most notably his stand against taverns), Howland in fact received a surprising amount of support from labourers, both during his two election campaigns and while in office. One explanation for this is that the labour unions that organized and informed the working class were not, at this point, interested in upsetting the social order; in fact, many of their leaders were aspiring to the same middle-class status and values as Howland.[37] But just as important was the fact that throughout his political career, Howland not only claimed to understand and even speak for the interests of the working class but, during his term in office, made a concerted effort to back up these claims with political acumen.[38]

As mayor, Howland was forced to contend with two major strikes, the first at the Massey Manufacturing Company in January of 1886, and the second at the Toronto Street Railway Company later that same year. Although his support for the striking workers in both cases had little effect in resolving the issues that precipitated these conflicts, Howland's endorsement of labour did not go unnoticed.[39] Howland also advanced the cause of labour in his involvement in the Royal Commission on the Relations of Labour and Capital. Sponsored by the Federal Government in the late 1880s, this Commission attempted to engender collective reform in Canadian industry by bringing together the interests of pro-National Policy capitalists and organized labour.[40] In his testimony to the Commission Howland offered numerous suggestions for further legislation that would improve working conditions for the lower class, and particularly for working-class women.

Howland's efforts on behalf of women trapped in austere working conditions were by no means radical enough to signify a break with the sensibilities of his middle-class male contemporaries. Howland's view of working-class women, for instance, was often patronizing in tone, and at times he regarded them as weak individuals who, for any number of reasons, had fallen short of virtuous womanhood.[41] In his own contribution to the Commission, Howland characterized working women as victims, "a helpless class" subject to the whims of greedy industrialists,

and he was quick to point out that one way women often responded to harsh working conditions was by accepting prostitution as an alternative source of employment. But while recognizing that poverty was a major determinant in influencing women to explore this seedy alternative, Howland still maintained that women who took this approach did so in order to gain an "easier way of life." By simultaneously raising and discounting the economic rationale for prostitution, Howland in this way "declared his belief, typical of evangelical reformers, that working-class women's 'rooted laziness' was the real cause of the problem."[42] In the final analysis prostitution was an option for those girls who "had no good training" or supervision and who chose to abandon a moral livelihood for one of leisure. Alternatively, Howland praised the working women who chose the second possible response to exploitation: perseverance. Believing that "a good woman would prefer death to prostitution,"[43] he extolled the ability of working women to endure their hardships. In reporting his own findings to the Commission he singled out sewing girls and shop girls as a class "worthy of all respect."[44] In his opinion it was "wonderful how bravely they fought the battle of life and how honestly and decently they lived."[45]

According to Howland, then, one way labour conditions would improve for women was if they themselves were properly trained and nurtured and able to raise the moral standards of all those around them, including their employers. Howland, in this sense, hoped to instill in working-class women the virtues he found evidenced in the middle-class women he admired and supported through various religious and political endeavours.[46] But as laden with Victorian paternalism as it might have been, Howland's support of working-class women extended beyond moral and behavioural solutions. Indeed, unlike many of his contemporaries, Howland believed that the only way fair treatment of women in the work place would be achieved and maintained was if government regulation was greatly expanded and broader, systematic alterations to the economic system implemented.

Certainly critics have been justified in noting that while Howland claimed to speak for working-class men and women, he demonstrated little understanding of the deeper, economic and gender imbalances that precipitated this group's unrest. His solutions to the labour troubles that marked the late nineteenth century were thus usually simplistic in nature, usually entailing a call for moral uplift or an appeal to the consciences

of employers. Yet, Howland was also genuinely determined in his quest to change the environment workers were forced to endure, so much so that he was even willing to publicly challenge the business practices of Hart Massey, one of the foremost Christian benefactors of the day, and lobby for broad legislative measures for the protection of working men and women. However naive and narrow his efforts might have been, therefore, Howland's encounter with labour suggests that premillennialist reformers were moved by more than a desire to provide a temporary opiate for the less fortunate. Though clearly implicated in the economic boosterism of the period, premillennialists like Howland, it may be argued, had slightly less at stake in the material progress of society. This coupled with a sense that societal gains were fleeting nurtured within this group of reformers an appreciation of society's under classes that was perhaps more realistic than that shared by their contemporaries. Such an appreciation was only magnified by a Keswick belief system that endorsed a more holistic understanding of personal redemption and made imperative the physical and structural as well as spiritual and moral reformation of society.

Such explanations for the social activism of this group of reformers may be more suggestive than definitive, and thus open to some debate. But at the very least, the multi-leveled and varied efforts by these reformers to address what they considered the most pressing social needs of their generation suggest that premillennialism melded with Keswick holiness and a traditional emphasis on revivalism served as a potent stimulant for social action. The breadth of these efforts, moreover, not only suggests that premillennialism had much to contribute to the developing social consciousness of the late Victorian era but that this powerful reforming impulse was not yet that different from others advanced during this time. Following the lead of Walter Rauschenbusch who once stated that premillennialism was "a dead weight against any effort to mobilize the moral forces of Christianity"[47] historians have continued to portray premillennialists as non-involved and little-concerned individualists who, on account of their privatized belief system, chose to fold "their arms in anticipation of the Lord's return and let their dying world pass them by."[48] Such a simplistic reading, however, fails to note that behind the apocalyptic imagery of premillennialist rhetoric was an essential optimism that was fueled by the "moral and salvific meaning of the Lord's return," a stimulant for

social action that was similar to the "surge of historical hopefulness that irradiated the new theology" of liberal evangelicalism.[49] In short, a more nuanced understanding of premillennialism suggests, therefore, that the meaning of salvation and social reform for Howland, Blake, O'Brien and their associates was not that dissimilar from the one held by other more "pro-gressive" reformers. While they differed on what came first, both saw the redemption of the individual and the community as intrinsically linked. Indeed, the question for premillennialists was the same one facing most reformers: not one of whether to save souls or the social order, but how to save both.

Endnotes

1. *Globe*, 2 December 1885.
2. *Globe*, 2 December 1885.
3. The most scathing criticism of Howland's proposed agenda appeared in the pages of the *World*, the self-proclaimed voice of the working class. Even while acknowledging some of the positive contributions of Howland, the newspaper undermined his political acumen stating that "the ratepayers are not voting on philanthropy, on zeal, or on teetotalism, but 'on a question of civic administration'" (*World*, 2 January 1886).
4. *Globe*, 20 January 1886.
5. For a cross-section of some of the most important works on religion and social reform in Canada see Richard Allen, *The Social Passion: Religion and Reform in Canada, 1914-1928* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971); Sara Z. Burke, *Seeking the Highest Good: Social Service and Gender at the University of Toronto, 1888-1937* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau, *A Full-Orbed Christianity: The Protestant Churches and Social Welfare in Canada, 1900-1940* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996); Ramsay Cook, *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985); and Brian Fraser, *The Social Uplifters: Presbyterian Progressives and the Social Gospel in Canada, 1875-1915* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1988).
6. One historian who has not overlooked this group of social reformers is Ronald Sawatsky. His dissertation, "'Looking for that Blessed Hope': The Roots of Fundamentalism in Canada, 1878-1914" (Ph.D. Diss., University

of Toronto, 1985), provides an extensive look at the religious and social activities of this group within the context of early North American fundamentalism. Although I am less interested in understanding these reformers as precursors to twentieth-century fundamentalism, much of the background information in my paper stems in part from Sawatsky's invaluable study. For a more focused discussion of this group's placement in early North American fundamentalism see Darren Dochuk, "Redeeming the Time: Conservative Evangelical Thought and Social Reform in Central Canada, 1885-1915" (M.A. Thesis, Queen's University, 1998).

7. J.M.S. Careless, *Toronto to 1918: An Illustrated History* (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1984), 128.

8. Blake's ties to the "establishment" were strengthened through his marriage in 1859 to Rebecca Cronyn, the daughter of the Anglican Bishop of Huron. Biographical information on Blake is readily available in H.J. Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women of the Time* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1898); George Maclean Rose, ed., *Cyclopedia of Canadian Biography* (n.p., 1886); and W. Stewart Wallace, *Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography,* 3rd ed. (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, 1963).

9. For biographical information on O'Brien see Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women*, 776, and Wallace, *Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 623.

10. Although a prominent figure in Toronto during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, there are few biographical accounts of Howland. The only comprehensive study of Howland is Desmond Morton's *Mayor Howland: The Citizens' Candidate* (Toronto: Hakkert, 1973). Morton's work focuses pri-marily on Howland's quest for and attainment of the mayorship of Toronto in the mid-1880s. Another work that provides insight into Howland's social and religious views is Lindsay Reynold's *Footprints: The Beginnings of the Christian and Missionary Alliance in Canada* (Toronto: Christian and Missionary Alliance, 1982). See also Victor Loring Russell, *Mayors of Toronto*, vol. 1 (Erin: The Boston Mills Press, 1982).

11. William Pearce Howland's reward for supporting John A. Macdonald in the Confederation debate in 1867 was a knighthood and the lieutenant governorship of the newly created province of Ontario. William H. Howland ended his formal education at age sixteen and took over his father's business while William Sr. pursued his political interests. In 1873 the younger Howland extended his ties among the elite by marrying Laura Chipman, the sister-in-law of Sir Leonard Tilley, another father of Confederation. William and Laura had six children.

12. Howland died suddenly of pneumonia in 1893 at the age of 49.

13. For Howland's inauspicious contribution to the Canada First movement see George T. Denison's first hand account, *The Struggle for Imperial Unity: Recollections and Experiences* (Toronto: Macmillan and Co., 1909). For a historical account of Howland's relationship with the Canada First movement see Carl Berger, *A Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970).

14. O'Brien was an avid boatsman who served as the first president of the Canadian Association of Amateur Oarsmen. He founded the Argonaut Rowing Club in 1872.

15. This group was also comprised of individuals who were part of other sectarian groups, such as the Quakers and the Plymouth Brethren, or who were just in the process of leaving the mainline churches to start new "denominations," most notably the Christian and Missionary Alliance.

16. George H. Doran, *Chronicles of Barabbas, 1884-1934* (Toronto: Rinehart and Company, 1952), 7.

17. This group of reformers did not define themselves in opposition to their Methodist brethren. Important theological differences, however, kept these two reforming strands distinct from one another. Unlike the Arminian belief system upheld by Methodists, the Calvinist impulse that informed Howland's, Blake's, and O'Brien's theology was predicated on an understanding of salvation and human development which emphasized divine intervention over human agency: humans were not able to cultivate their own spiritual regeneration or rise above their physical, moral, and spiritual shortcomings without first being chosen by God. This emphasis on the sovereign power of God accorded well with the premillennialist belief system and its emphasis on a cataclysmic and supernatural conclusion to human history. Thus, unlike Methodists who remained committed to a human-centered and optimistic postmillennialism, many Calvinists found a natural extension for their predestinarian beliefs the eschatology of premillennialism. For a firsthand account of these theological differences see Thomas Voaden, *Christ's Coming Again: An Exposition of His Teachings on that Subject and a Refutation of Premillennial Views* (Toronto: McClelland and Sons, 1918).

18. George Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 77.

19. See Katerberg, "'A Born Again Propagandist': Dyson Hague and Evangelical Anglicanism in Canada, 1857-1935" (M.A. Thesis, Queen's University, 1991), 31. Critical to this theology was the middle ground it sought on the issue of human nature. As Marsden explains, "While rejecting as too strong the Wesleyan view of the eradication of one's sinful nature, the Keswick teachers rejected as too weak the more traditional view that one's sinful nature was simply suppressed by Christ's righteousness." Adherents to Keswick teaching, therefore, believed that a state of holiness, or victory over sin, could be achieved, but that this state had to be constantly maintained and renewed through a continual process of repeated "emptyings by consecration and 'fillings' with the Holy Spirit, or the 'Spirit of Jesus." This belief evidently distinguished Canadian conservative evangelicalism from the Canadian Methodist tradition and the strict Calvinist, Princeton theology in the United States, even as it tried to bridge the gap between both (see Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 77-78; and Marguerite Van Die, *An Evangelical Mind: Nathanael Burwash and the Methodist Tradition in Canada, 1839-1918* [Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989], chaps. 3 and 6).

20. David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1989), 152.

21. Premillennialism is, arguably, the older of the two main Christian conceptions of time, tracing its roots to the apocalyptic millenarianism that was prevalent in the early church. As Joel Carpenter explains, "Christian millenarianism was revived by radical religious movements during the late Middle Ages and spread through left-wing Protestant ranks during the Reformation. It continued to have a wide circulation during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, especially among the English Puritans and the Pietists of Europe." Donald Dayton adds that "Protestants have moved back and forth between postmillennialism and premillennialism, especially in periods of revival that seem to promise the advent of the millennium and in times of social change that seem to enliven the more "apocalyptic" of the biblical texts." In the nineteenth century, a time when evangelicalism enjoyed ascendancy in North American culture, the less drastic postmillennialism proved to be the most popular among Protestants (Joel Carpenter, *Revive Us Again: The Reawakening of American Fundamentalism* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997], 247; and Donald Dayton, *The Prophecy Conference Movement* ,Vol. 1 [New York: Garland Publishing, 1988], 3). For a useful discussion of the connections between revivalism and premillennialism, see Jerald C. Brauer, "Revivalism and Millenarianism in America," in *In the Great Tradition: In Honor of Winthrop S. Hudson*, eds. Joseph D. Ban and Paul R. Dekar (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1982),

147-160.

22. The best account of Millerism is a collection of essays edited by Ronald L. Numbers and Jonathan M. Butler, *The Disappointed: Millerism and Millenarianism in the Nineteenth Century* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1993). For an assessment of Millerism's impact in Ontario see William Westfall, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), chap. 6.

23. Even two of the most respected historians of Canadian religion, S.D. Clark and John Webster Grant, have reinforced this view by either typecasting premillennialists as religious fanatics dislocated from society, or by simply devoting little space to the development of this system within Canadian religion and culture (see S.D. Clark, *Church and Sect in Canada* [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948], chap.6; and John Webster Grant, *A Profusion of Spires: Religion in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988].

24. First organized in 1878 by a group of Americans, which included such prominent leaders as Nathaniel West, James H. Brooks, William J. Erdman, Henry Parsons and Adoniram J. Gordon, the Niagara Conferences represented the most popular and continuous of several prophecy conferences staged in cities like Philadelphia, New York and St. Louis in the late nineteenth century. These conferences have received some attention by historians, but primarily from within a theological framework. The first major work to highlight the historical impact of this event was Ernest Sandeen's *The Roots of Fundamentalism* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970). Sandeen considers these conferences as the foundation of the fundamentalist movement. Other unpublished works have used Sandeen's paradigm in their own assessments of the Niagara Conferences (see Larry Dean Pettegrew, "The Historical and Theological Contributions of the Niagara Conference to American Fundamentalism" (Th.D Diss., Dallas Theological Seminary, 1976); Ronald G. Sawatsky, "'Looking for that Blessed Hope': The Roots of Fundamentalism in Canada, 1878-1914"; Walter Unger, "'Earnestly Contending for the Faith': The Role of the Niagara Bible Conference in the Emergence of American Fundamentalism, 1875-1900"(Ph.D Diss., Simon Fraser University, 1981).

25. Doran, *Chronicles of Barabbas, 12.*

26. William Caven, *Christ's Teaching Concerning the Last Things and Other Papers* (Toronto: The Westminster Company, 1905), 89.

27. The term "gospel welfare" is borrowed from Norris Magnuson whose work, *Salvation in the Slums: Evangelical Social Work, 1865-1920* (Metuchen, New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press, 1977) examines the proliferation of these types of social work in the United States. For a more complete treatment of these and other reform efforts undertaken by this group see Dochuk, "Redeeming the Time."

28. The idea for the Union came from Howland in the wake of his own battle, and dismissal, over ritualism in Grace Anglican Church, a church he had helped build in the early 1880s to minister to the poor. Howland's experience in this affair had led him to believe that many of the established churches lacked the necessary conviction and vision to "modify and check the usual evils of increasing population" in Toronto (Henry O'Brien Papers, Box 1, Envelope 17, Baldwin Room, Toronto Public Library).

29. This philosophy was at the root of the "institutional church" movement in North America which, during this, sought to establish independent churches that met all of the basic needs of the local community. This approach was adopted by some of the most prominent conservative evangelicals in the United States, including Russell Conwell. In fact, Conwell once estimated that there were 173 institutional churches in America in 1900. This movement undoubtedly influenced Howland. For an account of this movement see Cross, ed., *The Church and the City, 1865-1910* (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1967); and Aaron Abell, *The Urban Impact on American Protestantism, 1865-1900* (London: Archon, 1962). The largest, and most important of the missions was the Sackville Street Mission. Located in St. John's ward, this mission was, in 1953, the last of the Toronto Mission Union ministries to close its doors.

30. For account of this program see John J. Kelso, *Early History of the Humane and Children's Aid Movement in Ontario, 1886-1893* (Toronto: L.K. Cameron, 1911). As described by Kelso, the first of these excursions, on 27 June 1888, started with the collection of approximately 400 children in St. John's ward, and continued with a procession down Yonge Street to the water culminating in a boat ride on Lake Ontario. The spectacle of 400 children marching down Yonge Street was made even grander by those who led the procession. At the front of the children were two of the leading humanitarians of the city, William Howland and the Methodist philanthropist, William Gooderham, and a fife band of the Boy's Home which led the children in hymns such as "Shall We Gather at the River?" and "Jesus Loves Me" (*Early History of the Humane and Children's Aid Movement in Ontario*, 26).

31. For a history of these two schools see John J. Kelso, "Early History of Victoria Industrial School," Industrial Schools Association of Toronto Papers, MU1409, Ontario Provincial Archives. Useful secondary accounts of the development of child welfare in Ontario include Andrew Jones and Leonard Rutman, *In the Children's Aid: J.J. Kelso and Child Welfare in Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981); and Richard Splane, *Social Welfare in Ontario, 1791-1893: A Study of Public Welfare Administration* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965).

32. The traditional voluntaristic approach appealed to these evangelical reformers for at least three reasons. First, by relying on the personal and financial support of individual believers rather than on that of the state, this system celebrated the same values esteemed by middle-class Christian businessmen: stewardship and efficiency. Secondly, the sense of personal duty that was ingrained in voluntarism accorded well with the impulse for Christian service that these evangelicals gleaned from the teachings of Keswick holiness. Finally, voluntarism offered a paragon of Christian community created through the democratic means of persuasion rather than coercion or obligation. This model appealed to evangelical laymen who believed that reform could only occur from the "bottom up."

33. For a brief account of the creation of the Prisoners' Aid Association, see Sawatsky, "Blessed Hope," 241-243. The most active years of the organization began in the mid-1880s after Blake replaced Howland as president. Splane attributes this to the fact that Blake "appears to have been able to devote more attention to the work than Howland, who was mayor of Toronto during this period" (Splane, *Social Welfare in Ontario*, 186). The Prisoners' Aid Association maintained a house that provided accommodation and employment workshops. In addition to providing training, the Association also provided jobs for reformed criminals, often in companies, like the Willard Tract Society, which were owned by evangelical reformers.

34. Many of the ideas that the Prisoners' Aid Association endorsed came out of its participation in the Congress of the National Prison Association held in 1887.

35. For an inside account of the political activities of the Prisoners' Aid Association, see Samuel Blake, *Our Faulty Gaol System: Memorandum of an Address Delivered on Behalf of the Prisoners' Aid Association, in the Metropolitan Church, Toronto* (reprinted from *The Methodist Magazine and Review*, November 1896).

36. Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1795-1865* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), 213.

37. Morton, *Mayor Howland*, 23.

38. The clearest expression of this was when Howland testified before the Royal Labor Commission in 1887. In his testimony Howland claimed that his thirty years of serving in the working-class districts of Toronto allowed him to speak with authority and empathy on the issues facing this group (*Globe*, 1 December 1887).

39. For a secondary account of these two strikes see Morton, *Mayor Howland*. Howland was, in both cases, powerless to provide any permanent solutions to the conflicts. In the case of the longer and more violent Toronto Street Railway strike, Howland was forced to end the affair after three days of rioting.

40. See Greg Kealey, ed., *Canada Investigates Industrialism: The Royal Commission on the Relations of Labor and Capital, 1889* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973).

41. Howland's view of working-class women did not differ from either side represented in the Commission. Both camps, labour and pro-National Policy advocates, for example, voiced a greater concern for "the morality of the women who were swept up in the process of industrial growth" than for the need to curtail improper male behaviour in the work place or facilitate female unionization" (see Karen Dubinsky, "'Maidenly Girls' or 'Designing Women'? The Crime of Seduction in Turn-of-the-Century Ontario," in *Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women's History*, eds. Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992], 31).

42. Carolyn Strange, *Toronto's Girl Problem: The Perils and Pleasures of the City, 1880-1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 35.

43. *Globe*, 1 December 1887.

44. *Globe*, 1 December 1887.

45. *Globe*, 1 December 1887.

46. Howland preached the virtues of Victorian womanhood and was very supportive of middle-class women in their fight against various social ills. In fact, he provided this new "voting bloc" with all the political and legal support he could by lobbying for a significantly expanded franchise for women in municipal elections. See "Mayor's Inaugural Address, 1887," in William H. Howland Biographical File, City of Toronto Archives.

47. Walter Rauschenbusch, *Christianity and the Social Crisis* (London: Macmillan, 1910), 203.

48. Timothy P. Weber makes this point in *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 66.

49. Grant Wacker, "The Holy Spirit and the Spirit of the Age in American Protestantism, 1880-1910," *Journal of American History* 72 (June 1985): 62.

Francis Andrew Brewin, "He Who Would Valiant Be": The Makings of a Canadian Anglican Christian Socialist

JOHN BREWIN[1]

Francis Andrew Brewin (1907-1983) was a formative figure in the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) and later in the New Democratic Party. He helped to shape a party that shaped Canada.

FAB, as I shall refer to him, was a lifelong "practising" Anglican. He represented a significant Anglican contribution to the Canadian polity. His religious sensibilities led to his decision to join the CCF in 1935 and determined the nature of his participation. This paper focuses on FAB's decision to join the CCF, and examines the cultures that interacted to produce that decision. It will be argued that his religion and his politics were completely integrated. In his context it made sense for FAB to become a democratic socialist of the Canadian variety.

The paper's methodology is influenced by the approach of Clifford Geertz, as described by Aletta Biersack.[2] The decision by FAB to join and to become active in the CCF is best understood as a cultural event, the convergence of cultures that gave FAB his world-view and informed his actions. I will, therefore, look at each of the main sources of FAB's cultural perspective. In revisiting the way in which one Christian of a particular tradition responded to the problems of his day, one might glimpse how we might respond to the almost overwhelming social, economic and environmental challenges of our own day.

Family

FAB's family background was very English and very Canadian. By the time this story begins, the family on both sides was decidedly upper-middle class. A family researcher[3] has traced FAB's direct lineage back to an Anthony Brewin, born in 1583 in a county town just outside Leicester, England. The Brewins of the time have been described as "peasant aristocrats."[4] In the late-eighteenth century FAB's great-great grandfather moved to London and developed a successful tanning business. FAB's grandfather, Arthur Brewin, started a London stock brokerage firm, Christie and Brewin, in 1865. The firm prospered, and continued to be a presence in the life of the city to this day.

This prosperity enabled Arthur to send his son, Francis Henry Brewin (1873-1961, FHB), to Winchester and later to Magdalen College, Oxford. FHB emerged from this education as a cleric of Broad Church sensibilities, strong in the English choral tradition and capable of ministering to rich and to poor. He was witty, cheerful and charming. Before entering theological seminary, FHB spent a period at Oxford House, Bethnal Green, in London's East End slums, as part of the settlement house movement. FHB was ordained deacon in 1897 and priested in 1898. Moving from London for health reasons, he became curate at Hove Parish Church on England's south coast, where FAB was born, and in 1905 became Vicar at the middle-class parish of Christ Church in nearby Brighton.

FHB did not exhibit particular political views or partisan persuasions. However, his own formative period in England was a time of intense debate within the Anglican Church.[5] FHB absorbed the theological ideas of the Christian Social Union, but there is no evidence that he was active in the organization of the movement or caught up in the sectarian passion of the debates about Christian socialism.

It is acknowledged that the values and culture of FHB's mother and the women of the family played a crucial role in the formation of FHB and, through him, of FAB. Of the details there is unfortunately no record.

FAB's Canadian roots were through his mother, Amea Fenety Blair (1874-1944, AFB). AFB's background was Scottish Canadian from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The available record of her family history is that of her father, Andrew George Blair. Blair had most notably been Premier of New Brunswick in the 1880s and 1890s and was a senior

member in the cabinet of Sir Wilfred Laurier from 1896 to 1903. Her mother, Annie Blair, was said to be skilled as a hostess to the point that her household was one of the centres of Ottawa society at the turn of the century. As Minister of Railways and Canals, Blair supported public ownership and the regulation of the railways. These positions cost him his political career. He resigned in 1903 over Laurier's insistence on favouring private rather than public ownership of the second transcontinental line then under consideration. At the time, Blair said his colleagues were "wild, visionary, unbusiness-like."[6]

Blair managed to invest wisely and at his death in 1907 left his family in a comfortable financial condition, likely seeding FAB's English education and the family cottage at Stoney Lake, Ontario, both of which were formative for FAB.

The Early Years (1907-1919)

FAB was born in 1907 in Brighton, England. When he was four, the family moved to Canada, FHB taking up the incumbency at St. Paul's in Woodstock, Ontario. Woodstock was a county town of insular conservative perspective. It was likely with much relief that FHB accepted the position of Rector at St. Bartholomew's in Ottawa in 1917, a parish more to the Brewins' taste. The church was next to Rideau Hall and was attended by the Governors-General and their families.

The Duke of Devonshire was the Governor-General at Rideau Hall through most of FHB's five years there (1917-1922). The Duke and the Duchess of Devonshire seemed to form some level of friendship with "Brewin," with whom the Duke later corresponded on at least one occasion and whose son, FAB, he invited to spend school holidays at the Devonshire country estate, Chatsworth. In Ottawa, FAB attended Ashbury College, a private school founded by an Anglican cleric.

School

In late 1918 or January 1919, FAB at age eleven was sent back to England by trans-atlantic liner to attend Radley College, with a preparatory year at Twickenham, "the Wick," in Hove. He was in England at school until 1925, except for a few visits home. There is no direct evidence of the motives of FAB's parents in sending him to school in England. One is left

to assume that they felt that Radley offered the best possible education for their son. To afford him that education was their duty. His four other siblings, three sisters and a younger brother, went to Canadian private schools.

Located near Oxford, close to Abington on the Thames River, Radley was founded in 1874 "to reform and civilize schooling, placing religious observance and Christian values at the centre of the community."[7] A high percentage of the boys were sons of Anglican clergy. Inspectors of the Oxford and Cambridge Examination Board concluded in 1925 that "a boy who will work will get excellent teaching at Radley . . ."[8]

FAB seems to have emerged unscathed, but not unmarked by the English school experience. In fact, by 1925 he demonstrated all of the characteristics the founders of Radley dreamed of: gentlemanly, "love-able," enthusiastic about physical activity, academically disciplined and self-confident, imbued with "Christian morals," including those of the desirability of public service. An English friend of FHB, himself an English public school educator, L.R. Thring reported to FHB towards the end of FAB's time at Radley: "he has a great power of sticking to a thing and seeing it through, and all the more in the face of opposition."[9] It was this personality characteristic, likely developed at Radley, which was so important to FAB's approach to politics in Canada, once he got his political bearings.

There was little evidence during this period of a passionate interest in politics or the debates within the Church. He seems to have been an accepting Christian, comfortable in his place within the Anglican Church.

FAB left England in August 1925. He was within a few weeks of reaching eighteen years of age. He had experienced perhaps the best education England had to offer the sons of its upper middle-class. He was steeped in the Anglican tradition, his mind sharpened by Greek and Latin. He was socialized to think of himself as destined for leadership of some kind for the good of society.

Toronto

It was to Toronto, not Ottawa, that FAB returned in 1925. In 1922, FHB had accepted an appointment as Rectory at the Church of St. Simon-the Apostle in Toronto, where he was to serve for nineteen years. FAB completed his legal training at Osgoode Hall, was called to the bar in 1930 and by 1935 was one of Toronto's up-and-coming young litigation lawyers, junior to a leading insurance company counsel of the day, James McRuer, later Chief Justice of Ontario.

During the 1920s Toronto, indeed Canada as a whole, was experiencing a period of relative prosperity and stability.[10] Canada's resource industries, especially pulp and paper and mining, boomed. Manufacturing continued to grow. Agricultural prices were sound and the sector was strong – a crucial part of Canada's economy in this decade.

Culturally, Canada was still predominantly rural, especially if one includes small towns and cities that were centered on serving the agricultural community. Toronto was well-placed, however, to benefit from the general prosperity. The city grew as a commercial, industrial and transportation centre, an expanding city of small working-class houses with a few well-to-do neighbourhoods. There was a persistent core that lived in substandard conditions and blue-collar workers had difficulty supporting a family of five, even during the 1920s.

The city was overwhelmingly British in origin. The city was 31% Anglican, the largest denomination, compared to 16% nationally. Politically, the Orange Order was a powerful institution in the city. Its militant Protestantism and its Ulster Loyalism formed a strong element in the political culture in inter-war Toronto, though there were some signs that this was changing. By 1925-1926 the immediate post-war tendency to vote for new parties or movements, such as the Progressives, the United Farmers and Labour, had faded and the old Liberal-Conservative hegemony was reasserting itself nationally. In Toronto, the Conservatives won every seat federally and provincially between 1921 and 1930 except for one provincially and two federally.

Reality hit Toronto hard in the Great Depression of the 1930s. By January 1933, 30% of adult Torontonians were unemployed. In Cabbagetown, the north part of which was within the parish boundaries of St. Simon's, unemployment hit 65%. The social consequences were devastating. "During the 1930s, Cabbagetown was seriously overcrowded with at

least two families living in many houses. Almost half had no central heating, dependent entirely on stoves. One in ten houses had only outside toilets and a quarter had no bathtubs."[11] Evictions were common. Families were usually supported by women cleaning or working in textile sweatshops. The men scrambled for snow clearing or occasional bits of casual work. Hugh Garner captured the mood: "behind the front windows . . . lies drama, pathetic or shocking. There are the quarrels of worn-out parents with the idle and blasé sons and daughters, who unable to find work, must need lie about the house all day sunk in cynical boredom."[12] The Depression drove Cabbagetown further into a narrow, passive state of political pessimism.

The Parish

The parish was formed in the 1880s when the expanding population in the Cabbagetown area "indicated the need for a new Church of England parish in addition to St. Paul's and St. Peter's" which then served the north part of Cabbagetown.[13] The entrance was purposely placed on Howard St. and away from Bloor St. to demonstrate its intention to focus south toward Cabbagetown. However, the parish also included south Rosedale, by the early 1920s and beyond, one of the wealthiest sections of Toronto. It was a parish therefore that experienced the extremes of wealth and poverty within the local church family. It was FAB's experience as an active layperson at St. Simon's that was the catalyst for his decision to join the CCF in 1935.

In 1923, a year into FHB's incumbency, a social worker was added to the staff of the church. "During the Depression, many families were saved from despair by timely help given through the Church."[14] Women and children were sent to summer camp, for example. In a 1930s article in the *Canadian Churchman*, the Rector described the activities: a boys' club, a nursery school, a men's club and community recreation. The men's club arose from the fact that "the parish was full of men whose lives through continued unemployment had become dulled and purposeless." FHB concluded: "there is a growing realization by the men that their activities and views on various problems are not without importance to the church and the community and for some of them at least it can truthfully be said that life has become a difficult thing." Unemployed carpenters, painters and labourers built and maintained facilities for the nursery school. "Little

children who were compelled to exist day in and day out in bad housing conditions, overcrowded rooms, often in a strained emotional atmosphere with no place to play except in the street, now spend happy mornings in the Nursery School," FHB reported.

In his twenties, FAB was involved in many of these activities. He had a keen interest in the men's club. In 1935, he wrote an article in the *Churchman* on the "Nature and Programme of a Men's Club," which began by noting that the church in England was grappling with the issues in ways that "we have hardly touched in Canada."[15] One such initiative was the Industrial Christian Fellowship (ICF), which was closely linked to the Christian Social Union. FAB noted that ICF established recreational centres for the unemployed and held meetings in factories and prisons. "It also attempts to arouse the social conscience of the church by promotion of study groups. It descents to the haunts of human misery to engage in direct conflict with communism and materialism and the despair which is the product of modern industrial conditions." Unemployed families needed to be welcomed with Christian fellowship into the Men's Clubs and offered positions of leadership in the church even if they could not give financial assistance to the church. There were abuses in the community which could be studied carefully with findings reported to the "proper authorities." Such clubs, he concluded, could become "true centres of practical Christianity."

The Diocese

The approach at St. Simon's was not inconsistent with that of the Diocese of Toronto during this period. Even before the war, the Diocese was beginning formally to take note of the need for "social reform." An account by Alan L. Hayes describes the extent to which the Diocese was caught up in the need to engage directly with society and in the call for a restructuring of society.[16]

A Synod committee in 1915, Hayes reports, was arguing that the "Christianising of the social order and a more equal distribution of the proceeds of industry" was the task to which the church was called. The Synod in 1918 was told that the "attempt to run society on the profit motive failed."[17] The *Canadian Churchman* explained that individual philanthropy was insufficient to solve social problems. Social politics were needed to remove the causes of social evil. To the Litany was added: "To

free our commercial, industrial and political life from the un-Christian ideals which so largely dominated it: we beseech Thee to hear us, good Lord."

The Diocesan Council for Social Service led efforts to review social and political issues and to prepare programs and positions in response. In 1931, Synod adopted a resolution that emphasized "the vital need for such a change in the spirit and working of much of social, economic and industrial life, alike in production and distribution, as will bring it into greater conformity with the Mind and Teaching of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."[18] On 23 May 1935, Archbishop Derwyn Owen, Primate and Bishop of Toronto, issued a Lenten pastoral letter in which he said that people "are caught in the grip of a system which disregards any motive or result except gain, whether for the corporation or the individual . . . Economic justice is one of the foundations of righteousness on which the Kingdom of God must be built."[19]

FAB served on the Diocesan Council for Social Service from 1934 and presented a motion on housing to the 1935 Synod on behalf of the Council. The statement was described by the *Canadian Churchman* as "perhaps the most outstanding pronouncement at Synod."[20] FAB's part was noticed and was said to show "the crusading spirit of the younger generation in church affairs."

Anglican Christian Socialism

As FAB confronted the Depression, he did so through a theological lens formed and shaped by the great thinkers and writers in the Anglican tradition, notably Richard Hooker, Frederick Maurice and William Temple. The modern Anglican Church was born in the sixteenth century. Richard Hooker at the end of the century gave a comprehensive theological expression to post-Reformation Anglicanism and established the basis of modern Anglican social theology.[21] Hooker understood the church as the religious expression of the state, organically integrated with the state, in the "Commonwealth," the social organization created and blessed by God. Every human was interdependent, living together in a society in which the faithful participated as part of the larger unity. Hooker saw the church as the Body of Christ, the community of believers, members of Christ. Through its organic relationship with the nation, the church effected the sanctification of the nation. It was the duty of each believer to

participate in God's work of redemption of the nation as a whole, in that we are at one and the same time members of the nation and of the family of God. In addition, Hooker argued for a corporate or collective understanding of sin and salvation and for human responsibility in the work of salvation. God provided the opportunity through Christ; it was up to humanity to respond and to reject the temptation to do evil. The incarnation became the central tenet of the Anglican Church.

With the Industrial Revolution and other social changes that occurred in England during the nineteenth century, Anglican social theology needed new energy. The church had slid into a pietistic, individualistic and often sentimental religion. The collective or social redemptive power of the Gospel, or of the church's relationship to the state, given the conditions of the mid-nineteenth century, was being ignored. Frederick Dension Maurice filled this vacuum in a way that is still being experienced.[22]

F.D. Maurice and his colleagues Charles Kingsley and J.M. Ludlow formed a group that was the first to style itself "Christian Socialists." But, while their practical efforts to change the social conditions of the time made little impact, Maurice's theological work has powerfully informed much of the Anglican tradition.

Maurice developed a theology of social hope as an antidote to the prevailing focus on the terrors of hell. The starting point of theology, for Maurice, was the love of God, experienced through the sacraments and through the world that God created. Christianity for Maurice was not simply about individual salvation but was fundamentally about social change. "Eternal Life" was about the quality of life here, in this world.[23] The Kingdom of God is already established. We are called to work for its full recognition and to build society in keeping with its revealed characteristics. The world of the Industrial Revolution must be subjected to Christian criticism. To Maurice, Christianity and socialism meant cooperation, and cooperation must be the organizing principle of society. As Robert Preston noted, Maurice was "entirely opposed" to "possessive individualism," the free market and laissez-faire liberalism as the basis for economic order.[24]

The full impact of Maurice's influence within the Anglican communion was not felt until the twentieth century when the Anglican church experienced the leadership of William Temple. The first seedlings of Maurice's influence were expressed through groups within the Church

of England such as the Guild of St. Matthew in 1877 and the Christian Social Union in 1889.[25] The CSU was the more mainstream of the two groups, and probably more successful in influencing official church positions. It is perhaps not surprising that it appealed to the educated upper middle-class leadership of the church in England and in Canada, including undoubtedly FHB and eventually FAB.

More than any other single individual, William Temple represented and informed the Anglican communion during the twentieth century. Temple was Archbishop of York in 1928, Archbishop of Canterbury in 1942 and died prematurely in 1944. During his prolific career, Temple enunciated and expressed a comprehensive twentieth-century Anglican theology, including a political social theology. A skillful author, Temple made his theology accessible to interested and informed lay people such as FAB.

As with Maurice, Temple's social theology flowed from his acceptance of a sacramental, incarnational focus. His was also a theology of hope, tempered particularly in his later years, coinciding as they did with the rise of fascism and Stalinism, with a recognition of the power of evil. In this he was clearly much-influenced theologically by Reinhold Niebuhr.

In keeping with progressive Anglican thinking in his time, Temple argued for the need to restructure society to bring it into conformity with Christian principles. These he identified as freedom, sacrifice, service and equality. He saw Jesus' gospel as radical, calling out individuals and society to change in fundamental ways. Yet in practice Temple argued for the need to compromise, to work for concrete and specific change. The imperfection of humanity also spoke to the need for tolerance and freedom. No human being or institution was perfect, and yet all were loved by God.

Temple's 1942 book, *Christianity and the Social Order,*[26] was a major force in shaping post-war Britain and beyond. Within the church, including the Anglican church in Canada, Temple's 1941 Malvern conference of progressive church people defined the social theology and broad political program of his generation. It was this theology applied to the social conditions that FAB confronted in Toronto in the 1930s, especially within the parish boundaries of St. Simon's, that led FAB to be receptive to the new political movement that had entered Canadian politics at the time.

Peggy Biggar

On 8 June 1935, FAB married Peggy Biggar (MIB) in a ceremony at St. Simon's where they had met ten years earlier. MIB strongly and enthusiastically encouraged FAB's commitment to socialist politics. George Biggar, MIB's father, was for part of his career financial editor of the *Toronto Globe*, the newspaper founded by John A. McDonald's Liberal rival George Brown. The family was later described as "solid, settled, secure, self-confident and serene."[27] A Christian social conscience formed part of MIB's inheritance. "Benevolent institutions and beneficent acts are the natural and necessary and immediate outcome of the teachings of Jesus," family mentor Sir Oliver Mowat once said. George Biggar expressed to MIB and FAB a real interest in J.S. Woodsworth. MIB said that it was her father who encouraged them to explore the CCF.

The CCF

FAB could not have joined the CCF, of course, if there had not been a CCF to join, or if it had not had a particular character.[28] The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation was founded in 1933. At the time Canada was dominated by the two traditional nineteenth-century parties, the Liberals and Conservatives, though there had been an early move to break their stranglehold in the years immediately following World War I. The Depression created the energy to try again.

The CCF was ambitious. It sought political power, to be the government of Canada, and sought thereby to "replace the present capitalist system" with a new social order, "in which genuine democratic self-government, based upon economic equality will be possible." The party was pledged by the Regina Manifesto to expand freedom and to support the cultural rights of racial or religious minorities. "What we seek is a proper collective organization of our economic resources such as will make a much greater degree of leisure and a much richer individual life for every citizen." The party adopted a comprehensive program to offer the Canadian people; this program included "socialization of finance" and "socialized health services."[29]

The tone of the new party mattered more than the Regina Manifesto to potential converts. This was captured by Walter Young writing of the early days of the CCF:

> Members of the CCF came to see their philosophy as a panacea for the ills of society – moral, political and economic. Because of this the socialism of the CCF inspired service and sacrifice; it was a faith worth crusading for since it offered everything that was good and opposed all that was bad. It was more Christian than the socialism of the British Labour Party which, understandably, after the collapse of the second Labour administration, placed more emphasis on the class struggle and the ultimate establishment of a classless society . . .[30]

The earlier leaders of the CCF, the former Methodist minister J.S. Woodsworth, M.J. Coldwell, David Lewis and Frank Scott sought to build a party that reflected the strong Social Gospel orientation of many of its leaders and activists. The central role played by Coldwell, Scott and Lewis, who had all been exposed to Anglican Christian socialism, would have contributed quite specifically to the attractions of the party for FAB.

The Road to Damascus

In 1935, FAB joined the CCF. An article that he published in the *Canadian Churchman* in 1935 reveals the development of his thinking.[31] The article, "The Church and the Coming Struggle for Power," built on his effort, referred to above, through St. Simon's and the Diocesan Council for Social Service, to get the Synod to adopt the resolution on housing. FAB suggested to his Anglican audience that "all thinking persons in all countries are questioning the bases of the political structure of society in Canada as in other parts of the world."

Through his work as an active lay person at St. Simon's FAB came to know parishioners who lived south of the church as real people. When asked why FAB was a socialist, Archbishop Ted Scott said it was because of St. Simon's. "At St. Simon's, Andrew became aware of the ghettoizing of society. People were locked into their situations, especially the young people, for reasons over which they had no control. It was through this experience that he became convinced of the need for societal, structural change."[32] Archbishop Scott also observed, not only that the St. Simon's experience was decisive, but that FAB had "by far the best Biblical knowledge" of any layperson he knew. FAB would frequently draw on this knowledge to shape his thinking and/or to make a point. Scott observed that FAB had read a "good deal" of Temple and Charles Kingsley.[33] In an

interview with FAB's daughter Margaret Wilbur, James McRuer, the prominent Toronto litigator for whom FAB first worked, said that it was FAB's contact with the "underprivileged" through St. Simon's that turned him into a CCFer.[34]

FAB's own explanation for his political direction, according to Terry Morley, was that he joined the party "as a response to what he felt was a Christian imperative."[35] In a speech around 1958 or so, recalling the CCF in the 1930s, he explained:

> I came into the CCF as a very young lawyer via the L.S.R. (League for Social Reconstruction) which in addition to producing "Social Planning for Canada," operated as a half-way house for "middle-class intellectuals" to join the movement . . . I had been intellectually converted to socialism by Bernard Shaw's Intelligent Women's Guide and spiritually converted by discovering that what Mr. Woodsworth and Mr. Coldwell stood for was much closer than any other brand of politics to the Christian traditions in which I had been brought up.[36]

FAB attributed his "intellectual conversion" to George Bernard Shaw. Shaw was, of course, not a Christian. Though somewhat cynical about Christian socialists, Shaw did work with them. Barbara Louise Parks notes that he was in alliance with Christian socialists on platforms and in offices.[37] Shaw said of his characterization of the enthusiastic Christian socialist parson in *Candida* that it was "child's play" to him, "as I was hand in glove with all the leading Christian Socialist parsons of the day."[38]

The socialism that emerges from the Intelligent Woman's Guide was comprehensive, humane, non-Marxist in formula but Marxist in its passion for working people and the poor, scathing about privilege and class, compelling in its call for social justice and with detailed proposals for nationalization or social ownership – in fact, Shaw's position was generally consistent with that of the Regina Manifesto.

The bleak electoral prospects of the CCF would not have stood as a deterrent, especially in 1935. The British experience of the rise of the Labour Party would have persuaded a receptive FAB that joining the CCF was not a truly quixotic venture. It was the sense of the times that, regardless of the 1935 election result, the continental plate of politics around the world was changing. To FAB, it was just a matter of time before all "thinking persons" saw what he saw.

FAB became involved in a Canadian socialist political party because of, not in spite of his Anglican Christianity. To state the theses more broadly, FAB's politics reflected a convergence of his own very English, upper-middle class background, a developed sense of public service, his Anglicanism, the attitudes of his immediate family, the conditions in Toronto in the 1930s, the specific experience of St. Simon's and a particular political moment in Canadian history which included the formation of CCF in 1933.

An Anglican in Politics

For FAB, participation in the CCF did not mean a break with the Anglican tradition or with Christianity as it did for some. Far from reducing or ending FAB's church connections or weakening his religious commitment or practice, throughout his life FAB's CCF involvement and lay participation in the church were intertwined and extended.

He continued his legal career in much the same fashion as before, except that as the years went on the nature of his clientele shifted to some extent. More often that not he acted for those who really needed his skills: the Japanese Canadians, immigrants having difficulty with the government, trade unions, those on whom other lawyers had given up.

FAB not only joined the CCF, he threw himself into it. By July 1935 he was contributing articles to the Ontario CCF newspaper, the *New Commonwealth*. In a 27 July 1935 article on housing he argued that, "until the Canadian people put into power the party which has the imagination and understanding of the problems of the people to put houses for working people before armaments, health and decency before tunnels and barracks, and humanity before profits, we can expect neither this nor any other fundamental problem of the country to be solved." By 1937, he was a member of the Ontario CCF Provincial Council and continuously served the party in one position or another until his retirement from Parliament forty-two years later. He became a confidant of the Ontario CCF leader E.B. "Ted" Jolliffe, a fellow Toronto lawyer and Rhodes Scholar son of a Methodist missionary. When Jolliffe retired from the leadership in 1953, drained politically, emotionally and financially by two near misses in 1943 and 1948 and two devastating defeats in 1945 and 1951, FAB decided to seek the leadership himself. By now he was well-established as a lawyer in Toronto. He was seen as the candidate of the status quo and ran third.

In 1962, FAB was elected a Member of Parliament for Greenwood in Toronto's East End. He held the seat, or its redistributed variant, for five subsequent elections, retiring from Parliament in 1979 after an impressive and influential career as an MP.

He was a long-time member of the National Council of the CCF and for a time National Treasurer. FAB also served as a CCF representative on the National Committee for the New Party, the group that coordinated the transition from the CCF to the New Democratic Party in 1961. Walter Young identified FAB as a member of the "ruling elite" in the CCF based on his years of service on the executive or as an officer between 1937 and 1961.[39]

Despite his prominent role in the CCF from the 1940s on, then a questionable activity in the conservative echelons of the Anglican Church in Canada,[40] FAB was still called on to contribute time and energy to the church in various capacities, including serving as a Canadian lay delegate to the World Council of Churches Assemblies at Evanston in 1954 and at New Dehli in 1961.

Throughout his life, FAB faithfully observed the core of Anglican spiritual practice, regular attendance at corporate worship and participation in the Eucharist. He made use of daily devotional readings and had spiritual guides in his library. As has been indicated, he was a voracious reader of theological tomes. All his books are marked and underlined, suggesting significant interaction between the reader and author.

At the 1953 Ontario CCF leadership convention, in his nominating speech to the delegates, FAB explained his involvement in the CCF and his underlying approach to politics by quoting the Magnificat, Luke's song of Mary: "He has put down the mighty from their seat: and hath exalted the humble and meek. He hath filled the hungry with good things: and the rich he hath sent empty away" (Luke 1:52, 53). Through FAB, Anglican sensibilities played into the CCF and through him and others into the Canadian body politic. At FAB's death, columnist and former M.P. Doug Fisher observed: "One could see Brewin's active lay work in the Anglican Church in his socialism. It was optimistic and idealistic. It meant pitching into issues and situations of injustice and inhumanity."[41] Fisher wrote that FAB was more influential in shaping the character of the NDP than any other of his contemporaries.

FAB expressed the view that society was more than a collection of individuals. The community was seen as an entity of which all individual

citizens are members, akin to Hooker's understanding of the Commonwealth. The CCF wanted to make the state "the executive of the people, responsive to their needs and responsible through democratic machinery to their will," he said later. He was of the stream within the party that emphasized the goal of equality, as against those who focused on the socialist model of public ownership as the central tenet. FAB drew that value from his religious experience and understanding.

To FAB, democratic socialism had a redemptive quality about it. He spoke on a number of occasions about the aim of changing the social order to achieve equality, to end unemployment, to build a better life. He saw the importance of the little steps that actually improved the lives of real people. Ted Scott explained that FAB believed in a "mixed economy" and accordingly could talk to the business community as well as working people. Scott added that FAB "saw the need for health and social programs, such as housing south of Bloor St."[42]

FAB was a strong advocate within the party for a Bill of Rights entrenched in the constitution. He was an eloquent spokesperson for the placement of a high value on freedom and tolerance, and for the rule of law. In this, he was rooted in Hooker's early exposition of Anglican theology as a set of laws.

FAB also contributed what might be described as an Anglican style to the party. He was an enthusiast for reason, and worked hard to develop logical and defensible party policies. In the above quoted 1935 *Canadian Churchman* article, he spoke of "thinking people" as those to whom heed must be paid. To that extent he brought an Anglican instinct for hierarchy into discussions of CCF and NDP strategy.

FAB wanted to change the power structure in the country as part of the new social order to which he was committed. In the meantime, one had to work with the reality. He was also Anglican-like in the fact that he was comfortable within the dominant culture. He proceeded on the basis that even the establishment was open to reason and to redemption.

There was also the Anglican understanding of the need to be broadly inclusive. His first role in the party was as ambassador to the middle-class and professionals. He told Terry Morley that in the early 1940s he and Jolliffe led a group in the party "that wished to heed the wider community."[43] He also instinctively understood that within the bosom the party various points of view could happily contend.

Conclusion

The paper has sought to examine the cultural categories that shaped a cultural event, the decision by FAB to join the CCF in the 1930s and to become active in it. FAB did not give up everything. He knew those in power and was comfortable with them. He challenged the system, seldom individuals. And he challenged the system by pressing for specific manageable changes. He was a radical in how he saw society and in his personal commitment to affect change. He was a conservative in many of his values and in his respect for the tradition in which he was born. In this stance, Francis Andrew Brewin was a true servant of his church. Through him, his church served the country.

Endnotes

1. The paper was first presented in fulfillment of the requirements for a Master of Theological Studies degree from the Vancouver School of Theology and was supervised by Dr. William Crockett and Dr. Brian Fraser. The title is taken from the hymn attributed to John Bunyan and others.

2. Aletta Biersack, "Local Knowledge, Local History," in *The New Cultural History,* ed. Lynn Hunt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), chapter 3.

3. David Brewin of London, England. A copy of the research is in the possession of the writer. Unless otherwise indicated, the material on the Brewin family is found in this research.

4. Dr. Thurstan Brewin of Oxford, England, FAB's cousin and David Brewin's father, refers to a book by W.G. Hoskins, professor of History at Leicester University, *The Midland Peasant* (London: St. Martin's Press, 1957) for this proposition.

5. This is described in detail in Peter d'Alroy Jones, *The Christian Socialist Revival, 1877-1914: Religion, Class and Social Conscience in late-Victorian England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968).

6. Andrew George Blair to FHB, Francis Andrew Brewin Papers, National Archives of Canada (NAC). Unless otherwise noted, specific references to FAB are taken from this collection.

7. Christopher Hibbert, *No Ordinary Place: Radley College and the Public School System* (London: John Murray, 1997), 349. The book is a good source on the public school system in general, and, of course, a valuable reference work for this paper. Unless otherwise noted, the general references about Radley are from Hibbert. Specific references to FAB are from his papers in the National Archives of Canada.

8. Hibbert, *No Ordinary Place,* 182.

9. L.R. Thring to FHB, April 1925, FAB Papers, NAC.

10. Information for this section is taken from: George H. Rust-D'Eye, *Cabbagetown Remembered* (Erin: Boston Mills Press, 1984); James Lemon, *Toronto Since 1918* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1985); and John Herd Thompson with Allen Seager, *Canada, 1922-39: Decades of Discord* (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1985).

11. Lemon, *Toronto Since 1918*, 35.

12. Quoted in Lemon, *Toronto Since 1918*, 59.

13. Rust-D'Eye, *Cabbagetown Remembered,* 71.

14. History of St. Simon's, Diocese of Toronto Archives.

15. *Canadian Churchman*, 5 April 1935.

16. Alan Hayes, *By Grace Co-Workers: Building the Anglican Diocese of Toronto, 1780-1989* (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1989), chapter 2.

17. Hayes, *By Grace Co-Workers*, 72.

18. Hayes, *By Grace Co-Workers*, 81

19. Hayes, *By Grace Co-Workers*, 77.

20. *Canadian Churchman*, 23 May 1935.

21. This section is based primarily on A.T. Davies, *The Political Ideas of Richard Hooker* (London: S.P.C.K, 1948).

22. The writer found the treatment of Maurice helpful in: Jones, *The Christian Socialist Revival, 1877-1914*; D.R.G. Owen, *Social Thought* and *Anglican Theology* (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1980); and Ronald Preston, *Church and Society in the Late-Twentieth Century* (London: SCM Press, 1983).

23. Preston, *Church and Society in the Late-Twentieth Century*, 13.

24. Preston, *Church and Society in the Late-Twentieth Century*, 19.

25. In particular see Jones, *The Christian Socialist Revival, 1877-1914*; and the summary in Stephen F. Hopkins, "The Anglican Fellowship for Social Action" (M.A. Thesis, University of St. Michael's College, Toronto, 1982).

26. William Temple, *Christianity and the Social Order*, with introduction by Robert Preston (London: SCM Press, 1942).

27. A. Margaret Evens, *Sir Oliver Mowat* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 338.

28. The main sources for this section were Walter Young, *The Anatomy of a Party: The National CCF* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969); and John Terence Morley, *Secular Socialists: The CCF/NDP in Ontario* (Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 1984). Also Gerald L. Caplan, *The Dilemma of Canadian Socialism: The CCF in Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964) was helpful.

29. "The Regina Manifesto," in Young, *The Anatomy of a Party: The National CCF*, Appendix A, 304.

30. Young, *The Anatomy of a Party: The National CCF*, 54.

31. *Canadian Churchman*, 6 December 1935.

32. Ted Scott interview, 7 February 1999.

33. Ted Scott interview, 7 February 1999.

34. James McRuer interview by Margaret Wilbur, tape in possession of writer.

35. Morley, *Secular Socialists: The CCF/NDP in Ontario*, 126.

36. Notes in FAB Papers, National Archives of Canada.

37. Barbara Louise Parks, "George Bernard Shaw, Victorian, Modern and Post-Modern Prophet" (M.A. Thesis, California State University at Los Angeles, 1988), 40.

38. Parks, "George Bernard Shaw," 44.

39. Young, *The Anatomy of a Party: The National CCF*, 168.

40. Ted Scott interview, 7 February 1999.

41. Column in the *Toronto Sun*, 30 September 1983, 11.

42. Ted Scott interview, 7 February 1999.

43. Morley, *Secular Socialists: The CCF/NDP in Ontario*, 165.

Populism, Politics and Christianity in Western Canada

BRUCE L. GUENTHER

The early part of the twentieth century was a time of significant change within Canada as the country struggled to respond to a massive influx of immigrants, expansion in western Canada, the impact of urbanization, two World Wars, a major drought and economic depression. A variety of new populist initiatives emerged out of this national maelstrom, especially in western Canada where waves of immigrants created a more heterogenous population mix than in any other part of Canada. This essay features three very different populist movements in western Canada during this period, and offers a preliminary exploration of the relationship between Christian faith and culture that undergirded the political involvement of key leaders within these populist movements.[1]

The first two movements initially centred around two individuals, the flamboyant William "Bible Bill" Aberhart, and the dynamic "Tommy" or "T.C." Douglas, both of whom moved directly from Baptist pulpits into elected political offices. Both were charismatic personalities and superb communicators, and both were instrumental in the formation of new political parties in western Canada. Many have assumed (erroneously) that these two men, and their respective political parties – the Social Credit and the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), later New Democratic Party [NDP]), represented diametrically opposed ideological orientations. The third movement is notable because of the remarkable absence of a political theology. An ethos of cultural "dis-engagement" was nurtured within large parts of the Bible school movement which influenced thousands of evangelical Protestant Christians in western Canada. All three

movements are populist,[2] all three drew heavily from their roots in Christianity, and all were, in one shape or another, "political" expressions. Different strands of Christian influence, together with different ways of balancing their theological views, the interests of their populist audiences, and the desire for a public venue in which to express their views, resulted in three very different models of cultural engagement.[3]

William Aberhart and the Social Credit Party

William ("Bible Bill") Aberhart was born in 1878 in southwestern rural Ontario. His education in several schools prepared him to work as a school teacher and principal.[4] Aberhart was introduced to dispensationalism as a young adult through one of C.I. Scofield's correspondence courses. After expressing his desire to enter the ministry but failing to obtain adequate sponsorship from the Presbyterian church to attend Knox College, he accepted an offer in 1910 from a secondary school in Calgary. He eventually became the principal of the prestigious Crescent Heights High School in Calgary where he acquired a well-deserved reputation for his efficient (some would say overbearing) administrative style.

Aberhart's public presence as an authority on religious matters began with his preaching at Westbourne Baptist Church.[5] His Bible teaching consisted primarily of a modified dispensationalism. He saw history on a downward course with no chance of recovery short of divine intervention. Not only could the church not arrest the tide of evil, it was itself engulfed by it. Aberhart believed that social conditions would become so desperate with increasing crime, occult practices, heresy and apostasy and widespread persecutions against Christians that the only escape would be a divine evacuation called the rapture, which he taught was imminent. This would set in motion the prophetic clock outlined in Daniel and Revelation, namely the seven-year tribulation that would end with the War of Armageddon (initiated by China and Japan). Aberhart taught "that the true church could not produce a Christian society but rather was to add converts and wait for a rapture."[6]

How did someone like Aberhart who was committed to dispensationalism, a theological system that generally discouraged political participation,[7] not only start a political party but also become premier of the province of Alberta? Aberhart loved, in his words, "the power of [a] preacher to dominate people." The popularity of his Sunday afternoon

classes on biblical prophecy quickly rivalled those of the minister in his church, and gradually outgrew the church by attracting people from other denominations. Eventually Aberhart moved his class, now named the Prophetic Bible Conference, to the Grand Theatre to accommodate the crowd.

The popularity of these public lectures established Aberhart as a public figure in Alberta. More importantly, in 1925, Aberhart reluctantly agreed to experiment with a radio broadcast of his lecture (his initial reluctance was due to his fear that the revenue from his lectures in the Grand Theatre would be lost). His authoritative voice was an instant success and his lectures were eventually broadcast to a radio audience that was estimated at 350,000.[8] This expanded audience established his reputation as one of western Canada's foremost pioneers in religious broadcasting, and was the key to obtaining the wide-spread support necessary for his subsequent political success.[9]

While seeking answers for the destitute plight of many in his radio audience during the early years of the Great Depression, Aberhart discovered C.H. Douglas' system of economics. Gradually he integrated his own version of Social Credit ideas into his radio lectures as he tried to offer answers to the economic and political needs of the province. This resulted in an increase in his radio audience; many people who had previously dismissed him as a religious lunatic now tuned in to listen to his comments on economics. As one might expect from an evangelistic dispensationalist like Aberhart, the relationship between religion and economics was centred in the responsibility of the individual:

> The appeal of God today is for the individual to understand that God's policy is to provide man with a salvation full and free, without money and without price, and then to offer him future rewards for his individual enterprise in the service of God. I am convinced that this is the basic principle of a practical economic system. Government credit, such as advocated by Major Douglas, gives to the individual, who is a bona fide citizen of the Province, the essentials of physical life, such as food, clothing and shelter, and then offers him additional reward for his individual enterprise.[10]

At first Aberhart insisted that his role in the dissemination of Social Credit ideas was only intended to educate the general public about

economic alternatives; he assured people that he had no personal political ambitions. As speaking requests began to increase, he organized study groups and produced a series of leaflets explaining in simple terms how Social Credit concepts could be applied to the Alberta situation. In 1934 Aberhart reluctantly agreed to enter the political arena and the Social Credit Party was formed.

With the United Farmers of Alberta in disarray due to a series of sexual scandals, and with the still more socialist CCF appearing on the political horizon, Aberhart led his newly-formed Social Credit Party to a stunning landslide victory in 1935 winning fifty-six of sixty-three seats. Aberhart was succeeded as premier after his death in 1943 by the more moderate Ernest C. Manning, a graduate of CPBI.[11] The Social Credit Party dominated the politics of Alberta until 1971.[12]

After becoming premier Aberhart discovered that Social Credit theory was easier to preach than to practice. The SC party advocated a radical economic restructuring of the province – this centralized program was hailed as the panacea of all the world's problems. The system would relieve the banks and other large industrial financial interests of their control of the province's resources and put it back into the hands of the people. The entire plan would be administrated by a centralized bureaucracy that would control all aspects of personal and commercial property, finance, production, distribution and consumption – it would be almost impossible for non-sympathizers to buy and sell.[13] His legislation to take control of banking, finance and credit was rejected by the courts as beyond the authority of a provincial government. Instead of discrediting Aberhart, this rejection only enhanced his image as a defender of the marginalized and economically depressed region against greedy, unscrupulous eastern financial interests. Aberhart did nevertheless manage to introduce some educational reform, and protect at least some farms from foreclosure through debt legislation.

What sort of connection existed between Aberhart's faith and his movement towards politics? The suggestion by some that the Social Credit was essentially the political expression of evangelical Protestantism in Alberta is demonstrably false. Aberhart had alienated himself from many evangelical groups even before he became premier, and studies of the party's membership indicate that the majority of its support came from members of the more established churches (30% of the party's membership were either Anglican or United Church, and only 11% were members of

other religious groups).[14] Moreover, many evangelicals influenced by fundamentalism questioned the value of participating in the political process and suspected that association and collaboration with "papists," United Church ministers, and even Mormons would inevitably lead to "compromise." Aberhart's action appeared to legitimize such fear: Aberhart displayed a remarkable expediency in shedding his religious sectarianism in order to form a broad-based political party by asserting "that a new type of Christianity was about to emerge, with a strong social emphasis, transcending old apostasies."[15] Everyone who agreed with his Social Credit ideas was readily, and rather indiscriminately, greeted by Aberhart as a "good Christian brother."[16] And yet simultaneous with such ecumenism in the political arena was a very different approach in the way he ran his church and Bible school: Bible school students, for example, were not permitted to attend any other church, and the minister in his church was not allowed to fellowship with other ministers (by this time Aberhart had appropriated the title of "apostle" for himself within his church).[17]

Despite Aberhart's presumptuous presentation of Social Credit ideas as "an economic movement from God himself,"[18] his political involvement, as David Elliott and others have noted, was antithetical to his previous dispensationalism, which was highly sectarian, separatist, a-political, other-worldly and eschatologically oriented. Aberhart stands out as anomaly among other western Canadian fundamentalists and dispensationalists because of the way he created a political movement.[19] His proclamation in 1942 that those who refuse to improve their society through political involvement as "worse than infidels" is diametrically opposed to his views only a decade earlier.[20]

What then accounts for this transition from an eschatological world-view famous for its a-political emphasis on separation from the world to accepting a more ecumenical position and propagating a quasi-social gospel that ended up looking like a mild form of fascism?[21] It may well be that the stories appealing for his assistance during the depressed 1930s initially evoked a sense of compassion, but my sense is that it did not take long until Aberhart was inexorably pulled towards politics more by ambition and egoism than by a religious faith that was interested in finding ways of serving people and communities.[22] The prospect of becoming premier offered the ultimate forum within which to exercise power. His authoritarian (even dictatorial) leadership style, his egocentricity, his

inability to work together with others, his increasingly unorthodox theology, are all antithetical to a Christian gospel that calls for self-sacrifice and self-less service.

During his years as premier Aberhart gradually drifted away from his earlier dispensationalism using it more and more as a convenient veneer to advance his political credibility with certain groups.[23] His intense desire to retain power meant sacrificing his dispensationalism on the altar of expediency, although it did continue to colour his perspective on some matters from time to time,[24] and an eschatological rhetoric continued to be mixed with his some of his economic and political ideas throughout his political career. While Aberhart's initial economic programme called for radical change, it owed more to a combination of his formidable powers of persuasion and organization, western alienation and Victorian virtues of enterprise and thrift than to a careful, consistent application of any of his eclectic theological views including dispensationalism.

Thomas C. Douglas and the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation

Thomas (Tommy) Douglas was born in 1904 into a working-class family in the Scottish mill town of Falkirk. He spent the war years, 1914-1918, living near an industrial area of Glasgow. After the war, the Douglas family moved to Canada where the adolescent Tommy witnessed some of the violent episodes of the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919. He often hung out at All Peoples Mission, where J.S. Woodsworth had once been superintendent.

In 1924 Douglas enrolled in Brandon College to prepare for ministry within the Baptist church. It was a school situated within a western Canadian agrarian environment that was simultaneously committed to bringing together a liberal theological education, an evangelistic mood and a social Christian emphasis. The school was at the time, according to one observer, a place where "the ideas of the 'social gospel' were in full flood."[25] Particularly influential was H.L. MacNeill, a New Testament scholar from the University of Chicago who liberated Douglas from "a literal interpretation of the scriptures."[26] Well integrated into the typical liberal arts curriculum was an emphasis on political economy, sociology and ethics which addressed topics like "capitalistic organization," "labour problems," "trade unionism," and "money, credit and banking."

During his college years, Douglas met the woman who eventually

became his wife, and began a lifelong friendship with classmate Stanley Knowles, who later won a by-election for the seat vacated by the death of J.S. Woodsworth. Describing their relationship during their student years, Knowles said: "Brandon was the time when we sorted out our religious and our social thinking. We went in as conventional young men accepting society. We came out convinced that something had to be done to make society more Christian."[27] The Brandon College experience was vitally important in shaping Douglas' subsequent ministry and political career.

Douglas was ordained a minister at the Calvary Baptist Church in Weyburn, Saskatchewan in 1930. It was a community located in the centre of the dustbowl, hit hard by both drought and unemployment during the 1930s. His desire to help ameliorate the devastating impact of poverty on the people around him brought him into a network of other clergymen, teachers, labour activists and co-op organizers. During this time he wrote, "when one sees the church spending its energies on the assertion of antiquated dogmas but dumb as an oyster to the poverty and misery all around, we can't help but recognize the need for a new interpretation of Christianity."[28]

Douglas' move into politics was a natural extension of both his Social Gospel ideas and his activities on behalf of the poor in Weyburn. In addition, a violent strike in 1931 in the Estevan coal fields, the near collapse of the newly-formed Saskatchewan Wheat Pool, the inability of the poor to access health care services, and the failure of local labour associations to effect lasting social and economic change, convinced Douglas that it was necessary to enter the political arena. In 1932, Douglas said "I felt that the church could not divorce itself from social and economic, and consequently political involvement, and that just as I ought to be active in relief, in helping the unemployed, helping distribute milk or active in any mental health association, so I ought to belong to a political party and try to do something about these economic conditions."[29]

Still somewhat naively confident about the "rising generations'" ability "to build a heaven on earth," the young Douglas began a search for practical political ideas: he endorsed the concept of "socialized medicine"; the application of "the science of eugenics" – he wrote a Master's thesis criticising the "consummate folly" of allowing "subnormal" people to reproduce; and, like Aberhart in Alberta, adopted certain social credit ideas by arguing for the equitable distribution of abundance to all, fair prices to both the producer and consumer, debt forgiveness and the establishment

of provincial banks. Always careful to distance himself from communism, Douglas defined socialism as that "form of society in which the means of production, distribution and exchange are socially owned and democratically managed in the interests of all the people rather than for the benefit of a few."[30] There was some tension between his view, as a prairie populist, that local voters should have the opportunity to write legislation and vote on it in referendums,[31] and his simple faith in government intervention (for example, social engineering) to solve complex problems.

Douglas was not a participant at either the official formation of the CCF led by J.S. Woodsworth in 1932 in Calgary,[32] or the first national convention in Regina in 1933 where the famous Regina Manifesto was drafted that outlined the CCF plan for transforming the capitalist economic system in a "co-operative commonwealth" by peaceful, democratic means. Douglas became a part of this movement shortly after, but was never considered a radical socialist within the party. He lost his first bid for public office (he was running for a seat in the Saskatchewan legislature),[33] but was successful in the federal election of 1935. In 1944, he returned to provincial politics and, as premier of Saskatchewan, he headed up the first "socialist" government in North America. He remained premier until 1961 when he became the first leader of the national NDP.

The CCF regime in Saskatchewan encouraged co-operative institutions, established state automobile and fire insurance, and socialized electric power, natural-gas distribution and bus transportation. The party gained international attention in 1962 when it implemented the continent's first compulsory medical care program despite bitter opposition from doctors. He was, unfortunately, not as successful in making good his claim that under a CCF government, the need for taxation would "largely disappear."[34]

Douglas maintained his church affiliation with the Baptist Union of Western Canada throughout his life. Despite his share of misguided political decisions along the way, he was a principled politician whose pastoral desire to help people never left him. He never stopped claiming Christian theology as the basis for his political views and objectives: democratic socialism was, according to Douglas, nothing more than "applied Christianity."[35] Douglas consistently argued that he was not merely promoting democratic socialism; rather, he was working for the "Kingdom of God."[36]

It is not difficult to see how Douglas' theological views facilitated

his involvement in politics, however, by the end of his career as a political leader several changes in his theological views were evident. First, by the end of his life, a subtle shift is visible in how Douglas conceptualizes the "kingdom of God." During his time at Brandon College, he talked about the "kingdom of God" as "a kingdom of the spirit in men's hearts, made up of righteousness and justice."[37] In an interview during the last year of his life he explained,

> Jesus, more than anyone else who lived up to his time, and more than anyone since, epitomized the idea of the value of the individual . . . Jesus was in his day, and he hasn't been surpassed since, a great moral teacher who recognized man's place in society, the kind of society that man could build . . . that the great motivating force in society is love for your fellow man . . . and that there is something that, for want of a better term, they call the Kingdom of God, which is simply an association of people who have certain ideas in common.[38]

By the end of his political career, the kingdom of God had become synonymous with "a society founded on the principles of concern for human well being and human welfare."[39] The reasons for this theological transition remain ambiguous and need further exploration.

Second, increasingly evident in his political career was an intentional pragmaticism, perhaps even opportunism, that lay behind his insistence on the compatibility between democratic socialism and Christian moral and ethical principles. Democratic socialism was, according to Douglas, "applied Christianity." Douglas frequently talked about socialism using biblical terms: for example, "a socialist believed that he was his brother's keeper; Saint Paul had taught that the strong ought to bear the burdens of the weak."[40] Such religious rhetoric was part of a strategy to "lay to rest the demon of 'the godless socialists' and to remove the label of 'Red' that the enemies of democratic socialism had been attaching to the CCF for years."[41]

The Bible School/College Movement

The Bible school/college movement started in Canada in 1885 with a small cluster of schools in and around the Toronto area. Since then, evangelical Protestant groups have initiated more than 240 such institu-

tions across the country the majority of which were, and still are, located in western Canada. They typically offered a Bible-centred, intensely practical, lay-oriented program of post-secondary theological training. Cumulatively they have influenced the Christian faith of hundreds of thousands of people.[42] They mobilized and scattered thousands of Protestant church workers, pastors and missionaries to every corner of Canada and the world. Using only one denomination to illustrate the point: in 1963 the Mennonite Brethren estimated that 90% of their missionaries abroad, 86% of their missionaries at home, 59% of their ministers, and 67% of their Sunday School workers had some Bible School training.[43]

In western Canada alone, prior to 1960, there were at least 106 Bible schools that can be categorized into six denominational clusters: forty-two Mennonite schools; twenty-two Pentecostal schools; thirteen Baptist schools; twelve transdenominational initiatives; six Holiness movement schools; and a collection of eleven denominational schools that did not belong to the other, larger categories. Shortly after World War Two, the cumulative enrolment of all these schools peaked at close to 4,000 students per year.[44] These schools, and their constituencies, represent yet another form of populism within western Canada.[45] Although the movement was denominationally diverse, the schools were bound together not only by the unique challenges of geography but also by common problems and strategies for addressing the spiritual and educative needs of their young people, and often also by a remarkably similar theological agenda. Despite their significant influence within Canadian churches and mission organizations, these Bible schools, at least prior to 1960, represent an evangelical model of cultural disengagement. They contributed towards the development of a kind of ghettoized subculture within Canada, what John Stackhouse refers to as a "sectish" disposition or *mentalité*.[46]

The reasons for this "sectish" *mentalité* vary. First, it is due to the fact that most of the groups involved in the Bible school movement were small and relatively young denominations that were still on the periphery of Canadian Protestantism. Many of the upstart denominations in the west were missionary extensions of their denominational counterparts in the USA, and as a result, the international north-south connections were stronger than any east-west national relationships. In addition to limited personnel, the challenges of geography, communication and transportation made building institutions and denominational organizational structures difficult in western Canada.

Second, significant also are the ethnic and linguistic characteristic of groups like the Mennonites, German Baptists and various Scandinavian groups. Together these groups account for almost 50% of the total number of Bible schools in western Canada and more than one-third of the entire Bible school student population in western Canada, second only to the cumulative total of the transdenominational schools. These denominational groups used Bible schools to preserve specific ethnic, linguistic and theological distinctives. While these ethnic preoccupations muted the impact of fundamentalism, it also effectively insulated these groups from participation in the cultural mainstream. It was not until the 1950s that the emphasis on the maintenance of ethnic distinctives gradually began to dissipate. The largest of these ethnic-religious groups, and one of the first to start Bible schools in western Canada, were the Mennonites. Both their strong emphasis on the retention of the German language during the 1930s and 1940s – an emphasis that was bolstered considerably by the fresh influx of well-educated Russian immigrants during the 1920s – as well as their theological prohibitions against involvement with the state (some even felt it was wrong to vote), kept them from becoming politically involved. As groups like the Mennonites began to emerge from their ethnic enclaves during the 1950s and 1960s, they also began to participate in politics.[47]

Third, the wide-spread influence of fundamentalism within the Bible school movement, particularly within transdenominational schools, nurtured an ethos that was, at best, ambivalent towards political involvement. Although examples of militant, or strident, forms of fundamentalism can be found within the Bible school movement in western Canada, generally the Bible schools most influenced by fundamentalism were less defined by militancy than by their emphasis on evangelism, world missions, premillennialism (usually some form of dispensationalism) and personal holiness.[48]

A strong emphasis on the "Great Commission" justified the prioritizing of missionary and evangelistic activity over social activism. The winning of converts became seen as the only essential and worthwhile calling. People like Henry Hildebrand, founding principal of Briercrest Bible Institute, and L.E. Maxwell, founding principal of Prairie Bible Institute, who were arguably the most prominent leaders among the transdenominational schools in Alberta and Saskatchewan by the late 1940s, were not opposed to vocations that included political involvement

– the person who invited Hildebrand to start a Bible school in the village of Briercrest, Sinclair Whittaker, had spent five years (1929-1934) as a member of the Saskatchewan legislature prior to his conversion.[49] Bible school leaders would gladly make presentations to legislature in order to secure more favourable arrangements for their school. They did not denounce "secular" vocational choices; they didn't need to, the relatively lower value of "secular" vocational choices was implicit in their theology of mission. It was simply understood that "missions," that is, full-time participation in evangelistic outreach, was the one vocation that must take priority over all others. Moreover, the energy devoted towards missionary and evangelistic activity frequently left little time, and few resources, for social or political engagement.

The a-political stance of many fundamentalist schools was frequently fortified by dispensationalism. Its profoundly gloomy view of the world provided an interpretation of social and political conditions that seemed to confirm both the futility of efforts at ameliorating social conditions as well as the "despised" minority status of faithful Christians within the world.[50] The "biblical" pessimism of dispensationalism concerning the value of political engagement offered an authoritative rationale for the maintenance of a "Christian" subculture.

The general suspicion of culture among many evangelical Protestants in western Canada was reinforced further by using the "biblical" language of "holiness" and "separation from the world" to justify and demand adherence to specific codes of conduct. The desire for involvement in politics, art or science, or even establishing relationships with those outside of the subculture created by the school, church or denomination, was often treated suspiciously as "worldliness."[51] It was simply better to avoid the possibility of "compromise." Remaining on the periphery of the cultural mainstream was an indication of faithful disentanglement from "the affairs of this world."

The negative reaction by L.E. Maxwell and Henry Hildebrand during the 1930s to Aberhart's move into the political arena illustrates well their reticence of cultural engagement and political involvement. Maxwell, for example, "believed the Depression to be a divine judgment on a civilization that had rejected God. They both thought that Christians should vote intelligently and prayerfully, to be sure, but also that Christians had no business trying directly to bring about social reform. The real problem was personal sinfulness, and the real solution was evange-

lism."Society can only be renewed after individuals have been changed. According to Maxwell, Aberhart's political platform held nothing distinctly Christian. Still worse, he had forsaken dispensational "truth" and compromised "for the sake of vain politics the supreme evangelical commitment to evangelism."[52] Henry Hildebrand considered Aberhart's departure from his vitally important Bible school work to politics to be a major "step down." The inability of governments to deal with the root of social problems, this is, "sin," meant that political involvement was doomed to ultimate failure. "Christianity does not vainly endeavour to cleanse the street," wrote Hildebrand, "it deals with the foundation. It does not profess to produce a better environment, it gives power to live above environment."[53] The values and priorities that were taught and exemplified in the lives of these two prominent Bible school leaders greatly shaped the ethos among evangelical Protestants in western Canada.[54]

Conclusion

In this essay I have highlighted, in a preliminary way, some of the connections between populism and Christianity in a region that proved to be fertile soil for populist movements in order to emphasize the point that Christianity not only shaped the cultural ethos of central and eastern Canada, but also western Canada albeit in fundamentally different ways. It underscores the fact that a commitment to Christianity is basic to an understanding of many leaders in western Canada. The fact that religious commitments continue to shape the actions of many involved in populist movements in western Canada during the last half of the twentieth – the recent emergence of Preston Manning and many other evangelical Protestants within the populist Reform Party is yet another layer to this story – needs to be explored by social, cultural, political and religious historians. A full exploration of the relationship between the "west as protest" and the religious developments within the region would be a worthy research project.

The three case studies show how different theological orientations not only existed simultaneously within the same region, but also resulted in very different approaches towards cultural and political engagement. Other, more personal, avenues of investigation remain: instructive, for example, is the varied response of leaders to the complexity of societal problems and the pressures of public leadership in a pluralistic society.

Both Aberhart and Douglas made some significant modifications to their former religious views and practices after spending time in public office.

Mark Noll, an American scholar with considerable interest in comparative studies of religion in the United States and Canada, declared that the question of religion in relation to Canadian society is "the most important under-studied story in the religious history of the twentieth-century North America.[55] This may be truer of western Canada than any other region of the country.

Endnotes

1. The scholarly work exploring the social and cultural history of western Canada has generally (there are some notable exceptions) isolated economic and political factors and neglected to include religious faith as a motivating force in the analysis of developments on the prairies. If religion is included at all, it has generally been treated as somehow strange and bizarre if not entirely irrelevant (see for example, Gerald Friesen's *The Canadian Prairies: A History* [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987], which, despite its magisterial stature in the field, hardly mentions religion. Similarly, the recent work by John Herd Thompson, *Forging the Prairie West* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1998], does not mention religion at all). Ted Regehr's historiographical survey verifies such neglect: only a handful of works mentioned in his article include a discussion of religion ("Historiography of the Canadian Plains After 1870," in *A Region of the Mind: Interpreting the Western Canadian Plains*, ed. Richard Allen [Regina: Canadian Plains Study Centre, 1973], 87-101). Regehr concludes his survey with a notable appeal for more interdisciplinary cooperation among scholars interested in the Canadian prairies. More encouraging is a similar historiographical survey by R. Douglas Francis in which he encourages studies of religion in western Canada as one means by which to understand the "mental ethos – the intellectual mindset and cultural milieu – of the region" ("In Search of a Prairie Myth: A Survey of the Intellectual and Cultural Historiography of Prairie Canada," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 24, No. 3 (Fall 1989): 44-69; reprinted in *Riel to Reform: A History of Protest in Western Canada,* ed. George Melnyk (Saskatoon: Fifth House Publishers, 1992), 20.

2. Definitions of populism vary considerably from a simple description of the folksy appeal of a particular leadership style to a more elaborate description of a political movement that emphasizes the worth of the common people and advocates their political supremacy. Although it is often applied to political organizations that have emerged from regions which feel somewhat marginalized from a larger, collective of sense of identity, it can also be applied to

agrarian or religious movements that do not necessarily produce a political organization to give expression to their sense of marginalization (for a discussion of the "problem" of populism see Trevor Harrison, *Of Passionate Intensity: Right-Wing Populism and the Reform Party of Canada* [Toronto: University of Toronto, 1995], 3-25; and the older article by Peter Sinclair, "Class Structure and Populist Protest: The Case of Western Canada," *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 1 (1975): 1-15).

3. Leaders of other populist movements in Canada with strong religious convictions could easily be added to this survey. Although Riel has sometimes been considered insane, Thomas Flanagan's biography makes a connection between his millenarianism and political views (*Louis 'David' Riel: 'Prophet of the New World'* [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979); many leaders within the United Farmers of Alberta (e.g., Henry Wise Wood, William Irvine, Percival Baker, et al) were influenced both by the Social Gospel movement and other religious traditions so that, according to Richard Allen, the party was as much a religious institution as the church ("The Social Gospel as the Religion of the Agrarian Revolt," in *The West and the Nation: Essays in Honour of W.L. Morton* [Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976], 174-186); William Herridge, leader of New Democracy has been described as "Christian, Canadian and British" (Sinclair, "Class Structure and Populist Protest," 15); and Preston Manning, founding leader of the Reform Party, remains a committed evangelical Protestant (Preston Manning, *The New Canada* [Toronto: Macmillan, 1992], 94-109).

4. Aberhart completed a B.A. from Queen's University by correspondence: he barely managed to pass and he failed both Greek and political science (see Harold J. Schultz, "William Aberhart and the Social Credit Party: A Political Biography" [Ph.D. Diss., Duke University, 1959], 9-10).

5. Westbourne was a small mission under the trusteeship of First Baptist Church. The connection with the Baptist Union of Western Canada was terminated in 1926. After a brief period as part of Aberhart's Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute, 60% of the congregation left and joined the Regular Baptists (later known as the Fellowship of Evangelical Baptists). Aberhart's theological eclecticism is evident already during the 1920s as he is influenced by Harvey McAlister's Pentecostal ideas (David Elliott, "Three Faces of Baptist Fundamentalism in Canada: Aberhart, Maxwell and Shields," in *Memory and Hope: Strands of Canadian Baptist History*, ed. David T. Priestley (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1996), 173).

6. John G. Stackhouse, Jr., *Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century: An Introduction to Its Character* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 36.

7. For an excellent description and analysis of dispensationalism see Timothy Weber, *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming: American Premillennialism, 1875-1982* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987). See also C. Norman Kraus, *Dispensationalism in America: Its Rise and Development* (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1958).

8. He broadcast on CFCN, which identified itself as the "Voice of the Prairies." It was one of the most powerful radio stations in the country.

9. During the mid-1920s Aberhart extended his influence by starting a publication called *The Prophetic Voice*, an evening school known as the Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute (CPBI) – it was lampooned by a Calgary newspaper as the "Calgary Pathetic Bible Substitute" – and a Radio Sunday School that enrolled over 9,000 students at one point (David Elliott, "William Aberhart: Right or Left?" in *The Dirty Thirties in Prairie Canada,* eds. D. Francis and H. Ganzevoort [Vancouver: Tantalus Research Limited, 1973], 21).

10. Cited in Walter Ellis, "Baptists and Radical Politics in Western Canada (1920-1950)," in *Baptists in Canada: Search for Identity Amidst Diversity*, ed. Jarold K. Zeman (Burlington: Welch, 1980), 173. This emphasis on the individual remained a distinguishing feature of Social Credit ideology, and has sometimes led people to assume (erroneously) that it emerged as a "right-wing" political expression that enthusiastically embraced "free enterprise." Thomas Flanagan and Martha Lee observe, "the movement never gave up its original 'humanitarian' intention of assuring a decent standard of living to all. The result was a demand for the state to supplement, but not supplant, the market" ("From Social Credit to Social Conservatism: The Evolution of an Ideology," in *From Riel to Reform*, 192. Various scholars have noted the similarities between the ideas put forward by the early Social Credit movement and the CCF in Saskatchewan (see Sinclair, "Class Structure and Populist Protest," 1-15; Elliott, "William Aberhart: Right or Left?" 11-31; and A. Finkel, *The Social Credit Phenomenon in Alberta* [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989]).

11. Although Aberhart is often the first person associated with Social Credit in Alberta, significant also is Manning who served for many years as Aberhart's assistant and advisor. Unlike Aberhart, he retained many of the evangelical views he had been taught at the Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute. After Aberhart's death , Manning became premier of Alberta, a position he held for twenty-five years, and also took over Aberhart's radio broadcast ("Back to the Bible Hour"). Following his retirement as premier, he was a member of the Senate for thirteen years. Little work has been done exploring the relationship between his religious and political views (see Tony Cashman, *Ernest C.*

Manning: A Biographical Sketch [Edmonton: N.p., 1958]; Lloyd Mackey, *Like Father Like Son: Ernest C. Manning and Preston Manning* [Toronto: ECW Press, 1997])

12. The Social Credit movement spread to both Saskatchewan and British Columbia. The strength of the CCF in Saskatchewan limited their success, but in British Columbia the Social Credit came to power in 1952 under the leadership of W.A.C. Bennett. In addition, in 1935 the Social Credit movement fielded forty-five candidates in a federal election, winning all but two federal seats in Alberta but only two in Saskatchewan.

13. The significant level of government intervention and control had an eerie resemblance to the end-times prophetic descriptions contained in his dispensational eschatology.

14. For examples of scholars who carelessly make this assertion, see W.E. Mann, *Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1955), 156-157; and John Webster Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1972), 142-143. See John G. Stackhouse, Jr., "Proclaiming the Word: Canadian Evangelicalism Since the First World War"(Ph.D. Diss., University of Chicago, 1987), 35-36, for an outline of those who have demonstrated this to be false.

15. Aberhart developed friendships with several United Church ministers whose Social Gospel emphases and language were sometimes appropriated for his own causes (see David R. Elliott and Iris Miller, *Bible Bill: A Biography of William Aberhart* [Edmonton: Reidmore Books, 1987], 312).

16. Donald A. Goertz, "The Development of A Bible Belt: The Socio-Religious Interaction in Alberta between 1925-1938" (M.C.S. Thesis, Regent College, 1980), 169; and Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, 177.

17. Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, 310ff.

18. Cited in Stackhouse, *Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century*, 42. See also Donald A. Wicks, "T.T. Shields and the Canadian Protestant League, 1941-1950" (M.A. Thesis, University of Guelph, 1971).

19. David R. Elliott, "Antithetical Elements in William Aberhart's Theology and Political Ideology," *Canadian Historical Review* 59, No. 1 (1978): 38-58.

20. Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, 312.

21. See Elliott, "William Aberhart: Right or Left?" 11-31.

22. See Stackhouse for a discussion of the varying interpretations of the relationship between Aberhart's dispensationalism and his subsequent political programme (*Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century*, 220-221).

23. He apparently became a universalist and even dabbled in a variety of occultic activities (for details see Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, 314). Aberhart was not the only political leader in Canada's history with some private religious eccentricities (for example, Louis Riel and Mackenzie King).

24. Elliott and Miller occasionally comment on the ongoing influence of Aberhart's former dispensationalism particularly in his frequent apocalyptic interpretations of current events, his conversations with foreign dignitaries about British Israelism, and his interpretation of those who opposed his political initiatives as part of demonic conspiracies of the Antichrist (see *Bible Bill*, 117-119, 177).

25. Doris French Shackleton, *Tommy Douglas* (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, Ltd, 1975), 31.

26. J. Brian Scott, "Brandon College and Social Christianity," in *Costly Vision: The Baptist Pilgrimage in Canada*, ed. Jarold K. Zeman (Burlington: Welch, 1988), 144.

27. Cited in Joseph D. Ban, "T.C. Douglas and W. Aberhart: A Comparison of their Theological Premises and Social Perspectives," in *Costly Vision,* 76. Similar statements are made by Walter Ellis, "Baptists and Radical Politics in Western Canada (1920-1950), 171-177.

28. Cited in Ban, "T.C. Douglas and W. Aberhart," 77. At the time Saskatchewan was the third most populous province in Canada.

29. Cited in Ban, "T.C. Douglas and W. Aberhart," 80.

30. See L.D. Lovick, *Tommy Douglas Speaks: Till Power is Brought to Pooling* (Lantzville: Oolichan Books, 1979), 70-77; and Andrew Milnor, "The New Politics and Ethnic Revolt, 1929-1938," in *Politics in Saskatchewan*, eds. Norman Ward and Duff Spafford (Don Mills: Longmans Canada Limited, 1968), 151-177.

31. Thomas H. McLead, and Ian McLead, *Tommy Douglas: The Road to Jerusalem* (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1987), 39.

32. For more on the influence of Christianity on Woodsworth, see Kenneth McNaught, *A Prophet in Politics: A Biography of J.S. Woodsworth* (Don Mills: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1979); and Allen George Mills, *Fool for Christ: The Political Thought of J.S. Woodsworth* (Toronto: University of

Toronto Press, 1991).

33. He was almost kicked out of the party for having consorted with the Social Credit enemy (McLeod and McLeod, *Tommy Douglas,* 46).

34. McLeod and McLeod, *Tommy Douglas,* 63.

35. Lovick, *Tommy Douglas Speaks*, 21.

36. Cited in Ban, "T.C. Douglas and W. Aberhart," 81.

37. Scott, "Brandon College and Social Christianity," 144.

38. McLeod and McLeod, *Tommy Douglas,* 45.

39. McLeod and McLeod, *Tommy Douglas,* 308. Those who knew him well suggest that Douglas did not attend church as often as he liked people to think that he did.

40. Lovick, *Tommy Douglas Speaks*, 21.

41. Lovick, *Tommy Douglas Speaks*, 21.

42. Even a conservative estimate suggests that more than 200,000 people have spent at least one academic term at a Canadian Bible school or college. In measuring influence this does not include the many who frequently attended week-end teaching conferences sponsored by these schools, or those who were influenced by reading the literature published by these schools, or those who regularly listened to radio broadcasts aired by these schools, or the those who were significantly influenced by alumnae from these schools.

43. See A.J. Klassen, ed., *The Bible School Story, 1913-1963: Fifty Years of Mennonite Brethren Bible Schools in Canada* (Clearbrook: Canadian Board of Education, 1963), 15-16. Another estimate in 1985 suggested that more than 46,500 of the approximately 69,000 Protestant missionaries from North America had been trained in Bible schools/colleges (Joel A. Carpenter and Wilbert R. Shenk, eds.,*Earthen Vessels: American Evangelicals and Foreign Missions, 1880-1980* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990], xii).

44. For a more extensive and detailed study, see my dissertation manuscript entitled, "Training for Service: The Bible School Movement in Western Canada, 1909-1960."

45. This was recognized earlier by Donald Goertz who compared the movements started by William Aberhart and L.E. Maxwell, principal of the largest Bible school in Canada during this period ("The Development of A Bible Belt").

46. Ironically, this intentional withdrawal contributed towards the secularization of Canadian society. The examination of secularization in Canada has generally been limited to the study of "mainline" Protestants. Although the reasons for the absence from the public arena varies among the many groups involved in the Bible school movement in western Canada, the impact of their cumulative absence and its contribution to the marginalization of Christianity in western Canada has thus far been overlooked as a consideration in the secularization of Canada (see Brian C. Stiller, *From the Tower of Babel to Parliament Hill: How to Be a Christian in Canada Today* [Toronto: HarperCollins, 1997]).

47. See John Redekop, "Decades of Transition: North American Mennonite Brethren in Politics," in *Bridging Troubled Waters: Mennonite Brethren at Mid-Century*, ed. Paul Toews (Winnipeg: Kindred Productions, 1995), 19-84.

48. Most of the groups influenced by fundamentalism in western Canada did not share with their American fundamentalist counterparts the same intense sense of crisis with modernism that led to a withdrawal from public life, social concerns and political involvement between 1920-1950 in the United States. Many of the evangelical groups located within western Canada had not been in the country long enough to share the same loss of cultural hegemony that precipitated the fundamentalist movement in the United States.

49. Bernard and Marjorie Palmer, *Miracle on the Prairies: The Story of Briercrest Bible Institute* (Caronport: Briercrest Bible Institute, n.d.), 23ff.

50. See the pointed observations about the social attitudes of dispensationalists made by Walter Rauschenbusch, *Theology for the Social Gospel* (New York: Macmillan, 1917), 210-211.

51. See Ian S. Rennie, "The Doctrine of Man in the Bible Belt," Paper presented at the Regent College Conference, Calgary, February 1974, 9-11.

52. Cited in Stackhouse, *Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century*, 43-44. See also Goertz, "The Development of a Bible Belt," 166-168. Maxwell thought Aberhart had become "worldly in attempting to feed, cloth and shelter people."

53. Cited in Goertz, "The Development of a Bible Belt," 184. Aberhart, who rarely allowed criticism to go unanswered, replied, "I wouldn't give much for a Christianity that has no effect upon the environment of a person. I believe that Christ never intended his followers to withdraw into seclusion from a wickedly moral world."

54. After noting the relationship between fundamentalism and the agrarian protest movement on the prairies, R. Douglas Francis observed that "a study of the ideas of prairie fundamentalism would greatly assist in our understanding of the intellectual roots of prairie culture and society" ("In Search of a Prairie Myth," in *Riel to Reform*, 31).

55. "The End of Canadian History?" *First Things* [April 1992]: 29-36.

Must We have War Again? A Preliminary Exploration of Pacifism in the Restoration Movement in Canada Through the Pages of the *Gospel Herald* (1936-1940)

RUSSEL PRIME

The Circle

War begets poverty,
Poverty peace,
Peace begets plenty,
Then riches increase:

Riches bring pride
And pride is war's ground,
War begets poverty –
So goes the round.
(Norman Staker)[1]

"The War Cloud is rising quickly on the Horizon of the world. If the storm breaks what should Christians do?" asked Lillian M. Torkelson on the front page of a new Canadian periodical called the *Gospel Herald* in April of 1936. The article and accompanying poem by L.B. Purnell were decidedly anti-war. Even three years before the European conflict would crystallize in its fullness, the writing was on the wall for all to see – a war appeared inevitable. Christians who took the scriptures seriously would be forced to make a difficult choice. Were not Christians "citizens of Heaven" before being His Majesty's Canadian subjects? Did not our Lord and Saviour come to "bring peace and goodwill among men on earth"?

Were Christians not to love their enemies? These were some of the concerns that the Torkelson article raised. Readers were urged to "obey God" rather than human authorities and work hard to claim an exemption from enrolment and actual war service. Torkelson reminded readers that "persons who are adverse to fighting on religious grounds" might succeed in establishing an exemption under the law even though they were not members of the historic peace churches. This was the first article in a long line of many others that would grace the pages of the *Gospel Herald*. Writers in support of pacifist stances would include Torkelson, J.C. Bailey and H.D. MacLeod.

The Churches of Christ are a little known Christian movement in Canada that seeks to bring all Christians toward a non-organic unity by restoring a New Testament order, faith and practice. It formed out of Scotch and Scottish Baptist roots principally in Upper Canada and the Maritimes around 1830 and was encouraged and shaped by the Restoration Movement led by Alexander Campbell and Barton Stone on the American frontier. The movement labelled itself "Christians" or "Disciples of Christ" (after scripture-like names supported by Campbell, Stone and others). They practised weekly communion, baptism by immersion and strict adherence to scriptural norms; yet, they also espoused liberty where the scriptures did not speak. By the latter part of the nineteenth century, congregations that supported a more literal approach to biblical interpretation and opposed organic cooperation, missionary societies and organ music began to identify themselves as the Churches of Christ.[2] Others that supported more cooperative efforts, including some liberals and self-styled "progressives," continued to identify themselves as "Disciples of Christ." Many of the reasons for this separation developed out of difficulties within the United States that were widely circulated and discussed in the movement's religious journals. In fact, many attribute the split to a latent North-South outcome of the American Civil War. By 1900, regardless of the reasons, the camps were firmly drawn, and association with each other was barely possible.[3]

The *Gospel Herald* served an Ontario and western Canadian audience. It boasted a regular feature on Canadian preachers, contained biblical sermons and articles by local contributors, regularly updated readers on the status of a ministry to "Original Canadians" (or First Nations People) in Manitoba,[4] encouraged local radio broadcasts during an era of the new technology and listed Canadian congregations.[5] Young writers such as the prolific Wilma Gustafson frequently contributed youth

material and biblical study columns designed for a general audience; this is surprising given that women did not hold formal leadership positions within the movement during the period (nor do they today). Robert Sinclair acted as the coordinating editor and publisher of the *Gospel Herald.* He was a young Church of Christ evangelist serving in the small prairie town of Wishart, Saskatchewan. This publication was designed to serve the needs of churches in Canada (centred in the West and Ontario), and it began humbly in the middle of the depression years in March of 1936.[6] The paper was first published on a four-dollar, flat-bed, manual press; however, after Sinclair moved to Carmen, Manitoba in 1938, the paper was produced using an automatic duplicator that much improved its look and quality. Beginning in 1938, the publication could handle photographs.

This short research paper will show the importance of pacifism or anti-war rhetoric by many in the Church of Christ movement as revealed on the pages of the *Gospel Herald* and other known sources. It is interesting to note that Thomas P. Socknat, in his monumental work[7] on the Canadian anti-war movement, comments very little on the "conscientious objector" stance of this group of Christians. Socknat identifies one objector of the Churches of Christ in a footnote participating and volunteering for alternative service in the Civilian Corps of Canadian Firefighters and also documents that twenty of their objectors worked in National Parks as part of an alternative service program.[8] His failure to discuss this religious movement is likely a result of the group's small presence in Canada during the period. The stance of some in the Churches of Christ was overshadowed by the actions of much larger groups such as the historic peace churches, the Jehovah Witnesses, groups within the United Church of Canada, and the complex religious and social movements that called for peace during the inter-war years. However, the Church of Christ story deserves to be told even in a brief manner by this short report. I will begin by identifying some of the roots of pacifism in the Restoration Movement and then look at the story that unfolds in the *Gospel Herald* and in other known sources.

Stone-Campbell Situation Pacifist Environment

The Stone-Campbell or Restoration Movement has never been a mainstream or well-known religious group in Canada or in other parts of

the Commonwealth. Its small size and rural character have placed it on the periphery of society. Even the inclusion of its more liberal elements in the chartering of the Canadian Council of Churches did not raise its profile significantly in the general population. However, the movement played a more significant role in the United States. It was in the United States that the movement spread like fire on the American Frontier thorough Kentucky, Ohio and beyond. The movement grew out of several influences including the important work of Alexander Campbell and Barton Stone. Campbell, Stone and other first generation "Restorationists" did not support the idea of civil conflict, especially given their context as a unity movement.[9] In fact, one of Campbell's famous speeches made at Wheeling, Virginia, in 1848 was used to support the neutral stance of the United States at the beginning of the Second World War when it was read into the Congressional Record by Joseph B. Shannon of Missouri in 1937.[10]

However, by far, the most important early proponent of a pacifist position was the second generation Church of Christ editor and Southern spokesperson, David Lipscomb (1831-1917) of Nashville, Tennessee. Lipscomb, a graduate of Franklin College and farmer-preacher took over the editorship of the *Gospel Advocate* in 1866. He was so thoroughly pacifist that he insisted that Christians were citizens of heaven before any state. In fact, he believed that all "civil governments" were "evil," and he refused to vote or take part in any political process[11] "much less maim or kill another person."[12] Lipscomb and fellow "Disciple" Tolbert Fanning were two the signatories to a communication addressed "To His Excellency The President of the Confederate States of America," which suggested that God's regulations were of higher importance that those of any state. They asked to be relieved of "the requirements repulsive to their religious faith."[13] The *Advocate* was a conservative and anti-innovation weekly that gained new life out of the disenchanting move by the American Christian Missionary Society (AMCS)[14] to abandon its neutrality in 1863 in favour of the Union forces. Such a move was symptomatic for Lipscomb of the Northern power structure of the Disciples. "The fact that we had not a single paper known to us," wrote Lipscomb in the 1 May 1866 edition of the weekly paper, "that Southern people could read without having their feelings wounded by political insinuations and lures, had more to do with calling the *Advocate* into existence than all the other circumstances combined."[15] Indeed, the movement was witnessing the strong seeds of division. The turn from a neutral stance by the ACMS during the Civil War contributed to an

existing distrust of missionary organizations and split the movement over the slave question. A dispute over the use of organs in worship would also contribute to the growing separation. Lipscomb would become one of the principal editors for the Church of Christ tradition. His college, called the Nashville Bible School (posthumously renamed the David Lipscomb University), was also a centre of this more conservative movement.

The pacifist stance by some within the early and later Stone-Campbell movement was not isolated to Campbell and Lipscomb.[16] Indeed, Moses Lard, the editor of *Lard's Quarterly* believed so strongly that he moved temporarily to Canada to avoid involvement in the Civil War conflict.[17] James W. McGarvey and fourteen other Missouri ministers urged a neutral stance within the movement in a document that has been inaccurately described as a "pacifist manifesto."[18] An important minority of conservatives and liberals would also become conscientious objectors during the "Great War" under the influence of Lipscomb and others, especially in the United States. For instance, Disciples of Christ college students Kirby Page and Harold Gray became committed objectors as a result of seeing the devastation of lives while volunteering for the international YMCA in England during the beginning of the First World War.[19] Charles Clayton Morrison, editor of the *Christian Century* and bearer of Maritime roots, admitted that "he had been taught to see more deeply into the nature of war by two 'mere boys,' Harold Gray and Kirby Page," and he took on a much stronger pacifist response as the uncertainty of the 1917 peace settlement loomed larger in the inter-war period. A Canadian minority of both Church of Christ and Disciple backgrounds followed a pacifist stance during the Second World War.[20]

The Idea of Peacemaker in the Gospel Herald

The *Gospel Herald* sought to be a full-service spiritual guide. It included columns and information for youth, encouraged home and overseas missions, served as a place of debate for issues facing the church and was a forum for sharing new ministry ideas and ventures. In effect, the paper took the place of a co-operative society or agency that Church of Christ policy did not trust, and it became the assembly itself. As a result, the pages are rich with ideas, advertisements and local news. We read of the large crowd at the closing day of the Selkirk Bible School in Ontario,[21] a summer venture replicated throughout Ontario, Manitoba and Saskatchewan during this period. There is a clarification on the usefulness of the

new "Revised Version" and its "chief advantage" being that it does not use words that have become obsolete as the King James Version does.[22] This monthly journal is filled with preaching reports, poetry, letters to the editor, questions for clarifying biblical understanding, a church directory, preaching illustrations, historical items, news of evangelistic campaigns and theological essays. The publisher, D.A. Sinclair, defended having a religious paper in May of 1937 by suggesting that the *Gospel Herald* could go many places with a gospel message where members of the Body could not go themselves.[23] Accordingly, Sinclair recognized that the paper was an important forum, but for him, the purpose of the paper was an evangelistic one. He suggested to readers that the *Gospel Herald* contained almost "two weeks" worth of the teaching that one would find in a church meeting, that it was cost-effective, and that there should be "one in each home."[24]

While Sinclair and others saw the monthly journal primarily as a "herald" of the Good News of Jesus Christ, this paper becomes for us, sixty years later, a rich source of religious understanding and news. In relation to military service, two things become quickly apparent from the pages of this religious paper: the support for conscientious objection to military service and the strong teaching of the importance of love over violence. Many other topics could be explored using the pages of the *Gospel Herald*; however, such topics will be left for other researchers. Let us look at these two anti-war ideas below in more detail.

Objecting to War

Evangelist John Carlos Bailey[25] became the leading spokesperson for the anti-war agenda on the pages of the *Gospel Herald*. J.C. Bailey was born in Grey County, Ontario, on 13 September 1903, and grew up at Thessalon, Ontario. At the age of ten, Bailey was baptized by his father.[26] Bailey occasionally preached during his teen years, but after attending the Carman Bible School in Manitoba for two winters, he began regular preaching at the Schnellar School House in Saskatchewan in 1922. "Brother Bailey" proved himself an able teacher and organizer. By the age of thirty-four, he had established several congregations in Saskatchewan and Montana. He had "not labored in any one congregation," but preached as an evangelist in Ontario, Manitoba, Montana, North Dakota, Idaho, Missouri, Iowa and Saskatchewan. He had guided 229 people in baptism, acted as a principal supporter and teacher in the "Saskatchewan Winter

Bible Schools" beginning in 1932, "sounded forth the word in over one hundred communities" and preached over 3000 sermons.[27] It was not a surprise that Bailey would become the editor of the *Gospel Herald* in December 1939[28] and continue in that post even after he moved from Radville, Saskatchewan to Meaford, Ontario in 1940.[29]

In 1936, Bailey based his opposition to bearing arms in war on two grounds: on the command not to murder or kill others and on the economic greed that war represents. He asks, "Can a Christian kill his fellow men and be guiltless?" Bailey believes that killing others in war makes believers no better than criminals. The carnage of the Great War – "those that came back were gassed, maimed in every conceivable way" – shocks and saddens him. He also appeals to parents, asking them should their sons "die as rats to fill the coffers of the already rich?" Here he raises his second argument: "how international financing kept both sides in the field" to make money. He feels that such a "nauseating" scene "should open the eyes of the people to the solemn truth that war is a *racket*." He also tries to address the apparent conflict with state authority that a pacifist stance creates by raising the issue of honouring the King of the Dominion of Canada. His position is that he "would rather live in Canada, in the British Empire than any place in the world," but to "condemn the viciousness of war is not surely dishonorable is it? The Bible says, Honour the king. God didn't say 'love the war makers.' Our gracious Sovereign doesn't want war any more" than God does.[30]

Bailey would work towards no war; however, he had no problem with the Government's use of voluntary service. His difficulty lay with conscription or forced service. In the case of volunteering, he reasoned that to do so would forsake the assembly of Christians. Therefore, Christians should not volunteer to kill others in war for they would be forsaking the local assembly. However, if conscription were imposed, the Christian would have no option but to obey the government (e.g., meaning that Christians would be forced from attending the local church). But, obeying the government means that the Christian could be away from the local assembly but still should not fight. Christians should endeavour in such a situation to be excluded on religious grounds and take up alternative service options. He sees this outcome as honouring the law and God's precepts. Others such as Gordon J. Pennock of St. James, Manitoba, Vilma Gustafson of Brooking, Saskatchewan, agree with Bailey in this assessment.[31]

As the war unfolded in 1939, Bailey became the informal contact

point between congregations and government. He advised the government about the existence of some conscientious objectors among Church of Christ congregations and published information about the proper procedures for young men to follow in order to be exempted from service. For instance, in October 1940, Bailey published a copy of his letter addressed to the Minister of National Defence and two replies to that correspondence. At this point, conscription has not yet been put in place, and it is unfortunate that the microfilm copies of this paper at Acadia's library do not extend beyond 1940, for it is not possible to see for ourselves how Bailey and others reacted once conscription was imposed. We are also left without knowing the later editorial policies of this paper as the conflict continued and worsened. Did it change to a more nationalistic stance as the American Church of Christ papers had done under pressure during the First World War?[32]

There is little doubt that the reality of war changed the tone of the debate for and against military service. Rather than asking the question of the Christian attitude to war as Bailey had in 1936, by December of 1939, the *Gospel Herald* addressed the question, "Shall We Fight For Our Loved Ones"?[33] Nationalism, duty and ridicule became elements in the debate. Even in the face of potential jeering, the writer (probably evangelist Gordon J. Pennock) was unrelenting in his stance. Christians should not assist the war willingly even when regarded as cowards. Christians must stand for what they believe and "right from the start, be determined not to fight even if it means that we must go to jail or face the firing squad." His implication was that Christians should not be cowards as well. However, he does admit that "if conscription comes to Canada" he "can see no reason why Christians should not go willingly and work in the Red Cross" as Bailey had suggested. This attitude to war is in keeping with the findings of Socknat as the war progressed and as conscientious objectors declared themselves. Socknat concludes that "the majority of COs in the camp were members of millennial sects or the Conference of Historic Peace Churches; consequently, they viewed alternative service simply as the price they had to pay to remain true to their faith."[34]

Ethic of God's Love over Violence

The imperative towards non-violence went beyond opposition to bloodshed and fighting. The idea extended to basic treatment of others,

whether they were a next-door neighbour or people of other ethnic backgrounds. These Christians took the teachings of Jesus seriously and were able to apply the principles to their own contexts. At least on one level, they sought to be witnesses for Christ and to teach principles that would lead them into relationship with others. This does not mean that they were perfect witnesses nor does it imply that they lived with consistent theologies (this is true for all believers). They held to the idea that a truth existed and, therefore, they could have points of division with others. Indeed, they were very liberal on the subject of neighbourliness and ethnicity while being fairly closed, according to today's standards, about dancing and other social activities. These believers were striving to live as faithful Christians in a complex world.

A firm example of the treatment of neighbours can be taken from an illustration found in the June issue of the *Gospel Herald* in 1937. It is suggested that, should a Christian buy a farm and later learn that the neighbour claims that the fence of the Christian lies on the neighbour's property, the proper thing to do is to avoid a lawsuit and give the little bit of land, if necessary. The article implied that this attitude was more likely to promote understanding and the sharing of the gospel. The attitude of being responsible neighbours for the sake of the Gospel is also shown by the following poem:[35]

I come from a land that is over the sea,
And in this land you call me the "heathen Chinee";
You laugh at my ways and my long, braided hair,
At the food that I eat and the clothes that I wear.
Are you little Christians – you 'Melican boys –
Who pelt me with stones and who scare me with noise?
Such words as you speak, and such deeds as you do,
Will never make Christian heathen Ching Foo;
I may turn from my gods to the God that you praise,
When you love me and teach me and show me His ways.

This poem is not without its religious prejudices and ethnic difficulties; its inclusion in the *Gospel Herald,* however, implies an important attitude of openness and desire for relationship with others in order to share the Gospel. Bailey and others did not believe in an "interim ethic" as Jehovah's Witnesses and others advocated; instead, they believed in a present

and enduring attitude towards making peace. Such an understanding goes beyond the label of "eschatological pacifists" by which Socknat classifies groups like the Churches of Christ.[36] They sought to put Jesus' words into action. Far from removing themselves from the world, this group in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Ontario appeared intent on sharing the good news of the gospel with others. While I cannot deny their biblical legalism at some points, evidenced by their disdain for public dancing and worldly excesses, at other points such as on the notion of bearing arms and on scriptural translation they were very progressive. They were determined to share the gospel and any power or principle that they recognized as compromising that mission could not be supported. They did not promote lawsuits with their neighbours in order to show and share the love of Jesus Christ. They did not support prejudicial treatment of the Chinese on an individual basis because the Chinese were loved by God and deserved to know God's gospel in word and deed.

Two Implications

For the purposes of this paper, there were two important and practical implications of the anti-war stance of the *Gospel Herald*. First, we see the significance that the group placed on integrity of belief and on the high standards that Jesus had challenged his followers to achieve. It was important to them that words and deeds remained consistent. And, in this way, this minority (probably) element in the Church of Christ found itself a co-belligerent alongside other groups much more fundamental and liberal than itself. Like the seventy-five pacifist United Church ministers held up as an example in the *Gospel Herald* of December 1939, many of the vocal evangelists and leaders of the Church of Christ movement shared a common ethic and belief: war was wrong.[37] Although the Churches of Christ were small, its pacifist believers counted as an important constituency of the anti-war religious movement – what Socknat has termed "the major resistance to military service in the course of the twentieth century."[38] They assisted in this struggle even with their small numbers and despite the possible minority perspective that they represented within their own movement.[39]

Second, and of equal importance, the later anti-conscription stance of some in the Church of Christ tradition led to an important qualification as to what a church and a minister are in Canada. On 30 August 1943, Justice Maclean of the Court of King's Bench of Saskatchewan decided in

favour of Clarence Allen Bien by granting exemption from military service. It was determined that the Church of Christ was a "religious denomination within the meaning of the *National War Services Regulations* entitling a minister thereof to exemption from compulsory military service under the Regulations."[40] The Court recognized that the group conducted a formal order of worship on Sundays where members "sing hymns, read portions of Scripture [and] engage in prayer." The minister was recognized as such even though Church of Christ ministers were generally unsalaried, did not undergo any prescribed procedure for ordination and were often without formal training. Bien made his living through farming. However, he had apprenticed for three years (the case suggests that most did) as a preacher, had been recommended as a preacher by his church (or two ministers) and had acquired the right to marry church adherents under the laws of Saskatchewan. The Court found that there was no bishop or moderator; however, there was a general secretary that coordinated marriage approvals.[41] The Court decided that Bien was in fact a "minister" or evangelist with the Churches of Christ and was exempt from compulsory service.[42] This decision has been particularly important as it has been referred to in order to determine whether a group constitutes a church and is eligible for military service exemption (such as the Jehovah's Witnesses) during the war or more recently for exemption from taxation. The ruling is especially useful in church contexts with little distinction between clerical and lay roles.[43]

Conclusion

The principled teaching and guidance of J.C. Bailey, Lillian Tourkelson and others had profound implications for many members (especially young people) of the Churches of Christ movement in Canada. Some of their membership became conscientious objectors and had to suffer the lack of understanding of those more tied to the nationalistic fervour of saving the world through war. While we cannot be certain of numbers,[44] many of eligible age (between twenty and twenty-five years old) were encouraged to serve in alternative ways during the war. The anti-war advocacy of the *Gospel Herald* had affected the lives of the movement's youth.

More research needs to be undertaken as to the pacifist position of those within the Campbell-Stone movement within Canada. This is one area where a minority of liberals and conservatives were in agreement. The

group is little-known, but the struggle of its members has left a rich legacy in the records of papers such as the *Gospel Herald* of the inter-war period and of the broader definition of church and minister within the Canadian legal framework. We can pray that more research will be undertaken.

Endnotes

1. *Gospel Herald,* March 1937, 9.

2. "By 1889 division was an obvious reality" between the Church of Christ and the Disciples in Ontario (Edwin L. Broadus, "The Beamsville Church at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century: A Study of One Congregation's Response to Division" in *The Campbell-Stone Movement in Ontario*, ed. Claude Cox [Queenston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1995], 271- 277).

3. By the early 1970s the "Disciples of Christ" had suffered another liberal-conservative split over biblical interpretation, congregational integrity and institutional and ecumenical wariness. One group characterized by more conservative theology became known as "independent" or non-denomination Christian Churches/Churches of Christ, while the remaining congregations became formally the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ).

4. *Gospel Herald*, June 1936, 20.

5. The *Gospel Herald* even published a map of the Church of Christ congregations in Saskatchewan showing locations and adherent numbers (*Gospel Herald*, January 1937, 18).

6. Initially, the motto read "Make disciples of all the nations. Matthew 28:29"; however, by its second year of the publication, the masthead read "Published Monthly in the interest of the Church of Christ" and contained the image of a herald and a brief statement of the beliefs of the movement.

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

8. Socknat, *Witness Against War*, 251, 346.

9. Alexander Campbell "was as consistent in his pacifism as any person of his time." Furthermore, "Jacob Creath, Jr. (1799-1886), Benjamin Franklin, and John W. McGarvey (1829-1911) joined Campbell in standing firmly on neutral ground" (Lester G. McAllister, *Journey in Faith: A History of the Christian Church [Disciples of Christ] [*Saint Louis: CBP Press, 1975], 201).

10. Comments of Gordon J. Pennock, *Gospel Herald*, November 1939, 3. This is supported by an electronic text on Dr. Hans Rollmann's site at Memorial University which supplies the entire speech: see http://www.mun.ca/rels/restmov/

11. Michael W. Casey, "From Pacifism to Patriotism: The Emergence of Civil Religion in Churches of Christ During World War I," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 66 (July 1992): 377.

12. McAllister, *Journey in Faith*, 203.

13. Cited in McAllister, *Journey in Faith*, 203.

14. The American Christian Missionary Society was formed for the purposes of promoting home and foreign missions in 1849 by cooperating Disciples congregations. It was the only national organization of the movement even though it did not act as a headquarters in any way (Reuben Butchart, *The Disciples of Christ in Canada Since 1830* [Toronto: Churches of Christ (Disciples), 1949], 34).

15. Cited in McAllister, *Journey of Faith*, 216.

16. It must be emphasized that pacifism was a minority position within the movement. One need only recognize the position of Ohio Disciple's preacher and college president, James A. Garfield, who became a Major General during the Civil War for the Union and later a Senator and President of the United States.

17. Eugene C. Perry, "Joseph Ash and his 'Reminiscences'" in *The Campbell-Stone Movement in Ontario*, ed. Claude E. Cox (Queenston, Ontario: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1995), 289-291.

18. Winfred Ernest Garrison, *An American Religious Movement: A Brief History of the Disciples of Christ* (St. Louis: The Bethany Press, 1945), 117.

19. Charles Chatfield, *For Peace and Justice: Pacifism in America, 1914-1941* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1971), 43-46. Chatfield provides a detail biography of these two individuals.

20. For example, see Socknat, *Witness Against War*, 347. The Disciple member of an alternative service program to China in 1944 is not identified, but it is most likely either Russell Beck or Stan Outhouse, both participants in the scheme.

21. *Gospel Herald*, April 1938, 14.

22. *Gospel Herald,* June 1937, 7.

23. *Gospel Herald*, May 1937, 14.

24. *Gospel Herald*, May 1937, 14.

25. A useful autobiography is John Carlos Bailey, *Forty Years A Canadian Preacher, 1921-61* (Abilene: Mathews Print, 1961).

26. J.C. Bailey's father was probably the evangelist at North Livingstone in Thessalon, T.W. Bailey (*Gospel Herald*, July 1938, 16).

27. "Our Canadian Preachers," *Gospel Herald*, April 1938, 6.

28. *Gospel Herald*, December 1939, 1. This edition includes a photo and article on the editorial change. Robert Sinclair continued as the publisher after moving from Carman to Holland, Manitoba. Sinclair also appears to have been the publisher of the local newspaper, *The Holland Herald*.

29. "Please remember to send articles and subscriptions to J.C. Bailey, Meaford, Ontario" (*Gospel Herald*, October 1940, 7).

30. *Gospel Herald*, July 1936, 1.

31. See support for anti-war stances by Gustafson in the *Gospel Herald*, June 1936, 1; and most-likely by Pennock in the *Gospel Herald*, December 1939, 3.

32. See Casey, "From Pacifism to Patriotism," 376-390.

33. *Gospel Herald*, December 1939, 3.

34. Socknat, *Witness Against War*, 242.

35. *Gospel Herald*, August 1937, 8.

36. Socknat, *Witness Against War*, 18. Socknat refers to other religious dissenters outside of the historic peace churches as being "various fundamentalist and millennial sects holding radical objections to war" that "entered Canada during the late-nineteenth century from Britain and the United States." He uses the typology of Peter Brock, which designates such groups as "eschatological pacifists" (*Pacifism in Europe to 1914* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972], 4). This definition, however, does not fit the Church of Christ very well as the group had an earlier existence in Canada and did not hold to an interim ethic allowing for a later millennial fight for God. Instead, they were influenced in their pacifism by Alexander Campbell, Barton Stone and the writings of David Lipscomb.

37. *Gospel Herald*, December 1939, 3.

38. Socknat, *Witness Against War*, 19.

39. See Casey, "From Pacifism to Patriotism," 376. Casey shows how the Churches of Christ largely abandoned their pacifist outlook in favour of a politically-flavoured pro-war stance in the United States during the course of the First World War.

40. Taken from the case summary of *Bien* v. C*ooke* (1943), 81 C.C.C., 316.

41. The General Secretary, not named, earned his living as a locomotive engineer (*Bien* v. C*ooke* [1943], 81 C.C.C., 316-318).

42. Several ministry students were forced to become chaplains in the military (Socknat, *Witness Against War*, 245).

43. See M.H. Ogilvie, *Religious Institutions and the Law in Canada* (Toronto: Carswell, 1996).

44. Twenty members of the Church of Christ worked in National Parks in 1942 (Socknat, *Witness Against War*, 239). It is interesting to note that twenty-eight "Christians" also worked in alternative service in National Parks that year in Canada. These small numbers compare to six Baptists, six Anglicans, twenty-one United Churchmen, thirteen Jehovah's Witnesses, thirty-nine Hutterites, and six hundred sixty-three Mennonites. These people were principally in the labouring classes (Socknat, *Witness Against War*, 240). At least one Church of Christ believer served in the Civilian Corps of Canadian Firefighters in the United Kingdom during the war (Socknat, *Witness Against War*, 251, 346).

Louise Crummy McKinney (1868-1931): A Window into Western Canadian Christianity

ANNE WHITE

Louise Crummy McKinney was a prominent social activist and popular preacher in Alberta during the first three decades of the twentieth century. McKinney was president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) in Alberta and Saskatchewan for over twenty-two years, and vice-president of the Dominion WCTU for twenty-one years. Shortly before her death in 1931 she was elected as first vice-president of the World WCTU.[1] In 1917 McKinney also made history by becoming the first female elected to the Alberta Provincial Legislature and the first female MLA in the British Empire. In addition, she was a Methodist local preacher, Sunday School superintendent, church organizer, Bible class leader, a champion of women's ordination, a teacher, writer and an international speaker. Further, she was a delegate to the final Methodist General Conference in 1925, and in that same year was one of only four woman chosen to sign the Basis of Union for the United Church of Canada alongside 327 male counterparts.[2] Louise C. McKinney was also one of the Famous Five women in the Persons Case, who successfully petitioned the British Privy Council in 1929 for full legal definition and recognition of women as persons under Canadian law.

Forgotten Heroine

Surprisingly, despite her many achievements, McKinney herself has never been the object of an extensive scholarly analysis. This oversight as to her important contribution to Canada was pointed out by the late Alberta author, historian, and former Lieutenant-Governor, J.W. Grant MacEwan, in 1995, when he stated concerning Louise Crummy McKinney, that the full extent of her influence had never been adequately measured.[3] Prior to MacEwan's work, there had been several brief biographies and articles published concerning McKinney, with the main focus of that research addressing her involvement as a social activist, temperance leader and member of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta.[4] In addition to this body of research, two other publications were compiled after 1995. The first one was written by Catherine Cavanaugh, addressing and critiquing McKinney's role in achieving Dower Rights legislation for women in Alberta. The second work was a draft biographical study guide published by the Famous Five Foundation in Calgary.[5] What is interesting to note, however, is that within all the material available, McKinney's strong commitment as a Christian, engaged in social reform, has only been cursorily mentioned.[6]

The Religious Dynamic

Utilizing the perspectives of church history and religious studies, the available archival material attests to the fact that McKinney was first and foremost an intense, charismatic and profoundly religious woman, who interpreted her life to be one dedicated to the service of Christ, the church and society. Using existing primary source documents, verification of her strong religious orientation can be found in texts such as the biographical pamphlet, written by McKinney's son, J. Willard McKinney,[7] the eulogy delivered by the Rev. George Webber (President of the Lord's Day Alliance),[8] and her memorial address given by the prominent Rev. Hugh Dobson.[9] It is, however, within McKinney's own existing letters and writings that her profound religious orientation and interpretation of service can be fully identified. Summing up her ideals in her own words, McKinney stated that ". . . father, mother and children all need to cultivate the spiritual and to identify themselves with the church of God, as the recognized agency for developing high ideals and fostering a love for and a vital interest in our fellow men, both of which find their highest expression in service."[10]

Charisma, Dedication and Politics

Louise C. McKinney was a charismatic women with penetrating dark brown eyes, who possessed a powerful personality which inspired others. In a letter written to James McKinney shortly after Louise had died, Emily Murphy, alias Janey Canuck,[11] stated that Louise possessed great force of character yet was wise and gentle.[12] Nellie McClung, in her book *The Stream Runs Fast: My Own Story,* said of McKinney that she never flattered anyone, was very straightforward, but sincerely loved and respected people. McClung also said that McKinney was astute in her dealings with others.[13] What emerges from the records is that Louise McKinney, during her time in the Alberta Legislature, was a formidable debater who could quietly, ruthlessly and with the systematic use of logic, reduce her opponents' arguments to the absurd. An example of this is to be found in a newspaper article concerning a public forum surrounding the Dower legislation. McKinney, as an MLA, was trying to reintroduce Dower laws into provincial legislation in order to afford some protection for women by means of marital property rights. One man, strongly opposed to these ideas stated, "The husband is the earner, the wife earns nothing, is not a producer at all, but is supported by the earnings of her husband." McKinney replied, "May I ask the gentleman if he thinks that the wife in addition to labouring more hours a day than the husband, in addition to bearing and rearing his children, should pay board; or does the gentleman think that she earns her board and keep? Would he go as far as that?" The report indicates that McKinney won the debate with very little problem.[14]

Life, Teaching, Evangelism and the WCTU

As previously observed, Louise McKinney had an intense personality. When her biographical history is examined these same characteristics become evident in the evolution of her life and work.

Louise Crummy was born in Frankville, Ontario, in 1868, to Esther Empey and Richard Crummy, both of whom were Irish Methodists.[15] Louise was the sixth in a family of ten children, and the second of three daughters.[16] She was noted to have a good Irish sense of humour, an unusual talent in debate, and strong leadership qualities.[17] After graduating from Athens High School, Louise Crummy expressed the desire to attend medical school and become a doctor. She was unable to realize this

ambition because, in the later words of her son Willard, "too many obstacles were placed in the way of women taking the medical course at that time."[18] Grant MacEwan observed that she resented the discrimination deeply and this statement would appear to find corroboration with McKinney herself who is on record as saying that even as a child she "recognized and resented the disabilities laid upon women."[19] Louise Crummy went on to train as a teacher and taught public school in Ontario from 1886-1893.[20] Later, in 1893, she moved to North Dakota to live with a married sister and she subsequently obtained a teaching position there.

1893 was a momentous year for Louise Crummy because it was during that year that she joined the Young Woman's Christian Temperance Union and served as its president. In 1894 she was elected as State Evangelist for the North Dakota WCTU. It was in this capacity that she travelled throughout North Dakota, preaching with evangelical fervour for the cause of Christ, the necessity of a Christian life and a Christ-centred temperance union in order to combat the abuses and violence associated with alcohol consumption.[21] It is also during this time that she wrote several letters to her close friend, and later sister-in-law Jennie McKinney. These are some of only remaining letters in her own handwriting, and in them she expressed her strong religious orientation and commitment, and her exhilaration over the call to duty. In one letter describing her activities she wrote, "I find the work hard but pleasant in many ways. One finds so many sleepy, worldly Christians and careless sinners, that it is appalling and we wonder how they can act and live as they do. I can't understand how a follower of Christ can be so careless about the salvation of others."[22]

In 1886 Louise Crummy married rancher James McKinney, who was himself an Irish Methodist. James McKinney was originally from Ontario but had moved to the United States in order to acquire farmland. The couple farmed in North Dakota until 1903[23] when they relocated to ranch in the Claresholm area, which was then within the Northwest Territories, later to become the Province of Alberta in 1905.[24] Prior to this, in 1899, Louise C. McKinney had been elected as the District President of the WCTU in North Dakota,[25] and upon her arrival in Claresholm she promptly established a branch of the WCTU there.

Claresholm, Church, Preaching and Service

It was also during the early days in Claresholm that both Louise and

her husband James, were integral members and founders of the Claresholm community.[26] The records also substantiate the fact that the McKinneys played a major part in establishing and building the Methodist church there.[27] James McKinney taught a Bible class in the Sunday School and was actively engaged in church business. Louise McKinney was an accredited local preacher,[28] primary school superintendent, leader in the Ladies Aid Society, a Bible-class leader,[29] and also a leader in the Women's Missionary Society.[30] Other interesting information can be found regarding Louise McKinney's role within the church through examination of the Rev. George Webber's eulogy in which he stated that, "In the pulpit her deep spiritual insight, her keen intellect, and her inspiring fervour combined to make her preaching ever welcome and fruitful."[31]

Webber also praised McKinney's compassion, sympathy and practical Christian love. He observed that she possessed a "deeply sympathetic heart," was a "very wise counsellor" and "an open-minded listener," who helped many sorrowing people.[32] McKinney's commitment to her church in Claresholm and to the wider church, Webber observed, remained constant until the time of her death.[33]

Additional information can also be found regarding Louise McKinney's involvement with the United Church through the Memorial address given by the Rev. Hugh Dobson, on 6 September 1931. Dobson recorded that he knew her as a fellow member of the General Board of Evangelism and Social Service of the United Church. He stated that "on that Board her voice and influence was more particularly expressed in guiding the evangelical activities of the church" but that she "never put Christian evangelism over against Christian service." He continued further by emphasizing her ability to balance evangelism and social service by declaring that ". . . she recognized more clearly than some that service lacked the dynamic of the church if the church lacked a clear, aggressive and winsome, evangelical message that gripped the conscience and converted the character, and gave constantly new direction to the lives of those who came within the church's influence." Dobson concluded by saying, "This I think was in many ways her greatest work.[34]

The WCTU, the Franchise for Women and Work as an MLA

Louise McKinney, however, was involved in many other far-reaching campaigns outside the purview of her denominational affiliation.

As previously mentioned, she was president of the Alberta and Saskatchewan WCTU for more than twenty-two years and served as vice-president of the Dominion WCTU from 1908 until 1930. Shortly before her death In 1931, she was elected president of the Dominion WCTU and World WCTU vice-president. It was in these capacities that she travelled extensively throughout Canada, the United States, Britain and Europe. As a high profile leader, McKinney had played an important role in the early campaign for prohibition in Alberta which, in 1915, made the province the second to have prohibition on the retail sale of alcohol.[35]

Louise C. McKinney campaigned, however, not only on temperance issues but also in the crusade for women's enfranchisement. At the ninth annual WCTU convention in Alberta and Saskatchewan, held in Calgary on 13 October 1911, Louise McKinney is on record to have said, "The vote is coming . . . Woman's franchise means home protection. In this age it is no longer possible for women to protect their homes from within. They must go outside and the best way for her to accomplish this protection is by the ballot."[36]

Women in Alberta gained the franchise in 1916 and, in 1917, Louise was persuaded to run as an independent candidate on a prohibition platform for the Non Partisan League in the provincial election.[37] She agreed to do this because, as a strong prohibitionist, she felt that she could remain separate from the other political parties which she believed were financially supported by the vested interests of the liquor industry and were therefore corrupted. As an independent candidate not funded or influenced by any industry, McKinney felt that she would not be compromised and that her principles would remain intact.[38] This election was the first in which women could vote in Alberta and run for office in the Provincial Legislature. McKinney was elected and became the first female MLA (1917-1921) in the British Empire. It was during her term of office, that McKinney developed the reputation as a strong debater and a formidable opponent of the liquor industry.[39] Further, she established herself as an authority on parliamentary procedure and was recognised for her expertise and knowledge.[40]

It was also during her time in the Alberta Legislature that Louise McKinney secured the reputation as an advocate for the needy and the helpless, playing an integral role in the later adoption of many social welfare measures for immigrants and widows. She was also very concerned with the protection of the mentally handicapped and indeed, in her

inaugural parliamentary speech she addressed the interests and protection of this group. This appears to have been a cause to which she remained strongly committed.[41] It is not clear, however, from the available archival records whether McKinney, in her defence and protection of the mentally handicapped, favoured compulsory sterilization and perhaps accepted some of the arguments for eugenics as a reason for that procedure.

As an MLA, McKinney was instrumental in reintroducing Dower protection into Alberta Provincial legalisation in 1917 after the older British Dower Act had been revoked by the Dominion Government in 1886. The Alberta Dower Act afforded some property rights and protection for widowed, married women and separated wives,[42] who before implementation of the Act had possessed no legal rights to matrimonial property even in the case of the death of their husbands.[43] Louise McKinney regarded this achievement of Dower legislation as one of her greatest accomplishments.[44] In 1921 she was defeated in her second election due to her rigid prohibition stance and did not campaign further for re-election to the Legislature.

Speaker, Preacher and Advocate for Women's Ordination

McKinney continued as a popular speaker and leader of the WCTU. She preached from pulpits and championed female ordination. In an untitled and undated newspaper article written between 1922 and 1925, news of her recent attendance at the General Conference in Toronto and subsequent arrival in Ottawa was announced. The article went on to furnish information concerning her upcoming preaching engagement on the following Sunday. What is interesting to note is its concluding comment, which read, "At the General Conference Mrs. McKinney made a strong plea that women be admitted to the Methodist pulpit. She was defeated in this yet nevertheless she will occupy the pulpit of St. Paul's Methodist Church on Sunday morning."[45]

McKinney appears to have been an effective preacher with the ability to make her preaching relevant to the ordinary person. Either during that same St. Paul's preaching engagement or on another occasion in Ottawa, one person took the time to write a note to her, thanking her for her message and the practical help it had given him. The writer said that it was the clearest and most helpful advice he had heard "in a very long time." The note was simply signed "A travelling salesman."[46]

The Famous Five and the Persons Case

In 1928, Louise McKinney as one of the Alberta Famous Five women, added her name to a petition that was submitted to the Supreme Court of Canada. The petition, signed by Emily Murphy, Nellie McClung, Henrietta Muir-Edwards, Irene Parlby and Louise McKinney, requested that the Supreme Court clarify the definition of "Person" under the British North America Act.[47] The reason for this was simple; under the Federal interpretation of the BNA Act women were not considered to be persons under the law. Although Canadian women could vote in Federal elections[48] and even run for election, still, as officially non-persons under the BNA Act, women were not eligible for appointment to the Senate of Canada. Many women wanted access to appointments as Senators in order to change laws pertaining to females as it was within that body of government that final authority lay to adopt or rescind laws, many of which affected women. This was especially true pertaining to final assent in divorce proceedings and it was felt that female representation in the Senate would assist women in these matters by adding sympathetic representation.

The petition went before the Supreme Court of Canada and the question posed within it was simple. It merely requested clarification as to whether or not the word "person" under the BNA Act included women. The Supreme Court returned a judgment that in fact women were not persons under the BNA Act. This ruling caused an uproar from women within the Federated Women's Institutes, the National Council of Women and the WCTU. The ruling was consequently appealed by the Famous Five, and the appeal was heard before the British Privy Council in 1929. On 18 October 1929, the Privy Council rendered the judgment that women were in fact persons under the law alongside men. For her contribution to the recognition of women as full legal entities through the Persons Case, Louise McKinney was made a World Vice-President of the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire, which was a prestigious and widespread organization throughout the British Empire.[49]

Unexpected Closure

In June 1931, Louise McKinney officiated as WCTU Dominion President[50] and Canadian hostess to 1,500 delegates from fifty-four countries, at the Toronto WCTU convention. During this function

McKinney received high commendation for her abilities and organizational skills.[51] McKinney became ill during the convention but was still able to continue with her duties. However, shortly after returning to Claresholm she became gravely ill, but then appeared to be improving. Then suddenly, on 10 July 1931, Louise McKinney died. The news of her death was a great blow to the WCTU[52] and many messages of sympathy were sent by stunned friends and admirers to Louise's husband James, and also to Willard, the couple's son. One year later James McKinney also died and the couple are buried side by side in Claresholm Cemetery.

Tribute and Testimony

Of Louise McKinney and her dedication to her various social causes, the Rev. Hugh Dobson in his memorial address stated that, "Her life and leadership in these movements was the gift of God to Alberta, to Canada, and to humanity." On her own behalf Louise McKinney had also once declared " my life has never been bounded by the four walls of a home. I have always been interested in the affairs of church and state."[53] This commitment to service was an enduring, life-long one to which she still held dear just a few days before her death. In a letter to an unidentified friend, on Alberta WCTU letterhead, which bore the motto, "In the Name of our God we will Set Up Our Banners," Louise McKinney spoke of her illness and frailty.[54] At the conclusion of the letter, written in the hand of her secretary, Louise stated that she was waiting patiently for the outcome, "whatever it may be," and that she trusted in God for his guidance, "rejoicing that so many years of effective service have been possible."[55] Louise McKinney died as she had lived, committed to service and to her God.

Endnotes

1. "In Memoriam: Mrs. Louise C. McKinney," *The White Ribbon Tidings*, 25 July-1 August 1931, 9.

2. Marilyn Whiteley identified four women who signed the Basis of Union for the United Church of Canada in 1925 including: Mrs. W.T. McGorman, from Port Arthur, Manitoba (Methodist); Mrs. L.C. McKinney, Claresholm, Alberta (Methodist); Miss E.A. Jamieson, Toronto (Congregationalist); Mrs. C.R. Crowe, Guelph, Ontario (Congregationalist) (see "Subscription to the Basis

of Union by the Members of the First General Council of The United Church of Canada" [Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1925]).

3. Grant MacEwan, *Mighty Women: Stories of Western Canadian Pioneers* (Vancouver: Greystone Books, 1995), 139.

4. Louis Alexander MacKay, "Crummy, Louise (1868-1931) Mrs. James McKinney," *A Standard Dictionary of Canadian Biography: Canadian Who was Who* (Toronto: Trans-Canada Press, 1938), 2:83-85; The *Clear Spirit: Twenty Canadian Women and Their Times*, ed. Mary Quayle Innis (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973); Jean Cochrane, *Women in Canadian Politics* (Toronto: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1977); *Women are Persons: A Tribute to the Women of Canada and the "Persons Case"* (Edmonton: Alberta Women's Bureau, 1979); Nancy M. Sheehan, "Achieving Personhood: Louise McKinney and the WCTU in Alberta, 1905-1930," in *Women as Persons Special Publication No. 8, Resources for Feminist Research* (Fall 1980), 105-108; Nancy M. Sheehan, "Temperance, The WCTU, and Education in Alberta" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Alberta, 1980); Michael Palamarek, *A History of Women and Politics in Alberta, 1900-1988: A Report for Senator Martha P. Bielish* (Canada: s.n., 1989); *Now That We Are Persons* (Edmonton: University of Alberta, Museums and Collections Services, 1990); and *The Persons Case* (Edmonton: Alberta Women's Secretariat, 1992).

5. Catherine Cavanaugh, "Limitations of the Pioneering Partnership: The Alberta Campaign for Homestead Dower, 1909-1925," in *Making Western Canada: Essays on European Colonization and Settlement,* eds. Catherine Cavanaugh and Jeremy Mouat (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1996); and *Louise McKinney: Research and Discussion Guide, Working Draft* (Calgary: Famous Five Foundation, 1999).

6. The primary sources were found in fonds stored at the Glenbow Archival Institute (GAI), Provincial Archives of Alberta (PAA), the United Church Archives in Toronto (UCA), and the Claresholm and District Museum Archives (CDMA). Other primary source material was found in various newspaper articles of the period.

7. J. Willard McKinney, "Mrs. Louise C. McKinney: Pioneer Temperance Crusader of Alberta," *Alberta Temperance Review* (July [no year is printed on the publication]).

8. Rev. George Webber, "Mrs. Louise C. McKinney: An Appreciation,"F1, M4069, Louise Crummy McKinney Fonds, GAI.

9. Rev. Hugh Dobson, "Address at the Memorial Service for Mrs. L.C. McKinney, McDougall Church, Edmonton, Alberta, Sunday, 6 September 1931," F1, M4069, Louise Crummy McKinney Fonds, GAI.

10. Louise C. McKinney, "Where are Canadian Women Going-Back to Their Homes or Continue in Business Life?" *Canadian Home Journal* (August 1919): 5, 59.

11. Writing under the pseudonym Janey Canuck, Alberta social activist Emily Murphy had established herself as a popular Canadian writer.

12. Letter from Emily Murphy to James McKinney, 15 July 1931, File 3, Box 1, M8138, Letters to James McKinney, GAI.

13. Nellie McClung, *The Stream Runs Fast: My Own Story* (Toronto: Thomas Allen Limited, 1945), 174.

14. "Alberta Women and Alberta Laws," *Lethbridge Herald*, 8 October 1920.

15. Grant MacEwan, *Mighty Women,* 139.

16. McKinney, "Mrs. Louise C. McKinney: Pioneer Temperance Crusader of Alberta," 5.

17. Dobson, "Address at the Memorial Service for Mrs. L.C. McKinney," 139.

18. McKinney, "Mrs. Louise C. McKinney: Pioneer Temperance Crusader of Alberta," 5.

19. "Quotes: Louise McKinney," Acc. No. 91.60, PAA.

20. *Louise McKinney: Research and Discussion Guide*, 17-18.

21. "Program of the Sixth Annual Convention of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, September 13, 14, 15 and 16, 1895," File 5, Box 1, M8138, Louise McKinney Fonds, GAI. Miss Louise Crummy is listed to represent a report as State Evangelist during the main session on Saturday, 14 September 1895.

22. Letter from Louise Crummy to Jennie McKinney, North Dakota, 23 January 1895, File 2, Box 1, M8138, Louise McKinney Fonds, GAI.

23. *Louise McKinney: Research and Discussion Guide*, 17.

24. The McKinneys were part of a group of twenty-six families from North Dakota who took up the offer of homestead land in the Claresholm area.

25. McKinney, "Mrs. Louise C. McKinney: Pioneer Temperance Crusader of Alberta," 5.

26. R. Soby, G. E. Dickensen, A. Wannaker, and S. Hillerud, *A History of Claresholm United Church, 1904-1969* (November 1969), 4, 5, 7, Acc. No. H966-015-03, CDMA.

27. Sheehan, "Temperance, The WCTU and Education in Alberta," 120.

28. *A History of Claresholm United Church*, 5. The Methodist Denomination had, and still does have, an order of lay preachers called local preachers. These are trained evangelists and preachers who are also authorized to conduct services, evangelism and teaching ministries.

29. "To Honour Alberta's First Woman Member," newspaper clipping, 5 April 1930, 2, Acc. No. 91.60, PAA.

30. "To Honour Alberta's First Woman Member."

31. Webber, "Mrs. Louise C. McKinney: An Appreciation," 2.

32. Webber, "Mrs. Louise C. McKinney: An Appreciation."

33. Webber, "Mrs. Louise C. McKinney: An Appreciation."

34. Webber, "Mrs. Louise C. McKinney: An Appreciation."

35. McKinney, "Mrs. Louise C. McKinney: Pioneer Temperance Crusader of Alberta," 6.

36. "President of the WCTU is in Favour of Votes for Women: Mrs. McKinney Predicts That Equal Suffrage is Coming," *Lethbridge Herald,* 14 October 1911.

37. MacEwan, *Mighty Women,* 143.

38. Dobson, "Address at the Memorial Service for Mrs. L.C. McKinney," 1.

39. Dobson, "Address at the Memorial Service for Mrs. L.C. McKinney," 2.

40. MacEwan, *Mighty Women*, 144.

41. *Women of Canada* (Montreal: Women of Canada Publishing Co., 1930), 156.

42. McKinney, "Mrs. Louise C. McKinney: Pioneer Temperance Crusader of Alberta," 7.

43. Palamarek, *A History of Women and Politics in Alberta, 1900-1988,* 14.

44. Cavanaugh, “Limitations of the Pioneering Partnership,” 188.

45. “Former Member to Occupy the Pulpit,” Acc. No. 91.60, PAA,

46. Letter from a travelling salesman to Mrs. McKinney, care of the Rev. W. T. Brown, File 2, M8138, Louise McKinney Fonds, GAI.

47. “Reference to the Admission of Women to the Senate of Canada,”in *Louise McKinney Reference Volume*, CDMA.

48. The majority of Canadian women, apart from groups such as First Nations and Oriental minorities, obtained the federal franchise in 1918.

49. *Louise McKinney: Research and Discussion Guide,* 18.

50. McKinney, “Mrs. Louise C. McKinney: Pioneer Temperance Crusader of Alberta,” 7.

51. File 7, Box 1, M8138, Louise McKinney Fonds, GAI.

52. “Tribute To Mrs. L. McKinney,” File 7, Box 1, M8138, Louise McKinney Fonds, GAI.

53. “Quotes: Louise McKinney,” Acc. No. 91.60, PAA.

54. Letter from Louise McKinney to Dear Friend, 1931, Louise McKinney File, CDMA. This illness was never identified.

55. McKinney’s secretary, G. Weatherhead, placed the following footnote to the letter: “Dictated by Mrs. McKinney a few days before she died.”

Canadian Baptists and Native Ministry in the Nineteenth Century

DAVID R. ELLIOTT

Some Baptists have claimed that William Carey (1761-1834) launched the modern Protestant missionary movement.[1] This overlooks the earlier missionary work of Moravians and German pietists sent out from the University of Halle who influenced Anglican and Methodist missionaries before Carey. Baptist missionaries, however, did achieve fame in India, Burma and Bolivia as they worked with aboriginal peoples.[2] Even earlier American Baptists, starting with Roger Williams (c.1603-1683), established and maintained missionary work among American natives.[3] But Baptist work among Canadian native peoples has been less than satisfactory. Baptist missionaries did not have the same success or influence in this country as have missionaries of other denominations. One thinks of the Jesuits Jean de Brebeuf (1593-1649) and Jerome Lalemant (1593-1673), the Oblates Bishop Alexandre-Antonin Tache (1823-1894) and Father Lacombe (1827-1916), the Methodists James Evans (1801-1846), Robert Rundle (1811-1896), and George Millward McDougall (b.1821) and his son John Chantler McDougall (1842-1917), the Presbyterian James Robertson (1839-1902), and the Anglican William Duncan (1832-1918) who established the native model community of Metlakatla, BC.

This paper assesses the successes and failures of Canadian Baptist missionary work among first nations peoples of Canada during the nineteenth century.[4] Three theatres or arenas of missionary activity are probed: the Maritimes, Ontario and western Canada.

The Maritimes

Baptist presence in the Maritimes dates from before the American War of Independence but Baptists do not appear to have been interested in evangelization of the aboriginal residents. It was not until the 1830s that New Brunswick Baptists considered them a mission field, but George Levy reports that "the venture did not progress beyond the stage of committees and resolutions."[5] While Baptist historiography claims Silas Tertius Rand (1810-1889) as its pioneer missionary among native Canadians,[6] the story of Silas Rand is that of a visionary who received more interference than assistance from his denomination.

Rand was a Nova Scotian stone mason with an exceptional gift for languages. He was ordained into the Baptist ministry in 1834 and served Baptist churches in West Brook, Liverpool and Windsor. His interest in native missionary work began in 1839 when he met a native during his travels and he became fascinated with the Micmac language and native culture.[7] Being very liberal in his attitudes, he sought equality for natives and blacks.[8]

In 1845 Rand and Professor Isaac Chipman (1817-1852) of Horton Academy (later Acadia College) were appointed to collect historical information for the denomination. During that time Chipman advised Rand that he should use his linguistic skills to learn the Micmac language.[9]

Rand was inducted in 1846 as the minister of the Baptist church in Charlottetown, PEI, which belonged to the Nova Scotia Association of Baptist Churches. He began his study of Micmac and attempted to evangelize the mainly Roman Catholic Micmacs. There was a growing interest in that direction among Nova Scotian Baptists who felt that they needed to "be delivered from the thraldom of popery and from the bondage of Satan."[10]

At the 1847 Nova Scotia Baptist Association meeting, Rand's mentor, Professor Chipman, emphasized the need for native missions and complained that so much had been said about it but so little had been done. Rand was granted permission to devote half of his time to native ministry.[11]

Rand hoped that he might be able to house a Micmac native at Acadia College to work with him while preparing a Micmac dictionary and grammar, but even the liberal Chipman found that too revolutionary.[12] Accordingly, Rand was left to his own devices; he learned the language and prepared tracts and portions of the gospel in Micmac.

Most of Rand's funding came from evangelical Anglicans, Pres byterians and Methodists. Because the Baptist churches were unable to

provide him with the necessary support, prominent Baptists suggested that a Baptist-directed mission be established which would seek funds from the wider Christian community. Rand, however, insisted that the work be interdenominational.[13] In November 1849 the Micmac Mission Society was created,[14] allowing Rand to devote himself completely to that work.

The Micmac Mission Society intended to prepare a Micmac Bible and it was decided by the interdenominational society that before the final translation was prepared, it would have to be approved by the participating denominations. It was here that problems arose. The Baptists tried to control the process even though they were only minor contributors to the cause. They insisted that Rand translate "baptize" as "immerse" as William Carey had done in India. Rand refused to do so because that went outside of the Society's guidelines. It was also an impossible task for there was no Micmac equivalent to "immerse;" the closest Micmac words meant "to float," "to sink," or "to drown,"[15] and they were not theologically appropriate.

When Rand chose to transliterate "baptize" rather than translate it with a particular theological spin, a storm of controversy blew around him for several years. Baptists accused him of selling out to the paedo-baptists. An "Indian War" ensued in the pages of the press, harming the inter-denominational cooperation and the funding of the mission.

Rand remained deeply committed to his mission among the Micmacs. His work was recognized by the government and in 1851 he was made Indian Commissioner in Prince Edward Island. He also helped the Micmacs prepare a petition to the Queen because their treaty rights had been violated.

Rand was an unrepentant advocate of native rights, speaking out against the injustices they had experienced:

> Shame on us! We have seized upon the lands which the Creator gave them. We have deceived, defrauded, and neglected them. We have taken no pains to aid them; or our efforts have been feeble and ill-directed. We have practically pronounced them incapable of improvement, or unworthy of the trouble; and have coolly doomed the whole race to destruction. But dare we treat them thus, made as they are in the image of God like ourselves?[16]

In 1853 Rand left Charlottetown and settled in Hantsport, Nova Scotia where he remained for the rest of his life. In 1855 the Micmac Missionary Society purchased 450 acres of land in order for destitute

Micmacs to settle and operate a model farm and cottage industries, selling their products locally.[17]

In the 1860s Rand became increasingly dissatisfied with the poor support that Baptists were giving to his ministry among the Micmac and also the Maliseets of New Brunswick. He tried to influence the denomination to include his work under the auspices of foreign missions, but to no avail.[18] He was tired of begging for funds and was drawn to the "faith mission" principle advocated by George Mueller, who was famous for his orphanages in Britain. The constitution of the Micmac Mission Society was amended in 1865 to adopt "faith" principles; no longer would funds be solicited but Rand would depend upon God for his support and tell people that he was doing so. In effect, it was a backhanded way of begging.[19]

Through the influence of Mueller, Rand became exposed to the teachings of the Plymouth Brethren, the sect to which Mueller belonged. He attended their conference at Guelph, Ontario.[20] Gradually Rand became an advocate of Brethren views and in 1872 launched a broadside attack on Baptist policies and practices. He was soon excommunicated by the Hantsport Baptist Church after being accused of teaching heresy.[21] He readily joined the Plymouth Brethren and remained with them until 1885. This move lost him support from other religious constituencies who regarded the Brethren as a heretical movement. But when Rand resisted the increasing exclusivity of the Brethren in 1885, they shunned him and he was received back into fellowship by the Hantsport Baptist Church.

While Rand's work showed very few native converts, his efforts at bringing the Bible to them in their own language may have had a wider positive impact upon those who remained within the Roman Catholic fold.[22] He had become so dissatisfied with the "caste-bound" Protestant churches that he did not advocate Indians converts leaving the Roman Catholic church, even to join Baptist congregations.[23]

Rand's Micmac Bible was published by the British and Foreign Bible Society in various instalments beginning in 1853. His linguistic and ethnological work among the Maritime aboriginals was honoured by the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, DC, which collected his writings. In 1886 he was awarded honourary degrees by Queen's University in Kingston and Acadia College. In 1889 the Anglican King's College at Windsor also honoured him with a doctorate.

While Rand had a great respect for Micmac language and culture, he believed that the assimilation of native people into white Christian

culture was inevitable and preferred. A year before his death he wrote in his diary:

> Micmacs] have equal access to the free schools with all others, and are extensively taking advantage of the privilege. Let them mingle with their white brothers, learn the arts of civilization as they are doing, and become useful citizens. Let the white civilization abandon their abominable and unreasonable ideas of caste. Let the ministers, everywhere, each look upon the Indians in his neighbourhood as part of his charge like all other poor sinners – then there will be no need of a separate Mission and a separate establishment for them.[24]

Maritime Baptists never caught Silas Rand's vision for native peoples. When he died in 1889 no one took over his ministry among them. In 1907 the Micmac property at Hantsport was turned over to the federal government and became an Indian reservation.

Upper Canada

Baptist missionary work among natives in Upper Canada was originally initiated by American Baptists and was continued by native converts before Canadian Baptists became involved. Elkanah Holmes (1743-1832), a former American military chaplain who had served in the Revolutionary War , had preached among the Iroquois in western New York and was instrumental in founding the New York Missionary Society – a joint Baptist-Presbyterian venture because the Baptists could not support it on their own.[25] In 1800 Holmes was sent out by that society to the Tuscaroras between Fort Niagara and Buffalo Creek on the southern banks of the Niagara River. His work soon took him to the Canadian side of the Great Lakes

Holmes developed a strong rapport with Chief Joseph Brant (c.1742-1807), the leader of Mohawks who lived along the Grand River. Brant, who had been educated in Connecticut and had a deep interest in the conversion of his people,[26] was impressed by Holmes' character and asked the New York Missionary Society for assistance in educating native youth.[27] Brant himself was a member of the Church of England and had translated the Gospel of Mark into Mohawk.[28] Holmes' establishment of native schools at Lewiston and Buffalo may have been in response to Brant's request. Holmes' educational efforts there would later have a direct impact upon the Six Nations Reserve in Upper Canada.

Some of the other American Baptist missionaries to Upper Canada were Peter Roots, Caleb Blood (1754-1814), Lemuel Covell (d.1806), and David Irish, who travelled between Kingston and Long Point on Lake Erie. They were sponsored by the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society. In their reports to that society all of these men mentioned visiting Holmes and appeared to regard him as the senior missionary among native Canadians.

These men reported preaching to the natives, but with limited success.[29] Only Covell seems to have taken up the work of native missions. A 1803 sermon/speech, delivered by Covell and recorded by Holmes, shows that Covell was extremely paternalistic towards the chiefs and warriors, addressing them as children.[30]

In 1807 Holmes left the New York Missionary Society and joined the New York Baptist Missionary Society, which had been created because of polity differences between the Presbyterians and Baptists over baptism and communion. This move reflected the increasing sectarianism among Baptists who insisted on converts being immersed before participation in communion.

The New York Baptist Missionary Society then directed Holmes to devote his attention to natives on the Canadian side of the border.[31] He established a Baptist church at Queenston where he remained until the War of 1812.

When the war broke out Holmes sided with his fellow Americans and gave them active support. He was arrested by the British forces, then rescued by the Americans, and was taken south by the retreating American invaders;[32] this brought an end to his work in Canada.

The War of 1812 thus had an adverse effect upon Baptist missionary work among the natives because it had been American Baptists who had provided the driving force behind native missions in Upper Canada. Native missions were not resumed for several decades until American Baptists felt free to re-enter Canada after the passions of the war had subsided. Even when Baptist missionary work was resumed, our knowledge of it is somewhat murky and published accounts are conflicting. The account that appears here is based on a careful study of the primary and secondary sources; it is by no means definitive.

Baptist missionary work among natives in Ontario was mainly centred around the Six Nations Reserve, the largest reserve in the province. Located near the city of Brantford, it was granted to the Iroquois in 1784 for their loyalty to British cause during the Revolutionary War.

The Six Nations Reserve housed natives of the Iroquois Confederacy that included Mohawk, Cayuga, Seneca, Onondaga, Oneida and Tuscaroras. Baptist activity on the Six Nations Reserve seems to have begun again in 1835 when a Baptist missionary from New York State, John Miner, worked among the native people there.[33] The extent of his missionary activity is somewhat unclear from 1835 to 1840. Records show him having some connection with the Baptist church in Dundas, because during 1837 and 1838 he attended association meetings as a delegate from the First Beverley Church in Dundas.[34]

At first the services on the reserve were held in the homes of native converts. The work there was given a further boost when a group of Baptists natives who had moved from Lewiston, New York.[35] No doubt they had been the fruit of Elkanah Holmes' earlier ministry at Lewiston.

One of these natives may have been Nicholas Smith. His name appears in the oral and written records as having conducted services on the reserve at that time.[36]

Through the efforts of those Baptist natives other Indians on the Six Nations Reserve were converted and their numbers grew to the point that their "house churches" were inadequate. When they approached the Anglican priest for permission to hold services in the Anglican church on the reserve they were refused. At that point they are said to have turned to Canadian Baptists for assistance.

It has been claimed that a delegation of Indian Baptists trekked to Jerseyville to seek help from that church.[37] Not finding the minister home, they left, but someone later came to preach for them. It is unclear who that was; it might have been Miner. We know that Miner officially joined the Jerseyville Baptist Church in April 1841.[38]

From 1841 to 1843 Miner appears to have devoted himself only part-time to the reserve because he reported in 1842 that a full-time missionary was needed.[39] Through his efforts a church was established in 1842. The minutes of First Baptist Church, Brantford mention that on 6 March 1842 it sent delegates to the council that organized the Tuscarora Baptist Church on the reserve.[40] A log church was built and the congregation soon had over one hundred members.

Because of their success, the Baptist natives experienced persecution from the Anglicans who considered themselves the established church. The Baptist chiefs had been deposed of their offices and converts feared that they might lose their treaty and property rights. In May 1842 they petitioned the Governor General to guarantee their religious liberty.

Nicholas Smith was one of the petitioners.[41]

Even before Miner left the Six Nations Reserve in 1843, he had been supervised and assisted by John Landon, the agent of the Upper Canada Eastern Baptist Association. After Miner left, Landon devoted himself to the Six Nations Reserve until 1846, when health problems caused him to return to his former pastorate at Woodstock.

The efforts of Landon on the reserve were primarily financed by a grant from the London Baptist Missionary Society. He was also assisted by a British missionary Benjamin Carryer who joined him in 1843. After Landon returned to Woodstock in 1846, Carryer maintained the work until 1846.

During this period there were efforts made to create an indigenous ministry. Nicholas Smith was listed in the Grand River Association minutes as a deacon in 1844.[42] Sometime later he returned to New York State where he became an ordained minister. Another native minister was James N. Cusick who took over the pastorate of the Tuscarora Baptist Church in 1849.[43] Cusick served the church until his death in 1861. Nicholas Smith was then sent by the Niagara (New York) Baptist Association to be the minister on the Six Nations Reserve.[44] How long he stayed is unclear. A native minister, Joseph Longfish, one of the first converts baptized by the Tuscarora Baptist Church,[45] eventually became the pastor of that church. Another native minister was Seth Claus. Through the efforts of these native ministers the Tuscarora Baptist Church established branch churches in various villages of the reserve and also among the Oneida Indians near London.

The Home Missions Board of the Canadian Baptists was rather late in actively supporting native missions; American and British Baptists and the natives themselves had established Indian churches on the Six Nations Reserve. After Confederation, Canadian Baptists took a more active role by financing the efforts of Longfish, Claus and a white missionary, the Rev. J. Burke who worked on the reserve.[46] Another white missionary, the Rev. Alexander Stewart, the senior missionary of the Convention, joined him on the reserve. In 1874 he complained, "I am afraid that the Baptists of Ontario have been somewhat indifferent in the past to the work which God requires them to do among the Indians. If we do what is required God will give to us His blessing. If we do not, God will raise up others who will do the work and reward them according to His promise."[47] The *Baptist Year Book* also reported that Stewart's support had to be raised in Great Britain.[48]

Stewart's comment about Baptist indifference appeared to be prophetic. By 1877 Stewart reported that there were 214 members of the Baptist churches on the reservation, "of whom, 120 have been baptized during the last six years."[49] However, he announced that he would be leaving that ministry due to health problems.

The Baptist churches on the reserves quickly fell into decline after Stewart's resignation. Some Baptist natives were drawn away into other groups; others fell victim to alcoholism. The 1881 *Year Book* reported that when Benjamin C. Needham began working there some months before "hardly a vestige of a christian church could be found . . ."[50] In 1883 Needham was only missionary of the Convention working among natives and he was leaving the work.[51]

By 1886 the Convention had almost abandoned the field of native missions. Dr. Castle (1830-1890) of Jarvis St. Baptist Church in Toronto raised the matter and ". . . thought we would have the solution of the difficulty if someone should give his life to this work, as others do to Foreign fields . . . A Committee was appointed to take the work into consideration and to devise the best methods for its prosecution."[52]

Alexander Stewart, whose health had somewhat recovered was again called by the Tuscarora Baptist Church to give them assistance. He reported some progress and stated, "I do hope the Convention will decide to sustain a good man on the field or give it up altogether."[53]

Baptist work on the Six Nations Reserve has continued into the twentieth century but with less than enthusiastic support from the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec. Much of their attention was directed towards home missions in the Canadian West and even that was hardly adequate.

In 1940 the Ohsweken Baptist Church, formally the Tuscarora Baptist Church, celebrated its centenary[54] and in 1963 the Baptist Federation of Canada chose for its Triennial project the building a new sanctuary at Ohsweken according to white standards.[55]

Western Canada

In 1869 the Hudson's Bay Company, which had controlled the territory west of Ontario since 1670, was prepared to sell it to the British government. Ontario expansionists were anxious to annex the west for themselves and acquire its resources and use it as a hinterland.[56] Ontario Baptists exhibited the same mentality.

In April 1869 the Baptist Missionary Convention of Ontario commissioned two of its ministers, the Rev. Thomas Davidson (1825-1883) of Alymer and the Rev. Thomas Baldwin (b.1832) of St. Thomas to visit the west and "spy out the land." They brought back a report containing information on the geography, climate, resources, and religious state of the west.

During their visit they had been hosted by Presbyterian and Methodist ministers in Red River and had spoken in their churches. They had also received hospitality from Anglican clergy. In their report they spoke about the "monster influence" which the Roman Catholic Church had over at least a third of the residents of the west.[57] These residents, though unidentified, would have been Indians and Metis.

Davidson and Baldwin did not find any Baptists in the west and did not recommend sending a missionary there, unless a colony of Baptists moved there as a grou Their sectarian views governed this assessment.

> Baptists have had no encouragement to go and make their homes in the land. They know if they did, they would leave the means of grace which they so highly prize for themselves and their children behind them; and parents should be slow to remove with their children into a country where there are none of the means of grace such as their views of truth could approve.[58]

The only purpose of sending a missionary there now was not "for the sake of the present inhabitants," but to acquire land for the building of future Baptist churches when the population increased.[59]

Thus it was obvious that Davidson and Baldwin did not consider the native peoples as a potential ministry. They had little positive to say about the natives, but warned that the Canadian government would have to make treaties with them if they wanted to avert bloodshed. In a letter to the *Canadian Baptist* Davidson regarded the natives as a nuisance. They did not respect the "space" of the white folks because they "invited themselves into their homes"; the Canadian government needed to place them on reserves "so that peace may be maintained, and the white settlers freed from their presence."[60] Out of sight; out of mind!

Baptist work in the west was slow coming. The Baptists were the last major denomination to enter the field. There was little interest; promised contributions for Davidson and Baldwin's "spy mission" did not come in and the Convention was over $300 in debt.[61] Soon afterwards the first Riel Rebellion occurred. Even after Alexander (Pioneer) McDonald

(1837-1911) went to the west in 1873 promised funding from Ontario for the Baptist missionaries was sporadic and usually inadequate. Pleas for financial assistance from Ontario Baptists went unheeded because there was no denominational structure to provide them.[62] The financial situation was so severe that McDonald quit the field in 1883 and took a church in North Dakota under the American Baptist Home Mission Society.[63]

Although Alexander McDonald had been the pioneer Baptist missionary in the west, he appears to have done nothing to evangelize the natives.[64] Much of the thrust towards native missions developed out of a Sunday School class in Portage la Prairie when they addressed a letter to the Board of the Women's Baptist Home and Foreign Missionary Society of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories. In 1889 the Board appointed Miss Phoebe Parsons, a nurse, to work the reserve doing medical and missionary work. She continued for a year, but found the work too difficult and the mission was closed down by the Board until a man could be found to do it.[65]

That man came from the natives themselves. William Henry Prince was the son of a Manitoba Indian chief who was educated in Anglican and Catholic schools. From 1870 to 1890 he was a teacher in the Anglican-run residential school. He also planned to enter the Anglican ministry and served as a lay missionary among his own people for four years before he experienced a personal conversion. For some time he was involved with the Plymouth Brethren, was baptized as a believer, and continued to work as a missionary. Eventually, he sought out Alexander Grant (1854-1897), the minister of First Baptist Church in Winnipeg.[66]

Grant, a friend and defender of native people, labelled the reservation system as a racist act.[67] He enrolled Prince and some of his converts as members of First Baptist Church. Grant actively supported Prince's missionary activities and eventually a Baptist church was built on the St. Peter's reserve. Prince was recognized and supported as the Manitoba Baptist Convention's missionary "to the Indians."[68]

After Grant drowned in a boating accident in 1897, ministry among the natives declined. His successor H.G. Mellick worked among them, but his ministry was tainted by nativistic attitudes. In his book he noted, "had they been treated better they would be White Indians today, or at least measure well up to the standard of good Christian citizens."[69]

Prince and some of his native converts, who worked as native evangelists, carried on as best they could with occasional help from Baptist Convention missionaries, but when the Rev. A.W. Mayse left the

St. Peter's Reserve in 1914, he was not replaced.[70] By the end of World War One Baptist work among the natives in Manitoba had all but ceased.[71]

There were sporadic attempts at missionary work by Baptists in other parts of the prairies, but in British Columbia there were no known attempts ever made by the Baptists to evangelize the natives.[72] In her history of the Baptist Union of Western Canada Margaret Thompson concluded that "Baptists seem to have been quite content to leave Indian Mission work to the Anglican, Roman Catholic and United Churches."[73]

Conclusion

Why has the Canadian Baptist denomination had such a poor showing in native missions? The answers seem to lie in a lack of a philosophy of missions, problems in polity and ecclesiology, middle-class values, and racism.

Even when Canadian Baptists attempted missionary work among the natives they did so without a philosophy of missions. They had nothing like the "Venn formula" of the Anglican Church Missionary Society.[74] From the reports in the Baptist *Year Books*, Canadian Baptists appear to have operated without reference to what had been learned from American Baptist work among the natives or the celebrated work of Carey in India or Burpee in Burma.

Many of the failures in Indian missions resulted from Baptist polity. Canadian Baptists lacked a denomination structure which could make executive decisions and guarantee funds for native missions. Refusing state subsidies, mission work among natives depended upon visionaries and was based completely on voluntary contributions. Stewart on the Six Nations Reserve, Rand among the Micmacs and McDonald in Manitoba found their work hampered by lack of adequate support from their denominations.

Without the financial backing of wealthy philanthropists such as William McMaster (1811-1887), who heavily funded Jarvis St. Baptist Church, Woodstock College, Toronto Baptist College and (later McMaster University), the *Canadian Baptist*, and the Home Missions Board, the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec might never have even existed. Baptists were hampered in their mission to natives by lack of vision, lack of will, and lack of resources.

The failure of Baptists to support native missions was part of the larger failure of Baptists to do pioneer missionary work even among

whites. Davidson and Baldwin lamented that Baptists were usually the last denomination to get established in the new villages, towns and cities.[75] This was reiterated at the 1907 meeting of the Baptist Convention of Manitoba and the Northwest. "We have a dream of a day when Baptists will no longer be the last of all religious forces to enter a community – coming in to find the field pre-empted and welcome forfeited."[76]

Such conflicts resulted from the exclusive ecclesiology of the Baptists who saw other denominations as possessing less of the gospel or lacking it entirely.[77] In 1855, during the pastorate of Thomas Davidson, someone who had been baptized by immersion as a believer by a Methodist minister sought to join First Baptist Church in Brantford, but his/her baptism was not considered valid unless performed by a Baptist minister.[78]

Baptist growth was achieved mainly by "sheep stealing." Several points illustrate this. When Alexander McDonald arrived in Red River in 1873 he was questioned by the resident clergy, who hosted him, about why he had come since there was only one Baptist in the area. He replied that he had "come to make Baptists."[79] During a discussion of building more attractive churches the Rev. Joshua Denovan of the Home Mission Board in Ontario made a rather telling observation: "people would not be easily induced to leave a comfortable Methodist, Presbyterian or Episcopal church, and come to worship in an old school house or dirty town hall. The building of a neat and inexpensive house of worship is one of the best ways to give stability to any Mission."[80]

The Grande Linge Mission in Quebec saw its task as converting Catholics into Protestants, Protestants into Christians, and Christians into Baptists.[81] Rather than doing pioneer evangelization of the unchurched, Baptists tried to build on the work of others. Ministry among natives was difficult for any denomination and most Baptists ignored it.

From the second half of the nineteenth century onwards Baptists in Nova Scotia and Ontario became increasingly dominated by middle-class values and upward social mobility. Prominent Baptist politicians served as members of legislatures, provincial premiers (Tupper of Nova Scotia, Rutherford of Alberta), prime ministers (Alexander Mackenzie [in office 1873-78], and Tupper [in office 1896]), senators (McMaster), and Lieutenant Governors (Bulyea of Alberta). Most of them fell in with the national policy which saw the west to be annexed as a hinterland for Ontario industries. Indians and Metis were in the way of railways and white settlement. Mackenzie's government made treaties with the prairie

aboriginals, placing them on reservations and changed the Manitoba Act to acquire 80% of the land claimed by the Metis.[82] Tupper, as the Conservative minister of railways (1879-84), was equally guilty of breaking faith with native peoples.

In a report on the west by the Rev. G.W. Huntely in 1885, on the eve of the Northwest or Second Riel Rebellion, he spoke of the 225,000 white settlers and the Baptist presence there. Nothing was said about natives or Metis.[83] Some of these attitudes towards Canada's native peoples resulted from ignorance. However, Silas Rand and Alexander Grant observed the outright racism prevalent in white society and their own denomination.

Besides racism, Baptist polity, which advocated the autonomy of local congregations, had hindered organized Baptist missionary activity among Canada's native peoples. The other Baptist distinctive of separation of church and state also prevented it from becoming involved in native residential schools. That may have been a blessing in disguise, as some of those churches that ran residential schools are now facing possible bankruptcy.

Today, there remains a Baptist presence on the Six Nations Reserve near Brantford and among the Oneidas west of London. The Canadian Baptist Federation between 1976-79 sponsored a mission at Inuvik.[84] The November 1988 issue of the *Link and Visitor*, the official organ of the Baptist Women's Missionary Society of Ontario and Quebec (BWMS), was devoted to the question of native ministry. This was in anticipation of a symposium on native Christianity to be held in January 1989. There stimulating papers were presented by representatives of many different Christian denominations. The consensus of opinion was that natives should minister to natives.[85] Later the BWMS made wide-ranging recommendations to the Baptist denomination regarding native ministry,[86] but nothing concrete appears to have come from those recommendations, other than ongoing support for the work of the native-directed Arrowhead Ministries.

Endnotes

1. *Baptist Year Book*, 1877, 80.

2. For the role of Canadian Baptists in Bolivia see *Bridging Cultures and Hemispheres: The Legacy of Archibald Reekie and Canadian Baptists in Bolivia*, ed. William H. Brackney (Macon: Smyth and Helwys, 1997).

3. Frank H. Woyke, "Other Ethnic Baptists," in *Baptists and the American Experience,* ed. James E. Wood, Jr. (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1976), 325-327.

4. I am indebted to William H. Brackney and the staff of the Canadian Baptist Archives for their assistance in obtaining some rare sources.

5. George Edward Levy, *The Baptists of the Maritime Provinces, 1753-1946* (Saint John: Barnes-Hopkins, Limited, 1946), 128.

6. Harry A. Renfree, *Heritage and Horizon: The Baptist Story in Canada* (Mississauga: Baptist Federation of Canada, 1988), 149.

7. Dorothy May Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim: A Biography of Silas Tertius Rand, 1810-1889* (Hantsport: Lancelot Press, 1992), 25-26. "Micmac" is the European name for that group and their language. Since the rise of the native rights movement, one often finds it spelled "Mi'Kmaq. To avoid anachronism I have chosen to retain the European spelling.

8. Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim*, 33-34.

9. Jeremiah S. Clark, *Rand and the Micmacs* (Charlottetown: n.p., 1899), 5.

10. Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim*, 41.

11. Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim*, 41-42.

12. Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim*, 39.

13. Silas T. Rand, *A Short Account of The Lord's Work among The Micmac Indians with some Reasons for His Seceding from the Baptist Denomination* (Halifax: William MacNab, 1873), 9.

14. Renfree incorrectly dated this as 1850 (*Heritage and Horizon*, 150). See S.T. Rand, *A Short Statement of Facts Relating to the History, Manners, Customs, Language, and Literature of the Micmac Tribe of Indians* in Nova Scotia and E. Island (Halifax: James Bowes and Son, 1850).

15. Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim,* 92.

16. Rand, *Short Statement of Facts*, 27.

17. Lovesay, *To Be a Pilgrim*, 114.

18. Lovesay, *To Be a Pilgrim*, 162.

19. Lovesay, *To Be a Pilgrim*, 156. Note some of the criticisms of this method of fund raising.

20. Rand, *A Short Account*, 26.

21. Rand, *A Short Account*, 14-15.

22. Catholic historians had mixed feelings about Rand (see Lovesey, *To Be a Pilgrim*, 2-3).

23. Rand, *A Short Account*, 8-9.

24. Rand diary, 26 May 1888; cited in Clark, *Rand and the Micmacs,* 23.

25. Stuart Ivison and Fred Rosser, *The Baptists in Upper and Lower Canada before 1820* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1956), 13, 137-142.

26. Robert S. Allen, "Joseph Brant," *Canadian Encyclopedia* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers Ltd., 1985), 1:214-215.

27. Brant's letter of 9 February 1801; cited in Ivison and Rosser, *The Baptists in Upper and Lower Canada*, 139.

28. *Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine* 1, No. 5 (September 1805): 153.

29. *Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine* 1, No. 2 (May 1904): 44-49 (C. Blood); 1, No. 5 (September 1905): 152-155 (Roots); 1, No. 7 (May 1806): 199-206 (L. Covell); 1, No. 9 (February 1807): 258-265 (D. Irish).

30. *Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine* 1, No. 4 (May 1805): 116-121.

31. Rev. N. Kendrick, "On the State of Religion in Upper Canada," *Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine* 2, No. 6 (May 1809): 174-176.

32. Ivison and Rosser, *The Baptists in Upper and Lower Canada*, 141.

33. Julia L. Jamieson, "The Story of Indian Churches and Missions," in *From Sea to Sea: A Study Book of Home Missions* (The Women's Baptist Home Mission Board of Ontario West, 1940), 169. Jamieson, a native whose maternal grandfather was one of the early Indian converts on the Six Nations Reserve, appears to have based her account on oral history. Some of her details are incorrect, causing her version of events to be questioned by J. Pryse, "Pioneer Baptist Missionaries to Upper Canada Tuscaroras," *Canadian Baptist Home Missions Digest* VI (1963-1964): 273-282. Jamieson has misspelled Miner's name. Pryse denies Miner's American origin (273, 275) but has not proved his case. He appeared to be motivated more by nationalism than historical veracity.

34. Pryse, "Pioneer Baptist Missionaries," 275.

35. J.H. Farmer, "The Baptists of the Dominion of Canada," in *A Century of Baptist Achievement,* ed. A.H. Newman (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publications Society, 1901), 141-142. Farmer has the Baptist Indians moving from Lewiston in 1842. Other sources suggest that it happened several years earlier.

36. Jamieson, "The Story of Indian Churches and Missions," 169-170. Pryse also tried to discount Nicholas Smith's American ancestry and early role in ministry on the Six Nations Reserve. Pryse's efforts to reduce Smith's role are not convincing (Pryse, "Pioneer Baptist Missionaries," 273, 280-281).

37. Both Jamieson ("The Story of Indian Churches and Missions"), and Pryse ("Pioneer Baptist Missionaries," 277) report the story of the "Macedonian Call" from the Indians, but their accounts differ and both appear to be romanticized.

38. Pryse, "Pioneer Baptist Missionaries," 273-275.

39. Pryse, "Pioneer Baptist Missionaries," 276.

40. T.S. Shenston, *Jubilee Review of First Baptist Church, Brantford, 1833-1884* (Toronto: Bingham and Webber, 1890), 16.

41. Their petition has been quoted by Pryse, "Pioneer Baptist Missionaries," 281-282.

42. Pryse, "Pioneer Baptist Missionaries," 280.

43. Minutes of First Baptist Church, Brantford, 29 April 1849; cited in Shenston, *Jubilee Review of First Baptist Church, Brantford, 1833-1884*, 21.

44. Pryse, "Pioneer Baptist Missionaries," 280.

45. Jamieson, "The Story of Indian Churches and Missions," 170.

46. Canadian Baptist Register, 1869, 45-47.

47. Canadian Baptist Register, 1875, 28.

48. Canadian Baptist Register, *1875, 28.*

49. Baptist Year Book, 1877, 28.

50. Baptist Year Book, 1881, 46.

51. Baptist Year Book, 1883, 27.

52. Baptist Year Book, 1886, 37-38.

53. Baptist Year Book, *1886,* 48.

54. Jamieson, "The Story of Indian Churches and Missions," 173.

55. D.A. Burns, "Ohsweken Needs A Church," *Canadian Baptist Home Missions Digest*, VI (1963-1964), 120-123; and Shirley Bentall, *From Sea to Sea: The Canadian Baptist Federation, 1944-1994* (Mississauga: Canadian Baptist Federation, 1994), 173.

56. See Doug Owram, *The Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West, 1856-1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980).

57. Thos. L. Davidson and Thos. Baldwin, "Report of the Deputation to the North West Territories," *Canadian Baptist Register*, 1870, 49.

58. Davidson and Baldwin, "Report of the Deputation to the North West Territories," *49.*

59. Davidson and Baldwin, "Report of the Deputation to the North West Territories," 50-51.

60. Thomas Davidson to the editor, *Canadian Baptist*, 16 September 1869, 2.

61. Margaret Thompson, *The Baptist Story in Western Canada* (Calgary: The Baptist Union of Western Canada, 1974), 15-16.

62. Thompson, *The Baptist Story in Western Canada,* 83-90.

63. Thompson, *The Baptist Story in Western Canada,* 99.

64. See Theo. T. Gibson, *Beyond the Granite Curtain: The Story of Alexander McDonald* (Ancaster: By the author, [c. 1975]).

65. Thompson, *The Baptist Story in Western Canada*, 379-380.

66. Prince's life story was told in H.G. Mellick, *The Indians and Our Indian Missions* (Winnipeg: H.C. Stovel and Co., 1909), 85ff. A fuller account is contained in Thompson, *The Baptist Story in Western Canada*, 380-405.

67. See Donald Goertz, "Alexander Grant: Pastor, Evangelist, Visionary," in *Costly Vision: The Baptist Pilgrimage in Canada,* ed., Jarold K. Zeman (Burlington: Welch , 1988), 16, 21-22.

68. *Baptist Yearbook*, 1892.

69. Mellick, *The Indians and Our Indian Missions*, 5.

70. Thompson, *The Baptist Story in Western Canada*, 389.

71. Thompson, *The Baptist Story in Western Canada*, 404.

72. Neither Thompson nor J.E. Harris, *The Baptist Union of Western Canada: A Centennial History, 1873-1973* (Saint John: Lingley Printing Co., Ltd., 1976) mention any work among British Columbia Baptists.

73. Thompson, *The Baptist Story in Western Canada*, 405.

74. See Jean Usher, "Apostles and Aborigines: the Social Theory of the Church Missionary Society," *Social History* 7 (April 1971): 28-52.

75. Davidson and Baldwin, "Report of the Deputation to the North West Territories," 51.

76. Thompson, *The Baptist Story in Western Canada*, 118.

77. Note Rand's observation in Lovesey: "There are plenty – I hope not very plenty – of Baptists, who will hardly admit that anybody but a Baptist can go to heaven" (*To Be a Pilgrim*, 136).

78. Shenston, *Jubilee Review of First Baptist Church, Brantford, 1833-1884* ,31-32.

79. Gibson, *Beyond the Granite Curtain: The Story of Alexander McDonald*, 62.

80. *Baptist Year Book*, 1877, 52.

81. *Baptist Year Book*, 1882, 123.

82. J.L. Finlay and D.N. Sprague, *The Structure of Canadian History*, 2nd ed. (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada Inc., 1984), 216, 220, 234.

83. *Baptist Year Book*, 1885, 76.

84. Bentall, *From Sea to Sea,* 173.

85. "Canada's Native People Need Native Churches," *Link and Visitor*, March 1989, 14.

86. BWMS notes, 21 April 1989, supplied to the author by Mrs. Audrey Morikawa, 21 January 1998.

"Wherever the Twos or Threes are Gathered": Personal Conversion and the Construction of Community in Outport Newfoundland Methodism

SANDRA BEARDSALL

On a typical Sunday night in the 1940s at Lumsden North, a small outport[1] clinging to a sandy shore in eastern Newfoundland, Uncle Eli would stand in his pew in the wood-frame United Church, and give his after service[2] testimony: "Wherever the twos or threes are gathered together, there am I in the midst and that's a blessing." He would continue, "We need no amount of high words to tell thee who we are and what we are, but we come to thee in all of our unworthiness."[3]

This mixture of scripture citation, praise, and prayer of humble access was not unusual in form, but its content was particular to Eli himself, so particular that at least one of the young people who heard him repeat it Sunday after Sunday could recall it verbatim fifty years later. Eli's participation in the after service connected him to nearly two centuries of Methodist religious history in Newfoundland, for although his congregation had become part of The United Church of Canada in 1925, most of its Methodist practices and theology remained intact. Methodism had come early to Newfoundland, in 1766, and spread prodigiously during the mid-to-late 1800s, claiming, at its peak in 1921, 28% of the colony's population, with Roman Catholics and Anglicans dividing most of the rest of the population evenly between them.[4]

The success of Methodism in colonial Newfoundland can be attributed to several obvious factors: the zealous sending of missionaries

into every far-flung bay, while the Church of England and its Society for the Propagation of the Gospel dragged its heels; the Methodist practice of planting schools as well as churches in small communities, with the appointed schoolmaster often serving as both teacher and preacher; the employment of young, unmarried, male probationers, who were free to journey from settlement to settlement, visiting and conducting services; and the migration of families from one cove to another in the pursuit of better fishing grounds, carrying with them their portable and resilient Methodist faith.[5]

Less obvious, but as significant, is the role played by the theology that Newfoundland Methodists learned and adapted for their impoverished and isolated lives. This faith focused squarely, almost exclusively, upon personal conversion. Nearly every Methodist discipline, from public worship to the class meeting, the love feast,[6] and family prayer, reshaped itself on Newfoundland soil to become yet another opportunity for dramatic personal conversion and testimony to its effects. Allegations, however, that Newfoundland Methodism abandoned theology altogether for an orgy of emotion[7] lose their force when these religious practices are scrutinized more carefully. This task can be an especially fruitful one to undertake, for alongside the ususal archival evidence, there are many living witnesses who experienced this piety in its heyday, and there are significant numbers of Newfoundlanders, across several denominations, who still claim adherence to its conversion-oriented religious practices, naming their heritage as "old-time Methodism."[8] Through the archival sources, written surveys, and interviews with Newfoundlanders and Labradorians, I discovered that this piety, summarized by Ernst Troeltsch as a highly individualistic orthodoxy,[9] in fact acted also in a more subversive role: it helped to create and sustain communities in a region that had been kept conveniently poor and under-serviced by colonial governments and wealthy fish merchants.[10] Newfoundland Methodism forged a deep intertwining of personal salvation and community identity, a connection which gave shape and strength to both individuals and the outports in which they lived and worked.

In this paper, I will suggest three ways in which this emphasis on personal conversion contributed to the construction and strengthening of community life in rural Newfoundland, through invitation, affirmation, and integration of individuals into the life and work of the community. I will conclude by offering some reasons for the eventual weakening of this

powerful link between "conversion" and "community."

1. Invitation to a Romance

When Laurence Coughlan, a colourful and controversial Irish-born missionary of the 1760s, and one of the first to proclaim a conversion-centred theology in Newfoundland, thundered to congregations in Conception Bay: "You fishermen, you Newfoundland fishermen, I tell you, if you repent not, your sins will sink you into hell,"[11] the "Joys of the Children of God on one hand, and Cries of broken-hearted sinners on the other," were, by Coughlan's own admission, "very alarming."[12] Many fishing folk and a few of the merchant class, particularly women, dealt with their alarm by flocking to Coughlan's noisy services to "groan for redemption."[13]

Although Coughlan was eventually ejected from Newfoundland at the behest of the merchant elite, his invitation lingered, the invitation to view spiritual life not as a resigned acquiescence to duty, suffering, and fate, but rather as a "romance," a narrative category described by literary critic Northrop Frye as a "quest: the perilous journey, the crucial struggle, and the exaltation of the hero."[14] Translated into religious terms by pastoral theologian James Hopewell, this quest becomes a journey away from weakness and sin, through the "peril of evil forces and events," to the experience of the "liquid love of God" pouring through one's being.[15]

As in other quest epics, the conversion adventure requires both individual autonomy and a strong cast of characters to assist or thwart the hero along the journey. The outport became the stage upon which the salvation drama would unfold, and Methodism set the scene. The whole of Sunday was set apart for things holy, as Methodists took Sabbatarianism to new heights,[16] donned the best clothes they could muster, and enacted a day-long religious gathering. It began with a preacher-centred morning worship, the centrepiece of which was a long sermon, usually focusing on misbehaviour in the community, the horrors of hell and the need for redemption. Poet E.J. Pratt, who grew up in a Newfoundland Methodist manse, describes the preaching as he encountered it:

> [It was] capable of lifting the congregation out of their pews by the most gorgeous descriptions of heaven, or else shake them under the planks by painting hell with colours never seen on land or sea . . . We

> would creep under our seats until the time came for the benediction. We could come out from our hiding when we were sure the colours were dry. One might dispute the gospel truth of the message, but no on could deny the power. It was real heaven and real hell we saw.[17]

The rest of the day continued the theme, through Sunday School, perhaps a love feast, and more preaching services, until finally, after the "night service," came the after service, with its extemporaneous prayer and testimony, its chorus-singing, and its altar call and direct invitation to conversion. The preaching, the praying, the singing, and the pleading over the course of the day had created an atmosphere where anything could happen. An 1895 report from Shoal Harbour noted, "One man only got as far as the door when he fell down on the snow crying out, 'Lord save me, Lord save me.' We carried him back inside the church, where the Lord saved him and saves him still."[18] A worshipper at Blackhead in the early 1900s was so overcome that he jumped from the church gallery to the main floor in his desire to get to the rail.[19] Falling to one's knees, usually at the chancel rail, was the first step in conversion. Some, especially teenagers, went forward with a group of their peers. Others knelt quietly at the rail after deep personal reflection.[20] One woman recalls her father's conversion in the 1930s:

> There had been a revival at the church, with several people converted, but my father wasn't one of them. About a quarter to twelve in the night, one of my father's friends came banging at the door: "Art," he said, "they're having a revival down to the church. I got converted, and now I come for you."
>
> Pop jumped out of bed and pulled on his pants. My mother called out after him, "Art, don't be so foolish!" She always had a bit of Anglican in her.[21]

However they arrived there, the converts shared one desire: to become the central character in a story fraught with possibility and peril, one that symbolized and echoed the daily struggle to scrape a living from the sea: the quest for the salvation of their own souls. At the same time, by their very choices to resist or to respond, to weep or to wait, each worshiper was also playing a supporting role in another's quest, thus joining more tightly the bonds of blood and shared labour which already

linked outport neighbours. A woman born in 1898, who became one of the United Church's first female lay readers in Newfoundland, perhaps sums it up best: "You enjoyed the service, and you was there in the church to worship God, and you'd think, I wants more than *this*, anyway. I wants part of *that*."[22]

2. Affirmation of Individual and Collective Identity

Whether persons had walked thoughtfully to the rail, or jumped from the gallery, they were not deemed "converted" until they had sensed that they had moved from "this" to "that," or, as one nineteenth-century missionary put it, "the Lord answered them."[23] They indicated that they had received their answer by some public signal. It sometimes took more than one trip to the rail before persons were convinced of their conversion; as one man recalls, "They'd say, he's down, but he's not saved yet."[24] The sign might be as slight as a wave of the hand, or as dramatic as dancing a "joy-jig,"[25] leaping over pews or pulling down the church chandelier.[26] This demonstration was to be followed, no later than the next week, by the convert standing in his or her pew to testify. A failure to testify nullified the whole experience. As one woman, whose father was converted while alone in the woods puts it, "He knew if he didn't acknowledge it publicly, it wouldn't be any good to him."[27]

By this first testimony, the convert formally affirmed and claimed not only a personal worth, but also a public role, one of spiritual vigilance and proclamation. This identity carried with it remarkable social weight; while it did not overturn the class system, it certainly helped to loosen the colonial link between economic power and moral authority. Regardless of gender, economic status, or level of literacy, anyone could, by conversion and good living, become a model Christian. The key was to continue to live a saved life (to be discussed more fully below) to attend worship, the class-meeting, and other mid-week ordinances, and to testify and pray aloud regularly.

The testimony became the convert's faith signature. The reticent would choose as their testimony a passage of Scripture or the verse of a hymn which they would deliver as quickly and unobtrusively as possible; others developed a more elaborate set of phrases, which they also generally memorized and repeated with only slight modification each time they stood to speak. Testifiers further developed their own style by changing the tone

and cadence of their voices, adding an "ah" to their words ("I come to thee-ah, this evening-ah, as needy as ever-ah"),[28] or speaking abnormally loudly. One woman recalls a generally quiet man who, when testifying, would "roar, he'd talk so loud. When people got outside, they'd say, 'Does he think God is deaf, I wonder?'"[29]

If a testifier spoke too long, someone would start to sing a chorus, which the congregation would join, drowning out the testifier's voice. This technique was called, "singing them down."[30] The content of testimony was to be positive, announcing the good work the Lord had enacted in the life of the convert, with negativity saved for pointing out the sinfulness of the unsaved. It was not the place for confession – except to contrast pre-conversion behaviour with current practice – or for the expression of doubts or questions. It was especially important to older men and women,[31] and may have been one of the ways the elderly continued to be useful when they could no longer offer the heavy physical labour so essential for survival in the outports. Says one woman, "It was the old people's *work*."[32]

Whatever their ages, like the invitation that brought them to conversion, the converts' affirmations, by public testimony of their identity and status, provided both personal and community benefits, allowing individuals to find their usefulness, empowering those who would otherwise remain marginal and voiceless, and helping the community in turn to name for itself, week by week, its vision of the redeemed life.

3. Integration of Self and Community: Behaving and Backsliding

If public testimony was the *seal*, the ongoing *sign* of conversion was revealed in the convert's public behaviour. The convert's behaviour in the world beyond the worship setting offered yet another way in which both the individual's spiritual status and the community's vitality were linked. Along with attendance at worship and the other "means of grace" (not including Holy Communion, of which only the worthiest of Christians were expected to partake), Newfoundland Methodists faced the usual set of sanctions against Sunday work, card-playing, swearing, alcohol, dancing and theatre. The rules about smoking were more vague, and there were no expectations that converts would act with any particular kindness toward their neighbours.[33]

Because most outport communities lacked dance halls, liquor outlets, or theatres, Methodist right-living was possible to attain, with a little self-

discipline. The behaviour code in turn helped to maintain social order in settlements which for centuries lacked any formal law enforcement agencies or personnel. Even the injunction against card-playing had its merits. Women were only too happy to have their homes free of noisy, dirty-booted card-playing men who, in their games, blocked access to the oil lamp by which the evening's essential darning and mending would be done.[34]

While the well-behaved convert contributed to community harmony, the backslider also played a significant role. An enduring theme in Newfoundland Methodism was spring and summer backsliding. The harsh and bloody demands of the spring seal hunt[35] and then the summer fishery, especially for those who went "down on the Labrador" meant that every fall there was a sad tally made of the many converted who had fallen away.[36] Others, who had been converted in the heat of a revival, back-slid soon after.[37] What had the backsliders done? Many had simply failed to keep up their church attendance or to continue to testify. Others felt they had done something wrong, especially by swearing.[38] Then there were those who simply relished the opportunity to participate in the conversion drama, including one old man who would get converted every year, "and they used to joke that if we're ever going to get him saved and get [him] to heaven, we'll have to shoot him after he gets converted next time."[39]

The possibility of re-conversion offered the community a way to regroup after a summer spent fishing in far-flung coves. It afforded a reason to hold great winter or early spring revival meetings, times of intense spiritual fervor which saw some of Methodism's noisiest conversions, as reflected in this boyhood memory from the early 1900s:

> I've seen revival services where the people got, as they say, the glory . . . [so] that you'd see hats and bonnets flying. They'd be jumping around. I remember one occasion I went to one of these revival services with my grandmother. They got happy, and the muffs and bonnets were flying around, and I got scared and she had to take me home.[40]

Times of re-conversion allowed individuals to regain their spiritual equilibrium, and provided a ritual by which to bring the community back into relationship. The sense that a winter revival had engendered great numbers of converts gave the impression that the faith community was

thriving and growing, even if the gains served mostly to offset seasonal losses. Official Methodism was occasionally embarrassed by the seasonal ebb and flow,[41] but were at pains to reverse the practice, so well did it serve both personal and community needs.

Conclusion

Tenacious as conversion theology has been in Newfoundland, its ability to link person and community through invitation, affirmation, and integration has weakened over the past century, and especially in the past five decades. This latter shift coincides with Newfoundland's experience of Confederation, the resettlement and consolidation of outport communities, the building of roads and highways, power grids and water and sewage systems, the creation of a university, and an increase in the provision of social and health services. These changes have created a new, more educated and widely-travelled society in outport communities.

Under these conditions, the invitation to a perilous romance is no longer as compelling, or as evocative of daily life. In a culture which has ceased to be predominantly oral, individuals and communities have a range of ways, beyond the weekly after service to affirm their identities, from professional careers to Internet chat rooms. New and complex law enforcement and employment patterns have replaced the seasonal rhythms which harmonized so well with Methodist behaviour codes and re-conversion. However, recent dramatic socio-economic changes, precipitated by the depletion of the Newfoundland cod stock, is pressing outport individuals and communities to seek to redefine themselves. And that intertwined longing for both personal salvation and community solidarity, so well represented in Uncle Eli's testimony exalting those times and places "where the twos and threes are gathered," has not disappeared. It continues to stir in the hearts and minds of the heirs of Newfoundland Methodism, and may yet lead them upon another spiritual adventure.

Endnotes

1. An "outport" is a Newfoundland fishing village, a "coastal settlement other than the chief port of St. John's," defined by G.M. Story, W.J. Kirwin, and J.D.A. Widdowson, eds. *Dictionary of Newfoundland English* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982).

2. The "after service" is a time of prayer, testimony and chorus-singing, led by either minister or lay-leader, immediately following the evening service. It will be discussed further below.

3. Wilf Norman, interview by author, 6 October 1991, Lumsden NF. Tape recording #9.

4. *Census Information: Newfoundland and Labrador*, 1981, Table A-5, 9; Statistics Canada (1991), Catalogue no. 93-319-XBP.

5. "If the Anglicans had been able to supply all the areas of Newfoundland that needed ministers, Methodism would not have spread as much as it did. The poor old bishop poured out his soul; he said, 'If we don't get more ministers, they'll all be Roman Catholics and Methodists.'" Interview by author with Newfoundland church historian Naboth Winsor (7 October 1991, Wesleyville NF, tape recording #10A). See also reports of Methodist encroachment in the journal of Anglican missionary Julian Moreton, *Life and Work in Newfoundland*, ed. Naboth Winsor (Newtown NF, published by the editor, 1977), 24 June, 1857. For the spread of Methodist schools, see Llewellyn Parsons, "Newfoundland's Struggle to Develop a System of Education" Tms, Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1964, 11.

6. A "love feast" is a spiritual celebration, borrowed by John Wesley from the Moravians, featuring a sharing of bread and water, followed by a period of testifying (see Richard O. Johnson, "The Development of the Love Feast in Early American Methodism," *Methodist History* 19 [1981]: 70).

7. Arthur Kewley, "The Influence of Isolation on the Theology of Methodism in Newfoundland 1874-1924" (Tms, photocopy of paper presented to the Canadian Society of Church History, May 29, 1971), 11.

8. "We have all heard the Honourable J.R. Smallwood [Newfoundland's first provincial premier] declare publicly and with great vehemence, "I am the only Wesleyan left in Newfoundland" (see Arthur Kewley, "The First Fifty Years of Methodism in Newfoundland 1765-1815: Was it Authentic Wesleyanism?" *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 19 [March-June 1977]: 7). An example of a Methodist convert to Pentecostalism is Eugene Vaters, who cited as his reason for changing denominations his desire to conserve "basic Wesleyan teaching" (see Eugene Vaters, *Reminiscence* [St. John's: Good Tidings Press, 1983], 40-41).

9. Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, trans. Olive Wyon (New York: MacMillan, 1931), 2:721.

10. Permanent settlement by Europeans in Newfoundland began in the early 1600s. However, there were no resident civil or criminal courts in Newfoundland until the 1790s; the first resident governor arrived in 1818, and full colonial status, with Responsible Government, was not established until 1855. There were no local governments or authorities, in some cases until the mid-twentieth century. The fishery evolved into a family-centred barter enterprises, kept continually beholden to merchants (usually St. John's-based) who paid them for their summer's catch with a winter's supply of dry goods, flour, and sugar (see David Alexander, "Newfoundland's Traditional Economy and Development to 1934," in *Newfoundland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Essays in Interpretation*, eds. James Hiller and Peter Neary [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980], 17-63).

11. William Wilson, *Newfoundland and its Missionaries* (Cambridge: Dakin and Mecalf, 1866), 139.

12. Laurence Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God, in Newfoundland, North-America, In a Series of Letters, to Which are Prefixed a Few Choice Experiences; Some of Which Were Taken from the Lips of Persons, Who Died Triumphantly in the Faith. To Which are Added, Some Excellent Sentiments, Extracted from the Writings of an Eminent Divine, Humbly Dedicated to the Right Honourable the Countess of Huntingdon* (London: W. Gilbert, 1776), 11.

13. Accounts and analysis of Coughlan's activities can be found in Hans Rollmann, "Laurence Coughlan and the Origins of Newfoundland Methodism," in *The Contribution of Methodism to Atlantic Canada*, eds. C.H. Scobie and J.W. Grant (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 53-76; and S. Dawn Barrett, "Revivalism and the Origins of Newfoundland Methodism: 1766-1774," M.A. thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1993.

14. Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), 187.

15. James F. Hopewell, *Congregation: Stories and Structures*, ed. Barbara G. Wheeler (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), 70.

16. Doris Elliott, interview by author, 3 October 1991, Tape recording #5A.

17. E.J. Pratt, *E.J. Pratt on his Life and Poetry*, ed. Susan Gingell (Toronto, 1983), 13; quoted in David G. Pitt, "Methodism and E.J. Pratt: A Study of the Methodist Background of a Canadian Poet and its Influence on his Life and Work," Paper presented a conference titled, "The Contribution of Methodism to Atlantic Canada," Mount Allison University, 6-8 October, 1989), 6.

18. Carbonear District Spiritual State Reports, 1895, WY-200, Box 1, Archives of The United Church of Canada, Newfoundland and Labrador Conference, St. John's NF.

19. Walter Hudson, interview by author, 30 January 1992, St. John's NF. Tape recording #11.

20. Roy Andrews, interview by author, 2 October 1991, Nipper's Harbour NF. Tape recording #4; Louisa Whelan, interview by author 20 September 1991, Hickman's Harbour NF. Tape recording #1.

21. Doris Elliott interview.

22. Alberta Pennell, interview by author, 4 October 1991, Gander NF. Tape recording #6.

23. James England, Journal, 25 February 1839, WY-500, Box 78, Newfoundland United Church Archives.

24. Walter Hudson interview.

25. This phrase was current in the Salvation Army (see R.G. Moyles, *The Blood and the Fire in Canada* [Toronto: Peter Martin, 1977], 82).

26. Louise Whelan, Roy Andrews interviews.

27. Naida Robbins, interview by author, 5 October 1991, Lumsden NF. Tape recording #7B.

28. Wilf Norman interview.

29. Naida Robbins interview.

30. Leslie Fifield, interview by author, 6 October 1991, Lumsden NF. Tape recording #9.

31. Several interviewees mention that more old people than young would testify regularly (Louisa Whelan interview; Elsie Norman and Pearl Fifield, interview by author, 6 October 1991, Lumsden NF. Tape recording #9).

32. Louisa Whelan interview.

33. These comments on "behaviour codes" are taken from Walter and Roy Andrews, Naida Robbins, and Greta Moores interviews, and from the Carbonear District Spiritual State report for Brigus, 1885, WY-200, Box 1, Newfoundland United Church Archives.

34. Greta Moores, interview by author, 30 September 1991, Red Bay, Labrador. Tape recording #2.

35. Report of Blackhead to Newfoundland District Minutes, 1834, 203. WY-103, Box 2, Newfoundland United Church Archives.

36. Brigus Circuit Book, 1881; report of Hant's Harbour in Carbonear District Spiritual State Reports, 1895, WY-200, Box 1, Newfoundland United Church Archives; *Monthly Greeting* editorial, May 1899, 72.

37. Report from Red Bay to *Monthly Greeting*, May 1891, 266.

38. Greta Moores, Walter Hudson interviews.

39. Walter Hudson interview.

40. Walter Hudson interview.

41. Newfoundland Conference Minutes, 1886, 40. WY-100, Box 2, Newfoundland United Church Archives.

The Role of the Bible in the British Abolition of Slavery, 1671-1824

THOMAS A. WELCH

One aspect of the story of the British abolition of slavery is the role the Bible played in the campaign against the slave system. The journey of this story begins in 1671 and travels right into the early part of the nineteenth century. This discussion, therefore, will pay attention to the fact that the exposition of the Bible provided the ideological basis of the anti-slavery movements in Britain for a century and a half. This is not to suggest that Enlightenment ideas were not used in the fight against slavery. On the contrary, the Enlightenment did influence the anti-slavery campaign; but that is only part of the story – a part that is generally acknowledged by historians. Another part is that the teaching of the Bible was important for the abolitionists. My focus will also be upon the historical development of this theology of emancipation. This campaign began among the Quakers, then found its most powerful expression among the Anglican evangelicals of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Some of these Anglicans were known as the Clapham Sect.

By the early part of the nineteenth century, the biblical arguments submitted by the abolitionists against the practice of slavery developed into a recognizable theology of emancipation. The Christians who were involved in the struggle for the liberation of the slaves possessed a common body of biblical concepts that made them feel confident that the cause to which they were committed was endorsed by the will of God. It had taken at least 150 years for the theology to be fully developed – from the time of George Fox in 1671 to the publication of a series of periodicals,

Negro Slavery around 1824.

While on a visit to Barbados in 1671, George Fox (1624-1691), the founder of the Quaker movement, preached to a group of followers a sermon calling for the application of the principles of Mosaic manumission towards all slaves held by Quakers. This sermon, together with a few other short addresses made on the same voyage, was published in 1676, as *The Gospel of Family Order*. Fox's publication was one of the discussions that opened the way for a clear theological development on the question of slavery. This work, published in London, was released in a second edition in Philadelphia in 1701.

With reference to Ebed-Melech in Jeremiah 38; an Ethiopian who was accepted into the community of Israel and to the other Ethiopian in Acts 8, who was accepted into the Christian community; Fox argued that blacks were equal to whites within God's economy. Substantiating this with an appeal to Acts 17:26, Fox stated, "And therefore you should preach Christ to your Ethiopians that are in your families, so that they may be free men indeed, and be tender of and to them, and walk in love, that ye may answer that of God in your hearts, being (as the Scripture affirms) all of one Blood & one Mold, to dwell upon the face of the Earth."[1] Fox was concerned that the Friends (the Quakers) recognize the need to preach the gospel of Christ to the slaves and to accept the converted ones as brothers and sisters in the faith.

But Fox went on to give a call for the eventual liberation of the slaves. Quoting from Deuteronomy 15:12-15, Fox reminded the Quakers of the Mosaic injunction requiring the manumission of bond servants after six years of service.[2] His sermon was not a rejection of slavery *per se*; rather it was a call for its limitation and for a benevolent sentiment in the administration of the institution. Furthermore, Fox's sermon laid the groundwork for a later development of anti-slavery theology in the British Empire. From this period onwards, the question of slavery was continually confronted by various groups and individuals of the Quaker community.

John Bell, a Quaker from Bromley near London, circulated a letter to all Quakers of the British domains. Bell's treatise, according to Roger Anstey (1927-1979), was very influential in causing the American Quakers to go into a period of deep soul-searching with regard to the keeping of slaves.[3] In his dispatch, *An Epistle to Friends,* published in 1741, Bell cited the Golden Rule in Matthew 7:12. His call was for the exercise of kindness and compassion in the treatment of one's slaves.[4] In addition to this, citing

passages from James 5:1-5 and Isaiah 1:19, 20, Bell stressed the fact that in the Bible there were strong words of condemnation against those who oppressed others.[5]

Two figures who strongly influenced the capitulation of the American Quakers in favor of abolition were John Woolman (1720-1772) and Anthony Benezet (1713-1784).[6] In 1754, Woolman published *Some Consideration on the keeping of Negroes recommended to the Professors of Christianity of every Denomination.* Woolman's distinctive contribution to the discussion was his new application of the Golden Rule. While Bell had used the words of Christ as a call for kindness to the slaves, Woolman used them to disqualify the validity of slavery. Woolman asked, "How should I approve of this conduct, were I in their circumstance and they in mine?"[7] In addition, he argued that the command in Leviticus 19:33,34 was closely connected to the reciprocity of the Golden Rule. Woolman was contending that the European slave system was at war with the principles of biblical ethics.

John Woolman possibly played his most important historical role in the influence he had on his fellow Quaker, Anthony Benezet. Anstey observes: "more fundamental was a Christ-like quality in both of them which enabled them to expound their cause without attacking – alienating – their opponents. Their underlying faith, too, was of a similar cast, as is particularly clear in a passage in a letter from Benezet in which he acknowledged his debt to Woolman."[8] Roger Anstey, David Davis and Roger Bruns concur in their assessment of the significance of Benezet to the anti-slavery campaign. Bruns, though, is more detailed in his commendation. He states:

> The work of the gentle Quaker would establish him as the most prolific and influential propagandist against slavery in the eighteenth century . . . Benezet zealously wrote letter after letter to heads of government, religious leaders, politicians, and others interested in reform, He lobbied during legislative sessions, preached to Quaker slave owners . . . Benezet strongly influenced others such as Thomas Clarkson, John Wesley, and Benjamin Rush to begin their work against slavery. In 1767, Granville Sharp, who later became one of the most influential figures in the international abolition movement, was browsing in a London bookstore when he noticed Benezet's *A Short Account*. The work so stirred Sharp that he had it reprinted.[9]

In addition to re-emphasizing the arguments already advanced against slavery, Benezet added to the list the stark evil of kidnapping. Benezet stated: "under Mosaic Law, Manstealing was the only theft punishable by death: it is thus expressed in Exodus Chap. 21,16. He that stealeth a Man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death."[10]

So then, the Quakers of America, largely through the writings and energies of Woolman and especially of Benezet, fanned the flames of anti-slavery sentiment and contributed to a further development of abolitionist biblical exegesis in Britain. In one century the concepts had made a complete return trip: starting with George Fox and John Bell of Britain, traversing the Atlantic to the American Colonies – experiencing there a further development; then returning in a more comprehensive form to Britain.

The Importance of Granville Sharp

Granville Sharp (1735-1813) was the first real anti-slavery activist in Britain and the most important pamphleteer of anti-slavery biblical thought. Sharp became personally involved in a number of court battles to set slaves in Britain free. He did his own research in law and debated against the legal opinions of the Solicitor-General, Lord Chief Justice Mansfield and Dr. William Blackstone, an oracle on English law. In 1787, Sharp became the first chairman of the Committee for the Abolition of the Slave Trade.[11]

It was in the year 1776 that Granville Sharp published four booklets which might well be the best historical examples of the exegesis hermeneutics of the Christian anti-slavery activists. The first of these works which we shall consider is *The Just Limitation of Slavery in the Laws of God*. This monograph was, in the main, a response to an anonymously published pro-slavery work, *A Treatise on the Trade from Great Britain to Africa*.[12] *The Just Limitation* also carried an appendix which was a rebuttal of Thomas Thompson's, *The African Trade for Negro Slaves shown to be consistent with the Principles of Humanity and with the Laws of Revealed Religion*, which was published at Canterbury in 1772. Roger Bruns observes that Thompson was "a pro-slavery Anglican missionary who had traveled extensively in Africa and the West Indies in the 1740s and 1750s . . . Thompson's 31-page essay, infused with Biblical citations,

was a formidable challenge to the arguments of anti-slavery writers."[13]

In his discussion of the servitude allowed by the enactments of the Mosaic code, Sharp first dealt with the contention that "by the Law of Moses, the Israelites might purchase slaves from the heathens, and even their own people might become slaves to their brethren."[14] Sharp responded to this, basing his arguments upon Leviticus 25:44-46; most likely the same scripture text Thompson had used.

Sharp exegeted the passage section by section. Concerning the rendering of the word, "heathen," Sharp argued that *hagoyim* was more properly translated "the nations." Moreover – and this, for Sharp, was very important – it was the nations "round about" whom the Israelites were permitted to employ as "bondmen"(those nations being the seven nations mentioned in Deuteronomy 7:1). Sharp's submission, then, was that this Levitical permission for the perpetual bondservice of strangers was a special case of Divine judgment that did not extend to other non-Canaanite nations. Rather, quite to the contrary, there were specific commands given to the Israelites regarding their treatment of other nations not falling under the sweep of this Divine Scourge. Sharp commented:

> I have elsewhere particularly demonstrated; and which even the law of Moses expressly commanded: 'But the stranger, that dwelleth with you, shall be unto you as one born among you, and THOU SHALT LOVE HIM AS THYSELF; for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt: I am the Lord you God.' Lev. xix. 33 and 3.[15]

So far as strangers in general were concerned, the Hebrew people were commanded to love them and not to oppress them. This was a view that, as already noted, John Woolman had previously expressed in 1754. Here, however, Sharp elaborated upon it and took it further. Sharp did not merely see it as a call for kindness to the stranger in general, but rather as an injunction to forbid the Hebrews form thinking of a foreigner – apart from the Canaanite – as a candidate for enslavement. This explanation, in Sharp's mind, was the only way the two different regulations regarding the treatment of strangers could be understood. For if the permission to hold a stranger in bondservice were to be extended to strangers at large, it would undermine the command to render benevolence to strangers as outlined not only in Leviticus but also in Exodus and Deuteronomy. Sharp argued:

> If this permission were to be extended to strangers in general, It would subvert the express command concerning brotherly love due to strangers; because a man cannot be said to love the stranger as himself If he holds the stranger and his progeny in a perpetual involuntary servitude.[16]

Basically, the overriding principle in one's relationship to the stranger ought to be loved as one loved oneself. With regard to the second pro-slavery argument "that the Hebrews were permitted to enslave their own people," Sharp's response was that the argument did not take into consideration the stipulations regulating the practice. Sharp complained:

> I must remark, that he does not deal fairly by the Jewish Law, to quote that circumstance, without mentioning, at the same time, 'the Just Limitation' to which it was subject, and the admirable provision, in the same Law, against the Involuntary servitude of brethren: because no Hebrew could be made a Slave without his consent.[17]

Sharp further stressed that when a Hebrew expressed a desire to be a bondservant, it had to be ratified by a formal proceeding before the judges of the land. Unless there was that public recognition of the "voluntary consent" no Hebrew had the authority to turn his brother Hebrew into a bond-servant: it was absolutely unlawful in any other circumstance. Indeed, Israelites who had become bankrupt could not be compelled to serve as bondservants, only as hired servants.[18] With respect to this particular observation, Sharp made reference to Leviticus 25:39-43. But there was another observation that Sharp made. It was in connection with the passage found in Deuteronomy 23:15,16. Sharp claimed that this provision of the law indicated that "though the Jews were permitted by the Law of Moses . . . to keep slaves . . . yet there was no inherent right to service to be implied from this permission."[19]

Sharp's next step was to take the conclusions arrived at in his exegeting of the portions of the Scripture, and apply them to the British slave system. He contended that "the degree of servitude, which the Israelites were permitted to exact of their brethren, was mild and equitable, when compared with the servitude which (to our confusion be it said) is common among Christians."[20] He sought to demonstrate this by pointing out the Jews were not only restrained from oppressing their fellow

Hebrews, but that they were also enjoined at the end of the six years of service to set them free-and that not without a bountiful supply of gifts. Sharp was referring specifically to Deuteronomy 15:13,14. Sharp then remarked, "These are the very utmost limits of servitude that we might venture to exact of our brethren even if we were Jews . . . What then must we think of our selves if we compare these Jewish limitations with our Plantation laws?"[21]

From here, Granville Sharp proceeded to discuss the question of recompense for service. on this issue he called attention to James 5:3,4: Luke 10:7 and also to Jeremiah 22:13. In the Luke passage, it is stated that "the labourer is worthy of his hire"; and in James there is an outright pronouncement of Judgement, in the most fiery of terms, against landowners who oppressed their labourers and defrauded them of a proper wage.[22] Sharp pointed to Colossians 4:1 to make the point that if Christians were to abide by the principle of giving to their workers what was "just and equal," they could do no less than what was required by law of Moses; yet, Christians ought to have been even more benevolent, loving and generous than the requirements of the Torah.[23]

According to Sharp, then, the slavery permitted under the laws of God was essentially different from that practised legally by the British. To use Scripture texts which spoke of slavery within the context of the Mosaic code and to apply them indiscriminately to the eighteenth-century Atlantic slavemongering was to ignore "the Just limitation of slavery in the laws of God" as revealed by Scripture, even if one considered the Old Testament alone. The Mosaic legislation was, in contrast with the system at work in the British West Indies, a benevolent one. It did not deliver human beings, bound hand and foot, to the every whim and fancy of their fellowman.

The Slave and Passive Obedience

Next, I shall investigate Sharp's booklet, *The Law of Passive Obedience.* This was a discussion of the principle of "Christian submission to personal injuries." Here Sharp argued that the instructions in the New Testament which enjoined slaves to submit to their masters were principles given to regulate the conduct of the slaves and not that of the masters.[24] While *The Just Limitation of Slavery in the Laws of God* dealt mainly with the Old Testament, *The Law of Passive Obedience* was especially focused upon responding to those who saw in the New Testament grounds for the

support of slavery. Sharp observed:

> There are nevertheless some particular Texts in the New Testament, which, in the opinion even of several well meaning and disinterested persons, seem to afford some proof of slavery among the primitive Christians; and, from thence, they are induced to conceive, that Christianity doth not oblige its professors to renounce the practice of slaveholding.[25]

Sharp's purpose in the writing of the monograph, then, was an attempt to prove "the absolute illegality of slavery among Christians."

Sharp contended that the claims of the British slaveholders over their slaves, went beyond those which the New Testament permitted. To demonstate this, he proceeded to exegete 1 Timothy 6:2. Sharp contended that nowhere in the New Testament was an individual given the right to exact "involuntary labour from his brother without wages or reward. Rather, on the contrary, he was to give to his servants "that which was just and equal;" and what was "just and equal" could not be anything less than what was required by the laws of the Old Testament, which were already discussed.[26] Sharp was fully convinced that the teachings of the New Testament did not permit the kind of bondage that was practiced by the European nations of his time. In texts of the Bible where it appeared that the slavery advocates could find support, Sharp vigorously refuted their arguments. Added to this, Sharp argued that servitude for life."[27] Then citing Luke 6:28,29 in which the Jesus urged his disciples to return good for evil, Sharp argued that though "submission and placability" were required of sufferers, no one who was reasonable would adduce from that, that "tyrants and oppressors have thereby obtained a legal right, under the gospel to curse others and use them despitefully."[28] Applying this train of thought to the slave system, he concluded:

> In the same light exactly must we view the Slaveholders claim of private property in the persons of men, whenever an attempt is made to support it on the foundation of any such texts . . . wherein servants or slaves are exhorted to submit with passive obedience.[29]

Passive obedience was an instruction given to the slave; it was not a justification of the slave system.

This principle of passive obedience, then, was a command given to the sufferer, the oppressed and the slave, admonishing them to be gracious, Christ-like and patient in the face of brutality: it was not a recognition of the professed right of slave mongers to own the bodies and lives of their fellowmen.

Biblical Justice and the Law of Liberty

Another publication released by Granville Sharp was *The Law of Liberty or,* Royal *Law by which all Mankind will certainly be Judged.* Basically, Granville Sharp's article was an exposition based upon James 2:8-13, with his text as verse 12. Sharp argued that the law of liberty was really "the moral duties of the Gospel briefly comprehended in two single principles of the Law of Moses, viz. The Love of God, and The Love of our Neighbours." It was Sharp's view that the practice of slavery was not compatible with these principles – principles which were enunciated in Leviticus 19:18 and Deuteronomy 6:5, and re-emphasized in the New Testament.[30]

Calling attention to Matthew 22:40, Sharp observed that the Jesus had declared that upon these two commandments hung all the law and the prophets. Sharp pointed towards Matthew 7:12, the Golden Rule, Galatians 5:14, and James 2:8. This Sharp affirmed, was "the royal law or the law of liberty by which all mankind will be judged."[31] So upon the grounds of these complementary texts, Sharp asserted:

> Slavery is absolutely inconsistent with Christianity, because it cannot say of any Slaveholder, that he doth not to another what he would not have done to himself! For he is continually exacting involuntary Labour from others without wages, which he would think Monstrously unjust, were he himself the Sufferer.[32]

For Sharp, the reciprocal rule would have been an embarrassing precept for the theological advocates of slavery.

Biblical Justice and the Law of Retribution

Though Sharp's work, *The Law of Retribution,* was the lengthiest of his four theological, anti-slavery publications, the arguments contained in

it are the simplest: the practice of slavery, tyranny and oppression have always been among the major causes of God's judgement upon nations of biblical times – particularly the Jewish nation. As an obvious conclusion, Sharp drew from his observation the deduction that by committing these very crimes against the people of Africa, Britain was placing herself in direct danger of being judged by God. Sharp warned: "National Wickedness from the beginning of the World, has generally been visited with National punishments: and surely no National Wickedness can be more heinous in the sight of God than a public toleration of Slavery and Oppression!"[33]

It was his view that this was clearly shown in Scripture. As the first example of his claim, Sharp used the case of Israel's deliverance from slavery in Egypt. God's liberating of Israel from Egyptian bondage, according to Sharp, was His first act of mercy to the Hebrew people after they had become a nation.[34] Moreover, the outpouring of "the Plagues of Egypt," were "so many single examples of God's severe Vengeance against Slaveholders."[35] Sharp noted that the deliverance of Israel from Egypt was repeatedly mentioned in Scripture as deliverance "out of the House of Bondage." Commenting on the term "the House of Bondage," Sharp observed that the Hebrew was to be rendered more literally "from the House of Slaves." God wanted the Israelites always to remember their history of slavery in Egypt.[36] The moral purpose of this consistent reminder, Sharp argued, was to stir up in the Israelites "a sympathetic concern for the Sufferings of the Oppressed Strangers."[37] Sharp quoted and remarked: "'Thou shalt not oppress a stranger: for ye KNOW THE HEART (properly THE SOUL) OF A STRANGER seeing ye were Strangers in the land of Egypt.' Exod. xxiii. 9."[38]

Israel's deliverance from slavery in Egypt was to be a reminder of the important role social Justice and benevolence ought to play in their national life. God also gave warning to the Israelites about the dangers oppressors faced. The Hebrew – for he knew what it was like to bear the yoke – ought not at all to tyrannize anyone. Sharp was seeking to make it abundantly clear that the slavery experienced by Israel in Egypt – a slavery which was, in many respects, milder than that endured by the Africans at the hand of Europeans – was roundly condemned by the God of Scripture. Sharp added:

> "Thou shalt neither vex a Stranger, nor oppress him; for ye were Strangers

> in the Land of Egypt. Ye shall not afflict any Widow or fatherless child. If thou afflict them in any wise, and they cry at all unto me, I will SURELY hear their cry" (mark this, ye African Traders of this Island, and ye West-India and British American Slaveholders! For ye are all guilty of the like abominable oppressions, and God will SURELY avenge the Cause of the Oppressed.[39]

These were the fundamental themes of *The Law of Retribution.* These four works of Sharp marked a breakthrough in the field of Biblical exegesis and hermeneutics with regard to the anti-slavery question.

Granville Sharp felt absolutely no restraint in crying for an outright liberation of the slaves. Bell and Woolman had called for an amelioration of the condition of the slaves. Benezet favoured abolition but was not as qualified an exegete as was Sharp. These works of Sharp, give us a fairly comprehensive understanding of the role of Scripture in the cause of the British abolition of slavery. Sharp's exegesis provided the evangelicals especially, with a biblical base from which they could have felt confident to launch their assault upon the system of slavery.

Biblical Arguments Advanced

These anti-slavery theological arguments – though of course they were reflected with varying degrees of emphasis from person to person – can be summarized under seven general headings. They included the concepts of Sharp and went beyond them. Firstly, it was argued that the slavery permitted by the law of Moses was fundamentally different from the kind practiced by Europeans. The Mosaic legislation was characterized by the following principles: (1) Under the law of Moses, slavery among Hebrews was not normally perpetual: Its duration was limited to six years. (2) There were specified legal reasons that permitted such bondage: it could not have been arbitrarily inflicted. (3) Masters had no right of dominion in the person of the slave: the slave who fled from a tyrannical master was not to be returned; rather he was to be treated hospitably and graciously. (4) Life-long servitude could have only been on a voluntary basis; and the contract had to be entered into in the presence of the judges of the land.[40] (5) If the principle of volition was violated, then the crime of man stealing was committed. Man stealing was clearly condemned by Scripture.[41] (6) Canaanite bond service under the Hebrews, was subject to

all the regulations of the Mosaic code. The distinctive feature about their condition was that servitude was the only employment which was allowed them within Israelite economy.[42]

Secondly, although slaves were enjoined by Scripture to be patient in suffering and to give passive obedience, this obedience was not a *carte blanche* given to all and sundry legalizing the holding of people in coercive bondage. There is evidence in Scripture that while Christians may at times submit to personal injury, as in the case of Paul (Acts 16:22,23), this does not excuse the injustice which is directly rebuked (Acts 16:36-40; 22:24-29).[43] Paul's instruction to Philemon that Onesimus, the converted runaway slave, be received back "as a brother" (see Philemon v.16) has to be interpreted against the Old Testament code of servitude, especially as it related to the type of bond service allowed among Hebrews towards their brethren.[44]

Thirdly, slavery was incompatible with the principles of the gospel. The law of love with its reciprocal rule: loving another as oneself, and doing to others, as we would have them do to us, could not be reconciled with the practice of slavery. Thomas Scott (1747-1821) who may not have been fully convinced that the Old Testament Mosaic laws were opposed to the system of slavery practiced by the Europeans, was thoroughly persuaded that the witness of the law of love and that of the reciprocal rule were contrary to the contemporary institution of slavery.[45]

Fourthly, the prophetic witness against tyranny and injustice was clear. Injustice and oppression were, one the one hand, continually cited in Scripture as causes for national Judgment upon the peoples of antiquity. On the other hand, justice, mercy and fair play were graced with Divine blessings and commendation. With all its horror and debauchery, the slave system could only be a cause for national retribution.

Fifthly, Noah's curse referred not to the people of Africa, but rather to the Canaanites: the Amorites, the Hivites, the Hittites, the Girgashites – those Canaanite nations against whom Israel had to battle in their conquest of the promised land. This prophecy of Noah was fulfilled before the time of Christ. It could not be used to justify the enslavement of Africans.[46]

Sixthly, universal human equality was plainly taught in Scripture. The Bible spoke of God's viewing all mankind "without respect of persons" (James 2:1,9), and "of one blood" (Acts 17:26), meant that no person was given a natural right of dominion over another person. This

issue has already been encountered in the discussion on the Mosaic code.[47]

Seventhly, Israel's emancipation was a prominent historical incident that constituted a Biblical illustration of Divine concern over the physical oppression under which nation groaned. That God had brought them "out of the house of slaves" was a constant refrain in the Old Testament. Israel's emancipation was a clear biblical witness against a type of slavery which was similar to (though still milder than) the slavery endured by the Africans.

Importance of Biblical Arguments

It is quite evident that the biblical witness against slavery was of major importance in the minds of the abolitionists. Lowell Joseph Ragatz (1897-1978), though he feels that the abolitionists were worsted in the debate, still judges that it was a point of intense controversy. Ragatz says: "No phase of the controversy occasioned greater dispute than did the question of Whether the slave trade and slavery were supported or condemned by Scripture."[48] The intensity of the controversy was obviously occasioned by the prominence the subject in the thought of the anti-slavery activists. This remained an obvious priority, even after the period of 1838 when the British slave system was totally abolished. This was demonstrated when the opponents of slavery sought to take their struggle beyond the confines of the British Empire. In 1840 the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society held a General Anti-Slavery Convention in London, at which the role of the Bible in the anti-slavery campaign was evident. On the second day of convention, the very first paper presented to the delegates was entitled, "On the Essential Sinfulness of Slavery and its Direct Opposition to the Precepts and Spirit of Christianity." In the second paragraph of his presentation, Godwin of Oxford was careful to observe that "there are many views which may be taken of the evils of slavery by the philanthropist and the politician; but there is one aspect under which it presents itself to the mind of the Christian, which is especially adapted to awaken his feelings and stimulate his efforts, that is its sinfulness."[49]

Godwin then proceeded to recapitulate many of the major biblical arguments advanced against slavery over the previous decades. Indeed, this emphasis on the Bible was even illustrated in Canada when abolitionists sought to assist fugitive slaves from the United States. In the Constitution and bye-laws of the anti-slavery society of Canada it is stated: "Slavery,

that is the wanton and forcible bringing into bondage, and retaining indefinitely in that state, of rational beings, is an outrage on the laws of humanity, and of the Bible." Article 7 of the rules of the association required "that a course of lectures be delivered annually by ministers of the gospel and others, on the subject of slavery, so as to meet prevalent fallacies on the question, opposed to Scripture as well as humanity."[50]

From the time of George Fox in 1671 to the early 1770s, it was among the Quakers that a biblical theology on slavery developed; but it was Granville Sharp's publications of 1776 that made a clear breakthrough in the field of anti-slavery exegesis. This gave the abolitionists a more formal biblical conceptual framework that enabled them to feel more assured that their project was endorsed by the will of God.

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, had laid the foundation for this. Other Christians of the wider evangelical community also participated in contributing towards an abolitionist perspective of the biblical witness about the subject. All of this led towards a distinctive theology of emancipation that was clearly recognizable by the early part of the nineteenth century.

Endnotes

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14. Sharp, *Just Limitation*, 3.
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31. Sharp, *Law of Liberty*, 6, 32.

32. Sharp, *Law of Liberty*, 33.

33. Granville Sharp, *The Law of Retribution* (London: B. White & E. & C. Dilly, 1776), 10-11.

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41. *Negro Slavery, No. 13* (1824), 129.

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Towards Community: Black Methodists in Nineteenth-Century Nova Scotia[1]

ALLEN P. STOUFFER

Works on African Canadian and Canadian Methodist history are virtually silent on black Methodism. This is surprising for black Methodists have been a continuing part of the provinces' institutional religious life. In the Maritime provinces they participated in the post-revolutionary Loyalist migration to Nova Scotia and maintained a provincial presence throughout the nineteenth century. This paper examines black Nova Scotian Methodism to the mid-nineteenth century as an aspect of black associational activity in nineteenth-century British North America.[2]

Methodists were among the 3,500 black Loyalists who came to Nova Scotia at the close of the Revolutionary War. They were most numerous on the province's south shore around Shelburne where blacks settled in considerable numbers. Their principal leader was Moses Wilkinson, a blind and lame former slave from Virginia, who arrived in Shelburne on board the *L'Abondance* in August 1783 with 409 other blacks. Already evidently an avid Methodist, Wilkinson immediately began preaching in Birchtown, an adjacent black settlement. He was an effective exhorter for a religious awakening occurred among black immigrants there in the winter of 1783-1784. When William Black, the province's future Methodist leader, visited Shelburne in the spring of 1784, he reported preaching to 200 blacks at Birchtown, sixty of whom were Wilkinson converts.[3]

Wilkinson's first convert was Violet King, the wife of Boston King, a former slave from a plantation near Charleston, South Carolina. Violet, a North Carolina fugitive, and Boston met and were married in New York

late in the war. The Kings were Wilkinson's fellow passengers on the *L'Abondance*.[4]

As William Black evangelized the province during the early 1780s, he sought help from Thomas Coke who was organizing American Methodism at the Christmas Baltimore Conference of 1784-85. Coke assigned Rev. Freeborn Garrettson who shortly arrived in Halifax and took charge of the Methodist work, launching a preaching mission in March that saw him spend six weeks in Shelburne. Some whites opposed Garrettson, but blacks welcomed him and many, including Boston King, were converted. Within two months he had a class of sixty. Garrettson remained in Nova Scotia until the spring of 1787.[5]

Boston King was an important addition to Wilkinson's Birchtown flock, for soon he was exhorting in "families and prayer-meetings," where the "Lord graciously afforded me assisting presence," he claimed. Cooperation with Wilkinson and Garrettson over the next two years helped King to gather the largest Methodist congregation in the town. His energetic faithfulness was rewarded in 1791 when Black, Garrettson's successor as Methodist superintendent, gave King charge of the Preston Methodists, a predominantly black congregation of thirty-four a short distance across the harbour from Halifax.[6] Richard Ball was another former South Carolina slave among Wilkinson's parishioners who became a preacher.[7]

Wilkinson and King worked harmoniously with Garrettson and Black, but discord arose when John Marrant arrived in the province. He belonged to the Countess of Huntingdon faction, a Calvinist offshoot of mainstream Methodism. Garrettson regarded Marrant as the devil's emissary, but soon the newcomer had a forty-family congregation, with some from the Wilkinson-King flock including the prominent Ball. When Marrant returned to Boston in 1787 some Birchtown Huntingdonians re-entered the regular black Methodist fold, but his congregation remained in tact under Richard Ball's leadership.[8]

Black Loyalists also settled on western Nova Scotia's fertile land bordering the Annapolis and Minas basins and the Annapolis River. About 1200 homesteaders were at Digby by late 1783, and a June 1784 muster counted 211 free blacks among them. By mid-summer sixty-five black families were at Brindley Town, the province's second largest black settlement on Digby's outskirts. A Methodist church was organized there in July of 1786 with seventy-eight members, sixty-six of whom were black.[9]

By 1790 approximately one quarter of the province's 800 Methodists were black. But the congregations at Birchtown, Brindley Town and Preston had no time to mature. Failing to secure the land that British authorities had promised them during the American Revolution, nearly 1,200 African Nova Scotians emigrated to Sierra Leone in 1792. Some 600 from the Shelburne-Birchtown area, 200 from Digby, including about 150 from Brindley Town, opted for the West African site, among them Boston King and his Preston chapel.[10]

After the Sierra Leone exodus decimated their congregations, black Methodists attended biracial churches for several decades. Separate black and white Methodist classes were already meeting when William Black visited Halifax in the spring of 1784. Later in the decade, when Halifax Methodists worshipped in Philip Marchinton's hall, blacks occupied their own gallery, and black and white class contributions were recorded separately. Halifax Methodists built Zoar Chapel on the west side of Argyle Street in 1792, and its marriage and baptismal registers, like its 1834 Brunswick Street's offshoot, contain the names of numerous blacks for half a century.[11]

Blacks also belonged to the Liverpool Methodist Circuit on the province's south shore at the turn of the century. They had entered the area around 1760 as "servants," and their numbers grew when others from the Shelburne area moved to Queen's County shortly after Shelburne was settled. Simeon Perkins, a prominent merchant and long time Liverpool resident who kept a detailed diary, counted just under one hundred in Liverpool and the county in the spring of 1787. In 1793 Liverpool Methodists built their own chapel, a project that Perkins helped to oversee. During construction, his diary noted, "eleven or twelve black men give each a day's work to level the ground in front of the Chapel. I attend upon them and Give them some Rum, which I charge to the Chapel. They work well." While Perkins's account is not explicit, these men hardly would have volunteered their services without belonging to the church. The Liverpool Methodist Circuit's baptismal and marriage records show blacks participating in church life, especially in Liverpool Town, for the next half century. For example, in 1827 black children were attending the Methodist Sunday School, while in 1842 Liverpool's black Methodist class numbered 62, almost one quarter of the entire circuit. [12]

Black Methodists in Liverpool and Halifax, and presumably elsewhere, continued participating in mixed congregations in the ensuing years. However by the 1840s they had recovered from the social trauma

inflicted on their communities by the Sierra Leone migration. With numbers strengthened by the arrival of the "Refugee Negroes" after the War of 1812, the continuing influx of fugitive slaves and freeborn blacks from the United States, and the newly emancipated West Indians, black Methodists again ventured to form their own congregations.

An observer in the *Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society for the Year Ending April, 1847* claimed that Halifax's black Methodists had "long been anxious to have a minister of their own colour." When Jesse Coleman arrived from Baltimore in 1836, he found his fellow black Methodists "scattered," some at Zoar Chapel and others at the recently-formed Brunswick Street meeting. Frequently they met by themselves for prayer meetings at Mrs. Smithers's house on Hog (Albemarle) Street. Coleman tried to start a church soon after arriving, he recalled, but was unsuccessful until the appearance in Halifax of "Mr. Garey," whom he described as an "able young man" from the West Indies. At the suggestion of the churches' black members presumably, the Rev. John Wedall, Zoar Chapel's minister, invited him to preach on Friday evenings, but for some unknown reason the Methodist superintendent overruled Wedall and closed the pulpit to Garey. The offended black congregants then resolved to organize their own church, and when Rev. Richard Preston offered his Cornwallis Street African Baptist Church, Garey preached two trial sermons. They evidently met expectations, for the black Methodists quickly rented Harmonic Hall on Grafton Street for their meeting place. Combined with current emigration to the United States, this brought the withdrawal of the "great majority" of blacks from the Halifax Methodist churches.[13]

Three months later the new congregation decided to seek Garey's ordination since he lacked ecclesiastical credentials. Coleman undoubtedly had African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church (AMEZ) affiliations in Baltimore before coming to Halifax, otherwise he would not have consulted Christopher Rush, the denomination's second bishop, while in Boston on his way to Nova Scotia in 1836. Relying presumably on Coleman's connection, the Haligonians sent Garey to New York where Rush ordained him. Thus Jesse Coleman forged a tie between Halifax's black Methodists and the AME Zion denomination in the United States that continued for two decades. By 1852 the church's Eastern District encompassed New England, British Guyana and Nova Scotia.[14]

Although Garey's ordination was a promising development, difficulties arose shortly when the congregation could not meet his

increased salary expectation, and he left. The fledgling congregation stoutly marshalled its scant resources to face the crisis. "Mr. [Charles] Morris sug-gested that he would do the reading and Solomon Bushenpin [another trustee] and I [Coleman] should do the talking," Coleman stated, "and we would try to keep the people together till we could get Bishop Rush to send us another man from New York." Fortuitously Rev. Peter Ross, whom Rush had sent to see how Garey was faring at his post since ordination, arrived before the next Sunday. "He preached for us that Sunday," Coleman recalled, and "remained with us four years at a salary of 100 pounds a year."

About eighteen months after assuming the pastorate Ross concluded that the time had arrived to build a church. Sympathetic supporters in the city helped the trustees obtain a desirable lot on Gottingen Street for 200 pounds. Coleman's account lacks a detailed time line, but newspaper reports confirm that these events occurred in the first half of 1846. Fundraising soirees enabled the congregation to begin construction and Zion Church, as it was named, was dedicated in August, although the edifice was unfinished and Ross presided over ceremonies in the roofed-in basement. The congregation then obtained a mortgage from J.B. Uniacke, a prominent member of the legislature, presumably to pay the balance due the contractor, for which the trustees and their wives signed. Ross preached for the remainder of his four-year pastorate in the basement, for the church was still incomplete when he returned to New York.[15]

Although the building was completed four years later, the mortgage remained a troublesome burden. The congregation weathered a debt crisis, when Uniacke suddenly demanded a large payment, by holding what must have been a remarkably successful, if hastily organized, soiree. More serious trouble erupted over fears that the title's wording would allow the trustees to get future ownership of the property and leave the membership without equity. The rumour threatened disruption and caused the church to "run behind a good deal," Coleman claimed, resulting in the creditors threatening to foreclose. But the congregation rallied when an agreement allowed it to retire the debt at ten pounds per month. After this, according to Coleman, the church got on "fairly well."[16]

There are no extant Zion congregational records, but Halifax newspapers reported its activities from time to time. For example the congregation's women sponsored numerous fundraising Tea Meetings in the early 1850s, while in the winter of 1855 Zion Church began collecting money to help educate the city's black children, and in the following year

purchased a school building. In 1857 the church held a bazaar to raise money for a manse.[17]

Meanwhile a similar course of events was unfolding in Liverpool, where by the early 1840s the number of blacks had risen to nearly 300. They formed a Methodist congregation about 1840, probably from the nucleus of people who had been affiliated with the Liverpool Methodist Circuit, for initially the new body was under the supervision of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society's agent. They built a chapel "near the Town of Liverpool," "assisted by the liberality of some Christian friends" in the town, on land donated by Robert Barry.[18]

Little more is known of the congregation's activity for the remainder of the decade, but by 1852 it had severed its connection with the white Methodists, seemingly after an incident like that which caused Halifax black Methodists to separate. They bought a building on the road leading from Liverpool to Moose Harbour and affiliated with the AME Zion Church. The congregation was commonly known as Zion Church, Mount Pleasant Church, or the "new African Chapel."[19]

Most Liverpuddlians probably paid scant attention to the church, if one judges from the fragmentary information about it in the local press. Yet the congregation was a fixed presence in the community enjoying a measure of recognition and respect. When the Baptist Convention met in annual session at Liverpool in 1855, the new African Chapel, like the town's other churches, received the courtesy of having a Baptist clergyman preach on Sunday morning. Public opinion rallied around Zion after drunken sailors violently disrupted a church meeting in 1855. The Liverpool *Transcript* excoriated the seamen's crude behaviour and applauded their punishment. When Zion ladies held Tea Meetings to bolster the church's finances, the *Transcript* publicized the events and urged the community to lend support. Sometimes Zion hosted meetings where blacks considered important issues such as Joseph G. Smith's lecture on "Education and disadvantages of the Coloured people through the province." Beyond these few details, however, little is known of the Mount Pleasant congregation's life at mid century.[20]

A third black Methodist church with twenty members was organized on the western side of the province at Cornwallis in King's County in the mid 1860s, in conjunction with missionary work by the AME Zion Church's New England Conference. The work extended to the Granville area where a number of people at Lower Granville also awaited formation of Methodist classes.[21]

The success at Halifax, Liverpool, Cornwallis and Lower Granville, kindled enthusiasm among distant AME Zion denominational leaders. The 1856 General Conference planned to set off Nova Scotia as an annual conference and named Zion Church in Halifax to host the first session in September 1857. However this optimism was premature, for there is no record that the 1857 meeting took place, and the projected Nova Scotia Conference withered on the vine.[22]

In fact by the early 1860s an ominous cloud had enveloped the Halifax church. In the interval between 1860 and the next General Conference in 1864 difficulties of an unknown nature arose in the church. By the latter date it had seceded from the denomination, for the bishops informed the General Conference that Zion Church was about to *rejoin* the connection. Whether this ever occurred is uncertain.[23]

Moreover Zion Church at Liverpool also had come on hard times. The bishops' Annual Address to the 1864 General Conference euphemistically asserted that the church at Liverpool was "not in a very prosperous condition," but this was a considerable understatement. In reality the church had virtually ceased to exist, for in the spring of 1863 the Zion Church trustees requested the Liverpool Circuit to bring their congregation "into our society and take them under our discipline." The June Quarterly Meeting agreed to do so if the Zionites annually contributed twenty-five pounds to circuit funds. The meeting also sought the Nova Scotia Annual Conference's permission to sell "our African Chapel," implying that Zion Church had been turned over to the Liverpool Circuit.[24]

While hard evidence is lacking, there is reason for suspecting that the nearly simultaneous disruption of the Halifax and Liverpool churches was not merely coincidental. In the early 1860s a second black American Methodist denomination – the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME) – was beginning missionary activity in Nova Scotia. The New England Conference had launched its first missionary venture in 1862 in the American South and doubtless was looking for other fields of endeavour. The New England leaders must have known that there was a substantial black presence in the neighbouring British province. Precisely how it came to be involved in Nova Scotia is unknown, but by 1866 the AME Church had established a beachhead in Queen's County, for that year the New England Conference requested Bishop William Quinn to "supply the church at Liverpool, Nova Scotia," where there were twenty members, with a "minister as soon as a proper man can be procured." As we have seen, some members of Zion Church had already gone to the

Liverpool Methodist Circuit; likely the others joined the new AME congregation. Within two years the AME Church had also slipped into the vacuum left by the Halifax church's dissociation from the AMEZ denomination, and the former congregation had twenty-three members. Probably some dissatisfied Zion Church members were among the nucleus that formed this new AME body in Halifax.[25]

The Nova Scotia black Methodists' new trans-border AME connection was short-lived, however, for both American denominations withdrew from the province soon after the close of the American Civil War. According to Bishop J.W. Hood, the AMEZ Church abandoned Nova Scotia in the late 1860s because "every available man" was needed for missionary work among the freedmen of the South. The church fathers also knew that missionary efforts launched in British North America would meet stiff competition from the British Methodist Episcopal Church (BME) in central Canada, and its aggressive bishop, Willis Nazrey. This black denomination "carried everything before it in the Dominion of Canada as long as Nazrey lived," Hood declared, and for "about thirty years we made little headway in that direction."[26]

Similar considerations likely influenced the decision of AME leaders to withdraw from the province. The immediate background of the 1868 AME-BME "reciprocity treaty," as it has been called, is unknown, but after talks between the two denomination's leaders the 1868 AME General Conference relinquished its claim to the Nova Scotia churches and withdrew its missionary. This cleared the way for the Ontario-based church and, after black Methodists in Nova Scotia contacted him, Nazrey went east and organized the first BME Nova Scotia Annual Conference in Liverpool that summer, thereby adding Nova Scotia's black Methodists to the BME fold.[27]

Moses Wilkinson brought the Wesleyan message to provincial blacks after the American Revolution, and he and his proteges cooperated with William Black and Freeborn Garrettson to carry Wesleyan Methodism beyond Birchtown to black communities at Brindley Town and Preston. The Sierra Leone migration, however, decimated this first wave of black Methodism, but its leaders' wise cooperation with Black and Garrettson paved the way for the remaining black Methodists to merge with their white counterparts for half a century. Numbers gradually recovered, however, and in the 1840s African Nova Scotian Methodists began rebuilding the religious structure their predecessors had begun fifty years earlier. The appearance of separate black churches in Halifax and

Liverpool coincided with an awakened missionary interest among African American Methodists, resulting in the Nova Scotia churches looking to the American denominations for recognition and assistance. However these new-found American associates, facing the new challenge of four million needy freedmen in the American South, and the probability of stiff competition from Nazrey's BME Church, abandoned the Nova Scotian black Methodists. Rather than re-submerge themselves in provincial white Methodism as they had in the 1790s following the Sierra Leone venture, however, the Nova Scotians sought to advance their autonomy and preserve their identity by affiliating with the BME Church. The black Methodist churches could continue fulfilling their primary mission – providing moral guidance and religious fellowship as black Nova Scotians settled in their new homeland. This qualifies Nova Scotian and central Canadian black Methodists for membership in the Canadian Methodist brotherhood, a status that historians of Canadian church history have been slow to recognize.

The black Methodist experience also had a broader social significance for African Nova Scotians. Methodism gave black Nova Scotians who came from diverse backgrounds – rural and urban, skilled and unskilled, literate and unlettered, North and South, slave and free – a focal point. As they met in homes for prayer meetings, formed committees to organize churches, cooperated in congregational work bees and fundraising events, and worshipped together, black Nova Scotians became acquainted, won each other's confidence, and exhibited the group loyalty from which community grew. Assuredly churches were primarily places of worship, but they were also communal assembly points that hosted social events, and sites where blacks gathered to debate societal issues and watch aspiring leaders display their talents. Thus churches not only nurtured their members, but also fostered social cohesion as blacks grappled with life in a new setting. Moreover black Methodist churches mediated between their adherents and the larger community, for they were the main venue where blacks, ever conscious of being newcomers who needed approval and verification of their legitimacy, presented themselves before the host society. The same processes occurred among the province's more numerous black Baptist churches.

Forming churches, of course, was only one type of associational activity that blacks practised on entering the provinces. They also established fraternal and self-help societies, anti-slavery committees, volunteer military companies, and organized annual Emancipation Day cele-

brations. In sum, African British North Americans were not merely marginalized objects of prejudice and discrimination whose lives were defined largely by the slavery they had experienced in their former homeland, and the racism of their new white neighbours, as one might infer from the existing literature. Rather there is reason for saying that African British North Americans, like other settlers, in large measure were self-directed autonomous people who collectively identified their needs, established their goals, and devised means to achieve them. Nova Scotia's black Methodists are a case in point.

Endnotes

1. The author wishes to acknowledge the generous financial assistance of the Canadian Ethnic Studies Program for the preparation of this paper. I also wish to thank Professors A.A. MacKenzie (retired) and Laurie Stanley-Blackwell, my colleagues in the St. Francis Xavier University History Department, for reading and commenting on drafts of the essay.

2. Most early works on Methodism, even those dealing with British North America, are silent about black Methodists in the provinces. Typical are George Smith, *History of Wesleyan Methodism*, 3 vols., 2nd ed. (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts, 1859-1862); Abel Stevens, *The History of the Religious Movement of the Eighteenth Century, Called Methodism*, 3 vols., new ed. (London: Wesleyan Methodist Book Room, 1878); William Henry Withrow, *Makers of Methodism* (Toronto: William Biggs, 1898); Ammi Bradford Hyde, *The Story of Methodism Throughout the World . . . to which is added "The Story of Methodism in the Dominion of Canada"* (Toronto: W. Biggs, 1894); Alexander Sutherland, *Methodism in Canada: Its Work and Its Story* (Toronto: Methodist Mission Rooms, 1904); George H. Cornish, *Cyclopedia of Methodism in Canada*, 2 vols. (Toronto: Methodist Book and Publishing House, 1881-1903); J.E. Sanderson, *The First Century of Methodism in Canada*, 2 vols. (Toronto: W. Biggs, 1908-1910). W.J. Townsend, H.B. Workman and George Eayers, eds., *A New History of Methodism*, 2 vols. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1919), is an exception with its single sentence on the (black) British Methodist Episcopal Church (2:527). Even Nolan B. Harmon's relatively recent *The Encyclopedia of World Methodism*, 2 vols. (Nashville: United Methodist Publishing House, 1974), gives very limited space to the topic. For example, there are no references to blacks in its articles by G.S. French and John Webster Grant on Methodism in British North America and Canada, although Grant Shockley's piece on the African Methodist Episcopal Church (2:65) devotes eight lines to Canada West, and there are 100-150 word items on R. R. Disney (1:689), and Willis Nazrey (2:1705). The only reference to Nova Scotia's black

Methodists occurs fleetingly in David H. Bradley's essay on the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church under the heading "Missions" (1:67-68). See also John Webster Grant, "Methodist Origins in Atlantic Canada," in Charles H.H. Scobie and John Webster Grant, eds., *The Contribution of Methodism to Atlantic Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 43. Among the few sources that give any details about black Nova Scotia Methodists are D.W. Johnson, *History of Methodism in Eastern British America, including Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, and Bermuda* (Sackville: Tribune, n.d.); and E. Arthur Betts, *Bishop Black and His Preachers,* 2nd ed. (Halifax: Maritime Conference Archives, 1976), 17, 25, 35, which shed minimal light on the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. Neil Semple's recent *The Lord's Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), unlike previous studies, recognizes that blacks were part of the Canadian Methodist fabric; he discusses them in a two-page passage that includes information on Nova Scotia, in a 562- page text (125-126). T Watson Smith's *History of the Methodist Church Within the Territories Embraced in the Late Conference of Eastern British America, Including Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Bermuda*, 2 vols. (Halifax: Methodist Book Room, 1877), is the fullest and most reliable source of information on black Nova Scotia Methodism (1:143, 157, 161-163, 166, 239, 250, 340, 380, and 2:316). It leaves the reader feeling that Smith knew considerably more about black Methodism in the province than he included in the book which, unfortunately, provides no documentation.

3. Ellen Gibson Wilson, *The Loyal Blacks* (New York: Capricorn Books, 1976), 85,124; James W. St. G. Walker, *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783-1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 73; Boston King, "The Memoirs of Boston King," *The Methodist Magazine* XXI (March 1798), 157-158; Mathew Richey, *A Memoir of the Late Rev. William Black, Wesleyan Minister, Halifax, N.S. Including an Account of the Rise and Progress of Methodism in Nova Scotia* (Halifax: William Cunnabell, 1839), 128; John MacLean, *William Black: The Apostle of Methodism in the Atlantic Provinces of Canada* (Halifax: The Methodist Book Room, 1907), 28; Betts, *Bishop Black*, 16-17.

4. James W. St. G. Walker, "Boston King," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (hereafter DCB) 5: 468-469; and Phyllis Blakely, "Boston King: A Negro Loyalist Who Sought Refuge in Nova Scotia," *Dalhousie Review* 48 (1968): 347-56.

5. MacLean, *William Black*, 30-31; Wilson, *Loyal Blacks*, 126; Walker, *Black Loyalists*, 72-73; and Nathan Bangs, *The Life of the Rev. Freeborn Garrettson Compiled from His Printed and Manuscript Journals and Other Authentic*

Documents, 3rd ed. (New York: J. Emory and B. Waugh at the Conference Office, 1832), 164.

6. King, "Memoirs," 159-161, 213; "Rev. William Jessop Journal, 1 January to 11 March 1788," 9, 17, 20, MG 100 vol. 169, 27-27a, Public Archives of Nova Scotia (hereafter PANS); Walker, "King," 468-469, and *Black Loyalists*, 73; and Wilson, *Loyal Blacks*, 125-126, 128-129.

7. There is disagreement about Ball's first name. Simeon Perkins's diary refers to him only as a black man "named Ball," while James Walker calls him "John." Ellen Wilson, another authority, names him "Richard," and Grant Gordon also uses "Richard," but says he was sometimes called 'John." See Charles Bruce Fergusson, ed., *The Diary of Simeon Perkins 1790-1796* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1961), vol. 39, 130; Walker, *Black Loyalists*, 73-74; Wilson, *Loyal Blacks*, 129; and Grant Gordon, *From Slavery to Freedom: The Life of David George, Pioneer Black Baptist Minister* (Hantsport: Lancelot Press Ltd., 1992), 97.

8. *A Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings With John Marrant . . .By the Late Rev. Mr. Aldridge* (Boston, 1802), 7th ed., in Dorothy Porter, *Early Negro Writing 1760-1837* (Boston: Beacon Press,1971), 427-447; James W. St. G. Walker, "John Marrant," DCB, 4:514-516, and *Black Loyalists*, 71-72; Wilson, *Loyal Blacks*, 128; Graham Russell Hodges, ed., *The Black Loyalist Directory: African Americans in Exile After the American Revolution* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996), xxiv; Garrettson to an unidentified correspondent but likely John Wesley, 25 April 1786, and Garrettson to Wesley, 25 September 1787, cited in Bangs, *Garrettson*, 174 and 181 respectively; Fergusson, *Diary of Simeon Perkins*, vol. 39, 365, 1, 3 April 1787; Marion Robertson, *King's Bounty: A History of Early Shelburn, Nova Scotia Founded in 1783 by the Port Roseway Associates Loyalists of the American Revolution* (Halifax: Nova Scotia Museum, 1983), 97-98.

9. Walker, *Black Loyalists*, 24; Isaiah W. Wilson, *A Geography and History of the County of Digby Nova Scotia*, Facsimilies ed.(Belleville: Mika Studio, 1972), 86; Richey, *William Black*, 153; and MacLean, *William Black*, 28, 32.

10. Walker, *Black Loyalists*, 73, 123-4; Wilson, *Loyal Blacks*, 218-219; Isaiah Wilson, *County of Digby*, 91, 145; Robertson, *King's Bounty*, 105.

11. Betts, *Bishop Black*, 17, 35; Walker, *Black Loyalists*, 74; D.A. Sutherland, "Philip Marchinton," DCB, 5:574-575. On the matter of separate classes for blacks and whites among Halifax Methodists in the 1790s, see "Halifax Methodist Class Book 1791-93," PC 127, Maritime Conference Archives (United Church of Canada), Sackville, NB, which records weekly contributions of blacks and whites separately. The only specific reference to a black

class is the entry for 16 March 1792, which is headed "Black Class." The entry for 30 March 1792 has the word "Class" crossed out and replaced by "people" (Anonymous, *Historical Sketches of St. Andrew's Church Halifax, N.S., United Church of Canada* [Halifax: n.p., 1949], 1-5; and "Churches. Halifax, N.S. Brunswick Street United," Books 1-3, mf reel 11402, PANS).

12. James F. More, *The History of Queen's County N.S. (Halifax: Nova Scotia Printing Company, 1873), 125-126; Place-Names of Nova Scotia. With an Introduction by Charles Bruce Fergusson* (Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1967), 457; Fergusson, *Diary of Simeon Perkins*, vol. 36, 369, vol. 39, 214, 4 March 1793, 300, 9 July 1794; "Baptisms 1796-1817," "Baptisms 1818-1835" and "Marriages 1818-1833," and "Baptisms 1835-1889," vols. 1, 2, and 3 respectively, "Records of Zion United (formerly Methodist), Church, Liverpool, Nova Scotia, From 1796-1957," mf reel 11623, PANS. On the black Methodist classes in Liverpool, see "Members of the Methodist Society in the Liverpool Circuit, 1817, 1823, [1824], 1827, 1833, 1836, 1838," and "1835 Names of the Members of the Wesleyan Methodist Society on the Liverpool Circuit," and "Names of the Members Belonging to the Classes for the Year Ending 1842," vols. 9 and 2 respectively, "Records of Zion . . . Church, Liverpool . . . 1796-1957," mf reels 11624 and 11623 respectively, PANS. On black children attending the Zion Sunday School, see "Minutes of the Quarterly Meeting of the Liverpool Circuit, 1817-1870," 24 May 1827, vol. 9, "Records of Zion . . . Church, Liverpool . . . 1796-1957," mf reel 11624, PANS.

13. This account of the forming of Zion Church in Halifax, as the congregation was generally known, is largely based on Rev. Jesse Coleman's presentation at the church's thirty-fifth anniversary in 1883, as reported in the Halifax *Acadian Recorder*, 4 October 1883. See also *Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society for the Year Ending April, 1847* (London, n.d.), 128, and Smith, *History of the Methodist Church in Eastern British America*, 2:316.

14. David Henry Bradley, *A History of the A.M.E. Zion Church Part II 1872-1968* (Nashville: Parthenon Press, 1970), 34, 36, 53, 223; John Jamison Moore, *History of the A.M.E. Zion Church, in America. Founded in 1796, in the City of New York* (York: Teachers' Journal Office 1884), 215, 221, 230; Bishop J. W. Hood, *One Hundred Years of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church; or, the Centennial of African Methodism* (New York: A.M.E. Zion Book Concern, 1895), 188-90; *Souvenir Program of the Hood Thank Offering May 28-30 [1911]. African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church 1831-1911. Rev. R.M. Bolden . . . Author* (n.p. n.d.), 8; and William J. Walls, *The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church* (Charlotte: A.M.E. Zion Publishing House, 1974), 131.

15. Coleman identifies the ten trustees as Solomon and Peter Bushinpen, Charles Morris, Moses Johnson, Henry Gross, John Davis, Mark Butler, General Jackson, Samuel Parker and himself, the lot owner as "Captain Maynard" of the Willow Grove section of Halifax, and "Mr. Wisell" as the contractor, Halifax *Acadian Recorder*, 4 October 1883. See also Halifax *Novascotian*, 26 January, 6, 20 July, 24 August 1846.

16. See Hutchinson's *Nova Scotia Directory for 1866-67* . . . (Halifax: D. McAlpine and Co., n.d.) 106. Coleman's account refers only to "Mr. Burton" threatening to foreclose, but almost certainly this John W. Burton who was secretary of the Building Society in 1866.

17. Halifax *British Colonist*, 19 August 1851, 20, 30 March 1852, 2 April 1853; Halifax *Morning Journal*, 6 February 1855, 25, 27 February, 3 March, 2 April 1856, 22 June, 20 July 1857, 30 August 1858; Halifax *Morning Chronicle*, 25 February 1851.

18. "Petition of James Gousely and six others, 1 March 1841," # 95, vol. 43, series P, RG5, PANS; #3, vol. 836 Gooseley Family, MG1, PANS.

19. On the separation from the white Methodists of Liverpool, see Smith, *History of the Methodist Church in Eastern British America,* 2:316; and 677, Book 18, Queen's County Deeds, PANS.

20. Liverpool *Transcript*, 20 September 1855, 12 June 1856, 23, 30 April 1857, 6 January 1858, 22 September 1859.

21. Bradley, *History of the A.M.E. Zion Church Part II*, 54, 211; and *Minutes of the New England Annual Conference of the A.M.E. Zion Church . . . 1865*, 9, 20-1, 28, 35.

22. Moore, *History of the A.M.E. Zion Church*, 221, 230, 241; and *Minutes of the New England Annual Conference of the A.M. E. Zion Church . . . 1865*, 35.

23. Bradley, *History of the A.M.E. Zion Church Part II*, 54.

24. "Records of Zion United Church Liverpool N.S. From 1796-1957," vol. 9, "Minutes of Quarterly Meeting of the Liverpool Circuit, 1817-1870," 27 May, 8 June 1863, mf reel 1164, PANS.

25. See *Minutes of the New England Annual Conference of the AME Church in America* for 1866 and 1868, 11, 18, and 10, 19-20 respectively for references to the Liverpool and Halifax churches.

26. Hood, *One Hundred Years of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church*, 96.

27. *Minutes of the New England Annual Conference of the AME Church in America* . . . 1868, 7, 10; Dennis C. Dickerson, *Religion, Race and Region* : *Research Notes on A.M.E. Church History* (Nashville: AMEC Sunday School Union/Legacy Publishing, 1995), 60-61; *Proceedings Eleventh Annual Conference BME Church,* 4; *Proceedings of the Twelfth Session of the Annual Conference of the British Methodist Episcopal Church*, 3, 4.

CSCH Presidential Address 2000

Under the Sign of the Cross: Material Objects and Cultural Practice in Religious History

JAMES W. OPP

The Canadian Museum of Civilization (CMOC) in Hull, Quebec, embraces the shoreline of the Ottawa River; its soft, curved walls contrast sharply with those of its sister institution, the geometrically imposing National Gallery. The CMOC is also within the sight of one other notable landmark visible across the river, namely, the Parliament Buildings. Under the shadow of the copper-green gothic roofs of "High Politics" at the top of the cliff, and below the glaring glass cathedral of "High Culture," the CMOC speaks to a visual image of integration rather than imposition. Its amorphous lines reflect its own perception of itself as a collector and interpreter of Canada's "cultures," a social anthropology of Canadians that would foster "in all Canadians a sense of their common identity and their shared past. At the same time, [the CMOC] hopes to promote understanding between the various cultural groups that are part of Canadian society." As Peter Rider has noted, for the CMOC, "the presentation of history *per se* was not a major institutional objective. Rather the museum sought to present culture, for which history is one access point."[1]

On 5 November 1999, the CMOC launched an exhibit entitled *Under the Sign of the Cross: Creative Expressions of Christianity in Canada* to mark the bimillennium of Christ's birth. With nine different galleries arranged in the shape of a cross, the exhibit illustrates "the impact

of Christianity on Canada through more than a hundred and thirty religious works, including statues, models, miniatures, stamps, bibles, war art and music."[2] In light of the recent work that has explored the issue of religion and public life, it is encouraging that a national public institution has taken it upon itself to examine the material artifacts of religion. From the perspective of religious history, however, the results are far from satisfactory, and the stated aim to examine the "impact of Christianity on Canada," apparently does not entail a serious consideration of church history.

This paper examines the *Under the Sign* exhibition from the perspective of religious history, but it also proposes to go beyond simply critiquing individual displays for their lack of attention to historical details. It is more instructive to take the example of this exhibit as a reflective springboard from which to question how religious history deals with the material objects of religion. Our narratives are built with words, sentences and texts rather than plexiglass, track lighting and particle board, but both historians and curators face the central problem of representing, reproducing and reconstructing the complex interplay between beliefs and the visible manifestations of religion. The advent of new approaches to religious history through concepts of "lived religion" and "material religion" are, in part, reactions to the vexing problem of stepping beyond beliefs as self-contained entities and developing a wider scope to account for the cultural practice of faith. If curators working with artifacts of Christianity in Canada need to take a better account of historical context, historians of religion also have something to learn by taking into consideration the material forms of religion.

Upon entering the exhibit, the viewer quickly discovers that history is deeply embedded within the Christian tradition. The first "gallery" is merely a wall display charting the history of Christianity and its many divisions over two thousand years. No visual outline of Christianity would be unproblematic, but a historian of religion could not fail to note some serious discrepancies in how church history has been represented. The Salvation Army is listed as having started as early as 1700, a contemporary of Methodism. Grouped together and springing forth from a line entitled "Anabaptist / Independent" are a diverse group of denominations, including the Baptists, Pentecostals, Alliance, Plymouth Brethren, Congregationalists and even the infinitely flexible term, "Evangelicals."

Stepping from the first gallery into the second gallery, the viewer faces a late-nineteenth or early-twentieth century Québecois wayside cross.

Carved in wood and painted white, this anonymous piece stands at the centre of the exhibition, with the rest of the galleries radiating outward from it in a circular pattern. As wayside crosses served as reference points for prayer and meditation in the countryside, this cross serves to mark the interior of the exhibit as sacred space. Tall and easily seen from all sides, it is the only object that truly stands outside of its railed boundaries to call the viewer to something deeper than simply gazing with tourist eyes.

The wayside cross represents the opening of sacred space, but it is clear that in stepping from the first gallery to the second we have also apparently crossed the threshold of history itself. The narrative of complex church traditions that adorn the first chart remains firmly on the wall and rarely enters the small descriptions that accompany the remaining objects. The third gallery, entitled "To See and Worship God," entombs six large, almost life-sized statues in coffins of plexiglass, with floor floodlights projecting an eerie shadows upon pale faces. From a wooden Virgin Mary dressed in the clothes of New France to a limestone St. George brought back from Europe as war booty from World War I, these objects that once graced the interior and exteriors of many different sacred spaces are suspended in time. Nowhere is their history explained, nor does the exhibit offer any sense of how these material objects that once gazed upon worshippers from pedestals and walls played a role in the cultural practice of faith. The form and size of the objects themselves is what determines their inclusion within the narrative presented by *Under the Sign,* a conclusion confirmed by the fourth gallery, "Models of Faith," where postage stamps and mosaics share the floor with birdhouse churches and a wooden crucifix installed within a ketchup bottle. Many of the objects here are striking, and particularly compelling for the historian of religion. After all, what are we to make of the church-shaped sugar mould dated 1894? How can we not be drawn to the large, wooden wall niche that served as a home communion set for anointing the sick and giving last rites? However, these objects that once served a role in expressing faith and meaning, have been stripped of their historical context and correspondingly stripped of the sacredness that once endowed them. The majority of historical objects in the gallery were never constructed as "models" of faith, but functioned within the cultural practice of faith.

If the abstraction of visual objects decontextualizes them, what are we to say to the auditory tradition within Canadian Christianity? The fifth gallery, "To Hear the Word of the Lord," offers a series of sound booths

to give the participant an opportunity to hear a variety of Christian music, from Gregorian Chants to folk music and contemporary gospel songs. Again, there is little to contextualize this experience and from the perspective of Canadian religious history, the lack of consideration for the musical tradition of Henry Alline, Oswald J. Smith, or even Healey Willan sings volumes. Fast-forwarding through snippets of musical selections in the curtained listening booths is an experience akin to shopping at HMV, where music is routinely sampled by the consumer, but rarely heard.

From hearing the word to reading the word, we return to the by now familiar disjunction of objects torn from history in the next gallery. Objects related to sacred writings are arranged for comparison according to form. Biblical texts sewn into aprons, rugs and cross-stitch meet a wall of Bible boxes, including one clever contraption that has a snake's head pop out unexpectedly from the side when you open the panel. It is true that one can reflect upon objects in and of themselves. It is wonderful to gaze upon the flattened penny that has been engraved with the Lord's Prayer and consider the amount of time and patience it took to complete. Such an object also invites one to contemplate the faith of the artist behind such a work, but wonderment at a faith of old is as close as one gets to placing the object within a broader cultural practice.

The nearest the viewer gets to a deeper sense of context for the objects under consideration is in the final gallery, "Christians at War and on the Battlefield." Since the grouping is roughly historical, rather than based on form, there is a deeper sense of cohesiveness to the theme. Objects here are more closely related to one another, from the paintings of church ruins on the battlefield of Europe, to the prayer books and Bibles carried by soldiers, to the objects of worship used in the field, including a harmonium and portable communion set used by chaplains. Perhaps the impact of this gallery is enhanced by the fact that most visitors have arrived here after viewing the other temporary exhibit at the CMOC, namely, the War Museum's highly publicized "War on Canvas" exhibition. Even though the descriptive plates offer only the briefest of captions on each object, and there is no central storyboard to follow, the historical relativity of the objects themselves provide a contextual narrative for the viewer that is absent for much of the rest of the exhibit. Here, the disoriented historian finds the solid ground of context and it comes as a relief. *Under the Sign* opens with a nod to history, rejects its context for eight galleries, and then finishes with a return to a particular historical

moment.

As a celebration of "creative expressions" of Christianity in Canada, *Under the Sign* is clearly more concerned with art and artistic expressions that serve a particular aesthetic than the actual practice of faith in history. The CMOC has a number of reasons why it chose this approach over one more congenial to historians concerned with context. The exhibit was drawn entirely from its own collection, and therefore it is obviously limited in the number and types of objects on display. Hence, the strong emphasis on the Eastern European iconographic tradition reflects the research interests and collection policies of the museum. Just as historians can only work with the documents that have survived, so are curators bound by the limited objects they have to display.

Under the Sign is also very aware of the political issues involved in putting together a national public exhibition on Christianity in Canada. The comment book reflects the wide variety of reactions to the simple display of hymn and prayer books printed in aboriginal languages. Within the contemporary debates over cultural imperialism and the public expression of religion, it is not surprising that curators might decide that less context might be better. Internal documents relating to the exhibit's design insured that "Because many find religion to be a sensitive topic, this exhibition strives to be non-sectarian and non-political in nature and direction."[3] Instead, the curators have attempted to bring the viewer directly to the artifact as a singular "creative expression," rather than using story boards or a narrative structure to weave objects into a meaningful historical context.

This underlying philosophy of allowing the audience to come to the object in an unmediated way also serves another political purpose, namely to demonstrate that creative expressions of Christianity are continuing into the present. The seventh gallery is a working studio for contemporary iconographers and calligraphers to illustrate these continuing artistic traditions. Given the museum's objective in promoting "understanding between the various cultural groups," it is far safer to bring attention to the material objects of Christianity as forms of art that evoke the holy, rather than risk presenting a "history" that would be accused of being either too disrespectful towards religion or too hagiographic. Historians within the academy often forget how difficult it is to present history to the public, and how public pressure often places exhibit designers in a precarious position. *Under the Sign* was under attack even before it opened, accused of being

too politically sensitive by some critics, and under fire from others for "whitewashing" the experience of natives.

Although from the perspective of religious history the form and content of *Under the Cross* is flawed, it is too easy for historians of religion simply to issue broadside critiques. Perhaps there are other reasons why the decision was made not to place these objects within a deeper historical context. After all, how many of these material objects actually receive any in-depth consideration within the explosion of recent works on religious history in Canada? If *Under the Cross* lacks historical context, one could suggest that religious history in Canada is conversely lacking in materiality. How can the public presentation of the history of Christianity in Canada be integrated into an exhibition of material objects if our own works do not reach into the cultural practice of a faith that produces ketchup-bottle crucifixes? How do we move away from the wall chart of textual traditions to an understanding of religion as experienced through and in conjunction with corporeal bodies and material objects?

A starting point for the recovery of the material is to recognize that material culture plays a central, not peripheral, role in religious history. Religious experience is always mediated in some way through material objects. Colleen McDannell articulated this premise in her seminal work *Material Christianity*:

> Religious meaning is not merely inherited or simply accessed through the intellect . . . Amid the external practice of religion--a practice that utilizes artifacts, art, architecture and landscapes--comes the inner experience of religion. We can no longer accept that the "appearance" of religion is inconsequential to the "experience" of religion. The sensual elements of Christianity are not merely decorations that mask serious belief; it is through the visible world that the invisible world becomes known and felt.[4]

Elsewhere I have argued that this understanding of materiality opens new doors for a deeper examination of the study of "culture" and religion.[5] It is a project that has been pursued in the United States under a variety of names, including "Material Religion" and "Lived Religion." In short, it posits that there is a materiality to the cultural practice of religion that cannot be separated from the actual experience of religion.

Of course there are areas where Canadian religious history has been

responsive to issues of material culture. Concepts of architecture and sacred space stand out in the work of William Westfall and Lynne Marks.[6] Festivals, parades and Catholic lay devotional practices have also received scholarly attention. Despite these promising forays, however, the material remains an elusive concept. In general, Canadian historians have tended to use material culture as reflective of religion and belief, rather than recognizing its role as a dynamic force in shaping experience.

If religious experience cannot exist outside of the cultural practice of faith in relation to material objects, neither do objects embody meanings in isolation (or at least, no meanings beyond that of its McLuhanesque form). More specifically, the notion of the sacred as applied to material objects is itself an historical construction. As cultural practices of religion shift, so do the boundaries of the sacred, ever enclosing or rejecting spaces, articles, rituals, and time. Turning again to McDannell, "Spaces, architecture, and art do not convey information by themselves, they are activated by either their users or the scholars who are trying to interpret their meanings. The image cannot stand alone; it must be a part of a human world of meaning in order to come alive."[7] As part of the "human world of meaning," the relationship between material objects and the sacred is not static, but in flux, and constantly being renegotiated.

It is important for historians of religion to free the notion of the sacred from the traditional polarization of Durkheimian functionalism and Eliadean essentialism. The former, sometimes referred to as a "situational" analysis, places the sacred as the product of human practice, while the latter, as the "substantial" approach, views the sacred as that which is inherently endowed with ultimate meaning and the fullness of reality. It is this essence of the holy, the poetic of faith, that the *Under the Sign* exhibit implicitly suggests through its employment of a comparative approach to religious artifacts. The mixture of past and present, the linking of high and folk art, and the placement of objects according to form, rather than context, is intended to draw one towards the holy, or at least an understanding that the holy is being evoked within these works. Indeed, the majority of visitors are more concerned with the actual objects and how they speak to the viewer, rather than their historical contexts. It is not an awareness of past meanings, but the creation of new, present meanings between the object and the contemporary viewer that is elicited. A number of people clearly relate to the exhibit not from an historical or artistic perspective, but from the ground of their current faith. One visitor from

Halifax wrote that the exhibit has "reached into the core of my being." Another visitor from Calgary approached the artifacts with a similar desire to relate a personal faith, but came away with a very different feeling, complaining that the exhibit "leaves me cold," the objects and paintings were too "old-fashioned," and not representative of how Christianity has evolved since the 1960s.

Historians, however, are not in the business of asking people to worship at the altar of their narratives. At times, the oft-repeated call to study religion for the sake of religion reveals an essentialist notion of religion as belief, rather than an attempt to understand religion as cultural practice. For historians, the danger of *Under the Sign of the Cross* is that the abstraction of the objects for the purpose of extracting a sense of the holy comes at the expense of a historical context and the multiplicity of meanings that the object may have held in another time.

To illustrate this process of de-contextualization, we could speculatively add a suitable object to *Under the Sign*, such as a wrought-iron cross from St. Philip's African Orthodox Church in Sydney, Nova Scotia. It too could be placed in an exhibit case within one of the nine galleries, identified with a small card, and visitors would be invited to gaze upon the craftsmanship and re-imagine a sense of the holy. But the aesthetic and materiality of this single object hold historical meanings that stretch beyond the poetic of faith. What the observer would miss, and what Jennifer Reid has pointed to, is how the materials and spatial organization of St. Philip's reflect and shape a particular religious experience for Sydney's black community, constructed literally in the shadow of the Dominion Iron and Steel Company out of materials once used in the steelworks. Underlying the overt boundaries of the sacred are constructions of class and race, a "politics of faith" that is obscured by de-contextualizing and de-historicizing the object.[8]

William Westfall has made the assertion that "the sacred must be returned to the history of religion in Canada, for it is the sacred that makes religion a meaningful category of historical analysis."[9] I think we can take this concept even further by realizing that the sacred is not a static concept, but a fluid one that is constantly being negotiated, disputed and reconstructed. Just as gender, class, and race are increasingly regarded as overlapping boundaries constantly in flux, so too is the notion of the sacred. Objects are not inherently sacred; they are given a ground of meaning in relation to the discourses and contexts that surround them.

The boundary of the sacred does not preclude other layers of meaning that can surround and envelop material objects. Historians need to be aware of not only the poetics of faith, but the politics of faith that can underlie the sacred. Material objects become sites where concepts of the sacred are negotiated, not only along the binary distinction of sacred/profane or religious/secular, but in relation to other discourses.

The material nature of the cultural practice of religion is not restricted to those objects which are most obviously designated as "religious"; the sacred easily spills over into far more mundane objects. To take an example from my own area of research, Protestant practices of faith healing illustrate this blending of the politics and poetics of faith within a wide variety of material sites. When Pentecostals prayed over handkerchiefs to be used in healing, the fabric became infused with divine power that was transferred from one body to another. Marie Griffith points out that as items "associated with wiping away tears or sweat or mundanely blowing one's nose, the handkerchief's cleansing function was easily extended into the realm of divine healing."[10]

In 1913, Marion Camus requested a consecrated handkerchief to aid her in childbirth, and even though it arrived two days after the birth was over, Camus remembered "that the midwife had told me Baby's very rapid coming had pushed out a little vein leaving a pile showing and so I placed the handkerchief where I could feel this pile protruding and instantly it was gone."[11] The healing narrative and employment of the handkerchief reflect primarily devotional concerns. However, there is also an underlying politics of faith that critiques the dominant medical culture by asserting the strength and health of the woman's body. Faith and a handkerchief provide an efficiency and harmony of natural birth that contrasts with the medical intervention of drugs and forceps, both of which were routinely denounced in such healing narratives. For her audience, Camus barely required the qualification that she employed a midwife because "I of course had no doctor." This remark offered a gendered, political discourse that coexists with the devotional intention. Just as we cannot consign healing narratives to expressions of political ideology, neither can we only constitute them as solely "religious," thereby reducing the category of religion to a self-referential tautology.

While the sacred infused the everyday object of the handkerchief, the opposite construction was applied to drugs and pills, which symbolized the satanic roots of sickness and the temptations of the devil. The destruction

of patent medicines and prescriptions became acts of faith that reflected by analogy the purging of sin within the heart. Although this behaviour was intended to strengthen resolve in trusting God for healing, it entailed a rejection of modern assumptions that prayer for healing was properly understood as a prayer for means. The dominant paradigm within mainline Protestantism suggested that the afflicted should ask God to bless the remedies and work of the physicians, rather than relying upon "supernatural" healing. The shifting boundaries of the sacred which surround the material object do not fill that object with its total meaning. Rather, sacredness coexists with other, multiple meanings that can be mutually reinforcing or even contradictory, but neither possible meaning negates the other.

To suggest that the practice of religion embodies a cultural politics that speaks to wider issues does not demean or displace the role of a poetic of faith. Robert Orsi calls attention to the facts that "religious objects have an energy that subverts the powers possessed by the objectifications of the social order – for example, by gender, money, or status – a counter-fetishistic energy."[12] In the case of faith healing, I would suggest that it is not only cultural objects like drug bottles and prayer handkerchiefs that are sites for these negotiations, but the body itself which is reconstructed as a sacred wholeness and a receptacle of the divine. We cannot understand faith healing without understanding how the body serves as the site for multiple competing discourses. Medicalised as a collection of discrete organs by physicians, it is reconstituted as a sacred wholeness by believers. The body is imprinted with multiple discourses of gender, professionalization, medical control and a depths of faith that is practically ineffable. The energy of cultural objects to speak to discourses beyond, but without supplanting, religious concerns, is what *Under the Sign* is truly missing, and what historians of religion need to recover.

Historian and anthropologist Greg Dening, a former Jesuit, reflected upon the multiple symbols that surrounded him in the middle of a service at San Giacomo:

> There is an archaeology of faith around us. The pulpit, older by centuries than anything else, is all writhing in grotesqueries. The ageless struggle of the Word with evil in human souls is caught in stone forever, or as much as earthquakes, wars, fires and architects allow. But the clutter of other signs is large. The church is a deposit

> of creeping symboling and each symbol loses its staged effect in the presence of others . . . The renovators will not like the clutter. When the church is dead and becomes [a] museum for being heritage, they will strip it to some pristine simplicity, so that we can gape at it and think how beautiful it was to believe with such economy. Meanwhile, being modern and being, as Pope John XXIII said as he set us free, "at the end of the road and the top of the heap," we have to believe in a cluttered way.[13]

Historians and curators alike prefer to order their narratives and objects in an "uncluttered" way. Whether bound by exhibition space or page lengths, there is a natural tendency to draw out singular aesthetic to suit our purpose. People believe in cluttered ways, and historians as much as curators, need to be aware that restoring religion to "pristine simplicity" is a fiction.

In the end, it is not temporary exhibitions like *Under the Sign* that should trouble historians of religion. It is rather the permanent installment of Canada Hall in the Museum of Civilization that deserves more careful consideration. It is here that the boundaries of the sacred are drawn narrowly, and where religion, if it appears at all, is carefully compartimentalized. Canada Hall, formerly known as "History Hall," offers a cultural examination of the non-Aboriginal presence in Canada over the past 1,000 years. Although roughly organized in a chronological fashion (opening with the Vikings and proceeding through the early fishery and New France), the exhibit focuses upon the daily lives of ordinary people, stressing the social and economic circumstances of life. Canada Hall has felt the brunt of a considerable amount of criticism, from the general public displeasure over a lack of explanatory details relating to the objects and history to technical dismay of expert shipbuilders who claim that the ship under perpetual construction in Canada Hall would be destined to sink.[14]

For a visitor to Canada Hall, it would appear that religion did not hold much of a place in Canadian society. In a small section on "Loyalist Immigrants," early nineteenth-century German and Gaelic Bibles lie under a glass showcase. In a dark building, mannequins in nuns' uniforms attend a sickbed and pharmacy. Recently, St. Onuphrius Ukrainian Catholic Church was relocated from Smoky Lake, Alberta and reconstructed in Canada Hall, with an exterior restored to 1944 and an interior representa-

tive of 1952. To the side of St. Onuphrius, a range of Eastern Orthodox Icons are displayed, with visitors being encouraged to visit the museum's library if they want to understand their significance. It is here, within the central narrative of a social history of Canadians, that we desperately need a material history of religion in Canada, a history of the cultural practice of faith. We cannot expect Canada Hall to represent a total history of religion in Canada, but given that its focus is social and cultural, religion clearly deserves more attention than it has received. The areas relating to religion are very closely defined within set parameters. Religion is something that occurs within a church, and expressed through particular social functions, like a hospital. In Canada Hall, religion is an occasional intrusion, rather than a lived experience.

Across the street from St. Onuphrius, there is a more encouraging sight for religious historians. Although it is not yet completed, the reconstruction of a Czech print shop from Winnipeg contains a number of religious prints in its show window. Now if we could only get some of these objects of faith out of the shop window and onto the walls of homes, integrating these objects as part of everyday life, rather than segmenting them as separate from the rest of society. It is the curators who are responsible for placing the objects and explaining their significance to visitors. If historians of religion expect to find a place for their subject in Canada Hall, as a central part of the narrative, rather than the periphery, we need to offer a cultural history of religion as a practice of faith through material objects. The texts and cultural artifacts upon which we draw did not exist in an "uncluttered" abstraction of activity called "religion," they were integrated within the cluttered lives of the past. Our narratives need to reflect a concerted attempt to disentangle and make sense of the clutter, without renovating the past.

Endnotes

1. Peter E. Rider, "Presenting the Public's History to the Public: The Case of the Canadian Museum of Civilization," in *Studies in History and Museums*, ed. Peter E. Rider (Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1994), 84.

2. Canadian Museum of Civilization, "About the Exhibition." Publicity material for *Under the Sign of the Cross* is available online at: www.civilization.ca/membrs/traditio/croix/cxexhibe.html

3. Susan Riley, "On Killing Canadian History," *Ottawa Citizen,* 20 September 1999.

4. Colleen McDannell, *Material Christianity: Religion and Popular Culture in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 272.

5. James Opp, "Revivals and Religion: Recent Work on the History of Protestantism in Canada," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 32, No. 2 (1997): 183-194.

6. William Westfall, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989); and Lynne Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure, and Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Small-Town Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996).

7. McDannell, *Material Christianity*, 16.

8. Jennifer Reid, "A Tool Shed from Gate #4: The Dominion Iron and Steel Company and the Formation of an African American Church," *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1999): 87-97. It should be noted that Reid employs an Elidean-inspired analysis to counter what she views as excessively functional interpretations of St. Philip's.

9. Westfall, *Two Worlds*, 18.

10. R. Marie Griffith, "Female Devotional Practices in American Pentecostalism," in *Women and Twentieth-Century Protestantism*, eds. Margaret Bendroth and Virginia Brereton (Champagne: University of Illinois Press, forthcoming).

11. Marion I. Camus, "Child Birth," *Pisgah* 1, No. 12 (April 1913): 8.

12. Robert Orsi, "Everyday Miracles: The Study of Lived Religion," in *Lived Religion in America: Toward a History of Practice*, ed. David D. Hall (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 15.

13. Greg Dening, "Soliloquy in San Giacomo," in *Performances*, ed. Greg Dening (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 268.

14. Rider, "Presenting the Public's History to the Public," 98-100.